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Introductory Note

The papers in this volume were prepared for discussion at the One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature convened at the Loews Anatole Hotel, Dallas, Texas, 19-22 December 1983. The papers are printed in the order of their presentation in the program of the meeting. They represent, in most cases, experimental and initial work on a subject. Therefore, they should not be considered finished works but works in progress. The Society encourages this type of publication to stimulate discussion which may lead to the refinement and precision necessary in a journal article or monograph.

The Society's publication program has generated research among its members. Younger scholars and the veteran are able to prepare papers for discussion. This dispenses with time allotments for the reading of papers and permits significant debate at the Annual Meeting.

The Editor expresses appreciation to Drs. Maurya Horgan and Paul Kobelski for their able preparation of the text of this volume. The Editor also takes this opportunity to thank the chairs of all Annual Meeting program units for their assistance in developing a stimulating program.

Kent Harold Richards, Editor
The Iliff School of Theology

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Isaiah 32: Creative Redaction in the Isaian Tradition*

Gary Stansell

St. Olaf College

The study of the formation of First Isaiah shows itself to be a relatively complex undertaking. One clear result of this complexity is the fact that no one model for understanding the various levels of redaction has yet emerged. Moreover, the redaction critical study of Isaiah has not yet reached a mature stage, even though there are significant articles and commentaries which touch on questions of redaction history, not only of Isaiah, but of other prophetic books as well.

This essay intends to examine only a small part of Isaiah, namely, chap. 32, and to inquire into the redaction process which brought this material to its present shape. Various kinds of studies have dealt with the chapter, but usually in the context of the entire book, or in the context of the "booklet" chaps. 28-32.[1] Little consensus has emerged on the source(s) of the individual passages in the chapter, their roots in tradition, the various levels of the redaction, purposes and meaning behind the final arrangement of the material. It remains to be seen whether clarity and light can be brought to these questions.

We must admit at the very outset that there is a certain limitation on what is being proposed here. A thorough redaction critical examination of chap. 32 can be executed only when it is studied together with its immediate context, chaps. 28-31(33), and then, of course, in the context of the remainder of First Isaiah. Nevertheless, it is hoped that by limiting ourselves only to chap. 32, certain redactional problems may be set in sharp focus; that some tentative conclusions can be offered; and that the nature of the redaction process of prophetic literature may gain some further clarity.

Let us now proceed to chap. 32. The following questions will motivate and guide our investigation: What are the original rhetorical or literary units? What is the process of growth that brought them together in their present arrangement? What circle of

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*This essay is respectfully dedicated to Professor Hans Walter Wolff on his 72nd birthday.

[1]Scholars are not in agreement on the division of these latter chapters; e.g., R. B. Y. Scott, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1-39*, The Interpreter's Bible, vol. 5 (1956), p. 152; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, Zürcher Bibel-Kommentare, 2 (1967), p. 43; W. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, Old Testament Library (1974), p. 234, see chaps. 28-32 as belonging together. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, Göttinger Handkommentar, 3/1 (^{5}1968), p. 13; G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah, I-XXVII*, The International Critical Commentary, p. li; R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, The New Century Bible Commentary (1980), pp. 2f., include chap. 33 in the "booklet" 28-33. *Note:* All titles are cited in full the first time they appear; thereafter only name, or name and short title, are given. When commentaries are cited without page number, the reference is to the passage under discussion.

redactors might have been responsible for the various steps toward the Endgestalt of the text? How can we best account for the way the units have been combined to give the chapter its present shape?

I. CHAPTER 32

Although some critical voices have contested the authenticity of 32:9-14,[2] a fairly strong consensus has emerged which regards this passage as a part of the primary Isaiah tradition.[3] We are assuming that the text comes from Isaiah—although its present position in chaps. 28-32 does not—and therefore begin our study with vv. 9-14.

A. Isaiah 32:9-14. Destruction for Judah and Jerusalem

v. 9 [Arise] [4] you women who are at ease,
hear my voice;
you daughters who have no cares,
give ear to my word.
v. 10 In a little more than a year,
you who have no cares will tremble;
for the vintage will fail
and the harvest will come to nothing.
v. 11 Tremble,[5] you women who are at ease
shudder, you who have no cares;
strip yourselves naked
gird (sackcloth)[6] on your loins
v. 12 Beat upon your breasts[7]
for the pleasant fields,
for the fruitful vines,
v. 13 for the land of my people,
growing up in thorns and briars,
for all the joyful houses
in the jubilant city.
v. 14 For the palace will be forsaken
the populous city deserted,
the hill and watchtower
will become dens forever,
a joy of wild asses,
a pasture of flocks.

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[2]E.g. Kaiser; Wildberger; Clements.

[3]Duhm; O. Procksch, *Jesaia I*, Kommentar zum AT 9 (1930); W. Eichrodt, *Der Herr der Geschichte, Jesaja 13-23 und 28-39*, Die Botschaft des AT, 17, II (1967); Fohrer; Scott; E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 1 (1960); H. Barth, *Die Jesaja—Worte in der Josiazeit*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum A und NT 48 (1977), 53, 211f.

[4]BHS deletes for metrical reasons.

[5]Read חרדה with BHS.

[6]The word שך or שקים is probably to be understood, which occurs elsewhere with the verb חגר (cf. Isa 15:3; 22:12; Ezek 27:18; etc.). Duhm omits the entire phrase because it does not fit with v. 11bα.

[7]Read ספדה with G, BHS.

V. 9 clearly initiates a new rhetorical unit, as the imperative verbs and a different addressee indicate. The prophet addresses a female audience (cf. Isa 3:16ff.), but he may have intended his words to strike a wider group of listeners. A series of imperative verbs gives the saying a strong sense of urgency and necessity (vv. 9, 11). The opening "command to hear" (cf. Isa 1:2, 10; 28:23) may be a borrowed form-element from the wisdom teacher's call to hear instruction.[8] But the summons to hear gives way to a "summons to lament" (vv. 11f.). The lamentation motif is emphasized by the imperative verbs "tremble, shudder, strip, gird on, beat upon your breasts." Multiple clauses introduced by על or כי (vv. 12-14) give the motivation for the acts of lamentation. The three form-elements present here (summons to mourn, naming of addressee, motivation introduced by על or כי + verbs in the perfect) indicate that the prophet has borrowed and adapted the genre "Aufruf zur Volksklage."[9] Unlike Joel 1:13-20; 2:12-17, the summons to lament does not lead to religious activities of prayer and repentance. Rather, the lament is for impending destruction of land and capital city. The genre is adapted in such a way as to give it the function of a prophetic judgment speech: the *accusation*, clear though made indirectly, is expressed in words descriptive of the women (שאננות, בטחות vv. 9, 11), and also by the reference to the "joyous city," probably an allusion to 22:22, where Isaiah reprimands Jerusalem for its (inappropriate) exultation over the withdrawal of Assyrian troops. The *announcement* of disaster[10] is given by the על and כי clauses (vv. 12b-14). The passage is structured in such a way that it intentionally moves in its focus from "vintage, harvest, field" (vv. 10-13a) to "houses, city, palace" (vv. 13b-14), which is the climax, thus indicating that Jerusalem, though unnamed, is in the center of Isaiah's interest here, not the land or the nation.[11] The imagery of v. 14 indicates that the destruction of the capital city will be total. Unlike 1:21ff., there is here no expectation of a new beginning for Zion through purification, nor is there any word about Yahweh's protective presence (14:32; 28:16; 31:4f.). Not only does the prophet appear to avoid intentionally calling the city "Zion" or "Jerusalem," but elements and motifs of the Zion tradition are totally absent here. This we take as indicative of a change in the prophet's earlier perspective; this word of judgment corresponds to the doom expected by his contemporary, Micah, on Jerusalem (3:12).

Although Stade and Marti[12] argued for a late date for this text—similarly Kaiser, more recently—Duhm's judgment on its authenticity has been followed by many Isaian scholars. Said Duhm: "Das Stück ist so gut jesaianisch wie nur irgend ein Stück im ganzen Buch." We are here taking the position that 32:9-14 belongs to the primary level of the Isaian tradition and that arguments against its authenticity are inadequate and unconvincing. For our purposes, however, the probable date of the passage and its present position at the end of chaps. 28ff. is of some interest. Some critics have argued for connecting vv. 9-14 with Isaiah's earliest period (ca. 740-734), essentially on two grounds: (1) that only in his early period did Isaiah proclaim unconditional disaster; (2) there is lacking any particular connection between vv. 9-14 with chaps. 28-31.[13] Although it is possible that our passage could have come from Isaiah's early period, it does not exhibit

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[8]H. W. Wolff, *Hosea*, Hermeneia (1974), pp. 96f.

[9]Idem, "Der Aufruf zur Volksklage," *Gesammelte Studien zum AT*, Theologische Bücherei 22 ([2]1973), pp. 392ff.

[10]On the dirge or death lament form used by the prophets to announce future disaster, see C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese*, Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie 79 (1978), pp. 361, 373.

[11]Contra Kissane; Kaiser.

[12]As cited by Kissane.

[13]E.g. Duhm; Procksch; Scott; but other texts which are appealed to are 5:5-6; 6:11-13; 1:7ff.; 7:18ff.

any greater similarity to early texts than it does to later ones.[14] There are, however, sufficient similarities between 22:1ff. and vv. 9-14 to strongly suggest that our passage belongs at the very end of Isaiah's activities, around 701.[15] Fohrer dubs it "das letzte Wort Jesajas." As such, it is an appropriate ending to the prophecies of disaster from Isaiah contained in chaps. 28-31. Although it is difficult to tell whether Isaiah[16] or perhaps his disciples collected and arranged the material of the primary Isaian tradition in this booklet, we may assume that vv. 9-14 were intentionally placed as a concluding word to chaps. 28-31, perhaps originally following upon 31:1-3. Thus, of the material now contained in chap. 32, only vv. 9-14 originally belong to the booklet chaps. 28-32. But it remains to be demonstrated that the other texts in chaps. 32 (vv. 1-8; 15-20) were added later, and by different circles of redactors.

B. Isaiah 32:1-5(6-8): A Kingdom of Justice

v. 1 Behold, a king will reign in righteousness,
and princes will rule in justice.
v. 2 And each will be like a refuge from the wind,
and a shelter from the tempest,
like streams of water on dry ground,
like the shade of a great rock in a weary land.
v. 3 The eyes that can see will not be closed,
and the ears that can hear will listen.
v. 4 The heart of the rash will understand and know,
and the tongue of the stammerers
will speak readily [and plainly].[17]
v. 5 The fool will no longer be called noble,
nor the knave said to be honorable.
v. 6 For the fool speaks folly,
and his heart plans iniquity,
to do ungodliness,
to speak error concerning Yahweh,
to leave unsatisfied the throat of the hungry,
and to deprive the thirsty of drink.
v. 7 The knaveries of the knave are evil;
he plans wickedness,
to ruin the poor with lying words,
when the words of the needy are just.
v. 8 But the noble person designs noble things,
and by noble things he stands.

Introduced by הן (unlike the הוי at the beginning of 28; 29; 30; 31; 33), this text gives the initial impression of being a prophetic saying, although much of its language suggests that it stands closely related to the wisdom tradition. The verses quite easily

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[14]Cf. Kissane's remark: "There is no material difference between the earlier and the later prophecies regarding the desolation of Judah."

[15]Both texts call Jerusalem קריה עליזה (32:13; 22:2; the lamentation motif plays a central role in both (cf. ספדה in 32:12 [emend.] with לבכי ולמספד in 22:12; note also 22:4a); both texts speak of destruction and death (cf. 32:14 with 22:4f. and especially v. 14); similarly Fohrer.

[16]Thus Duhm; Eichrodt.

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group themselves into three sections: vv. 1-2, a righteous and just government; vv. 3-5, the enlightened results of such a rule; vv. 6-8, descriptions of fool, knave, and noble. Beginning at least with the critical work of Duhm, vv. 6-8 have been rather consistently recognized by scholars as material that did not originally belong to vv. 1-5.[18] With the word כי, the redactor connects to v. 5 (clearly the conclusion to the unit vv. 1ff.) six lines (vv. 6-8) which develop and expand in a descriptive way the words נבל, נדיב, and כילי in v. 5. That vv. 6-8 are not an original continuation of vv. 1-5 is shown by the differences between v. 5 and what follows it: whereas v. 5 speaks of the changes resulting in the "righteous rule" (v. 1), namely, "that the fool will no longer be called noble," etc., vv. 6-8 present an antithesis between fool and noble. Moreover, the נבל in v. 6 is not the same as the נבל in v. 5, where the "fool" is one who wants to be estimated higher by others than he ought to be. The "fool" in v. 6 is consonant with the sinner or evildoer (cf. Fohrer). Finally, the descriptive quality of vv. 6-8 is quite different in its intention from vv. 3-5, which speak of changes in the social order to be effected by a righteous rule. Thus we take vv. 6-8 to be a redactional addition to vv. 1-5. This does not yet address the question of which redactional level vv. 6-8 belong to; but it does enable us to treat the two parts separately. We now look more closely at vv. 1-5; vv. 6-8 will be further examined below, but only after we look at the remaining unit, vv. 15-20.

V. 1 speaks of an era when a righteous and just government will prevail. Begun by the connective והיה, v. 2 spells out in a series of similes the consequences of such a government: the king and his princes (referred to in v. 2 by the word איש) will be to the people like a "hiding place," "shelter," "stream of water," and "shade." This imagery is abandoned in vv. 3-5 in statements which speak of a radical change or reversal: unseeing eyes will see; uncomprehending minds will understand, etc. The positively formulated statements in vv. 2, 4 are balanced by negative statements (לא + imperf.) in vv. 3 and 5.

Is this a "messianic prophecy"? Duhm connects it with Isa 11:1ff.; 2:2ff. and finds arguments against its authenticity wanting. Hermisson follows on the same path, but he limits the "messianic text" to vv. 1-2.[19] Other voices have argued that vv. 1-5 are neither messianic, nor are they prophecy. Mowinckel, for example, sees here a *wisdom poem* which describes in general terms the blessings to be enjoyed during the reign of a righteous king. He links the poem to customary oriental concepts about kingship and cites as biblical parallels the "last words of David" (2 Sam 23:1ff.) and the Royal Psalms, as parallels in the style and language of wisdom poetry.[20] Other significant voices have supported, developed, or modified this view. Eichrodt, for example, draws attention to the goodly and just rule of the king as a notion at home among the wisdom teachers (cf. Prov 16:12; 20:26; 25:5; 29:4, 14; 31:8f.) and sees in the nature-similes (v. 2) the language of epic and didactic poetry.[21] Whereas Wildberger recognizes that there are wisdom elements in the text, he argues that it is to be understood as a prophecy.

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[22]Thus already M. Brückner, *Die Komposition des Buches Jes. c. 28-33* (phil Diss. Leipzig, 1897), p. 54.

that v. 2b recalls 28:12; v. 3a picks up 29:9f.; 30:10; v. 4 is related to 28:7f.[23] Even a superficial glance at these supposed connections reveals that such connections, excluding perhaps 29:9f., are tenuous and less than helpful. They will not bear the weight of Brückner's hypothesis that the similarities between these texts (and also 28:23ff.) and 32:1ff. indicate that they belong to the same redactor's hand.[24] Wildberger points to the similarity between v. 3 and 29:18, while Kaiser sees v. 3 linked to 6:9f. by way of 29:9f. These various allusions and connections suggest at most that the author of 32:1-5 *might* have composed this piece with these passages in mind, but this is very slim evidence and certainly not compelling.

We move from the question of literary connections between 32:1-5 and chaps. 28-32 to a different issue: can we discern any particular intention in the redactional placement of vv. 1-5 into its present context? Marti sees the passage as an intentional *conclusion* to the booklet 28-31, in analogy to 9:2ff. and 11:1ff., i.e., prophecies of salvation which conclude earlier collections.[25] But the original *conclusion* to the primary Isaian tradition in 28-31, as we have shown above, is 32:9-14. Thus we must seek another reason for the present position of vv. 1-5. Skinner proposed that vv. 1ff. were inserted into their present position in order to provide an intentional contrast to the previous passages which portray the irreligious and unscrupulous nobility.[26] Such a connection seems very likely: the "righteous king and his princes" (v. 1) does contrast sharply with "scoffers who rule this people" (28:17); "those [leaders] who hide deep from Yahweh their counsel" (29:15); "rebellious sons who carry out a plan" (30:1); "those who go down to Egypt for help" (31:1). This same interpretation has been represented by H. Barth in his comprehensive study of the redaction of Isaiah; he states that 32:1-5 "entwirft . . . ein positives Gegenbild zu der Oberschicht Jerusalems, wie sie uns in der Jesajaworte innerhalb von 28-31 entgegentritt."[27] In our view Skinner and Barth have correctly interpreted the redactional placement of vv. 1-5.

The work of the redaction critic is not finished with the identification of different redactional levels of material, and of their intentional arrangement into a certain order and scheme.[28] We must therefore proceed to the question of the historical and theological context within which the redactor of this material operated. The late dating of 32:1-5 at ca. second century, when there were intense apocalyptic expectations, has long ago been abandoned.[29] Kaiser has identified in 32:1-8 a wisdom redaction which he understands to have taken up older maxims, reworked them, and given the entire text (vv. 1-8) its present position. Wildberger is critical of this view; he recognizes wisdom elements in vv. 1-5, but argues that the passage is, in the final analysis, a prophecy, to be dated with caution around 500 B.C.E. Barth offers the most persuasive, detailed, and carefully argued position on the redaction of vv. 1-5.[30] His thesis is that the passage (together with 28:23-29; 29:8; 30:27-33; 31:5, 8b, 9) stems from an "Assyrian Redaction" (AR), a planned and unified redactional activity which the Isaian tradition underwent in the late seventh century, under the impact of Josiah's leadership. In large measure this

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[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid., p. 61 and passim; Brückner sees 28:5f.; 29:4-8; 29:11f.; 29:16-24; 30:18-26; 31:4-8; and possibly 28:23-29 and 32:1-8 as belonging to the same later (second century) level of editorial work.

[25]Also Brückner, pp. 58ff.

[26]Skinner, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, vol. 1 (1896).

[27]Barth, p. 214; similarly Clements.

[28]H. Barth and O. H. Steck, *Exegese des AT. Leitfaden der Methodik* (1971), pp. 48ff.

[29]E.g., Brückner, p. 64.

[30]Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte*, pp. 208, 213ff., and passim.

redactional work made insertions of material—some of it reworked, pre-existent tradition, some of it composed by these redactors—immediately next to Isaiah's prophecies about the downfall of Assyria. The interest of this level of redaction is to proclaim destruction for Assyria and salvation for Israel, who is now free from the Assyrian yoke and can live in weal under its own royal salvation-bringer. Barth identifies these very elements in 32:1-5: the AR is here speaking of the monarchic state and its officials who, in contrast to former kings and officials, are now to be honest, law-abiding preservers of Yahweh's ordinances.[31] For Barth vv. 1-5 stand neither in a wisdom nor a prophetic stream of tradition; rather, the redactor has taken up the Jerusalem royal ideology (v. 1a) and motifs from the Zion tradition and shaped it to suit the purposes of the late seventh century.[32] If we conclude, with Barth, that 32:1-5 belongs to the Assyrian Redaction, then we have thus far established the following:

1. Isa 32:9-14, an original Isaian prophecy of disaster on Judah and especially Jerusalem, was, at the earliest stage of a collection of Isaiah's sayings in chaps. 28-32, intentionally placed at the end of the collection to conclude it with a drastic word of destruction.

2. 32:1-5 presents a second stage in the formation and growth of chap. 32. Neither a genuine word from Isaiah nor a post-exilic addition, it very likely derives from the "Assyrian Redaction" in the late seventh century. The redactor placed it in its present position not to connect it in some way with vv. 9-14, but rather to make a distinct contrast between the weak and ineffective rulers as characterized in chaps. 28-31 and the king and princes of justice which are envisioned for its time and for the future.

C. Isaiah 32:15-18[19] [20]: The Spirit and Restoration

After the prophecy of destruction for Judah and Jerusalem in 32:9-14, there follows immediately a saying which envisions a time of the outpouring of the רוח which will effect a transformation of nature and of human relationships.

v. 15 Until a spirit is poured on us from on high,
and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field,
and the fruitful field is considered a forest.
v. 16 Then justice will make its home in the wilderness,
and righteousness will abide in the fruitful field;
v. 17 when righteousness produces peace,
and its fruit will be quietness and security forever.
v. 18 Then my people will abide in a peaceful habitation,
and in secure dwellings and in resting places of ease.
v. 19 And it will hail when the forest goes down,
and the city will be utterly laid low.
v. 20 Blessed are you who sow beside all waters,
letting ox and ass range free.

This "description of salvation" (Kaiser) attributes a future era of peace and justice to the pouring out of the spirit. Before we examine its place in chap. 32 and its relationship to vv. 1-5 and vv. 9-14, we must first discuss the integrity and structure of the pas-

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[31]Barth (ibid., p. 214, n. 19) discounts the interpretation that 32:1ff. is a wisdom mashal which generalizes rather than refers to a specific set of events.

[32]Ibid., p. 227.

sage. V. 19 has long been recognized as problematic. The text of *M* seems largely to be nonsense; as a result the translators of the RSV resort to conjecture (v. 19a "and the forest will utterly go down"). But the chief difficulty with v. 19 is that it speaks of judgment on forest and city, while its immediate context has to do with salvation. One might suppose that v. 19 originally belonged after v. 14.[33] Another possibility is that "forest" and "city" are not allusions to Judah and Jerusalem but to the enemy army and the world capital, the source of great hostility toward the people.[34] But v. 19 is to be understood as a later interpolation, perhaps a marginal note inserted awkwardly between vv. 18 and 20.[35]

Did the original unit conclude with the macarism in v. 20. Such a Gratulationswort, introduced by אשרי, is hardly found in the prophetic literature (but cf. 3:10; 30:18; 56:2).[36] Since the speaker has used the first person plural at the beginning of the passage (עלינו v. 15), the change to the direct address (אשריכם v. 20)[37] is unexpected. Form critically considered, we lack other examples in the prophetic literature in which prophecies of salvation are concluded by a blessing. But אשרי sayings are found frequently in the Wisdom Psalms or in elements in other Psalms which are influenced by wisdom[38] and are present in Proverbs as well.[39] We have, therefore, a wisdom form that is to be seen as a later addition to vv. 15ff.; we turn to a consideration of v. 20 in terms of the redaction of vv. 15ff. below under "D".

Having understood vv. 19 and 20 as later though separate additions to vv. 15-18, we now examine these verses as a unit. The connection of this text with vv. 9-14 is made by the עד in v. 15. The עד is an intentional, redactional connection with the previous passage and at the same time picks up the expression עד-עולם in v. 14b, thus modifying "forever" to "until," i.e., the state of destruction of Judah and Jerusalem is now limited in its duration. The time of salvation will come after the disaster, when the רוח comes "from on high." The result of this is given in vv. 15b-18. Two motifs dominate vv. 15b-17: (1) a change in nature; (2) a change in society. V. 18 continues this line of thought but in a new way. A new subject is introduced with the word עמי; here the thought shifts from "justice dwelling in the wilderness" to "my people abiding in peace," etc. This change in subject, together with change from the style of first person plural (v. 15) to addressing "my people" (v. 18) arouses suspicion about whether vv. 15-18 represent an original literary unity. In this connection, one may note the slight lack of a smooth continuation of v. 15b by v. 16: in v. 15b the מדבר turns into a fruitful field; in v. 16,

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[33]The difficulty with this, however, is clear: (1) v. 14 easily forms the climax to the unit; (2) העיר in v. 19 would then infelicitously repeat the עיר of v. 14; (3) the "forest" has no meaningful context in vv. 9ff.

[34]Thus Kaiser; but see Wildberger's critique. Barth (*Die Jesaja-Worter*, 212) also attempts to retain v. 19 as original to vv. 15ff. He sees the verse as an allusion to the destruction of the Assyrians. Unfortunately, Barth completely avoids the hefty arguments of form and literary criticism against such a view.

[35]Cf. Duhm; Marti; Fohrer; Eichrodt; Wildberger.

[36]Cf. Wildberger.

[37]K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (1969), p. 18, thinks that in the OT blessings, the direct address in the second person was purely rhetorical, for the audience was never directly spoken to (cf. Deut 33:29; Ps 128:3; Eccl 10:17).

[38]Cf. M. Saebø, art. אשר, THAT 1, 258ff.

[39]Prov 3:13; 8:32, 34; 14:21; 16:20; 29:18; also Job 5:17; Eccl 10:17; Sir 14:1, 2; 25:79; cf. W. Käser, "Beobachtungen zum alttestamentlichen Makarismus," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 225ff.

however, justice dwells in the מדבר.[40] Brückner is thus justified in pointing to the somewhat "kompilatorisch" nature of the structure and content of vv. 15-18.[41] Yet it does not seem warranted to conclude that we have nothing more than a group of fragments brought together by the catchwords משפט and צדקה.

The redactor who gave this piece its final shape and who placed it after vv. 9-14 has undoubtedly formulated it in the light of the vocabulary of vv. 9-14. The עד (v. 16) picks up עד-עולם (v. 14); יערה is a word-play on מערות and מרעה (v. 14); בטח (v. 17, cf. v. 18) recalls בטחות (vv. 9-11); עד-עולם (v. 17) is an intentional correction of the same phrase in v. 14. עמי (v. 18) refers back to v. 13 (אדמה עמי); שאננות (v. 18) recalls the same word in vv. 9, 11. Thus, vv. 15-18 presuppose vv. 9-14 and must be assigned to a later time. Though Duhm attempts to defend the authenticity of vv. 15-18,[42] this view today finds few defenders (cf. Wildberger's discussion).

Now, a certain connection between vv. 15-18 and vv. 1-5 may also be observed. Though some scholars have thought that both passages belong to the primary Isaian tradition,[43] both are to be regarded as later material. But it must be asked whether they derive from the same level of redaction. Barth's study concludes that vv. 15ff. also belong to the AR, and he is followed essentially in his views by Clements's commentary on Isaiah. Barth argues that (1) v. 19 is not a later insertion but rather has an integrating function within the unit. V. 19 is, then, an allusion to the destruction of Assyria. (2) V. 15a speaks not of an outpouring of the spirit on the people, but rather of the revealing of the spirit to the king. (3) The passage in its content stands close to 8:23-9:6 (related terminology: שלום, משפט, and צדקה), which he also reckons as an AR text. But the weaknesses in this interpretation are, we believe, evident enough. If one removes v. 19 from the passage—and there can be very little doubt that it should be—there remains no possibility of a reference to the destruction of Assyria in these verses.[44] Barth is able to find a royal figure in v. 15a only with a questionable manipulation of the text: he understands the phrase יערה עלינו רוח ממרום not as the "outpouring of the spirit" on the people but as "the spirit will be revealed/manifest" (ערה in sense of גלה) to the king, a motif present in 11:2, "the spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him." This interpretation, however, allows unnecessary weight to be laid on this unlikely understanding of the verb ערה. The difficulties here are that there are no precise parallels to this; that v. 15a provides the only example of a niphal form; that when Yahweh is the subject of the verb ערה, it is only for an act of judgment, not of revelation or manifestation (Isa 3:17; Hab 3:13; Zeph 2:14). Finally, משפט and צדקה *need* not be connected only with a royal figure.[45] We must therefore reject Barth's understanding of 32:15ff. as a text from the AR. That this is justified may be further demonstrated by noting the significant *differences* between the AR text 32:1-5 and 32:15-18.[46] (1) The reign of the king and his

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[40]Note also that the כרמל of v. 15b is repeated in v. 16.

[41]Brückner, p. 56.

[42]Also Kissane; Eichrodt.

[43]Cf. Duhm; Kissane; Eichrodt.

[44]According to Barth (*Die Jesaja-Worter*, p. 209) "Unheil für Assyria" is one of the main interests of the AR.

[45]On the word-pair "justice and righteousness" in 32:16, Wildberger states: ". . . hier jedoch ist die Bindung an das Königtum . . . gelöst."

[46]Here we may remark on a weakness in Barth's reconstruction of the AR of Isaiah. He has constructed an (attractive) hypothesis about the date, intention, method of arranging texts, traditions used and adapted, etc., and then found many texts which fit into this scheme. In so doing, Barth at times overlooks the great differences among these texts in genre, language, tradition, and theological purpose. To take one example, the wisdom disputation in Isa 28:23ff. obviously differs from 32:15ff. in every way, yet

princes is the presupposition of the security and social transformation in 32:1-5, while the spirit's presence is the cause of the changes in nature and the nation's secure life in 32:15-18. (2) 32:3-5 speaks of groups within Israelite society ("those who see," "the rash," etc.), whereas v. 18 has to do with all Israel (עמי). (3) Although משפט and צדקה/צדק appear in both texts, in 32:1 the words describe the kingly rule; in v. 16, they are subjects of verbs ("justice dwells . . ."); in v. 17 "righteousness" is the cause of שלום. (4) The wisdom elements identified in 32:1ff. are not found in vv. 15-18. (5) The central thrust of each text is different. While vv. 1ff. are primarily concerned with a transformation of society's internal relationships, vv. 15ff. emphasize peace and security for "my people." (6) The redactional juxtaposition of vv. 15-18 with vv. 9-14 differs considerably from the relationship of vv. 1-5 to a whole series of prophecies of judgment in chaps. 28-31.

If vv. 15-18 and vv. 1-5 do not derive from the same redactor or circle of redactors, there are, however, significant connections between the two texts. Indeed, it appears as though the author of vv. 15-18 had not only vv. 9-14 before him (as we have shown above) but also vv. 1-5. The use of the word-pair "justice and righteousness" in v. 16 harks back to v. 1; in v. 18 the peaceful dwelling place, with its rest and security, recalls v. 2; and the cause and effect relationship between v. 15a and vv. 15b-18 parallels somewhat the relationship between v. 1 and vv. 2-5. Thus vv. 15-18 borrow language, images, and a pattern of cause-effect from vv. 1-5. It is our contention, therefore, that the discontinuities between the two texts are significant enough to suggest that different redactors are at work; and that the similarities are such as to suggest that the redactors of vv. 15-18 had vv. 1-5 before them and borrowed from this text, or at least were influenced by it.

When were the redactors of this piece at work? It is in fact notoriously difficult to date the later salvation oracles which have been added to the pre-exilic prophecies of doom. Various connections between 32:15-18 and Second and Third Isaiah have been suggested.[47] Arguments favoring the apocalyptists of the second century have been advanced.[48] Kaiser speaks of the work of a scribe in the late post-exilic Hellenistic period. According to Fohrer, the passage stems from an "unbekannten späteren Verfasser." Perhaps Wildberger's cautious suggestion of a time around 500 or a little later warrants consideration. In any case, we have in vv. 15-18 a text intended to contrast the coming age of salvation and security with Isaiah's prophecy of disaster in vv. 9-14, but which also relates to vv. 1-5, not as a continuation of it, but as further commentary on the age of salvation spoken of there.

The redactor's purpose in placing vv. 15-18 after vv. 9-14 should now be clear. He has made intentional contrasts in the following motifs: The failed crops and vintage (v. 10), along with the fields growing up in thorns and briars (v. 13a), will be restored to a "fruitful field" (vv. 15b, 16b; note the emphasis on the thrice repeated כרמל). False security and complaceney (vv. 9, 11) give way to the genuine security and quiet of peaceful dwellings (v. 18). Forsakenness, desertion, and destruction (vv. 13b-14) will be followed by people who, in their secure houses, will populate cities and land once again (v. 18). This text, then, represents a third stage in the formation of chap 32.

D. Isaiah 32:6-8, 20: Final Redaction of Chapter 32

We noted above some of the reasons for understanding vv. 6-8 as a later expansion of vv. 1-5. Now we must briefly comment on what we understand as yet another level of

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Barth assigns them both to the AR. The use of the hypothesis thus dissolves significant form critical distinctions between texts in favor of a redactional scheme.

[47]Cf. v. 15a with Isa 44:3; v. 16 with Isa 61:11; v. 17 with Isa 54:13; 60:17, and see Fohrer.

[48]Brückner, p. 84.

redaction in chap 32. The wisdom elements in both vv. 1-5 and vv. 6-8 led Kaiser to suppose that a wisdom teacher has taken pre-existing material (the proverbs in vv. 1f., 6a, and 8) and reworked it into the present shape now found in the unit, vv. 1-8, a passage written expressly for its present context in chap. 32. As attractive as this theory is, it does not fully account for the differences between vv. 1-5 and vv. 6-8 (as we noted above under "B"). We ought rather to see in vv. 6-8 the hand of a later redactor who wished to comment on vv. 1-5 by adapting pre-existent maxims (vv. 6-8) and, on the basis of catchword association, placed vv. 6-8 after vv. 1-5 to expand it into a brief didactic piece on the subject of the fool, the knave, and the noble. Vv. 6-8 appear to relate only to v. 5, although v. 8 ("the noble") may possibly refer back to the "princes" in v. 1. Thus we may speak of a *didactic commentary* (Clements: "a short didactic homily") in vv. 6-8 upon the preceding text, but especially related to v. 5. Hertzberg's comment is apropos: "Die Verfasser dieser [Weisheits-] Sprüche betrachtet den Prophetentext als Fibel für seine Begriffe und Lehren."[49] The maxim-type statements, as well as the theme and vocabulary, indicate that these verses are to be located in the sphere of the wisdom tradition.[50] The wisdom teacher wants to emphasize that the essential thing about the new age is the new Mensch (cf. Wildberger).

Vv. 6-8 do not appear to be the only addition to chap. 32 from the hand of a wisdom redactor. The conclusion to chap. 32 found in v. 20, also a wisdom form, was quite likely added at the same time vv. 6-8 were placed after vv. 1-5. Not only does v. 20 offer an appropriate blessing upon the peace and security of the new age (vv. 17-18), but it picks up the agricultural imagery in vv. 10b, 12, 13, 15b, 16b. Moreover, the pronouncement of אשרי contrasts sharply with the imperatives calling to lamentation in vv. 11f. Thus, the verse concludes vv. 9-14 and 15-18, and stands somewhat parallel to vv. 6-8 as a concluding comment upon vv. 1-5.[51] But in v. 20 is also the conclusion to the booklet chaps. 28-32, a fitting word of blessing to end a series of prophecies which commenced with a cry of הוי (28:1).

II. THE FORMATION OF CHAPTER 32

Isaiah chapter 32, we have argued, is comprised of three major units: vv. 1-5; 9-14; 15-18. Of these three units only vv. 9-14 belong to the primary Isaian tradition. This text, quite possibly the "last words" of Isaiah, originally concluded the collection or "booklet" of Isaiah's prophecies in chaps 28-32*. It is impossible to tell whether this prophetic judgment saying was included in this collection by Isaiah himself or by his disciples.

The first level of redaction of what is now chap. 32 is found in vv. 1-5, a piece quite likely composed (or reworked) by a seventh-century circle of redactors (Barth's AR).

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[49]H. W. Hertzberg, "Die Nachgeschichte alttestamentlicher Texte innerhalb des Alten Testaments," in *Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1962), p. 78.

[50]Cf. Hertzberg, ibid.; Fohrer; Clements, et al.

[51]Was v. 20 added to v. 19 after it had already been placed at the end of vv. 15-18 (thus Wildberger)? It seems more probable that v. 19 was inserted into its present position *after* the last stage of redactional activity had supplemented chap. 32 with vv. 6-8 and v. 20. We might well imagine that the wisdom redaction connected v. 20 immediately to v. 18 (it is thematically appropriate) but not to v. 19. We mean to suggest that each successive stage of redaction was *meaningful* as well as intentional, while the very last reworking of the text was a very late scribal insertion, probably of a marginal note, which the scribe placed into an alien context that now, from our perspective, interrupts the text nonsensically.

Inserted before vv. 9-14, but intended to relate to the previous prophetic sayings this passage forms a strong contrasting statement next to the foregoing prophecies which accuse leaders and nobility of political maneuvering, of lack of trust in Yahweh, etc. It pictures a time of just and righteous rule; as the misleading of the unjust rulers brought disaster on Judah and Jerusalem (chaps. 28-32*) so the new king and princes will reverse this by offering security and protection. Moreover, this coming age will be governed by insight and understanding, and fools will not be mistaken for nobles.

A second level of redaction presents itself in vv. 15-18. Although it contains marks of similarity to vv. 1-5, it comes from a later time (post-exilic) and from a different circle of redactors. Vv. 15-18 speak of a coming "idealized" age when even nature will be transformed by justice, and when the nation will live in security and shalom. Here the spirit achieves this, not the monarch. Vv. 15-18, by providing a strong contrast with vv. 9-14, offer a reinterpretation of it: disaster will not last "forever"; but salvation will (v. 15). This scheme is the familiar doom-salvation sequence found frequently in pre-exilic prophetic books (Micah 3:9-12; 4:1-4 is one example).

These three texts, having been combined into their present order, underwent yet a third and final redaction. This level of redaction did not add yet another piece which can stand independently and be read more or less on its own. Rather, it expanded vv. 1-5 by appending to it three wisdom maxims (vv. 6-8), thus providing a didactic commentary on the theme of "fools, knaves, and nobles." At the same time this wisdom redaction placed a concluding verse after v. 18 in the form of a macarism (v. 20), no doubt intending this congratulation of "blessing!" to conclude not only vv. 15-18, but chap. 32 and chaps. 28-31 as well. Having begun on a note of "woe!" (28:1) that was reiterated again and again (29:1; 30:1; 31:1), the entire collection ends in "blessing!". A final, infelicitous addition to chap. 32 was made with the insertion of v. 19, which was most likely never an original part of vv. 15-18 or vv. 9-14.

We have identified three stages of redaction in the formation of chap. 32, excluding whatever editorial activity may have placed vv. 9-14 at the end of chaps. 28-31*. The paper suggests by way of reconstruction how the units came to be placed in their present order, and from which circles of redactional work they may have had their origins. But chap. 32 now stands as a literary unit and may be understood also in terms of itself. The initial הן in v. 1, whether an original part of vv. 1-5 or from the redactor's hand, points forward, not backward, directing the reader's attention to the succeeding verses until the final note of אשרי in v. 20. In that chaps. 28-31 and 33 all begin with הוי, chap. 32, because of a different introductory word, gives the initial impression of a certain isolation from its surrounding context, standing as a fairly self-contained literary unit (hence scholars' indecision on whether chap. 32 belongs with 28-31 or with 33-35). As such it has a simple structure: a prophetic judgment speech is the core of the chapter, surrounded by a framework of prophecies of salvation. Thus the work of the various circles of redactors has left us with a configuration of material which can both be viewed in terms of its dynamic formation and its inner connections with other chapters, and also be understood as a literary whole, with its own internal structure and meaning.

"Form" versus "Formation" of Prophetic Books

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The research group called Formation of Prophetic Books, for which this essay is written, has tended to use the term "formation" to connote the growth process or redaction history of prophetic books. It has been characteristic of the group for its research and discussion to follow the paradigm of historical criticism which has dominated the field of biblical criticism. Yet increasingly we hear voices singing a different song, a song which celebrates more the virtues of synchronic than of diachronic analysis of texts. One thinks of Holladay on Jeremiah,[1] of Childs, whose analysis reflects a theological concern for exegesis in the context of the canon.[2]

The purpose of this essay is to ask whether it is more useful to focus on the problem of historical reconstruction of the growth of texts or to fix our gaze more upon the shape of prophetic books as we presently have them. In part this is a matter of what scholarly analysis is *able* successfully to accomplish, but it is also a question of what *ought* to be done, especially if one is concerned to do exegesis of prophetic books for the sake of a community of faith. A second purpose of this essay, following logically from the first, is to develop in a rudimentary way an exegetical method which is appropriate for the approach to interpretation which we consider most useful.

I.

Several years ago the Group on the Formation of Prophetic Books attempted a comparison of a diachronic and a synchronic analysis of a single prophetic text (Isaiah 28). David L. Petersen proposed a reconstruction of the redactional process by means of which Isaiah 28 came into being,[3] and J. Cheryl Exum offered a literary analysis of Isaiah 28 in the form in which we presently have it.[4]

A. Let us begin with Petersen. First of all in the development of the text, Petersen argues, two "seed oracles" were juxtaposed (v. 7b-13a and v. 14-17a, 18-19).[5] Both of these oracles of judgment are critical of leaders: priests and prophets (7b-13a) and rulers in Jerusalem (14-17a, 18-19). Both quote previously-uttered "words of weal"

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[1]W. Holladay, *The Architecture of Jeremiah 1-20* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell, 1975).

[2]See the following works by Childs: *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970); *The Book of Exodus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975); *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979).

[3]D. L. Petersen, "Isaiah 28, A Redaction Critical Study," *SBL 1979 Seminar Papers* (Vol 2; ed. P. Achtemeier; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 101-22.

[4]J. C. Exum, "Isaiah 28-32: A Literary Approach," *SBL 1979 Seminar Papers* (Vol. 2; ed. P. Achtemeier; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 123-51.

[5]Petersen, "Isaiah 28," 116.

from Yahweh as a part of the oracle of judgment. Both oracles emphasize the strangeness and incomprehensibility of Yahweh's imminent activity of judgment.

Both "seed oracles" underwent subsequent expansion. A result clause, "that they may go and fall backward and be broken and snared and taken" (13b), was borrowed from the language of Isaiah 8:15 and was added to 28:7b-13a to clarify the purpose of Yahweh's unintelligible speech.[6] V. 20-22 were appended to v. 14-17a, 18-19, with v. 20-21 explicating the "terror by night" of v. 19 and the particularity of Yahweh's punishment as rain and hail, while v. 22 uses the language of 10:23 to form an inclusio with v. 14. V. 20-22 is itself a subunit consisting of three separate pieces (20, 21, 22).[7]

Other oracles were subsequently added: (1) V. 1-4 was placed at the head and attached to v. 7b-13 by the creation of the obviously redactional 7a. V. 1-4 and v. 7-13 were juxtaposed because of the common theme of drunkenness. V. 1-4 as a woe-oracle was probably added when chs. 28-32 (33) were being compiled, with woe-oracles as the most striking markers of this larger unit of redaction (28:1; 29:1, 15; 30:1; 31:1; 33:1).[8] (2) As a response to the message of Yahweh's unintelligible behavior (v. 1-4, 7-22), someone created the wisdom poem in v. 23-29, which contends that by observing the farmer one can learn that Yahweh is wise and that those who take advantage of his wisdom can live wisely. Although Yahweh's behavior as portrayed in v. 1-22 appears to be incomprehensible, he is wise; one can indeed learn and profit from his wisdom.[9]

In a still later stage of redaction, v. 17b was added to the emerging ch. 28. V. 17b borrowed from the language of v. 2 in order to achieve a negative understanding of v. 16-17a. Moreover, it unifies the redactional unit by connecting v. 2 with v. 14-19. The fact that v. 17a is borrowed from v. 2 shows that it could not have been incorporated into v. 14-19 before v. 1-4 had been placed at the head of the emerging ch. 28.[10]

V. 5-6, a passage which interrupts the movement between v. 1-4 and v. 7-13, was appended to v. 1-4 by means of the image of the "crown." V. 5-6 is similar to 4:2-4 and represents what some consider to be an early apocalyptic outlook. Petersen believes that the redactor who composed 28:5-6 was probably the same as the author of 4:2-4.[11]

To sum up: the collection moves from the juxtaposition of two "seed oracles" to (1) the appending of concluding material to each of the "seed oracles" to (2) the addition of units at the beginning (v. 1-4) and at the end (v. 23-29) to (3) the creation of 17b and its insertion between v. 17a and v. 18-19 to (4) the addition of v. 5-6 to v. 1-4. Petersen is unable, however, to establish the historical setting for each of these levels of redaction.

B. In contrast with Petersen's emphasis on the history of the formation of Isaiah 28, J. Cheryl Exum is concerned exclusively with a *literary* understanding of ch. 28 in its present form. Although Exum readily accepts the prevailing scholarly belief that Isaiah is the result of several stages of redactional activity, her aim is to focus on the literary patterns of the present shape of the text, i.e., to center upon "literary matters such as the interrelations of certain key themes and motifs, the use of tropes and how they work, the kinds of rhetorical devices and the result they produce; in short, an exploration of the relationship between form and meaning."[12]

Isaiah 28 is to be divided into two sections: (1) the section which begins with Ephraim as the object of judgment (v. 1) and (2) the section in which Jerusalemites are addressed (v. 14). By this division Exum does not mean to imply that v. 1-13 as a whole

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[6]Ibid., 110, 116.
[7]Ibid., 112, 116-17.
[8]Ibid., 117.
[9]Ibid., 115, 117.
[10]Ibid., 112.
[11]Ibid., 117.
[12]Exum, "Isaiah 28-32," 123.

clearly refers to Ephraim. Indeed, the locale for the priest and prophets (v. 7ff.) is by no means clear, and there is reason to suspect that they may be Judahite leaders. But no Judahite reference is made explicit until v. 14. Moreover, Exum sees a rather considerable correspondence between the first oracle (v. 1-4) of Section I (v. 1-13) and the first oracle (v. 14-22) of Section II (v. 14-29): V. 1-4 speaks about the "proud crown of Ephraim," suggesting that rulers are the referent; v. 14ff. also addresses rulers. Hail and destructive waters are the punishment in both 1-4 and 14-22. Furthermore, v. 1-13 concludes with an example of "teaching" which is unsatisfactory from Yahweh's perspective (v. 9), for the people are not willing to "hear" (v. 12). Correspondingly v. 14-29 ends also with a teaching which the people must decide whether they will "hear."[13]

It is impossible in this brief space to summarize adequately the remainder of Exum's analysis, for the details of her treatment of the text are so interwoven that a more compact version of her argument must inevitably distort her presentation through the necessity of selective reporting. Her approach is of sufficient interest for our purposes here that I consider it justifiable to "sin bravely" in order that her *approach* may be presented.

In her discussion of Isaiah 28:1-6 Exum gives considerable attention to the use of metaphor. She turns first to the persons whom the metaphors represent. The first image, that of the "proud crown, drunkards of Ephraim," is somewhat indefinite but suggestive of the leaders of Ephraim. And the image of the "head of the fertile valley" brings Samaria to mind. Yet this proud crown is to be destroyed by someone whose identity is not stated clearly, although Exum believes it to be an image which refers to Assyria. Only the last of the persons is made explicit: *Yahweh* will be a crown, a diadem of beauty, a spirit of justice, and a source of strength. All of these images work together to point to Yahweh and Yahweh alone as true crown: Ephraim's crown is a fading flower and will be trodden under foot; even Assyria is deliberately not mentioned by name in order to emphasize that they are but instruments of the true crown Yahweh, who alone of the three personages is named explicitly in the text.[14]

Exum's analysis of the use of imagery in v. 1-4 continues: In the first two stichoi of v. 1 there is movement from imagery of majesty ("proud crown") to imagery of dying plant life ("fading flower") and then back to imagery of majesty ("its glorious beauty"). According to Exum the "imagery of majesty surrounds the descriptions of the Ephraimites just as a crown surrounds their head; yet the descriptions which are surrounded belie the claim to honor."[15] In v. 1a paronomasia is employed to indicate that Ephraim's glorious beauty (*ṣĕbî*) is a fading flower (*ṣîṣ*), a comparison which suggests that Ephraim's decline is still going on and has not yet reached its end. The image of those who are "smitten with wine" (the drunkards of Ephraim) at once suggests the fertility of the vine and the degeneration of drunkenness, so that "the drunken Ephraimites are the victims of the very thing they pursue."[16] The use of *gēʾût* ("proud") and *gêʾ* ("valley") introduces a contrast between the high and the low and makes us aware of Ephraim's pride as it anticipates the subsequent lowering of the "proud crown."[17]

Yahweh's "strong" and "mighty" instrument (v. 2) is portrayed by the imagery of hail, storm, and powerful water which, unlike a gentle rain, cannot revive a fading flower but will instantly destroy it. And such a storm has the power to "knock a crown from the head to the ground," where it can be trampled under foot.[18]

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[13]Ibid., 124-26.
[14]Ibid., 127-28.
[15]Ibid., 128-29.
[16]Ibid., 129.
[17]Ibid., 129.
[18]Ibid., 129-30.

Finally the fading flower will be devoured like the first fig of early summer—an indication of the suddenness of Ephraim's demise. Yet v. 5f. takes the language of v. 1-4 to construct a "unified poem" which expresses a hope for a new day in which Yahweh himself will become a glorious crown for a *remnant*. This is done by means of a reversal of consonants so that Yahweh becomes a crown for a remnant (*šʾr*) rather than for the head (*rʾš*). Thus "the beginning of the poem presents a picture of all of a proud Ephraim, with Samaria at its head, but, in the end, what will be left is only a remnant."[19] In the new day the drunkenness which was connected with Ephraim's pride will be gone, and justice and military defense can now be established, through *Yahweh's* wearing of the crown.[20]

The remainder of Exum's essay must unfortunately be summarized even more briefly. Exum recognizes clearly the composite character of the chapter, but her aim is to employ methods similar to those described immediately above on v. 1-6 to explicate the text of ch. 28 in its present form.

V. 7-8, 9-13 are clearly connected with v. 1-6 through the theme of drunkenness which both hold in common, even though v. 7a shows that their juxtaposition is the work of a redactor. Indeed, both 1-4 and 7-8 express judgment upon leaders from whom one should be able to expect responsible behavior. There is a catchword connection between v. 4 with its image of the fig which is "seen" and "swallowed up" and v. 7-8 with its description of the priests and prophets who are "swallowed up" by wine and thus err in "seeing."[21]

Despite these connections, v. 7-8, 9-13 move in a direction which differs from v. 1-6 to some extent. The priests and prophets may be from Judah, thus indicating a shift of concern from Ephraim to Judah, a concern which becomes explicit only in v. 14ff. Whether this is the case for v. 7f. is, however, uncertain. V. 9-13 departs from v. 1-6 also by inaugurating the topic of "instruction" (*yrh*), a topic which emerges again in the parable of the farmer (v. 23-29). Moreover, the root *šmʿ* appears in v. 9 for the first time, to appear later in the chapter. V. 9 connects these two terms by raising the question whom Yahweh will "teach" or whether there is anyone whom Yahweh can explain the message (*šĕmûʿah*), for the message is babble. Yet the message will be unintelligible because the people were not willing to "hear" an earlier, more hopeful word (v. 12).[22]

V. 14-22 begins with a summons to "hear" the "word of Yahweh," a command which attempts to move the people in a direction which contrasts sharply with their inability to comprehend the word of Yahweh which comes as a consequence of their unwillingness to "hear" (v. 12-13). Indeed, the theme of "hearing" in v. 14-22 builds upon what has gone before in a significant way: The question, "whom will he cause to understand the message?" (*šĕmûʿah*) in v. 9, is a consequence of the priests' and prophets' being too drunk to receive instruction. But the question in v. 9 suggests at least the possibility that they might hear in the future. The statement, "they were not willing to hear" in v. 12, however, underscores their continued unwillingness to hear. Then the people are commanded to hear (v. 14), yet the message (*šĕmûʿah*) which these disobedient scoffers "hear" is for them a terrible message indeed (v. 19). Only one person "hears," and that is the prophet himself: "A decree of destruction I have heard . . . " (v. 22).[23] The parable of the farmer (v. 23-29) also begins with a call to "hear" (v. 23), a summons which follows immediately upon a word of disaster (v. 13, 22). The parable leaves open

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[19]Ibid., 130-31.
[20]Ibid., 131.
[21]Ibid., 132.
[22]Ibid., 133-36.
[23]Ibid., 137-41.

the possibility that the people might "hear," for nothing is said about either judgment or deliverance.[24]

Even though the intricate argument put forth by Exum could not be fully presented here, it is to be hoped that the way in which she examines theme, rhetorical patterns, and the like is relatively clear to the readers of this essay. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that the differences between her approach and that of Petersen are evident.

C. Let us turn first to a critical analysis of the approach of Petersen. Whether or not Petersen's representation of the growth of Isaiah 28 is accurate is not the most important question for the purposes of this essay; our concern is rather one of *method*. The sophistication of Petersen's way of proceeding can scarcely be doubted, yet his approach has certain limitations which I consider significant: First of all, he fails to deal with the structure, setting, or intention of the completed form of the text. The final redactor formulated the text in a particular historical and social context and for certain purposes. Moreover, we can by no means assume that the structure of the final redaction represents simply the last stage of a rather neutral collection process—a process in which earlier materials were not substantially reshaped. We must instead assume the possibility that the final redactor may have substantially reshaped pre-existing materials. Thus the structure, setting, and intention of the final form of the text must be analyzed before we can proceed to the task of recovering earlier levels of the text's growth.

Second, it is important to determine how successful it is possible to be in reconstructing the process of growth. For example, how can we be certain that the language of Isaiah 28:13b was borrowed from 8:15? Or that 28:1-4 is dependent upon 7:9 and 8:7? Or that 28:22 was taken from 10:23? Why could it not be argued in each of these instances that we have to do with stock imagery treasured in Isaianic circles rather than literary dependence? Furthermore, Petersen admits that precision in setting is difficult to achieve and that, for the moment at least, reconstruction of setting largely eludes us.[25]

To sum up: the limitations on what Petersen is able to demonstrate raise questions, not so much about the sophistication of his work, but about the ability of his method to achieve its goal, namely, a precise and full reconstruction of the growth of the text.

D. Exum's work appears to me to rest on a more secure foundation. This is so because her analysis is rooted in the text which is actually before us and does not depend upon hypothetical and somewhat uncertain reconstructions of the growth of the text. Moreover, Exum's use of literary criticism illuminates meanings in the text quite well and represents an approach which others might profitably emulate. Still, there is reason for criticism: First of all, Exum's approach to the text could profit from incorporating form criticism into her method of analysis. Typicalities of expression normally play a considerable role in the shaping of individual texts. It is rare indeed to find utterances in which conventional patterns of speech are virtually absent. Differences of degree are of course to be found: In some texts typicalities are the primary shaping force; at the opposite extreme are texts in which conventional modes of expression influence the text only marginally. One of the proper tasks of form criticism, especially when combined with a literary analysis of the kind which Exum does, is to determine the interrelationships between typical patterns of expression and the particularities of a text.[26] Exum's

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[24]Ibid., 142-44.

[25]Petersen, "Isaiah 28," 118.

[26]Roy F. Melugin, "The Conventional and the Creative in Isaiah's Judgment Oracles," *CBQ* 36 (1974) 301-11, and "Muilenburg, Form Criticism, and Theological Exegesis," *Encounter with the Text* (ed. M. J. Buss; Philadelphia and Missoula: Fortress and Scholars Press, 1979) 91-100.

relative indifference to form criticism leaves out of consideration an important element in the analysis of a text.

Second, Exum's approach could benefit by a more developed analysis of structure.[27] Admittedly she sees the broad elements of structure in Isaiah 28: two parts (1-13, 14-29), each beginning with an oracle against political leaders (1-4, 14-22). In addition, she demonstrates an awareness of smaller divisions (I:1-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-13; II:14-22, 23-29). Nevertheless, Exum does little in the way of *structural* analysis beyond these generalities, so that one is given little indication as to whether there are any hierarchical relationships among the various parts. If she had carried her structural analysis into a little more detail, it might have looked like the following:

I. The Epraim section 1-13
  A. Oracle against drunken leaders of Ephraim 1-6
    1. Oracle of judgment proper 1-4
    2. Oracle of hope for a remnant 5-6
  B. Oracle against priests and prophets (of Jerusalem as an anticipation of II?) 7-13

II. The Jerusalem section 14-29
  A. Oracle against leaders of Jerusalem 14-22
  B. Parable of the farmer 23-29

This outline emphasizes Ephraim over against Judah, even though Part I includes within it a possible transition from Ephraim to Judah (v. 7-13). The role of the parable of the farmer in such an outline is, however, unclear. Is its connection with the Southern Kingdom important, as the outline seems to imply, or does the outline inadequately reflect the structure of the text?

Another possible structural outline places emphasis on the parable as the climax of the text:

I. Oracles against corrupt leaders 1-22
  A. Oracle against drunken leaders of Ephraim 1-6
    1. Oracle of judgment proper 1-4
    2. Oracle of hope for a remnant 5-6
  B. Oracle against drunken priests and prophets 7-13
  C. Oracle against leaders of Jerusalem 14-22

II. Parable of the farmer 23-29

This understanding of structure distinguishes sharply between the oracles of judgment and the parable, with an understanding of the parable as a poem which provides an opportunity to learn wisdom and avoid disaster. Those who learn and thus save themselves from destruction profit from the oracles of judgment; they see what happens to drunken and unfaithful officials who do not "hear" and receive instruction from Yahweh. The parable, however, goes beyond such negative instruction and leads its hearers toward the positive goal of learning from Yahweh who is wise.

My purpose here is not to defend either of these outlines but rather to argue that a more developed analysis of structure than that of Exum's sharpens our perception of the meaning of the text.

E. We have been able to conclude thus far that Exum's work has the advantage of resting interpretations upon actual texts rather than upon reconstructed histories of redaction. Indeed, an inability to produce convincing historical reconstructions of the

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[27] See Rolf Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," *Interpretation* 27 (1973) 435-70.

redaction of prophetic books, if such difficulties were to prove to be the general rule in redaction studies, would severely restrict our ability to have confidence in the results of such studies. After all, if a knowledge of the contexts in which utterances were used is deemed important for a proper understanding of the meaning of a text, then a general inability to develop persuasive historical reconstructions would be problematic indeed. And that is exactly my impression of the success of a large percentage of redaction studies of prophetic books.

I am of course well aware of the dangers of drawing such far-reaching conclusions without the opportunity to support them by close analysis of texts. Besides, *some* redaction-historical reconstructions are quite convincing. Nevertheless, my own study of prophetic literature has led me to the conviction that redactors have often so successfully erased their footprints that we cannot recover the growth process with precision.

Perhaps we have no alternative, then, but to deal primarily with the text in its completed form. I deliberately use the term "primarily," for it is clear that redaction history can sometimes be performed quite successfully. My conviction remains no less firm, however, that much of the time we have no realistic choice but to focus on the text in its present form.

II.

This essay proposes to examine prophetic books, not simply as the literature of a religious community in antiquity, but also as part of sacred scripture for the present-day community of faith. Obviously these texts can be studied from a different vantage point, but my intent here is to examine questions of exegetical method to the end that interpretation may edify the ongoing religious community which treasures them as scripture.

Ancient texts which once spoke powerfully to communities of faith in the distant past must continue to speak in circumstances rather different from those in which the text once functioned. Thus the primary purpose of interpretation is not historical reconstruction per se. Historical analysis may sometimes be useful, but the ultimate purpose of interpretation is to enable the text to address the religious community here and now. Or to put it in other terms: Representation of a reality in the past cannot be an end in itself. The main task must be to interpret the text in such a way that it may direct or transform the life of the ongoing community of faith.

Given this as our aim, how might interpretation profitably be performed? What methods of analysis might be appropriate for such religious purposes? And more specifically, how might such theological concerns relate to our question of "form" versus "formation" of prophetic books?

Of late one finds more and more a theological argument that it is the completed form of the text which is of primary authority for the community of faith. Why is this necessarily so, if it indeed is the case at all? We shall examine briefly some of the arguments of Paul Ricoeur[28] and Brevard S. Childs,[29] not because they are the only scholars whom we could have chosen, but because their rather different approaches lead them to certain similar conclusions.

A. Ricoeur contends that we must pay serious attention to the fact that the traditions which we regard as sacred scripture have attained that status as *written* texts.[30] The fact that they are written is important for our understanding of their revelatory function. Ricoeur surely does not mean that oral communication is incapable

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[28]Paul Ricoeur, *Essays on Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 73-118.

[29]See the works of Childs cited above.

[30]Ricoeur, *Essays on Biblical Interpretation*, 99.

of functioning in a revelatory manner but rather that written texts differ from oral texts in the *way* in which revelation takes place.

In written communication the text develops a kind of autonomy in which "the *issue* of the text . . . is removed from the finite intentional horizon of the author" and can indeed sometimes "burst the world of the author." Moreover, a written text has the capacity to speak to an audience which is far removed from "the finite horizon of its original audience," so that its meaning is in no sense limited to what might have been understood by its earliest recipients.[31]

This autonomy of a written text from both its author and its original audience has certain hermeneutical implications: (1) The emancipation of the text and its readers from the original setting and intention reduces, if not virtually eliminates, the reconstruction of the growth process as an *essential* task. Tradition history and redaction history might be valuable, I suppose, in providing background information for the interpreter, but it is the text as it now stands which is the fundamental vehicle of revelation for the audience today. (2) For the contemporary interpreter it is the "world of the text" which is of primary importance.[32] The *text* creates a "world" which is its proper referent, not the world of the author or the community for which it was originally designed. The world of the text is a "proposed" world—a world which I can "inhabit" and in which "I can project my inmost possibilities."[33] We must understand that the proposing of a "world" by the text is often no ordinary referential activity consisting of a description which "augments our knowledge of objects" in the ordinary world. Much of the language of the Bible is poetic and functions in a revelatory way by "abolishing" the ordinary referential character of language through the use of metaphor.[34]

A fuller discussion of Ricoeur's understanding of poetic discourse as a fundamental means of revelation goes beyond the purpose of this essay. Sufficient for our purposes here is the recognition that it is the world proposed by the *text* which is of revelatory significance rather than settings in the ordinary world of the author or original audience.

Let us illustrate from Isaiah 8:23aß-9:6: H. Wildberger argues that this passage was originally composed about 732 in connection with the time of the Assyrian annexation of Israelite territory.[35] In the context of this situation of oppression the prophet spoke of a time of deliverance, indicated by the birth of a new "son of David."

There are of course numerous other views about the original setting for this passage, but let us momentarily assume, for the sake of the argument, the correctness of Wildberger's historical reconstruction. The age of deliverance, it would appear, was expected within a foreseeable future, perhaps within Isaiah's own lifetime.

The "world" of the text, however, is by no means so specific. First of all, the *text* does not clearly locate the circumstances of which the poem speaks in a clearly defined period of history. Even though the author of the text may have been thinking of a particular historical situation, the text itself does not specify precisely what it is. While the references to Zebulun, Naphtali, and Galilee (?) *could* reflect the events around 732, the text does not explicitly make such a connection. The *text* proposes a world in which Yahweh's people are no longer under the rule of an oppressor, and this state of deliverance is connected with the birth of a child whose rule upon the throne of David is to be a rule of justice and righteousness. Whatever the author intended or expected in all probability did not come to pass. But the ongoing revelatory significance of the passage in the religious community lies in the vision of the world which the text proposes. And

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[31]Ibid., 99.

[32]Ibid., 100.

[33]Ibid., 102.

[34]Ibid., 100-104.

[35]Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja*, I. Teilband (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972) 368-71.

the vision which the text contains is not explicitly tied to any particular period in history. Thus readers of the text who lived in historical periods later than that of the author could share the vision portrayed in the text, live in hope for the coming of such a world, and commit themselves in faith to the God whose activity underlies and creates the world which the text proposes.

So too Isaiah 8:16-17 proposes a "world" which, functioning as written text in the complete book of Isaiah, is capable of meanings which undoubtedly extend beyond those of the original author. The text says: "Bind up the testimony, seal the teaching among my disciples. I will wait for the LORD, who is hiding his face from the house of Jacob, and I will hope in him" (RSV). Originally this passage probably had its setting in the time of Ahaz and was related to the prophet's controversy with the king in connection with the Syro-Ephraimite War (cf. ch. 7, 8:1-4, etc.). Indeed, Wildberger argues that these words initiated Isaiah's period of withdrawal from public activity between 732 and the death of Ahaz.[36] In all probability Isaiah was thinking of a time in the relatively near future when Yahweh would no longer "hide his face from the house of Israel."

In the context of the completed book of Isaiah, however, the time when Yahweh no longer "hides his face from the house of Israel" is less clear. Is it located in Isaiah's own time after the death of Ahaz? Or in the time of Cyrus, as the full book of Isaiah might suggest? Or in the time of the Maccabees? Or of Jesus of Nazareth? Or of Bar Cochba?

Virtually all these particular interpretations are potential understandings of the passage which are the result of bringing to the text certain assumptions which are not clearly mandated by the text itself. But the indefiniteness and openness of the text contribute to its ability to function in a revelatory way in the various circumstances in which these (and other) interpretations might have emerged. The possibility of such plurality of meanings may be perplexing, but the liveliness of the ongoing religious community has always depended upon the possibility of its scriptures being given fresh interpretations in the various epochs of its life.

B. It is at this point in our discussion that the distinctive emphases of Childs become relevant.[37] Childs, to be sure, betrays some of the same emphases as Ricoeur, e.g., the independence of the text from authorial intention and its significance for the original audience, the primacy of the final, or canonical, form of the text as the basic context for interpretation.

Nevertheless, Childs differs from Ricoeur in a way which is important for our concerns here: For Childs it is not so much the *written* character of the biblical text which determines its function but rather the fact that it is the revelatory literature of an *ongoing religious community*. Admittedly, the fact that it is written enables it to be independent of particular historical and social settings and allows it to take on the capacity to address *every* generation in the community of faith.[38] But Childs's emphasis is on the relationship of the text to the religious community and its ability to shape the life of that community. It is the fact that it is treasured as scripture by an ongoing community of faith which authorizes texts to be divorced from their original setting and intention and makes it possible for them to be open to new interpretations in every generation of the community's life.[39]

C. Nothing which has been said here contradicts the widely-held belief that prophetic books were quite often formed over a considerable span of time. What is equally noteworthy, however, is that the prophetic literature itself rarely focuses upon or

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[36]Ibid., 344.

[37]See especially *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 97-122, 139-47.

[38]It is the ability of the canonical text to address every generation in the community which is of particular importance to Childs. See *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 100.

[39]Childs, *Introduction*, 59, 79.

even alludes to the process of redaction. Therefore, the prophetic books show almost no interest in distinguishing the various layers of material from which they were composed. Indeed, it was characteristic of each successive stage in the process of growth to make use of earlier tradition without attempting to preserve for the reader original settings or intentions. As a prophetic book reached the form in which we now have it, it was understood to be a literary whole which did not have to be separated into its various layers of growth in order to function as sacred text. Thus the preoccupation of historical criticism with reconstructing the growth of biblical books is a focus upon something which was clearly not of primary interest to the historic community of faith in the use of these books as revelatory literature.

A focus on the literary unity of the canonical form of the text, to employ Childs's term, should not be understood as a wholesale rejection of historical method. Neither Ricoeur nor Childs proposes that. Historical method is so much a part of our culture that it is doubtful whether a hermeneutic which denies any significant place for historical study of biblical texts would be compelling. What is being challenged is not the legitimacy of historical reconstruction but rather the view that such historical inquiry should be the *primary* consideration in the exegesis of biblical texts.

There is a critical need, then, for the development of methods of literary analysis which, although they are informed by historical inquiry, concern themselves primarily with the interpretation of biblical books in their completed form. As I shall indicate in Part IV, I believe that there is a legitimate theological basis for historical reconstruction of biblical texts, but that approach must take second place to their interpretation in their completed, canonical shape.

III.

An exegetical method which focuses on prophetic books in their completed form needs to include certain basic elements: (1) a study of the form of the individual text in its completed state, (2) an analysis of the role of typical vs. unique forms of speech in the shaping of individual texts, and (3) the development of methods of analysis which are capable of dealing with the artistic nature of texts. Each of these elements has been shown to be of value in Parts I and II above.

A. A newer type of form criticism developed by Rolf Knierim is in my judgment a fruitful starting point.[40] Knierim departs from the tendency of form criticism to begin with an analysis of typical aspects of a text. He proposes instead to begin his study with an analysis of the *particular* structure of individual texts. He recognizes that texts normally reflect both typical patterns of expression and forms of utterance which are unique to that particular text.[41] Indeed, argues Knierim, a study of the structure of individual texts reveals a large variety of structural principles, some of which are conventional and others of which are unique to the particular text.[42] Sometimes a text is given shape by several different structural principles, in which case the task of the analyst is to try to determine which one is of most importance in the shaping of the text.[43]

Sometimes structural analysis can use primarily the method of rhetorical criticism, for certain texts are given shape primarily by the kind of verbal patterns which are so well explained by that method of analysis. For other texts generic patterns may be the primary elements of structure. For still other texts imagery may be the dominant shaping force. For still others it might be the weekly calendar, as in Genesis 1:1-2:4a, or

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[40]See note 27 above.

[41]Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," 458.

[42]Ibid., 458.

[43]Ibid., 462.

a chronology, or a ritual, to name but a few of a myriad of possibilities.[44] The task of the interpreter is to discover the structural patterns which govern each individual text.

Knierim's understanding of exegesis serves as the underlying model for a multi-volume set called *The Forms of the Old Testament Literature* which will be appearing over the next several years.[45] Each of these volumes will engage in structural analyses of individual texts, followed by generic study, and examination of setting and intention of the various texts. What is of particular importance for our considerations here is that the analysis of structure begins with biblical books in their completed form. Thus one might argue that Knierim's concept of structural analysis provides a method suitable for certain hermeneutical directions articulated by Ricoeur and Childs.

Knierim's approach clearly has the advantage of flexibility in the analysis of structure. No preconceived pattern is mandated; the interpreter is instead supposed to be open to the individuality of each text. Instead of employing a single method, e.g., genre analysis, rhetorical criticism, motif analysis, it is open to whatever methods are appropriate for a given text.[46]

Knierim's emphasis on setting, at least if the term is understood in traditional ways, is of limited value for a hermeneutic in which the canonical text develops autonomy from the setting in which it was created and for which it was designed. Yet if "setting" were to be understood more broadly,[47] it might be of value, e.g., the setting of a text within a biblical book, or the setting of a text in the context of the entire canon of scripture, or the setting of a text within the context of the religious community's scripture and tradition, perhaps even the setting of a text within the context of the present-day guidance of the Spirit (an admittedly difficult matter to evaluate!). Knierim's approach could deal with only the first of these, namely, the setting of a text within a larger literary unit, such as a biblical book, but that alone is of incalculable value.

Knierim, as far as I know from personal acquaintance, places no particular emphasis on artistic or aesthetic considerations. The methodological openness of his approach to structural analysis, however, necessitates a willingness to engage in that kind of inquiry when one is dealing with artistically-formulated texts. And indeed many prophetic texts are so formed.

Knierim's understanding of structural analysis, then, is especially well suited to an examination of texts in their present form. What follows below is an attempt to apply his approach to a small segment of text.

B. We shall attempt to illustrate this approach by an analysis of Amos 5:1-9 as a passage within the present Book of Amos. First of all, it is necessary to examine the structure of the Book of Amos as a whole:

I. Superscription and motto 1:1-2

II. Body of the book 1:3-9:6
- A. Judgment against the nations and against Israel 1:3-4:13
  - 1. Judgment against various nations 1:3-2:16
  - 2. Judgment against Israel 3:1-4:12
  - 3. Doxology 4:13

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[44]Ibid., 460-61.

[45]This series of volumes, edited by Rolf Knierim and Gene M. Tucker and published by Eerdmans, is a group effort under the sponsorship of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate School.

[46]Knierim emphasizes the flexible, non-ideological character of his approach. See p. 459.

[47]Knierim is indeed aware that the term "setting" can be used in a broader sense. See pp. 464-65.

B. Funeral lamentation and judgment concerning Israel's death 5:1-9:6
1. Funeral lamentation and message of judgment 5:1-6:14
2. Vision reports concerning the end of Israel 7:1-9:4
3. Doxology 9:5-6

III. Postscript: from judgment to deliverance 9:7-15

A smaller unit within which Amos 5:1-9 belongs is 5:1-6:14 (see II.B.1 on the outline above):

I. Funeral lamentation and prophecy of death vs. exhortation to live 5:1-17
A. Funeral lamentation and paraenesis concerning life 5:1-9
B. Prophecy of disaster and death plus paraenesis concerning life 5:10-17

II. *hôy*-sayings plus *śānētî*-sayings 5:18-6:14
A. First *hôy* + *śānētî* cluster 5:18-27
B. Second *hôy* + *śānētî* cluster 6:1-14

Part I consists of a variety of types of speech framed by a funeral lamentation at the beginning (v. 1-2) and an announcement of judgment in which a situation of death and mourning is prophesied (v. 16-17).[48] Both subsections of Part I (v. 1-9, 10-17) contain exhortations concerning life (v. 4-7, 14-15) which follow announcements of judgment (v. 3, 11). The two subsections are separated by a doxology (v. 8, 9). Part II consists of two subsections (A: 5:18-27; B: 6:1-14), each of which is introduced by a *hôy*-saying (5:18-20; 6:1-7) and followed by units which begin with Yahweh saying "I hate . . ." (5:21-27; 6:8-14).

A structural outline of 5:1-9 might look like the following:

I. Funeral lamentation and substantiation 5:1-3
A. Call to hear a funeral lamentation 5:1
B. Funeral lamentation proper 5:2
C. Substantiation: Yahweh word (announcement of judgment) 5:3
1. *kî* + messenger formula 5:3aα
2. Announcement of judgment proper 5:3aβb

II. Paraenesis 5:4-7
A. First paraenesis (Yahweh word) 5:4-5
1. *kî* + messenger formula 5:4a
2. Paraenesis proper 5:4b-5
a. Exhortation 5:4b
b. Admonition + substantiation 5:5
1) Admonition 5:5a
2) Substantiation (announcement of judgment 5:5b

[48] H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. by W. Janzen, S. D. McBride, and C. A. Muenchow; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 231, 233, 235-37, 249; J. L. Mays, *Amos* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969) 84-85, 98.

B. Second paraenesis (human word) 5:6-7
1. Exhortation 5:6a
2. Warning 5:6b-7
a. Warning proper 5:6b
b. Appositional expansion 5:7

III. Doxology 5:8-9
A. Section 1 ..... 5:8
B. Section 2 ..... 5:9

1. Amos 5:1-9 is structured largely along generic lines. It is composed of (I) a funeral lamentation (v. 1-3), (II) a paraenetical section (v. 4-7), and (III) a doxology (v. 8-9). Part I centers around the funeral lamentation (v. 2), but it is introduced by the call to hear (v. 1) and substantiated by a Yahweh-word (v. 3).

Part II (v. 4-7) is composed of two separate parts (v. 4-5, 6-7). The first part (v. 4-5) has a structure of its own: First of all, it is a Yahweh-word. Second, the exhortation and admonition are designed in such a way that they present conflicting behavioral alternatives: "Seek Yahweh . . . do not seek Bethel." Even the substantiation for the admonition expresses the conflicting possibilities: "live" (exhortation) vs. "for Gilgal will certainly go into exile" (substantiation for admonition).

V. 6 betrays a structure which differs from v. 4-5 to some degree. First of all, it is a human word rather than a word from Yahweh. Furthermore, we have before us an exhortation followed by warning, as opposed to exhortation plus admonition. In v. 6 alternative modes of behavior are not set in contrast as in v. 4-5; the emphasis is on the exhortation, with the warning serving simply motivating the heeding of the exhortation.

V. 6 is capable of being understood without v. 7, but in the present form of the text v. 7 can only be a continuation of v. 6 as an apposition, probably to *lĕbêtʾēl*.

V. 8f. is a doxology used to close a subsection of a prophetic book.[49] V. 8 represents the typical pattern of participles followed by finite verbs depicting Yahweh's acts in creation, followed by the formula *yhwh . . . šĕmô*.[50] V. 9, though it continues the participial style of v. 8, lacks the formula *yhwh . . . šĕmô* (cf. 4:13; 9:5-6), with the result that v. 9 looks very much like a later addition to v. 8. Nevertheless, v. 8 and v. 9 belong together in the present form of the text.

2. Word repetition and stylistic similarities contribute significantly to the structure of the text. "Seek me/Yahweh and live" (v. 4, 6) is perhaps the most prominent means of association. But we also find a repetition of *kî* plus messenger formula (v. 3, 4) and *lĕbêt yiśrāʾēl* (3b, 4a). The similarity between *ʾên mĕqîmah* (2b) and *ʾên mĕkabbeh* is also important in the structure of the text. The use of participial style in both v. 7 and v. 8f. is also to be taken into consideration.

3. The various structural components which we have discussed work together to develop an artistic unity. It is by no means accidental that the unit begins with a call to hear a *qinah* followed by the funeral lamentation itself. The theme of v. 1-17 is death, as v. 1-2 and v. 16-17 indicate. Thus everything in v. 1-9 is related to the theme of death.

The portrayal of Israel as a dead virgin accomplishes at least two purposes: First, the end of Israel is envisaged. The calamity is so far-reaching that "no one can raise her up." She is not merely wounded and capable of being cared for and revived. Second, the metaphor of Israel as a virgin who has died undoubtedly emphasizes the untimely nature of Israel's end. As Jephthah's daughter bewails having to die a virgin because she had not

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[49] Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 215-18; J. L. Crenshaw, "The Influence of the Wise upon Amos: The 'Doxologies of Amos' and Job 5:9-16; 9:5-10," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 45-52; F. Crüseman, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* (WMANT 32; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969) 97-106.

[50] Crüseman, *Studien*, 95-97, 99-101, 103-4, 106-14.

known a man and thus failed to fulfill the purpose of her womanhood, so too Israel comes to a premature end without achieving her potential.[51]

It is by no means an accident that a Yahweh-word (v. 3) substantiates the funeral lamentation. Indeed, the funeral lamentation takes on credibility because Yahweh has revealed to the prophet what is going to take place. The imagery shifts from a lamentation sung over a dead virgin to the defeat of Israel's armies. Both images are consistent in their portrayal of the end of Israel: death of a virgin (v. 2) and a crushing military defeat in which virtually all the soldiers (nine out of ten) are killed in battle (v. 3).

Suddenly the text shifts from funeral lamentation and its substantiation to the exhortation to seek Yahweh and live (v. 4-7). The juxtaposition of v. 4-7 with v. 1-3 is manifestly intentional; both employ *kî* + messenger formula and are connected by a repetition of *lĕbêt yiśrāʾēl*. Moreover, juxtaposition of a pericope proclaiming death with exhortation offering life is scarcely happenstance.

Why the juxtaposition? An alternative to death seems to be envisaged: one may live rather than die by seeking Yahweh. At the same time, "seek me and live" contrasts sharply with its counterpart, "do not seek Bethel." Why not? Because "Gilgal shall indeed go into exile and Bethel will become nought."

The juxtapositioning of v. 1-3 and v. 4-5 places side-by-side two separate ironies and, in so doing, creates a richer portrayal of Yahweh's activity and his people's response. It is first of all a cruel and unexpected irony for one to die a virgin. In the second place, it is ironic that making pilgrimage to the most-revered sanctuaries will not bring life. Yahweh's behavior is totally unexpected: He brings his virgin people to an end; no one can raise them up. And he cannot be sought in his sanctuaries; those centers which by all rights are sources of life will only bring their worshippers to calamity. Yahweh and life must be sought utterly apart from them.

Although v. 1-3 and v. 4-5 share the expectation of disaster, the imperatives "seek" and "live" suggest a possibility that the prophet's hearers might behave in such a way that they could truly live rather than die. The paraenesis in v. 6 reinforces and extends this hope; the warning ("lest . . .") appears to be directed toward averting death and disaster.

Seeking Yahweh and attaining life through him in no way staves off calamity for Israel. The death of the virgin appears to be certain and final, and the imminent destruction upon the sanctuaries seems to be inevitable (v. 5). Only v. 6 suggests the possibility that the community as a whole might avert disaster, and even then only Bethel rather than Israel as a whole.

As we argued above, v. 7 is attached to v. 6 as an apposition to explain the character either of the inhabitants of Bethel or of the addressees of the imperatives, "seek Yahweh and live."[52] What is the significance of v. 7 in its context? V. 7 can best be understood in exploring its relationship with the first section of the doxology (v. 8). Both begin with participles which have no expressed subject and are extended by finite verbs. Both v. 7 and v. 8 employ the participle *hōpēk*, once in the singular (v. 8) and once in the plural, in order to indicate the activity of turning something into its opposite: In v. 7 the subjects of the participle "turn justice to wormwood," while in v. 8 the subject of the participle "turns deep darkness into morning." The role of v. 7 in v. 1-9 is at least twofold: (1) It contrasts the illegitimate activity of turning things into their opposite by Amos' hearers (v. 7) with the quite appropriate action of Yahweh of changing something into its opposite (v. 8). (2) V. 7 serves as an unexpected climax to v. 1-6. Throughout the proclamation of death for Israel and the exhortation to seek Yahweh there is not one

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[51] See Judg 11:29-40.

[52] It is customary to rearrange the text by placing *hôy* at the beginning of v. 7 and attaching v. 7 to v. 10-11. Our concern for the present form of the text rules out such an approach.

word indicating any misdeeds on Israel's part. To be sure, v. 1-3 lead the reader to suspect that Yahweh is unhappy with Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba. But the two exhortations, "seek . . . live," lead the reader to focus on a redemptive possibility, at least for persons who seek Yahweh, until v. 7 at the very end of the paraenetical section centers upon unjust and righteous persons. It is the very persons who are exhorted to "seek Yahweh and live" that are at the same time designated as perverters of justice and righteousness.

The doxology (v. 8-9), as we saw, is connected with the preceding context by its stylistic similarity with v. 7 and the contrast between Yahweh and the prophet's hearers in their "turning" something into its opposite. But there is more to be said: The doxology, especially v. 8, sets the deeds of Yahweh indicated in v. 1-7 into the context of his activity as creator. His sovereign power, expressed earlier by "no one to raise her up" (v. 2) and "no one to quench" (v. 6), is now clearly understood from the vantage point of his role as creator.[53] Little wonder that he, the creator God, cannot be sought in even the most important of sanctuaries!

The ironic reversal of expectation is continued and consolidated in the doxology. Not only does the virgin die unfulfilled or the sanctuary fail to bring life, but the strong suffers destruction and the fortress experiences calamity.

4. To sum up: (1) We have tried to show that structure of Amos 5:1-9 is determined to a large extent by genre: v. 1-3 focus primarily on the funeral lamentation, v. 4-7 on the exhortation, and v. 8-9 on the hymn-type which we call "doxology." Yet we also attempted to demonstrate the creative mixing and interpenetration of various kinds of generic language to serve the artistic purposes of the final shaper of the text. (2) We have endeavored to indicate, after the fashion of rhetorical criticism, how verbal repetition has contributed to the structure of the text. (3) We have also tried to show how other phenomena in the text contribute to its artistic unity: the use of irony, the stylistic similarities shared by v. 7 and v. 8, the surprising climax of v. 1-6 in v. 7, and the significance of the portrayal of Israel as a deceased virgin.

Our analysis has focused consistently on the structure of the text in its completed form. Without question v. 1-9 underwent a history of growth: (a) The repetition of *kî* + messenger formula and *lĕbêt yiśrāʾēl* in both v. 1-3 and v. 4-5 suggests that they may have been juxtaposed and handed down together as a unit. (b) V. 6, although superficially similar to v. 4-5, differs from the preceding exhortation by centering its attention exclusively on Bethel, by expressing its message in prose rather than poetry, and by representing its message as of human rather than divine origin, as if a later redactional source who dared not speak with the direct authority of Yahweh composed v. 6 to focus the attention of the reader on Bethel.[54] (c) V. 7 appears to be an appositional expansion upon v. 6, designed to connect v. 6 with the doxology. It is quite possible, then, that the doxologies in v. 8 and v. 7 were added to v. 1-6 at the same time. (d) V. 9 appears to be a later addition to the doxology. Despite this history of development, our aim in the analysis of Amos 5:1-9, in keeping with what we said in Parts I and II of this essay, has been to present a method of exegesis which is geared to the text in its present form.

IV.

The understanding of the revelatory function of the text as described in Part II might be construed to indicate that the history of the formation of the text is judged to have little *theological* value for exegesis and that we should focus almost exclusively on

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[53]For the role of creation theology in this type of hymn, see Crüseman, *Studien*, 104, 108, 112, 114ff.

[54]Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 111-12, 232.

the text as we now have it. Such a position appears to be compatible with the view of Childs. Indeed, as a general hermeneutical principle, I also find that this approach has much to commend it. But there is danger if it is carried to the extreme.

First of all, it is quite difficult to know precisely what is meant by phrases such as "the final form of the text" or "the completed form of the text" or "the canonical form of the text." Such terminology might be understood to refer to MT, or perhaps even *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Or does it mean "the original form of the completed canonical book," whatever such a statement might possibly mean? If we are thinking of MT, then we must deal with the fact that MT has by no means been the only form of the text recognized as canonical. If we intend to refer to an *Urtext* which we consider to be the earliest *canonical* text, we run up against two major difficulties: (1) the immense difficulties in reconstructing the earliest history of textual transmission and (2) the problem of determining at what point in the stage of development a text could be called "canonical," not to mention the difficulty in defining the criteria by which such a judgment could be made.[55]

The point is that a given text which a certain interpreter considers canonical has a history in the particular community in which it was used as canonical text. Its status as canonical in that community means simply that it is understood *in its present form to have* canonical authority; such a status does not necessarily indicate that it is the most original or that it is superior in some other way. It simply means that *this* community has received the text in a certain form, after a long history which involved change and development.

The recognition that canonical texts evolve in the history of the communities which treasure them is a significant discovery which has certain similarities with the growth and development of biblical books. Certain prophetic traditions, which originally were understood to have a particular meaning, were accorded new significance in a later period of the community's life. And the growth of prophetic books is often intertwined with the reinterpretation of earlier prophetic traditions. What is important to recognize is that earlier traditions help to lead the community through its ongoing experiences in history; these earlier traditions are indeed important in shaping the path which the group follows. In addition, the community's new experiences in history occasion not only reinterpretation of the earlier traditions but also the creation of new material, which together with the earlier traditions give the community fresh and continuing guidance in its pilgrimage through history.[56]

In order to gain a better theological understanding of a text which displays a developed, canonical form, we can profit from understanding how it developed through its history. That is, a text's meaning at a late stage of formation can be more clearly understood if we can reconstruct the way in which its development led the community of faith through various stages of its experience with God. That is one reason why redaction history can aid in our understanding of the theological significance of a text in canonical form. Moreover, the scriptures bear witness to an ongoing, developing relationship between God and people throughout history. The more we can understand that, the better we can understand our own relationship with God in our particular place in history.

Still, we must take seriously the fact that *our* place in the history of the community of faith is a position *after* the traditions have attained a relatively fixed and canonical shape. *Our* theological understanding has been irreversibly shaped by the traditions in

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[55]Childs, *Introduction*, 91-92, 96-99.

[56]Much of what is said here I have learned from W. Zimmerli, but I am extending his insights beyond the restricted area of promise and fulfillment. Zimmerli, "Promise and Fulfillment," *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics* (ed. Claus Westermann, with English translation edited by J. L. Mays; Richmond: John Knox, 1960) 89-122.

canonical form. While redaction history, tradition history, and the like can be of immense value, *our* revelatory tradition is given to us in developed and canonical form—a shape which we sometimes call the "completed" or even "final" form of the text. I therefore persist in the opinion that the primary context for exegesis in the community of faith should be texts in canonical form with secondary emphasis given to a theologically-oriented study of the history of growth and transmission of the biblical traditions.

Who Is "the Reader" of Mark's Gospel?

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After perusing a considerable collection of reader-response criticism during the last year,[1] I am a little surprised at this point to realize that the deceptively simple question posed above is seldom asked and answered in a sufficiently thorough and probing way. This is especially surprising since reader-response critics do frequently pose the question "Who is 'the reader'?" and then proceed to offer an answer. "The reader" is variously labelled the ideal reader, the informed reader, the implied reader, the narratee, the authorial reader, the hypothetical reader, the optimal reader, the intended reader, the competent reader, the super-reader, the composite reader, the average reader, the encoded reader, the actual reader, the flesh-and-blood reader, and so on. Of course, each individual critic will try to specify carefully how he understands his particular version of "the reader." Nevertheless, while reading the work of such a critic, one will often begin to sense persistent, latent equivocations surrounding his version of "the

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[1]During the 1982-83 year I was fortunate enough to have a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which allowed me to pursue research on "Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark." The fruits of this work will be published in the new Crossroad Bible series, by Crossroad Press. I am grateful to Professor Robert Polzin, editor of the series, for permission to share my work-in-progress with my colleagues in the SBL.

Very simply, reader-response critics are trying to rectify a longstanding neglect of the reader and the reading experience in modern literary criticism. As opposed to other critical approaches to literature, reader-response criticism focuses not on the author of the text, not on the real or imaginary world which the text supposedly represents, nor even on the text itself, but on the reading of the text: the reading experience.

The variety of reader-oriented criticism is staggering. Reliable guides may be found, however, in two helpful anthologies: Jane P. Tompkins, ed., *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); and Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, eds., *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). Among the essays included in these two volumes are essays written by such well known reader-response critics as Wolfgang Iser, Stanley Fish, Norman Holland, and David Bleich. Both volumes contain extensive bibliographies.

One reader-response critic who has done a superb job of summarizing and assessing the field in all its breadth is Steven Mailloux. See Steven Mailloux, "Reader-Response Criticism?," *Genre* 10 (1977) 413-431; Idem, "Learning to Read: Interpretation and Reader-Response Criticism," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 12 (1979) 93-108; Idem, *Interpretive Conventions: The Reader in the Study of American Fiction* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 19-65.

reader." In this paper I want to try to bring to light some of these latent equivocations in reader-response criticism. I would also like to describe briefly what I see as the heart of the experience of being "the reader" of Mark's Gospel.

THE READER AND THE CRITIC

To begin, we need first to make a major distinction between the reader and the critic. Often a literary critic (or a biblical critic) will talk about being a reader of a text as if the critic were simply a serious minded person with sufficient language skill and personal interest to tackle the job of making sense of a text. The critic may be that, but he or she is clearly more than that, for being a critic means being part of a guild, or an "interpretive community," as Stanley Fish likes to say.[2] Such a guild has a history, it has a language, and it has rules and rituals for entrance into its ranks, and for subsequent advancement, demotion, or excommunication. Therefore, even though a critic may speak in disarmingly simple terms about reading a text, in so speaking he or she speaks to be heard chiefly by fellow critics, and thus the entire critical tradition of that particular interpretive community is evoked implicitly. When critics speak about reading, they usually mean reading critically, as their guild defines criticism. In general, reader-response criticism, with its emphasis on the reader and the reading experience, does tend to grant value to *all* reader-response *criticism*, and that is where the equivocation begins to creep in. Reader-response critics tend, more than their literary critical comrades do, to value all reading, but insofar as they are critics working within the guild, the implicit critical presuppositions of the guild guide their work. The difference, if any, between being a critic and being a reader needs to be spelled out carefully.

One attempt to do just this is an article by George Steiner, entitled "'Critic'/'Reader.'"[3] This is a rich and subtle essay, the intention of which is to pose a fictional, heuristic antithesis of critic versus reader. He is careful to note at the beginning and end of his essay that this polarity is indeed fictional; "in the ordinary run of things, 'criticism' and 'reading' interpenetrate and overlap."[4] Yet to understand the overlap we need to understand the nature of the opposing poles, even if they never exist in a pure state.

The critic, Steiner says, must have distance from the text and the good critic makes this critical distance and the angle of his perception open to public scrutiny.

> The motion of criticism is one of "stepping back from" in exactly the sense in which one steps back from a painting on a wall in order to perceive it better. But the good critic makes this motion conscious to himself and to his public. He details his recessional steps so as to make the resultant distance, the elucidative measure, the prescriptive perspective—distance entails "angle" of vision—explicit, responsible, and, therefore open to argument (423).

The critic steps back from the text to judge, evaluate, and rank. This distancing can never produce an "objective criticism," which is a "phantasm" anyway, since criticism is always "partial," i.e., both incomplete and biased (425, 430, 428). Criticism does "objectify," however; i.e., it "reifies" the text as an object "out there" for scrutiny and evaluation (430, 435).

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[2]Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1980), passim.

[3]George Steiner, "'Critic'/'Reader'," *New Literary History* 10 (1979) 423-452.

[4]Ibid., p. 451. All subsequent page references to Steiner's essay will be included in the main text.

Moreover, "the critic prescribes a syllabus" (445), meaning that one of the critic's tasks is to tell us what is and is not worth reading.

> The apologia for a syllabus is one of purgation: vital space is cleansed and conserved for the "enduring," for the "authentic," for the "classical." Dead or noxious matter is set aside. Too many canvases, canvases hung too close, inhibit ordering sight. A museum is an ocular syllabus; hence its crowded basements or rummage rooms. The critic selects and "prices" so as to narrow our options towards excellence, so as to minimize wast motion (430).
> The honest realist-critic, . . . operates by virtue of immanent and secular presuppositions. It is these which give him the authority to judge, to consign "inferior" works to nonremembrance (criticism is one of the means of forgetting) (445).

The critic is in competition with the object of criticism. "All criticism is, ontologically, parasitic" (436). It is "adversative to," or stands "against" its object (436). "Criticism harbors inside itself strong solicitations to autonomy"; "it exhibits a precise drive towards usurpation" (436-7). "The critical act is a function of the ego in a condition of will. The critic wills his praxis" (449). As a result, the critic wants "to read *for* us" (448). "Finally, irremediably, the critic is judge and master of the text" (449).

The reader, on the other hand, seeks to reduce the distance between himself and the text, to eliminate the distance if possible, even to merge his being with that of the text.

> The critic keeps his distance. This retention is the condition of his ordering, magisterial focus. The reader attempts to negate the space between the text and himself. He would be penetrated by, immersed in its presentness. The reader strives for fusion with the text via internalization. . . . It is of the essence of the reader's attempt to abolish or sublate that very distance which the critic stakes out . . . [and] to enter into the text and to be entered into by the text. . . . (443)

Unlike the critic, the reader finds the text "irreducible to analytic summation and resistant to judgment: (440). For the reader the text is not an object, not "a thing out there," but, variously, a locus of "inspiration" or "revelation," an "icon," a "real presence" (440-1). The reader is therefore read by the text as much as he reads it.

> The ascription . . . of "real presence" to the text, means that the reader's engagement with the text is not "objectifying," that it cannot be a relationship of reification, of competition, and, by logical extension, of supersedure. The reader opens himself to the autonomous being of the text (441).

The reader experiences:

> . . . a paradox of "dynamic passivity," from the suspension of self which we experience when we pay utter attention to something, when we make acceptance and apprehension strenuous. This condition can produce a tensed openness which allows, which invites the text "to read us" as much as we read it (446).

Opposed to the immanence and secularity of criticism, reading is an experience of the ecstatic or transcendent (426). The reader assumes "that the warranty of meaning, that which finally underwrites the capacity of language to have sense and force beyond sense, is of a theological order" (445).

Whereas "the critic prescribes a syllabus," "the reader is answerable to and internalizes a canon" (445). "A syllabus is taught; a canon is lived" (447). If the syllabus of the critic is a product of rational, critical judgment, the reader's experience of a canon is often that it chooses him.

> A canon is the individually internalized cluster or crystallization of remembered, exegetically reenacted texts or text fragments which result from (very often) unsought, unwilled encounter with and answerability to the "real presence." The authentic canon is not, or is not in the first place, the product of reasoned intention. . . . The canonic text enters into the reader, it takes its place within him by a process of penetration, of luminous insinuation whose occasion may have been entirely mundane and accidental—decisive encounters so often are—but not, or not primarily, willed. . . . The occurrence is banal to anyone whose mind and body—both are involved—have been seized upon by a melody, by a tune, by a verbal cadence which he did not choose by act of will, which has entered into him unawares. . . . As Sartre recollects in *Les Mots*, the young person is "read by," is woken and construed to identity by blood-and-thunder, by near-Valentines, or the memorable purple of travel and romance (446-7).

Criticism lends itself to discourse; reading does not easily give itself to words.

> The critic must declare; this is his public and legislative ordination. The reader will often hold his illumination mute. . . . It is easy to say something about criticism worth looking at and/or disagreeing with. It is difficult to say anything useful about "reading" in the sense in which this paper seeks to articulate the term. Criticism is discursive and breeds discourse. "Reading" yields no primary impulse towards self-communication. The "reader" who discourses is, in a certain manner, in breach of privilege. . . . Reading is done rather than spoken about. . . . (448,439)[5]

Ultimately, whereas the critic is "judge and master" of the text, "the reader is servant to the text" (449):

> The genuine teacher, textual editor, scribe are called to a clerisy of service. The text finds out its condign reader. . . . The reader is "in service" to the text. . . . Every true reader must become . . . a shepherd to the being of the text. . . . (449-50)

Again, Steiner concludes his essay by admitting that criticism and reading "interpenetrate and overlap." But his exercise in dichotomy is called for, he feels, in view of the disarray in criticism today promoted by a confusion between criticism and reading, and the wholesale neglect of the latter. Indeed, in a sharply worded broadside against a "ludicrous" "hypertrophy" of criticism today, Steiner argues that criticism, by nature parasitic, now bids to consume its host altogether:

> In a mode of narcissist terrorism, criticism now proposes to "deconstruct" and to "disseminate" the text, to make of the text the labile, ultimately

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[5]There are many versions of the anecdote about a "reader," who, when asked to tell what a story is about, just tells the story, in its entirety. Steiner refers to one version of this anecdote, involving the musician Schumann: "When Schumann . . . offered an explicative critique of a composition by replaying it *in toto* he was, I think, exemplifying the cardinal distinction between 'critic' and 'reader'" (p. 434).

> contingent source of its own prepotent display. Such display is sustained by the construction of metalanguages of autistic violence and obscurity. The resultant terror and mist envelop the text object to the point of deliberate effacement. The act of criticism has "ingested" (Ben Jonson's term for parasitic consumption) and now stands autonomous (437).

Steiner's final plea is for less criticism and more reading, especially in our academic institutions.

> What we need (I have argued this elsewhere) are not "programs in the humanities," "schools of creative writing," "programs in creative criticism," (*mirabile dictu,* these exist). What we need are places, i.e., a table with some chairs around it, in which we can learn again how to read, how to read together. . . . If language, under the pressure of the wonder (the "surplus value") of multiple meaning, if the music of thought are to endure, it is not more "critics" we require but more and better "readers" (452).

A large part of the equivocation in reader-response criticism regarding "the reader" can be explained by reference to Steiner's critic/reader antithesis. To be sure, there are still other sources of equivocation regarding the reader," about which I will say more later. For now it is helpful to recognize that reader-response critics can be positioned somewhere along a continuum running from the pure (but probably non-existent) "critic" to the pure (but probably non-existent) "reader."[6]

Toward one end of the spectrum we have some reader-response critics very much upholding the literary critical tradition, although in an oblique way, since they are trying to shift the critical focus to something largely ignored by recent generations of critics: the reader and the reading experience. Their affirmation of the critical tradition is particularly noticeable when one common strategy is adopted. Often a reader-response critic will attempt to elucidate the history of the criticism of a particular text by trying to find what there is in the reading experience that has given rise to convergent or (more often) divergent critical assessments of the text. In other words, he or she will presume to use the text to explain the history of its reading. The goal here is to explicate, as much as possible, not the text per se, but all previous readings of the text, thereby

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[6]The discussion that follows has many affinities with the schema of reader-response criticism worked out by Steven Mailloux, *Interpretive Conventions,* p. 22. At one end of the spectrum he sees a subjective, psychological model of reading, and at the other a structuralist, social model. In the middle he places phenomenological, intersubjective approaches. Placed vertically, instead of horizontally, his chart would look something like this:

I. Subjectivism: A Psychological Model of Reading
  A. David Bleich's subjective criticism: primacy of subjectivity
  B. Norman Holland's transactive criticism: transaction between reader and text within reader's identity theme
II. Phenomenology: An Intersubjective Model of Reading
  A. Wolfgang Iser's phenomenological criticism: interaction between reader and text
  B. Stanley Fish's affective stylistics: text's manipulation of reader
III. Structuralism: A Social Model of Reading
  A. Jonathan Culler's structuralist poetics: reading conventions
  B. Stanley Fish's theory of interpretive strategies: authority of interpretive communities

comprehending, encompassing, and rising above a host of critical colleagues. As a critical strategy this is a powerful move, because it puts the critic in a position of not only standing over against the text, but also standing over against one's critical peers, in a most decisive manner. Steiner does not make much of the point, but a critic is "judge and master" not only of the text, but of his or her peers as well.

We could call this end of the continuum, after Steiner, the "objectifying" pole. What is objectified by the reader-oriented critic, however, is not the traditional text object, but the experience of reading within a tradition of criticism. With a little reflection it can be seen that this pole could also be called the "sociological" or "ideological" pole. For we "objectify" our reading experience according to the critical presuppositions (or ideology) we share with our fellows in the guild.[7]

The other pole is the pole of "subjectifying": this pole is "individual" and "psychological." Here a reader-response critic will be less concerned to contribute to a critical tradition, and more concerned to contribute to a person (not a "critic") finding him/herself to be the subject of his or her reading experience.[8] We frequently find here an unashamed acceptance of the non-expert reader;, and a challenge to the implicit authoritarianism of the critical community. Such "subjective" or "psychological" critics as David Bleich and Norman Holland,[9] for example, eagerly welcome their students as fellow readers with full reading privileges, a democritization of the classroom that their

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[7]All "reality," all "objectifying," in fact, is a "social construction." See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Anchor Books (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966). Actually, Berger and Luckmann should be consulted for a careful, sophisticated discussion, not just of the objectivity of socially constructed reality, but of the ongoing dialectic between objectivity and subjectivity—a person simultaneously contributes to the shaping of his social world, out of his subjectivity (externalization), while being shaped by that social world (internalization), which is itself always an independent and objectively existing reality.

> "At the moment, it is important to emphasize that the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one. That is, man (not, of course, in isolation but in his collectivities) and his social world interact with each other. The product acts back upon the producer. Externalization and objectivation are moments in a continuing dialectical process. The third moment in this process, which is internalization (by which the objectivated social world is retrojected into consciousness in the course of socialization), will occupy us in considerable detail later on. It is already possible, however, to see the fundamental relationship of these three dialectical moments in social reality. Each of them corresponds to an essential characterization of the social world. *Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product.* It may also already be evident [that] an analysis of the social world that leaves out any one of these three moments will be distortive" (Ibid., p. 61).

[8]Marcel Proust, in *Remembrance of Things Past:* "In reality every reader is, while he is reading, the reader of his own self" (quoted by Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin, foreword by Jonathan Culler [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980], p. 261).

[9]See David Bleich, *Readings and Feelings: An Introduction to Subjective Criticism* (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1975); Idem, *Subjective Criticism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978; Norman N. Holland, *5 Readers Reading* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); Idem, *Laughing: A Psychology of Humor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982).

colleagues in the guild may look upon as foolish or even heretical. Most empirical study of reading (the psychology of perception, developmental psychology, etc.) also tends to slide to this end of the continuum.[10]

Thus does Steiner give us one valuable measuring stick for sizing up "the reader." Applying this measuring stick, when reader-response critics talk about "the reader," some are thinking primarily of Steiner's "critic," others are thinking primarily of Steiner's "reader," while most are probably somewhere in between. For me, and for most biblical scholars, I imagine, Steiner's antithesis is all too familiar. For us Steiner's essay may even represent a pointed statement of knowledge we would just as soon repress, for most of us were readers of the Bible before we were critics of it, and we now struggle, in most cases, to reconcile the rational insights of criticism with the ecstasy of reading. Moreover, it would not be difficult to re-write Steiner's essay using the Bible as the paradigm in Western culture of a text that receives both the devotion of readers and the scrutiny of critics. And our experience with the Bible confirms Steiner's claim that reading is logically prior to criticism. Whether seen historically or ontogenetically, reading the Bible (or being read by it) precedes biblical criticism; the Bible was and is canon, in Steiner's sense, long before the critic places it on the syllabus.

With a passion that I would suppose is missing in most other kinds of literature courses, a battle between critic and reader is fought in almost every college classroom where the Bible is read critically. In the first class meeting of an introductory course, the English professor is unlikely to be presented with a hardcore element of Shakespeare devotees, in the manner in which his biblical scholar colleague is liable to be faced with at least a few students who can cite chapter and verse of holy scripture. It is at once exhilarating and painful to have to fight such battles, but it confirms for me that at least the literature I study as a critic continues to matter to readers. If it should not matter to readers, why should it matter at all to critics?

I will quickly abandon my battle imagery above, if it leads us to think that one side is destined to victory. The struggle is indeed passionate and painful, but in those circumstances where one side seems for the moment actually to vanquish the other, the results are tragic. It sounds trite, but I find that a balance of readerly passion and critical distance is desirable. An imbalance on either side is unhealthy, and can be pathological. Steiner ably rebukes a current hypertrophy of criticism, and biblical critics do well to take his remarks to heart. But biblical critics also have a story to tell, and our story includes many incidents of biblical criticism opposed and hounded mercilessly by zealous readers. I would not tar all readers of the Bible with the same brush, but the fact remains that just as there can be a pathology, a hypertrophy, of criticism, there can be a pathology, a blind zeal, of reading.[11] But as most of us escape pathology, most of us live

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[10]The empirical study of reading provides a good example of the difficulty in actually separating reading from criticism, for the psychologist or psycholinguist, although studying the responses of 'ordinary' readers, is testing a hypothetical, critically formulated model of reading. Moreover, just in getting ordinary readers to verbalize their reading experience is to induce them to move toward criticism. See the comments by Mailloux, *Interpretive Conventions*, p. 206.

[11]At this point I can hear Steiner saying: "But you are misrepresenting my antithesis. It does not really apply here to this comparison of biblical scholars and zealous Bible readers, for although the former are 'critics' by my definition, the latter are merely bad critics, not at all examples of my 'reader.' They are bad critics because they assume a stance over against the text, but do not render this critical stance, this critical distance, 'explicit, responsible, and, therefore, open to argument'" (p. 423).

To which I would reply: "Your antithesis is now beginning to appear as 'critic (bad)' versus 'reader (good).' It is understandable, given your goal of upholding the reader

in the middle somewhere. Most biblical scholars have experienced an oscillation between our two poles; most of us have moved from being readers, to being critics, and then, for the lucky ones, back to a post-critical readership.[12]

The personal pilgrimages of numerous biblical scholars would, I think, largely confirm Steiner's observations about critics and readers, but we would have some additional insights to add to his. Many of us found *in criticism* our "revelation" or our "ecstasy," because for the first time, with the obtaining of critical distance, we could *see* the features of the text that had hitherto read us, and we were enchanted and liberated by what we saw. Without criticism, we saw in retrospect, it had been impossible to see and to know the text that had read us, not even to know if it was the text we thought it was. He or she who "serves the text" with utter devotion cannot objectify and thereby know what text is in fact being served. In the case of the Bible, many are read by and serve 'versions' of the Bible that a critic in good conscience can only label per-versions. But only with critical distance can one see perversions; perversion is a concept of criticism. To add to Steiner's antithetical comparisons, the reader says of the text "It thou shalt not judge"; the critic says of the text "If it is so worthy of respect, it will emerge from judgment triumphant and with added glory." To the pure critic, the pure reader appears to serve texts he does not know and cannot understand. To the pure reader, the pure critic appears to master and judge even those texts to which he is inferior. Must there not be a middle ground?

This first section of my paper must conclude, I am persuaded, with a kind of personal confession of who I am as critic and/or reader. Such confession is too often slighted by reader-response or other literary critics. But what could be more fundamental to the critic's duty to make his or her critical distance "explicit, responsible, and, therefore, open to argument"? The first step towards grasping the reader of Mark, or the reader of any text, is to grasp oneself as reader and/or critic. Therefore, I must say that I see myself striving to be both a reader and a critic of Mark's Gospel: a *critical reader*, if you will. And unless I specify otherwise, the "reader" that will be mentioned frequently hereafter will be just such a critical reader. To be a critical reader means for me: (1) to affirm the enduring power of the Bible in my culture and in my own life; (2) and yet to remain open enough to ask any question and to risk any judgment, even if it should mean repudiating (1). Nothing less than both of these points, together, will do for me. Even more specifically, however, I am pleased to confess that: I was a "reader" of the Bible before I was a "critic" of it; I found becoming a critic to be liberating and satisfying, and therefore I judge criticism to be of inestimable value and a high calling; but I also recognize the prior claim of the text and preeminence of reading over criticism, so accordingly I seek and occasionally am apprehended by moments in which the text wields its indubitable power. The critic's ego says this just could be the cherished "post-critical naivete"; the reader's proper humility before the text says it is not for a reader to judge such things.

THE REAL READER, THE IMPLIED READER, AND THE NARRATEE

Having now positioned myself as a critical reader, it is time to introduce some terminology to facilitate critical discussion of the encounter with the text. If the

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against the current onslaughts of predatory critics, that the reader should emerge the hero of your essay and the critic the villain. But are there not villainous readers?"

Once again, we should not be misled by the power of Steiner's essay; it is an extremely valuable heuristic exercise in dichotomy, but carries its full share of unexplored questions.

[12] I allude, of course, to Paul Ricoeur's well known notion of the post-critical or second naivete.

section above addressed a distinction that is all too often obscured, here we are dealing with some critical concepts that have received much attention recently and about which a significant amount of agreement exists. I will not pretend that there are not disagreements about these concepts, but the amount of agreement seems to outweigh the subtle differences in emphasis and in terminology preferred by individual critics. Keeping in mind that our initial question was "Who is 'the reader'?," at this point our question splits into the following questions: (1) Who is "the reader"?; (2) How does "the reader" relate to "the author" by means of the text?; and (3) Just who is "the author"? The terminology I have decided to adopt in addressing these questions is borrowed from Seymour Chatman's *Story and Discourse*.[13] Chatman wants to distinguish between real author, implied author, narrator, narratee, implied reader, and real reader. One needs such distinctions in order to explore with care "the interrelation of the several parties to the narrative transaction."[14]

The *real author* and *real reader* are easy enough to grasp. They are living, flesh-and-blood persons who once produced the text and now read it.[15] But in reading we encounter, not a flesh-and-blood author, but the author's second self adopted for purposes of telling this tale, and similarly we as readers are not wholly ourselves as we read, but the reader the text invites us to be. The terms *implied author* and *implied reader*, therefore, have gained wide currency in recognition of the fact that a text implies a role or a persona for both the author and reader.[16] As Wayne Booth says, "the author creates, in short, an image of himself and another image of his reader; he makes his reader, as he makes his second self, and the most successful reading is one in which the created selves, author and reader, can find complete agreement."[17] Finally, *narrator* and *narratee* are terms the usefulness of which is increasingly recognized.[18] Every story may be supposed

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[13]Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 146-151. Similar, roughly parallel terminology is used by Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, (2d ed.; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 428-431; Gerald Prince, "Introduction à l'étude du narrataire," *Poétique* 14 (1973) 178-196[now translated and abbreviated as "Introduction to the Study of the Narratee," in *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, pp. 7-25, ed. Jane P. Tompkins (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980)]; idem, *Narratology: The Form and Function of Narrative* (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton, 1982); Peter Rabinowitz, "Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences," *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1977): 121-141.

[14]Chatman, p. 147.

[15]Booth speaks of the "flesh-and-blood author, who tells many stories, before and after a given tale," and "the flesh-and-blood re-creator of many stories" (p. 428). Rabinowitz, who deals with the audience side of the narrative act in the article above, uses the term "actual audience" (p. 126). In a similar fashion, once beyond the narrator/narratee pair, Prince concentrates more on the audience side of the narrative than the authorial side; he, like Chatman, uses "real reader" (*lecteur réel*) ("Introduction," p. 9).

[16]Booth is currently using the terms "the implied author of this tale" and "the postulated reader" (p. 429). Rabinowitz speaks of (only on the audience side again) the "authorial audience" (p. 126); in a similar vein Prince uses the term "virtual reader" (*lecteur virtuel*) ("Introduction," p. 9).

[17]Booth, p. 138.

[18]Chatman credits Prince for the coinage of "narratee," the counterpart of the "narrator." "Narratee" may sound harsh to American ears, but this is just the inescapable translation of the more elegant sounding *narrataire*. Booth speaks of "the teller of this tale" and "the credulous listener" (p. 430). Rabinowitz uses the expression "narrative audience" (p. 127).

to have a storyteller and a listener, but as it happens some stories have only oblique, covert evidence of either a narrator or a narratee, while others may go so far as to have a narrator or a narratee overtly portrayed as a character in the narrative. Narrator and narratee are especially useful terms when it is clear that the implied author has distanced himself from his unreliable narrator or that the implied reader is expected to distance himself from a gullible narratee. That is, the distinctions between implied author and narrator or implied reader and narratee are valuable when these relationships are characterized by distance, by an intentional incongruity, by an ironic tension. It happens to be the case with the Gospel of Mark that narrator and narratee are overt and effaced, and therefore virtually identical with the implied author and implied reader, respectively. That implies a certain rhetorical strategy on the part the implied author, which I will be exploring elsewhere.

Individual critics, as I have noted, have proposed their own versions of these basic concepts. Their refinements often complicate matters, however, by drawing in some of the considerations about "the reader" that are better considered separately.[19] The terminology offered above is minimal and serviceable, without unnecessarily mixing in important but tangential reading concerns. This terminology makes possible the careful consideration of a number of interesting phenomena in the narrative transaction, as well as bearing within it the inevitable ambiguities and gaps of any critical vocabulary. It is to this helpfulness and also this ambiguity that I would like to address myself now.

First, it seems to me that the critic/reader distinction introduced earlier, although not explicitly a part of this schema, is implicitly present. It may be present, for example, in the way Chatman diagrams the functions of his critical entities.[20] On a horizontal line, he positions from left to right: real author, implied author, narrator, narratee, implied reader, and real reader. Arrows pointing toward the right tie together each successive pair of entities. But there is more. The middle four terms are within a box labelled "narrative text," and within the box the arrows linking successive pairs are solid. Narrator and narratee are in parentheses to signify that they are optional features of a narrative (but the arrow connecting them is still solid). Lying outside the box of the narrative, however, are the real author and the real reader, and the arrows going from the real author to the box and from the box to the real reader are made of broken lines. Exile from the box, and the broken arrows, together suggest that real authors and real readers have a tenuous relationship to the reading of a text. This is implied also in Chatman's explanation of his diagram:

> The box indicates that only the implied author and implied reader are immanent to a narrative, the narrator and narratee are optional (parentheses). The real author and real reader are outside the narrative as such, though, of course, indispensable to it in an ultimate practical sense.[21]

This is the language of a critic of literature—or better a theorist of criticism—and not that of a reader. Indeed, real authors and real readers are outside the box of the critical concern, the realm of the critical apprehension of the literary text. Real authors, I suppose, are left to literary historians, while real readers are left to psychologists. I am not saying that this is wrong, just significant.

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[19]For example, both Rabinowitz and Prince want also to talk about "ideal readers": Rabinowitz, the "ideal narrative audience" (p. 134), and Prince, the "ideal reader" ("Introduction," p. 9). I want to reserve discussion of such ideal readers until later.

[20]Chatman, p. 151; see also his more fulsome "diagram of narrative structure" on p. 267.

[21]Ibid., p. 151.

Although in a sense Chatman's real reader must be allowed to include both Steiner's critic and reader, nevertheless a "critic" will tend to focus on the text and on the critical entities immanent to it; "readers," though, take the reading experience to be the discourse of a real author directed to themselves as real readers. That is, a critic will tend to live within Chatman's box, while a reader will not even recognize the existence of the box, thereby collapsing all of these critical distinctions into simply the "real author" and the "real reader." If we may continue to suppose for the moment that Chatman's real reader is very close to Steiner's reader, then we may furthermore observe how much real authors and real readers have in common. Real authors often profess to write for real readers, and not for critics. Similarly, the real reader believes in real authors; he knows he is encountering a real author (and not just an implied one or a mere narrator) while reading a narrative—the critic knows no such thing.[22] Thus Chatman's terminology reveals an ally for Steiner's reader in the real author (they are both exiled, willingly, from the realm of criticism), while the terms inside his box specify helpfully some prominent concerns of the critical realm.

Working within Chatman's box for the moment, we can look at some of the concrete ways this terminology facilitates the critical discussion of reading. By distinguishing between the narratee and implied reader, for one thing, we indicate that there are often two major role models provided in the text for anyone reading it. The implied reader is the reader we must be willing to become, at least momentarily, in order to experience the narrative in the fullest measure.[23] The implied reader, in turn, may relate to the narratee in any number of ways, ranging from a close and intimate association to an ironic distancing, if the narratee appears gullible or otherwise deficient to the implied reader. In other words, a second benefit of this terminology is that it provides

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[22]Real readers and real authors both "serve the text." This is described eloquently by Madeleine L'Engle.

> "If the work comes to the artist and says, 'Here I am, serve me,' then the job of the artist, great or small, is to serve. The amount of the artist's talent is not what it is about. Jean Rhys said to an interviewer in the *Paris Review*, 'Listen to me. All of writing is a huge lake. There are great rivers that feed the lake, like Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. And there are mere trickles, like Jean Rhys. All that matters is feeding the lake. I don't matter. The lake matters. You must keep feeding the lake.'
>
> To feed the lake is to serve, to be a servant. *Servant* is another unpopular word, a word we have derided by denigrating servants and service. To serve should be a privilege, and it is to our shame that we tend to think of it as a burden, something to do if you're not fit for anything better or higher.
>
> I have never served a work as it ought to be served; my little trickle adds hardly a drop of water to the lake, and yet it doesn't matter; there is no trickle too small. Over the years I have come to recognize that the work often knows more than I do. And with each book I start, I have hopes that I may be helped to serve it a little more fully. The great artists, the rivers and tributaries, collaborate with the work, but for most of us, it is our greatest privilege to be its servant' (Madeleine L'Engle, *Walking on Water: Reflections on Faith and Art* [Wheaton, IL: Harold Shaw, 1980], pp. 23-24).

[23]Although intelligent, critical, moral readers will sometimes discern implied readers that they are unwilling to become. See Wayne Booth, pp. 79-81, 138-139, and passim; idem, *Critical Understanding: The Powers and Limits of Pluralism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1979) p. 242 and passim; and Susan R. Suleiman, "Ideological Dissent from Works of Fiction: Toward a rhetoric of the *roman à thèse*," *Neophilologus* 60 (1976) 162-177.

the vocabulary necessary to explore the myriad variations of distance that can exist between implied reader and narratee, implied author and narrator, and, moreover, between any of these four entities and the characters in the story. Chatman discusses, for example, the "ironic narrator" who communicates with the narratee at the expense of a character in the narrative. Or if there is communication between the implied author and implied reader at the expense of the narrator,[24] we can say that the narrator is "unreliable" and that the implied author is being "ironic."[25] Merely on a mathematical basis, the permutations possible in the relationships of distance between all of these entities are vast,[26] but positing these entities make possible a critical analysis of narrative that has hitherto been impossible for lack of the necessary conceptual apparatus. Actually, the permutations are reduced considerably by the fact that the implied author and reader, and too the narrator and narratee, are so closely linked. One might say that these pairs even represent mirror images. The cluster of values and judgments that is the implied author is manifested in the implicit rendering of the text's reader—and vice versa. The diction of the narrator is refracted like a sonar wave off of the outline of the posited narratee and returns to the sender to be emitted again—each reflects the presence of the other.[27] This, then, is a third benefit of our adopted vocabulary: it recognizes and provides a rudimentary way to talk about the dialogical process that is built into the text and demanded by the reading experience.[28]

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[24]Or at the expense of the narratee. Booth is right to say that the narratee is inherently a "credulous listener." But to distinguish between the credulous listener who believes this tale, and "the still more credulous listener . . . who takes all narrators at their word" is to multiply the terminology needlessly. We are dealing here simply with analogues to the reliable and unreliable narrator (Booth, *Rhetoric*, p. 430).

[25]Chatman, pp. 228-229.

[26]Chatman offers a sampling of what is possible in varying the distance among just three entities, the narrator, narratee, and one character.

> "If we posit two basic degrees of distance among these three personages, 'close' and 'far,' we can recognize five different kinds of relations. Narrator and narratee may be close to each other but far from the character (the case of irony for example); narrator may be far, and has placed narratee and character in close contact (see the example from [Joseph Conrad's] *The Secret Agent* . . .); narrator and character are close, and far from narratee (as in unreliable or naive first-person narration); all three are close (a sense of general sympathy prevails, as in [Katherine Mansfield's] 'The Garden Party'); all three are far (an unsympathetic narrator writes of unsympathetic characters, as in Céline)" (Chatman, pp. 259-260).

[27]See Prince, *Narratology*, pp. 7-25, where he perceptively discusses how, linguistically, the "I" of a narrator implies the corresponding narratee, and how the "you" identifying the narratee simultaneously identifies the narrator.

[28]This points up another problem with Chatman's diagram: the arrows all point one way—should they not point right and left, better to indicate the implicit dialogical quality of reading? We are dealing here with more than a deficiency in diagramming; implied here is the notion prominent in our culture that discourse, that communication, for all our acknowledgement of the importance of "feedback," is basically a one-way street. Walter Ong speaks of a "conduit metaphor" that dominates our thinking about the function of language. According to this metaphor, the author/sender shoots a message/meaning through the chosen language/conduit to a waiting reader/receiver; Walter J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971) p. 290. I will explore the inadequacies of this understanding of language, and an alternative, elsewhere in my work.

Granted the usefulness of Chatman's terminology, he glosses over one problem spot that requires attention: the nature of the implied reader (and *mutatis mutandis* the implied author). He places both of these entities within the box labelled "narrative text," claiming them to be "immanent" to the text. A clean break is therefore made between the reader in the text and the reader outside of the text, a division that is problematic, to say the least.[29] In fact, one of the recurring debates among reader-oriented critics concerns the relationship between the text and the reader: *does the text mold the reader or does the reader mold the text?* For example, Wayne Booth and Wolfgang Iser both talk about someone very much like Chatman's implied reader, but it is clear they mean something rather different when they talk about this entity. Booth's version of the implied reader, although it invites and requires the cohesion of a real reader, is ultimately *in* the text, and is the creation of an author.[30] Iser's implied reader, however,[31] is constructed by a real reader out of the material provided by the text, particularly its spots of "indeterminacy": "blanks," "gaps," etc.[32] Iser is careful to articulate that his implied reader is neither in the text, nor outside it, but is the unique product of the "interaction" of a text and a reader.[33]

There are other points of view on the text/reader debate. Curiously outdoing even Wayne Booth in respect for the rhetorical power of the text, and outdoing even Wolfgang Iser in respect for the independence and creative activity of the reader, are the 'early' and 'later' positions of Stanley Fish. In his early reader-oriented criticism, typified by *Self-Consuming Artifacts*,[34] Fish engages in brilliant word by word analyses of the way texts manipulate[35] the developing response of the reader; no one could make a stroner case for thoroughgoing textual control over the reading experience. Fish even went so far as to argue that all readers were textually directed in just the way he was describing. They just have not realized it, not having paid attention to the ways texts controlled them. In more recent work, however, Fish has rejected (and affirmed) this apparent

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[29]And so too for the divorce between real author and implied author.

[30]See again the quotation above from Booth, *Rhetoric*, p. 138 (the author "makes his reader, as he makes his second self"); also pp. 422-423.

[31]And to Iser goes credit for popularizing the term "implied reader"; see Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

[32]Idem, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[33]I cannot but imagine that part of the difference between Booth and Iser is that the former tilts toward Steiner's "reader" while the latter tilts toward the "critic." A footnote in the new edition of Booth's *Rhetoric of Fiction* is revealing on this score. Having commented in his main text on the elaborate taxonomy of narratees developed by Gerald Prince (". . . his abstract tracings are to me far too remote from *anyone's actual reading*"), Booth turns to Iser: "Wolfgang Iser's developments of the implied reader seem often to me to be similarly purged of the passions *that every reader actually experiences* and that most implied readers exhibit" (Booth, *Rhetoric*, p. 422; emphasis added).

Another crucial variant on this whole debate is framed in the question, "Where lies meaning? 'In' the text or 'in' the reader?" I will explore the matter of meaning elsewhere.

[34]Stanley E. Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1972; see also his early programmatic essay, "Literature in the Reader: Affective Stylistics," *New Literary History* 2 (1970) 123-162; which was reprinted in *Self-Consuming Artifacts*, pp. 383-427, and reprinted again in his collection of essays, *Is There a Text in This Class?*, pp. 21-67.

[35]And "manipulate" seems not too strong; see Mailloux's chart above, p. 35, note 6.

absolutism of the text over the reader.[36] He still affirms the immense value of his kind of analysis in practical criticism, but he admits that it is not the only way to conceptualize reading. In fact, he has now swung over to the point where he says the text cannot really control reading in any objective sense, for the text is invented in the process of being read—the text and all its features are only defind and therefore brought into existence by the reader's interpretive strategies. Or to use Steiner's language, the text object, with all its supposed characteristics, is only such by virtue of the critical distance and the angle of perception that objectify it. So, having said earlier, essentially, that the text controls the reader, Fish now says that it is the reader who defines the text and its characteristics in the first place, and thus controls it. From this latter position, Fish's earlier position may be explained as the product of a convenient and powerful critical fiction, adopted by the critic because of its potential for persuading a critical audience that already grants texts an 'objectivity' and an 'authority' to control the reader. But now he wants to make clear that objectivity and authority are always, first, the reader's to grant.

Does this new position of Fish's now grant too much authority to the reader? In response to this question, Fish slides into the next station of his critical pilgrimage. The reader is not 'too powerful,' he says, and the critical enterprise is not doomed to subjectivism or solipsism, he says, because the reader and his reading experience are defined and controlled by the critical community of which he is a part. The critical presuppositions employed by the reader to objectify and analyze the text are derived from the "interpretive community" in which the reading takes place. Fish is now arguing the preeminence of the social and political dimension in the criticism of even the seemingly isolated, maverick critic.[37] In other words, readers may control texts, but that's OK because interpretive communities control readers.

Fish has therefore bracketed Booth and Iser in his critical career, attributing more control to the text than Booth, then more control to the reader than Iser, and then locating the source of *all* control in the preexistent presuppositions of one's interpretive community. If Fish did not do what he does so brilliantly, one could dismiss him for a damnable protean slipperiness. But in sliding from one critical extreme to the next, I think he has helpfully highlighted, if idiosyncratically, what must be simultaneous foci for reader-oriented criticism. What he has done is to present successive unilateral briefs for "the text" and "the reader," and then to try to undercut both with a brief for the

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[36]See the latter essays in Fish, *Is There a Text?*

[37]Of which Fish is a prime example. I hope that Fish will explore fully the implications of this latest position of his. I would agree with a number of his reviewers that *Is There a Text?* only begins to explore the social and political dimensions of criticism. First of all, what Fish's "interpretive community" is, is not entirely clear. And not being clear on that, Fish has not yet discussed how one goes about negotiating, in the face of agreement and disagreement, within an interpretive community. Also, the obvious overlapping (and debate) that occurs between several communities is left unexamined in his work. Because a sense of the rich dynamism of real, existing interpretive communities is missing from Fish's work, one is at a loss to explain, by his theory: (1) how critics in the same interpretive community can disagree; (2) how critics in different communities can agree; (3) how a new community can come into existence; (4) how an existing community undergoes change, etc.

Interestingly, these are the kinds of concerns that are prominent in the work of Wayne Booth (see especially *Critical Understanding*), into whose orbit of rhetorical (and currently: ethical and political) criticism I see Fish gravitating, at which idea Fish would probably wince.

preeminence of "the critical community." This last brief is still not well-formed, I think, for it will eventually require making room within it for his earlier briefs. In other words, the issue is not about a two sided relationship between text and reader, nor about the overarching preeminence of interpretive communities, but a matter of *text* and *reader* meeting *in the context of the critical community*. Granted that the community defines what the text is and tells the reader how to go about reading—at the same time the text (as defined by the community) molds its reader and constrains the critical gaze of the community, and, at the same time, the reader (as instructed by the community) construes the text and contributes to the evolution of the critical community. That is, granted the undeniable importance of the interpretive commmunity, within that social setting the text will always have an objectivity and the reader a subjectivity that are also undeniable. Moreover, it is always possible that the objectified text will wield such power, or the subjectified reader exert such genius, that the interpretive community will be remade after their image. What the next station should be in Fish's critical pilgrimage seems clear enough: a discussion of how the text, the reader, and the interpretive community each shapes the others. Also, missing so far in Fish's work is any kind of sensitive description about how rival texts, rival readers, and rival communities in fact negotiate their differences and live in (relatively) friendly competition.[38]

All of this is to say that the implied reader is the locus of a great deal of equivocation in current criticism, but only because reading itself is a mysterious merger of text, reader. and context. Yet for all its ambiguity, the term implied reader is still useful. When I use it, I will use it to refer primarily to the reader implied *in the text*, but I will take care to observe that different *readers* will grasp that reader in the text differently, due largely to differences in *the context of reading*, which are governed by

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[38]I am thinking here of the great seriousness with which Wayne Booth has tried to deal with the realities of critical pluralism in *Critical Understanding*. While Fish is trying to persuade everyone, largely at the imaginary and theoretical level, that we live and move and have our being in interpretive communities, Booth already knows that and has gone about the difficult business of trying to figure out how we come to agree or disagree within those interpretive communities that now exist—a far more challenging enterprise.

An instructive exchange has taken place recently between Fish and Booth, in an issue of *Daedalus* devoted to "Reading: Old and New": Stanley Fish, "Short People Got No Reason to Live: Reading Irony," *Daedalus* 112 (Winter 1983) 175-192; Wayne C. Booth, "A New Strategy for Establishing a Truly Democratic Criticism," *Daedalus* 112 (Winter 1983) 193-214. Here Booth does as good a job as anyone has in pinning down Fish's position. He labels Fish a critical monist, who has cultivated a reputation for openmindedness by shifting the center of his monism several times, but who has never relinquished the thought that he (alone?) has found the one critical stance from which all real or imaginary critical concerns can be explained or explained away. Booth has discussed elsewhere the obvious temptations of critical monism: narrowness of scope, dogmatism, the turning of opponents into straw men, and so on (*Critical Understanding*, pp. 12-17 and passim).

For all the respect I (and Booth) have for Fish as one of our most brilliant critics, Booth has performed a service here that reminds me of youthful days in the Cottonwood River valley. There certain fishermen, when faced with the task of dressing for the table a tough and slippery "rough fish," would affix the beast to a board with nails in order to get an advantageous grip on it. (The need to go to such bizarre extremes inclined such situations to dark humor, and it was frequently joked that after dressing such a fish the better meal would be had by throwing the fish away and eating the board).

the critical presuppositions prevailing at the time and place of reading.[39] With judicious use, the rest of Chatman's terminology is also helpful.

THE IDEAL READER

Besides the terminology discussed in the previous section, there is another common family of terms clustering about the notion of the "ideal reader." One hears, not only of the ideal reader, but of the related informed reader, the optimal reader, the superreader, the competent reader, the educated reader, and so on. What critics are grasping for amidst this assortment is an idealized reader intimately related to the implied reader, as I shall indicate delow. "Ideal reader" adds greater intensity to "implied reader," however; it reveals the critical impulse, not just to apprehend the reader implied in the text, but to encompass that reader and supersede him.

A succinct description of the ideal reader is offered by Jonathan Culler: "The question is not what actual readers happen to do but what an ideal reader must know implicitly in order to read and interpret works in ways which we consider acceptable."[40] The ideal reader possesses not only "linguistic competence" but "literary competence": an intimate acquaintance with Steiner's "syllabus," and a full grasp of the accepted means of working on it. The ideal reader is Steiner's "critic," *par excellence*. This is very close to Stanley Fish's version of the ideal reader, whom he prefers to label the "informed reader":

> Who is *the* reader? Obviously, my reader is a construct, an ideal or idealized reader, somewhat like Wardhaugh's "mature reader" or Milton's "fit" reader, or to use a term of my own, *the* reader is the *informed* reader. The informed reader is someone who (1) is a competent speaker of the language out of which the text is built up; (2) is in full possession of "the semantic knowledge that a mature . . . listener brings to his task of comprehension," including the knowledge (that is, the experience, both as a producer and comprehender) of lexical sets, collocation probabilities, idioms, professional and other dialects, and so on; and (3) has *literary* competence. That is, he is sufficiently experienced as a reader to have internalized the properties of literary discourses, including everything from the most local of devices (figures of speech, and so on) to whole genres. . . .
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> The reader of whose responses I speak, then, is this informed reader, neither an abstraction nor an actual living reader, but a hybrid--a real reader (me) who does everything within his power to make himself informed.[41]

Wolfgang Iser discusses several versions of the "ideal reader," and expresses dissatisfaction with all of them, finding them all too nebulous and lacking theoretical rigor.[42] In their place he offers his version of the implied reader, "a textual structure anticipating the presence of a recipient without necessarily defining him."[43] Iser has perhaps sensed correctly that the implied reader lies at the core of all the talk about idealized

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[39]This formulation indicates that I am leaning toward the social reading of the "critic." A "reader" (or the "reader's" advocate, the subjective or psychological critic) would instead talk about text, reader, and the reader's subjectivity (thoughts, feelings, "identity theme," etc.).

[40]*Jonathan Culler, Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 123-124.

[41]Fish, *Is There a Text?*, pp. 48-49.

[42]Iser, *The Act of Reading*, pp. 27-38.

[43]Ibid., p. 34.

readers, but he loses the use of a significant heuristic device by limiting himself to the reader implied by any one text.

Steven Mailloux, for example, has seen that the ideal reader is in a sense the implied reader writ large:

> The "ideal reader" is merely an abstracted version of the "implied reader." He is not a reader of a specific text but one implied by all literary texts; or put another way, he is a hypothetical reader with the general ability to comprehend literature. . . . We have, then, a specific text's *implied reader*, which is really only a textual interpretaion (or part of one) using a reader vocabulary. And we have an *ideal reader* who is also an interpretive construct, one that is abstracted from many specific instances of textual interpretation, one that defines the conditions of literary response.[44]

Mailloux's point is well taken, but it needs to be pushed further. The ideal reader is not simply a hypothetical enhancement of the implied reader. The "ideal reader" is a fictive role created and assumed by a critic as he or she presumes to address the critical community. It is, in other words, a pose adopted *by the critic* for rhetorical purposes. The fiction being acted out in the work of criticism is precisely the critical pretension (as Steiner notes) to supersedure: to supersede the text, one's critical community, even one's self. One may not actually be the critic *par excellence*, but when playing the game you cannot pretend to be anything less, and still hope to win over your critical audience.

This is hardly a revelation; numerous critics have admitted all of this candidly. But we can push still further to observe that the role of the ideal reader can be played in two major ways. First, there is the role of the individual ideal reader per se. This is where I adopt the stance—implicitly, perhaps, or explicitly, if I have nerve—of the supremely informed and skilled reader-critic, possessing impeccable linguistic and literary competence. We might call this the Ideal Reader I. In addition, however, it is possible (and common) to construct a kind of composite ideal reader out of the accumulated critical experience of one's critical community. In practice, this second, communal form of the ideal reader—Ideal Reader II, let us say—often goes hand in hand with the first. Rhetorically, they uphold each other—I establish my credentials as a critic by demonstrating knowledge of the syllabus and mastery of the critical tools, which in itself is a celebration and reaffirmation of the vitality of the guild. We have here another one of those continua ranging from the individual to the social, but in this case the continuum is narrow in its range, subjective and objective poles within a very specialized social group: literary critics.

Stephen Booth, in the preface to one of the most highly regarded pieces of practical criticism done by reader-oriented critics, lays bare, in just a few lines, his use of both versions of the ideal reader.

> . . . the responses I attribute to my hypothetical reader of the sonnets cannot ultimately be more universal or other than my own. I have attempted to demonstrate that the responses I describe are probable in a reader accustomed to Elizabethan idiom. I have also quoted at length from the responses of the critics and editors who have preceded me in the study of the sonnets; their comments, glosses, and emendations provide the best available evidence that the responses I describe are not idiosyncratic.[45]

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[44]Mailloux, *Interpretive Conventions*, p. 203.

[45]Stephen Booth, *An Essay on Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969) p. x.

The most pyrotechnic use of the Ideal Reader, I and II, however, surely must be found in the practical criticism of Stanley Fish. We have already seen Fish's definition of the informed reader. Tucked into the definition is an admission that the informed reader is really Stanley Fish: it is "a real reader (me) who does everything within his power to make himself informed." After putting himself in the picture modestly, at first only within parentheses, Fish proceeds to say that of course he can claim to be an informed reader, and, moreover, so can anyone else in the guild: "Each of us, if we are sufficiently responsible and self-conscious, can, in the course of employing [Fish's critical] method, become the informed reader and therefore be a more reliable reporter of his [reading] experience."[46] It is, in other words, a rhetorical stance generally available to members in good standing of the critical guild. And in Fish's criticism (*Self-Consuming Artifacts*, for example), he makes use of this rhetorical stance masterfully.

Perhaps even more impressive is Fish's powerful use of the Ideal Reader II, the composite ideal reader. A frequent strategy in Fish's work is to examine an interpretive crux that has produced a diversity of critical assessments, and then to seek a supposed common reading experience that lies at the base of the disagreement. Fish asks, What reading experience have critics shared unconsciously that allows them to agree enough to disagree about this passage? He surveys "the critical history of a work in order to find disputes that rested upon a base of agreement of which the disputants were unaware."[47] Fish elaborates thus:

> Typically, I will pay less attention to the interpretations critics propose than to the problems or controversies that provoke them, on the reasoning that while the interpretations vary, the problems and controversies do not and therefore point to something that all readers share. If, for example, there is a continuing debate over whether Marlow should or should not have lied at the end of *Heart of Darkness*, I will interpret the debate as evidence of the difficulty readers experience when the novel asks them to render judgment. And similarly, if there is an argument over who is the hero of *Paradise Lost*, I will take the argument as an indication that, in the course of reading the poem, the identity of its hero is continually put into question. There will always be two levels, a surface level on which there seem to be nothing but disagreements, and a deeper level on which those same disagreements are seen as constituting the shared content whose existence they had seemed to deny. In short, critical controversies become disguised reports of what readers uniformly do, and I perform the service of revealing to the participants what it is they were really telling us.[48]

Fish is using the metaphor of "levels" with consummate rhetorical skill. Rather than trying to reconcile differences, and thus form his composite ideal reader at the "surface level," he forms his composite ideal reader from a base of unconscious agreement at a "deeper level." Wherever possible, Fish grounds the critical community on a hitherto unacknowledged but commonly shared foundation, thereby encompassing and surpassing the history of criticism. By descending to the "deeper level," he is able to transcend the critical disagreements altogether—"I perform the service of revealing to the participants what it is they were really telling us." Going to this deeper level allows him—rhetorically—to stand above the debate. His skillful construction of an abstracted, composite, ideal reader is an indirect way of establishing his own credentials as, in his words,

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[46]Fish, *Is There a Text?*, p. 49.
[47]Ibid., p. 147.
[48]Ibid., pp. 177-178.

an informed reader.[49] The thing that distinguishes Fish is that he uses the rhetorical strategy of the "ideal reader" so openly and so boldly. All critics, one way or another, cast themselves in such a role; Stanley Fish and other reader-response critics are simply exposing this fiction to the light of day by exploiting it to the fullest.

READING AS A TEMPORAL EXPERIENCE

To this point I have described my own stance as a critical reader (and thereby, unavoidably, one who pretends to be some kind of ideal reader), and I have suggested the use of Chatman's terminology for the critical discussion of the roles implied for author and reader in the text. Were we to stop at this point, we would be left with still rather static abstractions of who "the reader" is. What we are missing is a model of the reading experience itself, one that allows for, one hopes, the richness and dynamism that "readers," at least, if not "critics," experience when they read. It is at this point that reader-response critics are making a significant contribution to criticism precisely by recalling to the critical consciousness the richness and dynamism of the temporal experience of reading. Or to use the language of the moment, my reader thus far has been synchronic; it is now time to bring in the all-important diachronic dimension.

One distinguishing characteristic of the current crop of reader-response criticism is the emphasis placed on the fact that a reading experience takes place through time; it is fundamentally a temporal experience. This is a radical shift, because we have not been taught to monitor our reading experience as it occurs. Rather, we tend to read to the end of a text and then step back and comment on the final outcome of the reading. We view the whole of the text from the perspective of the end of the reading experience. The path we have had to follow to get to the end of reading is regarded merely as prelude to the end product. We ask ourselves: "What is *the* meaning of the story? What is *the* point of the story? What did you get out of it?"

Most reader-response critics resolutely resist the inclination to concentrate on the end product of reading, the "point" or the "meaning" of the story. The entire reading experience is to be valued—not just the end product of reading. Reading a text is a rich and dynamic experience; but focusing on the end product of reading lends itself to perceiving a text as a static, spatial form, like a painting or sculpture or piece of architecture.[50] Also, the physicality of writing has tricked us into thinking of texts as objects

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[49]Another version of the composite, communal reader is Michael Riffaterre's "average reader" or "superreader": Michael Riffaterre, "Criteria for Style Analysis," *Word* 15 (1959) 154-174; idem, "Describing Poetic Structure: Two Approaches to Baudelaire's 'Les Chats,'" *Yale French Studies* 36-37 (1966) 200-242 (reprinted in *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, pp. 26-40. ed. Jane P. Tompkins [Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980]). Riffaterre's superreader is composed of the "stylistic devices"—junctures in a text with a noticeable, extra "stylistic emphasis"—perceived by a group of selected informants—roughly the critical community through time. In a move not unlike Fish's, he accepts the implicit judgment of the critical community that there exist these "nodal points in the text" (Iser, *The Act of Reader*, p. 30), and not unlike Fish he disregards the content of prior critical judgments about such nodes, preferring to subject them to his own linguistic analysis. Although they construct their composite ideal readers in a similar fashion, Fish and Riffaterre then proceed in different directions; see Fish's critique of Riffaterre's distinction between ordinary language and language with stylistic emphasis; Fish, *Is There a Text?*, pp. 59-66.

[50]The distinction between reading and the perception of the plastic arts cannot be

existing in space rather than as experiences existing in time.

As Stanley Fish puts it:

> Literature is a kinetic art, but the physical form it assumes prevents us from seeing its essential nature, even though we so experience it. The availability of a book to the hand, its presence on a shelf, its listing in a library catalogue—all of these encourage us to think of it as a stationary object. Somehow when we put a book down, we forget that while we were reading, *it* was moving (pages turning, lines receding into the past) and forget too that *we* were moving with it.[51]

Fish also provides one of the clearest statements of the critical attitude needed in order to attend to the entire reading experience. It is best, I think, to share his thoughts at length:

> The concept is simply the rigorous and distinterested asking of the question, what does this word, phrase, sentence, paragraph, chapter, novel, play, poem, *do?* And the execution involves an analysis of the developing responses of the reader in relation to the words as they succeed one another in time. Every word in this statement bears a special emphasis. The analysis must be of the developing responses to distinguish it from the atomism of much stylistic criticism. A reader's response to the fifth word in a line or sentence is to a large extent the product of his responses to words one, two, three, and four. And by response, I intend more than the range of feelings. . . . The category of response includes any and all of the activities provoked by a string of words: the projection of syntactical and/or lexical probabilities; their subsequent occurrence or nonoccurrence; attitudes toward persons, or things, or ideas referred to; the reversal or questioning of those attitudes; and much more . . . .
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> The basis of the method is a consideration of the *temporal* flow of the reading experience, and it is assumed that the reader responds in terms of that flow and not to the whole utterance. That is, in an utterance of any length, there is a point at which the reader has taken in only the first word, and then the second, and then the third, and so on, and the report of what happens to the reader is always a report of what has happened *to that point*. . . .
>
> Essentially what the method does is *slow down* the reading experience so that "events" one does not notice in normal time, but which do occur, are brought before our analytical attentions. It is as if a slow motion camera with an automatic stop-action effect were recording our linguistic experiences and presenting them to us for viewing.[52]

Another critic, Wolfgang Iser, has described helpfully, not just the linear, temporal encounter with the words one is reading, but the psychological phenomena of anticipation and retrospection which are also involved. While we are dealing with the flow of language, we are actively involved in reviewing what has preceded and speculating about what lies ahead. Iser goes so far as to liken the reading experience to a recreation of the author's original act of creating the text. Iser says: "We look forward, we look back, we

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pushed far; art critics know very well that even the perception of spatial form may be a dynamic and temporal experience. See E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Bollingen Series XXXV, no. 5, 2d ed. (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1961).

[51]Fish, *Is There a Text?*, p. 43.

[52]Ibid., pp. 26-27, 27, 28.

decide, we change our decisions, we form expectations, we are shocked by their nonfulfillment, we question, we muse, we accept, we reject; this is the dynamic process of recreation."[53]

This represents a dramatic shift in literary criticism away from the formalism of the New Critics, which objectifies the text and devalues the reading experience. Walter Ong helps to put this development into the broadest historical perspective.[54] Ong, in numerous discussions of the shift from orality to the technology of writing, has described with great insight how the physicality of writing, and especially print, lends itself to be taken as static spatial form. Indeed, once the strict uniformity of printed language becomes deeply interiorized in the consciousness of the reader, it is well nigh impossible to avoid the metaphor of language as a container or conduit, existing in space, which holds meaning within. According to this metaphor, the job of the reader or critic is to tap and drain off the contents—the meaning—of the container. Moreover, the metaphor promotes the idea that the container or text is a unit, the contents or meaning is a unit, and therefore in theory we should all agree on what the univocal meaning of the text is. This metaphor has a hard time accommodating the experience we have all had of disagreeing sharply over what a text says. Of course, a severe shortcoming of the metaphor is that it minimizes the active role of the reader in determining what the text is and what its meaning is. In short, it obscures the dialogical nature of true communication, even communication by means of a written text.[55]

Reader-response critics are rejecting the container-metaphor altogether. The implications of this move are quite significant, yet we have scarcely begun to explore them. In arguing for a temporal model of reading, rather than a spatial one, we are actually returning to an understanding of language that has affinities with the language of oral culture. The written word is spatial; it constitutes a literate/visual mode of consciousness. The spoken word, however, is temporal; it constitutes an oral/aural mode of consciousness. Since the world of orality lingers and is still so prominent in the biblical

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[53]Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," *New Literary History* 3 (1972) 293.

[54]Besides discussing the shift from orality to literacy in Western culture, Ong has also analyzed the momentous shift, now taking place, from literacy to an age of "secondary orality" (*Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* [London and New York: Methuen, 1982], pp. 135-138): the age of the electronic technologies of the word. It is interesting to speculate to what degree the current interest in primary oral cultures, and the resurgence of reader-oriented/rhetorical/pragmatic criticism, is encouraged by, if not fundamentally made possible by, the cultural sensitivities of a modern, post-literate oral culture.

Recently Ong's work has been applied masterfully to the Gospel of Mark; see the important work of Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

[55]Ong describes accurately the inadequacy of the container-metaphor, especially in the context of an oral culture:

> "The message is neither content nor cargo nor projectile. Medium and message are interdependent in ways none of these carton and carrier metaphors express—indeed, in ways no metaphor can express. In the last analysis, the medium is not even a medium, something in between. Words destroy inbetweenness, put me in your consciousness and you in mine. There is no adequate analogue for verbalization. Verbalization is ultimately unique. True information is not 'conveyed'" (*Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology*, p. 290).

texts, especially Mark, the temporal model of reading employed by reader-response critics is uniquely suited to the study of Mark's Gospel.

Therefore, who is "the reader" of Mark's Gospel? It is I, as critical reader. And it is I, as a supposed ideal reader, although I will strike that pose by formulating and putting forth a composite ideal reader created out of the best that has been thought and said by my critical community. But that ideal reader, individual or composite, can only be an abstraction from the countless readers implied by countless texts, chief among them here the Gospel of Mark. And each manifestation of "the reader"—critical, ideal, implied—is to be conceptualized as reading through time, in a dynamic, temporal experience. Or to put it as simply as possible, the reader of Mark has an individual persona (mine), a communal persona (the abstracted total experience of my critical community), and a textual persona (the reader implied in the text). And all of these personas are seen at their best through time.

READING THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Having devoted so much space to a portrayal of "the reader" of Mark's Gospel, I shall only sketch in barest outline the experience of reading the Gospel itself. I first became sensitive to the experience of reading Mark's Gospel in the course of writing my dissertation, which is now published under the title of *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark.*[56] In my dissertation I dealt with a puzzling pair of stories in Mark, the Feeding of the 5000 and the Feeding of the 4000. The thing that is so puzzling about these stories is that they are so similar. The standard scholarly explanation of the two stories is that they are variants of a single traditional story that somehow got included twice in Mark's story. After all, in the first of the two stories, the disciples do not have the foggiest idea of how Jesus or anyone might feed a hungry crowd of 5000—but he feeds the crowd and the disciples help him—and yet when the second story rolls around, the disciples still do not know what Jesus is capable of doing, and such denseness, such stupidity on their part, could not be part of the author's plan, could it? I concluded that this sharply negative portrayal of the disciples was indeed intended by the evangelist. He establishes a strong ironic tension between the two stories, by having the disciples show their lack of understanding not once but twice. The irony is especially noteworthy when, in the midst of the second story, they look at the hungry crowd, the presence of just a few loaves and fishes, and say to Jesus, who has already fed one giant crowd, "How can one feed such a crowd here in the desert?" The author does not comment on the stupidity of this statement; any reader though is bound to observe it, ponder it, and try to understand why the disciples do *not* understand.

We are dealing here with what the literary critic Wayne Booth calls the rhetoric of irony, the use of irony by an author to communicate with the reader, and to get the reader to see things the author's way, by covert, indirect means.[57] Rhetoric aims to persuade, and irony is a subtle and seductive technique to this end. In fact, early in Booth's book on the rhetoric of irony, he specifically points out a famous moment of irony in Mark. This is the crucifixion scene, where bystanders mock and jeer at Jesus as he hangs dying on the cross. They say things like, "He saved others; he cannot save himself. Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe." Here the irony is strikingly double in nature, operating at two different levels. First, the mockers are saying things they do not mean; they mockingly call Jesus the Christ, the King of Israel. Their words are ironic. But the second, deeper level of

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[56]Robert M. Fowler, *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 54; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981).

[57]Wayne C. Booth, *A Rhetoric of Irony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Fowler, *Loaves and Fishes*, pp. 91-99 and passim.

irony is that in the world of the story, their mocking words are in fact true. Jesus *is* the Christ, the King of Israel. But both levels of irony are covert; it is entirely up to the reader to perceive the irony; the author never says, "Look out now, I'm about to use some irony."[58]

Wayne Booth is particularly helpful to readers of Mark's Gospel when he goes on to point out the rhetorical strategy that seems to be in play in this scene. He observes that the covertness of irony presents a challenge to the reader, and if the reader is able to see through the irony, to perceive the true beliefs and judgments of the author, the reader is liable to congratulate himself on his perceptiveness, without realizing that at least for the moment the author has induced him to see things from the author's perspective. Moreover, all persons reading the gospel, to the extent that they see through the author's use of irony, become a community, a community not produced by ties of race, culture, or politics, but produced by the common experience of reading and understanding Mark's irony. In short, Booth has given us what I think is the clearest insight into the rhetorical strategy of the Gospel writer that has hitherto existed. In many ways my current work and my forthcoming book are an exploration of rhetoric of irony.

One scholar has added a phrase to Booth's insight that I find very helpful. Leonard Thompson, in his book *Introducing Biblical Literature*, discusses Booth's insights into the crucifixion scene in Mark, and proposes the term "rhetoric of indirection" to describe Mark's strategy in this scene and elsewhere in the Gospel.[59] In fact, Thompson goes so far as to talk about much of the New Testament in terms of rhetorics of indirection, and he has some interesting things to say about the contributions of both Jesus and Paul to such rhetorical strategies. Thompson does not finally devote much space to Mark—he is only introducing the biblical literature in broad scope. So I am following the path pointed out first by Booth and later by Thompson but explored fully by neither one.

So the book on which I am working now will deal largely with this exploration of Mark's rhetoric of indirection. I will be following the three-part organization that seems to arise repetitively above: the contribution of the text, the contribution of the individual reader, and the contribution of the critical community.

Besides offering the challenge of indirect rhetorical strategies to the reader, I see the text of Mark as providing a great deal of stable, coherent guidance for the reader. I have discussed this facet of Mark's Gospel elsewhere under the rubric of "reliable commentary."[60] One could say that the stable, coherent guidance in the Gospel provides the "direction" required by the reader if the reader is to handle successfully the "indirection" which is based upon it. If the role of the text is in large part to provide direction, it then falls upon the individual reader to make sense of the indirection—ambiguity, irony, paradox, and so on. But it is never up to the reader alone to sink or swim in Mark's indirection. The critical presuppositions and interpretive strategies of one's guild will guide the individual reader in the process of dealing with the indirection. In the case of Mark we have two crucial historical periods in its critical history: the first-century and the nineteenth. In the first-century we have the two earliest readers of Mark to leave evidence of their reading: Matthew and Luke. And in the nineteenth--century we have the rediscovery of Matthew and Luke's Gospels as creative "readings" of Mark's Gospel. I have hopes that looking at these two eras, from the perspective of the history of the reading of Mark's Gospel, may provide a helpful, and genuinely literary critical perspective on the question of Gospel relationships. I am convinced, though, that a reader-oriented criticism of Mark can help us all better to understand our own experience of reading and understanding Mark's Gospel.

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[58]Booth, *Irony*, pp. 28-29.

[59]Leonard L. Thompson, *Introducing Biblical Literature: A More Fantastic Country* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 223-231.

[60]See *Loaves and Fishes*, pp. 157-179.

Mapping Jesus' Logically Odd Use of "I" as a Clue to His Intentionality

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A promising approach to understanding Jesus' intentionality in the gospels may be found in I. T. Ramsey's study of those experiences in life that require discernment and commitment and lead to a disclosure situation that is "more than" one would expect to find on the surface. The language of such situations is "logically odd" but wholly appropriate. In this paper it is my purpose to explore Ramsey's empirical description of persons in religious disclosure situations and make generous use of his notion of the "logically odd" in interpreting Jesus' language in the gospels. In describing the methodology, reference will be made to Ramsey's principal work, *Religious Language: An Empirical Placing of Theological Phrases.*[1]

Applying this method to selected passages from Jesus' career, especially to his first recorded utterance in the logically odd temple episode of Luke 2:41-51, I hope to show how Jesus' use of the personal pronoun "I" seems to indicate a logical stop-card by which he focuses Old Testament prophecy and redemptive activity upon his authoritative words and works. Accordingly, Jesus claims to act as an "irreducible posit" of the new age of salvation which is breaking in precisely in terms of his "I." Whether it is open table-fellowship, feasting rather than fasting, healing the sick, forgiving sins, proclaiming the kingdom's arrival, or making other logically odd claims for himself (like his claiming a higher sonship to the Father that takes precedence over filial obedience to his earthly parents), Jesus' language consists of final tautologies which sponsor key words and declare an "odd" commitment on his part and demand an "odd" discernment-commitment response on the part of his hearers. In positing his authoritative claim "I am I," Jesus makes the tautology significant by telling and enacting "stories" until a characteristic discernment is evoked and is followed by the commitment of the hearer and observer. Hence his ordinary object-language is qualified by the logically odd shape he gives to it as he evokes the odd kind of situation.

Let us take an early example that is surprising yet wholly in keeping with the logically odd motif of this paper. In Luke 2:41-51 the evangelist tells the engaging but odd story of Jesus at age twelve nearing bar mizvah. It is the age at which the adolescent Jewish boy modulates into manhood and assumes mature responsibilities. The sense-unit of the passage, which comprises 2:41-51, is encased within the parallel refrains of 2:40 and 2:52, each functioning as a colophon or concluding note, similar to the colophons of the Genesis genealogies: "And the child grew and became strong, filled with wisdom; and the favor of God was upon him" (v. 40), summarizing his prior boyhood in Nazareth described in 2:22-39); "And Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature, and in favor with God and man" (v. 52), summarizing his maturation following the temple incident recorded in 2:41-51). There is nothing extraordinary here, in view of a similar refrain in Luke 1:80 concerning John the Baptist, of whom it is also said, "And the child grew and became strong in spirit. . . ." John and Jesus are unusual persons, to be sure, but the stylized

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[1]New York: Macmillan, 1963.

form does not necessarily indicate anything more about Jesus than that he is destined to play a prophetic role.

What is logically odd about the temple story is Jesus' un-Jewish behavior toward his parents and his outlandish response to their (logically ordinary) perturbation at his apparent disobedience as their son. One must not miss the logical oddness of a young boy nearing bar mizvah who appears so insensitive to or unmindful of his parents as not to tell them he was staying behind the returning religious caravan to discuss theology with the temple authorities. Of course he may have been lost and wandered to the temple center, but his later reply to his parents (v. 49) suggests that his remaining behind was deliberate. In Jewish tradition the dishonoring of parents by willful disobedience was a serious infraction (Exod 20:12, "Honor your father and your mother"; Deut 27:16, "Cursed be he who dishonors his father or his mother"; cf. Matt 15:5; Mark 7:10), and it carried the direst consequences.

In the Lukan temple story Mary voices both her own and Joseph's concerns in almost angry terms. After all, Jesus not only stayed behind in Jerusalem, he did not tell his parents (v. 43), allowed them to suppose he was in the company, let them go a day's journey before they missed him, setting up a situation in which they lost another day looking for him (three days in all), to say nothing of the anguish and panic they must have felt at ever finding him among one hundred thousand Passover visitors in a city that normally numbered less than half that size. When they finally found him they were astounded, overwhelmed (ἐξεπλάγησαν, lit. "struck outside themselves"). Mary's words are exactly what one would expect of weary and angry parents: "Son, why have you treated us so? Behold, your father and I have been looking for you anxiously" (ὀδυνώμενοι, lit. "in great distress," "with acute suffering").

The logical oddity of this incident now comes into focus in Jesus' reply to his parents. Instead of saying he is sorry he seems to compound the offense by making a logically odd claim for himself as he evokes a disclosure-discernment situation, so typical of his later form of address as an adult, that demands, sooner or later, a response in terms of himself. Their impatience with him is matched by his seeming impatience with them. With what appears to ordinary propriety to be incredible cheek he brushes aside their parental concern and inquires of them, "Why were you searching for me?" He answers his own query with a rhetorical question, implying that they should have known the reason, "Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?" This question-answer lies at the vertex of the chiastic step parallelism of the story. It is the moment of disclosure at which the whole incident is transposed to a higher level, away from what appears in terms of Torah to be a filial infraction, to the higher filial consciousness and obedience of Son to Father. Jesus is, as it were, superimposing upon the encounter a grid of sonship-consciousness that is archetypal and takes precedence over the created ectypal order of sonship and familial patterns. And this at age twelve. Very odd behavior, indeed, but thematic for his later teaching.

Schematically the Lukan story follows a chiastic step-parallelism:

a Jesus' apparent disobedience to earthly parents, v. 43
  b Jerusalem (his Father's house), v. 43
    c parents not knowing, v. 44
      d all amazed at his understanding and answers, vv. 46, 47
        e parents perturbed, v. 48
          f parents' query: Son, why? Their anxiety, v. 48
            g Jesus' resolution: Did you not know . . . ? v. 49
          f' Jesus' query: Parents, why? His puzzlement, v. 49
        e' (parents now wondering); missing but assumed
      d' (all amazed at his reply); missing but assumed
    c' parents not (yet) understanding, v. 50
  b' Nazareth (his Father's house), v. 51
a' Jesus' obedience to earthly parents, v. 51
            g' Mary's pondering (her resolution begun), v. 51

Jesus' use of the personal pronoun *I* (οὐκ ἤδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με) is the logical stop-card by which he is claiming something very remarkable about himself, namely, that his higher filial relationship and obedience to the Father take precedence over ordinary familial relationships defined in the Mosaic law. The implications are astounding, for by this body-and-spoken language Jesus at age twelve evidences an implicit and inchoate christological awareness. No other explanation seems satisfactory. Though some interpreters might see in the pericope the evangelist's desire to conform Jesus to Hellenistic patterns of a *theios anēr*, the criterion of dissimilarity would suggest a genuine historical incident—the only one—of Jesus' bar mizvah boyhood: (1) the episode is dissimilar to the behavior of any acceptable Jewish boy of the time who is on the threshold of manhood; (2) Jesus' claim is not of the direct and explicit christological sort one would expect were the incident a literary creation of the evangelist; (3) the conclusion of the chiasmic episode is not what one would expect of a "divine man" or gnostic redeemer, as Jesus assumes a normal filial obedience to his earthly parents for an unspecified period of adolescence.[2]

The validity of this empirical analysis of Jesus' self-understanding is confirmed by the coherence of his consciousness of a higher filial relationship in other incidents throughout his ministry, and he frames this relationship with the Father in such a way that the higher filial obedience of the disciple is in terms of obedience to himself, thereby indicating an odd (and to some, blasphemous) claim to correlativity with the Father: "He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me; and he who does not take up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me. He who finds his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for my sake will find it" (Matt 10:37-39 para.; cf. vv. 34-36 in which Jesus speaks of the sword he brings to destroy the peace of the earthly family—again, odd language). And Matt 12:48-50 para. ("'Who is my mother, and who are my brothers? . . . Here are my mother and my brothers: For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother, and sister, and mother.'") is typical of Jesus' peculiar use of the personal pronoun in terms of parity with the Father and therefore of himself as the logical stop-card of authority.

One notices such discernment-commitment utterances are logically odd, since their meaning cannot be discerned through ordinary logical and empirical testing, but only in the moment of discernment-commitment when they "come alive," the "light dawns," and the "penny drops."[3] We see this to be the case in Jesus' parables and his proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom of God in terms of his own person. It is only when Jesus' claims are met "eye to eye" that his words and acts "come alive" and the disclosure situation takes on depth and a certain spatio-temporal elusiveness, simply because it is a

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[2]Selected parallel stories about great figures are as follows: Moses (Josephus, *Ant.* 2:230; Philo, *Mos.* 1:21); Josephus (*Vita* 2); Cyrus (Herodotus 1:114f.); Alexander (Plutarch, *Alex.* 5); Apollonius (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 1:7). Two remarks may be made about these parallels: (1) It begs the question to say that Luke has created the story from Hellenistic parallels unless it can be demonstrated on wider exegetical ground that Jesus was not a logically odd person and therefore could not have evidenced unusual religious insight at age twelve. The composite exegetical evidence of the four gospels attests the fact that Jesus demonstrated very odd religious behavior that is coherent with the story of Luke 2:41-51. (2) Unlike the superficially parallel stories concerning Hellenistic figures, the Lukan story does not underscore the precociousness of Jesus, but rather his intentional dissociation from his earthly parents and his claim to a higher affiliation with his Father, God. See I. H. Marshall, *Commentary on Luke* (New International Greek Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 125-26.

[3]Ramsey, *Religious Language*, p. 20.

characteristically personal situation where the situation is more than "what's seen" and has the character of "vision."[4] The entire Gospel of Luke has this elusive characteristic of personal disclosure by Jesus in language that only the discerning and committed can understand in depth. Then and only then does the penny drop. But the other gospels, including John, are also characteristically personal and require discernment-commitment before the enigmatic Jesus reaches to the roots of one's understanding.

The use of ordinary empirical situations to illustrate a possible depth of disclosure in the religious setting suggests that religious language, and so the language of the gospels, is logically odd in several ways, as I have suggested. First, the use of the personal pronoun *I* and the logic of nicknames or surrogates for "I" will give us some insight into the grammatical proper names used in the gospels, and of the logical priority of "I" as Jesus uses it. Pressing the question as to *why* Jesus speaks and acts as he does, we find we cannot assign his behavior to forces working beyond him over which he has no control and which compel him to do what he does. We can only assign his behavior in the end to who he is—like the man who is asked why he has done such and such and who finally replies, after a series of questions in infinite regress, "Because I'm I." That is where the logic finally ends, with a logically odd tautology, the assertion of the logical priority of the responsible, choosing, willing "I." "I" is the final form, the apex or final end-point, a specially resistant posit.[5]

Jesus' observers ask of him, "Why do you say what you say and do what you do?" To which his reply in effect is, "Because *I am I* and *I choose* to do what I do: that is the person I am." As Ramsey says, "In the case of a 'free' response we reach a position in the question-answer game beyond which no more is possible along the same lines. There has been declared for that particular question-answer game, a 'final option.'"[6] Here, in Jesus' free decision to be this sort of person, doing and saying these kinds of things, he is exerting an authoritative claim to the "I" he is, with his logically peculiar discernment, obligation, and focus of loyalty: "I am I." It is the irreducible tautology. Jesus, of course, claims to be sent from the Father and to be doing his will; but the unity of will between Father, Son, and Spirit in all four gospels is so evident that Jesus, in using "I," appears to be claiming the divine tautology as authoritatively as Yahweh's "I am Who I am" in Exodus 3:14. The personal pronoun I is the "irreducible posit" of divine authority beyond which in the most ultimate sense it is impossible to go, and Jesus claims it.

"Why," Jesus is asked (as early as Luke 2:48), "do you do the things you do?" "Why do you and your disciples do this?" And Jesus replies, "Look and see what my discernment and commitment specify. I am *showing* you by my words and acts." The questioner either sees or does not see, depending on his or her own discernment-commitment. Jesus' mother does not see at first, but she ponders ("his mother kept all these things in her heart"), and later we see her at the cross, at the empty tomb, and then (in Acts 1:14) she appears among the faithful just before Pentecost ("All these with one accord devoted themselves to prayer, together with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers"). For her, as for the others, the moment of discernment is about to come when she will finally understand what Jesus had really said on that occasion in the temple in his twelfth year (and subsequently through his odd language and behavior. Jesus sets up the discernment-commitment situation, as his parables eminently attest, yet discernment does not necessarily come at once, but often only after long commitment and pondering, and a logically odd gift of grace and understanding. Jesus' adversaries, on the other hand, ask for convincing empirical signs as proof of Jesus' claims; but what they do not understand is that unless they are willing to come to the point where doubt and

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[4]Ibid., pp. 21-22.
[5]Ibid., p. 46.
[6]Ibid.

hostility give way to personal trust, the ice will never break, the light will not dawn, the penny will not drop. No number of spatio-temporal "signs," even in infinite regress, will exhaust what Jesus is claiming. But for the discerning and committed, his words of intention and forgiveness, his healings and miracles are sufficient to disclose, in time, his authoritative "I."[7]

The good exegete and hermeneut will train himself or herself to discern Jesus' odd language and the logical improprieties in the gospels that qualify ordinary models of experience. One may sensitize oneself to the logically odd by becoming aware of odd logical behavior in other areas of human discourse, such as in poetry and in science. They may not all have logical behavior that could be called religious, Ramsey allows,

> but I am saying that a useful antidote to the craze for straightforward language might be found in suitable doses of poetry or greater familiarity with the curiously odd words thrown up in scientific theories. Such doses would at any rate begin to suggest to us that there is an important place for odd language; that odd language may well have a distinctive significance, and we might even conclude in the end that the odder the language the more it matters to us.[8]

As I have observed, Jesus is speaking and acting with an odd kind of language designed to evoke in the attentive and obedient a situation of discernment. This discernment moves one along a logical route until he sees, at the end of the series, that Jesus "completes" and "presides over" the rest of human language, which is a tremendous implication. Jesus, speaking with the authoritative "I am I" of God himself, "may be pictured as the center of a maze—the spot where we finally arrive if we walk long enough and make the correct logical moves."[9]

Hence Jesus' own logically odd Christology is constructed out of ordinary language with ordinary models drawn from human experience, but is qualified with attributes of and associations with deity. For example, "you have heard that it was said" is an instantly recognizable model, with qualifier words that invoke a divine authority far above the authority of Moses: "But *I* say to you . . ." (Matt 5:21-48). The personal pronoun *I* is a recognizable empirical model of everyday discourse which Jesus qualifies with claims to divine authority and which is designed, in its logically odd way, to evoke a situation of discernment-commitment. It is in terms of "this *and more*" that Jesus' claim leads one on to "something 'mysterious' which eludes the grasp of causal language," and "satisfies" the attentive hearer.[10]

In each of the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, as in all his words spoken, stories told, and acts performed, Jesus' "I" completes the causal sequence and is at the same time logically prior. An attentive analysis of even the most cautious core of "authentic" sayings arrived at by the most radical criticism evidences a logical status of authority in Jesus' use of "I." "I am I" is emphatic and final, even in the case of the bar mizvah Jesus who makes unthinkable demands of logical propriety and wrenches the

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[7]Ibid., p. 48.

[8]Ibid., p. 54.

[9]Ibid., p. 68.

[10]Ibid., p. 70. The whole of chapter 2, "Some Traditional Characterizations of God: Models and Qualifiers," contains excellent materials for understanding how Jesus models and qualifies traditional language to make his claim of divine authority. See Royce Gordon Gruenler, *New Approaches to Jesus and the Gospels. A Phenomenological and Exegetical Study of Synoptic Christology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982) for a more thorough study of I. T. Ramsey and other methodologies concerning the intentionality of Jesus.

system of ordinary filial obedience from its authoritative location in Mosaic tradition and transfers that authority to the locus of his own *I*: "Did you not know that *I* must be in my Father's house?" His behavior is simply outrageous. But it is only a preview of what characterizes everything he says and does when his formal ministry commences eighteen years later. The entire ministry of Jesus is outrageous, according to the canons of logical propriety.

This fact helps us understand why the religious authorities, who were not willing to accept the odd logical priority of Jesus' "I," wanted the causal regression continued to the "real" cause of his behavior: "It is only by Beelzebub, the prince of demons, that this fellow drives out demons" (Matt 12:24, NIV). Jesus' reply identifies his activity with the Spirit of God: "But if I drive out demons by the Spirit [Luke: "finger"] of God, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Matt 12:28; para. Luke 11:20, NIV). The recognizable models of traditional theology are all qualified by Jesus' use of the authoritative "I" in terms of which a new salvation grammar is being introduced. In the prototrinitarian claims of Jesus there is a virtual sharing of divine authority and power with the Father and the Spirit. Beyond the divine "I am I" one cannot go, any more than on the ordinary level of human discourse one cannot go beyond the "I" in the reply, "I did it because I chose to do it."

In gospel research and interpretation, accordingly, the exegete would do well to heed Ramsey's warning not to try to force the special logic of Jesus and the evangelists into a language frame from which person words have been deleted. "Scientific" language has its own story to tell, but it is concerned mainly with straightforward causal relations and tends to be reductionist in a behavioral sense. Each logical area therefore must be acknowledged as complementary, and the logic of causal scientific analysis must not sit heavy upon the logically odd claims of Jesus. Indeed, as Michael Polanyi has argued persuasively,[11] the natural and behavioral sciences have their own peculiar personal components and a fair share of appropriately odd logical beliefs.

In the remaining section of his study Ramsey demonstrates how patristic theology offers to make logical sense in terms of its own cultural setting of the "riotous mixture of phrases" that comes from Jesus and his apostolic interpreters as they map the "logical geography" of Jesus for the Jewish and Greek worlds.[12] But always, as Ramsey wisely reminds us, the words and works of Jesus (and the second and third orders of theological interpretation that follow him) do not exhaust the profound mystery and systematic elusiveness of his person. The odd logical qualifiers that modify the straightforward empirical anchorage of Jesus in ordinary situations always lead us on to the inexhaustible disclosure where we begin to understand only if we are in a posture of discernment and commitment. What is important for the New Testament scholar is that he be sensitive to the oddities of Jesus' language, both verbal and acted, that he conscientiously describe that language *as it is* in a truly phenomenological fashion, and that he aid the scholarly enterprise by appropriate logical mapping of Jesus' use of the personal pronoun *I*. The pronoun I, as Ramsey says, is the best clue to all genuine mystery, all sublime paradox, and all revealing impropriety. It is logically explorable, but never logically exhaustible. So it is with the Jesus of the gospels.

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[11] Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical-Philosophy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964). See also *The Tacit Dimension* (New York: Doubleday, 1966).

[12] Ramsey, *Religious Language*, pp. 201, 215-16. For further explorations by Ramsey that are especially useful for the purpose of understanding gospel hermeneutics, see "Religion and Science: A Philosopher's Approach," *The Church Quarterly Review* (vol. 162, 1961), and "Paradox in Religion," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* (supplementary vol. 33, 1959), both reprinted in *New Essays on Religious Language*, ed. Dallas High (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Recent Historical Jesus Studies and the Social Sciences

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The main purpose of this essay is simply to report the character of historical Jesus studies of the last few years, particularly with respect to their use (or non-use) of social sciences. As everyone now knows there has been a resurgence during the last decade or so in the use of social sciences in the study of early Christianity as well as ancient Israel (notably, Theissen, Gager, Kee, Elliott, Meeks, Feeley-Harnik, Gottwald, Wilson). It is remarkable then to notice that in recent articles which review this development (Scroggs, 1980; Harrington, 1980; Stevenson, 1979; Malina, 1982 and forthcoming; Gager 1982; Meeks, 1982) there is but one reference to work on the historical Jesus which uses social sciences (Harrington, 186, refers to Isenberg, 1975 and 1974). With some notable exceptions (Derrett, 1982; M. Smith, 1978) these articles reported the situation quite accurately. However, the purpose of this essay is to show how the situation is now changing rapidly. A secondary purpose is to indicate how the use of social sciences can and should serve historical Jesus studies significantly.

For the main descriptive part of this report an important requirement was some scheme for analysis. This requirement was met somewhat arbitrarily because of the uncertainties about method and theory endemic to the social sciences themselves (e.g., Quinney, 1982; C. Smith, 1979; Skorupski, 1976). These uncertainties are also reflected in the use of social sciences by biblical scholars as, e.g., the four essays in *Interpretation* (July, 1982) demonstrate. Thus, for the analytical purposes of this paper, the following scheme will be used (analogous to Scroggs, 1980):

1. *Social description:* Does the author demonstrate interest in or use of social, economic, political, religious realities as they appear as data in social sciences?

2. *Social theory:* Does the author demonstrate interest in or use of theories as they have been developed in social sciences in at least two ways: (a) theories of *explanation*, e.g., those developed in sociology of knowledge (Remus, 1982), and (b) *models* of analysis (Carney, 1975)?

The historical Jesus studies selected for analysis will be treated in order, beginning with those showing no interest in social sciences and ending with those making deliberate use of them. Contrary to a prevailing impression, my investigation found no dearth of historical Jesus studies. This paper does not pretend at all to have found, let alone analyze all recent studies. (Some works that I should have liked to analyze were unavailable to me, but they may be part of an update I will give at the Dallas meeting.) However, those works which are discussed here probably form a representative sample of recent works.

I. STUDIES SHOWING NO INTEREST IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

In this category the two most important books are Meyer's (1979) and Harvey's (1982), which may be regarded as paradigms for much recent historical Jesus study. The first third of Meyer's book addresses theological and methodological issues where he

indicates his debt especially to Collingwood's philosophy of history and Lonergan's philosophy of religion. As I shall try to indicate, Meyer's work on Jesus shows more dependence on Collingwood than on Lonergan. For Collingwood and other idealists "all history is the history of thought" (*The Idea of History*, 215). Thus, Meyer using the idealist distinction between the outside and the inside of history, can make the astonishing statement: "The outside of the Jesus event is easily summarized: a public figure in his mid-thirties, Jesus was itinerant in the regions of Galilee and Judea in the days of the Roman prefect Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26-36) at whose command he was executed by crucifixion on the charge of claiming to be a king" (1981). This idealist distinction between the inside and the outside of history makes it possible for Meyer to focus almost wholly on Jesus' thought and thus to see no need either to focus on the material side of history or to use the social sciences to explicate it.

The rest of Meyer's book exemplifies consistently his stated approach. (Recapitulating summaries are given on the following pages: 127-28, 153, 165-66, 170-73, 188, 199-201, 202, 220-22, 238-39. Obviously, in no case is it possible to indicate the richness of any works analyzed in this essay.) Jesus' goal, in continuity with the baptist's mission, was the pursuit of the "age-old scriptural promise of the restoration of Israel" (128). Jesus differed from John in emphasizing present and future salvation rather than judgment. Moreover, Jesus' teaching was "not interpretation, but revelation" of Torah; he "was not a rabbi but a prophet and 'more than a prophet,' the unique revealer of the full final measure of God's will" (151). And he understood himself in this way, as his "esoteric" teaching to the disciples shows. A concrete sign of the goal of Jesus' career was the cleansing of the temple which presaged its rebuilding "in three days" as an instantaneous act signalling the post-historical resolution of the coming 'ordeal'" (199-202).

Meyer's focus on Jesus as revealer (indeed as "thinker," in connection with a crucial concluding quote from Kant, 252-53) shows why he does not either focus on Jesus' mission in actions and involvement in his society, or use the social sciences to explicate that involvement. Meyer, of course, refers to Jesus' message for the poor and ill (130, and passim), as well as his actions as healer (153-170); but both message and actions are continually theologized or "thematized" (e.g., "salvation as pure gift," 130) but never "socialized."

Meyer comes closest to using the "socio-religious situation" (his phrase) in his discussion of table-fellowship, noting that Jesus' practice was a "challenge to the social order" (159-160). Yet this note and others like it are not followed up, primarily because Meyer in all cases immediately reverts to the "powerful symbolic dimension" of Jesus' actions (171). This includes Jesus' climactic action in the temple.

Thus, Meyer's presentation of Jesus does not even utilize social description, let alone social theory; and from the point of view of those who see the need for the latter, Meyer's Jesus appears strangely and uncannily abstracted from real life. As indicated above, perhaps this result can be attributed to Meyer's idealist (or existentialist) orientation. And perhaps the result would have been different if Meyer had submitted more fully to Lonergan's orientation. For according to M. Lamb (1981), Lonergan attends, and contributes critically to both major phases of the modern "turn to the subject": the "transcendental-idealist" phase as well as the "dialectical-materialist" phase.

Harvey's method is to approach Jesus through the constraints of his environment. One might say, thus, that his basic criterion of historicity is "environmental cogency," i.e., Jesus must make sense in terms of his environment. This approach demotes considerably the criterion of dissimilarity except in the sense that "odd is true" (8), just as long as the odd is odd for Jesus' time. While this environmental approach has promise for historical Jesus studies, especially in connection with use of social sciences (as Derrett and M. Smith show), nevertheless for our purposes Harvey's result elicits three judgments: (1) Harvey focuses mainly on Jesus' intellectual environment. (Thus, the title of his book should be "Jesus and the constraints of intellectual history.") (2) Harvey manifests no awareness of the cultural gulf that separates the first from the twentieth

century, a gulf stressed especially by Malina and Derrett. He argues explicitly that the first century attitude to time and history (67) and miracles is the same as in the twentieth century (66-75, 101). (3) Harvey makes no use of social sciences.

Harvey's chapters on crucifixion, Torah, time, miracle, Messiah, and Son of God, all contain many valuable discussions. For example, the discussion of the relative roles of Jewish and Roman authorities in Jesus' arrest and execution results in the view that the Jewish establishment used Pilate to do what it itself could not legally do (chapter II, esp. 26-34). Another example is the description of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem as a "startling and ostentatious reversal of the normal constraint which would have obliged him to enter Jerusalem on foot" (129).

However, like Meyer, Harvey focuses almost wholly on the level of thought, so that Jesus appears mainly as a prophetic teacher. Thus, for example, the "precious conclusion" (34) of Harvey's analysis is that the basic reason for Jesus' crucifixion was his "implicit claims to authority" (33), which were a threat to public order. But Harvey never explicates in any detail how, apart from his ideas, Jesus was a "serious criminal" (26) other than in the following subordinate comment: "One way or another, a man who said such things was deserving of death if a dangerous and unwelcome popular movement were to be avoided" (34). But what in Jesus' career apart from his teaching that could have caused such an outcome is never specified.

The chapter on the "constraint of law" can serve an typical of Harvey's approach. Jesus in his actions was relatively law abiding. The problem was in his role as a rabbinic teacher of Torah. He was nothing like the "founding-father" figure for a new sect, but rather like a prophetic scribe (57-59, 65), who sought religious meaning in daily life (47, 50). He accepted the synagogue and the Torah as the Pharisees did; but he revealed its true meaning, making as a prophetic teacher even impossible demands so as to induce a historical crisis. Thus, Harvey focuses on Jesus as a teacher in radical disjunction from his actions, and he does not use the social sciences to help explicate Jesus' role as a prophetic teacher.

It is interesting to note that two scholars who make explicit use of social sciences oppose Harvey directly when he says that Jesus did not reject food laws (39-40; Feeley-Harnik and Eisenberg, 1975). Could this be partly because they are sensitive to the matter of purity as explicated by M. Douglas? Could it be also that Harvey rejects roles for Jesus where teaching was not the principle activity because of his lack of sensitivity to the focus on social sciences? It will be noted below how M. Smith, who makes explicit use of social sciences, subordinates Jesus' teaching role to his acting in the role of healer. Is this also significant with regard to use of social sciences?

Harvey believes that the saying: "Let the dead bury their dead" (Matt 8:22) shows that for Jesus a "critical moment of history had now dawned" which required exceptional behavior (61). However, it is not only the case, as already noted, that the crisis is induced wholly by Jesus' teachings, but what the exceptional behavior is to be is also not specified. Instead, Harvey debates the old issue about an "interim ethic," where one sees the thoroughgoing theoretical and generalized nature of the discussion, abstracted as it is from material historical realities. The following quotation dramatically expresses Harvey's point of view: "Jesus combined the learning and expertise of the scribes with the freedom and directness of a prophet . . . his teaching was inseparable from the particular circumstances which he invited people to believe now prevailed. If we ask, what circumstances? (The answer is that) in the case of Jesus there were no exceptional circumstances" (65).

Not only does this analysis of Harvey's book substantiate the three judgments made at the start, but one can also see the gratuitous character of his references to Marxists at the end of chapters IV and V. After noting the affinity Marxists have with Jesus' hope and promise for the future, Harvey observes that Marxists "are of course tempted to envisage radical change in social and economic terms; but they recognize that the thrust of Jesus' teaching was not toward social reform, but towards a future in

which man becomes more fully and authentically human" (97). Harvey, needless to say, is not so tempted since he protects himself with the armor of his idealist and spiritualist theology. Not even Machoveč, who is a Marxist, let alone Miranda, not to speak of Belo, would find comfort in Harvey's reassuring words.

E. Stauffer presents us again with his peculiar version of historical method and his picture of Jesus and the earliest churches. His method is a curious combination of critical use of the gospels with a positivistic reading of what he takes to be authentic historical data. The result is a static picture of Jesus with little if any sense of historical dynamics or development, and an inordinate amount of attention to trivia such as the date of Jesus' birth and Jesus' age at death. Important for this paper are the following judgments: (1) Stauffer shows no sociological sophistication and makes no use of social sciences where it would be appropriate; (2) he reads twentieth century ideas back into the first century.

Even though Stauffer makes explicit reference to sociological questions inherent in critical gospel study, especially in form and redaction criticism (9), yet he never once uses social sciences to illuminate the data of Jesus' life and world. Thus, for example, he makes no attempt to discriminate the Galilean population, city-country relations, etc. (as Freyne, Oppenheimer, and E. M. Meyers could help him do). He makes no attempt to delineate the political, economic, and social dimensions of the temple or what he calls the "establishment" in Jerusalem (50ff, 107ff).

Stauffer also makes egregious misjudgments about Jesus' life and world because he lacks a sense of the cultural gulf that separates the first and twentieth centuries. Thus, again and again, he treats religion and politics as if they were separable (18); and even worse, he reads modern liberal capitalist idea(l)s back into the first century. The sections on freedom, tolerance, and the principle of productive capacity (57-64) are little more than expressions of liberal capitalism. Stauffer also focuses on personal aspects of life (section IV) and individual virtues, to the total neglect of social justice. The "humanity of God" (82) is seen individualistically and not socially. So, while Jesus can reject enslaving methods of political rule, yet he himself is anti- or non-political, with no positive political interests. He is no Zealot, and the kingdom does not come by human means. "Er war kein Sozialutopist" (67)!

E. P. Sanders' special contribution has been the effort to revise modern scholars' understanding of Palestinian Judaism as "covenantal nomism" (394), and Paul's relation to it (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism*. Fortress, 1977). He begins his article on "Jesus, Paul and Judaism" with the observation that in a discussion of the basic issue of Palestinian interpretation of scripture, it is possible "to leave aside the socio-economic factors behind the party disputes and focus on the way in which disputes were actually conducted . . . " (393). Sanders seems to imply here the sociology of knowledge distinction between manifest and latent factors in social realities (e.g., Remus). Insofar as he does, and insofar as he might distinguish focusing on the former (i.e., manifest) factors for practical analytical purposes, his procedure is fine. In a similar way, e.g., one could focus on the legal constitutional disputes between pre-Civil War congresspersons or Methodists or Presbyterians, without noticing what was really at stake, namely slavery. But as these examples already suggest, this procedure has the danger of missing very significant history. This seems to have happened especially in Sanders' picture of Jesus, where his omission of socio-economic factors at least truncates, if it does not actually distort it.

First, a summary of Sanders' picture of Jesus: Much like Meyer, Sanders sees Jesus' intention as preparing Israel for the near appearance of the Kingdom of God. He does this through his mission to sinners (the poor, the outcasts, the little ones), who are defined as those who reject or do not bear the yoke of the covenant of Moses (the heart of Palestinian Judaism, "covenantal nomism"). Those who respond to Jesus as on a par with Moses will be redeemed. This development causes the dispute between Jesus and religious leaders over whether God's grace is limited to those under the Mosaic covenant,

in other words, whether or not observance of the commandments was a prerequisite to entering God's Kingdom.

Parallel to this dispute in Galilee was Jesus' prophetic demonstration in the temple when he "predicted (or threatened) the destruction of the temple and carried out an action symbolic of its destruction by interfering with the performance of the sacrifices. . . . He intended to indicate that the end was at hand and that the temple would be destroyed so that the new and perfect temple might arise" (411). So Jesus became a serious threat to the authority of the Mosaic covenant and he was killed because of this exclusively religious conflict, not over revolutionary or political issues. This was how the dispute was actually conducted." In sum, Jesus attacked the God-given Torah in the name of God, and so was destroyed. The issue at bottom was: Moses or Jesus.

To be noted first is how vague and unspecified Jesus' preparation of Israel for the eschaton remains. The sinners, the poor, outcasts, etc. never receive sociological specification. Thus, the character of Jesus' special mission to sinners is left unspecified, as is the character of his association with them. How and why did he come to a positive relationship with them? Did he have a revelation out of the blue, or did his mission occur in some discernible social setting? Sanders, significantly, does not find it necessary to introduce Jesus' healings and feedings. Jesus' mission and his conflict with the authorities seems to take place all on the level of speech and thought. Indeed, Jesus himself saw his "preaching to (sinners) the good news that they would inherit the kingdom . . . as the chief proof that the kingdom was in fact at hand" (423). In this particular way the issue was "Moses or Jesus" (428).

However, "Moses" was a rich complexity of specifiable religious, social, economic, and political realities (Gottwald), but an analogous specification of the content of "Jesus" is never even suggested, let alone carried out. Why not? Probably because of Sanders' formalistic approach to Jesus, with its focus on arguments and disputes. This leaves out Jesus' actions with their social, economic, and political content. Sanders seems to have succumbed to the dangers present in his method.

It remains only to mention a few more examples that fall in this category. H. Koester gives a mere 20 pages (Vol. II, 74-94) to Jesus in his two volume work on *The History and Literature of Early Christianity.* (Two new college texts on the NT give even less space to the historical Jesus: H. Kee, *Understanding the NT.* Prentice-Hall, 1983, 4th ed., a few pages? N. Perrin, D. C. Duling, *The NT: An Introduction.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982, 2nd ed., 15 pages, all on Jesus' message as the "presupposition of the NT.") His post-Bultmannian treatment focuses mainly on Jesus' teachings as the title of one subsection shows: "Jesus as Prophet, Wisdom Teacher, and Exorcist." "The rule of God begins with Jesus' words . . ." (79), and "human action and care do not influence its miraculous arrival in any way (Mark 4:3-8)" (79). Even though Jesus' "ethic" concerns "membership in a particular social class . . ." (82), yet no effort is made to relate it to the specifics of class structure in Galilee. Indeed, any hint of social science is totally absent.

The same judgment holds for Milavec and Charlesworth. The former finds it necessary to engage in medieval dialectics (the primacy of will or intellect) in his discussion of "Jesus' Practice of Apprenticing His Disciples," while at the same time omitting any use of sociological studies that are relevant to his subject (e.g., Theissen). The same omission occurs in his treatment of the economic issue of "financing of discipleship." Jesus overall is a teacher of Torah, of truth.

Charlesworth works wholly on the level of the analysis of ideas in literary works, which he believes is the "proper approach to . . . Jesus of Nazareth . . ." (474). The result is a picture of Jesus as "a man among men, a Rabbi with disciples" (475). There is a certain consistency in this literary approach with the picture of Jesus as a Rabbi, along with the total omission of any use of social sciences, even the sociology of literature.

Finally, while J. A. Baird's work on "Jesus' Theology" is itself mainly modern theology, yet there is appeal throughout to the historical Jesus. Even though Jesus' actions are said to be very important (34, 117, etc.), yet, this appeal is understandably mainly to Jesus' teachings, which are used to ascertain their religious import (especially explicit on 86 and 168, but evident throughout). Even though there is "something" that is "inevitably social" about the experience of the Kingdom of God (152), yet this "something" is never specified.

The results of the preceding analysis may be summarized as follows: (1) Most contemporary study of the historical Jesus focuses almost wholly on him as a teacher of ideas with the almost total omission of his actions and involvements in the material side of life. "We have meaning, then, without specific content" (Hugh Kenner's remark about Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, quoted in H. Schneidau, "Biblical Style and Western Literature," pp. 33-34, in *Literature of Belief*, Brigham Young University Press, 1981). (2) Most contemporary study omits any serious use of social sciences even on the level of social description. This omission is a very serious defect in historical Jesus studies if Malina is right that "meanings in history will always be perceived in terms of some social system." It means that the "historical-critical method is not historical or critical enough because it does not take the social sciences seriously enough" (forthcoming). (3) The use of social scientific studies might help to settle questions of historicity as the cases of Jesus' relation to food laws (Harvey vs. Feeley-Harnik and Eisenberg), and the relationship between Jesus' teachings and actions (most recent scholars vs. M. Smith) seem to show.

II. STUDIES USING SOCIAL DESCRIPTION

Three studies were found to have some minimal interest in social sciences insofar as they paid some attention to social scientific data. They are analyzed here on a spectrum of less explicit to more explicit reference to social science.

W. Farmer's treatment of the historical Jesus is part (19-48) of his magnum opus on the development of the gospel tradition and canon. As we should expect on the basis of his previous interests, Farmer develops his understanding of Jesus as a "religious reformer" (29), with some reference to the Palestinian social setting. He refers specifically to the "established world of Jewish piety," from which Jesus was alienated, with its political relationship to Rome and its "policy of oppression" (35). Again, Jesus' conflict with public authority is seen to have a social as well as a religious dimension since his opponents are those who uphold "the law in . . . towns and cities" of Galilee, and who are in "positions of privilege and power" (42). Yet, in the end one has to say that reference to data which forms the raw material for social scientific theorizing remains minimal in Farmer's picture of Jesus.

Wilcox, in his fairly extensive essay, makes explicit his intention to emphasize Jesus' "proper historical context, Jewish Palestine of the First Century" (135), including "geographical, linguistic, cultural, political, economic, and religious" aspects (140); and he warns appropriately against imprisonment in "our own twentieth century presuppositions" (138) to the exclusion of first century "Jewish models" (139). His intention is carried out quite extensively in his section on "Jesus' Jewish Environment" (140-159), though it is sometimes thwarted by extensive digressions into (sometimes minor) historical questions. Thus, e.g., the discussion of language (145-51) is almost wholly on questions of historicity with little help in understanding the significance of bilingualism or different types of language use on different cultural levels, e.g., urban vs. peasant. Also some of Wilcox's judgments about Hellenization, guerrilla activity, and city and village (144-45, 151-55) might need more precision and revision in the light of Freyne's studies.

The large section on "Jesus and the 'Parties' and Sects of his Time" (159-85) is a quite traditional description almost wholly on the level of beliefs, where Wilcox uses little of the material developed in the section on environment. Jesus is compared with

Pharisees almost wholly in legalistic terms even though Wilcox accepts the view that Pharisaism was a "many-sided movement" including "lawyers and scholars, politicians and saints, militants and pacifists" (181). Thus, it is disappointing not to see Jesus compared to first century groups on levels other than religious beliefs. This lack is apparent in the interesting discussion of the Pharisees "watching" Jesus (182ff.), where again their concern is limited to checking up on the truth of Jesus' *halakhah* and his practice of purity rules. Such questions as the following are not addressed: what interests other than religious did these watchers represent? What persons or groups did they represent? Were they simply objective observers? Failure to address such questions shows the need for much more extensive social description and use of it than Wilcox provides. The inadequacy of Wilcox's work is also revealed by the fact that we are wholly unprepared for his concluding claim that Jesus' "appeal to the down-trodden masses brought his life into danger from the authorities . . ." (186), since we have heard extremely little about them earlier (151-54), especially about their being "down-trodden."

It should be noted that at a crucial point Wilcox goes beyond social description to the use of a social science model, namely Vermes' picture of the charismatic holy man (178-85). He concludes with slight qualification that Jesus falls "somewhere between Hillel and R. Hanina b. Dosa . . ." (183). However, at this point no use is made of social science studies of this model. In fact, again as in the case of the Pharisees, the critical discussion is only on the level of beliefs.

Thus, we may conclude that Wilcox has at least made a good start in relevant social description, and in his effort to tie Jesus into it. What we need now is further work especially on disputed areas in the effort to fill out Jesus' social world, and a more careful and full-orbed description of Jesus' life in his environment. Wilcox's article shows that the very arrangement of material needs to be changed, for as it now stands Jesus' environment excludes the parties and sects of his time, while the latter seem not to have linguistic, social, economic, or political dimensions!

Luise Schottroff believes the "sociological investigation becomes a methodological necessity" (13) if an adequate interpretation is to be given to Jesus' command to love one's enemies. This is true because she rejects the Bultmannian interpretation that takes the command as a general rule. Rather, she sees it "as a concrete social event" (12) which then requires that one specify "more closely the respected (sic; respective?) roles of enemy and combatant within the power structures of society" (13). This specification is sought through an examination of "Love of Enemy in Non-Christian Antiquity" (15-22). By using "socio-historical categories" it is discovered that this ethical rule reflects different situations, namely those of the passive slave, the forgiving powerful, and the protesting powerless. The result is then to see that Jesus' command means a specific form of love, the love of weak Christians for their persecutors (22-27).

This small essay on a single saying of Jesus is a bright gem that shows how social description can illuminate Jesus' life and teaching. It thoroughly exposes the inadequacy of vague and generalized theological understanding and interpretation, and it opens up the possibility for further investigation of the historical Jesus not only on the level of social description, but also in social theory in order to achieve a still more adequate interpretation.

III. STUDIES USING SOCIAL SCIENCE THEORIES OF EXPLANATION

Two of the three studies which fall into this category relate to psychology, the third to anthropology. Of those related to psychology, only one makes explicit use of it. We begin with the one related only obliquely to psychology. Leivestad's thesis is that Jesus had a kind of messianic consciousness, but instead of using the term "Messiah," he used the term "Son of Man" to express it. Modern scholarship went astray in assuming (with little, if any proof) that before Jesus' time, Son of Man was both a title and meant

a powerful apocalyptic figure. Rather, it was created by Jesus to express his "messianic" self-consciousness, i.e., his consciousness of being chosen and sent by God. Jesus rejected the term Messiah also because his opponents were using it to make him liable to suspicion by the authorities of having political ambitions. So Jesus chose the Son of Man designation to express his view that God's Kingdom was one of humility, suffering, and service.

Thus, in this minimal way, Leivestad draws upon psychology to explain Jesus' choice of the term he uses to express his self-consciousness, self-understanding, and sense of mission. Yet, he uses psychological terminology without calling upon any psychologies of leadership, calling or mission. Moreover, he treats Jesus' inner self largely apart from any relationship he has to developments either in Jesus' own life (such as his healings and exorcisms) or in his larger social world. It is as if Jesus' inner life developed in a historical vacuum. Thus, once again, apparently we have use of social science cut short by the intrusion of theologically determined scholarship which focuses dominantly on literary data as the deposit of ideas and beliefs.

The case is very different with Miller's attempt to get at Jesus' personality through psychological analysis of his parables. For here the parables serve not only as vessels containing ideas but also as expressions of personality that can serve as data for psychological analysis. Miller makes explicit use of Freud, Erikson, Browning, and psycho-history in order to get at Jesus' motivation, character, manner and mood, background in his world, work and family, and his generativity. For example, through an analysis of the "heroes" in many parables, who have a certain eccentricity in being "unpredictably compassionate," Miller can conclude that they "reflect and refract significant facets of Jesus' own personality: his competence, his intelligence, his candor, his daring, his realism, his patience, his impulsiveness, his firmness, his compassion."

Miller summarizes his overall results in the following way: "Tradition has emphasized the divine Jesus, the miracle working Jesus, the serious, rebuking, summoning Jesus, Jesus the crucified, resurrected, and now ruling cosmic Lord. In the parables we meet the human Jesus, the down-to-earth Jesus, Jesus the story teller, Jesus the man of God who believes that a new age is dawning, Jesus the optimist, the humorist, the man of village and city, the mature Jesus, the joyful, competent, decisive, intelligent, candid, daring, caring, realistic, impulsive, firm, and compassionate Jesus, who is moved by the return of a wayward son to his father, but has little to say about mothers or wives, the middle class, managerial Jesus, Jesus the guardian of his deceased father's family, Jesus the carpenter-contractor, who knows about building towers and houses, but who has left behind his family and profession, and is now at work on the spiritual foundations of the tottering household of Israel."

If this kind of psychological study stands up to critical scrutiny, it as well as other kinds of psychological and social science study should make a valuable contribution to historical Jesus studies. For example, it could help to counter a prevailing tendency to picture Jesus as a sombe professor of law, theorizing in his ivory tower. Instead, Miller strongly suggests that we should view Jesus as a cosmopolitan, middle-class businessman with a lively sense of humor.

The reference to Jesus' sense of humor, however, raises a basic question about approaches to Jesus like Miller's, emphasized especially by Derrett and Malina, namely, whether we are not reading back illegitimately twentieth century sensibilities into the first century. For example, I have always wondered whether the chuckle I get when I read the stories about Honi the Circle-Drawer and Hanina Ben Dosa was shared by ancient story tellers. Again, perhaps the status of women in first century Mediterranean culture explains their absence from Jesus' parables as well as the presence of fathers, instead of pointing to Jesus' happy early childhood cut short by his father's death. Nevertheless, Miller has demonstrated in practice the value of pursuing further psychological research in historical Jesus studies.

We come now to one of the two most substantial studies using social sciences dealt with in this paper. (The second one, M. Smith's, will be analyzed in the next section.) Riches makes explicit and substantial use of social anthropology, in particular M. Douglas's work, in order to understand the social character of language, as well as to understand his religious sayings as they "related to the broad range of social and political questions . . . of the first century" (ix). Riches lays out the theoretical basis for his work on Jesus in chapter 2, "Religion and Change" (20-43). After criticizing Dodd as an idealist, and Bultmann as an existentialist, for seeing "Jesus as standing over against his contemporary world," (24) he uses with certain appropriate qualifications, especially M. Douglas's understanding of how religious beliefs embodied in language relate to social realities. In essence, the point is that "when someone utters a sentence what he says is understood when we know what other sentences he would accept or reject. . . . In any community there will be conventions determining acceptance or rejection. . . . In order to know what a person is saying . . . we have to know not only what the conventions are, but to what extent he accepts them" (36). (This view is seconded strongly by Malina who insists that no text can be adequately understood and interpreted unless one takes seriously the social system embedded in the text.) This theoretical basis makes it possible to view Jesus as an innovator in the context of language conveying conventional meanings. This is Riches's project in the main body of his work.

After getting some notion of "ruling" conventional meanings (traditions) in Jesus' time, especially in Galilee, among various groups on such matters as purity, righteousness, rewards and punishments, etc. (chapter 4), Riches is ready to show how Jesus "*reworked* and *renewed* the religious traditions which he inherited," in the context of the "social and economic pressures" of the time which called for a "more radical religious" response than those offered by others (86, Riches's emphasis). He begins to do this in chapter 5, "Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom" (87-111) which is the turning point, the high point of his book. After noting the various understandings of God's Kingdom developed by various groups and persons in response to the social anomie of the time (making use of Theissen's work), Riches notes how Jesus develops his own renewed idea of God's Kingdom in the "context of his ministry to the sick, the poor, the outcast and the oppressed" (103). This context shows that the God of this Kingdom is not one of battles, but one of acceptance and forgiveness, who calls also other persons "to share his own vagrant mendicant existence" (107; what a perfectly wonderful description of Jesus!). In this way there was born a "new consciousness" (109) which implied a "new religio-social world" (110). The great virtue of this chapter is that it shows how social anthropological theory helps to explain how a tradition can burst forth with renewed life as this renewal is made possible through input from new creative developments in the actual material conditions of persons and society.

Riches develops this approach to Jesus further in two chapters which show how "Jesus himself drew out the social and ethical implications of his preaching of the Kingdom . . ." (111), particularly with respect to the "law of purity" and "Jesus' theism." In the former the point is the displacement of one sense of sacredness (ritual purity) with another (social wholeness). In the latter, the point is a shift from abstract concern with theodicy to the practical effort of "proclaiming the action which God was already taking to overcome" evils (165). Riches concludes his ground-breaking work with an attempt to define more clearly "Jesus' Role in the Transformation of First-Century Judaism" (chapter 8). This represents a shift from focus on Jesus' aims, role being of course a category more amenable to social science. (It should be noted that this part of Riches's work belongs properly in the next section of this essay.) Riches develops his choice of "prophet" as the best term for Jesus' role by using the anthropological distinction between leaders who initiate social change in contrast to leaders who symbolize it. He thinks that if one focuses on Jesus as an initiator, one will also focus on his "efforts to bring about a new age . . . by military or religious means" (186, as Reimarus and

A. Schweitzer did). Although this may be part of Jesus' prophetic role, yet of central importance is rather Jesus' "reworking of fundamental assumptions about God, man and the world" (187). So Jesus' role as prophet is much more symbolic than activist.

Because Riches's book is for me a breath of fresh air in historical Jesus studies I hesitate to raise even one criticism of it. Yet the direction the latter part of his book takes, especially in the last chapter in its emphasis on Jesus' symbolic role, seems to me to compromise the earlier view of a dialectical relationship between Jesus' actions and teachings. This almost exclusive emphasis on Jesus' teaching is not mandated either by the historical data nor by any social science. We may get a clue to it, however, in a philosophical assumption which seems to govern Riches's work, namely, that "only a radical transformation of . . . assumptions (about God, man, and the world) can lead to a radical transformation of man" (172, 187). This of course is the kind of idealism that Riches criticizes in Dodd. My view is that Riches's earlier discussion of Jesus' renewal of the tradition about God's Kingdom in the context of Jesus' actions is a far better formulation than the one he ends up with. That formulation would make it possible to see further new actions as well as revised beliefs as a consequence of Jesus' initial proclamation of God's Kingdom present in his healing activity. Nevertheless, may my last word on Riches be that he opens up many broad paths for us on which to use social sciences in historical Jesus studies.

IV. STUDIES USING SOCIAL SCIENCE MODELS

Three authors make explicit use of models from social anthropology in order to understand Jesus. In two articles S. R. Isenberg uses an anthropological understanding of religion, especially millenarism, in order to understand better various groups and their leaders in Greco-Roman Palestine. Following especially K. Burridge, Isenberg understands millenarism to arise when people have a "sense of being blocked from . . . redemptive media" in their society (1974: 32-35). In such a situation of alienation a "millenarian prophet" is likely to arise who will facilitate the emergence of non-establishment ways of salvation. The teacher of righteousness, Jesus, and Paul were such leaders. Jesus' hostile attitude to purity rules and the temple represent the stage in the development of "millenarian consciousness when old rules are rejected" (46), after which new rules and organization (routinization) begin to develop.

In a similar vein, Derrett portrays Jesus as the charismatic leader of a protest movement. Derrett's main work has been to describe first century Palestinian life explicitly in social anthropological terms (1973). Like Malina he stresses the gulf that separates the first from the twentieth century (1973: 9-28; 1982: 483-88). However, in connection with his latest summary of Palestinian society he uses the rich description he has developed as background for a brief portrayal of Jesus in that setting (1982: 543-47). Jesus and his movement emerged as one of many "protests and nostrums" (536-47) of this anomic period such as the "well-established protest-movement" at Qumran, and John the Baptist's "conversionist" sect. As a charismatic leader (Mark 1:22), Jesus organized his following into a protest movement, which internally stressed forgiveness, acceptance, a non-hierarchical (egalitarian) social structure, humility, and the "renunciation of prestige-rating" (545).

Could such a movement threaten the established authorities? Yes, because Jesus' kind of "righteousness had its activist and political sides (one cannot be righteous in a social vacuum), (so that) the movement could not avoid a dangerously messianic aroma . . ." (546). Thus, the Jewish "hierarchy and the Romans were trapped" into destroying Jesus, but by executing Jesus they "unwittingly afforded Jesus' highly original scheme of social discipline an impetus it could not have obtained had he remained at liberty" (547).

These relatively brief efforts to see Jesus as something of a millenarian or charismatic prophet have been richly developed with a somewhat different emphasis by

Morton Smith in his picture of "Jesus the Magician." After rejecting the theologically oriented basis for historical Jesus study in the distinction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith (chapter one; ". . . one of the first to believe in 'Jesus the Christ' was Jesus himself," 5), Smith turns to social scientifically controlled "social matrices" and "social types" in order to do controlled historical reconstruction (17-18).

With these social science tools, Smith examines the evidence to determine "the medical and social background" of Jesus' time (10). He then examines the gospels and other relevant sources in the light of this knowledge of ancient magical healing practices in order to find out what the gospel stories and sayings really say about Jesus. This examination of the sources shows that a wide variety of both "outsiders" (Jesus' family and townspeople, scribes, high priests, Roman literary persons, and magical papyri) as well as "insiders" (Jesus' disciples and early Christians) agree in viewing Jesus basically as a miracle worker of the specifically magical kind. Magical means here specifically the ability to possess or to be possessed by superhuman powers. In short, the result is "the following coherent, consistent and credible picture of a magician's career.

> "After undergoing a baptism believed to purge him of sin, Jesus experienced the descent of a spirit upon him—the experience that made a man a magician—and heard himself declared a god, as magicians claimed to be. Then 'the spirit drove him out into the desert,' a common shamanic phenomenon. After visionary experiences there, he returned to Galilee where his new spiritual power manifested itself in exorcism, in cures of types familiar in magic, in teaching, with magical parallels and authority and in the call of disciples, who, like persons enchanted, were constrained to leave their families and belongings and follow him alone.
>
> "With these disciples he lived the predictable life of a traveling magician and holy man—a picaresque existence reflected, perhaps accidentally but not inaccurately, by the structure of the gospels. The company was supported by his success as exorcist and healer, which increased and was increased by his fame. His fame was such that other magicians began to use his name as that of a god in their exorcisms. Soon opposition developed. His neglect of Jewish law, especially as to fasting, purity, and the Sabbath, as well as his association with rich libertines ('tax collectors and sinners'), antagonized 'the scribes' (Jewish notaries, lawyers and upper-school-teachers) who collected, enlarged and disseminated a body of discreditable stories about him, including various charges of magic: he had raised John the Baptist from the dead and was magically identified with him; or, he did his miracles by control of the ruler of the demons, Beelzebul, and was identified with him.
>
> "Perhaps to counter these rumors, perhaps to extend his influence, perhaps for private reasons of which we have no evidence, he began to initiate his disciples into his own magical experiences. Such initiations are provided for in magical documents, but neither there nor in the gospels do we have more than hints of what went on.
>
> "We are better informed about another magical rite, the eucharist, that Jesus instituted to unite his disciples with himself, both in love and in body. The rite is a familiar type of magical ceremony in which the magician identifies himself with a deity, and identifies wine and/or food with the blood and/or body of this deity and of himself. The wine and/or food is then given to a recipient who by consuming it is united with him and filled with love for him.
>
> "With the eucharist the gospels' account of Jesus' magical career virtually ends. While they all report that his claim to be a (son of) god was a

factor in his prosecution, and John reports that he was also charged before Pilate with magic (18.30), it does not seem likely that these were the decisive charges. John's statement that the Jerusalem priests were motivated primarily by fear of a messianic uprising (11.48ff.), and the agreement of all the gospels that Jesus was executed as a would-be "King of the Jews," leave no doubt as to the cause of the crucifixion" (137-39).

Like Riches, Smith brings a totally fresh approach to historical Jesus studies which opens up many paths for future research, especially along social science lines. Smith's greatest virtue is his effort to become totally immersed in ancient Asian (Derrett) or Mediterranean (Malina) culture. This may be the greatest defect of historical Jesus studies up to the present. Most of us can recognize this defect in ourselves by the sense of shock we feel (referred to in these terms also by Derrett, 1973: 19) as we come upon Smith's description of Jesus as a magician in the specific sense developed in his book. It need not be the case that finally we will all end up more or less with precisely Smith's picture. The point is that he forces us to face our lack of immersion in the "strange world of the Bible" as we do our work. Smith shows us that Derrett, Malina, and Wilcox are right in pointing to the necessity of especially anthropological studies if we are really going to get out of our twentieth century world back into Jesus and his world. Only then will we learn, e.g., that the ancients "believed that the spirit of any human being who had come to an unjust, violent, or otherwise untimely end was of enormous power" (34), so that we can properly understand the belief reported in the gospels that Jesus was John the Baptizer raised from the dead and that Jesus did his miracles through him (Mark 6:14). In this way Smith raises the whole question of what specific cultural material and setting provide the proper context for understanding and interpreting Jesus. He raises the strong suspicion that modern scholars generally are influenced dominantly by classical humanistic cultures (classical Greek and Christian), so that they have lost any easy affinity with the kind of popular culture that reigned in first century Galilee, where, e.g., one may not easily distinguish, let alone see as separate realities, religion and politics or religion and magic. One might begin to gain sensitivity to the inseparability of religion and magic, not only from anthropology, but also from much contemporary church life where even highly educated people with Ph.D.s offer prayers which are little more than requests to God to perform magical acts.

A second virtue is Smith's effort "to determine Jesus' *social* identity" (18, my emphasis). "The certain and important thing is the place in the earliest tradition of this *type* of story (miracle stories) as evidence of the social type of the man" (142). This emphasis counters another facet of modern misreading of the first century. Smith reflects awareness of what Malina calls the dyadic personality (1981: chapter 2, "The First-Century Personality: The Individual and the Group"), where "meaningful human existence depends upon an individual's full awareness of what others think and feel about him." "Individual psychology, individual uniqueness, and individual self-consciousness are simply dismissed as uninteresting and important" (67). A whole host of historical Jesus studies that focus on Jesus in a social vacuum are thus ruled inadequate.

A third virtue of Smith's approach is a proper balance between Jesus' actions and teachings. Most historical Jesus study overemphasizes Jesus' teachings (very natural for the modern Western philosophical and theological mind), and even sees them (and writes about them) in isolation from Jesus' actions. (For example, Harvey, 101, 109.) However, Smith's focus on Jesus as a miracle worker puts his teachings in their proper place and role. The teaching role was not directly connected to miracle working, though miracle workers would naturally be expected to have wisdom to impart as well as power to heal. Their authoritative wisdom would concern mainly the mystery of "true, saving knowledge" (136). Now it may be that Smith has demoted the role of Jesus' teachings too far; nevertheless, in my opinion the type of pattern he proposes is the proper one needed to correct the reigning erroneous one.

It is also undoubtedly the case that other parts of Smith's work will have to be modified or rejected. Smith's judgment may be cogent that the gospels are dominantly hostile to magic (and miracles), and that their "prevailing temper, though far from rationalistic, was that of lower middle-class respectability and its commonplace structure of contradictions, 'rational theology'" (146); nevertheless, it may be the case that he has underemphasized their continued interest in the miraculous as well as their adeptness in mythological invention. Again, Smith's explanation of the tension between Jesus and the scribes, namely, that "a class of small town lawyers and teachers, who owed their prestige and income to the Law, would detest a fellow who publicly neglected it, would hate to see him attract large crowds, and would spread malicious charges to discredit him" (144), might be modified and enriched through social science studies which show that "accusations of madness and witchcraft can be used by socially dominant classes as a means of social control" when an exorcist "overstepped the limits set by the ruling powers . . ." (Hollenbach, 1981: 577, 582). Jesus overstepped these limits when he made exorcisms the focus of God's rule instead of subordinate to maintaining purity.

Nevertheless, as in the case of Riches, my last word about Smith is that his work also provides great stimulus and solid guidance for further historical Jesus studies through the use of social sciences.

V. CONCLUSION

From the above analysis I believe we may draw the following conclusions:

(1) Historical study of Jesus is alive and well.

(2) The present dominant mode of study, however, is receiving a powerful challenge from those who see the necessity of using social sciences in order to do an adequate job (Derrett, Malina).

(3) A (if not the) main issue is whether or not Jesus will be portrayed thoroughly as a man of his time (Derrett, Malina, Wilcox, M. Smith). My own view is expressed very nicely by Scroggs: "to some it has seemed that too often the discipline of the theology of the N.T. operates out of a methodological docetism, as if believers had minds and spirits unconnected with their individual and corporate bodies" (1980: 165).

(4) If we think we should escape from this docetism, and if in fact we will escape from it, then my own view is that it will require a fundamental critique of our involvement as scholars in our first world affluent culture, for which idealist philosophy and theology are largely ideological justification. To accomplish this fundamental critique of "the consciousness of the West" (Brueggemann, 431; "Both the church and the academy will be asking about the extent to which we have been 'kept'" 435), critical use of social sciences (Chomsky, Quinney) is essential.

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Locating John the Baptizer in Palestinian Judaism: The Political Dimension

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I

In book XVIII:116-119 of *Antiquities*, Josephus draws a touching vignette of John the Baptist:

> "But to some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist. For Herod had put him to death, though he was a good man and had exhorted the Jews to live righteous lives, to practice justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so doing join in baptism. In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism was to be acceptable to God. They must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behaviour. When others, too, joined the crowds about him, because they were aroused to the highest degree by his sermons [words], Herod became alarmed. Eloquence that had so great an effect on mankind might lead to some form of sedition, for it looked as if they would be guided by John in everything that they did.
>
> "Herod decided, therefore, that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation and see his mistake. Though John [was put to death] . . . the verdict of the Jews was that the destruction visited upon Herod's army was a vindication of John, since God saw fit to inflict such a blow on Herod."

Josephus pictures John the Baptist as a non-political religious reformer. He is stirred by the sinfulness of the people to exhort them to lead virtuous lives, and to practice justice towards their fellows and piety towards God. To this end he calls upon them to cleanse their souls with righteousness and consecrate the body with baptism. He was a good man, interested in arousing the people to repentance and not to violence. If any political transformations followed, these transformations would reveal the hand of God and not the hand of man.

Yet John the Baptist so frightened Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch (4 B.C.E.-39 B.C.E.) that he had John put to death. And the reason? His teachings were so eloquent that they attracted crowds—and crowds were dangerous, even if John was not stirring them up to revolt against Roman authority. Herod could take no chances, lest a failure to act decisively on his part lead to a violent demonstration and his own undoing.

Herod's harsh and brutal decision shocked the people at large. John the Baptist was no violent revolutionary. He was no rabble rouser. He was a voice crying in the

wilderness: "Repent of your sins, cleanse yourselves with virtue and righteousness." So high indeed was John held in the eyes of the people that they explained the defeat of Herod's army as a vindication of John's goodness, virtue and righteousness. And to this explanation Josephus gives his assent.

Josephus' vignette of John the Baptist is brief, but it is revealing. It is revealing in that it shows that Josephus, with all of his presumed pro-Roman bias, was sympathetic to John. He shared with the people at large their shock that so virtuous, righteous and pious a charismatic as John should have been treated as though he were some violent revolutionary. And it is also revealing because it compels us to look to that larger framework of fear, violence, and desperation which sealed the fate, first of John the Baptist and then of Jesus of Nazareth.

II

This framework of fear, violence and desperation which was to seed Judea with the grapes of wrath was already building in the last years of Herod's reign, even though it was not brought to completion until the Roman emperors discarded royal pawns for imperial procurators. While Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.E.) lay dying, several young firebrands, stirred by the fulminations of two sages, Judas, the son of Caiphaeus, and Matthias, the son of Margalus, climbed the Temple gate, and hacked down the golden eagle which Herod had erected as a symbol of loyalty to Rome. Enraged, Herod had the sages along with their disciples burnt alive. (*Jewish War* I: 648-655; *Antiquities*, XVII: 149-167)

The anger felt towards Herod for the burning of these martyrs remained suppressed so long as Herod remained alive, but it burst out in frightening violence only a few days after he drew his last breath. Seeking to win the affection and loyalty of the people, Herod's son, Archelaus, addressed them and promised to heed the petitions that they had submitted to him. Nevertheless a large assembly of Jews gathered in the Temple area and began a lamentation bewailing the fate of those whom Herod had punished for cutting down the golden eagle at the gate of the Temple.

"This mourning," Josephus tells us, "was in no subdued tones: there were piercing shrieks, a dirge directed by a conductor, and lamentations with beating of the breast which resounded throughout the city; all this in honour of the unfortunate men who, they asserted, had in defense of their country's laws and the Temple perished on the pyre. These martyrs ought, they clamoured, to be avenged by the punishment of Herod's favorites, and the first step was the deposition of the High Priest whom he had appointed, as they had a right to select a man of greater piety and purer morals." (*Jewish War* II: 6-9)

So wrought up were the mourners that Archelaus' efforts to calm them down met with violent resistance. And when Archelaus, frightened that the multitudes that were then gathering for the Passover might follow the lead of the dissidents, he sent a tribune in command of a cohort to restrain them by force. The crowds responded violently, pelting the cohort with stones and killing most of them. Archelaus, recognizing that bloodshed could not be avoided, let loose his entire army, including the cavalry, upon the various parties busy with their sacrifices and slew about three thousand of them (Ibid., 8:15, cf. *Antiquities*, XVII: 206 ff.

The incident of the golden eagle ushered in a reign of violence, death, destruction, and despair which was not overthrown until the Romans had butchered countless numbers of Jews, laid waste to Jerusalem, burned the Temple, and carted off thousands to be sold into slavery. "What was there, then, about this incident," we must ask, "that could trigger off such a reign of violence"?

On the face of it, we find two interlocked components: a religious component and a political component. The Sages who were agitated over the golden eagle saw in the

eagle an idolatrous image. By contrast, Herod, and those who sided with him, looked upon the golden eagle as an innocuous symbol of political loyalty and not an object of religious worship at all. For Herod, the golden eagle was not the same as the images or busts of the Emperors. In his eyes the golden eagle was no different than the cherubim which God himself had commanded to be put in the Tabernacle. The eagle was nothing but a symbol of the compact that regulated the relationship between Rome and the Jewish people: in return for Rome's exempting the Jews from the obligation to erect statues of the Emperors in the Temple, the Jews acknowledged the legitimacy of Roman rule. Herod, therefore, looked upon the cutting-down of the eagle as a political act of defiance masking as religious piety. And this opinion seems to have been shared by the Jewish leaders who sided with Herod on this issue. For them, too, the eagle was simply a sign of the covenant with Rome as summed up in the formula: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's."

Nonetheless, it is evident from the violent demonstrations that occurred after Herod's death that a large number of Jews did regard the erection of the golden eagle as a violation of that compact. For them the eagle was in fact equivalent to the icons of the Emperors which the Emperors had agreed not to set up in the Temple or parade through the city of Jerusalem.

Clearly this was a murky issue, one which could be viewed either as religious *or* political depending on one's interpretation. And it was this murkiness which plunged Judea into a maelstrom of violence and which prompted Herod the Tetrarch to put John the Baptist to death and Pontius Pilate to condemn Jesus of Nazareth to the cross.

III

The violence unleashed by the incident of the golden eagle let loose a spate of dissidence and violence all the while that the Emperor Augustus was pondering how best to govern Herod's kingdom now that he was dead. Especially frightening was the tenacity that the Jews displayed when they rose up against Sabinus, a Roman official who had provoked the people by seeking to gain access to the royal treasures during the festival of Passover in 4 B.C.E. So successfully indeed did they hold Sabinus and his soldier under siege, that it was not until Varus, the procurator of Syria, came with reinforcements that the Jews finally gave in. In the meantime the Roman legionaries had set fire to the magnificent porticoes, adding fuel to the inflamed feelings of the Jews towards their Roman rulers. (*Antiquities* XVII: 250-298)

Although less dramatic, the other disturbances which required Varus' forceful intervention reveal how tempest-tossed the people were. At Sepphoris in Galilee, Judas the son of Ezekias, a vintage revolutionary, raised a band of followers who broke open the royal arsenals to arm themselves against rival groupings (*Antiquities* XVII: 271-272); in Peraea, a certain Simon made a bid for royal power by burning down the royal palace at Jericho along with other stately mansions; and elsewhere Athrongaeus, a shepherd, seeded his own furrows of violence in an effort to gain the crown for himself. Although ultimately put down, these usurpers had set a pattern for guerrilla warfare which was to become endemic. (Ibid., 273-277).

Faced with an unruly people, and concerned over the high cost of keeping the peace, the Emperor Augustus decided to break up Herod's kingdom and assign Judea to a Roman administrator. In doing so he unwittingly ushered in an era of permanent revolution. Hitherto the peace had been more or less assured by the three "philosophies" or "schools of thought" of Judaism which had come to adhere to the doctrine of two realms: a political realm and a religious realm. So long as the political authorities did not intrude into the realm of God, the religious leaders would not intrude into the realm of Caesar. This compact hearkened back to the latter years of the Hasmoneans when it became evident to the Sadducees and Pharisees alike that the politicizing of religion

could only lead to the kind of terror and counter-terror that had marked the reign and High Priesthood of Alexander Janneus who had identified this cause with the Sadducees, and the reign of Salome Alexandra who had identified her cause with the Pharisees. Although Pharisees and Sadducees may have continued to be involved with politics, such an involvement did not carry with it the suppression of the Sadducees by the Pharisees or the Pharisees by the Sadducees, even though in matters of public worship and in matters affecting the liturgical calendar the Pharisaic dispensation was followed. A spirit of "live and let live" permeated the day-to-day relationship between the "Philosophies," as is evident from the fact that the Pharisees were willing to countenance High Priests who were Sadducees, and from the fact that the Sadducees were willing to follow Pharisaic procedures when carrying out their duties in the Temple.

The clearest sign that the Sadducees and Pharisees had committed themselves to the doctrine of the two realms was the fact that they raised no clamor when Herod decided to appoint the High Priest and to keep the High Priest's vestments under lock and key. Although there could be no religious justification for a High Priest appointed by the ruler, they did not disqualify him so long as his public performance did not violate the procedures as set out by the Pharisees. As far as the Sadducees and the Pharisees were concerned, the High Priest had become a political figure whose religious functions in the Temple were pro forma and nominal. The religious legitimacy of the High Priest was, it seemed, a small price to pay for the promise on the part of the political authorities to allow the "philosophies" to have full autonomy in the religious sphere.

This compact with the state was endangered, however, when the first procurator decreed that a census be taken to determine the amount of tribute the Jews would have to pay. Although the leaders of the Sadducees and the Pharisees, mindful of the compact, urged the people to knuckle under, a certain Judas of Galilee and Saddok, a Pharisee, refused on the grounds that "the assessment carried with it a status amounting to downright slavery, and on the grounds that Heaven would be their zealous helper." So principled was their stand that although they agreed with the "philosophy" of the Pharisees in all other respects, they broke off from them because they, unlike the Pharisees, refused to call anyone but God ruler, *hegemon*, or *despotes* (emperor). Thus was born what Josephus called a Fourth Philosophy. And with the birth of this Fourth Philosophy the era of permanent revolution was ushered in. (*Antiquities* XVIII: 1-25)

The rise of the Fourth Philosophy thus shattered what had been until then a mosaic of Judaism. Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, despite the unbridgeable chasm that separated them on fundamental doctrinal issues, had come to accept the doctrine of the two realms and the doctrine of "live and let live." Not so the Fourth Philosophy. Their leaders insisted that political sovereignty could not be sealed off from divine sovereignty. For them, the payment of tribute was to recognize the Roman emperor as a God and not simply as a king of flesh and blood. There could be no line separating the religious from the political. To overthrow Rome was a divine imperative no less demanding of fulfillment than any other command of God.

With the rise of the Fourth Philosophy the Romans could no longer look upon the philosophies of Judaism as a mosaic of loyalty, but as a seed bed of revolution. The markers sharply setting off the turf of Caesar from the turf of God had been rooted up. All religious teachings were now suspect. All religious teachers were now under scrutiny. Revolution and sedition could not be allowed to mask themselves as righteousness and piety.

The Roman authorities and the High Priests whom they appointed to be their eyes and ears were thus ready to deal as harshly with the non-violent dissidents who were cropping up as with the followers of the Fourth Philosophy. Prophets and charismatics in their own way could prove to be even more dangerous than the violent ones.

Visions of God's power sweeping away the princes, kings and emperors of this world to make way for the glorious end of days when God's anointed would rule were not

the stock in trade of revolutionaries like Judas and Zadok, but of prophet-like dreamers and charismatics who were simple believers in the power of repentance, of virtue, of righteousness, of purity of soul to arouse God to do wonders for his people and bring to an inglorious end the harsh sovereignties of this world.

Josephus tells us of the fear that the prophets, visionaries, and charismatics aroused:

> "Besides these [the so-called *sicarii* who committed murders in broad daylight in the heart of the city and who were responsible for the assassination of the High Priest Jonathan] there arose another body of villains, with purer hands but more impious intentions, who no less than the assassins ruined the peace of the city. Deceivers and imposters, under the pretence of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes, they persuaded the multitude to act like madmen, and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would give them tokens of deliverance." (*Jewish War* II: 258-260)

As examples of such "prophetic" troublemakers, Josephus tells of an Egyptian "who had gained for himself the reputation of a prophet," and who succeeded in arousing twenty thousand Jews, and who led them by a circuitous route from the desert to the Mount of Olives from which point he planned to force entry into Jerusalem. Before, however, he could implement his plan, the troops of the Procurator attacked and made short shrift of this "prophetic" challenge. (Ibid., 261-265)

Theudas, according to Josephus, was another troublemaker. He claimed that he was a prophet and that at his command the Jordan would be parted. He convinced a large number of Jews to follow him, only to have his claim shattered by a squadron of cavalry which slew many of his followers and which took him off to Jerusalem where he was beheaded (*Antiquities* XX: 97-99).

IV

The decision of Augustus to bring Judea directly under Roman rule thus cracked the mosaic of Judaism and erased the marker separating the realm of Caesar from the realm of God. The Fourth Philosophy preached revolutionary violence in the name of the Lord. Prophets and charismatics likewise preached the coming of God's kingdom in the name of the Lord. It was evident that irrespective of *how* the rule of Rome was to be terminated, a larger and larger number of Jews was willing to listen to leaders offering alternatives to the traditional doctrine of the two realms. Crowds quickly gathered around anyone offering some way out of their anguish, despair, and helplessness, and crowds by their nature were volatile and unpredictable. Once the boundaries between the political and the religious had been removed, even the most innocent call for repentance, for piety, for righteousness, for justice, for sanctification could be heard by those in authority as a call for the overthrow of Rome. Every religious teacher who deviated the slightest from the doctrine of two realms as articulated by the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes was a potential revolutionary, since the prophetic call to repentance, to righteousness, to justice, and to sanctification by the great prophets of old, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, had carried with it the promise of the restoration of God's sovereignty over His people.

When, therefore, John the Baptist echoed the prophets by calling on the people to repent and live lives of righteousness, justice and piety, he was, by implication, holding out the hope that if the repentance was sincere and if enough of the people abandoned their sinful ways, God would usher in the glorious end of days envisioned by the grand prophets who had spoken in his name. Herod the Tetrarch thus had good reason to fear the *political* implications of John's religious teachings once it became evident that he

was attracting crowds who might in a surge of religious exaltation and zeal act out on the political implications of John's call for repentance and let loose a torrent of revolutionary violence. As Josephus put it, "Herod decided therefore that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation and see his mistake." (*Antiquities* XVIII: 118) Herod clearly was not interested in *what* John was preaching, but only in *how many people* were listening. The issue was not God, repentance, piety, righteousness, sanctification, but crowds. Crowds were dangerous even if not a political word was being uttered. Religious teachings became political teachings *ipso facto* the moment that a scattering of individuals had clustered into a crowd.

The tragic fate of John the Baptist thus foreshadowed the tragic fate of Jesus of Nazareth. Indeed, the web of ultimate tragedy is woven in the warp and woof of the first verses of the Gospel of Mark:

> "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. As it is written in Isaiah the prophet:
>
> "'Behold, I send my messenger before thy face
> who shall prepare thy way;
> the voice of one crying in the wilderness:
> Prepare the ways of the Lord
> make his paths straight'
>
> "John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. And they went out to him all the country of Judea, and all the people of Jerusalem; and they were baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.
>
> "Now John was clothed with camel's hair, and had a leather girdle around his waist, and ate locusts and wild honey. And he preached, saying, 'After me comes he who is mightier than I, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to stoop down and untie. I have baptized you with water; but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit. . . .
>
> "Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, and saying, 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe in the Gospel." (Mark: 1-8, 14)

John's preaching a baptism of repentance and forgiveness of sins proved to be lethal. Crowds had gathered around him, and crowds were dangerous. The fact that John was calling for repentance from sins and not for revolt against Rome; for forgiveness of sins and not for the head of the Emperor, was irrelevant for those charged with political responsibility. The only fact that was relevant was whether the voice was a voice crying in the wilderness with no one listening, or whether it was a voice crying in a wilderness full of people whose teeth were on edge, and whose nerves were frayed, and whose spirits were steeped in despair.

So, too, with Jesus. The moment he preached that the time is fulfilled; that the kingdom of God is at hand; that the people should repent and believe in the Gospel, all those charged with political responsibility for Galilee and Judea were looking, far more than listening. They were looking to see whether Jesus' preaching was attracting crowds; they were not listening to what he had to say. No sooner did it become obvious that large numbers of Jews crowded around Jesus to hear what he had to say than his fate, like John's, was sealed. Crowds, and not the words that aroused them, were all that mattered. Jesus, like John, was put to death not because he was a political agitator or because he challenged the dictum, "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's," but because there were no markers any longer separating the turf of Caesar from the turf of God. Even a simple call for repentance was fraught with political danger if too many Jews heeded it.

V

The tragic fate of John the Baptist thus lays bare the larger tragedy of the Jewish people held tightly in the grip of Rome. From the moment Herod died until the last defendant of Masada had breathed his last, there was virtually no day without its demonstration, no week without its disturbance, no month without its riots, and no year without its rebellion. The tribute was harsh, the procurators cruel and provocative and the remedies—nostrums all. Driven to the edge of despair and beyond, Jews in ever larger numbers splintered off from the mosaic of Judaism that had kept the peace in Herod's day and kicked the traces, either by following the revolutionary path of the Fourth Philosophy, or by putting their faith in prophets and charismatics who promised that God's Kingdom was near at hand, if only the people repented and purified their lives from sin.

Confronted by dissidence, disorder, and violence, the Roman authorities were at a loss as to what to do. The Jews had proved to be ungovernable. Chaos and anarchy, not the Roman imperium, ruled over Judea and Galilee. As a consequence, every one charged with political authority was on razor's edge. To make distinctions between a non-political charismatic, like John the Baptist or Jesus, on the one hand, and Judas of Galilee on the other, or to discriminate between the shadings of difference between a John the Baptist or a Jesus, on the one hand, and a Theudas, on the other, was simply too risky and dangerous. "When in doubt, execute" was seemingly the only secure policy to follow.

This was the reasoning that lay behind Herod the Tetrarch's decision to put "harmless" John to death. This also was the reasoning behind the decision of Caiphas and of Pontius Pilate to put "harmless" Jesus to death. Prophetic revivalism was fraught with political risk. So long as the Romans demanded that the tribute be paid "come hell or high water," "hell and high water" did indeed come upon the Romans and upon the Jews, and upon John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth.

The Paulusbild in the Trial of Paul in Acts

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Ever since Philipp Vielhauer implied that Luke's "distinctive theological viewpoint" accounted for the divergence in theology between the Lukan Paul and the Paul that we know from his Epistles, scholars have been concerned to describe and interpret the Lukan Paul.[1] Though this endeavor was initiated by Protestant scholars who were concerned to show the degeneration in Lukan theology from the heights of the Pauline gospel, it is pursued in present-day scholarship by those who have dissociated their work from a *Lukasfeindlich* orientation.[2] The major concerns of those pursuing *Paulusbild* research in Acts today are two: (1) the isolation of a type of literature or a text that either may have served as a literary prototype for Luke as he wrote or may be employed by contemporary scholars to describe the *Paulusbild* and (2) the suggestion of the reason that Luke has portrayed Paul in the fashion that he has. One may refer to these, respectively, as the literary and theological aspects of the *Paulusbild* in Acts.[3]

Before embarking on a description of the *Paulusbild* in the trial of Paul and a literature that aids in clarifying this *Paulusbild*, a reference must be made to the way that the *Paulusbild* in Acts functions in German scholarship on Acts.[4] Briefly stated, it

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[1]P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; New York: Abingdon, 1966), 33, 48. The most recent bibliographical essay which discusses scholarship on the Lukan Paul is E. Richard, "Luke—Writer, Theologian, Historian: Research and Orientation of the 1970's," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 13 (1983) 3-15.

[2]As examples of the *Lukasfeindlich* approach one can cite G. Klein, *Die zwölf Apostel. Ursprung und Gehalt einer Idee* (FRLANT 77; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961) and E. Käsemann, "Ministry and Community in the New Testament," *Essays on New Testament, Themes* (SBT 41; London: SCM, 1964) 63-94. The most recent discussion of the *Paulusbild* in Acts is K. Löning, "Paulus in der Apostelgeschichte," in *Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften* (ed. K. Kertelge; Freiburg: Herder, 1981) 202-33.

[3]The literary aspect of the *Paulusbild* is a descriptive phenomenon; the theological aspect is an interpretive phenomenon.

[4]"German" scholarship is mentioned at this juncture because, in this case, as in most areas of New Testament study, concerns of German scholars have shaped the perspectives of almost all interpreters of the *Paulusbild* in Acts. Provocative, and possibly helpful for developing implications of this paper, is the work of the Norwegian scholar, Jacob Jervell. See "Paul the Teacher of Israel" in his *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972) 153-83. For helpful German studies on the issue see C. Burchard, "Paulus in der Apostelgeschichte," *TLZ* 100 (1975) 881-95; E. Grässer, "Acta-Forschung seit 1960," *TRu* NF 41 (1976) 141-94, 259-90; 42 (1977) 1-68; J. Roloff, "Die Paulus-Darstellung des Lukas," *EvT* 39 (1979) 510-31.

functions to confirm a hypothesis concerning the nature of Luke's portrait of early Christianity.[5] The hypothesis is that of Conzelmann, who suggested that in order to relieve the tension caused by apparent discontinuity between the *Urkirche* and the *Kirche der heutigen Form* (i.e., the church of Luke's day), Luke described a Paul who acted as the agent of continuity between the two periods. Paul was both a Jew who maintained loyalty to Jewish traditions, according to Luke, and one who was called to proclaim the Gospel to Gentiles. Paul is thus the "chosen instrument" (Acts 9:15) who functions as the connecting link between two eras of the church and who resolves the problem of discontinuity that confronts Luke.[6]

One should note at this juncture that Conzelmann's picture of Paul in Acts is theologically and not literarily motivated. One should also note that the exegetical underpinnings necessary to maintain this view of Paul, and which should be established from consideration of such passages as Acts 16:3, 18:18, 21:17-26, are absent. In the last passage, for example, when confronted with the problem of why Christians are legally observant in a time after the Apostolic Council, Conzelmann only repeats his thesis about Paul mentioned above.[7]

To be fair to this approach, however, one needs to understand the slightly different articulation of Dibelius and Haenchen, especially as it relates to the *Paulusbild* in Acts 21-28. For both Dibelius and Haenchen the problem with which Luke is wrestling is the relationship of Christianity and Judaism and the place of the Gentile mission in Christianity:

> Between Judaism and Christianity there stood not some particular conflict such as the alleged defilement of the Temple, but rather the Christian mission to the Gentiles, the reception of Gentiles by Christian baptism into the people of God.[8]

It is Paul, the chief figure in promoting the Gentile mission, whom Luke utilizes to solve this problem. For Dibelius the Lukan Paul solves this problem by confessing that he received his commission from God to the Gentiles *in the Jewish Temple* (Acts 22:17-21). Since Paul's speech to the Jews in Acts 22 is interrupted immediately after his mention of the Gentile mission, Dibelius concludes that the divine command to undertake the Gentile mission is the chief feature of the speech.[9]

Haenchen follows Dibelius's lead closely and suggests that Luke solves the problem between Judaism and Christianity by portraying Paul as a faithful Jew and the Jews as voluntarily turning away from the offer of salvation (Acts 13:46-47; 18:6; 28:25-28). Luke tries to show that Paul's present proclamation to the Gentiles is not incompatible

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[5]Argued well by F. Veltmann, *The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts: Gattungsforschung and its Limitations* (Diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 1975), ch. 1. See also W. Long, *The Trial of Paul in the Book of Acts: Historical, Literary and Theological Considerations* (Diss., Brown University, 1982), esp. 167-70.

[6]H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HNT 7^2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1972) 9. Conzelmann's analysis is accepted by most German scholars writing on the issue in the 1970s. See, in addition to Roloff, K. Löning, *Die Saulustradition in der Apostelgeschichte* (NTA 9; Münster, 1973) and K. Obermeier, *Die Gestalt des Paulus in der lukanischen Verkündigung. Das Paulusbild der Apostelgeschichte* (Diss., Bonn, 1975).

[7]*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 130-31.

[8]E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles. A Commentary* (trs. B. Noble et al. from 14th German edition; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 629, quoting M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (trs. M. Ling; London: SCM, 1956) 160.

[9]Op. cit., 7. Dibelius wrote before the issue of the *Paulusbild* of Acts, in the form now understood by scholars, emerged.

with loyalty to Judaism, indeed loyalty to the strictest sect of Judaism—the Pharisees. When many Jews reject this proclamation, their rejection is shown, by Paul, to be in the divine plan. The Lukan Paul, for Haenchen and Dibelius, solves the problem of the Christian mission to the Gentiles, which is the primary mission being pursued in Luke's day.

For recent German scholarship on the *Paulusbild* of Acts, then, the words "connecting link," "establisher of continuity," "indicator or tracer of salvation history," "witness,"[10] "guarantor that the promise of God rests with the Christians" are catchphrases that summarize Paul's role in Acts. He is used by Luke to stress that the Church at the end of the first century, though largely a Gentile Church which sees its future in the Gentile mission, stands in continuity with the earliest Christian movement.

I
METHOD AND GOAL

It is not the major purpose of this paper to argue for an alternative suggestion for the purpose of Luke's *Paulusbild*. Granted, a suggestion will be advanced at the end that deals with the theological aspect of the *Paulusbild*, but the primary task of this paper will be a literary analysis of one of Paul's speeches in his trial (Acts 22:1-21) and portions of the narrative sections of the trial account.[11] To use language developed above, our concern will be with literary rather than theological aspects of the Lukan *Paulusbild* in the trial of Paul.[12]

Three methodological comments will aid in bringing the subject into focus. First, one must not assume that the *Paulusbild* in Acts is a unitary phenomenon. There may or may not be one central purpose to the Lukan *Paulusbild* but there is definitely more than one literary aspect to the Lukan *Paulusbild*. The wonderworking Paul, the Paul called as the divine instrument, the Paul who preaches to Jews and Gentiles and the Paul who defends himself can all be examined separately with the help of various ancient literatures without prejudicing the question of whether there is a single purpose to the Lukan picture of Paul. Second, with respect to the weight given to each literary analysis of Paul in constructing the purpose of Luke's *Paulusbild*, a case can be made for considering the *Paulusbild* of the trial of Paul of primary significance for this. When one considers the length and extent of speeches in this part of Acts,[13] the importance of speeches in

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[10]Designation of Paul as "witness" is very important for C. Burchard, *Der dreizehnte Zeuge* (FRLANT 103; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970) and V. Stolle, *Der Zeuge als Angeklagter* (BWANT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973) for different reasons. For Burchard, the designation means that Paul is placed on an equal footing with the twelve (contra Klein and Käsemann). In Stolle's work, Paul as witness means that in his trial Paul is portrayed as the supreme witness to Jesus who imitates him in suffering. A variation on the theme of Paul as witness is the suggestion of A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1979) 164-71, that Paul is, for Luke, the decisive figure in the history of Christianity. Luke's *Paulusbild*, for Lindemann, consists in showing the heroic qualities of Paul.

[11]The trial narrative begins with the appearance of Paul in Jerusalem (Acts 21:17) and ends with the speech before Agrippa (26:32). Space limitations preclude a literary analysis of the two other defense speeches of Paul in the trial (24:10-21, 26:1-23). For that analysis see Long, op. cit., 229-44.

[12]To be sure, literary conclusions should form the basis for assertions regarding the purpose(s) of Luke's *Paulusbild*. One of the deficiencies of *Paulusbild* scholarship is its hesitancy in pursuing the literary agenda before purpose questions are asked.

[13]Paul Schubert claims that in the last section of Acts (Acts 21-28) speeches and their immediate settings occupy 74% of the whole text, while in Thucydides they occupy

Acts and ancient historiography generally in highlighting the significance of events,[14] the twofold repetition of Paul's call and the gradual heightening of language in Chap. 22 and especially in Chap. 26, one has good grounds for seeing the picture of Paul in the trial as the climactic and decisive one for Luke. In addition, though one is hesitant to claim general application for this point, scholars from Dibelius to Stolle have noted that Luke seems less obviously dependent on sources in Acts 22-26 than in other sections of Acts.[15] If Luke has "mastery over the tradition" at this point, one might expect to hear him more clearly in this section. Third, in literary examination of the *Paulusbild* in the trial, the literature selected to illumine the speech and narrative is the rhetorical handbook from antiquity. Since the rhetoricians were interested in advising people how to construct speeches in various situations, their advice on construction of defense speeches might illumine the defense speeches of Paul in Acts 22-26. Our major concern will be to examine the nature of the rhetoricians' advice on the structuring of speeches and the place in the speech where one should look for the issue under consideration.[16] The question in mind, therefore, as we examine Paul's speech in Acts 22 is, what is the *chief point* of the defense of Paul?

To look at the speeches of Paul in Acts 22-26 from the perspective of ancient rhetorical theory is a new but not unexpected insight. Such an insight assumes that Luke had an exposure to the rhetoricians and the theory of constructing speeches and making arguments. Because of the helpful article by William Kurz,[17] one no longer has to argue for the likelihood that Luke received a rhetorical education. Indeed as early as the fourth edition of his grammar, Friedrich Blass asserted

> aber bie Paulus und Lukas wie beim Verfasser des Hebräerbriefs erinnert doch manche gut klassiche Form und Konstruktion, . . . daran, dass sie eine gewisse sprachliche und rhetorische Bildung genossen haben müssen.[18]

The first and only attempt to show that ancient rhetorical theory might be of help in understanding a speech in the trial of Paul was made by Stephen Lösch.[19] Lösch desired to show that the speech by Tertullus in Acts 24:4-5 preserved many examples of rhetorical technique that appeared in the papyri and in the fourth century A.D. rhetorician Menander. Lösch was aware of the newness of his method and, after showing several stylistic similarities between Luke and Menander, concluded,

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no more than about 25%. "The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts," *JBL* 87 (1968) 1-16.

[14]M. Dibelius, "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography," *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 138-85. Charles Talbert has argued that biography is a more suitable category for understanding the genre of Luke-Acts than is history. To my knowledge he does not argue for a different function for speeches in biography and history. See his *What is a Gospel?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975).

[15]In this study the concern is not to try to differentiate between tradition and redaction in the composition of Acts. Most scholars of today, under the influence of Haenchen, consider the investigation of Luke's sources to be a dead-end enterprise. A more balanced perspective of Luke the writer would not discourage the effort.

[16]The word "issue" is used advisedly as it is the English word generally employed by classicists to translate στάσις or *fundamentum*, i.e., the central matter with which the speech has to do. For a discussion of the term, see G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, 1963) 304-14.

[17]"Hellenistic Rhetoric in the Christological Proof of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 171-95.

[18]*Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913) 3.

[19]"Die Dankesrede des Tertullus: Apg. 24, 1-4," *TQ* 112 (1931) 295-319.

> Der Nachweis dürfte erbracht sein, dass der Abschnitt Apg 24:1-4 nur von einem Mittelpunkt hellenistischer Rhetorik, zumal der claudisch-neronischen Zeit, ausgegangen sein kann und von einem . . . genauesten Kenner technischer Formen herrühren muss.[20]

Instead of seeking to define the rhetorical activity of Luke more closely in order to determine what it might mean for the shaping of the entire trial narrative, Lösch was concerned with the possible written sources of the speech of Tertullus.

Of the spate of dissertations and studies of the trial of Paul in Acts appearing in the last two decades, there is only one that attempted to relate, at length, certain aspects of the trial (in this case, the speeches) to Hellenistic and Roman literary conventions: Fred Veltmann's *The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts.*[21] Because Veltmann's work and this study show broad sympathy in methodological matters, a brief attempt must be made to show the similarities and differences between the two.

The major agreement is that both studies consider that Acts scholarship on the speeches in defense of Paul has, under the guise of literary criticism, been more concerned to confirm a picture of early Christianity than to arrive at mature literary judgments regarding the structure and form of the speeches. Also helpful is Veltmann's isolation of a defense speech genre in ancient history writing, biography, and romance. Our differences lie in the goal of the investigation and the literature used. Veltmann is interested in determining whether the presence of defense speeches in a work from antiquity can help in determining the *Gattung* of the work in which the speech occurs. This investigation, in contrast, is motivated by the concern to isolate the issue under consideration in a specific speech (or group of speeches). Therefore the literatures selected for comparison are different. Veltmann seeks to compare defense speeches in three types of ancient writings to see if the form of speech changes when it appears in different *Gattungen* while we seek to draw advice from rhetoricians on the actual composition of a defense speech. Finally, where Veltmann is interested in describing defense speeches under the general rubric of introduction, body, and conclusion of the apology, with specific divergences noted, we are concerned with a more detailed consideration of the elements of a defense speech. It is to a consideration of rhetoricians and the making of defense speeches that we now turn.

II
THE RHETORICAL TREATISES

The history of ancient rhetoric is largely the growth of a single great traditional theory to which many individual writers and teachers contributed.[22] Since knowledge about the four principal authors of treatises on rhetorical theory before the end of the first century A.D. is not widespread in the field of early Christianity, a few words of introduction to the treatises are necessary.[23]

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[20] *Ibid., 317.*

[21] Op. cit. In "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts," *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. C. Talbert; Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 243-56, Veltmann argues for the existence of the genre defense speech in late antiquity and describes the structure of such speeches.

[22] Kennedy, op. cit., 9.

[23] The authenticity of a work, the *Rhetoric to Alexander,* claiming to be a letter from Aristotle to Alexander the Great during his campaign in the East, has been questioned and rejected by scholars from the time of Erasmus. Though there is some discussion of proofs, parts of a speech and various types of oratory in this work (stemming

The most atypical rhetorical treatise which we shall consider is the oldest: Aristotle's *Rhetorica*. Convinced that rhetoric has a legitimate function to play in public affairs in order to persuade people about the justice of an accusation or the rightness of a proposed action, Aristotle takes great pains to explain the nature of the proof, the types of oratory, the ways of attaining good will from the audience and the use of proper style in argument. His most unique contribution to oratorical theory is what one might call the "psychology" of oratory. Since it is essential for the orator to gain the good will of the hearers and since that is dependent on a knowledge of how the emotions operate, the speaker must be provided with a detailed understanding of how to arouse or quench emotions.[24]

The earliest extant Latin treatise on rhetorical theory or practice is Cicero's *De Inventione Rhetorica*. Though it is cited slightingly by Cicero himself in a treatise from his mature years,[25] it probably gives an accurate picture of the foundational aspect of rhetorical training—the discovery and formation of arguments. Though Cicero relies heavily on Aristotle for definitions and the structure of his arguments, his treatise differs considerably from Aristotle's in content and goal. While Aristotle desired to understand the human psyche and the best ways in which it could be conciliated, Cicero, in *Inv. Rhet.*, was much more interested in the procedure of a court room. His treatise is a "practical pleader's guide."[26]

The oldest Latin "art of rhetoric" preserved entire is the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, dating from the second decade of the first century B.C. Long considered a work of Cicero, the *Rhetorica* is similar, in the section on invention, to the *Inv. Rhet.* and reflects the Hellenistic rhetorical training that was daily becoming more popular in Rome. It is a technical manual, for the most part clearly written, which covers the five offices of the rhetor: invention, arrangement, delivery, memory, and style. As with Cicero and Aristotle before him and Cicero's *Orator* and *De Oratore* as well as Quintilian after him, the *auctor ad Herennium* is primarily concerned with discussing the nature of forensic oratory, though he does mention invention in deliberative and epideictic speaking.[27] His treatment of style, the oldest extant in Latin, is an important supplement to Aristotle's discussion.[28]

It was Quintilian (b. A.D. 30), the first occupant of the endowed chair of rhetoric in Rome, who assembled what George Kennedy calls "the finest statement of ancient

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probably from the beginning of the third century B.C.), its brevity and vagueness do not provide much help for those seeking a detailed understanding of rhetorical theory in antiquity.

[24]*Rh.*, Book 2. All quotations from classical texts cited in this paper can be found in the Loeb Classical Library.

[25]In *De Oratore* 1.2.5 Cicero, probably referring to this essay, calls it "unfinished and crude" (*inchoata ac rudia*). It was written in the days of his boyhood or youth (*pueris aut adulescentulis*) and was hardly worthy of his later life and the experience gained from an oratorical career.

[26]H. M. Hubbell, "Introduction" in Cicero's *Inv. Rhet.*, x.

[27]Therefore when we speak in this paper about the advice given by rhetoricians in constructing speeches, we mean defense speeches unless indicated otherwise.

[28]*Her.* 4.8.11-4.11.16. Time does not permit a discussion of later publications of Cicero having to do with rhetorical theory. Briefly, *Brutus* (46 B.C.) discusses the history of rhetoric, *Orator* and *De Oratore* (46 B.C. and 55 B.C.) discuss the perfect orator, *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* (46 B.C.) is an introduction to a translation of one of Demosthenes' orations and *Topica* and *Partitiones Oratoriae* (both from 46 B.C.) discuss, respectively, the various Aristotelian topics of argumentation and the discovery of topics by the orator.

rhetorical theory."[29] The originality of Quintilian lies primarily in his interpretation of the art of oratory as including all that was necessary for the training of the orator from the earliest years.[30] While his massive *Institutio Oratoria* is replete with rules and suggestions for the development of speeches, Quintilian, more than any other writer on oratory, stresses that employment of rules must be tempered by good judgment in the orator. "The most important quality for the good orator," says Quintilian, "is judgment (*consilium*), because he has to adapt himself in various ways to the needs of the situation."[31] The orator therefore has rules to follow in comprising speeches, but flexibility in applying the rules is the mark of the master rhetorician.

III
OF THE MAKING OF SPEECHES

Rhetoric, according to Aristotle, may be defined as the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever.[32] Rhetoric differs from other arts in that while every art is only concerned to persuade in its specific area rhetoric is of general application. Cicero follows this tradition,[33] as does the *auctor ad Herennium*,[34] while Quintilian, taking a broader view of the matter, defines rhetoric simply as the art of speaking well.[35] The goal of rhetoric is to utilize well the principles that are appropriate to one's specific case when making a public address so as to persuade the audience of the rightness of one's case.

There is universal agreement among our sources that there are three different kinds of speeches—epideictic, forensic, and deliberative.[36] Aristotle says that each kind corresponds respectively to one of three kinds of hearer (a spectator, a judge of things in the past, a judge of things in the future). Deliberative oratory may be divided into hortatory or dissuasive speeches, forensic into accusatory or defensive speeches, and epideictic into speeches of praise or blame. A special end is in view for each type of speech. The deliberative is concerned with the expedient or harmful, the forensic with the just or unjust, and the epideictic with honor or dishonor. The following table summarizes Aristotle's classification of speeches.

	Deliberative	*Forensic*	*Epideictic*
Audience	Judge int. in fut.	Judge int. in past	Spectator
Time	Future	Past	Present
End	Expedient, harmful	Just, unjust	Honorable Dishonorable

Though these distinctions are a bit wooden, especially as in *Rh.* 1.6.1 and 1.8.7 the present is also mentioned as a time appropriate to deliberative oratory, they are based on a clear awareness of the distinction in aim of the three types of rhetorical discourse.

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[29] *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton, 1972) 496.

[30] M. L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome* (London, 1953) 120.

[31] *Inst.*, 2.13.1-2.

[32] *Rh.* 1.2., Ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν.

[33] *Inv. Rhet.* 1.5.6.

[34] *Her.* 1.2.2.

[35] *Inst.* 2.15.38.

[36] Ibid. 3.4.9-11; *Inv. Rhet.* 1.5.7; *Her.* 1.2.2; *Rh.* 1.3. The terms are as follows: epideictic (ἐπιδεικτικόν, *demonstrativum*), forensic (δικανικόν, *iudicale*), deliberative (συμβουλευτικόν, *deliberativum*). For further discussion see D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Graeco-Roman Education* (New York: Columbia, 1957) 133-43.

It has also been mentioned above that the offices or faculties of the orator are five: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. The actual speech which the orator would deliver was also divided into several parts.[37] Aristotle states succinctly, "A speech has two parts. . . . The first of these parts is the statement of the case (πρόθεσις), the second the proof (πίστις). . . ."[38] The Latin tradition, however, divides the speech into as few as four and as many as six parts.[39] This disagreement is one in enumeration and denomination only; it does not reflect a different understanding of how a speech should be composed or what a person should aim for in a speech. Cicero, in his *Partitiones Oratoriae*, enumerates four parts of a speech, *exordium*, *narratio*, *probatio*, and *peroratio* and Quintilian, in the *Institutio*, follows the Ciceronian division.[40] The division of Quintilian and Cicero will be followed in this paper.

A. *Exordium*[41]

The exordium is a passage which brings the mind of the auditor into a proper condition to receive the rest of the speech.[42] This "proper condition" can be further defined as being of good disposition (*benevolus*), attentive (*attentus*), and willing to receive information (*docilis*). Aristotle suggests that in the exordium of a forensic speech "the most essential function (is) to show what the aim of the speech is."[43] In this connection Aristotle pointed to the exordia of epic poems as a parallel to introductions of forensic speeches and noted that the Iliad (μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά) and the Odyssey (ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα) began with very brief exordia. One should note that *one or two words* are enough to indicate the subject matter to the audience and can be placed at the beginning or end of a sentence.[44]

In almost every situation, the speaker will use a direct approach to his hearers in order to effect docility and attentiveness.[45] This good will of the hearers can be brought

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[37]Discussion of the parts of the speech usually occurs in the discussion of invention. In order to analyze the speeches of Acts 22-26 fully one would have to study the extensive comments of the rhetoricians on style and then consider if their comments aid in understanding the speeches in the trial of Paul. For a preliminary discussion see Long, op. cit., 209-14.

[38]*Rh.* 3.13.

[39]*Her.* 1.3.4 lists the following six: *exordium*, *narratio*, *divisio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio* and *conclusio*. Cicero collapses this six-fold division by joining *divisio* with *narratio* and treating *confirmatio* and *confutatio* under one head (*Part. Or.* 1.4; 2.33-51).

[40]*Inst.* 4 preface 6.

[41]For discussions see J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* (HdA II, 3; München, 1974) 60-75; Clark, op. cit., 112-15 and H. D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 44-46.

[42]*Inv. Rhet.* 1.15-20.

[43]*Rh.* 3.14.

[44]Ibid. 3.14.6. Cf. the example from Choerilus, which Aristotle cites, ἥγεό μοι λόγα ἄλλον, ὅπως Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίης ἦλθεν ἐς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας--"inspire me with another theme, how from the land of Asia a *great war* crossed into Europe."

[45]In the difficult case (*admirabile* or *turpe*; παράδοξον) the speaker may have to use an indirect approach on his hearers to effect docility and attentiveness. The difficult case is one in which the affections of the audience are completely alienated. In this instance the speaker might substitute for the person or thing at which offense is taken another person or thing which is approved by the audience so that the attention of the auditor may be shifted from what he hates to what he favors. *Inst.* 4.1.40-41.

about through appeal to one's own person (referring to one's own services without arrogance), reference to opponents (bringing them into contempt or unpopularity), appeal to the judge (recognition of his esteem), or appeal to the circumstances of the case (praise one's own case and attack that of the opponents). Quintilian adds that the exordium may sometimes derive its force from the person of the pleader. Therefore, "he will have the good fortune to give the impression not so much that he is a zealous advocate as that he is an absolutely reliable witness."[46] The character of the speaker will be perceived as the speech unfolds, but one should stress one's sense of duty, patriotism, or other moral considerations at the outset. Restraint, however, should characterize the exordium; the impression of sobriety and reliability is what should be imparted to the hearers.[47]

B. *Narratio*[48]

The *narratio* or statement of facts is the exposition, usually following the exordium, "of what has been done, or is supposed to have been done, adapted to persuade."[49] Emphasis should be placed on the last three words for, as Quintilian says, "a statement of facts is not made merely that the judge may comprehend the case, but rather that he may look upon it in the same light as ourselves."[50] Quintilian even permitted the introduction of material that was not strictly factual as long as the advocate or defendant thinks it expedient that the judge or jury believe these things to be facts.

It is very important to be aware that the specific issue of the case is already present in the *narratio*. As was just stated, facts are related in the *narratio* in order to persuade the judge of the rightness of one's position. Quintilian can go so far as to say that there is no difference between the proof (*probatio*) and the statement of facts except that the latter is a proof in continuous form while the *probatio* is a verification of the facts put forth in the statement.[51] In other words, one should look to the *narratio* for the statement of the issue to be demonstrated in the entire speech.

Though Quintilian stresses that there is no fixed law governing the contents of the *narratio*, he states that it may contain a description of "the past life of the accused, with the causes which have brought an innocent man into peril."[52] For example, in a defense against charges of bribery or extortion, the accused may counter the charge not only by denying it but also by setting forth his version of the facts.[53] In setting forth these facts, the speaker should be brief (*brevis*), lucid (*lucidus, apertus*), and plausible (*probabilis*). Lucidity is of special importance for, "if at this stage . . . he (the judge) fails to understand, remember or believe what we say, our labor is but lost in the remainder of the speech."[54]

Stylistically the *narratio* should have an unobtrusive rhythm to it and should be adorned with turns of phrases or words that charm the judge's ears and lure him to

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[46]Ibid. 4.1.7.

[47]Ibid. 4.1.52.

[48]For discussions see Martin, op. cit., 75-95; Clark, op. cit., 115-17 and Betz, op. cit., 58-62.

[49]*Inst.* 4.2.31.

[50]Ibid. 4.2.21.

[51]Ibid. 4.2.79.

[52]Ibid. 4.2.84.

[53]Ibid. 4.2.12-15. Aristotle also discusses the "moral character" of the narrative and suggests that it should indicate various virtues or faults of the person being defended or charged (*Rh.* 3.16.8-9).

[54]Ibid. 4.2.35.

belief.[55] Dignity and seriousness of the *narratio* style will lend weight to the assertions that are made in this part of the speech. It is through these stylistic points that the authority of the speaker is enhanced.[56]

C. *Probatio*[57]

While the issue to be demonstrated is mentioned in the *narratio*, it is in the *probatio* that the actual demonstration of the previously asserted point takes place. According to Cicero, "confirmation or proof is the part of the oration which by marshalling arguments lends credit, authority and support to our case.[58]

Because so much weight is placed upon the proof, the discussions of it in rhetorical handbooks are seemingly endless. Issues of importance for the defendant are determination of the status of the case, the mastery of artificial proofs, and knowledge of inartificial proofs.

The term status denoted the significant point at issue between the disputants and the real basis for the court's decision. The four statuses are those of fact (did the accused commit the crime?), definition (whether something actually committed was really what the accuser called it), quality (whether something done and agreed upon in definition could be said to have been done under extenuating circumstances, and objection (whether defendant argues that the prosecutor has no right to prosecute him). In a defense speech, one's case is generally strongest if one argues from the status of fact.[59]

The classic statement of types of proof in rhetorical discourse is made by Aristotle:

> As for proofs, some are inartificial (ἄτεχνοι), others artificial (ἔντεχνοι). By the former I understand all those which have not been furnished by ourselves but were already in existence, such as witnesses, tortures, contracts, and the like; by the latter, all that can be constructed by system and by our own efforts.[60]

Quintilian discusses the inartificial proofs in great detail. The most difficult inartificial proof for an advocate to sustain, and therefore potentially the most powerful in defense, is evidence presented by witnesses.[61] When there are witnesses on both sides of the issue the question will naturally arise as to which witness is the more trustworthy.

One example of inartificial proof is "the evidence of the sort known as supernatural, based on oracles, prophecies and omens."[62] Such evidence is, like many other types, capable of being used and attacked. On the general level, a person appealing to such evidence would have to argue from a stoic understanding of divine providence while on the specific level he would need to maintain that the divine word received is incapable of invention. This "supernatural evidence" can, according to Quintilian, be problematic, but, when appeal is made to sacred books or commonly accepted sources of authority, can be very useful.

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[55]Ibid. 4.2.117-19.

[56]Ibid. 4.2.125.

[57]For discussions see Martin, op. cit., 95-137; Clark, op. cit., 117-28 and Betz, op. cit., 128-30.

[58]Inv. Rhet. 1.24.34; cf. *Her.* 1.10.18.

[59]Kennedy, *Art of Persuasion*, 303-20, and the literature cited there.

[60]*Rh.* 1.2. Our consideration of Acts 22 requires only a knowledge of the function of inartificial proofs. For reasons of space and relevance to exegesis of Acts, artificial proofs will not be discussed here.

[61]*Inst.* 5.7.1.

[62]Ibid. 5.7.35.

Because the *topoi* from which to draw arguments was so vast, it was not expected that an orator would make use of all in constructing a defense. One must employ one's judgment and reject the weak arguments and those of too general application. It is much better, according to Cicero, to have fewer, and better, arguments than to dilute one's case with numerous arguments.[63]

D. *Peroratio*[64]

Like the exhortations about a good peroration in the ancient rhetoricians, the discussion of its purpose is brief. Three items appropriate for the peroration are recapitulation, appeal to the emotions, and amplification. The summary serves both to refresh the memory of the judge and to place the whole case "before his eyes." In making an emotional appeal the speaker "should dwell on those points by which he himself would be most moved were he trying the case."[65] Emotional appeals must be very brief for, as Quintilian mentions, "nothing dries so quickly as tears."[66] Amplification, a form of emotional appeal, concerns the augmentation or attenuation of language in describing an action. For example, in a summary one might choose to call a dishonest person a thief or to say that a person struck by another was only touched by him. The purpose of the amplification is to bring the issue to a climax so that the judge is inclined to decide in our favor.

IV
ACTS 22:1-21

The aim of this section is to analyze the structure and content of Paul's speech in Acts 22:1-21 with the aid of advice given by ancient rhetoricians on the construction of defense speeches in order to determine the point at issue in this speech. That the speech in Acts 22, to mention nothing of the speeches in Acts 24 and 26, is a defense speech, according to the categories of ancient rhetoric, there can be no doubt. The literary framework of a trial, the use of the word ἀπολογία throughout the section (Acts 22:1; 25:16; verb form in Acts 24:10; 25:8; 26:1, 2, 24), the presence of many words which suggest a legal procedure[67] and the appropriateness of any other designation for the speech confirm the judgment of Stählin, among others, "Verteidigungsrede erklingt hier zum erstenmal wie ein Leitmotiv, dass dann fast durch den ganzen letzten Teil des Buches geht."[68]

The need for defense by Paul presupposes that distinct charges had been brought against him. Though Jewish-Christian complaints about Paul are indicated in 21:20-21, it is the accusations of certain Jews from Asia that set in motion the long and complicated trial of Paul. The nature of the accusation is mentioned in 21:28:

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[63] *De Or.* 2.76.309.

[64] For discussions see Martin, op. cit., 147-67; Clark, op. cit., 128-30 and Betz, op. cit., 313, 323. A knowledge of the function of a peroration is not essential for Acts 22, since there is none, but it is extremely important for understanding Acts 26:19-23. See Long, op. cit., 243-44.

[65] *Inst.* 6.1.11.

[66] Ibid. 6.1.27.

[67] O. Eger, "Rechtsgeschichtliches zum Neuen Testament," *Rektoratsprogramm der Universität Basel für das Jahr 1918* (Basel, 1919) 1-46. A discussion of the importance of Eger's article for this point is in Long, op. cit., 162-64.

[68] *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD, 12 Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968) 283.

> Men of Israel, help! This is the man who is teaching everywhere against the people and the law and this place; moreover, he also brought Greeks into the temple, and he has defiled the holy place.

The accusations at this stage are twofold:[69] (1) the religious—Paul is teaching rebellion from Judaism, (2) the immediate—he has tried (and perhaps succeeded in) bringing Greeks into the temple precincts. It is the contention here that Paul answers the first charge in Chap. 22, and that Luke has structured the entire defense speech in 22:1-21 as an answer to that charge.[70]

According to the guidelines set down by ancient rhetoricians for forensic oratory, one can best divide Paul's speech in 22:1-21 in the following manner: 22:1-2 exordium, 22:3 narrative, 22:4-21 proofs. There are three proofs by which the assertions in the narrative are demonstrated: (1) 22:4-5, (2) 22:6-16, and (3) 22:17-21. There is no peroration to the speech as Luke interrupts it precisely at the point that one would expect a peroration to begin.[71]

One should recall from the earlier discussion that the chief aim of the exordium was to put the listener in a suitable frame of mind to hear the rest of the speech. There is no way for a *reader* to judge the effectiveness of an address on the original listeners without an explicit indication from the author. Therefore when Luke mentions the audience reaction at 21:40 and 22:1 we are encouraged to see these as indications of the effectiveness of Paul's exordium.

Several items in 21:40-22:2 are worthy of note. Prominent among them is Luke's mention that Paul spoke to the crowd "in the Hebrew language" (21:40-22:2). One should probably take this as Luke's attempt to show Paul's patriotism (something recommended by Quintilian). The results of this Hebrew language speech are immediate and astonishing. An uncontrollable throng that was moments before clamoring for Paul's life is now reduced to docility and attentiveness (πολλῆς σιγῆς rather than just σιγῆς in 21:39 and μᾶλλον παρέσχον ἡσυχίαν, rather than just παρέσχον ἡσυχίαν in 22:2). Two of the requirements for an effective exordium are established. Second, and much briefer, the waving of the hand as well as the request for attention are customary for an orator about to begin a speech.[72] Third, concerning the words of 22:1, Luke has followed the suggestion first made by Aristotle that the nature of the case should be indicated in the exordium and that it could be condensed into one or two words (here ἀπολογίας). The hearer,

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[69]In Tertullus's speech (Acts 24:2-8) a political charge against Paul is mentioned: "We have found this man a pestilent fellow (λοιμόν), an agitator among all the Jews throughout the world and a ringleader (πρωτοστάτην) of the sect of the Nazarenes" (v. 5). This charge is answered directly in Paul's second defense speech (24:10-21).

[70]Both Conzelmann (*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 133) and Haenchen (*Acts*, 628) assert that the defense speech of Acts 22 does not answer what they consider to be the chief accusation, that of bringing a Gentile into the temple precincts. Neither of them considers that this speech (as well as that in Acts 26) might answer the religious charge.

[71]Dibelius, followed by Haenchen (*Acts*, 628) and Conzelmann (*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 134), has claimed that the point of interruption is not only the point that Luke wanted to break off the speech, but appears at the major point of the speech (*Studies*, 7, 56).

[72]κατέσεισεν τῇ χειρί, 21:40; cf. ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα, 26:1. See also Acts 2:14; 13:16, Apuleius *Met.* 2.21; *Inst.* 9.3.84 and Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 33, on Acts 2:14.

and reader, are then aware that the focus of the speech will concern a defense of Paul.[73] The placing of ἀπολογίας as the last word of the exordium not only has the effect of indicating the nature of the speech to come but also heightens the effect of the word:

> Poetic language and that rhetorically styled in any way frequently pulls them (closely related elements in a sentence) apart in order to give greater effect to the separate elements by their isolation.[74]

Finally, through Paul's surprisingly rare address to his hearers (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες—only in Acts 7:2 and here), Paul emphasizes his present fraternal and obedient relationship to his hearers and to Judaism. In the entire structure of the exordium Luke has used suggestions laid down by ancient rhetoricians for the composition of exordia to bring about silence and attentiveness in Paul's listeners.

As we consider the *narratio* of Paul's speech we should recall that the *narratio* is a connected statement of facts, designed to persuade, that relates background facts of importance for the judge to render a just decision. Since, according to Quintilian, the narrative is really a "proof in continuous form" while the proof is a verification of the facts put forward in the *narratio*, one should expect to find the issue of the entire case stated clearly in the *narratio*. The virtues of brevity, lucidity, and credibility are to be observed so that the judge can grasp immediately what the point of issue of the case is.

Acts 22:3, the *narratio* in our outline, narrates Paul's past and present relationship to Judaism. Of particular linguistic interest to note is the presence of three words indicating present time which appear on either side of three words in the perfect tense.[75] The verse begins and ends with a statement of Paul's present condition and has as its midpoint the description of his upbringing. W. C. van Unnik has pointed out that the triad of perfect participles describing Paul's upbringing represented, by the first century A.D., "a fixed literary unit" that was "the proper way to describe the development of a man's youth."[76] When one realizes that this triad is used in Acts only to describe the education of a person of supreme importance for Judaism (Moses, Acts 7:20-22), the reader becomes aware that a person of great dignity (Paul) is speaking. But the presence of the triad of participles also enables Luke to divide his sentence in a rhythmically pleasant manner. Although it is not clear whether the phrase "at the feet of Gamaliel" refers to "brought up" or "educated" or whether "zealous" refers to "the ancestral law" or "being," one can easily refer these words both to what precedes and to what follows so that, while a rhythmically exact verse is not created, a pleasant, easily flowing sentence results.[77]

The issue of the *narratio* and thus of the entire speech could not be stated in clearer or briefer language: "I am a Jew . . . being a zealot for God just as all of you are today." Paul is claiming in no uncertain terms that his commitment to Judaism and his zeal for God were not just commitments of his youth but remain present concerns. His is not a wavering commitment but one that is as deep and as vigorous as that of his hearers.

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[73]The placing of μου in 22.1 is ambiguous. The phrase could be translated, "Hear my present defense" or "Hear me as I make my present defense." See the discussion in F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (tr. and rev. R. W. Funk; Chicago: University, 1961) 473.1, 173.1.

[74]Ibid., 473.1.

[75]Εἰμι ... γεγεννημένος ... ἀνατεθραμμένος ... πεπαιδευμένος ... ὑπάρχων ... σήμερον.

[76]Quoted in Haenchen, *Acts*, 624.

[77]ἀκριβέστατον can designate Pharisaic observance in Josephus (*Vita* 191, *BJ* 2, 162). πατρῴος occurs in Acts 22:3; 24:14; 28:17. ζηλωτής appears in Acts 21:20; Gal 1:14.

Since the religious accusation against Paul was that he had been unfaithful to Judaism because of his alleged teaching against "the people, the law and this place," it would be to the point to make the assertion, to be demonstrated in the *probatio*, that Paul was and is a faithful and zealous Jew. The three words, "strictness," "ancestral," and "zealot," emphasize both that his education was traditional and that his present action is vigorously faithful to that education.

The content of the *narratio* is in accordance with suggestions given in the rhetorical handbooks in that it focuses on the past life of the accused so as to show the baselessness of the charges against him. Paul is shown to be a diaspora Jew of a significant city (note the litotes in 21:39) who received his formative educational training from "a teacher of the Law, held in honor by all the people" (Acts 5:34). It is to misunderstand the nature of the *narratio* if one were to expect a demonstration here of what is asserted. Such is the purpose of the *probatio*. But now that the accusation has been raised and answered in specific, lucid, brief, and credible language through the narration of the past conduct of the accused, the proofs must follow. The question to be decided is, Is Paul still a faithful Jew?

Unless the judge is corrupt or the listeners are intransigent, the ability to demonstrate the contention made in the narrative rests upon the strength of the proof. In order to suit one's proofs to the charges brought forth one must first determine which status is applicable (fact, definition, quality, or translation). One has the best chance of succeeding in one's defense if the status is one of fact and one is able to produce reliable witnesses for one's defense (rather than documents, rumors, vague precedents and testimony under torture). The strength of the case rests primarily on the background and trustworthiness of the witnesses.

Even a cursory reading of Paul's proofs indicates that the status of the case is that of fact. The defense of Paul will proceed along the lines of pure disagreement with and refutation of his opponents. One can divide the long proof section (vv. 4-22) into three proofs, all of which intend to show Paul's fidelity to Judaism: (1) 22:4-6—through persecution of the Way, which was *witnessed* by the high priests and the whole council of elders, (2) 22:7-16—through a revelation of Christ which was witnessed by various companions and *confirmed* by a man considered to be a faithful Jew (Ananias), and (3) 22:17-21—through an ecstatic experience in the Jerusalem Temple in which the divine speaker commissioned him to go to the Gentiles.

Each of the proofs will be discussed briefly. The first proof (22:4-5) asserts that Paul is a faithful Jew because of past testimony by Jewish religious authorities that he persecuted the Way until the death. Paul describes his persecution of Christians in Gal 1:13-14:

> You have heard of my former life in Judaism, how I persecuted the Church of God violently (καθ' ὑπερβολήν) and tried to destroy it; and I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers.

The structure of this passage is interesting. In Gal 1:13 Paul speaks of his zeal for Judaism and then explains in 1:13-14 how this extraordinary zeal was demonstrated: persecutions of the Church of God and commitment to traditions of Judaism. It was the extraordinary nature (καθ' ὑπερβολήν) of his persecutions of the Church that showed his fidelity to Judaism.[78]

Scholars have noticed the presence of "to the death" (ἄχρι θανάτου) in Acts 22:4 as a heightening of the description of Paul's persecuting activity in Acts 9:1-2 and 8:1-3, but have not suggested a reason for this heightening of language. When one considers Gal

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[78]Betz, *Galatians*, 238.

1:13-14 and the function of Acts 22:4-5 as the first proof in defense of Paul, one can say that this augmentation is designed to show the extreme, almost excessive zeal of Paul for Judaism. This zeal, granted, was manifest in the past but the high priest and the *entire* council will witness to that very fact today.[79] The very least one could conclude from this proof is that the most reliable witnesses of Judaism consider that Paul was a faithful Jew in the not-too-distant past. One needs only to turn to the second and third proofs to show that this fidelity still obtains.

The second proof (22:6-16) consists of Paul's account of the revelation of the Lord to him (6-11) and the interpretation of the event for him by Ananias (12-16). There are some differences between the accounts of Acts 9 and Acts 22 (the time is mentioned in Acts 22:6; Paul is commanded by the Lord to go to Damascus in 22:10) which are not important for this study. The fact that the companions saw the light but did not hear the voice is not exploited by Luke; it is enough to confirm that the event occurred.

The important divergences from Acts 9 appear in Ananias's interpretation of Paul's experience. While in 9:10 Ananias is called a disciple, in 22:12 he is called "a devout man according to the law, well spoken of by all the Jews that lived there."[80] The change in designation is made to stress the reliability of Ananias *among the Jews*. One should note that the participle μαρτυρούμενος is in the present tense. Ananias is one who is "*currently* held in esteem by *all* the resident Jews."[81] It is this reliable, devout Jew who explained the meaning of this experience to Paul. It was an example of the "God of our Fathers"[82] choosing a servant to know his will and become a witness to all people of what he had seen and heard. In the second proof Luke has shown that the revelation to Paul and the commissioning to all people are authenticated by one that is currently held in esteem by all the Jews.

Finally, the third proof (22:17-21) demonstrates that it was divine guidance which led Paul to the Gentiles in far-off lands. Earlier in Acts it was Peter who had a vision in the house of an *unclean tanner* which explained the Gentiles' acceptance into the household of God (Acts 10:1-14), but now it is Paul the faithful Jew who receives, in the *Jewish temple* while praying, a divine vision which drove him to the people far away. One cannot doubt that it is the "God of our Fathers," the one who originally appointed Paul to be a witness for him (22:14-15), who appears to his faithful people in his temple. The divine message was that Paul, over Paul's own objections, should go to the Gentiles. The impression left on the reader is that Paul would have not found it possible to disobey the command.[83]

Therefore, as the speech closes, the reader is left with the conviction that Paul is working among people in far-off lands as a faithful Jew who would rather be working exclusively among his own people in Jerusalem. Luke has proved his case to his readers by calling reliable witnesses (high priests and elders, Ananias, the Lord) and showing that Paul had no other option but to do what he had done. The consistency of the witness terminology in this chapter to indicate people faithful to Judaism (high priests and elders—22:5; Ananias—22:12; Paul—22:15, 18) clinches the case for Paul.[84] The religious

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[79]Note the present tense μαρτυρεῖ.

[80]For other occurrences of εὐλαβής in the New Testament see Luke 2:25; Acts 2:5; 8:2.

[81]Compare the use of the same verb in Acts 16:2 referring to Timothy, "He was well spoken of (ἐμαρτυρεῖτο) by the brethren at Lystra and Iconium."

[82]This phrase was long familiar to Jewish ears (Exod 3:6, 13, 15, 16; 4:5 etc.).

[83]The two verbs τέτακται ("it is appointed," Acts 22:10) and προεχειρίσατό ("has appointed," Acts 22:14) suggest divine compulsion.

[84]In 23:11 Paul's activity in Jerusalem and his future work in Rome are called "witnessing." In 22:20 Stephen also is called a witness to the Lord. Though the speech in

accusations against Paul are groundless. The fact that there is no peroration[85] and that the Jews immediately shout for Paul's death should not make us think that Luke has presented his proof poorly. Indeed, as we will presently show, it is not so much Luke's intention to convince as to harden the Jews and to portray Paul as a sober, understanding, faithful Jew who patiently waits for the wheels of justice to turn.

V
THE NARRATIVE SECTIONS OF THE TRIAL[86]

There is one piece of advice given by ancient rhetoricians to those who would practice forensic oratory that is almost completely ignored by Luke in the presentation of Paul's defense speeches—the importance of attacking the accuser.[87] It is frequently not enough to maintain one's own innocence; one has to be able to show that one's accusers, in bringing an issue to trial, are motivated by concerns other than justice. The contention of this section is that the portrayal of the Jews in the narrative sections of the trial functions in accordance with this advice. In the trial account of Paul, the Jews, from the lowest to the highest, are portrayed as bloodthirsty and uncontrollable people who either do not care about or are always trying to subvert the paths of justice. In contrast, the Roman authorities by and large, are described as serious officials who will spare no effort to learn the truth while Paul is described as a cool, reasonable man who patiently awaits his acquittal. Our interest in this section is in describing the portrait of the Jews and Paul in the narrative section of the trial.

Scarcely had Paul been in Jerusalem for a week when some Asian Jews stirred up "all the crowd" (21:27) with accusations against him. At that time Paul was in the temple fulfilling a pledge which would demonstrate his fidelity to Judaism. Undeterred by the pious performance of a praiseworthy deed by this religious pilgrim, the Asian Jews aroused "all the city" (21:30) to drag Paul out of the temple. Their purpose, however, was not to initiate orderly judicial proceedings. Rather, the storm of their anger had reached such a pitch that only the death of Paul could still it. Had it not been for the timely intervention of the Roman authorities, the vituperative rancor of the Jews would surely have been satiated. As it turned out, they were, both before and after Paul's first speech, reduced to shouting for Paul's life—"away with him" (21:36, 22:22-23).

One might have been able to attribute such behavior to the fact that it was the crowd that attacked Paul. Everyone knows that once a crowd is aroused, it is deaf to appeals of reason. Luke then gives us a picture of the highest body in Judaism, the Sanhedrin, in relation to Paul. Are they any better than the crowd? The first sign that the ways of justice are far from the Sanhedrin is the slap administered to Paul in 23:2. Referring probably to Lev 19:15, "You shall not do injustice in judgment," Paul accuses them of behaving contrary to the Law. Rather than answering the charge, the attendants

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Acts 7 attacks his Jewish listeners, the argument can be made that Stephen is coupling himself with the prophets and those who announced the coming of the righteous one (Acts 7:52).

[85]Cicero mentions that a peroration can be eliminated if the case is very clear without it or if a recapitulation would diminish the effectiveness of what has been presented, *Inv. Rhet.* 1.52.98.

[86]A complete literary analysis of the trial narrative would include, in addition to that discussed here, a detailed outline of the section and a presentation of the portrait of the Roman officials. For the purposes of this paper, a discussion of the portrait of Paul and the Jews suffices.

[87]An attack on the opponent can appear in any part of the speech (*Inst.* 4.1-11) and can include a refutation of the charges and an assault on the opponent's character.

refer to the authority of the high priest to do what he desires (23:4). By submitting to the authority of the high priest,[88] even when the high priest is exceeding his authority, Paul shows that he, and not the Jews, is faithful to Scripture and that Jewish infidelity to the Scripture is, in this case, a breach of justice.

A second sign that the highest tribunal in Judaism is incapable of serving justice is the reaction of the Sanhedrin after Paul confesses his belief in the resurrection of the dead. Instead of provoking a sober discussion of the permissibility of such a belief, the mere mention of the doctrine creates a schism in the Sanhedrin. The unpredictable wrath of the Sanhedrin is then directed against Paul and the members threaten to tear him apart (23:10). It is only through the intervention of armed troops that Paul is saved from summary dismemberment.

Both attempts to kill Paul have been, thanks to the Roman soldiers, unsuccessful. Their lack of success does not deter the Jews, however, from devising another devious means of perverting justice. A plot to kill Paul was made by more than forty Jews with the apparent complicity of the chief priests and elders (23:14). Upon learning of the plot from Paul's nephew, the tribune made arrangements to transfer the prisoner, with a heavily armed guard (23:23), to the governor. For the third time the Jews are foiled in their attempt to lynch Paul.

The last mention of Jewish behavior during the trial narrative occurs in Acts 25. When the new governor, Festus, had come into office, the Jews in Jerusalem requested a change of location for Paul's case from Caesarea to Jerusalem. The Jewish motivation for this change is stated in 25:3, "planning an ambush to kill him on the way." Felix threatened Paul with such a change but did not bring it about because of Paul's appeal to Caesar (25:11).[89] Once again the Jews—this time the chief priests and principal men—are portrayed as a group who, under the guise of seeking justice, are really interested in perverting justice. In the trial account, then, the Jews, from the high priest to the mob, are a raving group of half-crazed and misinformed people who misunderstand their own Scriptures and seek to pervert the ways of justice by lynching Paul.

We have already seen that, in the narrative sections of the trial, Paul shows his fidelity to Judaism (21:26, 23:4-5), his concern for justice (23:1-5) and his theological acumen (23:6-10). There are two other texts in the trial narrative to consider that give the reader a deeper insight into the character of Paul. The first (24:24-25) describes Paul's proclamation of righteousness (δικαιοσύνης), self-control (ἐγκρατείας) and the judgment to come (τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντας) to Felix and Drusilla while the second (26:24-28) is Paul's defense of his speech before Agrippa as "words of truth and sobriety" (ἀληθείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ῥήματα). Conzelmann describes the first as a"typische lukanische Zusammenfassung des Christentums: Ethik und künftiges Gericht,"[90] but, for our purposes, it is sufficient to note that these characteristics are meant to describe Paul's preaching, and indeed portray Paul as a preacher of self-control and resurrection.[91]

In the second text Paul's claim to speak words of truth and sobriety is in response to Festus' accusation that his excessive study had driven him mad (26:24). The references to righteousness (δικαιοσύνης, 24:25) and sobriety (σωφροσύνη, 26:25) bring to mind Aristotle's description of these qualities as necessary to produce confidence in listeners

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[88]It is important to note that Paul's submission to the high priest is on Scriptural grounds, "You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people" (Exod 22:28).

[89]For a discussion of the institution of appeal to Caesar in the Roman Republic and early Empire see Long, op. cit., 97-157.

[90]*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 143.

[91]The Acts of Paul and Thecla 5 speaks of Paul preaching περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως. Cf. Acts of Peter with Simon 2; Acts of John 84.

regarding the moral character of one who is accused,[92] and its appearance in 26:25 is particularly apposite when one recalls that Luke, throughout the trial, desires to portray the Jews as unreasonable and indeed, almost mad.[93] King Agrippa is then requested to testify to Paul's sobriety and truth. Paul speaks quite freely with the king. The verb παρρησιάζω is used here and in other places in Acts (9:27; 13:46; 14:3; 18:26; 19:3; 28:31) to express the boldness of the speaker as he proclaims the gospel. If there was any madness or fault in the preaching of Paul, the extremely knowledgeable and observant Agrippa would not have let it pass. Instead, a sign of the reasonableness of Paul and the power of his message is Agrippa's rather enigmatic statement, "Soon you will convince me to play the Christian."[94] Such a statement can only be meant as a serious rejoinder to the eloquent defense of Paul and his moving question of Agrippa (26:27). The final vindication of Paul (26:31-32) reveals that Festus's outburst (26:24) was a lack of understanding of the matter (cf. 25:19-20, 25) rather than a true analysis of Paul's condition.

VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The burden of this paper was to describe the literary aspects of the *Paulusbild* in the trial of Paul in Acts with the aid of literature normally ignored in scholarship on Acts, the ancient rhetorical handbooks. It was shown that these handbooks furnish direct help in understanding the structure of Paul's defense speech in Acts 22 and the issue under consideration in that speech. Further, the suggestion was made that the trial narrative functions in accordance with advice given by rhetoricians regarding attacks on opponents in forensic rhetoric.

The conclusion reached from the literary analysis was that one should not look at the point of interruption for the issue of the speech, contra Dibelius, Conzelmann, Haenchen, and most commentators, but one should look to the *narratio*, in this case Acts 22:3, for a presentation of the issue under consideration. When this is done one sees that the issue of the speech is the life-long fidelity of Paul to his ancestral religion. When this issue is isolated as the central issue of the speech, one sees Paul's defense speech as a coherent response to the religious charges made in Acts 21:28 rather than a discussion of the legitimacy of the Gentile mission which skirts the accusations made in 21:28. The powerful defense speeches of Paul, the repeated declaration of Paul's innocence, culminating in 26:31-32, and the negative light in which the Jews are cast all serve to confirm that Paul is innocent of the religious charges laid against him. To put it positively: Paul's current proclamation of the risen Jesus to all is in no way inconsistent with a rigorous Jewish piety.

The question to which the literary analysis should lead is, of course, the theological question. What is the purpose of Luke's *Paulusbild* in the trial of Paul and, in a larger sense, in the book of Acts? At this juncture no definitive answer will be suggested. Three observations will, however, indicate the direction in which to seek an answer.[95] First, the option must be seriously considered whether Luke has planned, in his portrait of Paul, a defense of Paul's Jewishness *not* before a Roman tribunal in A.D. 60 but before

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[92] *Rh.* 1.8; 2.1.

[93] See Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.16 and texts cited in Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 149. In 2 Cor 5:13 Paul contrasts ἐξίστημι with σωφρονέω.

[94] There is an extensive discussion of the meaning of this text in Haenchen, *Acts*, 689 n. 2. We disagree with those who interpret this text only as a scornful rejoinder. Agrippa's quick decision (Acts 26:31-32) regarding Paul's innocence shows that, for Luke, he was deeply impressed by Paul's speech.

[95] Some preliminary discussion of these issues appears in Long, op. cit., 287-367.

an audience around A.D. 90 which might have been inclined to think otherwise. One would not want to eliminate the possibility that Paul is just a figure guaranteeing continuity between two eras of the Church, but one ought to be willing, as a result of this paper, to ask whether Paul himself, and not only Christianity generally, is the concern of Luke. Second, if the first observation is accepted, one needs to study the *Paulusbild* in Acts in the context of the post-Pauline polemic for and against Paul. The *Paulusbild* in Acts would then need to be considered in tandem with the development of the Pauline school. Finally, since Luke is the only writer in the New Testament who shows any extensive knowledge of Paul and of the Synoptic tradition, the question must be reopened, which Conzelmann answered only in a very preliminary fashion,[96] about the place of Acts in the development of early Christian history and literature. A dedication to these tasks might help in the description and interpretation of Christianity at the end of the first century A.D.

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[96]"Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity" in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, 298-316.

Miracle Worker and Missionary: Paul in the Acts of the Apostles

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In the Acts of the Apostles Paul is portrayed as the missionary to the Jews and the Gentiles of the Mediterranean world. This portrait of Paul, the most important Christian missionary in Acts, closely corresponds to the overall plan of Acts. Acts chronicles the course of the Christian mission from Jerusalem to Rome and the coming of Christianity to Jews and Gentiles in the cities of the Mediterranean world. Paul, by birth a Jew and a Roman citizen, likewise belongs to Jerusalem and Rome. Moereover, it is as a result of his missionary travels that the Christian message is brought to the Gentiles and that the Christian movement becomes a body of believers of Jewish and Gentile backgrounds.

Paul's activities and experiences as the missionary to the Jews and the Gentiles of the Mediterranean world are treated at length in Acts 13-28. Among his activities in these chapters, first as a traveling preacher and then as a traveling prisoner, are the miracles that he performs in Cyprus, Lystra, Philippi, Ephesus, Troas, and malta in Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-24, 19:8-12, 20:7-12, and 28:7-10. According to Acts, Paul's activity as a miracle worker regularly attends his activity as a missionary witness in word to Jews and Gentiles. Yet the portrait of Paul as a miracle-working missionary has received little notice in recent literary and theological studies of the life and thought of Paul in Acts or of the plan and purpose of Acts.[1] It is therefore my purpose in this paper to present a literary and theological study of Paul as a miracle worker, a miracle-working missionary, and a miracle worker and missionary whose activities aid in the completion of the plan of Acts.[2]

My study of Paul as a miracle worker and missionary in Acts is presented in four parts. In the first part I review the miracle stories and miracle summaries in Acts, with special attention to the miracles of Paul in Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-24, 19:8-12, 20:7-12, and 28:7-10. There follows in the second part a consideration of possible Jesus-

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[1]For recent reviews of the miracles in Acts, Paul as a miracle worker in Acts, and bibliography on the miracles in Acts, see A. George, *Études sur l'oeuvre de Luc* (Paris: Gabalda, 1978) 67-84, 133-48; G. Muhlack, *Die Parallelen von Lukas-Evangelium und Apostelgeschichte* (Theologie und Wirklichkeit 8; Frankfurt: Lang, 1979) 15-38, 55-71; F. Neirynck, "The Miracle Stories in the Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction," *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ed. J. Kremer; BETL 48; Gembloux: Duculot, 1979) 169-213; G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HTKNT 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1980) 1. 304-10.

[2]This study is limited to analysis of the texts of Paul's miracles and to interpretation of these texts in the context of the Jesus-Paul and Peter-Paul parallelisms of Luke-Acts and the theological themes of Acts 13-28. Issues in historical study of the portrait of Paul in Acts (such as the relation of the Paul of Acts to the Paul of the Epistles and the relation of the portrait of Paul in Acts to the situation of Luke-Acts' first readers) are outside the scope of this study.

Paul and Peter-Paul parallelisms in the miracle stories and miracle summaries of Luke-Acts. In the third part I comment on the miracles of Paul's missionary journeys and his journeys to Jerusalem and Rome in relation to the plan of Acts and Paul's rôle in that plan. In conclusion, the fourth part offers some literary and theological observations on the portrait of Paul as a miracle worker and missionary in Acts 13-28.

I. MIRACLE STORIES AND MIRACLE SUMMARIES IN ACTS

Paul's activity as a miracle worker is part of a larger picture of miracle-working activity and miraculous experiences in Acts. The principal miracle workers in Acts are Peter and Paul, Peter in Acts 1-12 and Paul in Acts 13-28. Mention is also made of Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, and the apostles as miracle workers. The miracle-working activity of Peter, Paul, and the others is reported in miracle stores, miracle summaries, and references to "miracles," "signs," and "wonders."[3] The miracle stories of Acts assign four types of miracles to miracle workers: healing miracles, harm miracles, exorcisms, and raisings of the dead. The miracle summaries of Acts contain abbreviated accounts of their healing miracles and exorcisms. In addition to the activity of earthly miracle workers, Acts is also aware of miraculous activity of heavenly origin.[4] Miracle workers, members of the Christian community, and enemies of the Christian community all experience the miraculous activity of God. Among their experiences are miracles of inspiration, liberation, harm, harm and healing, and immunity from harm.

A list of miracle stories and miracle summaries in Acts is as follows:[5]

1. Acts 2:1-13. Pentecost: All are filled with the Holy Spirit and speak in other tongues (miracle of inspiration)

2. Acts 3:1-10. Peter heals a man lame from birth (healing miracle)

3a-b. Acts 5:1-11. Ananias (5:1-6 harm miracle) and Sapphira (5:6-11 harm miracle) fall down dead at Peter's words

4. Acts 5:12-16. A summary of the miracles of Peter and the apostles in Jerusalem: Peter's shadow, healings, and exorcisms

5. Acts 5:17-26. An angel of the Lord frees the apostles from prison (miracle of liberation)

6. Acts 8:4-8. A summary of the miracles of Philip in Samaria: exorcisms and healings of many who were paralyzed or lame

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[3]References to "miracles," "signs," and "wonders" (*dynameis*, *sēmeia*, and *terata*) of the apostles, Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, and Paul: Acts 2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:18; 8:6; 8:13; 14:3; 15:12; 19:11.

[4]Although God is thought of as acting through miracle workers, there are those miracles in Acts that are accomplished without the assistance of earthly miracle workers: Acts 2:1-13, 5:17-26, (9:1-22), 12:1-19, 12:20-23, 16:25-34, (22:3-21), 28:1-6.

[5]Cf. the lists in George, *Études*, 67-73 and Neirynck, "Miracles," 170-72. I omit references to miracles and materials relating to miracles (e.g., Acts 8:18-24; 19:13-19) and add miracle stories without miracle workers. My verse references are to the miracle stories and miracle summaries, not just to the miracles that they contain. The system of classification for the miracle stories corresponds to that of the SBL Miracle Story Work Group.

7. Acts 9:1-22. The Conversion of Saul (Paul): Saul is blinded, and Ananias heals him of his blindness (harm and healing miracle)

8. Acts 9:32-35. Peter heals a paralytic named Aeneas (healing miracle)

9. Acts 9:36-43. Peter raises Tabitha (raising of the dead)

10. Acts 12:1-19. An angel of the Lord frees Peter from prison (miracle of liberation)

11. Acts 12:20-23. An angel of the Lord smites Herod (harm miracle)

12. Acts 13:6-12. Paul blinds Bar-Jesus (harm miracle)

13. Acts 14:8-18. Paul heals a man lame from birth (healing miracle)

14-15. Acts 16:16-34. Paul exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl (16:16-24 exorcism) and Paul and Silas are freed from prison (16:25-34 miracle of liberation)

16. Acts 19:8-12. A summary of the miracles of Paul in Ephesus: healings and exorcisms with "handkerchiefs and aprons"

17. Acts 20:7-12. Paul raises Eutychus (raising of the dead)

18. Acts 22:3-21. The Conversion of Paul: Paul tells that he was blinded and that Ananias healed him of his blindness (harm and healing miracle)

19. Acts 28:1-6. Paul is unharmed by a snake (miracle of immunity from harm)

20a-b. Acts 28:7-10. Paul heals Publius' father (28:7-8 healing miracle) and the sick of Malta (28:9-10 healing miracle)

Paul takes part in nine of the miracle stories and one of the miracle summaries in Acts. In the miracle stories in Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-24, 20:7-12, and 28:7-10 and in the miracle summary in Acts 19:8-12 he is portrayed as a miracle worker. In the miracle stories in Acts 9:1-22, 16:25-34, 22:3-21, and 28:1-6 he is blinded and healed of his blindness, freed from prison, and unharmed by a snake.[6] Five of the nine miracle stories represent miracle-story types that appear elsewhere in Acts. Both Peter and Paul perform healing miracles (Acts 3:1-10, 9:32-35, 14:8-18, 28:7-10), harm miracles (Acts 5:1-11, 13:6-12), and raisings of the dead (Acts 9:36-43, 20:7-12). The apostles, Peter, and Paul and Silas are all freed from prison (Acts 5:17-26, 12:1-19, 16:25-34). Paul alone experiences immunity from harm and a miracle of harm and healing. The only exorcism in story form is Paul's exorcism of the slave girl at Philippi (Acts 16:16-24). Healings and

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[6]For a study of Acts 16:25-34 as a miracle of liberation and a conversion story, see R. Kratz, *Rettungswunder: Motiv-, traditions- und formkritische Aufarbeitung einer biblischen Gattung* (Europaeische Hochschulschriften 23/123; Frankfurt: Lang, 1979) 440-45, 474-92. In Acts 9:1-22 Ananias is commissioned to perform a healing miracle. Acts 28:1-6 is narrated from the perspective of the Maltese barbarians, who think that Paul is responsible for the miracle of immunity from harm.

exorcisms of Peter and the apostles, Philip, and Paul are contained in the miracle summaries in Acts 5:12-16, 8:4-8, and 19:8-12.

Review of the miracle stories and miracle summaries in Acts suggests little that is special about Paul's activity as a miracle worker in Acts 13-28. That the opposite is true, that there is much that is special about Paul's activity as a miracle worker in these chapters, only becomes apparent in literary and theological study of the five miracle stories and one miracle summary pertaining to Paul as a miracle worker. Thus, this review of the miracle stories and miracle summaries in Acts will continue with a review of the five miracle stories in Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-24, 20:7-12, and 28:7-10 and the miracle summary in Acts 19:8-12. As the first part of a literary and theological study of these texts, the review will concentrate on a survey of their content: the people involved (Paul, Jews, Gentiles, and Christians), the settings and some of the circumstances, the events (the introduction to the miracle, the miracle, and the effects of the miracle), some items of theological note, and certain atypical and typical elements in the miracle stories. From time to time I will introduce some contextual notes, but the second part of literary and theological study, a study of the six texts in the context of Luke-Acts, will be taken up only in the second and third parts of this paper.

Acts 13:6-12. Paul blinds Bar-Jesus (harm miracle)

Acts 13:6-12 is the first scene of the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas and the first story about Paul as a missionary to Jews and Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas are opposed by a Jew, Bar-Jesus, and obtain a Gentile convert, Sergius Paulus. Throughout the passage Bar-Jesus and Sergius Paulus are contrasted in relation to each other and in their relation to the Christian message. In his new role as a missionary Paul receives a new name from the narrator of Acts, "Saul, who is also called Paul." From Acts 13:9 on Paul is called only by his Roman name.[7] Paul confronts Bar-Jesus out of inspiration; he speaks "filled with the Holy Spirit," the only time that he so speaks in Acts.[8]

The contrast between Bar-Jesus and Sergius Paulus is introduced in Acts 13:6-8. In these verses Bar-Jesus is called a magician and a Jewish false prophet, but Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, is characterized as "a man of intelligence." Sergius Paulus is interested in hearing the word of God from Paul and Barnabas, but Bar-Jesus is intent on keeping the proconsul from hearing the two missionaries.

The conflicting interests of Sergius Paulus and Bar-Jesus lead to the confrontation between Paul and Bar-Jesus in Acts 13:9-11. Paul pronounces a curse on Bar-Jesus, as a result of which the false prophet is punished with blindness. According to Paul, Bar-Jesus' punishment is a punishment from God on a "son of the devil." The punishment of blindness is the same punishment that Paul himself once received as a persecutor of Christians.[9]

Acts 13:11-12 completes the contrast between Bar-Jesus and Sergius Paulus. Bar-Jesus is left blind, but the proconsul believes because of the blinding of Bar-Jesus and in astonishment at "the teaching of the Lord." Nowhere else in Acts is there a closer connection between the occurrence of a miracle and the conversion of an onlooker.[10] Sergius Paulus believes because of what he has seen and heard.

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[7] *Saoul* appears again only in Paul's own retellings of his conversion in Acts 22:7 (twice), 22:13; 26:14 (twice).

[8] In Acts 9:17 Ananias explains that Paul is to be "filled with the Holy Spirit."

[9] Cf. Acts 9:8 *cheiragōgountes*, Acts 13:11 *cheiragōgous*, and Acts 22:11 *cheiragōgoumenos*.

[10] According to Acts 9:42, "many believed in the Lord" when they heard about the raising of Tabitha. In Acts 16:25-34 the jailguard believes and is baptized with his household after the miracle of liberation. Cf. George, *Études*, 140-43.

Acts 14:8-18. Paul heals a man lame from birth (healing miracle)

Acts 14:8-18 tells of Paul's healing of a lame man at Lystra, the reaction of the crowds to the miracle, and the response of Paul and Barnabas to the crowds at Lystra. Both the reaction and the response are typical of the proceedings in Gentile territory in Acts. Paul and Barnabas are taken for gods and, in turn, preach on the theme of the one living and universal God.[11]

The healing miracle is confined to Acts 14:8-10 and is composed of a concise selection of miracle-story elements: the location, condition, and case history of the man are stated, contact is made between the miracle worker Paul and the man in need of healing, Paul commands the man to stand up, and the man does so.[12] Of theological note is the fact that Paul sees that the lame man has "the faith to be healed." This seems to be the only time in Acts that the faith of someone in need helps to obtain a healing.[13] In contrast, this connection between faith and healing is quite common in the miracle stories of synoptic gospels.[14]

The reaction of the crowds in Acts 14:11-13 sets the healing of the lame man in Gentile territory. The crowds conclude that Barnabas is Zeus and that Paul is Hermes and proceed to sacrifice to them with the assistance of the priest of Zeus. In their shouted response in Acts 14:14-17 Barnabas and Paul proclaim that they are mere men and men who are trying to turn the Gentiles from worship of gods to worship of the living God, who is both the creator and the provider of all things. In conclusion in Acts 14:18 it is reported that the crowds were still intent on sacrificing to them.

Acts 16:16-24. Paul exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl (exorcism)

Acts 16:16-24 contains two of the scenes of the stay of Paul and his companions in the Roman colony of Philippi in Acts 16:11-40. In Acts 16:16-18 Paul exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl. In Acts 16:19-24 Paul and Silas are abused and imprisoned at the instigation of the masters of the slave girl and on the authority of the city magistrates. In the first scene Paul puts an end to a profit-making enterprise, and in the second scene he and his companion suffer the consequences for this and other alleged offenses. Both scenes offer the first evidence that Christianity is in any way contrary to the Roman way of life.

The account of the exorcism in Acts 16:16-18, the only such NT account outside the synoptic gospels, stands out from the accounts of exorcisms in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Paul silences a "pythonic spirit"; Jesus exercises his authority over "unclean spirits," "evil spirits," and "dumb spirits."[15] The pythonic spirit seems to be harmless, and the slave girl has made "much profit" for her masters with her powers of prophecy. The spirits in the synoptic gospels harm the possessed and are of no help to anyone

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[11]Cf. Acts 17:22-34; 28:1-6.

[12]Cf. Matt 9:1-8; Mark 2:1-12; Luke 5:17-26; John 5:1-8. For the elements of healing miracles, see George, *Études*, 74-78 and G. Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten: Ein Beitrag zur formgeschichtlichen Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien* (SNT 8; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1974) 53-83.

[13]Some claim that Acts 3:16 refers to the faith of the man lame from birth in Jerusalem; see Neirynck, "Miracles," 205-13 and Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 320-22. But the faith of the lame man is not a factor in the miracle story itself in Acts 3:1-10.

[14]Matt 8:10; 8:13; 9:2; 9:22; 9:28-29; 15:28; Mark 2:5; 5:34; 5:36; 9:23-24; 10:52; Luke 5:20; 7:9; 8:48; 8:50; 17:19; 18:42.

[15]E.g., unclean spirits in Luke 4:33; 4:36; 6:18; 8:29; 9:42; evil spirits in Luke 7:21; 8:2; dumb spirits in Mark 7:37; 9:17; 9:25.

else.[16] Neither the slave girl nor her masters ask that the spirit be cast out; the possessed are brought to Jesus to be rid of the spirits that plague them.[17] The slave girl follows Paul and his companions "for many days" before he commands the spirit to come out of her,[18] and only Paul is said to perform an exorcism out of "extreme annoyance."[19]

Several other miracle-story elements in the account of the exorcism are of literary or theological note. The slave girl cries out in recognition of Paul and his companions, "These men are servants of God the most high and proclaim to you a way of salvation." Similarly, the spirits in the synoptic gospels recognize Jesus in their cries.[20] Paul commands the spirit to come out "in the name of Jesus Christ," a command used only sparingly in the miracle stories in Acts.[21] In the short conclusion, "And the spirit came out of her at that very hour," and in the story as a whole there is no real interest in the health of the slave girl.[22] Rather, the story shows that Paul silences a pythonic spirit in the name of Jesus Christ and that the slave girl's powers of prophecy, of much profit to her masters, are of extreme annoyance to Paul.

The sequel to the exorcism in Acts 16:19-24 emphasizes the violence that Paul and Silas suffer as alleged enemies of Roman law and order. The masters of the slave girl, seeing that they have lost "their hope of profit-making," drag Paul and his companion into the marketplace and denounce them to the magistrates, "These men are throwing our city into disorder; they are Jews, and they are advocating customs that we, as Romans, cannot accept or practice.[23] The crowd then attacks the two missionaries, and the magistrates tear off their clothes. They are beaten with rods and secured in the innermost part of the prison.

Acts 19:8-12. A summary of the miracles of Paul in Ephesus: healings and exorcisms with "handkerchiefs and aprons"

Acts 19:8-12 summarizes Paul's activity as a preacher and miracle worker in Ephesus. In Acts 19:8-10 there is a short history of his preaching activity in the city. He preached in the synagogue until Jewish opposition forced him to remove to the hall of Tyrannus, where he continued to preach for two years "so that all the inhabitants of the province of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord." Acts 19:11-12 mentions the occurrence of extraordinary miracles, healings, and exorcisms. God accomplished extraordinary miracles through Paul, and cloths carried away from Paul were used in healings and exorcisms.

Acts 20:7-12. Paul raises Eutychus (raising of the dead)

Paul raises Eutychus on the last night of his farewell visit with the Christian community at Troas, one of his farewell visits with Christians on his journey to Jerusalem. The circumstances of the raising are stated twice, before the death of Eutychus

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[16]E.g., Luke 8:27-29; 9:39.

[17]E.g., Luke 4:40; 9:41.

[18]Jesus almost always takes immediate action. Exceptions (Mark 7:24-30; 9:14-27; Matt 15:21-28) are not "for many days."

[19]In Matt 17:17, Mark 9:19, and Luke 9:41 Jesus is angry at a "faithless generation" but is not annoyed by the boy or by the demon. For the emotional responses of Jesus in miracle stories, see Theissen, *Wundergeschichten*, 67-68.

[20]E.g., Luke 4:41; 8:28.

[21]Acts 3:4 (healing miracle), 19:13 (attempted exorcisms).

[22]Cf. Mark 9:14-27; Luke 8:26-39.

[23]Note the phrasing of Acts 16:17 and Acts 16:20-21 and *houtoi hoi anthrōpoi* and *katangellousin* in both passages.

and between the two reports of his return to life. According to Acts 20:7-8, Paul's companions are gathered together to break bread on the first day of the week. Paul talks until midnight of the night before his departure, but there are many lights in the upper room where the gathering is taking place. In Acts 20:11 Paul breaks bread, takes some food, talks until daybreak, and then departs. "On the first day of the week," the mentions of bread breaking, and Paul's "dialoguing" style the gathering as a gathering of a Christian community.[24]

Acts 20:7-12 is the only NT account of a raising of the dead with a description of the death that precedes the raising.[25] The youth Eutychus falls asleep during Paul's talk and falls to his death from a third-floor window. Paul's method of raising Eutychus by reclining on him and embracing him all around has more of a resemblance to the methods of Elijah and Elisha than to those of Jesus and Peter.[26] The words "Do not be troubled, for his life is still in him" follow the form of Jesus' words of command and comfort in Luke 8:52 before his raising of Jairus' daughter. Paul's words, however, are placed after his raising of Eutychus.[27] Confirmation of his words comes only after the report of his departure. All that is remarked is that "They led the boy away alive."[28] The reaction to the raising is a quiet one, "they were not a little comforted."[29]

Acts 28:7-10. Paul heals Publius' father (28:7 healing miracle) and the sick of Malta (28:9-10 healing miracle)

Acts 28:1-10 is set on Malta, the site of the shipwreck of Paul and his companions on their sea journey to Rome. Both parts of the passage, the miracle of immunity from harm in Acts 28:1-6 and the healing miracles in Acts 28:7-10, highlight the friendly and reverential treatment that the stranded travelers receive from the Maltese. The barbarians on the beach welcome the shipwrecked passengers of the ship of Alexandria with "unusual kindness." When a snake bites Paul, the barbarians are certain that he is a murderer, but when he suffers no harm from the bite, they conclude that he is a god. Publius, "the first man of the island,"[30] welcomes Paul and his companions and "kindmindedly" entertains them for three days. Paul then heals Publius' father of fever and dysentery, and the sick of Malta come to him to be healed. The healed multitudes honor Paul and his companions and tend to their needs when the time comes for them to resume their journey.

The miracles of Paul in Acts 13-28 take place in the midst of his many other activities and experiences among Jews, Gentiles, and Jewish and Gentile converts in the Mediterranean world. In Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-24, 19:8-12, 20:7-12, and 28:7-10 he blinds a false prophet on Cyprus, heals a man lame from birth at Lystra, exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl in Philippi, effects extraordinary miracles, healings, and exorcisms in Ephesus, raises a youth at Troas, and heals his host's father and the sick on Malta. In these same passages he also preaches to Jews and Gentiles, suffers the

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[24]For "on the first day of the week," Luke 24:1, 1 Cor 16:2, for bread breaking, Acts 2:42, 2:46, 27:35; for "dialoguing," Acts 17:2, 17:17, 18:4, 18:19, 19:8, 19:9, 24:12, 24:25 (always of Paul's preaching).

[25]Cf. Matt 9:18-19, 23-26; Mark 5:21-24, 35-43; Luke 7:11-17, 8:40-42, 49-45; John 11:1-54; Acts 9:36-43.

[26]Cf. 1 Kgs 17:21, 2 Kgs 4:34-35, and George, *Études*, 81-82.

[27]Luke 8:52 *mē klaiete, ou gar apethanen alla katheudei*; Acts 20:10 *mē thorybeisthe, hē gar psychē autou en autōi estin.*

[28]Cf. Mark 5:42, Luke 7:15, 8:55, Acts 9:40-41.

[29]Cf. Mark 5:42, Luke 7:16, 8:56.

[30]Publius is perhaps to be thought of as a Roman or local official; see E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971) 714 n. 5.

opposition of Jews and the attacks of Gentiles, says his farewell to a Christian community, and receives honors and hospitable treatment from Gentile barbarians.

Thus, there is more to the miracle stories and the miracle summary pertaining to Paul than the portrayal of Paul as a miracle worker. The passages concerned all have something to convey about Paul as a miracle worker and a missionary, a miracle worker who is also a preacher, sufferer, sustainer, and prisoner, and about the Jews, Gentiles, and Christians with whom he comes into contact in these capacities. A summary of the content of these passages is as follows:

Acts 13:6-12	Saul receives his missionary name "Paul." Bar-Jesus, a Jew, and Sergius Paulus, a Gentile, are contrasted: Paul blinds Bar-Jesus for his opposition to Christianity, but Sergius Paulus converts to Christianity.
Acts 14:8-18	Paul heals a man lame from birth who has "the faith to be healed." Barnabas and Paul are taken for Zeus and Hermes and preach to the Gentiles of Lystra about the one living and universal God.
Acts 16:16-24	Paul exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl and thereby acts against the interests of her masters. Paul and Silas are treated as enemies of Roman law and order.
Acts 19:8-12	Paul's activity as a preacher and miracle worker in Ephesus is summarized.
Acts 20:7-12	Bread breaking, dialoguing, and the death and raising of Eutychus are among the events during the last night of Paul's farewell visit with the Christian community at Troas.
Acts 28:7-10	Paul heals Publius' father and the sick of Malta. The Maltese tend to the needs of Paul and his companions.

In the second and third parts of this paper the content of these six passages will be studied in the literary and theological context of Luke-Acts. In the second part I will examine the content of these passages for evidence of Jesus-Paul and Peter-Paul parallelisms. In the third part I will look for explanations of their content in the plan of Acts.

II. JESUS-PAUL AND PETER-PAUL PARALLELISMS IN THE MIRACLE STORIES AND MIRACLE SUMMARIES OF LUKE-ACTS

The miracles of Jesus, Peter, and Paul in Luke-Acts have long been part of historical, literary, and theological study of Jesus-Peter, Jesus-Paul, and Peter-Paul parallelisms in Luke-Acts.[31] In the course of such study the term "parallel" has come to refer to a whole range of similarities. It is possible to speak of the parallel roles of Jesus, Peter, and Paul as miracle workers, parallel types of miracle stories, parallel position, parallel composition, parallels of thought, and verbal parallels.[32]

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[31]For a history of interpretation, see Neirynck, "Miracles," 172-88.

[32]For a review of proposed parallels (in particular, parallels in position), see C. H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Missoula: Scholars, 1974) 35-65.

This study of Jesus-Paul and Peter-Paul parallelisms in the miracle stories and miracle summaries of Luke-Acts is based on parallel composition as evidenced by verbal parallels. By parallel composition is meant the composition of one or more passages with another or other passages in mind for the purpose of having them heard or read with one another in mind.[33] Parallel composition is the surest evidence that the similar miracle stories in Luke-Acts and the similar roles of Jesus and Paul and Peter and Paul as miracle workers are supposed to be understood as parallel stories and as parallel roles. Similarities in the same types of miracle stories (healing miracles, harm miracles, raisings of the dead, and the like) are more often evidence of typical miracle-story elements and compositional techniques of the author of Luke-Acts than of Jesus-Paul or Peter-Paul parallelisms. The similar roles of Jesus, Peter, and Paul in healings, exorcisms, and raisings of the dead are not necessarily intended for parallel reading.

It is not an easy task to identify parallel compositions. As evidence of intentional similarities in content, verbal parallels often but not always are evidence of parallel composition. The evidence of parallels of thought is even less certain. Schemes of the parallel position of miracle stories and miracle summaries contribute little to the study of the content of parallel passages.

The following six sets of passages will be examined for evidence of Jesus-Paul and Peter-Paul parallelisms in parallel compositions:[34]

Paul	Jesus	Peter
Acts 13:6-12	----	Acts 5:1-11
Acts 14:8-18	Luke 5:17-26	Acts 3:1-10
Acts 16:16-24	Luke 8:26-39	----
Acts 19:8-12	Luke 6:17-19	Acts 5:12-16
		Acts 8:4-8
Acts 20:7-12	Luke 8:40-42, 49-56	Acts 9:36-42
Acts 28:7-10	Luke 4:38-41	Acts 9:32-35

Acts 13:6-12. Paul blinds Bar-Jesus
Acts 5:1-11. Ananias and Sapphira fall down dead at Peter's words

In the harm miracles in Acts 5:1-11 and Acts 13:6-12 Peter and Paul are portrayed as miracle workers who punish religious offenders. Even so, there is little evidence that an attempt is being made to call attention to their similar roles as representatives of God and the Holy Spirit.[35] Acts 5:3-4, 5:8-9, and 13:9-11a are similar in that Peter and Paul question Ananias, Sapphira, and Bar-Jesus about their offenses. This similarity probably owes to the fact that both passages are harm miracles.[36]

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[33]Not every parallel is an intentional parallel or, as W. Radl puts it, "Eine Parallele lässt nicht ohne weiteres auf Parallelisierung schliessen." For Radl's criteria, see idem, *Paulus und Jesus im lukanischen Doppelwerk: Untersuchungen zu Parallelmotiven im Lukasevangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/49; Bern/Frankfurt: Lang, 1975) 346-51. For criticism of Radl and the study of Jesus-Paul parallelism, see R. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (FRLANT 126; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) 79-80.

[34]For other proposed parallels, see Neirynck, "Miracles," 170-88.

[35]Peter condemns offenses against the Holy Spirit, God, and the Spirit of the Lord, and Paul is "filled with the Holy Spirit."

[36]Acts 8:14-25, a passage often cited as a parallel to Acts 5:1-11 and Acts 13:6-12, is neither a miracle story nor a harm miracle.

Acts 14:8-18. Paul heals a man lame from birth
Luke 5:17-26. Jesus heals a paralytic
Acts 3:1-10. Peter heals a man lame from birth

Convincing evidence for the parallel composition of Acts 3:1-10 and Acts 14:8-18, the only NT accounts of healings of men lame from birth, is found in two sets of verbal parallels:

Each man is introduced as having been "lame from his mother's womb":

Acts 3:2 *kai tis anēr chōlos ek koilias mētros autou*

Acts 14:8 *kai tis anēr . . . chōlos ek koilias mētros autou*

Each man "leaps up and walks" after he is healed of his lameness:

Acts 3:8 *peripatōn kai hallomenos* (3:9 *peripatei*, 3:9 *peripatounta*)

Acts 14:10 *kai hēlato kai periepatei* (14:8 *periepatēsen*)

Although *peripateō* is found in the gospel accounts of the healings of paralytics,[37] *peripateō* and *hallomai* are found together only in Acts 3:8 and Acts 14:10.

Supporting evidence is supplied by two other parallels, the first a verbal parallel and the second a parallel in thought:

Peter and Paul "look intently" at the lame men:

Acts 3:4 *atenisas de Petros eis auton*

Acts 14:9 *hos atenisas autōi*

The verbal similarity perhaps owes to chance. In Luke-Acts *atenizō* is often used in such expressions.[38]

Peter and Barnabas and Paul respond to the people and the crowds in speeches. Peter denies the role of "our own power or piety" in the healing of the lame man and proceeds to the topic of "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of our fathers." Barnabas and Paul deny that they are gods and then preach about the God "who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all things in them" (Acts 3:12-26; 14:14-17).

Parallel composition is unable to account for all that is contained in Acts 3:1-10 and Acts 14:8-18. The settings of the two passages, the temple in Jerusalem and Lystra of the Lycaonians, are a world apart. Only Peter is said to heal "in the name of Jesus Christ"; only the lame man in Lystra has "the faith to be healed." The lame man in Jerusalem praises God for the healing. The pagans of Lystra try to sacrifice to Barnabas and Paul as gods.

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[37] Matt 9:5, (11:5), (15:31); Mark 2:9, (5:42 a raising of the dead); Luke 5:23, (7:22); John 5:8, 9, 11, 12.

[38] Including in the blinding of Bar-Jesus in Acts 13:9 (*atenisas eis auton*); see also Luke 4:20, 22:56; Acts 1:10, 3:12, 6:15, 7:55, 10:4, 11:6, 23:1.

Luke 5:17-26 and Acts 14:8-18 offer only one verbal parallel that could possibly be used as evidence of the influence of Jesus' healing of the paralytic or Paul's healing of the man lame from birth.[39] Jesus sees that the friends of the paralytic have faith and speaks to him (Luke 5:20 *kai idōn tēn pistin autōn eipen*). Paul sees that the lame man has faith and speaks to him (Acts 14:9 *kai idōn hoti echei pistin tou sōthēnai*).

Acts 16:16-24. Paul exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl
Luke 8:26-39. Jesus exorcises an unclean spirit from a man of Gerasa

Evidence for Jesus-Paul or Peter-Paul parallelisms in Acts 16:16-24 is not forthcoming from the exorcisms of Luke-Acts.[40] Like Jesus and Peter, Paul is portrayed as an exorcist, and there the parallel ends.

Luke 8:28 offers a verbal parallel to Acts 16:17 that suggests that the latter passage could have been modeled on the former.[41] The Gerasene demoniac recognizes Jesus as the "Son of God the most high," and the slave girl recognizes Paul and his companions as "servants of God the most high":

Luke 8:28	*Iēsou huie tou theou tou hypsistou*
Acts 16:17	*douloi tou theou tou hypsistou*

Acts 19:8-12. A summary of the miracles of Paul in Ephesus
Luke 6:17-19. A summary of the miracles of Jesus on the plain
Acts 5:12-16. A summary of the miracles of Peter and the apostles in Jerusalem
Acts 8:4-8. A summary of the miracles of Philip in Samaria

The summary of Paul's activity as a preacher and miracle worker in Ephesus in Acts 19:8-12 follows the form of the summaries in Luke 6:17-19, Acts 5:12-16, and Acts 8:4-8.[42] All four summaries report the spread of the word to the people of various places and the success of healings and exorcisms. In Luke 6:17-19 multitudes from Judea and Jerusalem and Tyre and Sidon come to hear Jesus and to be healed by him. Unclean spirits are cast out, and everyone tries to touch Jesus because of his healing power. Acts 5:12-16 is set in the early days of the Christian community in Jerusalem. The apostles work signs and wonders, and many men and women of Jerusalem become believers. The sick of Jerusalem are brought out into the streets, and all the sick and the possessed who are brought from the cities around Jerusalem are restored to health. In Acts 8:4-8 the Christian mission spreads to Samaria under the leadership of Philip. He preaches about Jesus Christ and performs many signs, casting out unclean spirits and healing many who are paralyzed or lame.

Acts 5:12-16 offers the closest parallels to Acts 10:8-12:

Signs and wonders are worked "through the hands of the apostles," and God works miracles "through the hands of Paul":

Acts 5:12	*dia de tōn cheirōn tōn apostolōn*
Acts 19:11	*dia tōn cheirōn Paulou*

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[39]Even this is questionable; the faith of friends is not an exact parallel to the faith of the lame man himself.

[40]Cf. Luke 4:31-37; 8:26-39, 9:37-43a; Acts 5:12-16, 8:4-8.

[41]For other verbal parallels, see Luke 8:26, 29, 37; and Acts 16:16, 18, 39.

[42]See also Matt 4:23-25, 14:34-36; Mark 3:7-12, 6:53-56.

The Christians of Jerusalem meet "in the portico of Solomon," and the Christians of Ephesus meet to hear Paul "in the hall of Tyrannus":

Acts 5:12 *en tēi stoai Solomōntos*

Acts 19:9 *en tēi scholēi Tyrannou*

More remotely, "both men and women" are added to the Lord, and "both Jews and Greeks hear the word of the Lord. Peter's shadow is thought of as having healing power, as are cloths that are taken from Paul to the sick and the possessed.[43]

If the four summaries suggest parallel roles for Jesus, Peter and the apostles, Philip, and Paul as preachers, healers, and exorcists, then they also suggest parallel roles for the crowds from Judea and Jerusalem and Tyre and Sidon, the men and women of Jerusalem and the surrounding cities, the Samaritans, the Ephesians, and the Jews and Greeks of the province of Asia. They have all been hearers of the word, and they all have those among them who have been healed and exorcised.

Acts 20:7-12. Paul raises Eutychus
Luke 7:11-17. Jesus raises a widow's son
Luke 8:40-42, 49-56. Jesus raises Jairus' daughter
Acts 9:36-43. Peter raises Tabitha

Jesus, Peter, and Paul are all portrayed as miracle workers who have the power to raise the dead. Nevertheless, the evidence of Jesus-Paul or Peter-Paul parallelisms in Acts 20:7-12 is limited by and large to a few unconvincing verbal parallels.[44] For example, the raising of Tabitha and the raising of Eutychus take place in upper rooms (Acts 9:37 *en hyperōiōi*, 9:39 *eis to hyperōiōn*, 20:8 *en tōi hyperōiōi*). Peter presents Tabitha, alive once again, to the widows, and Eutychus is taken away alive (Acts 9:41 *zōsan*, 20:12 *zōnta*).

Acts 28:7-10. Paul heals Publius' father and the sick of Malta
Luke 4:38-41. Jesus heals Simon's mother-in-law and the multitudes at evening
Acts 9:32-35. Peter heals Aeneas

Luke 4:38-41 and Acts 28:7-10 offer some fairly certain evidence of parallel composition. These two passages are the only NT passages that consist of two short miracle stories in succession.[45] Each passage contains a healing of an individual and a healing of multitudes; healings of individuals in Luke 4:38-39 and Acts 28:7-8 are followed by healings of the sick in Luke 4:40-41 and Acts 28:9-10. The individuals who are healed are unnamed relatives of the hosts of Jesus and Paul. The hosts, Simon and Publius, are mentioned by name. Simon's mother-in-law and Publius' father suffer from fever:

Luke 4:38 *penthera de tou Simōnos ēn synechomenē pyretōi megalōi*

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[43]This is not enough to make a case for Peter-Paul parallelism. The parallelism, if any, exists between the apostles (including Peter) and Paul.

[44]Haenchen, *Acts*, 586 and B. Trémel, "A propos d'Actes 20; 7-12: Puissance du thaumaturge ou du témoin?" *RTP* 112 (1980) 359-69. A much better case could be made for Jesus-Peter parallelisms in Acts 9:36-43 and Luke 8:40-42, 49-56 and/or Mark 5:21-24, 35-43.

[45]Perhaps Acts 28:7-10 should be read as one story with two parts.

Acts 28:8 *egeneto de ton patera tou Popliou pyretois kai dysenteriōi synechomenon katakeisthai*

Further evidence of parallel composition is perhaps forthcoming from the references to the sick and the laying on of hands, references that are lacking in the synoptic parallels to Luke 4:40-41 in Matt 8:16-17 and Mark 1:32-34.[46]

"All those who have any people who are sick" come to Jesus with them, and "the rest of those on the island who had sicknesses" come to Paul:

Luke 4:40 *hapantes hosoi eichon asthenountas*

Acts 28:9 *kai hoi loipoi hoi en tēi nēsōi echontes astheneias*

Jesus and Paul use the gesture of laying on of hands in their healings, Jesus in healing the multitudes and Paul in healing Publius' father:

Luke 4:40 *ho de heni hekastōi autōi tas cheiras epititheis*

Acts 28:8 *epitheis tas cheiras autōi*

Jesus-Paul parallelism is only one of the interests in Acts 28:7-10. The honors and hospitable treatment that Paul and his companions receive from the Maltese find no parallels in Luke 4:38-41. For its part, Luke 4:38-41 has an interest in the person and powers of Jesus that is lacking in the portrayal of Paul in Acts 28:7-10. Jesus is more than a mere healer; he is an exorcist, the Son of God, and the Christ.[47]

Peter's healing of Aeneas in Acts 9:32-35 bears little resemblance to Paul's healing of Publius' father. The parallels that are usually cited, the proper names (Aeneas and Publius) and the "bedridden" condition of Aeneas and Publius' father (Acts 9:33 *katakeimenon*, 28:8 *katakeisthai*) are not evidence of parallel composition or of Peter-Paul parallelism.[48]

Three of the six sets of passages offer evidence of parallel composition: the miracle stories in Acts 3:1-10 and Acts 14:8-18, the miracle summaries in Luke 6:17-19, Acts 5:12-16, 8:4-8, and 19:8-12, and the miracle stories in Luke 4:38-41 and Acts 28:7-10. In Acts 3:1-10 and Acts 14:8-18 Peter and Paul are portrayed in the parallel roles of healers of men lame from birth. The summaries suggest parallel roles for Jesus, Peter and the apostles, Philip, and Paul as preachers, healers, and exorcists. In Luke 4:38-41 and Acts 28:7-10 Jesus and Paul heal individuals and multitudes. Similarities that could be called compositional parallels are lacking for the harm miracle in Acts 13:6-12, the exorcism in Acts 16:16-24, and the raising of the dead in Acts 20:7-12, even though there

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[46]The citation of Isaiah in Matt 8:16 refers to *tas astheneias*. References to the laying on of hands in connection with miracles are frequent in Mark, but rare in Matthew and Luke: Matt 9:18; Mark 5:25; 6:5; 7:32; 8:23; 8:25; 16:18; Luke 4:40; 13:13. *Katakeisthai* in Acts 28:8 is not necessarily a reminiscence of Mark 1:30; cf. Mark 2:4; Luke 5:25; Acts 9:33.

[47]W. Kirchschläger, "Fieberheilung in Apg 28 und Lk 4" *Les Actes des Apôtres* (ed. J. Kremer; BETL 48; Gembloux: Duculot, 1979) 509-21; 519-21.

[48]Suggested during the last century, these are more coincidences than parallels; see B. Bauer, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Eine Ausgleichung des Paulinismus und des Judenthums innerhalb der christlichen Kirche* (Berlin: Hempel, 1850) 10 and M. Schneckenburger, *Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte* (Bern: Fischer, 1841) 53.

are harm miracles of Peter and Paul, exorcisms of Jesus and Paul, and raisings of the dead of Jesus, Peter, and Paul in Luke-Acts.

Parallel composition accounts only for some of the content of each set of parallel passages. Thus, the healing of the lame man in Acts 3:1-10 is set among Jews in Jerusalem, but the healing of the lame man in Acts 14:8-18 is set among Gentiles in Lystra. The parallel roles of the preachers, healers, and exorcists are part of summaries that report the spread of the word among the peoples of various regions. In Luke 4:38-41 Jesus is portrayed as a healer and exorcist and as the Son of God and the Christ; in Acts 28:7-10 Paul is portrayed as a healer and shipwrecked prisoner among the Maltese.

III. THE MIRACLES OF PAUL'S MISSIONARY JOURNEYS AND HIS JOURNEYS TO JERUSALEM AND ROME

In Acts 13-28 Paul's activities and experiences as the missionary to the Jews and the Gentiles of the Mediterranean world are presented in five parts.[49] There are journeys in four of the five parts, and Paul's activity as a miracle worker is in evidence in all four journeys:

Acts 13:1-15:35	The missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas (miracle stories in Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18)
Acts 15:36-19:40	The missionary journey of Paul and his companions (a miracle story in Acts 16:16-24, a miracle summary in Acts 19:8-12)
Acts 20:1-21:14	Paul's journey to Jerusalem (a miracle story in Acts 20:7-12)
Acts 21:15-26:32	Paul on trial before Jews and Gentiles
Acts 27:1-28:31	Paul's journey to Rome (a miracle story in Acts 28:7-10)

At the same time as they keep track of Paul's travels as a preacher and a prisoner, the journey sections convey theological themes pertinent to his mission to Jews, Gentiles, and Jewish and Gentile converts. According to Acts 13:1-15:35, it is God who "opened a door of faith to the Gentiles" during the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas. In Acts 15:36-19:40 Paul, his companions, and their preaching are seen by some as threats to Roman rule and the business of Greco-Roman religion. In both missionary journeys Paul preaches to Jews and Gentiles. Both Jews and Gentiles accept his preaching, and both Jews and Gentiles reject it, but the emphasis is on Gentile interest in the Christian message and Jewish opposition to it. In Acts 20:1-21:14 Paul bids farewell to the Christian communities of the Mediterranean world. Of concern in these chapters are Paul's missionary career, his fate in Jerusalem, and the future of the Christian communities. The sea voyage, stay on Malta, and visit to Rome in Acts 27:1-28:31 review the results of Paul's missionary journeys.

In what follows the miracles of Paul in Acts will be studied in the context of the theological themes of his four journeys. Outlines of the theological plans of Acts 13:1-15:35 and Acts 15:36-19:40 will introduce my comments on Acts 13:6-12; 14:8-18; 16:16-24; and 19:8-12. Considerations of the theological themes of Acts 20:1-21:14 and Acts 27:1-28:31 will accompany my comments on Acts 20:7-12 and Acts 28:7-10.

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[49]The five parts seem to me to best correspond to the content of Acts 13-28. For a consideration of Acts 13-28 in four parts, see J. Zumstein, "L'apôtre comme martyr dans les Actes de Luc: Essai de lecture globale," *RTP* 112 (1980) 371-90; 380-88.

Acts 13:1-15:35. The missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas

Acts 13:1-3	Antioch. The Holy Spirit has Barnabas and Saul sent out "for the work to which I have called them."
Acts 13:4-12	Cyprus. Barnabas and Saul, "sent out by the Holy Spirit," preach the word of God in the synagogues. Saul receives his missionary name "Paul." Bar-Jesus, a Jew, and Sergius Paulus, a Gentile, are contrasted: Paul blinds Bar-Jesus for his opposition to Christianity, but Sergius Paulus converts to Christianity.
Acts 13:13-52	Pisidian Antioch. Paul speaks to Jews and God-fearers in the synagogue. Many Jews and pious converts to Judaism follow Paul and Barnabas. Almost all the city comes to hear the word of the Lord, so that the Jews are filled with jealousy and speak out in opposition to Paul. Paul and Barnabas turn to the Gentiles, "It was necessary that the word of God first be spoken to you. Since you reject it and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles. For thus the Lord has commanded us, 'I have set you as a light for the Gentiles, to be the one who brings salvation to the end of the earth.'" The Gentiles rejoice and give glory to the word of the Lord; those who are "ordained to eternal life" believe. The Jews incite the pious and prominent women and the men of first importance in the city, stir up a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and drive them out of the region.
Acts 14:1-7	Iconium. Paul and Barnabas speak in the synagogue, and a large number of Jews and Greeks believe. Unbelieving Jews "stir up" and "poison" the Gentiles against the Christians. Some people in the city support the Jews, but some support Paul and Barnabas. Paul and Barnabas learn of a plot of the Jews, Gentiles, and their rulers to attack them and stone them and flee to Lystra, Derbe, and the neighboring region.
Acts 14:8-18	Lystra. Paul heals a man lame from birth who has "the faith to be healed." Barnabas and Paul are taken for Zeus and Hermes and preach to the Gentiles of Lystra about the one living and universal God.
Acts 14:19-28	The return to Antioch. Jews from Pisidian Antioch and Iconium persuade the crowds of Lystra, stone Paul, and drag him out of the city. Paul and Barnabas return to Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch to tend to the Christian communities in those cities. Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch, "whence they had been committed to the grace of God for the work that they had fulfilled" and tell of "all that God had done with them and that he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles."

Acts 15:1-35	Antioch and Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas tell of the conversion of the Gentiles on their journey through Phoenicia and Samaria. Paul and Barnabas tell the apostles and elders "all that God had done with them." Peter cites his own experience in support of the mission to the Gentiles, reminding the assembled that God chose him to preach the word to the Gentiles and that God gave them the Holy Spirit. Paul and Barnabas tell the apostles and elders about "all the signs and wonders that God had worked through them among the Gentiles." James supports Peter's arguments with a proof from prophecy. The Gentiles of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia are excused from circumcision but are asked to observe some items of the law.

A summary of the theological plan of Acts 13:1-15:35 is as follows:

1. The missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas is from God and the Holy Spirit.

2. In Cyprus, Pisidian Antioch, and Iconium synagogues of the Jews are the starting places for Christian preaching.

3. Both Jews and Gentiles believe because of the preaching of Paul and Barnabas.

4. Unbelieving Jews from Pisidian Antioch and Iconium oppose the Christian missionaries and initiate acts of violence against them with the assistance of Gentiles.

5. In Pisidian Antioch Paul and Barnabas turn to the Gentiles because of opposition from the Jews.

6. In Lystra Barnabas and Paul preach to the Gentiles.

7. The mission to the Gentiles is the work of God. God works through Paul and Barnabas, their preaching, and their signs and wonders.

8. The results of the mission to the Gentiles are ratified by the apostles and elders of the Christian community in Jerusalem.

Acts 13:6-12 and Acts 13:1-15:35

The contrast between Bar-Jesus and Sergius Paulus in Acts 13:6-12 reflects two of the theological themes of the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, the themes of Jewish opposition to Christianity and the conversion of the Gentiles. Bar-Jesus, a Jewish false prophet and magician, opposes Paul and Barnabas. Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, first is interested in hearing the word of God and later believes because of what he has seen and heard. In his first act as the missionary to the Jews and the Gentiles Paul answers the sort of Jewish opposition that he will encounter almost everywhere in the Mediterranean world. His entry into missionary service is marked by a change of name and by special inspiration. As he pronounces the curse on Bar-Jesus, Saul becomes

Paul and is "filled with the Holy Spirit," the third reminder in Acts 13:1-12 that Paul and Barnabas have been sent out by the Holy Spirit.

Of the four scenes in the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, only the scene in Acts 13:6-12 conveys the themes of opposition and conversion by contrasting two individuals. The simple contrast between Bar-Jesus and Sergius Paulus limits the scene to a one-sided view of the responses of Jews and Gentiles to the Christian message. An unbelieving Jew and a believing Gentile are present, but there is no representation of believing Jews and unbelieving Gentiles. Although Acts 13:5 mentions that Paul and Barnabas preached in the synagogues of Cyprus, there is no mention of the responses they received from Jews, Gentile converts to Judaism, or Greeks. Even for an unbelieving Jew in Acts, Bar-Jesus seems unusually evil in his characterization as an epitome of roguery and trickery, a son of the devil, and an enemy of all righteousness. For a Roman official, Sergius Paulus is unusually interested in Christianity. Even before his conversion he summons Paul and Barnabas to come to him.[50] Paul and Barnabas usually suffer from Jewish opposition, but in this scene it is Bar-Jesus who suffers for his opposition to Christianity.

Acts 14:8-18 and Acts 13:1-15:35

In Acts 14:8-18 Paul and Barnabas take the Christian mission and the Christian message from the one God to the Gentiles of Lystra. As a scene from the mission to the Gentiles, the scene in Lystra lacks several elements that make up the scenes from the missions to the Jews and the Gentiles in Cyprus, Pisidian Antioch, and Iconium: the local synagogues as the starting places for Christian preaching, the conversion of Jews and Gentiles, and the opposition of unbelieving Jews. That there were converts in Lystra becomes clear only in Acts 14:21-23. Opposition from Jews comes only in Acts 14:19-20, and then only from the Jews of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium who have come to Lystra.

As the last scene in the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, the scene in Lystra reflects the direction of the Christian mission from the Jews to the Gentiles. The scene shows what happens when, as Acts 13:46 puts it, "we turn to the Gentiles." Mention of the faith of the man lame from birth seems to relate to the theme of the conversion of the Gentiles; he has "the faith to be healed," and they have the faith to be saved.[51] The crowds of Lystra are still at a pagan level of religious understanding. The Christian missionaries try to improve their level of understanding by referring to God as they have experienced him, as the creator and the provider of all things.

Acts 15:36-19:40. The missionary journey of Paul and his companions

Acts 15:36-41	Antioch. Paul and Barnabas part their ways.
Acts 16:1-5	Derbe and Lystra. Paul chooses Timothy, the son of a Jew and a Greek, as his traveling companion.
Acts 16:6-10	Paul and his companions are led to Troas. The Spirit prevents Paul and his companions from speaking the word in Asia. The Spirit of Jesus prohibits them from going to Bithynia.

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[50]For the attitudes of other representatives of Roman imperial rule to Jesus and Christianity, see Luke 7:1-10, 23:1-25, 23:47; Acts 10:1-11:18; 18:12-17, 21:31-40; 22:22-30, 23:12-35, 24:22-27, 25:13-27, 26:24-32, 27:3, 27:27-32, 27:39-44.

[51]See Acts 13:47 *sōtērian*, 14:9 *sōthēnai*, 15:1 *sōthēnai*, 15:11 *sōthēnai*.

Paul's companions interpret his vision of the Macedonian man to mean that "God had called us to preach the gospel to them."

Acts 16:11-40

Philippi. Paul speaks to women who have come together for prayer on the sabbath.
Lydia, a worshipper of God, and her household believe and are baptized.
Paul exorcises a spirit of divination from a slave girl and thereby acts against the interests of her masters.
Paul and Silas are treated as enemies of Roman law and order.
Paul and Silas are freed from prison.
The jailguard and his household believe and are baptized.
Paul reveals that he and his companion are Roman citizens.
The magistrates are afraid, apologize, and ask them to leave the city.

Acts 17:1-9

Thessalonica. Paul argues from scripture in the synagogue.
Some Jews join Paul and Silas, as do a large number of Greeks and "not a few" women of first importance.
Out of jealousy the Jews resort to rabble-rousing and go to Jason's house in search of Paul and Silas.
They drag Jason and others to the politarchs and denounce Paul and Silas, "These men who have turned the world upside down have come here, too, and Jason is harboring them. They are all acting against the decrees of Caesar by saying that there is another king, Jesus."
The politarchs take bail from Jason and the others and let them go.

Acts 17:10-15

Beroea. Paul and Silas preach in the synagogue. The Jews of Beroea are "more noble" than those of Thessalonica.
Many of them and "not a few" prominent Greek women and men believe.
The Jews of Thessalonica "sway" and "stir up" the crowds in Beroea.

Acts 17:16-34

Athens. Paul dialogues with Jews and worshipers of God in the synagogue and with the people that he happens to meet in the marketplace.
Paul speaks to Stoics and Epicureans on the theme of the unknown God.
When he mentions the resurrection of the dead, some mock him, and some say, "We will hear you again about this."
A man named Dionysius, a woman named Damaris, and others believe.

Acts 18:1-17

Corinth. Paul persuades many Jews and Greeks in the synagogue.
When the Jews oppose Paul and speak evil of him, he turns to the Gentiles, "Your blood be upon your heads. I am pure; from now on I will go to the Gentiles."

	Many Corinthians believe and are baptized, including Crispus the archisynagogue and his household. The Lord appears to Paul to encourage him to continue to speak out in Corinth. The Jews attack Paul, take him to the tribunal, and accuse him before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, "This man persuades people to worship God contrary to the law." Gallio refuses to pass judgment on what he regards as a case in Jewish law. The Jews beat the archisynagogue Sosthenes in front of the tribunal, but Gallio ignores them.
Acts 18:18-23	Travels. Paul speaks in the synagogue at Ephesus and is invited to stay. Paul's travels take him to Caesarea and Antioch and to Galatia and Phrygia, where he strengthens the Christian communities.
Acts 18:24-19:40	Ephesus. Priscilla and Aquila instruct Apollos, a Jew who knows only of the baptism of John. Apollos is sent to Corinth, where he confutes the Jews on the basis of scripture. "Disciples" who know only of the baptism of John receive instruction and the baptism of the Holy Spirit from Paul. Paul's activity as a preacher and miracle worker in Ephesus is summarized. Jewish exorcists attempt to cast out evil spirits by calling on the name of the Lord Jesus. Believers make public confessions, and those who had practiced magic burn their books. Paul's plans to travel to Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, and Rome are announced. Demetrius, a silversmith, claims that Paul and his preaching threaten the trade of silver shrines of Artemis, the temple of Artemis, and the goddess herself, "This Paul has persuaded and turned away quite a crowd by saying, 'They are not gods that are made by human hands.'" Gaius and Aristarchus, two of Paul's companions, are dragged into the theatre. Paul's friends among the Asiarchs advise him not to go to the theatre. The town clerk states that Paul's companions have committed no offense against Artemis of Ephesus and calls for law and order.

A summary of the theological plan of Acts 15:36-19:40 is as follows:[52]

1. The missionary journey of Paul and his companions is a calling from God.

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[52]Acts 13:1-15:35 and Acts 15:36-19:40 share some of the same theological themes: #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 in Acts 13:1-15:35 resemble #1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 6 in Acts 15:36-19:40.

2. In Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus synagogues are the starting places for Christian preaching. (In Philippi Paul preaches to women on the sabbath.)

3. Both Jews and Greeks and both men and women believe because of the preaching of Paul and his companions.

4. Both Jews and Gentiles charge Paul and his companions with being contrary to Roman rule or Greco-Roman religion. Jews in Thessalonica and Corinth and Gentiles in Philippi and Ephesus commit acts of violence against Christians and bring them to the attention of the authorities.

5. The authorities are not interested in pressing charges against Paul and his companions or their converts.

6. In Athens Paul preaches to Stoics and Epicureans.

7. In Corinth Paul turns to the Gentiles because of opposition from the Jews.

8. In Ephesus instruction is given to those who know only of the baptism of John.

Acts 16:16-24 and Acts 15:36-19:40

The visit of Paul and his companions to Philippi in Acts 16:11-40 is the first set of scenes in their missionary journey in Acts 15:36-19:40. The scenes in Acts 16:11-40, the conversion of Lydia in Acts 16:11-15, the exorcism and its sequel in Acts 16:16-24, the conversion of the jailguard in Acts 16:25-34, and the conclusion in Acts 16:35-40, introduce some of the theological themes of Acts 15:36-19:40.[53]

Two conversions are reported in Philippi, the conversion of Lydia and her household and the conversion of the jailguard and his household. There are also reports of the conversion of members of both sexes in Thessalonica, Beroea, and Athens. As a purple merchant and the head of a household, Lydia perhaps represents the class of women of first importance or prominence who are among the converts in Thessalonica and Beroea.

The themes of the exorcism, its sequel, and the conclusion are repeated in the scenes in Thessalonica, Corinth, and Ephesus. In Philippi Paul and Silas are brought before the magistrates as enemies of Roman law and order. Similar charges are pressed in Thessalonica and in Corinth. In Ephesus Paul and his preaching are seen as threats to religion and religiously-related business interests. In Acts 16:19-24 the magistrates join the crowds in roughing up Paul and Silas and have them thrown into prison. In Acts 16:35-40 the magistrates are shown in a slightly better light. They issue orders for the release of Paul and Silas from prison and, having learned that the two missionaries are Roman citizens, apologize to them and ask them to leave the city. Elsewhere the authorities show no interest in pursuing the charges that are brought against the Christian missionaries: in Thessalonica the politarchs collect the bail from Jason and the others and release them, in Corinth Gallio refuses to pass judgment on Paul, and in Ephesus the town clerk denies the charges that have been made against Gaius and Aristarchus. The exorcism robs the masters of the slave girl of a profit-making enterprise. Similarly, Demetrius the silversmith complains that Paul and his preaching threaten to

[53]There are hints of two of these themes in Acts 13:50 (a role reversal is in store in Acts 15:36-19:40) and in Acts 14:5.

rob him of the profit-making enterprise of the silver shrines of Artemis. There is a verbal link between the two scenes in the repetition of *ergasia*, "profit" or "business," in Acts 16:16, 19 and in Acts 19:24-25.[54]

Acts 19:8-12 and Acts 15:36-19:40

The summary of Paul's activity as a preacher and miracle worker in Ephesus in Acts 19:8-12 treats the usual theological themes of Acts 13:1-15:35 and Acts 15:36-19:40. Paul preaches in the synagogue and is opposed by some of the Jews. Jews and Greeks, not only of Ephesus but of all the province of Asia, hear the word of the Lord. The God who once worked signs and wonders through Paul and Barnabas now works miracles through Paul.

Acts 20:7-12 and Acts 20:1-21:14

There are three scenes in Paul's journey to Jerusalem in Acts 20:1-21:14, the raising of Eutychus in Acts 20:7-12, the speech to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:17-38, and the prophecy of Agabus in Acts 21:10-14. The second of these scenes, Paul's speech to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, touches on all of the theological themes of Acts 21:10-14: Paul's missionary career, his farewell to the Christian communities, his fate in Jerusalem, and the future of the Christian communities. The account of the prophecy of Agabus in Caesarea is centered in Paul's fate in Jerusalem. Acts 20:7-12 portrays Paul as a Christian missionary saying his farewell to the Christian community at Troas. Elsewhere in Acts Paul is said to strengthen Christian communities during his visits to them, but this is the only passage that describes such a visit.[55] His service and support of the Christian community at Troas are shown in his all-night speech and his raising of Eutychus. The type of miracle that Paul performs, a raising of the dead, is a comforting farewell fitting for a Christian community.[56]

Acts 28:7-10 and Acts 27:1-28:31

Paul's journey to Rome in Acts 27:1-28:31 reviews two of the theological themes of his missionary journeys, the themes of Jewish opposition to Christianity and the conversion of the Gentiles. In Acts 28:17-31 Paul meets with the Jews of Rome. Some of the Jews accept his preaching, and some reject it, but the emphasis in Paul's citation from Isaiah is on those who have rejected his preaching. In a statement that recalls his turning to the Gentiles in Pisidian Antioch in Acts 13:46-47 and his turning to the Gentiles in Corinth in Acts 18:6, Paul proclaims that "this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will hear it."[57]

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[54]Acts 16:16 *ergasian pollēn pareichen tois kyriois autēs*, 19:24 *pareicheto tois technitais ouk oligēn ergasian*; Acts 16:19 *exēlthen hē elpis tēs ergasias autōn*, 19:25 *ek tautēs tēs ergasias hē euporia hēmin estin*.

[55]Cf. Acts 14:21-24, 15:41, 18:23.

[56]For other interpretations, see B. Trémel, "Puissance," 366 and J. Wanke, *Beobachtungen zum Eucharistieverständnis des Lukas* (Erfurter Theologische Schriften 8; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1973) 22-24. Although it is tempting to try to relate the passage to the theme of the future of the Christian communities, the interest of the passage seems to be that of the "historical" relationship between Paul and the Christian community at Troas.

[57]In Acts 28:28 Paul no longer speaks of his role in turning to the Gentiles.

The sea voyage and shipwreck in Acts 27:1-28:16 illustrate the fact that the salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles. During the sea voyage connections are made between the safety of the passengers of the ship of Alexandria and the salvation of God in Jesus Christ. Paul reveals the promise of his God for safety, and in the interest of their safety all partake of a meal that is styled as a Christian meal and a feeding miracle. Miracles are the medium by which the message of the salvation of God in Jesus Christ is communicated to the Maltese. In the miracle of immunity from harm the barbarians are unable to look beyond Paul to the God who has saved him from shipwreck and snake bite. Paul's healing miracles in imitation of Jesus Christ are a way of communicating the Christian message without so much as mentioning the name of Jesus Christ. The kindness of Julius the centurion and the Maltese toward Paul and his companions is a sign of their common humanity that could perhaps in time be transformed into Christian fellowship.[58]

Paul's activity as a miracle worker in Acts 13-28 is related to the theological themes of his missionary journeys and his journeys to Jerusalem and Rome. In Acts 13:6-12 the themes of Jewish opposition to Christianity and the conversion of the Gentiles are acted out in the contrast between Bar-Jesus and Sergius Paulus. The problems and the promise of the mission to the Gentiles are treated in the portrayals of the crowds and the lame man in Acts 14:8-18: the crowds of Lystra and convinced pagans, but the man lame from birth is a man of faith. Paul's exorcism of a spirit of divination from a slave girl and the sequel to the exorcism in Acts 16:16-24 introduce the question of the relation of Christianity to Greco-Roman religion and Roman imperial authority. The summary in Acts 19:8-12 conforms to the typical pattern of Paul's missionary journeys: preaching in the synagogues, Jewish opposition, preaching to Jews and Greeks, and miracles. Two of the themes of Acts 20:1-21:14, the themes of Paul's missionary career and his farewell to the Christian communities, occur in combination in Acts 20:7-12. As a missionary among Christians, Paul performs a characteristically Christian miracle on the last night of his farewell visit to Troas. Paul's healing miracles in Acts 28:7-10 suggest that the salvation of God in Jesus Christ has been sent to the Maltese.

IV. THE PORTRAIT OF PAUL AS A MIRACLE WORKER AND MISSIONARY IN ACTS 13-28

Recent literary and theological studies of Paul in Acts have shown that there is more than one side to the portrait of Paul in Acts.[59] As a result of this study, the same must be said of the portrait of Paul as a miracle worker in Acts. Paul's activity as a miracle worker is everywhere linked to his activities and experiences as a missionary to the Jews and the Gentiles of the Mediterranean world. Nowhere is Paul portrayed as a miracle worker simply for the sake of "personal glorification" or in order to transform a *Geistesheld* into a *Wundertaeter*.[60] The interest of the Jesus-Paul and Peter-Paul parallelisms extends beyond a comparison of persons to the theological themes of Luke-Acts. The miracle stories in Acts 13:6-12, 14:8-18, 16:16-24, 20:7-12, and 28:7-10 and the miracle summary in Acts 19:8-12 all bear the imprints of the theological themes of Acts 13-28.

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[58]For these points, see S. M. Praeder, "The Narrative Voyage: An Analysis and Interpretation of Acts 27-28" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1980) and my forthcoming "Acts 27:1-28:16, sea voyages in ancient literature and the theology of Luke-Acts."

[59]See J. Roloff, "Die Paulus-Darstellung des Lukas: Ihre geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen und ihr theologisches Ziel," *EvT* 39 (1979) 510-31, 528-31.

[60]For these sentiments, see B. Bauer, *Apostelgeschichte*, 7 and M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. H. Greeven; London: SCM, 1956) 8 n. 16.

Acts 13:6-12	Paul receives his missionary name and is "filled with the Holy Spirit" in his first act as a miracle worker and missionary among the Jews and the Gentiles of the Mediterranean world. He encounters the opposition of a Jew and obtains a Gentile convert, an experience that anticipates the Jewish opposition to Christianity and the conversion of the Gentiles in Acts 13:1-19:40.
Acts 14:8-18	Paul is portrayed as the missionary to the Gentiles. The Peter-Paul parallelism in Acts 3:1-10 and Acts 14:8-18 suggests that the mission that Peter began to the Jews in Jerusalem has its continuation in the mission to the Gentiles of Lystra.
Acts 16:16-24	Paul's exorcism of a spirit of divination from a slave girl represents the first challenge of "the servants of God the most high" to Greco-Roman religion and is seen as a challenge to Roman imperial authority.
Acts 19:8-12	Paul's preaching and miracle-working activity in Ephesus continues the work of Jesus in Galilee, Peter and the apostles in Jerusalem, and Philip in Samaria.
Acts 20:7-12	As a preacher and a miracle worker, Paul tends to the needs of the Christian community at Troas.
Acts 28:7-10	The Jesus-Paul parallelism in the healing miracles in Luke 4:38-41 and Acts 28:7-10 suggests that the message of the salvation of God in Jesus Christ has been brought to the Maltese.

Paul in Luke-Acts: The Savior Who Is Present

Glenn R. Jacobson

The structural and literary parallels within and between the complementary books Luke and Acts have long been recognized. Of the many correspondences between various figures and events that have been noted, those between Jesus and Paul are paramount. Some of the other parallels may reveal a closer relationship in terms of language and/or order of events, but the implicit comparison between Jesus and Paul takes center stage for a number of reasons.

For one thing, Jesus and Paul are far and away the major characters in the two-part Lukan drama. Jesus, of couse, is the subject of the entire Third Gospel and the first chapter of Acts. Paul—though he shares the sequel with Peter, Stephen and others, and acts under the shadow cast by Jesus—quickly steals the limelight and eclipses all others once he is introduced. Secondly, Paul's story echoes that of Jesus more elaborately and more significantly than do those of the apostles whose lives also bear resemblances to the Christ.

Beyond the similarities in the details of their ministries (the miracles and healings and teachings are common to the careers of the other followers too), there are some similarities that can be accounted for best only by reference to a savior motif. For example, both Jesus and Paul follow paths that lead them inexorably and necessarily to the religious capitals of their respective missions, Jerusalem and Rome. Both are painstakingly shown to have carried the message of salvation first to the Jews in their own synagogues. Both follow the martyr's route. Jesus insists that he must go to Jerusalem to die. His fate includes revilement, a humiliating death after which his innocence is pronounced, resurrection after three days, and overall, a conquest of death for himself and for others with him. Paul also presses to a final destination—Rome, by way of Jerusalem. He experiences revilement at the hands of the Jews and of his captors, and undergoes a humiliating, albeit symbolic, death in a disastrous shipwreck from which all hands are saved owing to Paul's presence (Acts 27:22-24, 31, 44b).[1] Here, too, his death is followed by a declaration concerning the truth about the victim. Paul, like Jesus, reappears to give comfort to his followers. In fact, the only major difference in these parallel careers comes at the very end. Jesus, after assuring his disciples that his resurrection was authentic and a genuine reason for hope, is seen to ascend bodily to rejoin his Father in heaven for "a time" (Lk 21:24), whereas Paul, we are told, remains behind, preaching the word of salvation at the very heart of the persecuting Gentile empire.

A closer look at these general similarities, such as the one provided by Professor

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[1] See pp. 137ff, below, for a discussion of the shipwreck as a symbol of death and resurrection.

Talbert in *The Genre of Luke-Acts*, reveals more minute, but equally significant correspondences in each element of these parallels.[2] As one would expect of Luke, the careers of both Jesus and Paul begin with baptisms by the Holy Spirit. Jesus' experience takes place in the wilderness at the hands of John, and is followed by an annunciation: "Thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased" (Lk 3:22). Paul's calling takes place in two stages, beginning in the wilderness between Jerusalem and Damascus (9:3-9) and climaxing in the city itself with these words spoken to Ananias: "Go, for he [Paul] is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel; for I will show him how much he must suffer for the sake of my name" (9:15-16). Then, Paul is also filled with the Holy Spirit (v. 17).[3]

Although the parallel between these "calling" passages is not perfect, there are several points worth noting all the same. Both are called at the behest of a heavenly being. (In the Gospel, it is God the Father who calls Jesus, while in Acts, it is God the Son who calls Paul.) The future importance of both is announced through "certified" third parties, John the Baptist and Ananias, the disciple. In both cases, the hand of the Lord himself is clearly present in ways that indicate chosenness. Furthermore, the significance of Paul's calling is enhanced in two ways that do not depend upon direct textual parallels. First, as with Jesus, Paul's suffering is foretold early on (Compare Lk 9:22, 44; 17:25; 18:31-33 with Acts 9:16; 20:25; 21:11). Second, Paul's vision of Jesus while on the road to Damascus is highly reminiscent of the burning bush scene in Exodus 3. Luke 9:4's "Saul, Saul" recalls Exodus 3:4's "Moses, Moses," and in both scenes God's chosen messenger first humbles himself and later questions the identity of the heavenly voice. Both receive directions as to what they must do in the midst of the Gentile territory. Gouldner sees further implications of this suggested parallel:

> Paul's "death" here is the same as that of the Israelites at the Red Sea—he must pass through the water. Then the waters were divided into two, and the children of Israel went through the midst on dry ground. So now Paul's ship falls into a place where two seas meet, and strikes ground, and the whole company comes safe to shore. The paschal number 14 comes twice in the shipwreck narrative. In Exodus, on the fourteenth day of the month Israel ate the Passover at night, and crossed the waters. Now, St Luke tells us, the fourteenth night was come (27:27) when the crisis arrived. Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting (27:33). So the meal is eaten before dawn and they come safe to land. We have already noted the implication made that the meal was a kind of eucharist—and if a eucharist then a kind of Passover feast. So Paul's "death," like Peter's, follows the Lord's passion in its paschal overtones.[4]

Thus, Luke from the start emphasizes Paul above and beyond his fellow apostles by comparing him favorably with Jesus and Moses, the two saviors of their people.

It is also highly significant that both Jesus and Paul step forward to preach in synagogue. In Luke 4:16-21, Jesus is called upon to read from the book of Isaiah, and he

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[2] Charles Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974). See also M. D. Gouldner, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964).

[3] It is interesting to note that this two-phase calling of Paul corresponds to his two-phase mission, first to Jerusalem and then to Rome. In both these ways, Paul "goes beyond" Jesus. One may also find other instances of Paul's double repetition of Jesus' actions. For example, Paul is twice resurrected (shipwreck, viper), he preaches from scriptures twice, and so on.

[4] Gouldner, *Type and History*, pp. 166-67.

chooses a passage which calls attention to himself as the fulfillment of the prophecy. Paul is called upon to preach on two occasions, Acts 13:15ff and 13:44. Both times, Paul's preaching contains oblique references to his own mission. In the first speech, Paul clearly pays homage to Jesus (vv. 32-38), but he also includes references that can easily enough be applied to himself:

> Beware, therefore, lest there come upon you what is said in the prophets:
> "Behold, you scoffers, and wonder, and perish:
> for I do a deed in your days,
> a deed you will never believe, if no one declares it to you."
> (vv. 40-41)

In this case, of course, it is Paul who declares "the deed in the days" of his own listeners, as he and Barnabas observe "boldly" by saying, "It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. Since you thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles. For so the Lord has commanded us, saying,

> 'I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles,
> that you may bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth.'"
> (vv. 46-48)

Here, Paul employs prophecy that one would expect to see in reference to Jesus, but instead he uses it in direct reference to himself. In fact, he portrays himself as *Heilsbringer*. This understanding is somewhat subtly reinforced by his earlier reference to David and the Holy One who sees no corruption (vv. 35-37). The obvious association, again, is with Jesus, but also serves to prefigure Paul's own fate, inasmuch as he survives both shipwreck and viper, uncorrupted.

Another device that serves to enhance Paul's credentials can be observed in Luke's comparing both Paul and Jesus with Jonah. In Luke 11:29-32, Jesus declares to ever-increasing crowds that the only sign they will receive is the sign of Jonah. "For as Jonah became a sign to the men of Nineveh, so will the Son of man be to his generation" (v. 30). In Paul's case, his mission proves to be reminiscent of the one that Jonah had initially resisted. Likewise it involves a sea voyage amidst a Gentile and somewhat hostile crew to the heart of the nonbelieving empire. And Paul suffers the same fate. He, too, is caught in a storm that threatens the lives of all aboard. More importantly, Paul is cast up on dry land after an encounter with a watery death—like Jonah again, the death is more symbolic than actual—and there follows a liminal period after which he resurfaces to preach openly in the Gentile capital to an audience we must take to be more or less receptive.[5]

Two things make the thrust of this literary allusion to Jonah all the more significant. First, there is the difference between the contexts in which Luke and Matthew employ the same tradition about the sign of Jonah. In Matthew, the point of reference seems to be to emphasize the theme of Judgment, as the allusion comes sandwiched between two passages that deal with the fate of evildoers (Mt 12:33-37, 43-45). In Luke, on the other hand, the passage is sandwiched between an acclamation from an anonymous woman (11:27-28: "Blessed is the womb that bore you, and the breasts that you sucked!") and Jesus' observation about hiding a light under a bushel (33-36). The implication of the Matthean use is that Jesus presents a last chance to be saved from the fiery judgment, whereas for Luke, the point is that the speaker who compares himself to Jonah is to be

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[5]Jonah's three days in the whale are recalled by Paul's three days with Publius and his three months on Malta.

regarded as the sign of salvation *to this generation* (v. 30). Thus, in departing from the specific *context* of the tradition, Luke uses the passage to identify the salvational roles of both Jesus and Paul by comparing them to Jonah; and in departing from the specific *wording* of the Matthean usage, Luke stresses the importance of the savior's being present to aid successive generations. Second, and more obvious, is the verification of Paul through stressing the importance of the mission to the Gentiles, which is consonant with the entire Lukan thrust. The only major departure from the typology in this parallel is that Paul, unlike Jonah, is not at all reluctant to respond to his call. All of this is to say that Luke has cleverly supported Paul as the sign to the generation that suffers in the absence of Jesus and as the "light" that shines to the Gentiles.

Much of the argument so far and in what follows hinges upon the understanding of Paul's shipwreck experience as a symbolic death and resurrection that is intended to call to mind the passion of Jesus himself. Reviewing the sequence of events in the Acts account, it will be remembered that : (1) Paul is required by divine plan to stand trial in Rome (23:11; 27:24); (2) Paul is tried four times in the same order and before the same kinds of functionaries as was Jesus; (3) Paul's disaster is revealed to him (27:10); (4) darkness precedes the moment of crisis (27:20); (5) Paul reassures those who are to undergo the tragedy along with him that they will be saved on his account (27:22-25, 31); (6) Paul presides over a ritual "Last Supper" at which he blesses, breaks and eats bread, thereby encouraging the crew (27:34-37); (7) Paul's ship is wrecked and all hands survive; (8) Paul is bitten by the viper, leading the islanders to conclude that Paul is a murderer being brought to justice by the venomous bite (28:4); (9) Paul shakes off the viper and lives, prompting the very different conclusion that he is a god (v. 6); (10) Paul makes his way to Rome, is placed under house arrest and declares: "Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will listen." (28:29); (11) Paul continues to preach "quite openly and unhindered" for "two whole years."

Here again there are a number of salient points which warrant discussion. First, consideration must be given to the closeness of the parallels between the passion stories of Jesus in the Gospel and Paul in Acts. Second, the symbolism of the shipwreck and subsequent survival must be examined. Third, some light needs to be shed upon the significance of Paul's invulnerability to the viper's poison, particularly because of the passage's structural position following his successful escape from the wreck. Fourth, the implications of Luke's choice of the shipwreck as the major symbol of Paul's passion needs to be explored in terms of his first-century audience's frame of reference. Finally, there must be some proposed resolution to the puzzle created by Luke's closing Paul's story without any account of the trial or of Paul's martyrdom that is so cherished by early Christian tradition.

It is the closeness with which Paul's passion story follows that of Jesus that is most striking when one begins to take notice of the Luke-Acts parallels. The correspondence of so many details in the two narratives can only have been intentionally devised to place Paul in the same context with Jesus. For example, there is the force of a divine plan that propels both in their destinies. Both Jesus and Paul are ultimately sent to the Gentiles, the Jews having been elaborately shown to have rejected the message of salvation that is first offered to them. Luke 13:34-35—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you would not! Behold, your house is forsaken. And I tell you, you will not see me until you say, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!'"—echoes clearly in Paul's own condemnation of the Jews in Acts 18:6—"And when they opposed and reviled him, he shook out his garments and said to them, 'Your blood be upon your heads! I am innocent. From now on I will go to the Gentiles.'" Further correspondences between this speech of Paul's and the words of Jesus in the Gospel can be seen in Luke 10:13-15; 13:28-30; 20:17; and, above all, in 21:23-24. In both their cases, rejection by the Jews entails condemnation,

revilement, and death. In both their cases, death is a necessary part of the divine plan of redemption through the resurrection.

Another remarkable similarity in the two passion narratives is the fact that both Paul and Jesus undergo a series of four trials. This structural parallel is noteworthy for three reasons. First, Luke is the only one of the synoptics to have Jesus tried four instead of three times, and, as noted, Paul is treated in the same manner. Second, both Jesus and Paul appear before the same kinds of officials and in the same order. Gouldner has seen this fact to be especially significant:

> St Luke has made three changes in the Marcan story: (a) he has transferred the Sanhedrin trial from night to morning, in the place where St Mark gives only a "taking of counsel"; (b) he has inserted a trial (of a kind) before Herod; (c) this has involved increasing the number of trials to four. Let those who believe St Luke knew better than St Mark believe so; his account does not read like better history. It reads like an accommodation to the story in Acts which St Luke did know well. Here St Paul was tried *the morning after his arrest* (22:30), and Jesus' trial is transferred to the same time as a hint from Mark to emphasize the continuance of Christ's sufferings in his Church.[6]

Third, both are found blameless by the authorities, but are sent to their deaths regardless of their innocence. Here again, the irony of being punished in spite of their innocence only serves to emphasize the divine necessity of their passions.

Paul's shipwreck experience also reveals extremely close parallels to Jesus' death on the cross. In fact, the details of these two incidents correspond in so many ways that, even though Jesus dies quite obviously on the cross while Paul dies only symbolically by drowning, the intended relationship cannot be overlooked. Both Jesus and Paul have foreknowledge of their impending doom. Both their deaths are preceded by sudden darkness. Both give promise of salvation to those who are about to suffer the same fate with them—Jesus to the criminal, Paul to the ship's crew. Both preside over ritualistic "Last Suppers" before the climactic moments. And, of course, both survive, surfacing from the underworld.

This interpretation of the shipwreck scene in Acts is supported by a number of scholars including Mattill, Windisch, and Gouldner.[7] As early as 1901, Rackham wrote:

> Paul's shipwreck and plunging into the deep are the counterparts to Jesus' death on the cross (Lk xxiii 26-49; Acts xxvii 14-24). The storm and darkness during Paul's voyage correspond to the darkness and spiritual storm on Calvary (Lk. xxiii 44-45; Acts xxvii 20). The verdict of the centurion that Jesus was a righteous man parallels that of the Maltese that Paul was a god (Lk xxiii 47; Acts xxviii 6). The rest and peace of the three winter months at Malta, when Paul was entirely cut off from the outside world and old life, is like Jesus' three days in the grave (Lk xxii 50-56; Acts xxvii 39-44). Paul's voyage to Rome in the spring, which was to Paul the entrance into a new life, is comparable to the joyful period after the resurrection (Lk xxiv 12-49; Acts xxviii 11-16).[8]

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[6]Gouldner, p. 40.

[7]A. J. Mattill, Jr., "The Jesus-Paul Parallels and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: H. H. Evans Reconsidered," *Novum Testamentum* 17 (1975) 15-16. Hans Windisch, *Paulus und Christus* ("Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament," 24; Leipzig, 1934). M. D. Gouldner, *Type and History*.

[8]A. J. Mattill, "Jesus-Paul Parallels," p. 19, citing R. B. Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles* (London: Methuen, 1901), pp. xlvii, 401, 477-78.

Even with this widespread attestation to a death and resurrection motif in Paul's shipwreck experience, a closer examination of the depth of the parallels will be instructive as the symbolism operates on several levels. First, and most obvious, Paul's being plunged into the sea recalls the symbolism of baptism. It is true that Paul had been baptized at the time he received the Holy Spirit (Acts 9:18), and thus had died to his old life as persecutor of the Christ-followers, but this baptism is of a different order. Paul's near death by drowning, which is, after all, what is experienced in total immersion baptism, signifies not just a cleansing of sins and a new start, but as we shall see, a resurrection. In other words, this baptism is more than a rite of passage from one status to another, it is a defeat of death conveying the same hope and triumph as does Jesus' rising on the third day.

In addition to and supporting the interpretation of the drowning as baptismal imagery is the symbolism of the sea as chaos. There is ample background for this connection in Old Testament precedents, not the least of which is the first creation story of Genesis: "The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters" (Gen 1:2). Certainly it could be said that at the time of Paul's shipwreck darkness was upon the deep and that the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters. Another such precedent from Psalms 69 has been noted by Gouldner.

> Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters where the floods overflow me. . . . Deliver me out of the mire, and let me not sink: Let me be delivered from them that hate me, and out of the deep waters. Let not the waterflood overwhelm me, Neither let the deep swallow me up; and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me (Ps. 69.1-2, 14-15).[9]

He then goes on to observe:

> Going down in a storm was the metaphor *par excellence* in scripture for death, and being saved from one for resurrection: when St Paul speaks of his shipwrecks in these terms, how can St Luke have thought otherwise? He has shaped his book to lead up to the passion of Christ's apostle from xix 21 on in such a way as to recall what led up to the passion of Christ himself in the earlier book: and as the climax of the Gospel is the death and resurrection of Christ, so the climax of Acts is the *thanatos* and *anastasis* of Paul.[10]

Recognizing the symbolic association with Jonah who was eaten by a sea monster, with the baptismal rite, and with the Genesis imagery of the watery chaos which signifies death, one can only conclude that Paul's close call was meant by Luke to convey a death of sorts that parallels that of Jesus.

The symbolism of the shipwreck scene operates not only to call death to mind, but also to include evidence of a liminal period as well. Just as Jesus and Jonah had remained in their respective underworlds for three days, so Paul remains on Malta for three months where he, like Jonah, has an encounter with a serpent. In the earlier quotation from Rackham it was observed that those three months were winter months, and that Paul's reemergence on the mainland corresponded with the springtime of the Easter season. Moreover, the island itself can be categorized as not quite land, not quite water, lying as it does "betwixt and between." Betwixt and between can be applied in yet

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[9]As quoted in Gouldner, p. 37. Mattill affirms Gouldner's contention by quoting him on the Semitic association of death with the sea.

[10]Gouldner, p. 39.

another way as well, since the islanders are neither Jews nor Gentiles (in the sense of Romans or Hellenists) but "barbarians," people of no status. Finally, Paul's liminal status is further indicated by the incident of his mistaken identity. At first the natives are suspicious; when he is bitten by the viper, they are sure he is a murderer. But here, as in many rites of passage, there is an inversion of status. When Paul survives, they quickly realize that Paul is not mortal in the same way as they are. In the eyes of the barbarians—who function in Acts by recognizing what others do not as the demons and nonbelievers do in the Gospel—Paul emerges from the grip of death to attain the status of a god.

This encounter with the serpent on Malta is utilized, then, to indicate a resurrection. Just as Jesus was compelled to prove the fact of his resurrection by giving a display of his corporeality, so too must Paul show that he has survived in body as well as in spirit. Keeping in mind Talbert's argument concerning the Lukan emphasis on the corporeality of the resurrection and ascension,[11] we can observe that Paul is doubly shown to have survived intact. Not only does he survive death once by making it to the shore, he also survives death from the snake bite. Snakes can hardly attach themselves to pure spirit, just as Jesus could not have eaten and retained food (Lk 24:43) had he been devoid of flesh.

The parallel holds further still when it is considered that identity was a problem in the case of Jesus' resurrection too. At first, Luke tells us, the disciples do not recognize the risen Jesus when they meet him on the road. Similarly with Paul, the natives do not realize immediately with whom they are dealing. Luke constructs a related parallel between the enlightened Maltese and the centurion of Lk 23:47. The latter's statement that "Certainly this man was innocent!" is clearly echoed by the Maltese, who, having changed their minds (had their eyes opened? cf. Lk 24:31), declared Paul to be a god.[12] At one and the same time then, Paul's innocence and importance are established.

This last point is especially important in light of the centrality given to the question of innocence throughout the Luke-Acts narrative. Repeatedly in the Third Gospel, the officials before whom Jesus is accused are unable to find evidence of serious wrongdoing. These proclamations are all the more noteworthy given the fact that there is an "extra" trial in Luke that does not appear in the other synoptics. The final word, after Jesus is wrongly put to death, comes from the lips of the enemy himself, the centurion just quoted. The same vindication is stressed for the Jerusalem apostles: Peter and John (Acts 4:15, 21); the apostles in general (5:33-42); Peter again (Herod is smitten by an angel, 12:6-23); and Paul (16:35-36). As with the parallels previously cited in other contexts, Paul most resembles Jesus in the attention given to his innocence. He, too, undergoes the four trials and is found not guilty in all of them. He, too, is pronounced innocent at the last when the Maltese concur that he is not a murderer but a god instead.

The role of the shipwreck scene assumes special significance in light of the Lukan insistence on the blamelessness of Paul. As Miles and Trompf have made abundantly clear, Paul's survival of the wreck would have been understood by Luke's audience as testimony to his innocence in a divine trial.[13] These authors cite numerous classical precedents that indicate that natural disasters were often taken as signs of divine

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[11]Talbert, *Genre of Luke-Acts*, Ch. VII.

[12]Rackham observes that the text conveys the impression of "an extraordinary preservation," and that the words of the Maltese "control the real lesson of the narrative." *Acts*, pp. 492-93.

[13]Gary B. Miles and Garry Trompf, "Luke and Antiphon: The Theology of Acts 27-28 in the Light of Pagan Beliefs about Divine Retribution, Pollution, and Shipwreck," *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976) 259-67.

retribution against the guilty offender. Examining a legal precedent in which the orator, Antiphon, defends his client Helos against charges that the defendant was responsible for a wreck at sea in which many were lost, Miles and Trompf note that

> Helos' argument here makes a remarkable assumption and implies that it would be shared by his audience. Helos did not cite a maritime disaster as proof of inevitable divine retribution of the empire, or even as proof of guilt. He was doing the reverse: the fact that his voyages had been successful could only be significant proof of his innocence, *if* he assumed that they could not have been successful were he guilty of murder. Not only can disasters, then, be understood as punishment for wickedness, but in some circumstances they are so much to be expected that their absence can be adduced as proof of innocence.[14]

Turning to the case of Paul, they conclude that "the legal issues raised in the case of Helos and in Luke's narrative of shipwreck and deliverance are substantially the same."[15] That Paul escapes seemingly unavoidable judgment must be taken as proof of his guiltlessness. "That *everyone* on the vessel had escaped removed all doubts as to his innocence, and this is a striking claim which has been subtly reproduced in the book of Acts."[16] This conclusion is amplified both in "Luke and Antiphon" and in the Lukan drama itself by the Maltese "jury."

> The general implication of these phrases (v. 4) is that Paul's escape from the sea would have been popularly attested as a clear sign of his innocence, but that for a brief moment doubt had been cast over his worthiness. The snap judgments of the Maltese, however, proved to be unjustifed on at least three counts. First, they were quite mistaken in supposing Paul to be a murderer; secondly, they were wrong in thinking that Paul would be harmed by the snake (a misjudgment that soon produced the equally misguided conclusion that Paul was a god); and thirdly, they failed to realize that *Paul was actually the salvation of the voyagers*. It is this third misapprehension which was of the greatest importance for Luke's theology. Paul was already innocent; there was no question that justice would claim him at last.[17]

The authors then go on to discuss the fit between their interpretation of this story and the general line of Lukan theology that focuses upon "Jesus' teaching about retribution and on the recurrent actualization of retributive principles within history."[18] It is also worth noting that this notion dovetails quite nicely with the idea that Luke-Acts forms an elaborate apology meant to placate the Romans during a time of tribulation for the Church.

These insights go a long way in offering solutions to two issues that were cited previously: Why did Luke select the shipwreck as his primary symbol of Paul's death and resurrection?; and why did Luke discontinue his story of Paul's case just as it was building to a climax?

The first of these questions requires a multi-faceted answer. The choice of the shipwreck as a symbol to convey a death and resurrection motif for Paul in Acts is extremely appropriate for a number of reasons, some of which have already been dis-

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[14]Ibid., p. 263.
[15]Ibid., p. 267.
[16]Ibid., p. 266.
[17]Ibid., p. 266. Emphasis mine.
[18]Ibid., p. 267.

cussed. For one thing, the image of the dangerous voyage and subsequent disaster recalls the prophetic mission of Jonah in such a way as to further amplify the previously mentioned allusion. Thus, by comparing Jesus and more directly Paul to Jonah, Luke has emphasized that Paul enjoyed a divine, prophetic calling, that he shouldered the burden of the controversial mission to the Gentiles, that he was preserved to do God's work, and most important, that he, like Jesus before him, was the only sign of salvation for his generation.

Electing the metaphor of the shipwreck is also advantageous for the somewhat obvious baptismal symbolism that is inherent in it. As has already been established, the wreck passage calls to mind the movement of God's spirit across the face of the chaotic primeval waters of creation, the total immersion of the early Church's baptismal ritual that conveys death to an old status and birth to a new, and on the most general level, a mighty conquest of death. The parallel to Jesus' own triumph over the grave is heightened in this context by the fact that Paul's salvation brings with it the salvation of those who suffer with him.

Finally, the shipwreck must also be understood as a trial, which, as we have seen in Miles and Trompf, vindicated Paul in an absolute way. Implied in this trial by storm is the further parallel between the humiliations of Jesus and Paul. Both move toward the culminations of their ministries under a shadow of suspicion, controversy, and humiliation. In the Gospel, the Jews clamor to save a murderous criminal over their savior; in Acts, the Maltese assume Paul to be a murderer. Consequently, by choosing the shipwreck as a means to parallel Jesus and Paul, Luke is able to convey his dual themes of humiliation/rejection and vindication, which themselves call to mind a death/resurrection motif that would appeal to a persecuted Church. It is as though Luke were using these parallels to say to the early Christians: "Your savior has ascended to his glory, leaving you behind in a hostile world, but you are not alone in your tribulations. You may be falsely accused, humiliated, and tormented, but you will be vindicated just as Jesus and Paul have been."

Miles and Trompf advanced the idea that this theme of divine vindication explains why Luke neglected to report the outcome of Paul's trial in Rome. They suggest that such information is anticlimactic and inconsequential in light of the far more significant trials to which he was subjected and in which he was acquitted. In their words:

> The absence of any hearing at Rome, however, could well fall within the bounds of the Lukan purpose. Instead of asking the usual questions—whether Luke planned a third volume, for instance, or whether he lacked the information necessary to complete his story—we should be recognizing how his account of the shipwreck amounted to a theological *tour de force* in the eyes of most ancient readers. Paul was put to the test by forces and exigencies far more dreaded than the requirements of a human law court, and since he had been found guiltless, what need was there to recount the outcome of his appeal?[19]

There is undoubtedly a great deal of credibility to this explanation for the seemingly unsatisfying ending to Acts. Certainly they have a point in advising us to look away from the traditional, speculatory solutions to the question of what Luke knew or intended to do in future volumes. Still, their answer is itself only partially satisfactory, and in some ways begs the real question. As they admit in offering their position, there are difficulties in figuring why Luke would build to a climax and then not give it. In other words, the symbolic resolution that they perceive still leaves an unsatisfying ending to the narrative: The readers are still left hanging, even if the trial at Rome has been

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[19]Ibid., p. 265.

obviated by Paul's earlier survivals. Therefore, a more inconclusive explanation is needed.

One possible way of incorporating Miles's and Trompf's account in a larger solution is to theorize that Luke was aware of the disposition of Paul's case, and did in fact feel that reporting those events would be unsuited to his purpose, but that his silence served a more complex message of hope than has yet been elaborated. The key to this suggestion is the contrast between Luke's portrayal of Jesus' ascension and of Paul's remaining behind to teach. Given the usually accepted dating of the Lukan narrative and of Paul's works and martyrdom, it seems more than likely that Luke knew of Paul's death.[20] Therefore, it is more reasonable to believe that he either passively ignored or actively suppressed this information to steady the faith of his readers. Though they were in some senses abandoned by the risen Christ, the members of the Church could be reassured by Paul's story in two major ways. First of all, Paul's life is molded into a mythic pattern to which Christians of this era could relate their own experiences. Both Paul and Jesus can be viewed as paradigms of salvation. They both suffered, were wrongly accused and humiliated, but in the end were vindicated by divine intervention. Paul's case, in particular, provides a hopeful metaphor.[21] Paul, like Luke's audience, must suffer for the faith, but his being placed under house arrest is like the tribulations of this world—discomforting but temporary.

Secondly, the contrast between the fate of the two protagonists is instructive in that Paul stays behind as the savior who is present. Jesus has ascended, and this is a sign of his and God's glory in assuring the salvation of mankind. The sting of his loss (and delayed return?) is minimized by the balm, presented at the conclusion of Acts—Paul continues as the sign to and the salvation of this generation. His role as successor is made clear by the elaborate parallels between his life and that of the Christ. Paul is not only likened to Jesus in terms of the teachings, the healings, the trials and the passion, he is also compared to Jonah and to Moses. Moreover, Paul is shown to be like Jesus in the most significant way of all. Paul is able to assure the salvation of his companions in danger and death, just as Jesus did on the cross. Even though Jesus had departed for a time, Paul is allowed to survive in the teeth of the storm to continue to spread the message of the resurrection by his own example.

In this way, Luke may well have intended Paul to serve not just a mythical role, but also as a metaphor for the Church itself as an emerging institution. Only through the

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[20] I here assume a dating some time after 70, but before the close of the first century. In some ways, of course, there is a danger of arguing in a circular fashion, because the dating hinges at least in part upon the question of whether Luke knew of Paul's ultimate fate. However, we can certainly assume that Luke had Q, Mark, and possibly Matthew at his disposal for source material, and therefore he must have been writing at a time close enough to Paul's death to have justified his waiting for the outcome before completing Acts. I reject with Miles and Trompf the suggestion that Luke left an unfinished work or planned a third volume, as this notion gives no satisfying solution to the question raised by the consistent parallel structure observable between the Gospel and Acts. Moreover, Roloff's point that the controversies surrounding Paul vis-a-vis the Gentile mission and freedom from the Law are no longer issues for Luke merits serious consideration. Finally, that Luke seems to ignore or downplay Pauline theology even though the Epistles must have been available to him says more about his purpose and treatment of Paul as a symbol than it does about the evangelist's theology or the dating of his work.

[21] Considering Paul's life as a mythic pattern of this-worldly salvation also serves to explain why Luke's portrait of Paul varies so much from the picture contained in the apostle's own letters.

continuing teaching function of the Church in the midst of the hostile empire can salvation be assured until the parousia. From this point of view, too, the actual facts of Paul's fate are not particularly germane to the Lukan message. Such an interpretation could also draw support from the apology that has been noticed in Luke's narrative. By allowing Paul citizenship and the ensuing luxury of being able to preach while under house arrest, Luke excuses the Romans, who may also have formed a part of Luke's intended audience (Theophilus, for example), from feeling threatened by accusations of deicide. In Luke's version, it is the Jews who are responsible for the crucifixion; the authorities consistently find both Jesus and Paul blameless. Jesus forgives all parties in his last words. The centurion, in his realization that Jesus was innocent, surely represents Luke's Rome. Likewise, in Rome, the officials exercise no judgment against Paul, but let him continue his teachings unhindered. Thus, according to Luke's telling of the Christian story, Rome has no fears from this blameless offshoot of Judaism.

As has already been noted, several other authors have observed most of these same Jesus-Paul parallels. Here, three of the more recent hypotheses will be examined: those of Gouldner, Talbert, and Mattill. The following analysis is based on the observation that all three have overlooked or underestimated four important points. All three fail to account satisfactorily for the distinctively Lukan emphasis on the ascension of Jesus,[22] for the disproportionate concern shown to Paul as compared to the other disciples, for the portrayal of Paul as exercising saving power, and for the fact that the Jesus-Paul parallel is significantly broken in that, far from ascending into heaven, Paul is shown to remain in this world, thereby denying a tradition of martyrdom of which Luke must have been aware.

Gouldner, in his *Type and History in Acts*, appears to base his thesis on the Pauline theology that emerges from the Epistles. Placing great emphasis on the apostle's metaphor of the Church as the body of Christ, Gouldner, concludes that Acts can be best understood as a history of the Church as the on-going presence.[23] As such, Gouldner sees the parallels as part of a single major typology that extends in a spiral through the history of the infant Church. He identifies an ever-enlarging repetition of the death and resurrection motif that begins in the Gospel and reaches out to include, in order, the Jerusalem apostles, lapsed Jews (e.g., Samaritans), "believers" in Israel, and finally Gentiles and the rest of the Roman world.[24] Each cycle is shown to incorporate (with a few minor exceptions) the following nine themes: (a) the choosing of a new man to do God's work; (b) the descent of the Spirit; (c) the Kerygma, with conversion and baptism of hearers; (d) a mighty work; (e) persecution; (f) a gathering of the Church; (g) the confounding of a false disciple; (h) passion and death; (i) resurrection.[25]

In applying this thesis specifically to the Pauline material at the end of Acts, Gouldner identifies Paul as a major figure in the Church and finds, accordingly, that not only is more space devoted to the telling of his story, but also that the same cycle appears four times in this final section. Thus, there are seven such cycles altogether, the three represented by the apostles, the deacons, and Peter, plus the four that are included in the larger whole that deals with Paul.[26] In some ways then, Gouldner maintains that Luke considered Paul to be simply another, albeit major, representation of the same cycle that he sees elsewhere. Furthermore, Gouldner holds that the pattern is perfected

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[22]Talbert is an exception in part, in that he has given considerable attention to the ascension. However, there are difficulties with his handling of it that will be discussed below.

[23]Gouldner, pp. 61-62.

[24]Ibid., pp. 68-70.

[25]Ibid., p. 72.

[26]Ibid., p. 51.

by the parallel that he sees between Jesus' ascension and Paul's arrival in Rome after his resurrection from the shipwreck death.[27] All of these conclusions assume that Luke was limited by his concern to establish the *thanatos-anastasis* typology throughout his work, as well as by his knowledge of the actual history of the Church of his time. This thesis produced the further conclusion, shared by Mattill, that Luke exercised a certain literary license in altering the gospel tradition of Mark and Matthew to better correspond with the typology and history of Acts.[28]

Gouldner's theory is precise and well argued, although he obviously had to do some straining to make the pattern complete. One such difficulty emerges in his handling of Stephen's martyrdom. In order for the pattern to be complete, there must be some indication of Stephen's resurrection, which is not explicitly mentioned in the text. Gouldner solves this predicament by explaining that, while Stephen himself is not raised up, his death gives way to a three-fold resurrection, of Saul (9:1), Aeneas (9:32), and Dorcas (9:36).[29] There are obvious problems with this reading of the text even though it provides us with a fine sense of completion. For example, no explanation is offered to support the foregone conclusion that "Since Stephen died a real death, his martyrdom is crowned by a triple resurrection."[30] Gouldner offers no reason why this case deserves a triple and not just a single resurrection. It is also possible to see Paul's sudden conversion, even though it follows on the heels (though not so directly as Gouldner implies) of Stephen's execution, not as a resurrection resulting from Stephen's faith, but rather as a baptism in the Holy Spirit, intended by Luke to parallel that of Jesus. The reference to the Exodus theophany suggested above supports this and not Gouldner's interpretation. If this understanding is the more correct, then Gouldner is left with a broken typology in the case of Stephen's final death.

More important, however, are other difficulties with the thesis of *Type and History*. First, Gouldner offers no convincing explanation as to why Paul occupies fully half of the Acts narrative. He does suggest that Luke was inspired by the history of the Church of his time, by his alleged association and friendship with Paul, and by his concern with the mission to the Gentiles of which Paul was the spearhead. But, only this last reason for Paul's prominence is based on anything more than circumstantial evidence. Second, Gouldner does not acknowledge the full significance of Paul's saving power. For him, Paul is simply on a par with the other heroes of the Church who also perform miracles. But this interpretation does take into consideration the points we earlier observed to be unique to Paul. Luke has Paul read from scriptures and utter statements that identify him as a clear savior figure (see page 134 above). Luke also makes clear that the crew of the ship was saved because of Paul, and this in a context that has been shown to parallel Jesus' own crucifixion. The implication here is that not only does Paul perform death-defeating miracles during his ministry, but more strikingly, that Paul's own death has saving power. Gouldner's argument is perhaps weakest, however, when he suggests that Paul's arrival in Rome is a type of Jesus' ascension. Paul quite clearly does *not* ascend. Moreover, there is no final *thanatos-anastasis* in Paul's case. He does not suffer the martyrdom in Rome that Luke and tradition have led us to expect. This discrepancy is underlined by Talbert's observation that Luke stressed the corporeal aspect in his Christology to counteract docetic teachings in his time.[31] Paul's presence in Rome is physical, attested to by those who heard him preach. His attainment of the capital may be seen as a resurrection appearance, but not as an ascension. In fact,

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[27]Ibid., pp. 39-40.
[28]Gouldner, p. 43, and Mattill, p. 40.
[29]Gouldner, pp. 93-97.
[30]Ibid., p. 97.
[31]Talbert, p. 118.

given this corporeal emphasis, it would seem that Paul's earthly presence is made necessary by Jesus' departure, which, it should not be forgotten, is distinctively Lukan.[32]

Talbert also underestimates the overriding importance of the Jesus-Paul parallels. He, too, chooses to see the comparisons as only one element in the service of a larger theme. The thesis of *The Genre of Luke-Acts* rests on two observations. First, Talbert asserts that Luke in laying out his *Heilsgeschichte* follows a commonly accepted motif of his time, that of the itinerant philosopher. This motif emphasizes a master-pupil relationship of both continuity and subordination on the one hand, and of teaching by example on the other.

> As the author of Luke-Acts portrays it, salvation-history runs from the faithful among the Jewish people, symbolized by John the Baptist and the circles from which he comes, to Jesus, and from Jesus to the Twelve, then through Paul to the Ephesian elders, symbolizing the authentic Gentile church of the post-apostolic age. From the Baptist to the elders there is a certain continuity that holds the entire process together as one history. At the same time, however, there is a principle of subordination that runs throughout the Lucan salvation-history. John is subordinate to Jesus as the one who prepares the way for the Lord is to the Lord when he comes. The apostolic church, including Paul who is subordinate to the Twelve, is subordinate to Jesus as an ideal pupil is related to his master. The post-apostolic age, finally, is subordinated to the apostolic age as a pupil must be to his teacher.[33]

Second, Talbert examines the Lukan Christology in terms of those elements of the narrative that are distinctively Lukan. These he identifies as (1) the birth narratives (Lk 1-2); (2) the ascension (Acts 1); (3) the elaborate journey of Jesus to Jerusalem (Lk 9:51-19:46); and (4) the beginning of his ministry (Lk 3-4).[34] From his study of these sections, Talbert concludes that there is a strong assertion of the corporeality of Christ in the Gospel that is carried over into Acts. Great importance is placed upon the human suffering that is endured by Jesus, as well as upon the bodily resurrection and ascension witnessed by the disciples in person. Talbert explains this bias as Luke's attempt to battle the docetic teachings of the time. He writes:

> Putting our findings together, we conclude that birth narratives, genealogy, temptation narrative, and Nazareth episode in Luke all function as guides for Luke's readers about the meaning of Jesus' baptism. Above all Luke wants to say three things. (1) The Spirit cannot be divorced from matter at Jesus' baptism. The descent of the Spirit is in bodily form. (2) Jesus' baptism is his anointing by which he is equipped for service, not his being begotten Son of God. As Luke sees it, Jesus is Son of God from his birth. (3) When Jesus is declared to be God's Son at his baptism, this means above all else that he shares our full humanity of the church's Savior that we found in the ascension narrative. Here again, therefore, we are doubtless dealing with an anti-docetic tendency. That this is so seems clear when we remember that some early Christian Gnostics used the baptism of Jesus as a means to their docetic ends.[35]

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[32]This statement asserting that the ascension account is unique to the Third Gospel assumes that Mk 16:9-20 is the work of a redactor and not original to Mark.

[33]Ibid., p. 106.

[34]Ibid., p. 112.

[35]Ibid., p. 118.

Unquestionably, Talbert, like Gouldner, has advanced our understanding of Luke's intentions by placing the parallels within their contemporary context. Nevertheless, there are problems concerning his handling of the Jesus-Paul correspondences.

First of all, Talbert undervalues the Pauline material by merely fitting it into his salvation-history theme of succession. To maintain, as Talbert does, that Paul is subordinate to the Twelve ignores the fact that Paul dominates Acts in every possible way. Paul occupies more of the narrative than do the Twelve or Peter. Paul's life is more closely related to that of his master than is that of any other, especially in terms of the passion parallels. Paul is the only one of the followers who is explicitly resurrected. These aggrandizements of Paul do not contradict a theme of unity or succession, only one of subordination. It is perhaps more in keeping with the text to see the Jesus-Paul parallels as informing and not simply following an independently derived Lukan salvation-history.

A second objection is derived from Talbert's own argument. If we consider Luke's departure from his fellow evangelists, two points are unavoidable. One is that the Christological perspective cannot be confined merely to the Gospel itself, since Luke departs from all others most notably by continuing the story of salvation-history, and by having it culminate in Paul. Another point is that only Luke reports the ascension, which stands in marked contrast to the other accounts. In fact, Luke provides radically different endings to both the Gospel and Acts. In his Gospel, the savior disappears; in his sequel, the savior remains behind. The comparison between the savior who departs and the savior who is present cannot be ignored if one maintains that Luke and Acts form an intentional unity. Luke is quite clear in establishing that not only Jesus but the other disciples, too, depart the earthly scene of Christian salvation, leaving Paul as the central figure at the conclusion of the two-part narrative. And, in a sense, Paul succeeds where Jesus did not by extending the message of salvation to the very heart of the known world, the Roman Empire. Paul promises universal salvation. All of this, by the way, is very much in keeping with Talbert's recognition of the anti-docetic theme in Luke-Acts, in that the narrative ends with Paul's physical presence.

More than Gouldner or Talbert, A. J. Mattill has concentrated mainly on the Jesus-Paul parallels. In his analysis, Paul is perceived as a special case, and Mattill cites extensive internal evidence of the similarities between the apostle and the Master. He even goes so far as to call attention to the salvational role ascribed to Paul by Luke. According to this reading, both Jesus and Paul are servants of God, called upon to accomplish his plan of salvation. Mattill cites the following parallels, among others:

> Both Jesus and Paul are God's chosen instruments . . . Both are divinely sent . . . Both are to be lights revealing salvation to the world . . . Both are to open the eyes of men . . . Both are to bring remission and release . . . Both publish the good news.[36]

Mattill delves even deeper into the identification between the two by comparing the details of their passions. But despite these striking observations, he turns from what seems to be the natural conclusion.

> Startling as it may be, the amount of Paul's physical suffering would appear to surpass those of the Master. Acts shows Paul "taking up his cross daily . . . , not once at the end of his life." Yet Lk vi 40 prevents one from ranking Paul above his Master: "The disciple is not above his master." Perhaps here, as in Acts xiv 11-15; xxviii 6, Luke is refuting an overestimation of

[36]Mattill, p. 25.

> Paul, even as did Paul himself: ". . . was Paul crucified for you or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" (1 Cor. i 13).[37]

In this verse from the Sermon on the Plain, Mattill feels he has found the theme that explains the intent of the parallels. He sees in Luke-Acts "not only a law of resemblance but also a law of transformation: Paul in his sufferings not only has experiences like his Master, but by these sufferings is being made like his Master, who himself was made perfect through sufferings."[38]

Mattill's conclusion is plausible in its way, but it stops short of its own destination. The ambivalence that comes from seeing further than he admits can be seen in such lines as this: "It is almost as if Paul were Jesus *redivivus*, come back to earth, traveling the same path again."[39] Perhaps Mattill would have removed the qualifier "almost" from his conclusion if he had considered more closely some other details from the overall picture. Moreover, given "the context of Luke-Acts (which is extensively devoted to Paul, and in which all other parallelisms between Jesus and his disciples are swallowed up by the greater Jesus-Paul parallelism)," it is rash to believe that Luke would rely upon only a verse or two to carry the meaning of such an elaborate correspondence.

Mattill recognizes Paul's role in salvation-history, but he does not discuss Acts 13:41, 46-47; 27:22-24, 34-36 (cf. Lk 21:18); 28:28 in giving his analysis. These are all passages in which Paul's own saving power is emphasized. It is true, as Mattill claims, that Paul rends his clothes when at Lystra the people want to sacrifice to him and Barnabas, but his reaction to the Maltese—after his "baptism by shipwreck into the resurrection"—is left entirely up to the reader's imaginations. Moreover, Jesus himself twice rebuked those who recognized him as the Holy One (Son) of God (Lk 4:34-35, 41). Finally, in the context of the Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:40), Jesus' reference to the master-teacher relationship seems directed to the blind who do not see the true way to salvation, and not so necessarily to Paul.[40] There is no reason to believe that this passage, lost in the middle of a larger piece of tradition, explains the entire scheme of Luke-Acts.

As with Gouldner and Talbert, Mattill also downplays the significance of the broken parallel: Paul shares Jesus' suffering, his passion and death, and his resurrection, but he does not ascend. The shock of this anti-climactic ending cannot be unintended. Luke takes great pains to lead his readers to the martyrdom of Paul in Rome, to the conclusion that everyone expects but is denied. Only Paul's role as the savior who is present can explain adequately the significance of this glaring contrast.

To argue against these three and other scholars that Luke has portrayed Paul as a this-worldly savior figure need not imply that he meant for the apostle to eclipse Jesus in any theological (or Christological) sense. To assert that Paul is greater than his teacher would be to ignore the several passages in Acts in which Paul gives credit to Jesus and the Holy Spirit. But by the same token, that Paul gives credit to Jesus does not necessarily force us to see Paul as subordinate to Christ and on the same level as the disciples, as Gouldner, Talbert, and Mattill suggest. Instead, a compromise between these extreme positions is entirely possible if a reasonable Lukan point of view can be proposed.

First of all, consideration must be given to the historical role played by Paul in the history of the Church, for this is in keeping with the distinctively Lukan preoccupation with time and place. Both in Acts and in modern scholarly reconstructions of the

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[37]Ibid., pp. 42-43.
[38]Ibid., p. 44.
[39]Ibid., p. 44.
[40]Contra Mattill, p. 43.

period, Paul formed a bridge between the old and new covenant peoples. Given his somewhat unique background—he was both a Jew and a Roman—he would be a logical choice for this role. In any case, Paul was not just a Jew, but a Pharisee. In this position he was a zealous member of the chosen people, and he belonged to the party that was to dominate the factional battle with Judaism, the party that, moreover, believed in the resurrection of the dead. In addition, Paul, like virtually all the Old Testament heroes, was chosen quite arbitrarily without regard for the highly emphasized birthright. Finally, Paul was a Jew who voluntarily rejected his tradition and his homeland in favor of the teachings of Jesus and the justice of Rome. Thus, as described in Acts, Paul not only declared his freedom from the Law, but also freedom from the ethnocentricity of the Promised Land represented by Jerusalem. Roloff, in a recent article, calls attention to the notion that Paul is the only Jew who remains true to scripture by recognizing the thrust and the playing out of God's plan for salvation.[41] Given this role in Christian history then, Paul almost merits the special treatment he receives from Luke in Acts.

Second, the importance granted to Paul in Acts can be explained by supposing that Luke considered him a full successor to Jesus, not just in terms of moving beyond Israel and the Law, but also in terms of functioning as a *Heilsbringer*. Paul, in this narrative, represents a living hope and agent for salvation in the absence of the ascended Christ. The situation of the Church in Luke's time—persecuted and needing an apology (an apology that some believe is the purpose of Acts)—certainly demanded some concrete sign (contra docetic teachings) that the suffering could and would be rewarded with eternal life. Paul represented the on-going activity of the Holy Spirit in bringing salvation to the beleaguered Christian world in the absence of Jesus. It is, in fact, this distinctively Lukan emphasis on the Holy Spirit as the divine agency that confers saving power, as well as the fact that Luke alone records the ascension, that allows for this interpretation of the parallels.

To summarize: This paper demonstrates that the extensive parallels between Jesus in the Third Gospel and Paul in Acts can be best explained by the theory that Paul is pictured as a savior who is present in the absence of Jesus. The plausibility of this idea lies in its consistency with the purposes of the Lukan narrative elsewhere proposed. These include the suggestions that the two-part work functions as an apology to the Romans or the Jews or both; as a defense against docetic and other heresies; as an illustration of the on-going nature of Christ's work in the Church; and as a portrayal of the suffering and triumph that comes to believers in Christ. The uniqueness of the thesis lies in its ability to account for what others have not: Paul's prominence and saving power, and his this-worldly presence standing in marked and intentional contrast to Jesus' ascension. The effect of this article, it is hoped, is to add another dimension to the debate about Luke's own intentions.

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[41] Jurgen Roloff, "Die Paulus-Darstellung des Lukas: Ihre geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen und ihr theologisches Zeil," Evangelische Theologie, 39 (1979), p. 529.

1 Enoch: The Rising Elite of the Apocalyptic Movement

Stephen Breck Reid

0.1 Introduction

This is an example of sociological exegesis. Sociological exegesis is a term coined by John Elliot.[1] It is sociological analysis; however, it is to be understood primarily as exegesis. As such the goal of the enterprise is a better understanding of the text. Hence the measure of the effectiveness of the method is to be evaluated by the reader's improved understanding of the issues in the text, not merely the historical reconstruction.

This example of sociological exegesis belies a deep debt to form-critical exegesis. In a large part the method used here is the same as the method used by Hans Walter Wolff to determine the sociological setting of the books of Amos, Hosea and Micah. The discussion of the setting will be the center of this form-critical investigation.

As in any investigation, there are conversation partners who must be acknowledged. In this case there are four such conversation partners. The first of these is the comparative material on spirit mediumship in Africa. This is done based on the position that has been argued so persuasively by John Collins and Hans Peter-Müller that apocalyptic literature belongs with mantic activity which is really spirit mediumship as anthropologists would call it. As we see the function of spirit mediumship in non-Western cultures we are given another standard for the material of the apocalyptic texts.

Another conversation partner is the work of Bryan Wilson.[2] He makes a typology of millenarian movements: conversionist, revolutionist utopianist, reformist, thaumaturgical, among others. The conversionists maintain that the world will be saved when all the right people believe the correct thing. The revolutionists are those who think that through their ritual they can invoke God to action. The reformists consider evil as something that takes place when you have the wrong property or personality. These are the most helpful categories for this study.

Another conversation partner is the work of Vilfredo Pareto.[3] Pareto was an early economist who looked at the issue of stratification. He makes the distinctions of the rising elite and the declining elite. The rising elite tries to package itself as having more than the large company. The declining elite has a character of trying to make policy without strength.

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[1] J. H. Elliot, *A Home for the Homeless. A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 1-20.

[2] B. Wilson, *Magic and Millennium* (London: Harper & Row, 1973).

[3] V. Pareto, *The Rise and Fall of the Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (Totowa: Bedminster, 1968).

Finally, the work of Georg Gurvitch is also helpful at this point.[4] He argues that there are three levels of intensity of community development. He argues that the least level of commitment is to the mass, to which every member of a community must in some way succumb. The next level of intensity is the community. The community is multifunctional. It makes use of information that is of scientific quality. The most intense level of community is the communion. Here the group entertains only that knowledge which can be designated as referring to the identity of the group. It is supra-functional; it takes care of the needs of the person from the spiritual needs to the material needs.

An examination of the material will produce a picture of the historical apocalypses. The historical apocalypses of *1 Enoch* come from a rising elite community; when they were later used in the context of the whole document sociological setting was muted by the declining elite of the so-called apocalyptic movement. The writings of the rising elite were appropriated by another possibly disenfranchised group as was the case in early Christianity. Not all of historical apocalypses are from rising elites. The historical apocalypses from the Book of Daniel come from a declining elite, in that case a disenfranchised priestly body. The focus of identity or level of intensity is the communion in the case of the historical apocalypses of *1 Enoch*. A "communion" is a supra-functional group meeting most of the needs of a group including usually such things as food, shelter, religious direction etc. This too changes with the appropriation by the declining elite of the later Hellenistic period.

This rising elite was a type of utopian movement. As a utopian movement they tried to embody a different type of comunion in this world in anticipation of the future judgment. They have created their own utopia to sustain them until the messiah comes. They call into question the legitimacy of the powerful Jews who serve the pagan masters. Unlike the writers of the historical apocalypses of the Book of Daniel the writers of the historical apocalypses of *1 Enoch* revile any occupation force whether it be from the Seleucids or the Ptolemies. The Danielic writers seem to have an affinity to the deposed Ptolemaic rulers.

0.2 The Ten Weeks Apocalypse

This is the earliest of the historical apocalypses of *1 Enoch*. There are no historical allusions that would lead one to believe that this is a product of the conflict of the Syrian Wars.[5] Later the 10WApoc was incorporated in the Epistle of Enoch.

0.2.1 Structure

The structure of the passage is threefold. There is an introduction (*1 Enoch* 93:1-2), an apocalyptic timetable (*1 Enoch* 93:3-10), and a description of judgment (*1 Enoch* 91:12-17). This structure may be an adaptation of the prophetic judgment speech. The three parts of the structure conform to the three literary elements of the unit. After a short introduction, which provides a context for the unit, there is a statement of authority of Enoch as a teacher, which appears apologetic. The second structural element coincides with the apocalyptic timetable/the account of revelation (*1 Enoch* 93:3-10).

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[4]G. Gurvitch, *Social Frameworks of Knowledge* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).

[5]Ferdinand Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse* (SPB 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 14-16.

0.2.2 Genre

Within the apocalyptic timetable there are some examples of dynastic prophecy (*1 Enoch* 93:4). This literary type was used as an anti-Hellenistic propaganda in Mesopotamia. The apocalyptic timetable/account of revelation sets the stage for the description of judgment (*1 Enoch* 91:12-17).

0.2.3 Setting

Three issues may be pursued in the reconstruction of the setting of the text. The first issue to be explored concerns the *Sitz im Leben* of the genre apocalyptic testament/apology. The second issue to be examined is the historical and sociological setting of the traditions used in the text. Third, key concepts may indicate the setting of the document, e.g., concepts of salvation should be examined.

0.2.3.1 Apocalyptic testaments as clues to intergroup conflict

"If [the designated] testament fits the literary context of the 10WApoc, then there are certain indications concerning the setting of the material by that fact alone."[6] A. B. Kolenkow has proposed that apocalyptic testaments are virtually always apologia for intergroup conflicts and audiences, as well as for intragroup conflicts and audiences. Unfortunately, Kolenkow does not expound her theory at length. Still, her thesis can be demonstrated in the case of the 10WApoc. The first structural element (*1 Enoch* 93:1-2) makes reference to Enoch's authority to teach. The introduction to the whole is clearly apologetic. Further, the third structural element contains indications that the 10WApoc has a background in inter-Jewish conflict. The judgment is described as having two stages. First there is a judgment of the oppressors (*1 Enoch* 91:12). Then there is the conversion of the whole world because of the righteous judgment. This implies that there is a difference between oppressors and the pagan world. It would also seem that the oppressors are persons from the apostate generation (*1 Enoch* 93:9) and that they are Jews who have attained a certain amount of wealth (*1 Enoch* 93:13). Inasmuch as the righteous shall acquire houses at the time of judgment (*1 Enoch* 93:13, it is evident that there was a disparity between the Jews who supported the aliens and the righteous Jews who did not and also did not reap the financial gain with which to acquire houses. The 10WApoc thus makes plain that there was within Judaism a party aware of the socio-economic power as well as a religious minority.[7]

0.2.3.2 Use of traditional material

The apologetic character of 10WApoc and its direct allusions to intergroup conflict are not the only indications of the setting. There are additional traditions and traditional material in the 10WApoc that can shed light on its setting.

a. Enoch's authority. The first of these is found in the introduction (93:1b-2) in the description of Enoch's authority. Enoch appeals to three sources as the basis of his authority—the heavenly vision, the instruction from the angels and the instruction from the heavenly books. The fact that these three are not mentioned elsewhere in the text indicates that the author is probably using traditional formulae of legitimation for his message.

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[6]A. B. Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament and the Forecast of the Future in Hellenistic Jewish Literature," *JSJ* 6 (1975) 66n.

[7]J. T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 49.

The three points mentioned in *1 Enoch* 93:2b point to a background of mantic activity for the 10WApoc. It begins with the authority of the heavenly vision, that is, with an ecstatic experience. Here there are interesting parallels from African prophecy. In the latter, the mantic has authority only after having had an initial ecstatic experience.[8]

The second aspect of Enoch's authority was based on the fact that he had been tutored by the angels. The tutoring of Enoch augments his earlier ecstatic experience. The African parallel is spirit mediumship. Instruction from the angels comes through the medium.[9]

The third source of Enoch's authority is the instruction he has received from the "heavenly tablets." While it is difficult to know exactly what the "heavenly tablets" are, it is clear that they represent some type of esoteric literature. The term "heavenly tablets" in *1 Enoch* 81:2; 93:2; 103:2 and 106:19 refers in every case to esoteric or otherworldly knowledge. This implies that the focus of identity of the community of the 10WApoc is a communion—this means a high degree of involvement with the group. Typically, a communion is pre-occupied with esoteric knowledge that relates to its own existence.[10]

There are four other themes in the 10WApoc which might be helpful in a reconstruction of the sociological setting: the children of righteousness (93:2), the elect of the world (93:2), the plant of righteousness (93:2) and the judgment of righteousness (91:12).

b. The children of righteousness. This precise expression occurs nowhere else in *1 Enoch* 93:2. It is therefore necessary to examine carefully the poetic relationship between the tradition of the "children of righteousness" and the other elements of the verse.

c. The elect of the world. The term "elect, chosen" (*bḥr*) occurs in the 10WApoc four times (93:2, 5b, 8b, 10). In three of the four times in which "elect" (*bḥr*) appears in the 10WApoc, it is in synonymous parallelism with "the plant of righteousness." It seems that the first three themes mentioned in 93:2 are in synonymous parallelism. Indeed, the three terms introduced in 93:2a all relate to just one theme, "the plant of righteousness."

d. The plant of righteousness. This term occurs in 93:5: "A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgment, and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore."[11] Once again there is synonymous parallelism. This time the plant of righteous judgment is equated with the righteousness. The term "plant of righteousness" appears three times in the 10WApoc: 93:2, 5 and 10. The plant of righteousness is associated with the task of judgment and the process of election of Abraham and the Jews. In 93:10 there is the promise that the plant of righteousness will receive further instruction. Furthermore the idea of an "elect" body within the plant of righteousness is introduced in 93:10, a clear reference to an elect body within Judaism. Such a distinction indicates a clear differentiation within Judaism which demonstrates inter-Jewish conflict.

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[8]E. Colson, "Spirit Possession among the Tonga of Zambia," *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa* (ed. Beattie and Middleton; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969) 69-103.

[9]M. J. Field, "Spirit Possession in Ghana," *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa* (ed. Beattie and Middleton; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969) 3-13.

[10]G. Gurvitch, *The Social Framework of Knowledge*, 55.

[11]R. H. Charles, *APOT* 2. 263.

The plant of righteousness which is described in 93:5 in terms of "for evermore" is the same as the "eternal plant of righteousness" in *Jubilees*.[12] The tradition of the plant of righteousness has some interesting parallels in Isaianic material. In Isa 5:7, the plant *nĕta'* is described as the home of *mišpaṭ* and *ṣedeqa*. This same tradition is used again in Isa 60:21. There the righteous will receive land, a theme that is found in the 10WApoc as well (91:14). A similar usage occurs in Isa 61:3b-4. The same metaphor appears in the Book of Jeremiah.[13] The relationship between the plant and judgment is no problem for this community. There is no fear of judgment. Judgment for this community is synonymous with salvation, for it is someone else who is to be judged.[14] In Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Book of Watchers, the metaphor of the plant is used as a symbol of the new prosperity of the elect community following the judgment.

e. The righteous judgment. The term "righteous judgment" (*dyn qšt*) occurs three times in the 10WApoc. The first time is in 93:5. In this verse, Abraham is elected as the plant of righteous judgment. He becomes the receptacle of the election process. However, the election tradition of Abraham is not related to the traditions of Sinai as represented in the 10WApoc (see 93:4b-5).

The two other times *dyn qšt* appears are in the description of judgment (91:12-14). The plant of righteousness executes the *dyn qšt* (the righteous judgment). "It is noteworthy that in First Enoch and Jubilees the rise of the righteous plant constitutes the most important component event in God's plan of world history."[15]

Dyn (judgment) is virtually the same as *mišpaṭ* (judgment). *Qšt* presents somewhat more of a problem. The Aramaic can be rendered either as *ʾemet* or *ṣedaqa*. This indicates that the use of the tradition in *1 Enoch* could be taken from the biblical traditions of *mišpaṭ ʾemet* or *mišpaṭ ṣedaqa*.

The term *mišpaṭ ṣedaqa* appears to have been a technical term in Ezek 18:8 as well as Zech 7:9. It appears from these occurrences that *mišpaṭ ʾemet* and *mišpaṭ ṣedaqa* have a juridical or moral instruction setting. This moral instruction governed real estate transactions.

3. Understanding of Salvation. The perception of salvation is another key to the puzzle of the social matrix of the 10WApoc. This salvation is expounded in close relation to "righteous judgment." First, the plant of righteousness is given the sword in order to execute the righteous judgment of the wicked. Second, related to this is the immediate disposal of the present authorities who oppress the righteous. The oppressors in *1 Enoch* 91:12 are the members of the Jewish hierarchy functioning on behalf of the forces of occupation of Palestine.[16] Acquisition of land and houses by means of government service is implicitly judged as inappropriate in the 10WApoc. The byproduct of the collusion between the post-apostate generation and the Ptolemaic or Seleucid government will

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[12]The term occurs in *Jubilees* 1:16; 16:26; 36:6, but all of these passages seem to be dependent on the *1 Enoch* traditions.

[13]R. Bach, "Bauen und Pflanzen," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Uberlieferungen* (Festschrift für Gerhard von Rad; ed. R. Rendtorff and K. Koch; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1961) 7-32.

[14]M. J. Fiedler, "*Dikaiosune* in der diasporajudischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur," *JSJ* 1 (1970) 135-36.

[15]S. Fujita, "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 34.

[16]M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 85-92. Government service, a typical way of increasing one's social mobility has become tantamount to political and theological treason.

lead, the 10WApoc affirms, to a "righteous judgment" to be revealed to the whole world (91:12-14). It is during the righteous judgment that the righteous shall acquire houses "because of their righteousness."[17] What sociological clues does the latter contain? The first and most obvious reference is to the acquisition of houses and, presumably, also land. It appears from another perspective that the 10WApoc offers the members of the community social mobility in exchange for the participation in the group. This would seem to indicate that the group is a rising elite, for as Pareto has shown, social mobility of able persons in a group must be promoted if the group is either to remain in power or attain power.[18] Another sociological clue is to be found in the reference to the new temple. The text assumes that there will be new temple personnel who will administrate the new facility. It therefore seems safe to conclude that the members of the community of the 10WApoc believed they would figure prominently in the leadership positions among the new temple functionaries. Another clue as to the ideology of the community of the 10WApoc is found in the phrase "revealed to the whole world."

The whole world will become aware of the righteous judgment (91:14). This is similar to the affirmation in Isa 52:13-53:12 that the world would know that the suffering of the servant was on behalf of the whole world (Isa 53:12a). Here the community seems to have appropriated the tradition that universal salvation is a byproduct of the salvation of the Jews—or, more specifically, in this instnace, the righteous Jews, the elect of the plant of righteousness.

The final act of salvation is the new creation after the defeat of the Watchers. This is described as the judgment of the Watchers, but also as the creation of a new heaven. It appears that the new political regime described in 91:12-13 is a prefiguring of the new creation (91:15-17).

The focus of identity of the 10WApoc is clearly a "communion." The structure of the 10WApoc accents this, leading to the climax of intergoup conflict (91:12-14). This climactic emphasis on the distinctions between the social group and the society around it is typical of the "communion" rather than the "mass." The use of esoteric and relatively circumscribed tradition also indicates the "communion" as the focus of identity. The "communion" tends to be introverted, concerned primarily with information about itself, and uses traditions almost exclusively from its own heritage. The 10WApoc meets each one of these criteria; it depends almost exclusively on Jewish traditions. Finally, the soteriological stance of the 10WApoc points to a supra-functional group, concerned with meeting the physical and spiritual needs of its members. Hence one would expect the soteriology of a "communion" to include both the religious vindication, as we have seen, and even the promise of a future acquisition of wealth as prominent features in the soteriology of the 10WApoc. Such concerns hardly point to any other focus of identity for the 10WApoc than the "communion."

0.3 The Animal Apocalypse

Structure. The Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 85-90) is similar to that of the 10WApoc. There are six parts. There is the introduction (85:1-3a, an extended historicized fable, i.e., allegory (85:13-67), an apocalyptic timetable (89:68-90:19), report of judgment (90:39-42). Structurally, this is an expansion of the threefold structure of the 10WApoc. The historicized fables, description of Jewish history and apocalyptic timetable are parallel to the account of revelation in the 10WApoc. Further, like the 10WApoc there is a report of judgment.

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[17] M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 2. 219.

[18] V. Pareto, *The Rise and Fall of Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (Totowa, NJ: Bedminster, 1968) 72-89.

Genre. The genre of the unit is a theriomorphic, historical allegory. The background of this genre appears to be in mantic historicism.

Setting. The sociological setting for a genre with a predominance of theriomorphic, historical allegory is most naturally seen as mantic historicism. There are three suppositions involved in mantic historicism. First, it is dualistic; it accepts as givens spatial, ethical, and temporal dualism. Second, mantic historicism assumes that through mantic activity one can discern the other reality (spatial and temporal) and thus be more effectively prepared to understand the present and to confront the future. Third, the extent to which manticism becomes involved in historical description, it posits that history is ultimately governed by certain laws and doctrines.

The expression of mantic historicism as represented in the Animal Apocalypse can be understood as originating in the practice of political propaganda. Communities practicing mantic historicism believe that they have information of hidden realities, and they attempt to propagate their own knowledge and revelation. They present doctrine using historical events as validation of that doctrine. Hence, the characterization of this type of activity as propaganda seems appropriate. In fact, attention may be called to the two biblical non-apocalyptic theriomorphic allegories (Judg 9:7-20 and Ezek 17:1-21), both of which are used as explicitly political propaganda.

Further data useful in determining more precisely the setting of the Animal Apocalypse can be found by noting the sources of several traditions it employs. One tradition pertaining to the antediluvian history appears to have been taken from haggadic tales. There is such a high degree of similarity between the description of early primordial history in *1 Enoch* 85:3b-88:3 and Midrash Rabbah that some degree of direct or indirect dependency seems certain.

A second tradition even more obviously utilized in the Animal Apocalypse is that of flood. In this tradition the theme of "privileged information" is important. The information given to Noah is described as "secret" or "mystery." Enoch likewise is privileged with information about the future. He and Noah have information inaccessible to others. This is a clear indication of the mantic background of the text. Esoteric knowledge is the *sine qua non* of mantic activity.

The deluge tradition in *1 Enoch* also bears similarities to the Gilgamesh epic. In the Gilgamesh epic, the flood prefigures the eschatological judgment (Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet X). A close parallel can also be drawn between the Enoch material and the work of a Babylonian priest, Berossus, of the third century B.C.E.[19] While the Gilgamesh epic and Berossus and Genesis 6-9 all mention a fiery judgment, this aspect of tradition is missing from the *1 Enoch* material. Further, the Berossus material, like the Animal Apocalypse, has a periodization of history.[20]

Examination of the imagery—especially the animal imagery—in the Animal Apocalypse may also assist in the determination of the sociological setting of the work. Charles has indicated that any such investigation must proceed carefully, for the path of investigation is fraught with methodological quagmires.[21] Nevertheless, a careful study of the imagery in the Animal Apocalypse may be undertaken in order to extract clues to the sociological-ideological provenance of its author(s). Specifically the symbols of the bull, the ram/sheep, the shepherd and the human watchers should be examined. The bull imagery occurs at the beginning and at the conclusion of the Animal Apocalypse. E. R. Goodenough proposed that this image of bull is an adaptation of the Osiris-Isis-Horus-

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[19]H. L. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichends religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1939) 77.

[20]Ibid., 78.

[21]R. H. Charles, *Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) 186.

Seth pattern found in Egypt.[22] However, such a position overlooks the possible Palestinian or Canaanite roots of this imagery. For instance, the bull is the vehicle of Baal.[23] The Aramiac word used for "bull" in *4QEn*^{e}*4ii* and *4QEn*^{f}*l* is *twr*. The term also occurs in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[24] In all these cases it is clear that bull *twr* is a symbol of primordial power, as it is in the case in the Baal material, or the primordial beings, as in the case of the Qumran material just cited. Later in *1 Enoch* the bull is the symbol of the Messiah (*1 Enoch* 90:37-38), but that is clearly not the case in the present unit. The next symbol to be examined is the ram/sheep. The ram and the sheep are frequent representations of the elect community in the age of the messiah. The Aramaic rendering of the term *dkr* (ram) found in the Aramaic (*4QEn*^{d}*2iii* and *4QEn*^{e}*4ii* is also found in *1QEnGiants*.[25] Nevertheless, one must keep in mind that *dkr* is often used to mean "remembrance";[26] possibly there is a wordplay.

Examination of the shepherd imagery in *1 Enoch* 85-90 points to a community which may have treasured especially the writings of Ezekiel. Both Charles and Hartman have made connection between *1 Enoch* 85-90 and the traditions of Ezekiel. "As in Ezekiel men are symbolized by animals, e.g. the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of the later times by sheep."[27] While Hartman's reconstruction does not necessarily lead one to the conclusion that *1 Enoch* is dependent on the Ezekiel material,[28] it is the bad shepherd imagery in *1 Enoch* 89:59-67 which makes it especially appealing to conclude that *1 Enoch* 85-90 was influenced either directly or indirectly by the interpretation of the Ezekiel material. In the Yahweh speech of *1 Enoch* 89:59-67 the first set of instructions is given to the shepherds. The imagery is remarkably similar to and thus probably dependent upon Ezekiel 34. The issue in *1 Enoch* is the same as that in Ezekiel 34. The leadership of the community in both cases has failed to carry out the responsibility incumbent on the office of leadership of the Jewish community. The bad shepherds are the leaders who, instead of protecting the community, have used their office for the acquisition of the trappings of the elite. The bad shepherds are probably the same type of persons referred to in the 10WApoc as the apostate generation and the oppressors. It appears that in both cases there is some section of the Jewish community that has decided to enhance its social mobility through government service.

The imagery of the human watchers helps fill out the inquiry into the sociological setting and the ideological background of the Animal Apocalypse. In the Yahweh speech of *1 Enoch* 89:59-67a a second set of instructions is given to the scribes, who are to watch for the shepherds who have exceeded the bounds of their authority. In this respect, the author of *1 Enoch* seems to be using a tradition similar to the one in Ezekiel 3:16-21 (cf. also Ezek 33:1-11). Just as Ezekiel was the sentry for the community, the unnamed watchers of *1 Enoch* are scribes and watchers for the sake of the community. It is the records of these scribes that will be used as evidence against the shepherds at the final judgment. While one cannot prove literary dependence on Ezekiel, it does seem clear that the Animal Apocalypse shares some traditional themes and sociological concerns with the Book of Ezekiel.

The previous discussion of setting may be employed to determine the political interest of the Animal Apocalypse, that is, an examination of the values ascribed to the

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[22]E. R. Goodenough, "The Bull," *Jewish Symbols* 7 (1958) 24.

[23]*ANET* 3. 129-31.

[24]J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1977) texts 29B:17.10; 21.16.

[25]Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 373.

[26]Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Manual of Palestinan Aramaic Texts*, 5:28,1 29B:2.9,13.

[27]Charles, *APOT* 2. 250.

[28]L. Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted* (ConBNT 1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966) 81-88.

people outside the community. The assignment of values may involve a writer's description of a conflict between the community to which the writer belongs and an opposing group or individual. Once the antagonist has been determined, the writer's value system can be discerned. The Animal Apocalypse describes the antagonists as the "bad shepherds." While it may appear that the understanding of the "bad shepherds" is the key to understanding the political interest of the writer, a major issue in the text is whether or not the shepherd-ruler—whoever s/he is—will maintain Jewish law, which requires that the ruler should act with equity, toleration and justice. The stance presented in *1 Enoch* 85-90 is typical of anti-Hellenistic propaganda outside of Palestine,[29] but perhaps even more importantly it makes clear that the community to which that author belonged was neither pro-Seleucid nor pro-Antiochene. It appears from the text of the Animal Apocalypse that it comes from a community which is simply extremely critical of the overlords and their Jewish henchmen.

In this regard, another type of social conflict is reflected in the Animal Apocalypse.[30] The text makes a sharp distinction between two types of sheep: there are those who have had their eyes opened (*1 Enoch* 90:10-12), as well as those who have closed their eyes. This remark clearly reflects an internal conflict within second-century B.C.E. Palestinian Judaism, a conflict which emanated from the struggle to determine the proper response to Hellenism.

All in all, there are significant hints that the focus of the identity of the Animal Apocalypse—as well as the First Dream Vision (*1 Enoch* 83-84)—is the communion. The social conflicts described point in this direction. Further, the type of historical manticism and esoteric lore employed by the author(s) for propagandistic purposes also point to the "communion" slightly less than was the case for the 10WApoc. The traditions used in the Animal Apocalypse are almost exclusively Jewish. Even when the flood traditions are drawn upon, which may ultimately go back to a non-Jewish source—those sources are used to accent the notion of privileged information in this version of the tradition. Such a reconstruction of the flood tradition would be in keeping with the patterns of a "communion."

0.3.1 Intention

The Animal Apocalypse reinterprets earlier haggadic traditions as well as traditions from the Book of Ezekiel. The reinterpretation became the link between the revelation of the past, namely the traditions, present and future, represented in the Animal Apocalypse. The antediluvian traditions are used to authenticate a doctrine of spatial and ethical dualism. The flood and Noah traditions undergird an understanding of mantic wisdom. The tradents of Ezekiel 34 legitimate a historical and political doctrine. The spatial and ethical dualisms, which are described in cosmic terms (*1 Enoch* 86), are translated into political terms (*1 Enoch* 89:42-49).

0.4 Summary

The value system presented in the historical apocalypses of *1 Enoch* is conservative, or more precisely in anthropological categories "nativistic" inasmuch as it is a call to return to or maintain the traditional Jewish values from the perspective of at least one community. A conceptual interest in different kinds of dualisms is apparent throughout.

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[29] S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1961) 326-27.

[30] B. Kovacs proposes that: "conflicts between symbolic universes reflect conflicts between groups." See B. Kovacs, "A Methodological and Theoretical Interpretation of John G. Gager's *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity.*

Further, each of these historical apocalypses views ethical dualism as the symbol of deeper (or higher!) conflict in the universe. For these author(s) there are only two communities, the righteous and the "bad shepherds." Each has its counterpart in heaven. However, the sheep with vision know that the traditional values and responsibility of the rulers will ultimately be vindicated. This will have not only spiritual benefits but also material rewards.

The underlying material interests of the authors of the historical apocalypses of *1 Enoch* point to a community of a rising elite which often offers material gain as a reward for membership. This is a rising elite that is neither pro-Seleucid nor pro-Ptolemaic.

Drawing on and adapting the work of Bryan Wilson I would like to argue that this is a utopian community. The *sine qua non* of the "utopian mentality" is the understanding that the divine is the sole *basis* for radical social change, but not the *sole agent* of change. The utopian mentality waits ready to lend a hand, but they ask what to do in the meantime. The answer is to try to keep the law; hence we have communions.

This "communion" is the designation for participation in a social group with the highest level of intensity. The "communion" is a "supra-functional" group. The utopian theology of the historical apocalypses would be primarily communal for they see themselves as creating a new world when God gives them the setting. Further they use information which is predominantly Jewish. We have in the historical apocalypses of the second century B.C.E. a picture of a rising elite, which has nativistic tendencies; it expresses a kind of "communion" of mantic historicism.

0.5 Conclusion

This does not tell us about the sociological setting of all of *1 Enoch*. This paper examines only a small part of the document. However, it appears that there are documents from a rising elite of the utopian mentality. One should not blithely assume that this is the sociological setting of the whole document. As we move into the areas of future research it appears that one could press the question: has the redactor of the later Enoch material tamed the politics of the early Enoch historical apocalypses?

The 364-Day Calendar in the Enochic Literature

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Is 1 Enoch a sectarian document? To answer that question one must determine when it was written, study the practices and views of the mainline community at that time, and compare them with what is said in 1 Enoch. If there is conflict on fundamental issues and that conflict is formulated in a combative fashion, it may divulge that 1 Enoch is indeed the product of a sectarian writer. There are, however, major obstacles—as any student of 1 Enoch knows—in the way of pursuing any of these investigations. But each of these problem areas should be approached, insofar as the evidence permits, in an effort to decide with some degree of probability whether 1 Enoch is sectarian in origin.

I. Dates: 1 Enoch falls naturally into five booklets, each of which was composed at a different time. The Qumran discoveries have shown that these were not the only Enochic works which circulated in the last centuries B.C. and first century A.D., since the Book of Giants[1] also belongs to this category; but the booklets in the present 1 Enoch are the only ones which have been preserved to an appreciable extent.

The first book that was associated with Enoch appears to have been the Astronomical Book (AB; *1 Enoch* 72-82). J. T. Milik assigned a date of ca. 200 B.C. to the earliest manuscript of the AB but argued that the book itself was composed in the Persian period.[2] He has yet to publish samples of 4QEnastr^{a}; consequently his paleographical conclusion cannot be tested now. Moreover, his dating of the AB to the time of Persian dominion, while it is by no means impossible, is lacking in hard evidence and has gained no scholarly support. The paleographical data and the strong possibility that Pseudo-Eupolemus knew the book furnish, nevertheless, plausible reasons for placing the original AB no later than 200 B.C. It could, in fact, be much earlier.[3]

The Book of Watchers (BW; *1 Enoch* 1-36) may also have been written in the third century. It is difficult to be precise about the matter, but the script of the oldest extant manuscript (4QEn^{a}) points to the first half of the second century as the time when it was copied.[4] At the least one can say that there is nothing specifically Maccabean in the

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[1]For the available fragments, see J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 298-317.

[2]Ibid., 7 (for Enastr^{a}); pp. 8, 17, etc. for his dating of the AB.

[3]Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 47. For the fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemus and their relevance to this problem, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch, 8-9; and J. VanderKam, Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16 [forthcoming] chap. 4.

[4]See Milik, ibid., 22-25 (". . . 4QEn^{a} dates from the first half of the second century B.C." [22]). He believes that *1 Enoch* 6-19 is an even more ancient source of the present BW (28-35). For the date, see also Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 48; and VanderKam, *Enoch*, chap. 5.

text. The Epistle of Enoch (EE; *1 Enoch* 91-107) may have been the next Enochic document to appear. It has traditionally been consigned to the beginning of the first century B.C.,[5] but some scholars are now maintaining that it is quite possibly pre-Maccabean.[6] At least a part of it—the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 Enoch* 93:1-10; 91:11-17) —comes from a time that precedes Antiochus IV's decrees against Judaism.[7] The Book of Dreams (BD; *1 Enoch* 83-90) seems to be slightly later. Its second vision—the Animal Apocalypse (85-90)—reflects the author's awareness of some of Judas Maccabeus' campaigns but not of his death. It is likely, therefore, to have been written in *ca.* 166-161 B.C.[8] The remaining booklets—the Book of Parables (37-71) and the Book of Giants —can be assigned only very approximate and tentative dates: the Book of Giants comes from perhaps the end of the second pre-Christian century,[9] and the Book of Parables from either the first century B.C. or the late-first/early-second century A.D.[10]

This rapid survey reveals that Enochic booklets were produced over a long span of time—200-300 years or more. As a result the issue of a possible sectarian provenance for *1 Enoch* is more complicated than if the pseudepigraph were a single, unified composition. The different dates of the individual booklets require that one study separately for each one the sociological circumstances in which they arose. It is highly likely that during these centuries sociological conditions and group alignments changed. Judaism itself underwent dramatic transformations, and they probably caused creation of new groups, elimination of some older ones, and reform of others.

II. Mainline Practices and Views: Once one has established that the extant Enochic literature was written between ca. 250 B.C. and the first century or so A.D., the way is paved for turning to the second set of problems, viz. identifying the practices and beliefs of the mainline Jewish community (or communities) at the times when the individual booklets were written. Naturally this is no easy task because of the expanse of time involved and the nature of the evidence (it is scanty for most of these times and usually difficult; for the earliest periods it is virtually non-existent). For example, the century in which the AB may have been written—the third—is one of the most obscure in the history of Judaism. Only in the years when the EE and the BD were composed do a few sources emerge to dispel the evidential darkness. They do become more plentiful in the later periods, especially in the first century A.D.

There are, then, annoying hindrances which preclude a fuller understanding of the lost ancient Jewish pseudepigraphic texts. Not only are their authors anonymous but one

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[5]So R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: University Press, 1912; reprinted Jerusalem: Makor, 1973) liii-liv.

[6]Nickelsburg (*Jewish Literature*, 149-50) considers the earlier dating a possiblity; see also VanderKam, "Enoch in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources," SBLASP (1978) 1.241; and *Enoch*, chap. 6.

[7]This is a fairly widely accepted position (e.g. G. Beer, "Das Buch Henoch" in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* [2 vols; ed. E. Kautzsch; Tübingen: Freiburg/Leipzig: Mohr, 1900] 2. 230). Others place the apocalypse a few years later, in earliest Maccabean times (e.g. F. Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung* (SPB 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 136-40.

[8]Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, 41-44) dates it to the early months of 164.

[9]Ibid., 57-58.

[10]See the discussions in J. C. Findley, "Toward a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: An Historical Approach," *NTS* 14 (1967-68) 551-65; J. Greenfield and M. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70 (1977) 58-61; M. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979) 358-59; and C. L. Mearns, "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979) 360-69.

also does not know the groups to which they felt themselves akin or the circumstances under which they wrote. For some embarrassingly long periods of second-temple Judaism nothing (or almost nothing) is known even about what groups there were. Josephus first mentions the three famous sects—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—in the course of describing the times of Jonathan, the second Maccabean leader and first high priest (*Ant.* 13.5, 9 §§171-73). The group that occupied Qumran is usually regarded as a wing of the Essene movement, and it appears to have begun its geographically separate existence in ca. 150 B.C. or slightly later. The pre-history of this group remains a matter of dispute, though they are often thought to have had some connection with the Hasidim (1 Macc 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc 14:6)—about whom very little is said in the sources.[11] Josephus' other two parties can be traced back with very little certainty beyond ca. 100 B.C. and with almost none before 150.

Morton Smith, in his stimulating book *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament*, wrote: ". . . there is almost no direct evidence to determine which parties produced and perpetuated Old Testament material during the two and a half centuries between Nehemiah and Antiochus Epiphanes."[12] The same could be said and more emphatically about the literature outside what became the Hebrew canon of Scripture. Smith made the most of the sparse material at his disposal but it permitted only vague party labels such as *assimilationist* and *separatist*.[13] Scholars also posit the existence of political divisions during these centuries: pro-Persian or pro-Egyptian before Alexander's conquests, and pro-Ptolemaic or pro-Seleucid after the conquests. While these observations are helpful to some extent, they do not permit very precise sociological or ideological conclusions.

Given this dearth of information in general and of sociological data in particular, the student of the Enochic literature begins at a considerable disadvantage. The two most ancient booklets—the AB and the BW—come from times which are among the most obscure in the second-temple period; and, although the BD and the EE were written during a period about which more can be said, the connection of either of them with any known group is subject to debate. The Book of Giants and the Book of Parables cannot be dated precisely enough to relate them to contemporary social groups.

III. The 364-Day Calendar: Since the Enochic literature arose amid circumstances that are at present most uncertain, it may appear unlikely that one can decide whether these books or any one of them (or their putative sources) emanated from sectarian authors. Despite major difficulties, however, there does seem to be a way of approaching the issue and at the same time sidestepping some of the problems which have been sketched above. This possibility is offered by the intriguing calendar that is supposed to have been revealed to Enoch. It is not necessarily the case that if a group advocated a calendar which deviated from the one followed in the mainline community it was sectarian; but in Judaism that is a likely conclusion. As S. Talmon has written:

> No barrier appears to be more substantial and fraught with heavier consequences than differences in calendar calculation. An alteration of any one of the dates that regulate the course of the year inevitably produces a break-up of communal life, impairing the coordination between the behavior of man and his fellow, and abolishes that synchronization of habits and activities which is the foundation of a properly functioning social order. Whosoever celebrates his own Sabbath and does not observe the festivals of

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[11]See, for example, M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1. 175-218. On the Hasidim, cf. the summary in J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula; Scholars, 1977) 201-205.

[12] (New York/London: Columbia University, 1971) 151.

[13]See ibid., 148-192.

> the year at the same time as the community in which he lives, removes himself from his fellows and ceases to be a member of the social body to which he hitherto belonged.[14]

Following the example of the Qaraite Al-Qirqisāni's account in his *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, he traces the presence of calendrical differences in schisms of various kinds back to the time of Jeroboam I.[15] In that instance the monarch, who had already seceded from the davidic kingdom, desired to solidify the political division (cf. 1 Kgs 12:26-27) by, among other tactics, a calendrical change: "And Jeroboam appointed a feast on the fifteenth day of the eighth month like the feast that was in Judah, and he offered sacrifices upon the altar. . . ." (1 Kgs 12:32 [*RSV*]; cf. also v 33). Later other parties and schismatic groups followed calendars that varied in some respect from the one advocated by the mainline community (or, at least, by substantial numbers of other people). For example, the Sadducees, Boethusians, Samaritans, and Qaraites all distinguished themselves from the Pharisees or Rabbis by waving the *ʿōmer* on the day after the first actual sabbath following passover, whereas the pharisaic-rabbinic method was to perform the ritual on the day after the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread.[16] The Qumran community also distinguished themselves from the dominant society by, among other traits, advocating a 364-day solar calendar which produced festal dates that almost always differed from those required by the luni-solar calendar of historic Judaism. The Qumran group was sectarian in the fullest sense of the term, and its calendar was the one that is attributed to Enoch in 1 Enoch and, by implication, in Jubilees. So the situation is as follows: calendrical disputes have often accompanied and perhaps even in some cases been a cause of schisms in Judaism.[17] The sectarian Essenes from Qumran indisputably adhered to a 364-day calendar which was not the system that was then employed in the temple; the same calendar is found in the Enochic literature. It appears, therefore, that this peculiar solar calendar, with its documented sectarian appeal, is a promising avenue by which to approach the question of sectarian origins for the books of Enoch.

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[14]"The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958) 163-64; cf. also 196, 198. Talmon's reference to "his own Sabbath" reflects his view that the Qumran community considered the morning to be the beginning of the day and that consequently the sect's sabbaths did not coincide precisely with those of the mainline community (pp. 184-96).

[15]Ibid., 161 n. 3; 198; see also his "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Biblica* 32 (1951) 557-63. For Al-Qirqisāni's history of the Jewish sects which he begins with Jeroboam I, see L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (Yale Judaica Series 7; New Haven: Yale, 1952) 45-53. Note Al-Qirqisāni's comment regarding the reason for the particular date which Jeroboam chose for this new festival: "It is indeed possible that he made the people believe that the year was a leap year, as some of our own scholars have suggested." (46) See also Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisāni's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930) 323.

[16]Yadin, *mgylt hmqdš* (vols. I-IIIA; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Hebrew University—Institute of Archaeology, 1977) 1. 95 (also 1. 82-84). Al-Qirqisāni, too, mentions that for Boethus and the Qaraites the festival of weeks could fall only on a Sunday (Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology*, 50).

[17]Talmon ("Yom Hakkippurim," 563) comments: "Viewed in comparison with other separatist movements, in biblical as well as post-biblical times, deviation from the official calendar is found to constitute a standard feature in Jewish sectarianism, especially during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era and during the early Christian period."

In order to show that the 364-day calendar brands the Enochic traditions which have survived as sectarian one should be able to make a reasonable case for several propositions.

A. The 364-day calendar is securely and consistently present in the books and traditions of Enoch;
B. This calendar differed from the one which was employed in the Jerusalem temple;
C. And, the writers and tradents of the Enoch material defended their calendar and condemned the one of the temple as contrary to revelation and thus as theologically flawed.

A. The 364-day calendar is securely and consistently present in the books and traditions of Enoch

The 364-day calendar is indeed found in the Enochic literature, but it is by no means pervasive there. Only in the AB is it mentioned explicitly,[18] though the last part of the BW (chaps. 33-36) may presuppose it. The Book of Jubilees, which contains a succinct summary of an extensive cycle of lore about Enoch, supports the same calendar. It refers to astronomical and calendrical revelations that were granted to Enoch (4:17-18, 21), and, when one considers the author's stance on these matters, it is fair to infer that he included the 364-day system in his understanding of these disclosures. However, he elaborated and defended the calendar only in connection with the flood narrative (6:23-38).

The AB presents the calendar in a remarkably "secular" way in that, apart from the fact that it comes to Enoch by revelation from the angel Uriel, nothing is said about the proper timing of festivals or about their rituals. One learns only the brute calendaric and astronomical "facts." According to 72:1, Uriel ". . . showed me their whole description as they are, and for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever."[19] All of the material in the original form of the AB[20] testifies to the author's conviction that the Lord had created a harmonious, symmetrical, and unchanging cosmos in which all of the parts, including the indicators of time, meshed perfectly. His linear, schematic conception of the solar year, of the varying length of daylight during the months, and of the changing amount of the moon's surface that is illuminated on successive days in a month has no direct relationship with reality. Rather it served the fundamental theological purpose of celebrating the wonders of a harmonious creation, whose workings were unaffected by human and angelic sin, and of the mighty one who had fashioned them.

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[18]The only other Enochic composition which refers explicitly to the 364-day calendar is 2 or Slavonic Enoch (16:5[B]; version A reads 365 1/4 days [16:4]).

[19]Quotations of the AB are from the translation of O. Neugebauer, *The "Astronomical" Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72-82), With Additional Notes on the Aramaic Fragments*, by Matthew Black (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser 40:10; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1981).

[20]Chaps. 80-81 almost certainly do not belong to the original AB, as Charles (*The Book of Enoch*, xlix-l; 147-49) demonstrated. One strong argument for his position is that the poem in 80:2-8 does not agree at all with the theory of unchanging natural law that is advanced in 72:1. The whole question regarding the shape of "original" AB is more complicated, though, than the Ethiopic evidence alone indicates, since the Aramaic version may have been much longer (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 7-8).

1 Enoch 72 is the principal chapter regarding the sun and the solar year. Vv 2-37 deal with six pairs of gates in which the sun rises and sets at different points in the year; with the varying length of daylight depending on the gate in which the sun is found; and with the fact that the brightness of the sun is seven times that of the moon (cf. Isa 30:26). The numbers in this chapter and elsewhere in the AB agree with the statement in 72:32: "And the year is exactly 364 days (long)" (cf. also 74:10-17; 75:1-2; 79:5; 82:4-7, 11, 15, 18).

B. This calendar differed from the one which was employed in the Jerusalem temple

The 364-day calendar is, then, attested in the literature that is associated with Enoch but it can hardly be described as a common feature in it. Most of the booklets, for whatever reason, do not mention it. Nevertheless, the simple fact that it is found there may be significant, since, if it was not the official calendar of the religious establishment, it may still suggest a sectarian origin at least for the AB. The way in which the writer describes the 364-day calendar provides, however, no basis for assigning even the AB, much less all Enochic compositions, to sectarian pens. That point will be discussed shortly, but first it should be observed that the precise nature of the official cultic calendar in Jerusalem during the third century is, at present, only a matter of conjecture and hypothesis.

Rabbinic sources show that during the early centuries of the present era a luni-solar calendar regulated Jewish worship.[21] It seems impossible now to determine how early this or a similar calendrical arrangement prevailed because the surviving sources do not divulge such information. It is very likely that the famous conflict depicted in 1QpHab 11:4-8 presupposes a calendrical difference between the Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest (= the high priest);[22] and it is not unreasonable to infer, knowing what the nature of the calendar was in later times, that a luni-solar calendar was employed by the priest. The evidence of Jubilees is consistent with this view because it argues vehemently against observation of lunar phases as a basis for calendrical calculation—implying that someone or group was using or advocating a lunar arrangement of some sort.

A. Jaubert has maintained that it was precisely the 364-day calendar which regulated the Jewish cult during the first centuries of the second temple period. However, by the time of Ben Sira (early second century B.C.), that calendar had been modified, she believes, toward a luni-solar one, though it still accommodated, in some way, a liturgical emphasis which the old calendar placed on certain weekdays.[23] The present writer has suggested a modified form of Jaubert's theory and argued that the 364-day calendar was not discontinued until the time of Antiochus IV's decrees and that

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[21]Recent surveys of the evidence may be found in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)* (3 vols.; rev. and ed. G. Vermes/F. Millar; Edinburgh: Clark, 1973—) 1. 587-601; and M. D. Herr, "The Calendar," *The Jewish People in the First Century* (Compendia rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, section 1; ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974-76) 2. 834-64. Herr's treatment is, however, rather tendentiously slanted against possible use of the 364-day calendar in the temple.

[22]Talmon was the first to clarify the point ("Yom Hakkippurim," 549-63).

[23]She has developed her thesis in "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953) 250-64; "Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," *VT* 7 (1957) 35-61. See also her *La date de la cène: calendrier biblique et liturgique chrétienne* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1957 = *The Date of the Last Supper* [Staten Island: Alba, 1965]).

the Maccabean high priests later retained the luni-solar calendar which had been introduced already in 167 B.C.[24] Neither of these views can be proved, nor can the thesis that the Jewish cult of the early second-temple period dated its festivals by a lunar calendar. In the present context this means that one lacks an essential ingredient for testing whether the 364-day calendar betrays a sectarian origin for some or all Enochic books: one cannot determine whether this calendar differed from the one employed in Jerusalem or whether it (with intercalation) was itself the one used there.

C. The Writers and tradents of the Enoch material defended their calendar and condemned the one of the temple as contrary to revelation and thus as theologically flawed.

The final blow to solving the sectarian issue via the Enochic calendar comes from the fact that the writer of the AB neither defends it against a lunar calendar nor castigates lunarists as heretical. His approach to the difference between a lunar and solar year is purely objective, and on this score he is battling no one. After his treatment of solar matters in chap. 72, the author describes, in his customary schematic fashion, the varying illumination of the moon's surface (chap. 73). He does the same as he pictures the moon's movement (in relation to the sun) from gate to gate in 74:1-9. 74:10-17 contain comparative statistics for lunar and solar years. These calculations, which probably come from the author's desire to present an octaeteris, prove redundant because, in his system, there can be no variation from the figures of 364 days for the solar year and 354 for the lunar (the same numbers are used in Jubilees). Hence nothing new is learned by comparing the number of days in one, three, five, or eight years.[25] But neither system is seen as inferior (cf. 74:12).

It is instructive to compare the AB's approach to a lunar calendar with that of the later Book of Jubilees. In *1 Enoch* 78:1-3 one reads that there are two great luminaries—the sun and moon—but in Jubilees there is just one—the sun (2:9). Whereas in the AB lunar and solar years co-exist in harmony or at least neither is considered superior to the other, the writer of Jubilees insists that reckoning dates by the moon leads to confusion of festival days with ordinary ones and makes one ". . . forget the feasts of the covenant

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[24]VanderKam, "The Origin, Character, and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypotheses," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 390-411; "2 Maccabees 6, 7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *JSJ* 12 (1981) 52-74. Note also the rejoinder by P. Davies, "Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins: An Assessment of VanderKam's Theory," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 80-89. Davies rightly highlights the fact that evidence for this position is slight, and he is also correct in saying that the calendar is not stressed in the QL as a reason for the group's schism (although one never learns much from the texts themselves about the actual reasons for the break with the mainline community). However, it seems unlikely that Jub 1:13-14 and CD 3:13-14 provide, as Davies thinks, strong negative evidence regarding official use of the 364-day calendar in the second temple period. If these passages do suggest that for the authors of the two works there was a departure from the calendar during the exile, this may say nothing about what actually happened and also does not preclude use of it after the exile. The earlier departure from the revealed calendar—whether actual or fictitious—could have been viewed by the authors of these documents as an ancient example with special modern relevance for which reason they included it in their indictments.

[25]Neugebauer, *The "Astronomical" Chapters*, 18-19 (". . . correct but irrelevant numerical identities, . . ." [19]).

and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance." (6:35).[26] The author of Jubilees is obviously fighting lunarists; the writer of the AB is not.

This is not to say that the AB is devoid of calendrical polemics. It opposes a type of calendar, but it is not a lunar one. Rather, its concern is with people (not further identified) who reckoned with a year which consisted of twelve 30-day months.[27] Their error was in not including the four epagomenal days—one in each quarter—in the reckoning of a full year (75:1-2; 82:4-6). The writer was aware that the four epagomenal days were special (cf. 75:1); also, they tended to disrupt his much-loved symmetry by introducing an odd day every quarter. But they were part of the year nevertheless.

As a result, one can say that, though the 364-day calendar is present in the AB, the author does not oppose it to any system which seems likely ever to have regulated the Judean cult. In this respect it stands in stark contrast to Jubilees. It is interesting, though, that some texts from Qumran apparently attempt to synchronize the 364-day solar calendar with a lunar one and so do in a non-polemical way. This implies that an objective presentation of calendrical data does not preclude a sectarian origin for the document in question.[28]

The preceding discussion can be summarized briefly by saying that the conditions are not currently present for testing through the Enochic calendar whether the books and traditions of Enoch emanated from sectarian groups. It is certain only that they appealed rather strongly to a later sectarian society—that of Qumran. It is possible that these books and traditions were sectarian from the beginning but the 364-day calendar alone provides inadequate backing for the thesis. The AB, the only booklet to mention the calendar, could as well have been written by a member of the mainline community.

It is useful to conclude this essay by citing Stone's comments about the authors and groups who were responsible for the oldest books of Enoch:

> Among the groups of assimilationists and the pious, the wise and the Hasideans, a place must now be found for those who cultivated sacred speculations on subjects represented in the early parts of *1 Enoch*. It is of course impossible to know whether these people formed a group or sect that was distinct from all those already mentioned. At the very least, however, they reflected an intellectual tradition and the likely relationships of that tradition can be studied. Its bearers must have been well-educated men and may possibly have been associated with the traditional intellectual groups, the wise and the priests. Enoch is the archetypal wise man, the founder of wisdom and, moreover, there exist intriguing connections between certain aspects of apocalyptic learning and Mesopotamian mantic wisdom. Certain other features suggest that such circles were connected with the priests. The intense interest in the calendar is a priestly concern.[29]

Stone's suggestive remarks raise an issue that is of considerable importance for this entire discussion but which is not yet ready to be resolved: is the AB a product of the Babylonian diaspora? Its astronomy has several central and systematic points of contact

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[26]Translation of Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Black, 1902).

[27]Neugebauer (*The "Astronomical" Chapters*, 20) lists, among other possible referents for this 360-day calendar, the Jewish lunar calendar which lacks intercalary days. However, it also does not consist of twelve 30-day months.

[28]An example may be consulted in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 62-64.

[29]"The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978) 489-90.

with early examples of Babylonian astronomy.[30] If the book was written outside Palestine, this state of affairs would further complicate the search for the social settings of Enochic literature. It would, nevertheless, leave open the current calendrical options (i.e., that in the third century B.C. the 364-day calendar was normative in Jerusalem or that it was sectarian) but might have significant implications for the origins and history of that calendar in Judea and elsewhere.

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[30]See VanderKam, *Enoch*, chap. 4, where these parallels are detailed.

The Measure of Redemption: The Similitudes of Enoch, Nonviolence, and National Integrity

David Winston Suter

The drive [in a millenarian movement] is the imperative of finding a new redemptive process. To ask whether particular activities have "succeeded" or "failed" in attaining their overt objectives is, however, the wrong question. The issue is not a pole, or a flag, a load of canned meat or whether a ritual will make bullets actually turn into water, but a satisfactory measure of the nature of man. In this sense all millenarian activities succeed. They are "experiments in measurement."

—Kenelm Burridge[1]

And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north. And I asked the angel, saying unto him: "Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?" And he said to me: "They have gone to measure."

And the angel who went with me said unto me:
"These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits
for ever and ever. . . .
And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of
the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,
That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed."

—1 Enoch 61:1-3, 5[2]

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[1]*New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken, 1969), p. 112.

[2]Trans. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2. 225-26.

The Similitudes of Enoch, I have suggested elsewhere,[3] is concerned not with man as a measure of all things but with the orderly process of the whole of creation as the measure of man. The writing establishes an elaborate comparison, or *māšāl*, between the sacred arrangement of the cosmos and the hoped-for establishment of justice in the human order, a justice now hidden but soon to become manifest when "that son of man" takes his seat upon "his glorious throne" to judge "the kings and mighty of the earth." The *māšāl* becomes explicit with the revelation that the stars and lights of the heavens are the *likeness* (Ethiopic, *mesl*) of "the holy who dwell upon the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits" (1 Enoch 43:4). Thus, behind the elaborate descriptions of the measurement and division of the natural order one should hear not only metaphors drawn from the creation myth but also echoes of both the description of David's idealized arrangement of the divisions of the Levites, priests, and Israelites in 1 Chronicles 23-27 or Ezekiel's vision of the eschatological measurement and restoration of the land and the Temple in Ezekiel 40-48.[4] The Similitudes represent, in Burridge's terms, a drive to discover "a new redemptive process" in the establishment of a measurement or order that is at once primordial and eschatological.

The question for the Similitudes is the context, both historical and sociological, in which this search for redemption takes place. The historical provenance lately has been a matter of much debate, and, while any solution to that discussion is necessarily speculative, there is good reason to suggest that the writing is Jewish in origin, dating from the period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E. The presence of Hekhaloth terminology and the Qeduššâ at several places in the work (1 Enoch 39:9-14; 61:10-11; and 71:7) demands a Jewish rather than Christian origin, while the role of Jerusalem in 1 Enoch 56:7 and the possibility of an allusion to the Similitudes in Matt 25:31-46 point towards a pre-70 composition.[5] At the same time, the absence of this section of 1 Enoch from the Qumran library indicates that the work has a sociological context distinct in some degree from the sectarian or proto-sectarian *Sitz im Leben* of the rest of the book. I have attempted elsewhere to locate the composition of the Similitudes in the resistance to Gaius Caligula's effort to install his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem.[6] This paper represents an effort to strengthen that identification, to examine the relation of the writing to the development of resistance to Roman rule in the first century C.E., and to explore possible relationships to social groups within Judaism of that period. The Similitudes focuses upon the fate of the righteous or elect

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[3]See "*Māšāl* in the Similitudes of Enoch," *JBL* 100 (1981) 193-212.

[4]For the connection to Ezekiel, see ibid., pp. 206-7. The parallel to 1 Chronicles is based more on a sense that there is an analog intended between the cosmic order and the order of the nation and that this analog centers upon the priesthood and is of priestly or Levitical origin, a point to be discussed below.

[5]See my article, "Weighed in the Balance: The Similitudes of Enoch in Recent Discussion," *RSR* 7 (1981): 217-21; and George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 221-23; for discussions of the problems of dating the Similitudes. Nickelsburg is more impressed by the relation between traditions common to 1 Enoch 62-63 and Wisdom 2 and 4-5, a work from the previous century, and consequently dates the Similitudes early in the first century C.E. I am more impressed by parallels to apocalypses from later in the first century C.E. (see below) and would prefer to place them later in that century. While the difference in terms of years is not great, the important issue of the relation of interpretations of Daniel 7 to the teachings of Jesus and the development of Christology has yet to be resolved.

[6]See my *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 29-32.

and the wicked or the kings and mighty of the earth, and this paper will be concerned with the identification of these two groups and an examination of the tensions between them.

THE SIMILITUDES AND NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE TO ROMAN RULE

In comparison to the role of angelic and demonic realms in the rest of 1 Enoch, the Similitudes is surprisingly this-worldly in its choice of opponents. Although occasional attention is given to fallen angels, the major emphasis in the writing falls upon an explicit polemic directed against the kings and mighty of the earth. This attack is not hidden behind allegory and myth, although the direct references to the actual opponents are admittedly obscure. The recurrent charge laid against them is that they have denied either the Lord of Spirits himself or his name, or, in one case, his Anointed (1 Enoch 38:2; 41:2; 45:1-2; 46:7; 48:10; 63:7; and 67:8, 10). They do not praise God (46:5-6; 63:7), nor do they acknowledge him as the source of their power and authority (46:5; 63:7). They either "judge" or "rule" the stars of heaven (46:7)—an echo of the hubris of the king of Babylon in Isaiah 14—raise their hands against the Most High (46:7), tread upon the earth (46:7, cf. 56:6), trust in riches as the source of their power (46:7, cf. 63:10), practice idolatry (46:7, cf. 65:6), and have persecuted "the houses of his congregations" (46:7, cf. 62:11). The last charge, taken with the apparent concern of the Similitudes for the diaspora and its end in the coming age (1 Enoch 57:1-3; 61:4-5), may reflect the destruction of synagogues and persecution of Jews in Alexandria under Caligula.[7] 1 Enoch 65:6 adds sorcery and witchcraft to violence and idolatry, while 68:8-13 pictures the kings and mighty indulging the lust of their flesh in hot springs.

The tenor of these charges begins to sound much like Philo's diatribe directed against Gaius:

> What is this that you [Gaius] say? do you a mere man seek to annex also ether and heaven, not satisfied with the sum of so many mainlands, islands, nations, regions, over which you assumed sovereignty, and do you deem God worthy of nothing in our world here below, no country, no city, but even this tiny area hallowed for Him and sanctified by oracles and divine messages you propose to take away, so that in the circumference of this great earth no trace or reminder should be left of the reverence and honour due to the truly existing veritable God?[8]

Central to both the Similitudes' and Philo's polemics is an allusion to the hubris of the king of Babylon satirized by Isaiah 14 as seeking to ascend to heaven to rule in place of God. While Isaiah 14 appears in polemics directed against other kings,[9] in the first century it seems to fit Gaius most aptly. The problem is that of the king who would be God, and in 1 Enoch 68:4, the angelic counterparts to the kings and mighty of the earth are accused of acting as though they were God. Coupled with the suggestion of a threat to Jerusalem in 56:6-7 and the suggestion of persecutions of the righteous in 46:8, the

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[7]There are also incidents of violence under Pilate to which the charge could apply, see David M. Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution: 6-74 C.E.* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 65-67.

[8]*Leg.* 347, trans. F. H. Colson, *Philo* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) 10:173-75.

[9]For a discussion, see my *Tradition and Composition*, 111-12. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University Press) 70-74, finds a common tradition utilizing Isaiah 14 and 52-53 behind 1 Enoch 62-63 and Wisdom 2 and 4-5. He identifies it as a tradition concerning the exaltation of a righteous man rather than a polemic against tyrants.

reign of Caligula, marked by persecutions in Alexandria and the effort to install the Emperor's statue in the Temple in Jerusalem, seems a plausible if not certain historical context for the Similitudes.

Two other details of the Similitudes would fit the situation during the reign of Gaius. One is related to Tiberias, the scene of the confrontation between Petronius, the Syrian Legate, and the Jewish people during the crisis. Tiberias was located on the Sea of Galilee adjacent to warm springs at Hammath, and these springs could conceivably have been the inspiration for the scene in 1 Enoch 67:8-13,[10] where the punishment of the fallen angels is connected to hot springs in which the kings and mighty satisfy the lust of their flesh. One could imagine the Roman Legate and his associates bathing in the baths as they negotiated with the multitude of protesters over the imperial command to install the statue in the Temple.

In the meantime, a statue, apparently of bronze covered with gold, was being manufactured at Sidon to be used to fulfill the Emperor's command.[11] The Similitudes is clearly interested in idolatry and the technology of metallurgy. The kings and mighty worship gods made by their own hands (1 Enoch 46:9), while one of the secrets learned from the angels is the ability to cast molten images (65:6). The concern for metallurgy emerges in two passages (52:1-9 and 65:6-8) and seems to be directed not only against idolatry but also against the manufacture of weapons (52:8) and the coining of money (52:7). With the appearance of the Elect one, all metals will become molten and worthless (52:6, 9), making warfare and economic activity impossible, and, if my identification of the situation behind the Similitudes is correct, ending the threat to install the statue in the Temple. While neither of these details affords a positive identification of the crisis under Gaius, they add to the total picture.

Whether or not it is possible to identify the precise situation with certainty, the Similitudes fits well into Adela Collin's synergistic type of passive resistance to oppressive power, in which the tyrant is defeated by divine forces while the suffering of the righteous serves to spur God to action.[12] Although 1 Enoch 38:5 suggests that the sinners will be given into the hands of the righteous and holy, the general tenor of the Similitudes is that divine forces will defeat them through an act of judgment. 1 Enoch 56:8 suggests that Sheol will devour the sinners in the presence of the righteous. In 62:2, the word of the Elect one's mouth slays all sinners. In 62:11, they are delivered to the angels for punishment. While the method may vary, the effect is the same. The kings and mighty of the earth are judged by the Elect one/Son of Man, in whom they recognize the elect ones whom they have persecuted. They are banished from the presence of God and the face of the earth and delivered to the angels for punishment (see 1 Enoch 62-63). The righteous, on the other hand, contribute to this final defeat of evil through suffering. 1 Enoch 47:1-4 suggests that the shedding of the blood of the righteous prompts the prayers and supplications of the holy ones in the heavens, leading to the assembling of the divine council for judgment. Another measure of the nonviolent tenor of the Similitudes is its suggestion, mentioned above, that with the appearance of the Elect one all weapons of war will become useless (1 Enoch 52:8), although it is curious that in chapter 54 the angels will use iron chains to bind the kings and the mighty.

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[10]Previous attempts to find a historical allusion behind this passage connect it to Herod the Great's visit to the warm springs at Callirhoe towards the end of his life to seek a cure for his illness, see Jonas C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, by Hugo Odeberg, Reprint Edition (New York: Ktav, 1973), p. XVII. While the allusion to Herod is possible, the satire seems to be directed towards a group rather than an individual.

[11]See Philo, *Leg.* 188, 203, 221-22, and 337.

[12]"The Political Perspective of the Revelation to John," *JBL* 96 (1977) 241-56.

While Daniel represents the advocacy of passive resistance in an earlier period, this new type, in which the synergistic suffering of the righteous becomes important, seems to have its roots in the events at the end of the reign of Herod the Great.[13] Encouraged, no doubt, by Herod's approaching death as well as by two teachers of the Law, Judas ben Sepphoraeus and Matthias ben Margalus, a group of young men cut down a Roman eagle from the gate of the Temple. Herod responds by burning a number of them alive, along with Judas and Matthias, and by executing the rest. The issue, as reported by Josephus,[14] involves the second commandment and the prohibition of images of living creatures in the Temple. The *Testament of Moses* dates from the years following the death of Herod, at least in its present form, and advocates a synergistic form of passive resistance in an apocalyptic format.[15] In chapter 9, the righteous Taxo with his seven sons resolves to die passively rather than to transgress the commands of God. Other examples of passive resistance are associated with Pilate's introduction of Roman army standards bearing images into Jerusalem and his confiscation of Temple treasury funds, and with the resistance to Gaius's command already mentioned.[16] In the case of the army standards, Pilate backs down when the multitude of protesters bare their necks to his sword at his headquarters in Caesarea, while, in the second case, his soldiers kill a number of unarmed protesters in the streets of Jerusalem. In the third case, Petronius is moved by the willingness of unarmed protesters to die for the laws of their nation[17] and possibly also by an agricultural strike, which would have deprived Rome of a source of grain. Rhoads suggests that the last act of passive resistance occurs under Cumanus, a decade later, when protesters assemble at Caesarea in response to the burning of a Torah scroll by a soldier.[18] A recurrent but by no means universal theme in this history is the second commandment's prohibition of the use of images, a theme that, as we have noted, is important to the Similitudes.

Violent resistance to Roman rule begins about the same time with the War of Varus in 4 B.C.E. and the rebellion of Judas the Galilean in 6 C.E. The latter individual seems to be connected in some way with the rise of the Sicarii in the decade prior to the Jewish War with Rome beginning in 66 C.E. The two share a political interpretation of the first commandment: "No lord but God."[19] The Similitudes is likewise concerned with the role of kings in relation to God, but, instead of questioning the legitimacy of kingship *per se*, it charges the kings and mighty with failure to recognize the true source of their authority (1 Enoch 46:5, 63:4, 7). It fits very plausibly into the tradition of passive resistance to Roman rule beginning with the death of Herod the Great and leading up to the War with Rome.

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[13]While there are obvious connections between both the active and the passive resistance of the Maccabean age and the first century C.E., a *continuity* of passive resistance between the two periods is more difficult to trace. Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth*, pp. 36 and 97, suggests that millenarian activities are more likely to emerge under more tolerant regimes. From this point of view, the reemergence of both revolution and passive resistance at the end of the reign of Herod the Great—when signs of weakness become apparent—would make sense.

[14]*J.W.* 1.647-55 and *Ant.* 17.149-63.

[15]See Collins, "Political Perspective," pp. 244-45.

[16]See Josephus, *J.W.* 2.169-74, 195-98; *Ant.* 18.257-309.

[17]Josephus goes further in the *Antiquities* (18.264) in stressing the passive nature of the protests, while Philo (*Leg.* 234) suggests that the protesters are willing to commit suicide if the Legate insists upon carrying out the Emperor's command.

[18]*Israel in Revolution*, p. 71.

[19]See ibid., pp. 47-60.

In contrast to the *Testament of Moses* from the beginning of this period, where in chapter 10 God and his angels are the agents of judgment and punishment, the Similitudes introduces a more complex messianism centering around the apparently transcendental figure[20] of the Elect one/Son of Man, who becomes responsible for the judgment of the sinners. While such comparisons are of limited value, it seems best to date the Similitudes later in this tradition, particularly when comparable messianic figures in apocalyptic contexts (Mark 13, 4 Ezra 13, and Rev 1) belong to the second half of the first century. The crisis under Gaius would be ideal from this point of view, since in the subsequent decades the quality of the resistance to Roman rule seems to change, and since Mark 13, in presenting similar messianic expectations based upon Daniel 7, may well also preserve a memory of the same crisis.

THE SIMILITUDES AND JEWISH SECTARIANISM

Identifying the righteous or elect in the Similitudes is perhaps more difficult than identifying their opponents. The text is far more interested in their fate than in their identity. The latter of these two issues remains one of the unstated assumptions of the work, and we are left with vague assertions that the righteous are those who "hang upon" the name of the Lord of Spirits (1 Enoch 46:8, cf. 38:2), who despise the ways of this world (48:7), and to whom "that son of man" has been revealed (62:7). Two problems that need to be examined are whether the righteous are more or less identical with the Jewish people or are a more restricted group within the nation, and whether the work itself can be related to an identifiable group, party, or sect from the first century.

At the outset, it seems possible to suggest that the Similitudes does not come from the ranks of the Essenes, the group that went significantly further than any other group in severing ties with the center of Jewish society and thus merits the designation of "sect." While there are several affinities with the Qumran texts, including the concern for "spirits," the designation of the righteous as the "elect," and the presence of Hekhaloth motifs, there are other indications that point in a different direction.[21] Jonas C. Greenfield attributes to David Flusser the insight that the place assigned to the moon in the Similitudes would have been unthinkable at Qumran, where the liturgical calendar was related to the solar year.[22] Furthermore, there is little if any evidence in the Similitudes that the writer is at odds with other segments of the Jewish community. In 1 Enoch 6-11, the myth of the fallen angels seems related to a proto-sectarian or sectarian polemic directed against the purity of the establishment priesthood in Jerusalem.[23] In the Similitudes, however, the same myth is coordinated with the polemic against the kings and mighty of the earth. While it might be possible to include the Herodians in this particular group, the concern with the practice of idolatry suggests that it would not include the Jerusalemite priesthood. The absence of the Similitudes from the Enochic literature at Qumran likewise points away from the Essenes as its source. It is entirely possible that the writer has a somewhat restricted definition of righteousness; however, the work seems to issue from some place closer to the center of Jewish society than the Qumran sectarians. The burning issue is not the definition of righteousness but an external threat to the people and their holy city.

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[20]For the moment, I leave out of account chapter 71, which identifies "that son of man" with Enoch. See below for some comments on the possible significance of that identification.

[21]See my *Tradition and Composition*, pp. 14-23, for further discussion.

[22]Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," p. XVIII.

[23]See my "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 115-35; and Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 575-90.

The Pharisees are another possible source for the writing, particularly since Rhoads concludes that they seem to take part in the efforts at passive resistance to Roman rule through the year 44 C.E.[24] The lack of a specific concern for the Torah, however, makes such an identification doubtful.

Perhaps the best approach is to begin with some observations about the overall shape of the Similitudes and follow them wherever they might lead. One of the keys to the interpretation of the work, I believe, is the comparison, or *māšāl*, mentioned above that establishes an analogy between the heavenly world and the righteous (see 1 Enoch 43:4).[25] The extensive reflection upon the cosmic and heavenly order thus functions as more than idle speculation about the shape of the universe. It serves as an analogical source of wisdom that permits one to truly understand the human order. This wisdom is not directly accessible to humankind as a whole but only to the righteous to whom it has been revealed. These observations illuminate the role of the proto-hekhaloth material in 1 Enoch 39:3-14; 61:6-13; and 71:1-12 as well as the treatment of Wisdom personified in chapter 42. Wisdom dwells in the heavens and is the opposite of unrighteousness. She is accessible only to those prepared to ascend there. Sirach 24 affords a relevant contrast: Wisdom dwells in the temple in Jerusalem, is identical with "the book of the covenant of the Most High God" (verse 23), and is available to all who seek instruction (verse 34). Wisdom in the Similitudes is thus a matter of initiation into the courts of heaven and is the possession either of a sect or of a profession within the larger social order. While the Qumran texts claim that the sectarians are members of the heavenly courts, we have already suggested that the Similitudes does not seem to be an Essene writing. The priestly origin of the Essenes, however, presents another possibility: the analogical connection between the righteous and the heavenly order is priestly in origin.

Several considerations support this last suggestion. One is that there are hints elsewhere of a connection between the heavenly and priestly orders.[26] The most elaborate is Sirach's description of the splendor of Simon ben Onias, the high priest, leading to the worship of the Temple before the priests and people. Sirach 50 uses two kinds of similes to describe Simon: he is like the sun, moon, and stars (verses 6-7) in his high priestly garments or he and the sons of Aaron are like various flowers or trees (verses 8-13). The *Testament of Levi* 14:3 also likens the priesthood of Israel to the sun and moon and uses celestial imagery in chapter 18 in its description of the messianic high priest. In addition, it makes the high priesthood something that Levi receives in heaven (chapter 8), much as Wisdom must be sought there in the Similitudes.

The imagery of 1 Enoch 47, which is concerned with the ascent of the prayers and the blood of the righteous to heaven, seems to conceive of the suffering of the elect in sacrificial and therefore priestly terms. The concern for praise on the part of both the righteous and the heavenly beings in the Similitudes also points towards the priesthood and, perhaps, specifically towards the Levites, who were responsible for the music of the Temple. In addition, both the righteous and the angels are to engage in intercession for those who dwell on earth. While intercession was originally a prophetic rather than a

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[24] *Israel in Revolution*, p. 91.

[25] See my "*Māšāl* in the Similitudes of Enoch," p. 204.

[26] Michael E. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects, and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts* (Cleveland, Ohio: Collins, 1980) 44-46, suggests a priestly background for astronomical interests in apocalypses. Both John G. Gammie ("On the Nature and Sources of Apocalyptic," unpublished paper presented to the southwest regional meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1981) and I ("The Pristhood and Apocalyptic," unpublished paper presented to the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1981) have explored the possibility of priestly involvement in the origins of apocalyptic.

priestly role, the Levites by the first century seem to have absorbed the prophetic tradition,[27] and, in any case, intercession is a function of the worship of the Temple, as Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8, the psalms of lament in Psalms, and Sirach 50:19 makes clear.

For that matter, the choice of Enoch as a pseudonym may introduce priestly associations: in Jubilees 4:25 he is pictured as a priest burning the incense of the sanctuary. If this is the case, the Similitudes' implied claim that Enoch rather than Solomon is the wisest man to have lived (note chapter 37) may be part of a polemic for a priestly rather than a Davidic messiah.[28] The identification of Enoch as "that son of man" in 1 Enoch 71 would thus be comparable to the treatment of Levi as the prototype of the priestly messiah in the *Testament of Levi*. The epithet, the "Elect" or "Chosen" one, has both royal and priestly associations in the Hebrew Scriptures (see Hag 2:23; Pss 78:67-72; 105:26; 1 Chr 15:2; 29:1; and 2 Chr 29:11). If the Similitudes originates from somewhere within the ranks of the priests or Levites, the restriction of Wisdom to those with access to the heavenly courts could well be a professional rather than a sectarian one. The "elect" would thus be a more or less national designation calling to mind the older traditions of God's choice of a nation and a priesthood. The Similitudes appears to look forward to the eschatological unity of the chosen people: the elect will begin to dwell with the elect and the Jews of the diaspora will return to the land (1 Enoch 57:1-3; 61:4).

Involvement of the priesthood in the crisis under Gaius would be quite understandable: the command of the Emperor represented a threat to the integrity of the Temple. There seems to have been priestly involvement in the negotiations to end that threat,[29] and Rhoads suggests that from 44 C.E. on the high priesthood began to play a role in the resistance to Roman rule.[30] While one would not expect the higher levels of the priesthood to be responsible for the Similitudes, the lower ranks of the priests or the Levites would be likely candidates. The lower ranks of the priests signaled the start of the War with Rome by ending the sacrifices on behalf of the Emperor.

CONCLUSION: THE SIMILITUDES AND NATIONAL INTEGRITY

The quotation from Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth*, that serves as an epigraph for this paper suggests a way of understanding the Similitudes as an apocalypse in the context I have suggested for its composition. Burridge is concerned with both the inner and outer tensions that give rise to millenarian movements, although the majority of his examples seem to involve in some way a clash of cultures. These movements arise, he suggests,

> where two groups or categories of persons share the same values or assumptions, but only one of these groups or categories has access to the rewards or benefits implied in the shared values, then the *guru* or prophet is generated,

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[27] See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977).

[28] See my "*Māšāl* in the Similitudes of Enoch," p. 202, for a discussion of the possible allusion to Solomon. These remarks on messianism in the Similitudes need further development. For an alternative approach, see John J. Collins, "The Son of Man Who Has Righteousness," *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers* (ed. Paul J. Achtemeier; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 2. 1-13.

[29] *Israel in Revolution*, p. 88.

[30] Ibid., pp. 87-91.

> new assumptions enter the arena, a new group or category of persons may come into being.[31]

Burridge seems to desire to take seriously as best he can the element of religious faith involved in such a movement and therefore defines them in terms of a redemptive process and a search for integrity.

> For where millenarian activities have occurred within the context of a long-established theological and historical tradition, while the overtly important points at issue appear as theological, turning on basic assumptions about man's condition, these in their turn relate to integrity and the ways in which a particular kind of redemption may be won.[32]

Movements like the Ghost Dance Religion of the American Plains Indians in the late nineteenth century are not simply the result of the activities of a prophetic fringe but rather represent a redemptive effort to assert tribal integrity in the face of the incursion of another culture. The Ghost Dance Religion with its search for national integrity in the face of external threats seems to be the closest in type of millenarian movement to the repeated efforts of resistance to Roman rule in first century Judaism.

Millenarian movements frequently involve a series of loosely connected prophets or leaders who build expectations of an eschatological nature. The importance of these movements is not to be found in the literal character of these expectations, which, on the surface, may seem to be quite absurd to outsiders, but in the need for redemption, for a new or renewed measure of human worth.[33] The first century C.E. is marked by a series of efforts to deal with the conflict between Roman rule and the demands of Judaism, from the passive resistance of the first part of the century to the prophetic and revolutionary movements of the fifties and sixties. In the latter part of this period, prophets lead followers out of the wilderness with the promise that the waters of the Jordan would dry up to let them pass or the wall of Jerusalem would collapse before them.[34] The expectation of the Similitudes that the appearance of the Elect/Son of Man will melt metal and render it useless is more or less on a par with the expectation of the Ghost Dancers that special shirts would stop bullets. Like the Jewish efforts to protest Roman insensitivity to religious issues in the earlier part of the first century, the Ghost Dance Religion preached nonviolence, leaving the defeat of white civilization to spiritual

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[31]Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth*, p. 95. The two groups may come from the same culture or they may represent a clash of two cultures. The common value shared by Rome and the Jewish people is possibly a relationship between spiritual and political power. Burridge's treatment of the interaction of inner and outer motivations is illuminating for the history of Jewish apocalypticism: "And it is this feature [conflict with the authorities] which so often obscures the fact that millenarian activities tend to be 'inner' rather than 'outer' directed, are a protest or rebellion against a community's own condition first, and only later identify, and set themselves against, those who appear to be preventing the shift into a new way of life" (ibid., p. 61)." The early history of apocalypticism tends to be inner-directed and concerned with the purity of the community, while, with the Similitudes and 4 Ezra in the first century C.E., the international situation is an ever-present part of the community's own condition.

[32]Ibid., pp. 95-96.

[33]See ibid., pp. 4-8 and 112.

[34]See Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution*, pp. 82-84, for a discussion of this phase of the movement.

forces.[35] In the Similitudes, the concern with the melting of metal arms, coins, and idols reflects a larger dissatisfaction with Roman military, economic, and cultural might, which must be defeated if redemption is to take place. Of these three areas of concern, the greatest stress seems to fall upon idolatry and the threat to the integrity of God as the true source of all power, while the least stress falls upon the economic aspect of might. This balance points towards the earlier part of the resistance to Roman rule—through the crisis with Caligula—when friction centers around religious issues like idolatry, rather than towards the latter two decades, when the ineptitude of Roman administration and the plight of the poor become burning issues.[36] While the actual hope of defeating the power of Rome may be as absurd as the fantasies of apocalyptic texts, visions are often the stuff that makes life possible. The Similitudes is meaningful, not because it presents a realistic program for national independence, but because it dares to dream of the sovereignty of a God who provides the true measure of human worth.

While the negative part of the vision involves the removal of the oppressive forces through the process of divine judgment, the positive aspect is more difficult to define. The Similitudes speaks of the "measures of the righteous" (1 Enoch 61:3) in terms that echo Ezekiel's vision of the restoration of the chosen people in the land (Ezekiel 40-48), but it also reflects the later visions of the resurrection of those who have perished (1 Enoch 61:5) and the mystical experience of the heavenly places (61:8-13). These expectations are partly rooted in the tradition of God's choice of a people and a city and partly in post-Biblical expansions of that tradition. The Christian book of Revelation will go much further in breaking with the past in imagining a *new* heaven and a *new* earth.[37] What the two apocalypses have in common is that in each case it is God who defeats the old and establishes his own measure of human worth.

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[35]See James Mooney, "The Doctrine of the Ghost Dance," material reprinted in *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy* (ed. Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock; New York: Liveright, 1975) 75-95.

[36]For the distinction between the periods, see Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution*, p. 177.

[37]1 Enoch 45:5 speaks of a transformed earth, which will serve as a blessing to the righteous, but the central transformation in the Similitudes takes place in the human realm.

The Dynamics of Agriculture in Monarchical Israel

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INTRODUCTION

The observation that most modern historiographic treatments of monarchical Israel contain little deserving the label of social description is widely shared. Part of the explanation rests in the historiographic principles, part in the sources (literary and epigraphic) which share a focus on the monarchical institution and the person of the king. It comes as no surprise, consequently, for one interested in the agricultural basis of ancient Israelite society to discover that modern histories of ancient Israel make only infrequent and tangential reference to agriculture and its dynamics. Such a lack of concern has until fairly recently also characterized archaeological research strategies and created a misproportioned and spotty picture of the Iron Age in Israel. We have a great turnabout to look forward to in this respect, one that will begin to do justice to what is, after all, an agrarian society.

To create a better balanced and more unified picture of monarchical Israel, its agricultural systems must receive a self-standing treatment, one in which the description and analysis focus on the most basic and cohesive productive unit. Thus the first and major portion of this paper is devoted to describing and analyzing agriculture within the context of the autonomous village and its constituent productive units. The village as a whole controls a specific constellation of resources, but the household (*bêt ʾāb*) is the primary productive unit, using the village resources and contributing to the village sustenance by provisioning its own family members.[1] The typical constraints (environmental, demographic, and technical) under which agricultural systems are shaped and operate are viewed from the perspective of these direct operators and the immediate locus of their activity. This treatment is not intended to dismiss the possibility that the primary production unit or its social location changed over the course of monarchical history. Nor does it posit the household and village as social isolates, cut off from a larger cultural and historical environment. Rather it hopes to redress imbalances in the way the role of ancient Israelite agriculture during the period of monarchy has been conceived by focusing on the primary units upon which it rested.

The second section of the paper focuses on the monarchical institution and attempts to identify the essential elements inherent in the monarchy and its conduct as well as in the historical context of its existence that made demands of and provided the structure for village-based agriculture. The final section will examine the process of agricultural intensification necessitated by monarchical demands by focusing on evidence for this process from the 8th century B.C.E.

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[1]For a review of recent research on peasant agricultural societies which takes the household as the primary production unit, see Peggy Barlett, "Adaptive Strategies in Peasant Agricultural Production," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980) : 553-561.

VILLAGE-BASED AGRICULTURE

Students of the social world of ancient Israel are familiar with a number of broad characterizations of Israelite agriculture. While these are too general to be employed productively as analytical tools, they introduce several concepts important for the consideration of the specific objectives and strategies which mark Israelite village agricultural systems in the Iron Age. Eric Wolf, for example, presents a classification of what he terms "paleotechnic peasant ecotypes" in which Israelite agriculture would figure as a Mediterranean variant of the short-term fallowing system (also called Eurasian grain farming).[2] Like other classifications of agriculture which have diachronic dimensions (as opposed to geographic typologies which are purely synchronic), Wolf's primary criterion for differentiating between agricultural systems is that of land use, i.e., the degree to which a given plot of land is cropped over a period of time.[3] This degree is spoken of in terms of "intensity." The land units cropped most frequently, and thus having the shortest periods of rest subsequent to cropping, are said to exhibit the highest intensity of land use, while the opposite situation is termed "extensive." In addition to the frequency of cropping, standard definitions of land-use intensity have also included the factor of additions of capital and labor to a given unit of land.[4] Some sense of the demands of Israelite agriculture is gained by noting its place within the entire spectrum of land use classified by Wolf:[5]

Land-Use Category	**Crop : Fallow Ratio**
long-term fallowing	1-4 : 1-10
sectional fallowing	2-3 : 3-4
short-term fallowing	1-2 : 1 Eurasian grain farming
permanent cultivation	1 : 0
permanent cultivation of favored plots (infield-outfield system)	combined land uses

While Wolf's work has a very strong regional orientation because of his focus on the regions where peasant societies exist and have existed, he recognizes as well the possibility of progression from one ecotype to another within the same locality (intensification). The concept of land-use intensity serves most importantly, in this respect, in charting the range of agricultural possibility within a region and through time.

Wolf's primary objective in presenting this land-use classification is to show how a number of elements combine to form the agricultural systems which have characterized peasant economies throughout the world. Besides land-use, his classification takes into consideration other critical factors: the amount of land used, labor requirement, implements, and length of growing season.[6] Given the immense variety of even pre-industrial agriculture throughout the world, it should be plain that this short list by no means exhausts all the operative determinants. The list may be systematized, however, and one

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[2]Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants*, Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 19-34.

[3]Compare the definition of land use offered by William Allan, *The African Husbandman* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), p. 30.

[4]M. G. Bradford and W. A. Kent, *Human Geography: Theories and Their Applications*, Science in Geography, no. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 155.

[5]Wolf, pp. 20-21.

[6]Ibid., p. 20.

may conceive of agricultural systems as being shaped by three primary classes of determinants: environmental, demographic, and technological.[7] The mix of these parameters is by no means uncomplicated, and it would be mistaken to view agricultural systems as simply determined by any single factor or even to exaggerate the decisiveness of a single one. Thus, for example, it is clear that agricultural systems in Israel are limited by certain environmental constraints, most obviously the availability of water, but this limitation is muted by the presence of certain technologies, such as techniques of cistern constuction and knowledge of surface water properties. However, technologies cannot be understood as *dei ex machina* but depend in turn on economic feasibility which in Iron Age Israel is mostly a matter of labor supply. The relation of available labor supply to population is clear, but not straightforward since the existence of factors which influence the acceptance of greater per capita labor burdens (kinship structures, state compulsion) adds a significant modifier to this relation as well.

The interconnectedness of these environmental, demographic and technological parameters should not be underestimated, however cumbersome it renders analysis and description. Thus the well known suggestion that Israelite agriculture was characterized by various combinations of the Mediterranean triad—grain, wine and oil—does not yield an adequate picture of the dynamics of that agriculture in specific environments farmed by communities with certain demographic attributes and technological repertoires.[8] This description is too much a geographic, static measure and not enough an aid in understanding the emergence and development of Israelite agricultural systems. A specific set of crops may contribute to the overall structure of an agricultural system, but is hardly the sole or primary determinant.

The confluence of environment, population and technology has shaped three primary objectives for Iron Age agriculture in Israel as well as a host of strategies by which the primary productive units can achieve these objectives, The objectives are:

A. Water Conservation and Control
B. Soil Conservation and the Maintenance of Fertility
C. Risk Spreading and the Optimization of Labor

In presenting these objectives and strategies, two qualifications are made. Assuming the thorough-going adaptation of agricultural systems to their immediate environments (at least ideally), the manifest diversity of the environment of monarchical Israel places hedges around the general applicability of the objectives and, all the more so, of the strategies outlined below. The discussion attempts to indicate something of the character of the relation between environment, objectives, and strategies which should be capable of modification for specific settings. Secondly, in view of the sources and the pattern of historical emergence, the picture of village agricultural systems is sketched primarily with the Highlands' villages in focus.[9]

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[7]A general picture of the determinants of agricultural systems can be drawn from such studies as: Ester Boserup, "Environment, Population and Technology in Primitive Societies," *Population and Development Review* 2 (1976): 21-36; H. C. Brookfield, "Intensification and Disintensification in Pacific Agriculture," *Pacific Viewpoint* 13 (1972): 30-48; and Robert McC. Netting, *The Hill Farmers of Nigeria: Cultural Ecology of the Kofyar of the Jos Plateau*, American Ethnological Society, vol. 46 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968).

[8]This is the suggestion of Denis Baly, *Geographical Companion to the Bible* (London: Lutterworth, 1963), pp. 67-77.

[9]The existence of autonomous villages in the larger valleys and plains dominated by the city-states is not clear. On the different patterns of settlement characteristic of the lowlands and highlands, see Leon Marfoe, "The Integrative Transformation: Patterns of Sociopolitical Organization in Southern Syria," *BASOR* 234 (1979): 20-23.

Water Conservation and Control

Water availability is the decisive environmental constraint under which village agricultural systems operate, and the forms and patterns which available water takes present the most significant challenges to the farming household. The spatial distribution of precipitation and the principles that govern it are familiar: the northern-direction factor,[10] distance from the sea, orographic variation, and hill-slope orientation account for the map of mean annual rainfall. Because of the tremendous variation of the topography, however, the isohyets of this map can be taken only as general guides with local conditions producing pronounced anomalies in the regional means. Equal in importance to the amount and spatial distribution of rainfall is its temporal distribution. The sharp, wet-dry seasonality governs the length of the growing season and determines the overall agricultural calendar. Two features of this seasonality are of special importance in determining water availability. First, the concentration of precipitation in a limited number of raindays results in a high intensity rainfall. Under such conditions the rate of precipitation exceeds the rate of infiltration, and even before the soil is saturated, water begins to collect on the surface (resulting in waterlogged bottom land) and flow overland (resulting in high levels of runoff in the highlands, floods and swamplike conditions in the valleys and the intermontane basins and stream outlets in the coastal plain). Most of this water is lost to agriculture. Thus the water available to agriculture is obviously not equivalent to the amount collected at the meteorological station. Besides losses to runoff, the farming community had to contend with extreme insolation (even in the rainy winter) which evaporates an estimated 50-60% of rainfall immediately.[11]

The high insolation rates experienced by this climate point to a second feature of its sharp seasonality which is vital in considering the pattern of water availability for agriculture crops, namely, the relationship between insolation-dependent evapotranspiration and precipitation. The pattern of this relation is such that during the summer months (which are the dead season) evaporation potential towers above almost non-existent rainfall and drains the soil of whatever small quantity of moisture remains from the previous growing season. The soil profile begins the slow process of accumulating moisture with the onset of the rains upon which crops are completely dependent for germination and for growth. Rainfall exceeds evapotranspiration during most of the growing season so that by the time the rains end, crops can rely upon a renewed profile to reach maturation.[12] Consideration of the wet season from the standpoint of water balance in the soil highlights the vulnerability of the winter plantings to a hiatus of precipitation after germination. It suggests as well that the faster an area achieves a replenishment of its soil water bank, the less vulnerable its agricultural system to the vagaries of the temporal distribution of rainfall.

These characteristics of the precipitation regime, coupled with the rather limited availability for agriculture of water in other forms (natural sources of irrigation water: springs and streams), raise water conservation and control to high priority tasks. Terrace systems, irrigation and drainage works, and various field techniques constitute the strategies which have characterized village-based agriculturalists' attempts to achieve this double objective.

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[10] Efraim Orni and Elisha Efrat, *Geography of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1973), p. 142.

[11] Ibid., p. 148.

[12] For the classification of climate based on this principle, see C.W. Thornthwaite, "An Approach toward a Rational Classification of Climate," *The Geographical Review* 38 (1948): 55-94.

Terrace Systems. The role of terracing in the emergence of Israel has been receiving increasing attention. The growing body of literature is fascinating in that, among other things, it demonstrates once again the appeal of explanations in which advances in technology upstage other, systemic considerations. A full review of the arguments and a presentation of the data is not possible here.[13] However, it is worth noting that the appeal to terraces as the material explanation for the expansion of settlement in the Highlands rests on the very restricted evidence as to the date of the initial appearance of terraces and, in my opinion, on an unsubstantiated view of terraces as the absolute prior condition for the expanded agricultural settlement in the Highlands. An analysis of the aims, costs, and social correlates of terrace-culture suggests that it finds its place in the context of a developing agricultural community rather than as the *sine qua non* for the creation of the community. However the question is to be decided, it is precisely such a consideration of the fit of terrace-culture within village agriculture as a whole that is needed.

While terracing is commonly viewed primarily as a soil conservation measure, it possesses great potential in the water balance of an agricultural region. Terraces aid the village's water conservation and control objectives by the creation of leveled surfaces on hillsides which slow the downhill flow of rainwater. This control of run-off is especially important in limiting the extent of soil erosion and in protecting crops from the potential hazards of fast-moving sheet-wash. In so doing, the terrace systems also conserve water by trapping it on the terrace beds where it has a better chance of infiltrating into the soil. The importance of this latter function should be apparent from the previous discussion of the region's high-intensity rainfall and pattern of soil moisture. While farming communities can do little to change the intensity of precipitation which their lands receive, terracing provides a way of significantly reducing the amount of losses to run-off. Increased infiltration made possible by terracing will cause terraced hill slopes to experience a faster replenishment of ground water supplies and thus be rendered less vulnerable to vagaries of the rainfall regime.

There is reason to believe that these water conservation and control functions of terraces would have been the primary rationale behind their construction by an agricultural village, at least at the early stages of its existence. While terraces are indisputably an effective way to limit the devastating consequences of soil erosion, concern about soil erosion in the first place probably arose relatively late in a community's history, at least later than the appearance of its pernicious effects.[14] Examples of short-sightedness among pre-industrial cultivators are numerous, and it is overly optimistic to assume that the early Israelite settlers farmed their environments under the influence of long-term considerations of continued agricultural viability. Crops can be grown on fairly steep slopes, even the 20-to-30-degree declivities that are prevalent in the Highlands, so long as pressures on production are not too great. Whatever the objective, whether the protection of the soil base or the conservation of water, the contributions of terracing would have been immediately observable in the annual operation of an agricultural system, appearing as positive gains in crop yields and drought resistance. This distinction in the intended and perceived function of terrace systems cannot be pressed very hard.

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[13]The most recent contributions include: James B. Davis, "Hill Country Dry Farming: A Revolutionary Development of Iron Age I," Paper presented at the Southeastern Regional Meeting of the AAR/SBL, March 14, 1981; Gershon Edelstein and Shimon Gibson, "Ancient Jerusalem's Rural Food Basket," *Biblical Archaeologist Review* 8 (1982): 46-54; and Lawrence E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the East Slope of Jerusalem and the Terraces of the Kidron," *JNES* 41 (1982): 111-121.

[14]J. E. Spencer and G. A. Hale, "The Origin, Nature, and Distribution of Agricultural Terracing," *Pacific Viewpoint* 2 (1961): 26-27.

Nonetheless it raises to the level of consciousness the distinct challenges to which the construction of terraces might be an appropriate response: at one time the desire to render yields more reliable; at another the desire to stabilize a threatened soil base, or, depending upon the extent of the erosion, to reclaim severely denuded slopes.

Whatever the primary objectives of terrace construction it is disastrous for an understanding of Israelite agriculture to focus entirely on the benefits and be blind to the costs. Terracing was "a complex operation demanding a staggering investment of time and labor."[15] Assessing the level of labor required is not uncomplicated and depends to a large degree on the portrait of the terraced hillside which one imagines. Were terraces filled with soil retrieved from the valley floor and "leveled up to the top of the revetment"[16] or was fill available in the terraced area and otherwise allowed to accumulate slowly behind the terrace walls from natural processes of soil genesis and upslope erosion? Much depends on the type and state of the slope at the time of the terrace construction, not to mention one's suppositions regarding the conformance of village terrace projects to ideal specifications.

Varying assessments of the level of labor required by terrace construction notwithstanding, this was an involved and time-consuming task, and the labor demands did not fall silent with the completion of the initial project. Maintenance also required regular and significant inputs of labor. The high labor requirement of terrace systems has not gone unnoticed in literature about terrace-farming communities. Authorities on developing agricultural communities frequently name the high labor costs of terracing as chief among factors militating against their introduction in fragile environments.[17]

Because of their high labor costs, terrace systems are usually found in cultivating communities characterized by a set of correlated conditions. Netting, for example, notes that among the hill farmers of Nigeria factors of economic feasibility limit terrace systems to land which could "produce heavily and on a sustained basis."[18] In his study of land use in Israel, D. Amiran links the establishment of terrace systems to economic and demographic factors: ". . . the amount of labour invested in these ancient terraces and their maintenance was tremendous, an investment possible only when labour was a cheap commodity and when the crops grown on these terraces commanded a good price in a stable market."[19] Beaumont envisions a correlation between terracing and high population density in the history of eastern Mediterranean farming.[20] The questions raised by these suggested correlations between terracing and economic and demographic conditions are vital ones to which, in one form or another, it will be necessary to return when considering the process of agricultural intensification in monarchical Israel.

Even in situations in which the large labor input demanded by terracing might have been met easily, the existence of terrace systems "raises questions about the mobilization of labor and the social organization of production. . . ."[21] While the terracing of slopes in a populated hilly region may not have been the kind of project

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[15]Gershon Edelstein and Yosef Gat, "Terraces around Jerusalem," *Israel—Land and Nature* 6 (1980): 73.

[16]Stager, p. 112.

[17]Karl J. Pelzer, *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics: Studies in Land Utilization and Agricultural Colonization in Southeastern Asia,* American Geographical Society Publication, no. 29 (New York: American Geographical Society, 1945), p. 67.

[18]Netting, p. 61.

[19]David H. K. Amiran, "Land Use in Israel," in *Land Use in Semi-Arid Mediterranean Cultures,* Arid Zone Researches, no. 24, ed. D. H. K. Amiran (Paris: UNESCO, 1962): 102.

[20]Peter Beaumont, Gerald H. Blake, and J. Malcolm Wagstaff, *The Middle East: A Geographical Study* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), pp. 133-135.

[21]Netting, p. 3. See also Barlett (p. 554) who writes: "The huge investment of labor required by terracing raises again the issue of compulsion in the intensification of agriculture beyond a certain degree."

necessarily entailing centralized organization and support, it was an activity which demanded cooperation or singleness of purpose within a community.[22] Evidence for such cooperation has been gathered by Ron for the construction of terraces surrounding springs in the Judean Hills. He writes: "Each spring-irrigated terrace area and irrigation system was built as a complete unit designed in advance, taking into account the size of the irrigable area. . . ."[23] While the terraces which Ron has studied surely do not derive in their present form from the period of the monarchy, the dynamics of such terraced areas would seem to demand a systemic approach at any point in history. Edelstein and Kislev suggest the same for non-irrigated hillslope terraces. "A certain pattern of arrangement of terraces," they write, "would emerge once it became clear that building terraces at random is undesirable."[24] If these systems were the impulse of forces internal to the village, then it is unlikely that the primary productive unit, the *bêt ʾāb*, usually would have been capable of supplying the necessary labor.[25] The construction of terrace systems might well be an example of the kind of regular (i.e., non-emergency) functions of the *mišpāḥāh*, here constituting the source and direction for a collective labor group.

Irrigation and Drainage Works. Irrigation and drainage works represent strategies of only limited value for achieving the objectives of water conservation and control. Stream irrigation is possible only in the most restricted extent in a land poor in perennial streams and rich in deeply incised valleys and circumscribed flood plains. Cisterns and reservoirs, known from early periods, could serve only a limited agricultural purpose because of their normal locations. Areas in proximity to springs, on the other hand, probably attracted settlement from the earliest times and were the focus of intensive agricultural efforts throughout history. For example, the potential of irrigation through the "portholes" in the Siloam tunnel through which water could be spread to fields in the Kidron Valley has often been noted.[26] Ron's study of terraces in spring areas makes plain the intensive efforts to cultivators to avail themselves of perennial water supplies.[27] Surrounding the springs in the Judean Hills, Ron found an extremely high proportion of elaborate irrigation works consisting of collecting pools and reservoirs, irrigation conveyors and channels, and the leveled terraces to which the spring water was directed. While the present form of the irrigation works does not permit a date earlier than Roman times, the presence in all periods of so much attention to ensuring the water supply in all its available forms suggests that irrigation systems around springs are also ancient. From spring-based irrigation systems, favorably situated communities could reap a productive bonanza which would extend not only to dependable, high yield harvests, but would enable two harvests in place of the one generally permitted under Mediterranean conditions.

Drainage works are not in great evidence. The episodic flooding of intermontane basins would not have provided sufficient inducement for the creation of these costly

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[22]Spencer and Hale, p. 2.

[23]Z. Ron, "Agricultural Terraces in the Judean Mountains," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 111.

[24]Gershon Edelstein and Mordechai Kislev, "Mevasseret Yerushalayim: Ancient Terrace Farming," *BA* 44 (1981): 55.

[25]Norman K. Gottwald (*The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 B.C.E.* [Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979], p. 285) estimates the size of a thriving *bêt ʾāb* between fifty and one hundred persons, but notes (p. 286) the demographic instability of this grouping. Perhaps this estimate is more ideal than average.

[26]Recently, Yigal Shiloh, "Excavating Jerusalem: The City of David," *Archaeology* 33 (1980): 17.

[27]Ron, especially pp. 111-116.

projects. On the other hand, in the large valley systems and coastal plains, some parts of which witnessed high densities of settlement in the Bronze Age according to Thompson (e.g., the Northern Jordan Valley), agriculture would have been highly productive with the establishment of a "coherent and continuously maintained drainage system."[28] No record of what form such a drainage system might have taken or the political organization necessary for its inception has been preserved.

Field Techniques. Various field techniques constituted another set of strategies, one which, while less dramatic than major terracing and irrigation construction and invisible in the archaeological record, would have also contributed to water conservation. As Walton has put it, "the principles of moisture conservation are basic to dry-farming practices,"[29] and practices based upon them would surely have characterized agriculture in the Highlands. The creation of a "dry mulch" through repeated and shallow plowing stands as the most important of the field techniques designed to conserve precious soil moisture. The plowing serves to break capillarity in the soils and, thus, while the upper soil layer becomes extremely desiccated, the moisture of the lower layers is protected from evaporation.

Soil Conservation and Fertility Maintenance

No agricultural community can forever neglect the tasks of protecting its soil environment and conserving the plant nutrients it contains. Among the strategies available to the ancient Israelite agricultural village for restoring nutrients to the soil and tempering their loss were: fallowing, crop rotation, fertilization, and terrace systems. A number of characteristics of the soil landscape of ancient Israel affect this constellation of strategies. The picture of the soil cover is characterized by diversity as might be anticipated from the diversity of geomorphological features as well as parent rock materials. Terra rossa, Mediterranean brown forest, rendzina, and basaltic soils as well as mixtures of these that constitute the colluvial soils of the valleys, compose the soil map. In considering the properties of these soils it is necessary to exercise circumspection concerning the acceptance of the present profiles as true indicators of their Iron Age predecessors. Under the climax vegetation of the region (which, however, had long been in the process of disappearing before the advent of the monarchy), these soils would have possessed better developed profiles and greater depths than are presently evidenced.[30] Of the soils, all but rendzina possess good, innate fertility. This fertility is counterbalanced to some degree by physical properties that are not exactly optimal. Terra rossa soils, in particular, contain high proportions of clay which render cultivation difficult, produce low permeability, and increase the soils' susceptibility to erosion which their topographical contexts exacerbate. Similar high clay proportions in colluvail soils

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[28]Thomas L. Thompson, *The Settlement of Palestine in the Bronze Age*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B, no. 34 (Weisbaden: Reichert, 1979), p. 28.

[29]Kenneth Walton, *The Arid Zone*, University Library of Geography (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), p. 118. On the practice of dry-mulching discussed below, see Hamish Forbes, "The 'Thrice-Ploughed Field': Cultivation Techniques in Ancient and Modern Greece," *Expedition* 19 (1976): 7.

[30]On the question of the deforestation of the ancient Mediterranean world, see M. B. Rowton, "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," *JNES* 26 (1967): 261-277. Rowton underestimates the impact of fire-brandishing nomadic groups in his portrait of the process. On the extent of soil cover beneath the canopy of climax vegetation, see Michael Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine: Israel and Jordan*, Chronica Botanica: New Series of Plant Science Books, no. 33 (New York: Ronald Press, 1962), pp. 6-12.

lead to impeded drainage. Rendzina soils, on the other hand, are significantly less fertile and often possess a very high lime content. They are more permeable, however, and less susceptible to erosion, a characteristic which their topographical positions on rounded synclinal structures enhances.

A gross catalog of soil types and properties stands at some remove from the local scene where an agricultural village sustains or fails to sustain a given population in a particular soil environment. It serves to indicate, however, that different combinations of soil conservation and fertility maintenance strategies will serve best to protect the soil and maintain its fertility in different contexts.

Fallowing and Crop Rotation. All but those agricultural systems characterized by the most intensive land use allow their land units some period of rest subsequent to cultivation. Bareground fallowing (as opposed to green fallowing which rotates grain crops with leguminous pulses or grasses) and its associated practices remove land from the demands of continuous cultivation and concomitant declining crop yields, aid in the restoration of soil fertility, break the natural cycle of noxious plant pests and diseases, and, if properly managed, conserve accumulated soil moisture, cut down on weeds, and render the preparation of fields in the following year less arduous.[31] Given the diversity of the agricultural environment (diverse geomorphology, rainfall patterns, soil types and settings) one would expect that land use in Israel was characterized by a mix of intensities (crop-fallow ratios) during most periods, a mix which also corresponded to the growth within a given community as well as locational factors. The appropriateness of Wolf's general classification of short-term fallowing for the agricultural system of ancient Israel has been observed above, however, and there is little doubt that the fallow practice of antiquity was typically a type of short-term fallowing in which a year of cultivation was followed by a year of fallow.

The fallow system characteristic of village agriculture was likely more complicated than this picture of an alternate crop-fallow serves to indicate. Suggestions of more intricate designs are not adequately supportable given the paucity of evidence. Without a cadre of biblical agronomists parallel to the classical sources, there is no way to be certain if, for example, a legume rotation were ever practiced in Israel as it was in Roman Italy.[32] Some sort of green-fallow cannot be ruled out on environmental grounds and receives indirect support from the fact that Israel's crop assemblage was rich in legumes (e.g., broad beans, lentils, vetch).[33] Broader rotational systems spanning two or more years and including dry-season as well as wet-season cultivation cannot be proven or even made probable on the basis of ethnographic data, but they cannot be dismissed either.[34] The sabbatical-year law of Exodus 23:10-11 may have added another complicating factor to Israel's land-use system. This stipulation is obviously not fully descriptive of Israel's fertility maintenance strategies or land-use system, given its short-fallow

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[31]Among the various descriptions of the function of fallowing and its proper management, see Edwin J. Russell, *Soil Conditions and Plant Growth*, rewritten and rev. by E. Walter Russell, 10th ed. (London: Longman, 1973), p. 336.

[32]Kenneth D. White, "Fallowing, Crop Rotation, and Crop Yields in Roman Times," *Agricultural History* 44 (1970): 290.

[33]Oded Borowski ("Agriculture in Iron Age Israel" [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1979], pp. 137-142) presents an analysis of plant terminology preserved in the Hebrew Bible and plant remains uncovered archaeologically which confirms that most of the leguminous crops known early in European and Near Eastern history were indeed also known to ancient Israel.

[34]Gustav Dalman (*Arbeit und Sitte in Palastina*, vol. 2: *Der Ackerbau* [Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932], pp. 130-131) devotes considerable attention to rotational schemes.

nature. A practice of fallowing but one year out of seven would be indicative of an extremely high-intensity cropping system, one approaching the level of continuous cropping. Except under irrigation such a level of intensity cannot be supported in the pre-industrial Mediterranean world. When seen simply as a part of the normal rotation, a credible place for the sabbatical-year law in village-based agriculture might be envisioned.[35]

The biennial fallow sets the basic structure for the conduct of agriculture in Israelite villages. As the above "complicating" factors make clear, however, this structure should in no way be thought of as inelastic. Field arrangements possessed some measure of flexibility. Biennial fallow incorporated possibilities for short-term increases of production, such as green-fallow rotations or summer crops, should a community require them. Furthermore, an ideal model of land use will rarely match reality given the variability of the agricultural environment, both in physical and cultural terms. Over the long run, no rotational scheme will flow smoothly and to suppose rigidity in any pattern of cultivation would be mistaken.

Fertilization. Agricultural rotation schemes in the Mediterranean region characteristically include techniques of fertilization designed to maintain the nutrient balance in the soil and to compensate for the imperfections of bare fallowing. Chief among these techniques is some form of the application of manure. The Hebrew Bible preserves significant inferential evidence which corroborates ethnographic observations about the potential importance of manure. The primary piece of evidence comes in the form of a simile employed mostly in prophetic predictions of a disaster heightened by the exposure of the corpses of the condemned persons "like dung on the surface of the ground."[36] These texts suggest the practice of manuring or at least practical knowledge of its benefits in Iron Age II. However, there are limitations on the restoration of soil fertility by the application of manure inherent in the dynamics of village-based agriculture. The dry climate discourages the decomposition of manure and also limits the quantity of nutrients that can be introduced beneficially into the soil by exacting a transpiration toll on plants that grow too quickly or too leafy. Because of the prevailing patterns of care for livestock resulting from a general shortage of fodder and permanent pasture, it is difficult to collect manure in a single location for composting and later distribution to the fields. The labor costs of proper husbandry of manure are not minimal, and the greatest percentage of potentially available manure is lost to the village fields. The grazing of flocks and herds on fallow ground during the rainy season and on harvested fields provides another method of applying manure. While not as efficacious as the application of composted manure, allowing sheep and goats to do the chore of fertilization both requires less labor and does not run the risk of stimulating undesired vegetative growth through an oversupply of nitrogen. As such, grazing and folding of livestock on the fields fit more realistically into village agriculture and permitted compost to be reserved for more intensely worked and watered vegetable or kitchen gardens.

Terrace Systems. Mention has already been made of the contribution of terrace systems to soil conservation and fertility maintenance. Terracing plays a dual role by both providing a shelf where organic matter and minerals can accumulate, thus replenishing the soil, and by preventing the loss of the soil base to erosion. This latter is an indispensable tool from the standpoint of long-term land utilization and village stability,

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[35]The tendency to view the sabbatical-year law as fully descriptive of ancient Israel's fallowing practice is shared by most commentators including, most recently, Anthony Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law: A New Approach to the Decalogue* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 75-76.

[36]See 2 Kgs 9:37, Jer 8:2, 9:21, 16:4, 25:33 and also Ps 83:11. This metaphor is noted also by Borowski, p. 217.

a point which emerges again and again from studies of terracing communities. Terraces represent the conservation of the soil base and stand in direct opposition to what can be termed "soil mining," i.e., the "consumption of the stock of soil, nutrients, or humus. . . ."[37] Soil mining may be an inescapable feature of the early development of agricultural regions, and it may provide for the maintenance or even the increase of agricultural output over the short run. But it is not characteristic of a balanced agricultural system nor one about whose long-term stability one could be optimistic. It will be necessary to return to the question of what stimulated a soil-mining community to become a terracing community—discerning prescience, the experience of falling yields due to the neglect of the soil base, or pressure to increase output stemming from changes in the situation of the farming community?

Risk Spreading and the Optimization of Labor

The major objectives of village-based agriculture relating to water and soil conservation can be looked upon as attempts to treat the environment in such a way as to produce larger and more reliable agricultural yields, reducing the risks of crop failure and inadequacy. Other strategies aim not so much to lower risk by manipulating the environment, but to make the best use of the natural givens so as to spread the risk inherent in agricultural and other enterprises. Risk spreading calls for the distribution of a community's energies across as broad as possible a spectrum of variably productive pursuits.[38] The ability to achieve as wide a spread as possible is limited not only by the natural characteristics of the natural resources, but by the available labor supply. Thus the objective of risk spreading is joined naturally by the objective of optimizing labor, balancing demand and availability throughout the agricultural year.

The most significant features of the environment which call forth risk spreading and labor optimizing strategies or which facilitate the achievement of these objectives are three. The *variability* of the precipitation regime manifests itself both with respect to the distribution of annual rainfall as well as interannual rainfall accumulations. The regular distribution of rain through the season, taking the shape of a normal curve, is only one of five patterns.[39] These patterns result in more or less even coverage of the rainy season six or seven years out of ten. This leaves, however, three or four years in which half of the season will see little or no rain, a situation in which agricultural drought may exist even if the absolute total reaches the average. The timing of rain is as important as its quantity. But the attainment of the average annual total of rainfall is hardly a foregone conclusion. Interannual precipitation is also greatly variable with three years out of ten experiencing about 16% less than the mean and one or two years more than 25% less.[40] Variations in rainfall from year to year can be very abrupt.[41]

The *seasonal character* of the climate that sets the boundaries of the agricultural year contrasts with the aseasonal demand for food which knows no boundaries. The restriction of certain primary productive activities to certain seasons produces periods

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[37] Hans Ruthenberg, *Farming Systems in the Tropics*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 11.

[38] Ibid., p. 8.

[39] *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Climate."

[40] J. Neumann, "On the Incidence of Dry and Wet Years," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 58-63. For comparison, deviations of more than 10% from the annual mean precipitation in Western Europe are exceptional (Orni and Efrat, p. 148).

[41] J. Katsnelson, "The Variability of Annual Precipitation in Palestine," *Arch. Meteorol. Geophys. Bioklimatol.*, series B, 13 (1964): 163-172.

when labor is insufficient to the tasks at hand and also periods of the underutilization of labor.[42]

The *great diversity* of the agricultural environment created especially by a variegated landscape overlaid by variations in rainfall, soil and vegetation, presents a wide variety of ecological niches within short compass. This variation may elicit a characteristic structuring of agriculture known in more dramatic forms in the Andean environment and, closer to home, the Biqa valley in Lebanon.[43] The subsistence strategies of Andean communities are marked by the ability, termed "verticality," of a single village to exploit numerous ecological zones. The objective of the communities is "to control the maximum number of ecological 'floors' in an effort to achieve self-sufficiency."[44] The range of possible exploitation patterns in the Andes far exceeds that available to Israelite villages, but the aim of taking advantage of a variegated environment well suits their situation.

In the agriculture village risk-spreading and labor-optimizing objectives manifest themselves in a characteristic structuring of work in the fields, varieties of land use, and social systems. Some telling examples of this structuring can be offered.

Work in the Fields. The variability of the precipitation regime is decisive for the farming household's decision regarding the most elemental work in the fields, namely, the plowing and sowing operations for the all-important cereals. One can picture the intersection of the climatic year and the production cycles of particular crops as creating an optimal window during which plowing and sowing would be most propitious. Because of the variability of the seasonal distribution of rainfall, it benefits the farming household to stagger sowing over the length of this window, so as not to be dependent on the occurrence of any particular rainfall pattern.[45] This strategy of staggered sowing, which resists regularization and is not aimed at the highest possible production, fits well with the objective of optimizing labor and permits the marshaling of limited draft animals to the task, an important feature to judge by the observed frequency of problems with obtaining animal power among contemporary agriculturalists who use the traction plow.[46] Moreover, apart from any borrowing of animal power, plowing and sowing in a staggered pattern can normally be accomplished by the individual cultivating household. Unfortunately, the benefits of the staggered sowing schedule quickly disappear when the pattern of rainfall at the beginning of the season or some other factor reduces the size of the window. When the first operations of the agricultural year are constrained into a more constricted pattern, the risk of crop failure mounts, difficulty in gaining access to animal power is exacerbated, and the household labor supply may indeed be insufficient to conduct normally the plowing and sowing operations.

Harvesting presents another set of crucial considerations especially from the standpoint of labor supply. The manifold and sequential set of operations involved in

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[42]In this respect the seasonality of a cold dead season may be more restrictive than that of Israel's hot dead season.

[43]See Stephen B. Brush, *Mountain, Field, and Family: The Economy and Human Ecology of an Andean Valley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) and Marfoe, especially, pp. 3-8.

[44]Brush, p. 8.

[45]The practice of staggered sowing is discussed by Dalman (2:176) and by Hermann Vogelstein, *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Misnah* (Berlin: Verlag von Mayer & Muller, 1894), p. 42.

[46]Stanley Aschenbrenner, "A Contemporary Community," in *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment*, ed. William A. McDonald and George R. Rapp, Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), p. 57-75.

harvesting (reaping through storing) make it the most intensive operation of the agricultural year.[47] It demands, moreover, a degree of sustained attention unlike most other operations. It is likely that some form of collective work groups provided relief at this time of peak labor demand, as ethnographic data suggest.[48] While the existence of such groups is not directly attested, another form of communal cooperation at harvest time, namely the sharing of the threshing floor, is evidenced by biblical references to the village *goren*.[49]

Contributing to the facility of inter-household cooperation and to the leveling of harvest labor demand in general are environmental circumstances which produce differing ripening times in variously situated fields. This phenomenon is not confined to the contrast between maritime plain and its branched valleys and the hilly regions, but is also experienced within the Highlands themselves.[50] The particular mix of cereals sown may also spread harvesting and labor demand, most notably given the different maturation rates of wheat and barley.[51]

Alongside field crops, tree and vine crops held an integral place in village-based agriculture. Crucial not only for their essential and highly desirable products, tree and vine crops contribute to the diversity of subsistence means, the chief way of spreading risk, in a way that does not sharply compete with but compliments the other foci of agricultural energies. The ease of coordination results from the patterns of care required by established orchards and vineyards which, while they entail a much longer lead time and a greater initial investment than field crops, repay the wait and the investment through durability and yields which require extensive rather than intensive labor inputs.[52] The degree to which this is so varies for vine, fig and olive, especially as regards harvesting and processing activities, ranging between those for the vine which are highly intensive and demand permanent, though simple facilities, and those of the fig which are more leisurely and hardware-free. Many particular features of these crops and their culture (e.g., the stability of ripe olives on the tree, the storability of fruits or processed juice or oil) further cement their indispensability in village-based agriculture.

Land Use. In considering the pattern of land use surrounding an ancient Israelite agricultural village one must be careful not to impose an inelastic, absolute scale of value of land and soil types.[53] Today's swamp is tomorrow's productive field given the necessary economic, technical and social conditions. The types of land use which would

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[47]For a careful description of the manifold harvesting operations of traditional Arab agriculture in the Judean hills, see Lucian Turkowski, "Peasant Agriculture in the Judean Hills," *PEQ* 101 (1969): 101-109.

[48]Turkowski, p. 103 and Richard T. Antoun, *Arab Village: A Social Structural Study of a Trans-Jordanian Peasant Community* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 12.

[49]Biblical references also show that threshing floors stood in a variety of relationships to individuals and communities. Compare 2 Sam 6:6, 1 Sam 23:1, Ruth 3:2, and 1 Kgs 22:10. Site availability, transportation costs, and security conditions affected the establishment of individual or communal threshing floors.

[50]Turkowski, p. 101.

[51]Michael Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 76.

[52]Aschenbrenner discusses these characteristics, pp. 53-57.

[53]As argued persuasively by Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965), p. 13.

be found within the territory of a typical, nucleated agricultural village depend, consequently, upon the categories of terrain (including topographical position, soils, vegetation, etc.) but additionally upon economic circumstances (relative security), and social factors (crop preferences, inter-village exchange mechanisms). With these factors in mind, the types of land characteristic of village-based agriculture include:

(kitchen gardens and isolated tree plots)[54]
spring-irrigated terrace systems
hill and valley slope terraced plots
valley bottom fields
hill and valley slope fields
level hilltop and ridge-top field
grazing land
maquis and forest land
installation loci
sacrosanct land
wasteland (e.g., swamps, steep slopes, exposed bedrock)

This list is arranged in terms of approximate intensity (where applicable). Whether the order of the productive land on this ideal list follows increasing distance from village center (as one would predict based on von Thunen's model of the location of agricultural production)[55] depends upon the topographical context and the relative value of the fields and tree/vine crops grown (with the expected order: vegetables closest in, then cereals, then tree crops). Von Thunen's model, of course, assumes a uniform environment. The variegation of the village agricultural setting would result in great disturbances of any ideal order based on distance from place of consumption alone.[56]

The pattern of land use surrounding an ancient Israelite village probably assumed much more of a patchwork appearance than a gradual grading in concentric circles. Because of the possibilities this naturally promoted circumstance offered for spreading risk by controlling a number of different niches and by planting a diversity of crops, a farming household would be encouraged to possess a fragmented land holding.[57] The fragmentation of fields has a number of negative consequences, notably time lost traveling to scattered holdings, and has long been seen as the unfortunate creation of tenacious paritable inheritance. But with or without paritable inheritance, field fragmentation has an ecological basis which aids a household's attempt to spread risk, accommodates itself to the smaller quanta of labor available at any given time, and can also facilitate a community goal of egalitarian land distribution, especially where the achievement of identity is linked to rights to land.

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[54]There does not appear to be any evidence in the town plans known to date for the location of what is so often termed a "kitchen garden" because of its proximity to the hearth. The density of the nucleated settlement would deter such convenient sources of produce for the household.

[55]For a general discussion of von Thunen's model, see Bradford and Kent, pp. 28-41.

[56]Ron's study of the distribution of terraces in the Judean hills confirmed the general rule that sites of intensive cultivation decrease with the increase of distance from the village, but also found especially favorable areas were terraced even beyond the general perimeter (p. 119).

[57]See the discussion of field fragmentation by David B. Grigg, *Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective*, Cambridge Geographical Studies, no. 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 22-23.

The presence of the category "grazing land" on the above list points to another, indispensible means of reducing risk through diversifying subsistence means. The grazing of livestock—sheep, goats, and cattle in varying proportions—represents an essential pursuit of agricultural villages and individual households within them. This is not to doubt the existence of specialized and/or socially distinct pastoral groups. Yet in the variegated and variable environment of the ancient Israelite village the simultaneous pursuit of agriculture and herding offered essential adaptive advantages.[58] Apart from dietary considerations and contributions to household craft, herding permits the use of marginal land surrounding a village, supports cultivation by providing manure for the fields, and makes use of otherwise unproductive non-adult labor. Above all, herding provides what has been termed a "disaster bank on the hoof."[59] Besides being more or less mobile and subject to a different set of environmental constraints than farming, herding permits the storing of agricultural surpluses in good years which can be withdrawn from the bank in years when crops fail. Since the extent of an agricultural village's involvement in pastoral pursuits is limited by the availability of grazing lands or fodder in the summer dry season, "banking" can be accomplished by using agricultural surpluses for livestock through purchase or exchange up to the limits of pasture or by sustaining natural increase through the use of surpluses as fodder. The surpluses may be withdrawn directly as food or through exchange. Through such a banking mechanism herding served as a hedge against the risk of purely agricultural pursuits.

Social Systems. The discussion of the function of herding in village agricultural systems leads directly to the question of the structuring of social institutions for the achievement of risk spreading and the optimization of labor. The diversification of subsistence means leads a household or village towards greater autonomy in the same way that specialization necessarily draws communities into networks of exchange. There are limits to autonomy for the ancient Israelite village, however, the most determinative of which is the dependence of all forms of subsistence on the crucial and unpredictably variable pattern of rainfall. Crops fail and pastures brown, and the household or intra-village banking system collapses.

The nature and level of inter-village cooperation and exchange to meet these circumstances is particularly tantalizing for it broaches the question of the origin and function of the Israelite tribe. Considered from the standpoint of risk spreading and the optimization of labor the tribe could be cast in the role of integrating subsistence diversity, providing a structure upon which villages could draw for aid in conducting their regular agricultural operations (e.g. labor sharing) as well as emergency needs. This view conflicts with the notion that tribal unity was forged from a unity of subsistence strategies recognizable in the fact that tribal territories are "authentic pays."[60] The crucial question is whether or not tribal territories incorporated on the basis of their productive circumstances the potential for effective exchange networks. Baly bases his negative answer solely on a static view of natural regions and their suitability for different mixes of crops. A broader view of agricultural systems which includes demographic and technological determinants of the shape of village agricultural life suggests such a view is inadequate. In addition, to give two examples, local variations in rainfall accumulations

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[58]See the discussion of the mix of cultivating and herding within the same agricultural communities by Robert McC. Adams, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 13.

[59]Kent V. Flannery, "Origins and Ecological Effects of Early Domestication in Iran and the Near East," in *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals*, ed. Peter J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby (London: Duckworth, 1969), p. 87.

[60]Baly, pp. 67-77.

(topographically induced) open the way for concomitant crop success and failure within the same tribal boundaries, and variations in harvesting schedules between relatively proximate villages provide opportunities for reciprocal exchanges of labor at this season of peak demand. It would be too much to suggest that such reciprocities as are apparent from this perspective adequately account for the formation of tribal units. However, it should be considered probable that the search for specific archaeological evidence for regional exchange or redistributional networks in the pre-monarchical period will eventually be rewarded.[61] While it is true that agricultural villages attain a wide mix of subsistence means,[62] prevailing environmental uncertainties were decisive in determining whether this mix would or would not provide for self-sufficiency.

The role of the village (*mišpāḥāh*) as the context for the economic life of its constituent households (*bêt ʾabôt*) has been defined as providing "emergency means to restore the normal autonomous basis of a member family."[63] A role for this sodality that extends to regular reciprocities in the conduct of agricultural operations in supporting the objective of risk spreading and optimization of labor should not be overlooked. The basic autonomy of the *bêt ʾāb* is not to be doubted, but such autonomy was usually not complete and, in any case, did not extend to all the households within a village.[64] Whatever the *ideal* size of a *bêt ʾāb* (Gottwald estimates fifty to one hundred persons across five generations),[65] care must be taken not to imagine a static entity. Household size and viability would wax and wane depending upon a lengthy list of factors. This domestic population oscillation would conflict with the more level demand for labor, creating some households with a surplus and others with a shortage of agricultural help.[66] Add to this the great seasonal fluctuations in labor demand, peaking at harvest time as previously noted, and there exists a situation in which households would be driven to join together in networks of regular labor exchange. It would be unusual if these networks did not overlap with the *mišpāḥāh*. Given the frequency of unpredictable precipitation shortfalls and the variable yields that result, it may be infelicitous to label relief in such cases "emergency." Dealing with the annual variations in harvest might be another regular function of the *mišpāḥāh*.[67]

In addition to providing a structure for emergency aid and reciprocal labor sharing, it is also possible that the *mišpāḥāh* played some role in village-wide agricultural planning. Two specific examples come to mind. The building of terraces not only entails a large labor force, but according to their systemic demands, coherent planning and direction. Since the transformation of hillsides by the construction of terrace systems has no small impact on the valley floor, it also presupposes the involvement of some community of interests. The integration of agriculture and pastoral components presents

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[61]For an initial attempt at this, see Frank S. Frick, "Religion and Sociopolitical Structure in Early Israel: An Ethno-Archaeological Approach," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 2:242-248.

[62]Gottwald (p. 323) argues that the *bêt ʾāb* was relatively self-sufficient because of the availability of an adequate complex of food sources.

[63]Ibid., p. 267.

[64]See Marshall D. Sahlins' (*Tribesmen*, Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 75-81) treatment of the "Familial Mode of Production."

[65]Gottwald, p. 285.

[66]Brush, p. 104.

[67]There is no doubt, however, that the autonomous household made provision for variable yields by producing what can be called a "normal surplus" which it stored for its own use. On the concept of "normal surplus," see Allan, p. 38.

another relation in which supra-household sodalities appear probable. The operation of the surplus-banking mechanism can encourage inter-household exchanges of grain and livestock that can be mutually balancing. The grazing of animals in and around cropped fields easily results in conflict and invites village planning with respect to the agricultural calendar. Antoun notes the jeopardy into which the household following an eccentric rotational pattern placed its crops when the village lands were opened to stock grazing after the general harvest.[68] There are instances where such regularization of agricultural calendar is absolutely essential for ecological reasons, though the ancient Israelite environment does not appear to be so demanding.[69] Instead, stipulations regarding the determination of responsibility and compensation are found in Exod 22:5-6 which presuppose that continuous fields can be at different stages in the productive cycle. These two laws yield some confirmation for strategies of staggered sowing, interculture (perhaps), and diversification of subsistence base, but with respect to village cooperation they prove only the existence at some point early on in Israelite society of an authority (body of elders?) interested in regulating conflicts arising from a diversity of agricultural practices carried on in close proximity.

THE MONARCHICAL STRUCTURE AND THE EXTENT OF ITS IMPACT

Village-based agriculture, despite the narrowly focused examination offered above, has always been conducted in the context of broader cultural and historical influences, some beneficial, others inimical to the achievement of its characteristic objectives. What distinguishes the impact of the monarchy in this respect is not the potential for exponentially more favorable or deleterious impacts on the village-based agricultural system, but the imposition of its own set of objectives on its agricultural base. Among tribal societies, the village and cultivating household carry out the function of decision-making. By pursuing their own ends it is expected that the primary productive units will also promote the common interest. Sahlins sees in this economy a kind of production "anarchy,"[70] modified by social forces such as kinship ties, but marked by the absence of a centralized organization. The centralizing structure of the monarchy and its characteristic institutions bring about an attenuation of the decision-making functions of the primary productive units, perhaps a complete usurpation, in the creation of what has been called a "command economy."[71]

There can be little doubt that this withdrawal of decision-making from the hands of the *mišpāḥôt* and *bêt ʾăbôt* was carried out as a matter of intentional policy during the earliest stages of the monarchy in Israel. The destruction of traditional patterns of

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[68] Antoun, p. 14.

[69] G. K. Nukunya ("Population Pressure, Land Tenure, and Agricultural Development in Southeastern Ghana," in *Population, Ecology, and Social Evolution*, ed. Steven Polgar, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 9th, 1973 [The Hague: Mouton, 1975], p. 207) discusses an example of village regulation of the times of planting necessitated by the presence of an insect that can spread from mature crops to younger ones.

[70] Sahlins, p. 76.

[71] Gerhard Lenski (*Human Societies: A Macrolevel Introduction to Sociology* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970], p. 263) credits Robert Heilbroner (*The Making of Economic Society* [Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962], pp. 9-44) with this phrase which highlights the economic decisions of the elite. See also Marvin L. Chaney, "Systemic Study of the Sociology of the Israelite Monarchy," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, December 21, 1981, p. 17.

interdependence constituted at least one of the primary aims of the creation of administrative districts independent of the tribal domains (1 Kgs 4:7-19). Similar intentions were advanced by the creation of a new strata of persons (Levites [Josh 21, 1 Chr 6:39-66]; "servants of the king;" "the king's traders" [1 Kgs 10:28] situated socially between the royal house and the people, dependent upon the monarchy and drawing power from it. The installation of these new authorities in reconstituted or newly founded towns (levitical cities, store-cities, fortresses) provided a shifting of the loci of authority, one that became more ingrained as the integration of these towns into the economic network of the monarchy progressed.[72]

The mechanisms by which such changes were introduced, how they fit into the pre-monarchical social and economic developments, and how they acted in fact to usurp decision-making processes from villages are less important considerations in this context than judging the extent to which these new structures facilitated or blocked the achievement of or ultimately displaced the village-sustaining agricultural objectives. If one were able to calculate the total burden placed by these new structures on the agricultural base, a fair measure of extent might be achieved. However, the burden was hardly a constant one, and conditions which the monarchy could at best affect and not control acted to reduce or multiply the need to impose its authority. The effect of the structural changes was, therefore, variable.

Several keys to this variability suggest themselves as one reviews the literary and archaeological record. Most obvious is the attainment of a level of security conducive to the smooth operations of agricultural systems.[73] In the highly competitive and militaristic ancient world of the eastern Mediterranean the parameter of this security is the expansion and contractions of borders. In the period of the United Monarchy the "great rounding out of Israel's territory"[74] through the incorporation of the Canaanite lowlands had an inestimable impact on the economic base of the monarchy. The lands added considerably to the monarchic tax base and no doubt helped to underwrite the costs of royal enterprise, thus deflecting the burden from village farmers. The control of these "bread baskets" facilitated the system of land grants by which the royal bureaucracy and military establishment were maintained so that initially village land-tenure systems were probably not disrupted.[75] Additionally, these lands as well as other agriculturally productive areas less directly under monarchical control (e.g., Ammon during the reign of Jotham as indicated in 2 Chr 27:5) fueled international trade such as that developed with Tyre to supply the court with costly timber.[76]

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[72]H. Reviv ("The Structure of Society," in *The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society*, ed. Abraham Malamat, The World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times, vol. 5 [Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1979], pp. 125-146) discusses the changes initiated by the monarchy as the disintegration of the tribal structure, the consolidation of a new strata of servants of the king, and the strengthening of the urban population.

[73]Among the items included on Lenski's (p. 266) list of what rural producers got in exchange for their surpluses is the "maintenance of order (which) is especially important in an agrarian society where so much depends on the success of each harvest, and where each harvest depend on months of effort."

[74]John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), p. 201.

[75]Chaney, pp. 11-12.

[76]See Moshe Elat, "Trade and Commerce," in *The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society*, ed. Abraham Malamat, The World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times, vol. 5 (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1979), pp. 173-186.

Besides providing security for conducting agricultural operations (see Judg 6:3-6, 11 and 1 Sam 23:1) and expanding the economic/tax base, the extension of the borders augmented the environmental diversity which undergirded the life of agricultural villages by permitting the spreading of risk. Contraction jeopardized their life by constricting the subsistence base. The northern Transjordan (N. Gilead and Bashan) appears to have played this role in Israel, while the case for the importance to Judah of the integration of the Shephelah is shown by the way in which its rule so frequently changes hands. After David's firm hold, control of this area diminishes at the beginning of Solomon's reign and further under Rehoboam in the wake of Shishak's campaign, is reinstated under Jehoshapat, grows to an unprecedented degree under Uzziah, is usurped by the Philistines in the context of the Syro-Israelite war, but is reestablished by Hezekiah who then loses more than he gained to Sennacherib. Josiah expands westward all the way to Mesad Hashavyahu. That the Shephelah is geomorphically and geographically a transitional zone obviously invites this, yet Amiran has shown how the dynamic of Shephelah settlement can be viewed in terms of the expansion and contraction of cultivation as security conditions permit.[77] The highland villagers would occupy lowland fields seasonally, building secondary settlements, thus expanding their productive base and their control of diverse ecological niches. The importance of such expansion was naturally linked directly to the need for increased agricultural production.

The expansion of borders not only meant an increase in sources of income and produce for import/export trade, but also could lead, given propitious geopolitical conditions, to an expansion of transit trade. Income from control of the trade routes has been portrayed so enthusiastically as the underwriter of prosperity in Israel[78] that it is tempting to regard the ebb and flow of monarchical success in international ventures as indicators of the relative imposition or easing of burdens upon the agricultural base. Historically, however, agrarian states have depended much less upon profits from trade than upon income from the agricultural base of their societies.[79] Elat makes the important point that transit trade enriched the court, but "had only limited influence on the local economy or on the occupational distribution of the country's inhabitants."[80]

Maintaining secure borders and participating in export/import and transit trade were decisive determinants of the extent of the burden imposed by the monarchy upon the village-based agricultural systems. The literary and archaeological record evidences plentitudinous royal-sponsored construction relating to these areas of its concern. The fiscal apparatus which supported these and other activities of the monarchy, with its facilities and personnel expenses, must have required an even greater imposition of taxes. On top of taxes of agricultural produce, Chaney is right to emphasize the pernicious effect of royal enterprise on the availability of tools and labor both of which it siphoned away from possible involvement in the agricultural sector.[81]

Whatever the total burden—estimated for most advanced agrarian societies by

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[77]David H. K. Amiran, "The Pattern of Settlement in Palestine," *IEJ* 3 (1953): 72 and 204.

[78]See, e.g., Bright's (p. 258) description of the reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah.

[79]Lenski, pp. 263-264.

[80]Elat, p. 186. Contrast Marvin Harris's generalization (*Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture* [New York: Vantage Books, 1980] , p. 105) regarding the origin of states like ancient Israel: "Most rainfall states were probably secondary formations brought into existence to take advantage of the opportunity for trade and plunder created by the expansion of hydraulic empires." The reference to Fried made by Harris is somewhat misleading.

[81]Chaney, p. 13.

Lenski as "not less than half the total value of goods that the peasants produced"[82]—in quantitative terms, the form of this burden with respect to taxes in kind shows two tendencies that contrast with the production systems of village-based agriculture. These are the state's demand for a particular type of produce and its demand for regularity in the payment of taxes.

It stands to reason that the monarchy's taxation system placed a premium on produce that was 1) taxable, in that it was readily controlled and commandeered; 2) storable; 3) transportable; and 4) exchangeable, that is, liquid. Two items in the village crop inventory stand out as most desirable when judged by this list: olive oil and wine. Although bulky, the high protein content of cereals also made these critical commodities in the monarchical economic system. On the other end of the list stand sheep and goats.[83]

Numerous biblical references and archaeological finds are indicative of the monarchy's principal preoccupation with these commodities. According to 1 Kgs 5:25 exports from Israel to Tyre include wheat and olive oil, items also mentioned by Ezek 27:17 which adds honey and balm.[84] Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:11) provisions his fortresses (*mĕṣūrôt*) with food (*maʾăkāl*, used only once elsewhere in Chronicles in apposition to *qemaḥ*, "flour" [1 Chr 12:41]). The late 7th century ostraca from the fortress at Arad requisition commodities precisely parallel to those reportedly stockpiled by Rehoboam.[85] Besides wine and oil, this provisioning center is instructed to supply wheat, flour, dough, bread, and vinegar. Clearly the citadel stored produce and prepared victuals. Similarly the three contiguous storehouses unearthed at the monarchical city of Tel Beersheba contained a wide variety of pottery and utensils including cooking pots and grinding stones in addition to storage jars, though there is no direct evidence of what was stored and what food prepared.[86] Finally the Samaria ostraca attest to the shipment of wine and oil, however acquired and intended, to the royal capital in the late 9th or early 8th century.[87]

This literary, epigraphic, and artifactual evidence converges on oil, wine, and wheat as the commodities of choice in the monarchical economic network.[88] The

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[82]Lenski, p. 268.

[83]On pastoralism as an escape from the pressure of central governments, see Robert McC. Adams, "The Mesopotamian Social Landscape: A View from the Frontier," in *Reconstructing Complex Societies*, ed. Charlotte B. Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeology Seminar, 1972), pp. 2-3.

[84]The RSV translation of the difficult Hebrew phrase, *bĕhittê minnît ûpannag*, as "olives and early figs" is completely unjustified.

[85]The most revealing ostraca are collected in *Inscriptions Reveal: Documents from the Time of the Bible, the Mishna and the Talmud*, Israel Museum Catalogue no. 100 (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1973), plates 48-63.

[86]*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. s.v. "Tel Beersheba."

[87]*Inscriptions Reveal*, plates 34-38.

[88]1 Kgs 5:2 would appear to offer a different and contradictory view, but the list which purports to record the fare of the royal court on any given day and, thus, the taxes apportioned to the twelve districts, is more complex than it appears on the surface. D. B. Redford's conjectures ("Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millenium B.C.," in *Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World*, ed. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford, Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972], p. 154) that the list actually records a monthly requirement and that it was originally an offering list for the house of YHWH appear well grounded. Explanations for the incredible consumption of meat and the absence of oil and wine on the list of Solomon's household needs are otherwise deficient.

demand for or encouragement of this limited (albeit fairly broad) selection of the village crop repertoire ran counter to the village's objective of spreading risk and optimizing labor through a diversity of subsistence means. Assuming a limitation on labor and land, a relative increase of production of these commodities meant a relative decrease in the production of others. The absolute increase in production demanded if the agricultural village were to contribute a share of its produce to the state and also maintain its level of subsistence necessitated, at least along one likely pathway, an expansion of the percentage of village land given over to cultivation of the preferred commodities at the expense of grazing lands. Sheep and goats which were integral to the risk- and labor-spreading agriculture of the village, were not integral to the taxation apparatus, and were pushed out of the village system.[89]

The demand of the royal house for *regular* levy is self-explanatory and finds expression in the biblical reporting of Solomon's administrative framework in 1 Kgs 4-5. Each district officer had "to make provision for one month in the year" (1 Kgs 4:7 and somewhat differently, 5:7). (This obviously means "for the needs of an average month" rather than "during a specified month" in the sense that the office would supply the produce available during a specific season of the agricultural year.) The seasonal climate contrasted with the monarchy's aseasonal demand for support. The conflict between this demand for regular contributions in support of the state and the reality of variable harvests cannot be exaggerated. Antoun provides an observed record of the fluctuation of grain yields of a village in the Transjordan which show yields in a good year as high as seven times those in a bad year.[90] Alongside the unpredictable variation of crop production caused by the fluctuations of the environment, one of the crucial crops, the olive, shows a definite pattern of alternating yields which is observed regionally and even within the whole Mediterranean.[91] Fixed demands on olives or their oil could not help but run aground. On the village level where subsistence was the primary aim, uncertainty in yields was partly compensated for by the production of a "normal surplus" of food in the average year which could be stored for future consumption.[92] On the state level the necessity of planning and voluminous storage facilities is obvious. With respect to olive oil, Broadman points to arrangements of great complexity in Minoan and Mycenaean palace bureaucracies whose existence is witness not only to the great role played by olive oil but also to the lengths to which it was necessary to go in order to deal with annual fluctuations.[93] It is no wonder that Solomon, who pledged wheat and olive oil, eventually ceded the "Cabul" to Hiram to balance a trade deficit (1 Kgs 9:10-14). The ultimate costs of the facilities and personnel to administer variable taxes in kind, and the mismanagement of the same, were also borne by the village agriculturalists.

AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION: EIGHTH CENTURY DYNAMICS

Within some range of variability the monarchy made demands upon village-based agriculture which necessitated an absolute increase in agricultural production. One way

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[89]On the relationship between agricultural production and pastoral production in the Transjordan, see Øystein S. LaBianca, "Agricultural Production in Hesban's Hinterland, 198BC-AD969," paper presented at the 81st General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 30, 1979.

[90]Antoun, p. 8.

[91]Aschenbrenner, p. 63.

[92]See above, note 67.

[93]J. Boardman, "The Olive in the Mediterranean: Its Culture and Use," *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. London* 275 (1976): 188-189.

to achieve this absolute increase is simply to bring more land into production. Cropping is expanded into new areas at the same (or lower) level of intensity. Given the nature of the village's agricultural system such a pathway depends primarily on its ability to supply more labor—either by virtue of an increase in population or by accepting a greater per-capita labor burden or through improvement in the efficiency of labor. None of these avenues can be totally dismissed for various periods of Israel's history. Of them, a technological increase in labor efficiency possesses the least likelihood. For example, even if the regular production of steel evidenced in the Tanaach assemblage (but note the inconsistency of the achievement)[94] provided a more durable plowpoint, this plowpoint could hardly have multiplied the efficiency of the age-old *ard* whose form and draft power remained unchanged. Moreover, one can point to no such possible improvement in harvesting technology, achieving greater labor efficiency at this peak period of demand, thus enabling the reaping of the greater number of fields the steel-tipped plow may have brought into cultivation.[95]

Except under the most ideal periods of historical tranquility, the ability of a village to bring more land into production is limited by the nucleated settlement pattern and, even then, by the high costs of very inefficient transportation.[96] Thus the area around the settlement which its inhabitants can cultivate is relatively fixed. In order to meet the demand for increased production from a given land area the intensity of cropping must be increased. The question for the cultivators is not so much if they are able to increase the frequency of cultivation of their fields and plots, but more how to *sustain yields* in their lands to which they are returning with greater frequency. Yields must be sustained on fields that are concomitantly experiencing an increase in the nutritional demands of crops, a decrease in recuperative fallow periods (which in irrigated lands brings the danger of salinization), and a decrease in manure availability that accompanies a declining on-site animal population.[97] The costs of halting declining yields (diminishing returns, if you will) are measured in a net increase in the input of labor, that is, longer and more frequent days in the field.

Since the agricultural environment offers few options for an increase of the land-use intensity beyond short-term fallowing (limited irrigation possibilities, inherent limitations of manure fertilization, and disadvantageous conditions for restoration of fertility through legume rotation), terracing of hill and valley slopes represents the most likely focus of agricultural intensification efforts. The functions of terraces with respect to the objective of soil conservation and fertility maintenance as well as their role in the water balance of a region have been detailed above. One would add to this list of benefits the creation of leveled surfaces which greatly facilitate the operation of the traction plow and the possibility of the formation of a deeper soil base than might occur naturally on the slope.

Direct evidence for when Israelite agricultural villages might have pursued this

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[94]Tamara Stech-Wheeler, James D. Muhly, K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, and Robert Maddin, "Iron at Taanach and Early Iron Metallurgy in the Eastern Mediterranean," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981): 255.

[95]Borowski (pp. 95-96) notes the continued use of a variety of materials for the manufacture of sickles and lists the Iron Age I and II sites from which sickle blades have been recovered.

[96]The problem of where the agriculturalists primarily resided has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

[97]Regardless of how her overall thesis is evaluated, Boserup (*Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, pp. 28-34) presents a convincing picture of the process and demands of agricultural intensification.

"terrace option" is not easily attainable and is anything but ample.[98] The excavators of Ai have uncovered the earliest indication of terrace construction, a single terrace wall most likely dating to the Iron I period of the unwalled village.[99] Hillside terracing at the same-period site of Raddana is also claimed, though with less certainty.[100] The most trustworthy determination of terrace age has been made by Edelstein and Kislev at Mevasseret Yerushalayim where 8th century pottery from the terraces is plentiful.[101] Another team headed by Edelstein has investigated "farms" in Jerusalem's Rephaim Valley and found one of them, Khirbet er-Ras, complete with terraces, buildings, and assorted agricultural installations, to date from between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C.E.[102] Taken together, the terraced sites of Khirbet er-Ras and Mevasseret Yerushalayim demonstrate the presence of terrace culture in the hills surrounding Jerusalem as early as the 8th century.

Other data also point to the 8th century as a time of agricultural intensification of which these terraces may have been part. Although there are no rich archaeological finds of the 8th century such as might be expected to accompany economic expansion and the sort of prosperity that the long reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II and their biblical portrayals suggest,[103] there does exist the most concentrated body of evidence for a high level of centralized administrative activity. From the North the Samaria ostraca, if they are to be dated to Jeroboam,[104] evidence the flow of oil and wine probably to officials of the royal court from an agriculturally productive zone surrounding the capital city. A survey of the Samarian Hills by Eitam has revealed forty rock-cut olive processing installations—the improved beam press—which apparently produced their increased flow of oil also during the 8th century.[105]

In Judah the biblical portrait of the energetic Uzziah, his securing of Judah's borders and expansion into frontier areas (2 Chr 26:6-10), is made concrete by the archaeological attribution of fortresses (Kadesh-Barnea, Ramat Negeb) to his period.[106] The district list in Josh 15:21-62 may date in its present form from Uzziah's reign and attests to at least a renewal of an earlier administrative apparatus.[107] McClellan has reviewed evidence for a high degree of economic specialization in the towns of Judah

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[98]Of the difficulties of dating terraces, see C. H. J. de Geus, "The Importance of Archaeological Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces, with an Excursus on the Hebrew word *gbi*," *PEQ* 107 (1975): 65.

[99]Joseph A. Callaway, "The 1966 Ai (et-Tell) Excavations," *BASOR* 196 (1969): 15-16.

[100]Joseph A. Callaway and Robert E. Cooley, "A Salvage Excavation at Raddana, in Bireh," *BASOR* 201 (1971): 14.

[101]Edelstein and Kislev, pp. 54 and 56.

[102]Edelstein and Gibson, pp. 48-50.

[103]Yohanan Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel: From the Prehistoric Beginnings to the End of the First Temple Period*, ed. Miriam Aharoni, trans. Anson F. Rainey (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), p. 251.

[104]So Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, rev. and enl. ed., trans. and ed. Anson F. Rainey (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979), pp. 366-67. Another possibility for dating is the reign of Jehoahaz, just before the opening of the 8th century.

[105]David Eitam, "Olive Presses of the Israelite Period," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 146.

[106]Aharoni, *Archaeology*, p. 251.

[107]A helpful visual aid is Yohanan Aharoni and Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977; London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1977), map no. 130, p. 83.

during the 8th century and for the integration of these towns into a regional network organized and administered by the royal house in Jerusalem.[108] One major indicator of centralized administrative activity is the corpus of *lmlk* seal inscriptions deriving from the late 8th century B.C.E. Persuasive arguments have been made recently by Rainey that the royal inscriptions do not witness to redistricting by Hezekiah in preparation for Sennacherib's attack, but that the four place names on the handles "represent centers where wine was collected from the royal vineyards."[109] They constitute evidence, then, not only for centralized administration of foodstuffs, but for direct monarchical participation in the production of wine. These *lmlk* inscriptions from Hezekiah's time point back to what is said of Uzziah's agricultural enterprises (2 Chr 26:10), properly translated by Chaney to indicate the royal sponsorship of regional specialization in agriculture.[110]

The large-scale monarchical entrance into the production of wine and oil to which this evidence points must have been spearheaded by a program of agricultural intensification of royal properties, e.g., the territories of the four towns of the *lmlk* jar handles. The royal initiative no doubt extended to lands which distance from cultivators and natural circumstances had previously rendered unprofitable for cultivation, except at the most intensive level. It is not improbable that Khirbet er-Ras fits into this latter category. It cannot be merely coincidental that two *lmlk* jar handles appeared among the pottery excavated at the site.[111]

Besides demands to pay for its costs and the possibility of the loss of labor to the royal projects, the monarchical program of agricultural intensification cut into village-based agriculture systems most directly by its pursuit of land. Even land which had been in extensive use by the villagers (for occasional cropping or livestock grazing) nevertheless played a crucial role in risk spreading and fertility maintenance through the flocks it supported and by acting as a safety valve for the rotational system. Pressures on this land resource produced by monarchical competition for land coincided with the village need for augmenting production to sustain an increased population.[112] Thus in the context of fixed or shrinking land resources, declining yields and diminishing returns to labor, the land surrounding the agricultural village underwent a gradual process of intensification through investment in terrace construction and, in line with the monarchical demand, the planting of orchards and vineyards (now "economic trees") and associated processing installations.

Because of the great investment entailed in this process, response to these pressures must have been anything but uniform. Recent studies of peasant decision-making with respect to the introduction of innovations highlight access to resources of capital as the explanatory key.[113] This is not only a matter of obtaining the necessary labor or tools or saplings for the construction of terraced olive groves, for example, but

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[108]Thomas L. McClellan, "Towns to Fortresses: The Transformation of Urban Life in Judah from 8th to 7th Century B.C.," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 1:279-281.

[109]Anson F. Rainey, "Wine from the Royal Vineyards," *BASOR* 245 (1983): 61.

[110]Chaney, p. 17. See now also the more precise rendering of Rainey, p. 58.

[111]Edelstein and Gibson, p. 50.

[112]Bright (p. 259) writes: "population in both countries probably reached its greatest density in the eighth century, with many towns overflowing their walls." This estimate is really a rough guess, no doubt based on a wide assortment of indicators. See below note 117.

[113]Frank Cancian. "Risk and Uncertainty in Agricultural Decision Making," in *Agricultural Decision Making: Anthropological Contributions to Rural Development*, ed. Peggy F. Barlett (New York: Academic Press, 1980), pp. 166-168.

has additionally to do with the ability to recover (or the perceived ability to recover) should the investment prove disastrous. Intensification entails risk. The crucial objective of village-based agriculture dictates the spreading of risk. The concentration of risk in a costly investment runs directly counter to this security-conscious objective.

Factors can work at lowering the perception of risk. Familial or other ties to the royal establishment would significantly reduce the perceived risk at the same time as they brought a heightened consciousness of possible benefits. The existence of a strong kin association would provide a security context that enabled the shouldering of risk. To the extent that the monarchy's intentional policy of weakening traditional sodalities and strengthening a strata of royal administrators and bureaucrats had progressed by the 8th century, many *bêt ʾăbôt* would possess ties to as well as dependence upon the monarchy, while many more would have experienced the loss of the economic resources of the *mišpāḥāh*. "It is true," as Harris writes, "that the cost-benefits of intensification are not the same for peasants or workers as for members of the ruling class."[114]

It is in this tangle of different levels of participation in agricultural intensification that the conditions of village-based agriculture can be fundamentally altered. The alienation of land, usually the most productive, decreases the farming household's ability to control a variety of ecological niches and pushes the family, which must somehow provide for its subsistence, onto poorer and poorer lands at greater distances from its village.[115] A system-wide increase in crop specialization brings an increase in short-term production and efficiency, but also lowers resistance to catastrophe. The former relative self-sufficiency of the agricultural village gives way increasingly to a dependence upon the centralizing forces and the exchange network that they administer. Constant coordination and direction must emanate from this center, lest the whole structure collapse. The devastation of the Judean countryside in 701 B.C.E. was probably as much the result of the breakdown of the economic system in Sennacherib's wake as the direct result of his marauding army.[116]

The pattern of growth, intensification, and collapse that appears to have characterized agriculture in the 8th century was clearly not unique to that period though it does stand out in the archaeological and literary record. The period triggered a sharp jump of the needle that monitors movements on the continuum between autonomous village-based agriculture and an economy dominated by the centralized state. The historical record suggests that this is a dynamic relation in which the location of decision-making moves back and forth (not smoothly) between the villages and the centralized administration. A graphic representation of this movement, to continue the analogy, would want to superimpose curves indicating such factors as the oscillation of the state's borders, the magnitude of import/export trade, and the extent of royal construction, all factors, admittedly, for which quantitative estimates are difficult to construct. More readily measured, though not yet achieved for ancient Israel, would be the curve of population

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[114]Harris, p. 103.

[115]Oscar Lewis (*Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951], pp. 129-157) describes the side-by-side existence of two agricultural systems of different intensities, operated by different socio-economic segments of the village, which owe their origin to a rapid increase of the population and the desire to escape the money economy. The category of land use devoted to subsistence crops is characterized by poorer lands more distant from the village since market production has absorbed the more favorably situated and cultivated bottom lands.

[116]McClellan (pp. 281 ff.) has gathered the evidence but not correctly assessed the blame.

growth and decline, a rough measure of labor supply.[117] Similarly unavailable, an accurate pollen diagram would provide, as a measure of the changing proportions of cultivated crops, an indication of the variation in monarchical stimulation of and participation in the cultivation of olives, grapes, and wheat.[118] When available, these data should help to round out the picture of the dynamics of agriculture in the period of the monarchy.

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[117]Attempts to calculate the populations of various settlements based upon estimates of the density of urban populations are the first step toward this goal. See Magen Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1980): 1-10 and Yigael Shiloh, "The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of Urban Plans, Areas and Population Density," *Eretz Israel* 15 (1981): 274-282 (Hebrew).

[118]To my knowledge, the only presentations of palynological analysis are those of A. Horowitz. The major article is: "Climatic and Vegetational Developments in Northeastern Israel during the Upper Pleistocene-Holocene Times," *Pollen et Spores* 13 (1971): 255-278. Application of this work to historical reconstruction is hampered by a number of serious methodological problems including the fixing of absolute dates for the pollen sequences and judging the regional applicability of the data.

Paul and the Pattern of the Prophet like Moses in Acts

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Odil Hannes Steck in his monumental *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*,[1] demonstrated convincingly that amidst the multi-hued diversity of Palestinian Judaism, one unifying conceptual canopy of Israel's history and the role and fate of her prophets permeated its literature in the period ca. 200 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. He summarized under four interlocking tenets what he terms the Deuteronomistic view:[2]

A. The history of Israel is one long, unending story of a "stiff-necked" and disobedient people;
B. God sent his messengers, the *prophets*, to mediate his will (i.e. the Law), to instruct and admonish (paraenesis) them in this will, and to exhort them to repentance lest they bring upon themselves judgment and destruction;
C. Nevertheless, Israel *en masse* rejected all these prophets, even *persecuting* and *killing* them out of their stubborn "stiff-neckedness";
D. Therefore, Israel's God had "rained" destruction upon them in 722 and 587 B.C.E. and would annihilate them in a similar way if they did not hearken to his word.

It is the thesis of this paper that Luke presents Paul's career in Acts as continuing this history of Israel's stubborn rejection of her prophets. Luke accomplishes this, more precisely, by intermingling Paul's portrait into the career and fate of Stephen who, as a Deuteronomistic rejected prophet, both recapitulates Jesus' tragic reception and anticipates the persistent, ever-increasing repudiation of the apostle who is forced to take the prophetic message of salvation to the Gentiles. Our argument will unfold in two parts: I. Stephen, the Deuteronomistic rejected prophet like Jesus; II. Paul, in the pattern of the prophet like Stephen and Jesus. In this way we shall show that Luke has carefully crafted his story in Acts in presenting the careers of Stephen and Paul as the culmination of Israel's rejection of Jesus, the *prophet like Moses*, whose fate brings the long history of Israel's obduracy to its fulfillment.

I.

Stephen first enters the story of Acts in the conflict that arises between "Hellenists"

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[1]Subtitle: Untersuchung zur Ueberlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum; WMANT 23, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967.

[2]See esp. pp. 60-109.

and "Hebraists" in the young Christian community.[3] Because of the neglect of the Hellenist widows in the daily serving/distribution of food, presumably at or intended for the common meals,[4] seven men, including Stephen, are chosen to resolve this at least potentially dangerous rift in the unity of the community. But no sooner is this threat apparently relieved (esp. 6:7) when the reader is thrust into the tragic end of Stephen's ministry. It will be helpful in elucidating the intersecting lines between Stephen and Jesus to adumbrate occasionally what we shall develop more systematically in Part II.

Garbed in the cloak of a prophet,[5] Stephen ignites the fury of Diaspora Jews resident in Jerusalem, including the synagogue of the Cyrenians and those *from Asia*. Luke will tell his readers shortly that it was Christian converts from Cyrene, scattered from Jerusalem by *Stephen's persecution*, who along with men from Cyprus first preached the "Lord Jesus" to the Greeks at *Antioch* (11:19-20; cf. 13:1). And then somewhat later Paul himself will be sent out from *Antioch* on a mission to the Greeks in which Jews *from Asia* will emerge as his chief opponents (13:1-3; 14:27-28; 19:23-20:1, 16; 21:27; 24:18). Thus opposition to Stephen results in *journey* missions which carry to the "end of the earth" (1:8) the message spoken of by Moses and "all the prophets" (3:18, 21-25; 7:37, 42, 48, 52; 8:28; 10:43; 13:27, 40; 15:15; 24:14; 26:22, 27; 28:23, 25).

It is curious when we look at the longest speech in the Acts, Stephen's defense before the Sanhedrin (7:2-53), how central the theme of *rejection* within a *journeying* context is. More particularly, Stephen rehearses the long journeying *Heilsgeschichte* (perhaps more appropriately, *Unheilsgeschichte*) in order to justify the Jerusalem community's own relationship to the God of "our fathers" and to climax with the incredible accusation that, "As your fathers did, so do you. Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they killed those who announced beforehand the *coming* of the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered" (v 52) (Tenets A and C). As we look more closely at the various *journeying* stages, it becomes apparent that *Moses* and the *Exodus journey* dominate[6] this story of Israel's *rejection*.

(i) Upon a revelation of God in Mesopotamia (7:2), Abraham moves to Haran after being commanded to "go out" and "come" to the "land" which God will show him (v 3). But Haran is not the promised "land" since God "leads him to migrate" to "the land" "in which you are now living" (v 4). From the outset, then, movement to the "land" of revealed promise is the dynamic *pivot* of the plot. It appears that by the end of verse 4, Stephen already anticipates the climax by pointing out to his hearers in Jerusalem that they are standing in the very land of the fulfilled promise.[7]

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[3]For discussions of the identity of these two groups, cf. inter alia: O. Cullmann, "Von Jesus zum Stephanuskreis und zum Johannesevangelium," *Jesus und Paulus* (Fs W. G. Kümmel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 44-56; E. Ferguson, "The Hellenists of Acts," *Restoration Quarterly* 12 (1969) 159-80; M. Hengel, "Zwischen Jesus und Paulus. Die 'Hellenisten,' die 'Sieben' und Stephanus (Apg 6,1-15; 7,54-8,3)," *ZTK* 72 (1975) 151-206.

[4]See the recent discussion by J. B. Tyson, "The Problem of Food in Acts: A Study of Literary Patterns with Particular Reference to Acts 6:1-7," *SBL Seminar Papers* (1979) 69-85, esp. 77-82. Tyson delineates what he calls a recurring "threat" pattern which moves the action in Acts, of which 6:1-7 is one such instance.

[5]L. T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (SBLDS 39; Missoula: Scholars, 1977) esp. 38-78.

[6]59.2%, i.e. verses 17-45 of Acts 7:2-50.

[7]But verses 51-53 make it clear that they are not participating in this fulfillment.

(ii) But the fulfillment did not come so quickly in their journeying history, simply because Abraham himself received no inheritance in the land. Instead, God *promised* "possession" (v 5) only after "his descendants" were to become "enslaved" as "strangers" in a "foreign land." Only then after some four hundred years would they "journey out" and come "to worship" "in this *place*" (τόπος) (v 7b). That is to say, first another *journey* is necessary—and indeed a journey to the *place* in the promised land—before the promised inheritance could be realized.

(iii) But even before this journey Stephen recounts the journey into slavery. First, out of scorn from his brothers, Joseph is sold into bondage in Egypt.[8] But delivered from his afflictions, raised up within the house of Pharaoh, and elevated above all the people of Egypt by God himself, Joseph becomes an anticipation of the Exodus deliverer by feeding the "twelve patriarchs," Jacob and his relatives, who are "sent" or later "journey down" to escape a devastating famine. Though unrecognized by his brothers on their first visit, this Joseph who was *cast aside* by his own becomes exalted among them as their "deliverer."

(iv) But as "the time of *promise* was drawing near" (v 17), this glorious period was not to last for long. Moses, himself one of the brethren of Israel (v 20) but raised in the house of Pharaoh (v 21) also goes unrecognized by his own when he visits and delivers (σωτηρία, v 25) one of them from the brutal oppression of the Egyptians. On his return to reconcile a feud among his brethren he is spurned and *cast aside*. Thus he must flee to the land of Midian, an alien in his own "house," as well as a sojourner in a foreign land. It is only then that Moses, in the desert of Mt. Sinai, receives a calling from the *voice* of the Lord (φωνὴ κυρίου) in the midst of burning fire to be *sent* (ἀποστέλλω) on a *journey* to his people to deliver them from Egypt. So it is as the days of the long-awaited promise to Abraham and the patriarchs are beginning to be completely full that the Exodus journey begins (vv 35-45). But although already repudiated by his people, Moses becomes their ruler and *deliverer* to *lead* them *out* with "wonders and signs in Egypt, the Red Sea, and in the desert for forty years," and prophesied of one whom "God will raise up from your brethren *like me*" (v 37—Deut 18:15), and received "living words" "in the desert" "upon the mountain." Yet—despite all of this—he is scorned and *cast aside* a second time by his brethren, "our fathers," who "turned in their hearts back to Egypt" (v 39). This epoch-making rejection is epitomized by the calf to which they sacrificed and "were rejoicing" in the *works of their hands*" (v 41). Thus a perverted rejoicing in the wilderness *at the mountain* forms the quintessence of a froward people whom God not only gave over to idolatrous worship, but also to the foreign land of *Babylon* (i.e. Tenet D) "just as (καθώς) it is written in the book of the *prophets*" (vv 42-43). Consequently, before the promise is fully realized, the pronouncement of judgment of Tenet D falls over the Exodus journey "to the *place*" in the land.

(v) The journey, however, continues, led by "the tent of witness" which was with "our fathers in the desert" as it was built by Moses (v 44). This tabernacle formed the focal point for "our fathers" when God thrust out the nations during the time of Joshua and up to the days of David who "found favor before God." Though David wanted to "find" a dwelling place for the God of the house of Jacob, it was his son Solomon who built him a "house" (vv 45-47). But there is no doubt that this building of the Temple did *not fulfill* the promise to Abraham that his posterity (i.e. "house") would "journey" "to this place" to "worship" God (v 7 ⟶ v 17). For Stephen immediately qualifies the importance of the Temple by reminding his hearers that God does not dwell in such "*hand*" or "man-made" structures "just as the prophet (Isa 66:1) declares: 'Heaven is my

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[8]Like Moses, Jesus, and Stephen Joseph is σοφία; like Jesus and Stephen he has χάρις before God and the people.

throne . . . What is the *place* (τόπος) of my dwelling? Did not *my hand* make all these things?'"[9]

(vi) The journey history for the "house of Jacob" was not over; the *coming* of the Righteous One was still to be announced beforehand by *the prophets*! But instead of relating the events of this period, they are summed up, as we have seen, by Stephen in his "scandalous" indictment: "The whole lot of them is a "stiff-necked" people, a brood of murderers who, "uncircumcised in heart and *ears*," have not *hearkened* to the Law (v 53) (Tenet A), even as they have "always resisted the Holy Spirit" (v 51).[10]

Before moving on to Stephen's own "murder," it is already clear that Luke has woven the career of Jesus into the Deuteronomistic view of Israel's prophetic history. In sum, Jesus is: (1) the fulfillment of the Exodus salvation to the *place* in the land of *promise* for the true worship of God; (2) the consummator of this *Heilsgeschichte* precisely as the "prophet like Moses," whom Moses himself prophesied in Deut 18:15-18 at the *borders* of the promised land; (3) like all the prophets before him in his rejection and "murder" through a calloused, stubborn folk; (4) one, who like Moses and all the prophets, brought the "living oracles" of the voice (φωνή) of God, only to be "cast aside" as the people spurned the pleading of the prophets and disobeyed the Law of God (7:53). In short, Jesus is a Deuteronomistic rejected prophet; but as the "prophet like Moses," he is the *prophet par excellence* who brings Israel's history of salvation/disobedience to its decisive fulfillment.

As Luke proceeds with the volcanic reaction of the audience in 7:54-8:3 the growing web of the careers of Stephen and Jesus becomes even tighter. As is well known,[11] Luke takes pains to draw parallels between the two in their deaths that are unique. Already at the beginning of the public ministry Jesus' near stoning (Luke 4:28-29) is a prefiguration of Stephen's fate, and this "reward" of the prophet is echoed again on the "exodus" (cf. 9:31) to Jerusalem when Jesus aligns himself with all the prophets whose destinies are sealed in Jerusalem: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you. How often would I have gathered your children together . . . but you would not!" (13:34). Both Deuteronomistic Tenets A and C are explicit here. Moreover, in his dying breath Stephen utters the words of Jesus on the cross (Acts 7:59—Luke 23:46; Acts 7:60—Luke 23:34), as he looks up and sees the "glory (δόξα) of God" and the "Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (vv 55-56). Stephen, who has already been etched with the prophetic shades like Jesus as "full of the Spirit," "grace" (χάρις), "power" (δύναμις), and "wisdom" (σοφία) (Acts 6:3, 5, 8, 10—Luke 2:40, 52; 4:1, 14; 5:17), and working great "wonders and signs" (Acts 6:8—2:22), is now bound up with Jesus in the common charge of *blasphemy* against them. For it was Jesus' assertion before the Sanhedrin that "from now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God" that provoked the final surge of hostility swelling over into the demand for Jesus'

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[9]Cf. N. Dahl, "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," *Studies in Luke-Acts* (Fs. P. Schubert; ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; New York: Abingdon, 1966) 142-48. Dahl comes to a similar interpretation of the Temple polemic within the speech.

[10]Cf. Steck (see nn 1 and 2) concludes that Acts 7 represents a hellenistic-Jewish Christian type of repentance preaching to Israel based on the Deuteronomistic view of Israel's history and on such repentance preaching by Deuteronomistic traditionists during the intertestamental period who themelves were nurtured primarily in "wisdom" circles (see esp. pp. 265-69). Steck aligns the "Hellenists" of Acts 6-8 with the traditionists of Stephen's speech. We have left this latter question open, preferring instead to speak of the Stephen-Philip group, which may or may not have belonged to the Hellenists.

[11]See e.g. W. Mundle, "Die Stephanusrede, Apg. 7: eine Märtyrerapologie," *ZNW* 20 (1921) 133-47.

death before Pilate (Acts 6:11—Luke 22:69-71). Even more, Luke has waited until the charges against Stephen to link him with "Jesus the Nazorean's" threat to "destroy this *place*," i.e. the Temple, which is very likely tantamount to Stephen's "blasphemous words against . . . God" (Acts 7:11b). "Against Moses (the Law) and God" are strikingly resonant with the charges that, either implicitly or explicitly, have already been leveled at Jesus by the Sanhedrin in their closed session (Luke 22:69-71). And when it is added that Stephen is impugned with Jesus' intent to "change the customs which Moses delivered to us" (Acts 6:14b; cf. Luke 23:2, 5, 14—"perverting the people"/nation), it is all but certain that Stephen is a type or antitype of the prophet like Jesus who is the prophet like Moses. Meanwhile, as Stephen breathes his last, Saul was standing by "consenting to his death" (8:1a).

But before we come to the central figure of the last half of Acts, we return to the marked emphasis on the *journeying* of the people of God in Stephen's recitative, that we delineated, and to the journey missions that his *witness* and violent death spawned. As the prophet like Moses Jesus was the one whose coming fulfilled Israel's journeying salvation. Now it is most significant that Luke alone of the evangelists records a heavenly vision of brilliant light in which a *voice* (φωνή), thundering the words of the prophecy of the prophet like Moses ("hearken to him," Luke 9:35—LXX Deut 18:15b), confirms Jesus' *exodus journey* to Jerusalem to die the "prophets' death" (9:31-35). Jesus "in *glory*" with *Moses* and Elijah has been discussing the "exodus he was to fulfill in Jerusalem" (9:31b). Furthermore, Luke has already linked his first prediction to Jesus' suffering rejection and death at the hands of the *Sanhedrin in* Jerusalem (9:22) and the journey of cross-bearing *to* Jerusalem to this mountain "discussion" and sending of Jesus (9:22-27⟶28). Consequently when in a flourish of biblical metaphor of the prophets' sending (9:51) Luke announces that the "days (pl.) of his taking up" in Jerusalem are (lit.) "becoming completely full," that is, "had already arrived," it is certain that the exodus Jesus fulfills *in* Jerusalem is also one that he fulfills on his way *to* Jerusalem, sc. through a *journey* to that city.[12] It is also no less significant that after a long journey section (9:51-19:44), Jesus first enters the *Temple*, "cleanses" its environs, and sparks a confrontation with the leaders of Israel that leads irreversibly to his suffering and death. It should therefore come as no surprise that Peter in the beginning of the Acts stands up in the *Temple* and declares that this one who was sent to the heart of the nation (3:13, 26) is the prophet like Moses whom Moses himself had predicted, and resounds the voice from the heavenly light: "Hearken to him" (3:22b).

Jesus and Stephen, then, like Moses, are prophets whose calling to suffering rejection is confirmed in a heavenly vision of great light and is enacted through the journeying of God's saving history. But the parallels do not end even here. One of the distinguishing features of Luke's portrait is the way he colors the entire journey section of his Gospel with the Deuteronomistic understanding of a stiff-necked rejection of this prophet like Moses,[13] which is then re-painted by Stephen in his account of Israel's history of disobedience. Already as soon as Jesus descends from the mountain of the heavenly light and voice he is met by a stubborn "wilderness" generation that foments Jesus' retort: "You faithless and crooked generation, how long am I to be with you and bear you!" (9:41). It is remarkable that this charge and lament matches Moses' charge at the borders of the promised land and his cry of desperation over a rebellious, perfidious people

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[12]Cf. Acts 2:1 for best analogy; see also J. H. Davies, "The Purpose of the Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel," *SE* II - TU 87 (1964) 164-69; P. Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann* (ed. W. Eltester; BZNW 21; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1954) 184-85.

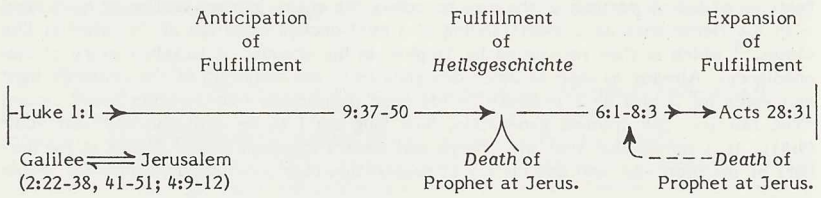
[13]See forthcoming study by the author in *JBL* 102/4.

at the base of Mt. Horeb (Deut 32:5, 20; 1:12).[14] The "new" exodus of the prophet like Moses meets the same obdurate wilderness generation! Shortly thereafter Jesus predicts that the "hands of men" will clasp together to put an end to his journey to Jerusalem (9:44). And as Luke proceeds with his journey section (9:51-19:44), at several pivotal points he laces Jesus' reception as the mediator of the mountain voice[15] by the swelling crowds of Israel (11:29 ⟶ 12:1 ⟶ 14:25) with the characteristic utterances of Tenets A and C. At the end, midpoint, and two "quarter points" Jesus confronts an obstinate folk. He declares, for example, to the emerging leaders of "this generation," the Pharisee-scribes (11:48-51):

> So you are witnesses and consent to the deeds of your fathers; for they killed them, and you build their tombs. Therefore also the Wisdom of God said, 'I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and persecute,' that the blood of all the prophets, shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary. Yes, I tell you, it shall be required of this generation.

Or in Luke 17:25-30 "this generation" rejects the Son of Man just as the generations of Noah and Lot rejected their prophets. As the journey comes to a close Jesus weeps over the city that kills the prophets (cf. 13:33-35) because their eyes are blind to the *Exodus visitation* of God[16] in the coming of the prophet like Moses (19:41-44). All that is left is for Jesus to sound the final note in the dirge of Tenet D:[17] "Not one stone upon another will be left in you!" (19:44b). Nor is it again surprising that Peter will charge the "men of Israel" of *killing* the one who was attested by "mighty works and signs and wonders" (Acts 2:27) and of denying "the righteous one" just as *all the prophets* proclaimed and to which the disciples are now *witnesses*. "Save yourselves from this crooked generation" (2:40b) not only harks back to the journeying of the prophet like Moses, but also foreshadows the journeying of the church ignited by Stephen's accusation: "As your fathers did, so do you!" (7:51b).

We can draw together our results: Stephen is linked to Jesus in the *pattern* of the prophet like Moses. As portrayed from the Deuteronomistic perspective, both are called to execute the journeying salvation history through suffering and death. Whereas Jesus, like Moses, is called by a heavenly voice from the brilliance of a great light, Stephen's calling is confirmed by the heavenly light of the exalted prophet like Moses, the "Lord" Jesus himself. We can anticipate our conclusions in Part II by diagramming the plot of Luke's two-volume journeying salvation history.



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[14]Ibid.; see also author's, "Jesus and the 'Wilderness Generation': The Death of the Prophet Like Moses according to Luke," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1982.

[15]See n 13.

[16]LXX Gen 50:24.

[17]As Stephen will do in Acts 7:42-43; see above.

It is already apparent that in Acts 6:1-8:3 Luke uses the figure of Stephen to join the fulfillment of the new Exodus salvation of Jesus' journey from Galilee to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51-19:44) to the extension of this salvation from the Jerusalem community to the center of the Empire (Acts 28:16-31) and thus to the "end of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

II.

In any attempt to chart the contour of Luke-Acts one must reckon with the star figure of the second volume, viz. Paul, who occupies roughly one-fourth of Luke's overall story material. We have already met him in Acts 8:1 where he is approving Stephen's death along with the other *witnesses* who stone him (7:58). After the journeys of the Stephen-Philip group to Samaria and Gaza (8:4-40), we meet "Saul" again in 9:1 where Luke picks up the thread of his persecution of the church from 8:3 and weaves together Paul's conversion on the Damascus road (9:1-31). In 13:1-15:35 and 15:36-19:20 Luke relates two major journey missions of Paul and his cohorts, first from Antioch (cf. 11:25-26, 30; 12:25) to Cyprus and south-central Asia Minor back through *Jerusalem* for the apostolic assembly and on to Antioch, and then from Antioch through Asia Minor, Macedonia, Achaia, and return via *Jerusalem* to Antioch followed by a return to Asia Minor and a long stay in Ephesus. In 19:21-28:31 we encounter the longest journey section in the Acts, and it is precisely this account of Paul's last *journey to Jerusalem* which exhibits some extraordinary parallels to Jesus' last journey to Jerusalem in the Gospel.[18]

Of the three journeys of Paul to Jerusalem, only the last one speaks of a determined "resolve in the Spirit" to reach that destination, before passing on to Rome. Like Jesus' "resolute determination" in Luke 9:51, Luke is signalling in sonorous tones that the divine plan (δεῖ)[19] of salvation is coming to a new climax. Certain other parallels to the large travel narrative would thus seem to suggest themselves:

(i) Like Luke 9:51-19:44, this final portion comprises one continuous journey *story*, though neither journey records one geographically direct or straightforwardly moving account. From Ephesus Paul heads in the opposite direction, northwestward to Macedonia and down to Achaia, before looping back to Troas and proceeding forward toward Jerusalem;

(ii) This divinely-directed journey in both instances follows a period which initiates a fulfillment of time: in Luke 9:51 as the days of an itinerant ministry within Galilee come to a close the days of his "taking up" are already being "filled to completion" (συμπληρόω); in Acts 19:21 as Paul's mission in the eastern Mediterranean has become "fulfilled" (πληρόω) he must press forward to Jerusalem and Rome;

(iii) Both journey sections occupy approximately one-third of the story text of each volume (Luke 9:51-19:44 = 36.8%; Acts 19:21-28:31 = 31.3%);

(iv) Both sections contain longer and shorter speeches of Jesus/Paul within a journey framework (Luke 11:53-13:9; 13:22-30; 14:25-35; 15:1-17:10—Acts 20:18-35; 22:1-21; 24:10-21; 26:2-29; 28:25-28);

(v) Like Jesus at the beginning of the journey, so Paul *sends* (ἀποστέλλω) some from his entourage ahead of where he himself will later come (Luke 9:52—Acts 19:22);

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[18]For a good treatment of the "journey" outline of Acts, see F. Filson, "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts," *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Fs. F. F. Bruce; ed. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 68-77.

[19]See esp. E. Fascher, "Theologische Beobachtungen zu δεῖ," *Neutestamentliche Studien*.

(vi) Both journeys begin with a rejection scene which leads Jesus/Paul to depart for another locality (Luke 9:52-56—Acts 19:23-41) without returning (Luke 9:56—Acts 20:16);

(vii) Very few miracles are reported (Luke 11:14; 13:10-17; 14:1-6; 17:11-19; 18:35-43—Acts 20:9-12; 28:3-6; 28:8-9);

(viii) And both recount the hospitality and meals experienced as journeying guests (e.g., Luke 10:5-9, 38-42; 11:37-52; 14:1-24; 19:1-10; cf. 10:34-35; 12:35-48; 13:22-30; 15:15-32; 16:4, 19-31; 17:7-10—Acts 20:7-12; 21:4, 7, 8, 16, 17; 28:7, 14; cf. 27:33-38; 28:23, 30).

But in spite of these parallels a number of major differences must not go unnoticed. First of all, we have only to look at the vivid description in Acts 19:22-41 or the colorful unfolding of the voyage in 27:1-28:16 to see at once to what extent this detained journey account, with its specific characters and localities, chronological connections, and even particular journey routes, varies with the rather vague and indefinite particulars of the Gospel "travel" narrative. Already Acts 19:21 mentions a specific route in contrast to the silence of Luke 9:51. And it is obvious at the outset that Paul reaches Jerusalem at 21:16 so that 21:17-28:15 should then be analogous to the Jerusalem period of Jesus' ministry and the passion narrative and not to the *central* portion of Luke's Gospel. Clearly at this level of the plot it would be misleading to speak of parallel journey narratives. Moreover, the percentage of Paul's words do not even begin to equal the density of Jesus' words in a comparable text length. Far more of the journeying and actions of Paul and his companions are recounted.[20] When these facts are combined with the observation that some of the ten parallels above are only outwardly rather than substantially analogous, sc. such correspondences as one would expect between any two ancient journey accounts, then the whole comparison of the two journeys is called into question.

Yet as we concentrate upon the dynamics of the *calling* and *fate* of Paul in this final journey, a number of distinctive parallels become telling signs of a much profounder comparison:

(1) Like Jesus at the mountain, so Paul is called to *suffer* (Luke 9:22-28, 31, 44, 51—Acts 9:16; 22:17-18; 26:17; cf. 20:22-24; 21:11-14; 26:23). This fate is enhanced by Paul's reminiscences that he was called precisely at the moment when he was *persecuting Jesus himself* (22:6-9; 26:14-15; cf. 26:9-11);

(2) Like the mountain theophany, Paul's calling takes place in a "great light from heaven" (Luke 9:29-32—Acts 22:6, 11; 26:13) and from the midst of this light a *voice* (φωνή, Luke 9:35—Acts 22:7, 14; 26:14);

(3) And as the mountain sending, so Paul is sent on a *journey* mission (Acts 22:10, 21; 26:17-20) which will eventually reach its culmination in *Jerusalem* (Luke 9:51, 53; 13:33-34; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11—Acts 19:21; 20:16, 22; 21:4, 11-13, 15, 17, 31; 23:11; 24:11);

(4) As along Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, so it is also true of Paul's that *predictions of suffering and death* awaiting him there are made (Luke 12:49-50; 13:31-35; 17:25—Acts 20:22-25; 21:10-14; cf. 20:38; 23:11, 27; 25:3, 24; 26:23; 27:10);

(5) But it is Jesus'/Paul's appearance in the *Temple* where the opposition consolidates, leading to an arrest and eventual appearance before the *Sanhedrin* (Luke 19:45-48—Acts 21:26-36; 24:6, 11-12, 18-21; 26:21). As in the long journey of Jesus and the accusation against the defense by Stephen, the Temple once again forms the fulcrum of the hostility against the messengers of God;

(6) As in Jesus' arrest and trial, both the Jewish *leaders* of the people (high priests and elders) and the *laos* combine to demand Paul's death (Luke 23:13-25—Acts 21:30, 31-32, 36, 39-40; 22:30; 23:1-5, 12-22; 24:1-9; 25:1-12). What is more, as in Jesus' journey,

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[20]See n 13.

already along the journey to Jerusalem *plots* against Paul emerge which are consummated after he reaches the Temple (Luke 11:53-12:7; 13:31-35; 14:1-6; 15:1-2; 19:39-40, 47-20:26, 45-47; 22:1-2; 23:6-12—Acts 19:23-20:1; 20:3, 22-30, 38; cf. 20:16; 21:4, 11);

(7) And as in Jesus' arrest and incarceration, so in Paul's, the people and their leaders, the *Roman governor* and his authorities, and *Herod, "King" of the Jews,* collaborate (Luke 22:66-23:25—Acts 25:13-26:32);

(8) But it is the *charges* against Paul by the people and their leaders which, upon closer scrutiny, reveal the most binding parallel to Jesus' (and Stephen's) calling and fate. Paul is accused of: (i) Teaching Jews of the Diaspora against "Moses" and circumcision and the "customs" (Acts 21:21; cf. 26:3; 28:17), which is summarized as (against) the "Law" in 21:24; (ii) Teaching against "the people" (λαός), the Law, and "this place" (i.e. the Temple) and of defiling the Temple with Greeks (Acts 21:28; cf. 24:6); (iii) Creating agitation among all the Jews in the world and of being a leader of the "sect of the Nazoreans" (Acts 24:5; cf. Paul and the "Nazorean," 22:8; 26:9); (iv) "Offending against" "the Law of the Jews, the Temple, and Caesar" (Acts 25:8); (v) "Actions against the people and the customs of our fathers" (Acts 28:17). These charges can be grouped together as against the Law (Moses), the people (nation), and the Temple, as a member of the "Nazoreans"—the very same accusations against Stephen—and in addition, against Caesar. Now as we have seen, in Jesus' arrest and trial he also is charged with "agitating" the people (λαός, Luke 23:5), "perverting" them with false teaching (23:2, 5, 14), and resisting allegiance to Caesar (23:2). "Law," "people," "Caesar" are precisely the charges against Jesus, especially as they reached a fever pitch in Jesus' teaching in the *Temple.*

The conclusion is unavoidable: Luke has linked Paul to Jesus the prophet like Moses through the common calling and fate of the rejected Deuteronomistic prophet. And it is Stephen's career of suffering rejection that draws together the story of the fulfillment of Jesus' new Exodus salvation in the Jerusalem community and raises it to a new pitch by recapitulating the tragic fate of the prophet and pointing forward to the extension of this salvation to the ends of the earth by the rejected prophet Paul. It is revealing in looking at this carefully crafted connection that, apart from the linking verse, Acts 11:19, the only other mention of Stephen in the remainder of Acts is in 22:20 where Paul, himself just lynched by a throng inflamed by Jews from *Asia,* makes his *defense* before this mob. "And when the blood of Stephen your the Lord's *witness* was shed, I also was standing by and *consenting* (συνευδοκέω) and keeping the garments of those who killed him." That this linkage of "witness" in the careers of the three prophets like Moses is not gratuitous, is bolstered by four other interlocking parallels: (a) In Luke 11:47-51, Acts 8:1, and Acts 22:20 the notion of μάρτυς as an "active witness" in either opposing or promoting God's salvation *through his messengers* is present in the immediate context (cf. Luke 11:48; Acts 7:58; 22:20); (b) The refusal of the people (or of "this generation") to accept God's messenger is brought to a climax in their livid hostility (Tenets A and C are explicit). And with this response the *mission to the Gentiles* is proleptically announced or commanded (Luke 11:29-32 in context of Tenet D in 11:50-51; Acts 7:23-8:3 ⟶ 11:19-20; 22:4-24, esp. verses 18, 21); (c) In each sending the *Temple* plays a decisive role in epitomizing Israel's antipathy for the messenger-prophets (Luke 11:51 ⟶ 13:34-35; Acts 7:47-51; 22:17-21; 21:23-36); (d) And while Jesus aligns himself with the whole noble line of persecuted, rejected prophets in Luke 11:47-52, Stephen and Paul do the same by appealing (praying) directly to the *persecuted* Jesus (Acts 7:51-53, 55-60; 22:6-11, 17-21). The consequences of this long and unrelenting history of stiff-necked resistance is sounded by Paul in Rome at the conclusion of Luke's story in the chilling cadence of Tenet A: "The Holy Spirit was right in saying to *your fathers* through Isaiah the *prophet,* 'Go to this people and declare: You shall indeed hear but never understand . . . for the heart of this people has grown fat, they have become hard of hearing . . . lest they should hearken with their ears and understand with their heart and turn for

me to heal them'" (28:26-27). Paul, the great prophetic pleader of repentance to Israel, in nearly every city of his journeying must turn to the Gentiles, for "they will hearken" (v 28). In this dynamic of the Deuteronomistic perspective of Israel's history Luke closes his history with the new Exodus salvation, the "glory of Israel," brought by the prophet like Moses and extended as "light to the Gentiles" "in the presence of all peoples" (Luke 2:31-32) by the prophets like Moses, Stephen and Paul.

We can now state our conclusions by adding to our schematic presentation of the *pattern of the prophet like Moses:*

1. The calling to a *journey* sending is revealed by the Lord in *great light:*

Jesus ⟶ *Moses/Stephen* ⟶ *Paul*
(Luke 9:29-35) (Acts 7:30-32, 38, 55) (9:3-19; 22:6-11; 26:12-18)

2. This calling is one to a *suffering unrecognition* and *rejection* by the *people of Israel:*

Jesus ⟶ *Moses/Stephen* ⟶ *Paul*
(Luke 9:37-50) (Acts 7:23-29, 54-8:1) (9:16-30; 22:18; 26:17)

All three prophets in the context of Israel's journeying history pronounce the judgment of Tenet A:
Luke 11:47-51 ⟶ Acts 7:51-53 ⟶ Acts 28:25b-28

3. The suffering journey is a mission of deliverance/salvation to and from the Temple or the central *place* of all Israel in *Jerusalem:*

Jesus ⟶ *Moses/Stephen* ⟶ *Paul*
(Luke (9:51-19:44) (Acts 7:7, 17, 35-46) (19:21-28:31)

Stephen's suffering leads to a mission of salvation which culminates in the central place in Jerusalem:
Acts 9:15-16 ⟶ 11:19-26 ⟶ 19:21-21:26; 21:27-28:31

4. This suffering journey mission ends in the *monolithic rejection* of the prophet by a still-necked nation. But through this tragic end, the salvation of the Exodus/new Exodus is effected for Israel, and from Israel to the "*end of the earth,*" as foretold by *all the prophets:*

Jesus ⟶ *Moses/Stephen* ⟶ *Paul*
(Luke 24:44-49; Acts 1:8) (Acts 7:42-50; 11:19) (21:27-28:31)

The Lukan Writer's Stories about the Call of Paul

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This paper is an attempt to stimulate discussion in the Luke-Acts Seminar of our efforts to reconstruct as well as we can the way in which the Lukan writer developed the three stories in Acts about the call[1] of Paul to be—as the Lukan writer put it in Acts 9:15—"a chosen instrument of the Lord Jesus to extol the name of the Lord Jesus in the presence of nations and of kings and of the children of Israel."

Resources utilized by the Lukan writer will be our initial consideration. This will be followed by a brief analysis of characteristics and themes of each of the three stories, comments about the nature of the three stories, a few remarks about the purpose of these stories, and a summary.

I. RESOURCES UTILIZED BY THE LUKAN WRITER[2]

Any consideration of the resources utilized by the Lukan writer in the development of the three stories about the call of Paul should be informed by what we can know about the way in which the Lukan writer used available resources in the development of the Third Gospel and of the other portions of Acts.

In composing the Third Gospel the Lukan writer most likely used for content primarily and for style secondarily a copy of "The Gospel of Jesus Christ" (Mk 1:1)—which later became the Gospel According to Mark—at some stage of its development and "Q" materials and/or some form of what would eventually be developed into what we know as the Gospel According to Matthew. For style primarily and for content secondarily the Lukan writer obviously made heavy use of the Septuagint in the composition of the Third Gospel. In addition, the Lukan writer apparently used other oral and written resources, generally known data about past political, religious, and social events, references to natural phenomena, awareness of human nature, and the ability to put these resources together with what we may best describe as inspired creativity.

We have every reason to assume that in the composition of Acts the Lukan writer would have utilized resources in a manner similar to that employed in producing the Third Gospel. The subject matter differed in that it was limited for Acts to descriptions

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[1]During the twenty years since Krister Stendahl first demonstrated that what Paul experienced was a call rather than a conversion, commentators increasingly have adopted the call terminology with positive benefits for scholarly discussions of Paul's experience and for interfaith dialogues of Jews and Christians. Cf. Krister Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 7-23.

[2]It seems to me to be preferable to use the broader terminology "resources" rather than the more narrow concept "sources" in this section.

of the works of followers of a magnificent religious and political leader rather than to be based upon the sayings and activities of that great leader himself. It is unlikely that there was a literary model such as that provided for the Third Gospel by "The Gospel of Jesus Christ" to follow, but there were oral and perhaps written materials in places such as Damascus, Antioch, and Rome. Information from some of the letters of Paul to followers of Jesus in various house church communities may have been available, along with possibly portions of a travelogue, perhaps written by "Luke the beloved physician" who had at times been a companion of Paul. Information from letters of Paul—whether the Lukan writer had direct access to some of Paul's letters or knew Paul's letters only indirectly—was in any event utilized sparingly, perhaps partly because the Lukan writer was using a literary genre which is quite different from the letter form. If portions of a travelogue which had been written by "Luke the beloved physician" or by someone else who had been at times a companion of Paul were utilized at places such as Acts 16:10-17, 20:5-15, 21:1-18, and 27:1-28:16, they would be intended to provide the feeling of "on the scene" participation by the Lukan writer.[3] As in the preparation of the Third Gospel, the Lukan writer depended heavily upon the Septuagint for style primarily and for content secondarily in composing Acts. Again, just as in writing the Third Gospel, the Lukan writer apparently utilized generally known data about past political, religious, and social events, natural phenomena, awareness of human nature, and the ability to put these resources together with inspired creativity in producing Acts.

Many of the specific resources which were probably utilized in preparing the three stories in Acts about the call of Paul will be cited in Section II of this paper, "Characteristics and Themes of Each of the Three Stories." It may be said here, however, in a more general way that in the preparation of these three stories, the Lukan writer probably used information from some of the letters of Paul, either through direct access to some of the letters or perhaps more likely, through contacts with persons who had known Paul and had retained reminiscences in oral and written form of what he had said and done. There is also evidence in these three stories of significant use of the Septuagint for literary models and style, of awareness of human nature, and of the ability to put these resources together with inspired creativity.

II. CHARACTERISTICS AND THEMES OF EACH OF THE THREE STORIES

A. *Acts 9:1-19a.* Just as Mk 1:13 ("And he was in the desolate area for forty days, being tempted by Satan, and he was with the wild beasts,[4] and the angels were ministering to him") invited the development of a complex story of the temptation of

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[3]It seems more likely to me that the "we" portions are indications of the use of a written travelogue resource than that they are a contrived literary device used by the Lukan writer to provide the feeling of on the scene participation. As indicated in my forthcoming *Mature Christianity: The Recognition and Repudiation of the anti-Jewish Polemic of the New Testament* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1984), except for one place in Acts 21:11, which is probably a redaction of the travelogue by the Lukan writer, the "we" portions are the only substantial parts of Acts in which anti-Jewish polemic is not a significant factor and in which the literary drama genre is not apparent. For a detailed analysis of the "we" portions of Acts, see Jacques Dupont, *The Sources of Acts* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1964).

[4]In my opinion the possibility that some of the references to "Satan," "the Devil," "the swine," and "the beasts" in various early church documents such as Mk 1:13 and parallels, Mk 5:1-20 and parallels, I Pet 5:8-9, and Rev 20:1-10 may prior to the fourth century C.E. have been coded references to the Roman state and to the Roman legions should be more thoroughly explored.

Jesus, possibly within the "Q" materials and certainly within the Matthean and the Lukan Gospels, so also Paul's claim to have received the gospel through a revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal 1:12), his allusions to having earlier in his life put excessive pressure upon the church and trying to destroy it (Gal 1:13, 23), (1 Cor 15:9), (Phil 3:6), and his mention of Damascus (Gal 1:17)—whether these were known directly by the Lukan writer or indirectly—invited the Lukan literary dramatist to develop a story with these themes. Where Paul's references were merely allusions, the Lukan literary dramatist provided vivid imagery, magnifying the viciousness of Paul by depicting him as continually mutilating the church, entering private homes, dragging away by force both men and women, and delivering them over into prison (Acts 8:3) and, still breathing threat and murder against the disciples of the Lord, going to the high priest to request written authority to bring any whom he might find who were following the way of Jesus in Damascus, whether they be men or women, bound back to Jerusalem (Acts 9:1-2).

Here and elsewhere, it is probable that the Lukan writer utilized the Septuagint as a major resource in the development of a literary drama, assuming—as Ernst Haenchen[5] suggests—that since in I Macc 15:15-21 it is written that Ptolemy was instructed by Lucius, consul of the Romans, to hand over to Simon the Jewish high priest any pestilent Jewish men who had fled to his territory so that Simon could punish them in accordance with the Jewish law, the Jewish high priest in Jerusalem nearly two centuries later had the authority to secure the arrest of Jews in other Roman provinces and to extradite them to Jerusalem. As a result, the Lukan writer depicted the Romans as graciously granting to their Jewish subjects broad powers of civil jurisdiction and portrayed the Jews as viciously trying to eradicate all (both men and women) who were followers of the way of Jesus. We may wonder today whether the Lukan writer would have written in this manner if the Lukan writer would have known that this story—along with many other stories of a similar nature produced within the early church—would provide theological justification for centuries of oppression and death for millions of Jewish people in Christian-dominated lands.

The Septuagint was probably a major resource also for the portion of the Lukan writer's story in which Paul is confronted by the resurrected Jesus as Paul approached the city of Damascus. The powerful confrontation of Paul by the resurrected Jesus is similar in many respects to the confrontation of Heliodorus by the Almighty Lord in the much more elaborate story in II Macc 3:1-40[6] and in other respects to the story of the vision experience of Daniel in Dan 10:2-21.[7] In all of these instances the power of the "Lord" is irresistible.

In Acts 9:3-16 the Lukan writer combined an idea frequently employed in Jewish religious literature—the appearance of the "Lord"[8] in a vision—with a literary device from Hellenistic narrative technique,[9] the double dream. This double revelation concept, used by the Lukan writer also in Lk 1:8-38 in stories about Gabriel, an angel of the Lord introduced in Dan 8:15 and 9:21-23, appearing to Zechariah and to Mary and in Acts 10:3-33 about revelatory visions to Cornelius and to Peter. In each instance the double revelation is used to indicate how decisive results were produced quickly through divine

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[5]Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) 320-321.

[6]Cf. H. Windisch, "Die Christophanien v. Damaskus (Acts 92.2 u. 26) u. ihre religionsgesch. Parallelen," *ZNW* 31 (1932) 1-23.

[7]As suggested by Donald J. Selby, *Toward the Understanding of St. Paul* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962) 163.

[8]Although here as elsewhere in the New Testament literature it is of course the "Lord" Jesus, not the "Lord" Yahweh.

[9]Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 108.

intervention into human affairs. By use of this double revelation the Lukan writer showed that the good things which occurred did not happen by chance or by human ingenuity but by divine intervention.

The divine intervention resulted in the call of Paul, mediated in Acts 9:10-19 through Ananias, to be as indicated above "a chosen instrument of the Lord Jesus to extol the name of the Lord Jesus in the presence of nations and of kings and of the children of Israel." The specific responsibilities assigned to Paul in this call story differ of course from those given to Jeremiah and to the other prophets of the earlier Israelite traditions, but the irresistible divine power said to have been exerted on the individual is similar.

Finally, in Acts 9:18 we may have in the description of the restoration of sight to Paul another instance in which the Lukan writer utilized an idea derived from the Septuagint literature—the description of the white films scaling off from the corners of Tobit's eyes when his son sprinkled the gall of the fish upon them (Tob 11:12).

B. *Acts 22:3-21.* This second story by the Lukan writer about the call of Paul is expressed in the form of a speech by Paul himself to a most hostile mob of his own people. The setting is sketched so vividly that the reader of this literary drama can practically "see" Paul and every other character with no need for a stage and a theater and actors. Paul's speech begins, as was typical of great speeches in the literature of antiquity and is common even today in effective persuasive speaking, with statements about the background and experiences shared with the audience. The Lukan writer's Paul speaks eloquently here and in every other public address in the Acts document, even though Paul in his own letters[10] does little to deny the statement that his physical presence is said to be weak and his speech despised. It is apparent that the Lukan writer has composed freely, for the maximum effect, with relatively minor concern for what we today might label historical accuracy. The individual scene, is far removed from being a documentary or a literary *cinéma vérité*. Nevertheless, as we shall see more fully in the next section, "The Nature of the Three Stories," the Lukan writer used literary drama most effectively in producing what we might describe as "literary history," or "compressed history," which although it is in many respects history at its best, is also subject to human vagaries.

C. *Acts 26:1:32.* Why should the Lukan writer have Paul tell about his call in his own words again in this setting? One reason is without doubt to demonstrate that as indicated in Acts 9:15 Paul did indeed "extol the name of the Lord Jesus" in the presence not only of "the children of Israel" (Acts 22:3-21) but also in the presence of "kings and nations." The Lukan writer apparently wished to have Paul expand upon the call story one more time in the presence of King Agrippa. This time we are to visualize the call story from the standpoint of the king. We are to see that from the standpoint of the king Paul was doing nothing which should warrant his death or his imprisonment. He has merely been doing what had been so forcibly impressed upon him by the Lord Jesus in the heavenly vision. The differences in detail in the three stories of the call of Paul should not be attributed to variations in traditional sources available to the Lukan writer; the differences in detail are due to the wishes of the Lukan literary artist and the effect desired.

III. THE NATURE OF THE THREE STORIES

Analysis of the resources utilized by the Lukan writer in the composition of Acts and particularly of these three stories about the call of Paul and a brief sketch of characteristics and themes of each of these three stories indicate that what the Lukan writer provided is far removed from being documented historiography or a literary

[10]Especially in 2 Cor 10:10.

cinéma vérité. We should probably not describe Acts as a short history of the early church. Neither should we even in ecclesial settings speak as Günther Bornkamm did nearly a decade and a half ago about "the vision of the risen Christ which Paul *most certainly had* (italics mine) on the way to Damascus."[11] Instead, we should speak more accurately about *the Lukan writer's stories* about Paul's vision of the risen Christ on the road to Damascus, since these are demonstrably the Lukan writer's stories. Neither should we assume, as Martin Hengel for example assumes, that Paul was a Palestinian Jew who had Roman citizenship and that "there is no reason to doubt that he was in the school ('sat at the feet') of Gamaliel I, the son (or grandson) of the great Hillel"[12] simply because the Lukan writer represents Paul as being and as doing those things.

What the Lukan writer apparently did was to gather a mass of data—especially data from literary resources—about past political, religious, and social personalities and events, natural phenomena, awareness of human nature, and put these resources together with inspired creativity. The result is a complex, extended literary drama. As Ernst Haenchen describes it, the Lukan writer had a "gift of enlivening bare facts" and the "ability to condense events ranging over a long period and encompass them within a single scene."[13] The Lukan writer apparently composed freely and then adapted the stories about the call of Paul to fit the situation being depicted. If the word "history" is to be used in describing these and other stories in Acts, it should be described as "literary history" or "compressed history" or "history written with inspired creativity," which as stated above, although it may in many respects be history at its best, is also subject to human vagaries, biases, and prejudices. It is history written for specific purposes, as we shall note below, with specific audiences in mind. Because of the vividness of the scenes and the skill with which they are connected, it is interesting and memorable history, and therefore effective history writing. We can be grateful for this type of history writing, even though we may wish that the inspired writer would have had and would have expressed fewer biases and prejudices, or at least would have expressed biases and prejudices which correspond to our own.

We should use this "compressed history," these stories in Acts, but we should use them with critical judgment, with inspired creativity ourselves pruning and adorning them as the Lukan writer pruned and adorned the resources available at that time. In this way we can become participants in the process used by the Lukan writer. It is particularly important that we do this not merely within academic circles, but especially within ecclesial situations for which these stories were by nature designed.

IV. THE PURPOSE OF THESE STORIES

Like other literature, Acts was not written in a vacuum and without purpose. Instead, as Paul S. Minear has put it, the Lukan writer was "responding to multiple problems with multiple 'intentions.'"[14] It is apparent that the Lukan writer was composing literature which was intended to have lasting value along with the Third Gospel as an addition to the Septuagint. It was written for "Theophilus," a particular individual with a Greek name, or perhaps for any individual regardless of background and heritage who would be a "lover of God." Acts was written—and the three stories about

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[11]Günther Bornkamm, *Paul* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; New York: Harper and Row, 1971) 21.

[12]Martin Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 81.

[13]Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 104-105.

[14]Paul S. Minear, "Dear Theo: The Kerygmatic Intention and Claim of the Book of Acts," *Int* 27 (1973) 132.

the call of Paul were written—for at least four major reasons: to persuade any reader (1) that what Paul and the other early Christian leaders had done was in response to divine commands expressed through the risen Jesus now perceived as Lord, so that no one shall be able to oppose them successfully, (2) that what the current Christian leaders were doing was not in opposition to the Roman state and that there is no reason for the Roman state to oppose them, (3) that what had happened during the earliest decades of the Christian experience is an indication to Christians who were being persecuted during the last decades of the first century C.E. that God can stop even the most vicious of their persecutors and call them to be "chosen instruments of the Lord Jesus" who will be able "to extol the name of Jesus in the presence of nations and of kings and of the children of Israel," and (4) that "the children of Israel" have a future only within the Christian church which is now the Spirit-filled "Israel of God." The purposes of the call of Paul stories are basically the same as the purposes of the entire Acts document.

V. SUMMARY

In the composition of the three stories about the call of Paul the Lukan writer utilized as resources information directly or indirectly from the letters of Paul and the reminiscences of Paul's companions, generally known data about past political, religious, and social events, natural phenomena, awareness of human nature, and ability to put these resources together with inspired creativity. Characteristics and themes of these three stories indicate that the Lukan writer here as elsewhere in Acts used the Septuagint heavily for literary style, as well as for content and ideas.

The nature of the three stories is not that of a documented historiography or of a literary *cinéma vérité,* but of composed and adapted story designed to fit the situation being depicted, history written with inspired creativity, subject to human vagaries, biases, and prejudices. We are encouraged to use these stories with inspired creativity ourselves, pruning and adorning them ourselves with the information available in our time, especially in ecclesial situations for which these stories were by nature designed.

These stories were written to have lasting value as an addition to the Septuagint, for anyone who would be a "lover of God." They were written to persuade any reader that Paul had acted in response to a divine command which could not be opposed successfully, that the contemporary Christians were not in opposition to the Roman state, that God could call those who were currently persecuting Christians as "chosen instruments" of the Lord Jesus, and that the children of Israel have a future only as Christians who are now the "Israel of God."

Rhetorical Concerns and Argumentative Techniques in Matthean Pronouncement Stories

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Controversy over the ending of Matthew's Gospel, Matt 28:16-20, has centered not only on its theological themes but also on the literary form of the unit. Recently Benjamin Hubbard has surveyed the variety of discussion on the literary genre of this unit as well as the influences acting upon it.[1] In doing so Hubbard has provided his own explanation that in composing 28:16-20, Matthew has been guided by Old Testament Models, "in which God commissions individuals and promises his support in the undertaking."[2] However, commissioning as an act and as a genre is not confined to the Old Testament biblical tradition. Recent research on pronouncement stories in the New Testament and chreia traditions in Greco-Roman literature has made it possible to view Matt 28:16-20 in a new perspective. Accordingly I will argue in this paper that Matt 28:16-20 be viewed as a pronouncement story or, in the language of chreia traditions, as a slightly expanded chreia.

In advancing this position it should first be noted that Matt 28:16-20 conforms to the definition of a pronouncement story as offered by Robert Tannehill in *Semeia* 20:

> A pronouncement story is a brief narrative in which the climactic (and often final) element is a pronouncement which is presented as a particular person's response to something said or observed on a particular occasion of the past. There are two main parts of a pronouncement story: the pronouncement and its setting, i.e. the response and the situation provoking that response. The movement from the one to the other is the main development in these brief stories.[3]

In the language of chreia traditions Theon's definition of a chreia as "a brief statement or action with pointedness attributed to some specific person or something analogous to a person,"[4] likewise describes the scene in Matt 28:16-20. For here we encounter a situation in which after the resurrection the disciples go to Galilee as directed by Jesus. Jesus approaches them and issues the final pronouncement:

> All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always to the close of the age.

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[1]See Benjamin J. Hubbard, *The Matthean Redaction of A Primitive Apostolic Commissioning: An Exegesis of Matthew 28:16-20*, SBL Dissertation Series 19 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 1-23.

[2]Ibid., p. 23.

[3]Robert C. Tannehill, "Introduction: The Pronouncement Story and Its Types," *Semeia* 20 (1981) 1.

[4]Theon, *Progymnasmata* 201, 16-18 (Walz).

That this saying is pointed and climactic is obvious; however Matt 28:16-20 possesses other traits that place it in the chreia tradition.

Since the *progymnasmata* encouraged the student of rhetorical composition to expand or elaborate the chreia in various ways for argumentative effectiveness,[5] chreiai can be written in either a condensed or expanded form.[6] A classic example of both a condensed and expanded chreia attributed to Epameinondas has been extensively analyzed by Vernon Robbins.[7] It would be informative at this point to cite both occurrences.

The condensed form reads:

> Epameinondas, as he was dying childless, said to his friends: "I have left two daughters—the victory at Leuctra and the one at Mantineia."

The expanded version, of course, reads much differently:

> Epameinondas, the Theban general, was of course a good man even in time of peace, but when war broke out between his country and Lacedaemonians, he performed many brilliant deeds of courage. As a Boeotarch at Leuctra, he triumphed over the enemy, but while campaigning and fighting for his country, he died at Mantineia. While he was dying of his wounds and his friends were particularly grief-stricken that he was dying childless, he smiled and said: "Stop grieving, friends, for I have left you two immortal daughters: two victories of our country over the Lacedaemonians, the one at Leuctra, who is the older, and the younger, who has just been born to me at Mantineia.

Expanded chreiai contain classic and conventional features. Typically they are constructed by a series of participial clauses with finite verbs, which are connected by *kai* or *de* and which lead up to the finite verb that introduces the saying. Thus Matt 28:16-20 begins with *kai* and employs the nominative participle *idontes* with the finite verb *prosekynēsan*. Likewise, vs. 18 begins with *kai* and the nominative participle *proselthōn* to lead up to *ho Iēsous elalēsen autois legōn*. The rest of the passage contains the pronouncement of Jesus. It is noteworthy that no comment occurs after the saying. Thus the function of Matthew's use of conjunctions and participles is to slightly expand the situation which introduces this final climactic saying of Jesus.

Employing the exercises taught in the *Progymnasmata*, authors trained in the Greco-Roman tradition were taught to compose chreiai on their own according to the particular rhetorical concerns they wished to express. Matthew seems to be no exception, for in the saying or pronouncement within Matt 28:16-20 we can detect a remarkably large number of Matthean vocabulary. The following key words appear below. Their editorial occurrences elsewhere in the Gospel are noted after each word.

Authority (*exousia*)—9:8.
heaven and earth (*ho ouranos kai hē gē*)—5:18, 34-35; 6:10, 19, 20; 18:18-19; 23:9.
Go (*poreuthentes*)—2:8, 20; 8:9; 9:13; 10:6, 7.
make disciples (*mathēteusate*)—13:52; 27:57.
all nations (*panta ta ethnē*)—24:9; 25:32.
baptizing (*baptizō*)—3:14, 16.
teaching (*didaskontes*)—4:23; 5:2; 5:19; 7:29; 11:1; 15:9; 21:23.

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[5]Ibid., 210, pp. 3-6 (Walz).

[6]Ibid., 213, pp. 11-13, 17; 214, 4 (Walz).

[7]See the discussion by Vernon K. Robbins, "Pronouncement Stories and Jesus' Blessing of Children: A Rhetorical Approach," *SBL Seminar Papers* 21 (1982) 410-12.

to observe (*tērein*)—19:17; 23:3; 27:36, 54; 28:4.
command (*entellomai*)—4:6; 15:4; 17:9; 19:7.
until the completion of the age (*eōs tēs sunteleias tou aiōnos*)—13:39, 40, 49; 24:3.

Certainly this represents an extraordinary aggregation of special Matthean vocabulary and warrants the conclusion that Matthew is constructing this saying in Matt 28:16-20 on his own and in his own style. This is consistent with and characteristic of chreia composition where the author is encouraged to shape the chreia according to his own rhetorical intentions.

However, Matthew's involvement in the construction of Matt 28:16-20 is limited neither to the standard stylistic features of the expanded chreia nor to particular Matthean vocabulary. For certain stylistic features found in Matt 28:16-20 appear also in other Matthean pronouncement stories. For instance, in 28:18 we read *kai proselthōn ho Iēsous elalēsen autois legōn*. . . . And Jesus came and spoke to them saying. . . . The association of *proserchomai*, usually in participial form with verbs of saying or asking, is most characteristic of Matthew's writing style. While it is sometimes found in storytelling situations where there is dialogue, the usage is most characteristic of Matthew's composition of pronouncement stories. We can document the following occurrences in Matthean pronouncement stories.

Matt 8:19	—*proselthōn eis grammateus eipen autō.*
Matt 9:14	—*tote proserchontai autō hoi mathētai Iōannou legontes.*
Matt 15:1	—*tote proserchontai tō Iesou . . . legontes.*
Matt 16:1	—*kai proselthontes . . . epērōtēsan.*
Matt 17:24	—*prosēlthon . . . kai eipan.*
Matt 18:1	—*prosēlthon hoi mathētai tō Iēsou legontes.*
Matt 18:21	—*proselthōn ho Petros eipen.*
Matt 19:3	—*kai proselthon autō Pharisaioi peirazontes auton kai legontes.*
Matt 19:16	—*eis proselthōn autō eipen.*
Matt 21:23	—*prosēlthon . . . legontes.*
Matt 22:23-24a	—*prosēlthon . . . kai epērōtēsan auton legontes.*

These common stylistic features of Matthean pronouncement stories make it easier to view Matt 28:16-20 as a pronouncement story.

In Greco-Roman rhetorical traditions, Matt 28:16-20 would be classified as a chreia employing deliberative rhetoric. In deliberative rhetoric an attempt is made to convince other people to take one course of action rather than another.[8] Typically, the course of action will occur in the future. Typical also of this type of rhetorical argumentation is the use of exhortation. In Matt 28:16-20, Jesus announces, "all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me." From this authority, and as a consequence, Jesus directs his disciples to adopt a particular course of action in the future with the exhortation "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you." He then concludes with the consoling promise, "and lo I am with you always to the close of the age."

Frequently, New Testament scholars have referred to Matt 28:16-20 as the Great Commission. Undoubtedly this is due to the prominence of the commissioning mission in the passage. While it is clear that Matt 28:16-20 falls within the genre of pronouncement story and chreia traditions, there are pronouncement stories and chreiai whose function it is to commission. The most notable instance within the Gospel of Matthew is Matt

[8]Cf. the discussion in Donald L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957) 136-40, 218-28.

10:5-7 where Jesus commissions the twelve disciples. Setting aside the theological issues of the passage,[9] it is informative to focus upon the structure of 10:5-7 in comparison to the pronouncement story in Matt 28:16-20. In addition to the parallel use of *proselthōn . . . legōn* noted above, it is interesting that both stories employ the imperative mood to issue the commission. In 28:19 the command is given in the form *mathēteusate* (make disciples); while in 10:6 it is given by the parallel usage of *poreuesthe* (go) . . . *kērussete* (proclaim). The use of the imperative mood is characteristic of these Matthean pronouncement stories featuring deliberative rhetoric in the form of a commission.

Many scholars have perceived the ending of Matthew's Gospel as one that brings to completion most of the major theological themes of the Gospel. John Meier, in fact, has referred to it as, "the key to the understanding of the whole Gospel."[10] Others have viewed it as offering "a compendium of important Matthean themes."[11] Certainly as a conclusion the scene does draw together central elements of Matthew's theology. Many of these have been noted elsewhere, but it is important to address some of them in this study. It is especially significant that the scene for the pronouncement is set upon a mountain, for this recalls the teaching ministry that began in chs. 5-8 where the teaching of Jesus was presented in direct antithesis to the teaching of the Old Testament. Here in Matt 28:16-20 his ministry ends with his final pronouncement which is aptly given on a mountain. Likewise the exhortation to "observe all that I have commanded you" evokes Matt 5:17-48 where, in reference to the old commandments, Jesus repeatedly states, "But *I* say to you." Similarly we can relate this scene to Matt 19:16-22 where Jesus offers a command to the rich young man that goes beyond the commandments of the Old Testament. Pertinent too is the association of Jesus' command with heaven. Of particular importance are all those passages (i.e., 12:1-8, 9-14, 38-42; 13:53-58; 15:1-11; 16:1-4; 21:23-27) where the authority of Jesus is called into question or a sign of his authority is sought. Finally of poignant parallel is the saying in 11:27, "all things have been delivered to me by my Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father and no one knows the Father except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him." It thus appears that the pronouncement story in Matt 28:16-20 both summarizes and completes many of the important themes Matthew had earlier employed to advance his argumentation.

It appears, finally, that Matt 28:16-20 as a pronouncement story has the following structure:

1. The description of the situation (Matt 28:16-18a)
2. The saying
   a. Rationale (Matt 28:16-18b)
   b. Exhortation (Matt 28:19-20a)
   c. Promise (Matt 28:20b)

The Gospel concludes by giving us the *ultimate rationale* for the ministry of Jesus—because of the resurrection, all authority in heaven and on earth is conferred on Jesus. This in turn is followed by the *ultimate exhortation*—to make disciples of the Gentiles. Finally we are given the *ultimate promise*—"Lo, I am with you always to the close of the age." It is fitting that Matthew has chosen the pronouncement story genre not only to convey Jesus' final words but also to conclude his Gospel.

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[9]For discussion and bibliography see J. Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975) 77-83; J. P. Meier, *Matthew* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1980) 367-74; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew, A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) xii-xvii; 593-97.

[10]Meier, *Matthew*, 369.

[11]Gundry, *Matthew*, 593.

Classifying Early Rabbinic Pronouncement Stories

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Abstract: This paper assesses the character of early Rabbinic pronouncement stories and evaluates their relationship to the pronouncement stories found in the Gospels and Hellenistic literature. The analysis is in two parts. First, the twenty-four available examples of Tannaitic pronouncement stories are cataloged according to the classificatory scheme developed by Professor Vernon Robbins in his work on Plutarch's *Lives*. This allows us, in the second part of this paper, to see clearly the overarching interests and character of the Rabbinic pronouncement stories and to determine the extent to which those stories correspond to the Hellenistic and Gospel materials. The result of this inquiry is to suggest that the Rabbinic pericopae are quite different from their Gospel and Hellenistic counterparts. We therefore conclude that, in their portrayal of Jesus, the authors of the Gospels were not influenced by the Rabbinic literature's pronouncement story form. Second, in light of the differences in use and meaning of this form in the Rabbinic and Hellenistic literatures, it appears that further analysis of the pronouncement story in Rabbinic documents will not provide fruitful conclusions regarding either the Rabbinic literature itself or the overall use, in antiquity, of the pronouncement story.

0. ***Introduction.*** This paper represents a second step in the assessment of early Rabbinic pronouncement stories. The work was begun by Professor Gary Porton, in his article, "The Pronouncement Story in Tannaitic Literature: A Review of Bultmann's Theory." Porton identified the extant Tannaitic pronouncement stories and, through reference to them, criticized Rudolf Bultmann's theory of the relationship between Rabbinic literature and the Gospel's *apophthegmata*. Porton found that "the relevant Jewish texts do not provide a large number of good parallels to the selections from the Christian Bible which Bultmann analyzed" (1981:96). In Porton's view, it is more likely that "The Gospels were influenced by Greek works on the philosophers and politicians in their use of pronouncement stories" (1981:97). The present paper carries forward Porton's study, focusing on the larger character of the Rabbinic pronouncement stories and questioning their relationship to the pronouncement stories found in the Hellenistic and Gospel literatures.

0.1 In order to accomplish this, the paper has two specific goals. The first is to categorize the Rabbinic pronouncement stories identified by Porton[1] according to the

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[1] I have not included one pericope that Porton categorized as a pronouncement story, Sifre Deut. 305 (Porton, 1981:84). The story contains several exchanges between its characters and then concludes with a Scriptural exegesis. This decreases the dominance of the final utterance, which itself is not a maxim or memorable comment such as we should expect at the conclusion of a pronouncement story (see Tannehill, 1981:1-2).

classificatory scheme delineated by Professor Vernon Robbins in his work on Plutarch's *Lives*. This allows us to see clearly the formal parallels between individual Rabbinic stories and those identified by Robbins. It also helps us delineate the overall interests and nature of the corpus of Rabbinic pronouncement stories. In carrying out this work of classification, I move study of the Rabbinic pronouncement stories a step beyond that initiated by Porton. He organized the material on the basis of Bultmann's claims for the existence of Rabbinic parallels to the Gospel materials. Porton started with those Rabbinic stories which provide the closest formal parallels, and he then moved to the more tangentially related ones. Porton's mode of organization thus focused upon and illustrated only the literary relationship between the Rabbinic and Gospel materials. In using Robbins's classificatory scheme I have analyzed both the literary and substantive character of the Rabbinic materials in relationship to the corpus of Hellenistic pronouncement stories as a whole.

0.11 With the work of classification complete, the paper turns to its second goal, an assessment of the place of the Rabbinic pericopae within the Hellenistic and Gospel pronouncement story literature. This work depends upon our understanding of the larger set of formal and substantive traits of the Rabbinic corpus, uncovered through the work of classification. It depends as well upon knowledge of the deeper ideational aspects of these Rabbinic stories. These are pointed up in my exegetical comments to each individual Rabbinic pericope and in my delineation of the type of rhetoric found in each story, legal, deliberative or epideictic.[2] By pointing out the kind of rhetorical exchange found in each story and by distinguishing this internal rhetorical character from the rhetorical function of the story in its redactional setting, I have moved beyond the scope of Porton's original discussion of these materials. In light of his central question of the validity of Bultmann's theory, his comments are designed, first, to indicate the basis for calling each item a pronouncement story and, second, to compare these Rabbinic stories with the Gospel materials. I have taken up the second step in this analysis. Porton has shown that most of the materials before us are *not* good parallels to the Gospels' *apophthegmata*. My comments are designed to indicate in a positive fashion the function which these stories were meant by their formulators to have within the Rabbinic documents in which they are found. On the basis of an understanding of that function, I contrast these Rabbinic pericopae with the traits of the Hellenistic pronouncement story literature as a whole.

0.2 The result of this study is to uphold and expand the conclusions derived by Porton. My analysis supports Porton's central conclusion that, contrary to Bultmann's claim, in their portrayal of Jesus, the Gospel authors were not influenced by Rabbinic literature. This paper moves the discussion forward to find that, while the Rabbinic

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[2]On these three basic types of rhetorical situations, see Robbins, 1982:9-14. Robbins (1982:9) defines these kinds of rhetoric as follows: "Legal or judicial rhetoric concerns laws, accusations and the debating of guilt or innocence. This rhetorical situation tends to concern itself with past actions, and the guilt or acquittal of the action. Deliberative rhetoric concerns appropriate courses of action and thought. The deliberative situation tends to concern itself with action that may be undertaken in the future. Epideictic rhetoric features praise and censure of people. Common epideictic situations were victory celebrations, funerals and special civil ceremonies. Epideictic rhetoric is concerned to strengthen beliefs already held rather than to convince a person to change his or her mind. These three basic types of rhetorical situations were considered by the ancient rhetoricians comprehensively to cover the field of rhetorical language and literature.

pericopae under discussion indeed fit into the classification scheme developed by Robbins, application of Robbins's categories to these texts serves only to highlight the extent to which Rabbinic materials are unlike their Hellenistic counterparts. First, we find that the Rabbinic materials fall predominantly into Robbins's adversative category. That is, these Rabbinic stories are only in minor ways different from the ordinary disputes and debates which constitute the basic building blocks of much of early Rabbinic literature. Within the Rabbinic corpus, pronouncement stories do not form a unique literary type of any significance. Second, while taking on the form of the pronouncement story, the majority of the pericopae before us do not have the central function which such stories serve in the Gospels and Hellenistic literature. In those literatures, the pronouncement stories emphasize the particular personality and character of the individuals who either make the pronouncement or about whom it is made. By contrast, the Rabbinic material concerns almost exclusively legal and exegetical issues. The personalities of the individuals involved are deemphasized. Since these Rabbinic pronouncement stories do not parallel the substantive and ideational characteristics of the Hellenistic and Gospel stories, we must conclude: (1) that they do not constitute the background for the early Christian use of this form;[3] and (2) that further work on the Rabbinic pronouncement stories is not apt to lead to fruitful conclusions regarding either the character of the Rabbinic literature or the wider meaning and importance of this form within Hellenistic literature.

0.3 Before we turn to the presentation and analysis of the Rabbinic stories, a potential objection to Porton's mode of selecting these pericopae must be addressed. To identify the Rabbinic pronouncement stories that would serve for comparison with the Gospels and Hellenistic literature, Porton confined his review to those Rabbinic documents generally assumed to belong to the earliest, Tannaitic, stratum of Rabbinic literature. He did not analyze pericopae cited in the names of, or concerning, early authorities, but found in documents redacted much later, in the fifth century or afterwards. Porton discounted this material because of clear indications that the later editors created, or, at best, reformulated, materials which concerned early figures. That is to say, if this material derived from early sources at all, it was recast so as to meet the stylistic and substantive needs of the document in which it was to be included. It would be misleading to use these essentially late materials in order to draw conclusions concerning the use of a particular literary convention during the Tannaitic period.

0.31 Since Porton's original review of this topic, new evidence has been found which further supports his approach in discounting the later Rabbinic sources. A recently completed study of the corpus of material concerning Hillel the Elder (Neusner and Avery-Peck, 1982a-b) shows that the issues and concerns addressed by later documents differ markedly from those of the earlier literature. In particular, we find that interest in Hillel's life and personality, those areas most fruitful for the development of pronouncement stories, is restricted almost exclusively to the Talmudic and late Midrashic literatures. Within these late documents, stories of Hillel's life and character traits most often are transmitted in the names of late Amoraic authorities. These do not appear in the name of earlier, Tannaitic masters. This means that there is no proof that late biographical materials, among them pronouncement stories, derive from an earlier period. It seems more likely that these are the products of the later period, during which Rabbinic masters strove to develop biographies of their most noted forbears. The implications for the present study are that, as Porton argued, stories which appear in late Rabbinic literature should not be admitted as evidence for the nature of early Rabbinic

[3]This is the central conclusion of Porton's article.

pronouncement stories.[4] Porton's judgment in this regard will stand until studies are carried out which prove that materials cited in Talmudic and late Midrashic documents in the names of early authorities actually have an early provenance. The weight of the present evidence is against this claim.

0.4 With the general goals of this study before us and the theoretical consideration which determined its scope clear, we now turn to the Rabbinic pericopae themselves.[5] These are organized and discussed within the classificatory scheme set out by Robbins. The larger categories are the aphoristic pronouncement story (section 1), the adversative pronouncement story (section 2) and the affirmative pronouncement story (section 3).

1. ***The Aphoristic Pronouncement Story.*** Robbins (1982:32) categorizes as aphoristic stories in which the primary character interacts with ideas or situations, not with other characters. In this type of pronouncement story, characters other than the primary one simply provide the context for the primary character's utterance. But this primary character's contact with the others in the story is neither abrasive, judgmental nor commendatory. What is central in the aphoristic pronouncement story is the idea or situation, not the actors.

1.1 ***The Description.*** Three of the six aphoristic pronouncement stories before us fall into the type Robbins calls descriptions. These are characterized by an "absence of provocation in the situation and an absence of sarcasm, criticism, or commendation in the response" (1981:32). The utterance of the primary character arises from his own initiative, in response to the situation or idea depicted in the first part of the story. One such story is found in the Mishnah, and two appear in Sifre Deuteronomy.

1.11 ***M. Avot 2:6.*** Also [Hillel] saw one skull floating on the face of the water. He said to it: "Because you drowned [others] they drowned you, and in the end they that drowned you shall be drowned."

Without provocation from others, Hillel responds to the situation presented in the first line of this pronouncement story. The rhetoric here is deliberative, insofar as it is concerned with actions that will take place in the future. More important, however, Hillel's response serves to show off the sage's understanding of human nature. True to the form of the description defined by Robbins, the comment is not sarcastic or malicious. Nor is it cast as a scolding indictment of the human race. Rather it simply provides the context in which to show off the main actor's wisdom and perceptiveness. While the internal rhetoric thus is deliberative, the story is used in context epideictically, to reinforce our belief that Hillel is to be praised. In the context of M. Avot Chapter 2, this same goal is achieved through the listing of twenty-one other short sayings attributed to Hillel. These are not pronouncement stories, since they are not placed in particular settings. Thus it is clear that while the editors of M. Avot did have an interest in describing the thought and intelligence of Hillel, they did not find in the pronouncement story a primary mode of conveying that information.

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[4]Porton's own analysis of the corpus of materials pertaining to the Tannaitic master Ishmael (1976-1982) leads to this some conclusion. His research indicates that literary patterning changes from document to document, with later texts often phrasing their materials in literary forms uncommon in, or even unknown to, earlier documents. This means that there is no evidence that pronouncement stories involving early authorities, but found only in late documents, circulated as pronouncement stories in Tannaitic times.

[5]On the whole I have followed Porton's translations, making only slight revisions.

1.12 ***Sifre Deut. 80.*** One time R. Judah b. Bathyra, R. Mattyah b. Harash, R. Hananyah b. Ahai, R. Joshua and R. Yonatan were leaving the Land [of Israel]. When they reached Palton, they recalled the Land of Israel and they stood erect while their eyes shed tears. They rent their garments and recited this verse: "[*You shall indeed cross the Jordan to enter and to make the land your own that the Lord your God is giving you.*] You shall possess it and shall live in it and you must keep and observe all the laws . . ." (Deut 11:31). They said: "Living in the land of Israel is equal to observing all of the [other] commandments [stated] in the Torah."

The Rabbis' final comment captures the significance of the situation, their leaving the Land of Israel, yet is not specifically prompted either by that event or by any other players in the story. Rather, their utterance depends upon the verse of Scripture which is cited directly before it, a verse which the comment interprets Midrashically. Scripture states: *You shall live in the land and you shall* (or, *must*) *keep and observe all of the laws.* The cited authorities interpret the verse to mean: By living in the land you *will be* keeping all the commandments. This interpretation could stand on its own, independent of the situation in which it presently is set. The presence of a setting, which allows us to call this a pronouncement story in the first place, is decidedly secondary to the purpose and point of the pericope.[6]

1.13 ***Sifre Deut. 322.*** One time [when] Polmos was in Judea, a commander of horsemen ran after an Israelite on a horse in order to kill him, but he did not reach him. Before he reached him a snake bit [the commander] on the heel. [The Israelite] said to him: "Because we are strong, you are delivered into our hands. *Were it not that their rock had sold them*" (Deut. 32:34).

I deem this story aphoristic because, while the Israelite responds to the situation he has just encountered, his utterance does not concern that particular incident alone. Rather, primarily of his own initiative, he speaks of the predicament of the Israelite people as a whole. His point is ironic. Contrary to what is apparent from the events of the day, the Israelites are stronger than the Romans. This is proven by the particular incident at hand. The defeat of the Israelites at the hand of the Romans thus is not accounted for by the Israelites' weakness, but because they had angered God (Porton, 1981:93). God therefore had given them into the hands of the Romans. This is proven by Deut 32:34, cited at the end of the story. Unlike in the preceding two examples, then, the setting is primary within this pronouncement story. Only in light of it can the main character display his perceptiveness and deep understanding of the irony of the Israelites' situation. The story is epideictic, strengthening belief in the Israelite way of life.

1.2 ***The Inquiry.*** This type of aphoristic pronouncement story is characterized by "initiative on behalf of a friendly inquirer and by response to that inquiry in a cordial informative manner by the primary character" (Robbins, 1981:33). The response of the primary character is neither commendatory nor judgmental. Instead, as in the description, the story ends with "a memorable remark in which the primary character interacts with a situation or idea rather than with people" (ibid.). I locate two such pronouncement

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[6]This is not to say that this item should not be deemed a pronouncement story at all. Bultmann (1968:11-69) distinguished between unitary and non-unitary apophthegmata. "A unitary apophthegm contains a saying that is incomplete without a setting, while the non-unitary apophthegm contains a saying whose meaning is complete apart from any specific setting" (Robbins, 1982:5).

stories within early Rabbinic literature, one in Tosefta and one in Sifre Deuteronomy. In each of these a Rabbi is asked a philosophical question by a pagan. While this setting assumes an adversary relationship, these pericopae's specific details reveal no antagonism on the part of either party. The Rabbi simply responds in a cordial manner to the issue posed by the non-Jew. In these cases, thus, the inquiry form actually conceals the deeper point which the story's formulator presumably wished to make. This point was that Rabbis were astute philosophical thinkers to whose reasoning even pagan philosophers were forced to succumb. These clearly epideictic pericopae are deeply tendentious. Classification within the inquiry form serves to hide, rather than emphasize, the point which their authors wished to make.

1.21 ***Tos. Shebu. 3:6.*** One time R. Reuben spent the Sabbath in Tiberias, and one philosopher found him. He said to him: "Which is the one who is hated in the world?" [Reuben] said to him: "The one who denies his Creator." [The philosopher] said to him: "How [does he deny Him]?" [Reuben] said to him: "*Honor your father and your mother. Do not murder. Do not commit adultery. Do not steal. Do not bear false witness against your neighbor. Do not covet.* Behold, a man does not deny a thing until he denies [its] essential part. And a man commits a sin only after he has denied [the existence] of the one who commanded concerning it."

The pericope contains two inquiries, each introduced with a question from the philosopher and concluded by the memorable remark made by Reuben, a Rabbi. So far as we are told, the relationship between the two is neither commendatory nor judgmental. Reuben interacts with an idea (who is hated, how does he come to be hated?) rather than with the other person. The rhetoric here thus is deliberative, insofar as it indicates how an individual should behave so as not to deny his Creator. The story however functions epideictically, enhancing our praise for the Rabbi. Unlike in other aphoristic inquiries (see Robbins, 1981:33-35), the philosopher here is not irrelevant. The very point of the story is that philosophers respect the judgment of Rabbis. They politely ask them questions and accept their answers. While the form is that of the aphoristic inquiry, the story contains a deeper message which classification within that form would not lead us to expect.

1.22 ***Sifre Deut. 13.*** Choose wise, understanding, [and experienced] men (Deut. 1:13). This is the question Arios asked R. Yose; [Arios] said to him: "Which is a wise man?" [Yose] said to him: "He who practices that which he teaches. Or perhaps [such a person] is [referred to] rather [as] an understanding man?" [Arios] said to him: "*Understanding men* is already said [in the above verse]. What is the difference between a wise man and an understanding man?" [Yose said to him:] "A wise man is similar to a rich [gold] smith. When [others] bring him [gold] to examine (lit.: see) he examines [it]. When [others] do not bring him [gold] to examine, he takes out his own [gold] and examines [it]. An understanding man is similar to a poor [gold] smith. When [others] bring him [gold] to examine, he examines [it]. When [others] do not bring him [gold] to examine, he must sit and be idle."

As in the preceding unit, there are two inquiries to which the Rabbi responds.[7] Each

[7]These units thus contain short dialogues, indicating "that a number of points are being made about the topic" and suggesting that the pericopae are not necessarily pronouncement stories at all (Tannehill, 1981:2). Since in these entries the final utterances

concerns an idea: What constitutes a wise person? What is the difference between a wise person and an understanding one? The answers to both questions are comprised of memorable remarks. A wise person is one who practices what he preaches. He differs from a person with understanding in that he is able to put his knowledge to action in his own life. A person with understanding, but who is not wise, by contrast, can do no more than suggest arguments and answer questions posed by others. If he is not asked anything, he can do nothing, like the poor gold smith. In this story, as before, the inquiry form conceals the underlying polemic. Contrary to what we should expect in an inquiry, Arios, the philosopher, does not simply ask the question. Rather, he receives the brunt of Yose's polemic. Yose points out that Rabbis, who carry out their knowledge in all aspects of their everyday life, are superior to individuals, presumably such as philosophers, who are capable of debating and arguing issues of law and mind but who do not live their lives in accordance with their knowledge. As in the preceding entry, internal deliberative rhetoric thus functions epideictically. Once again, the fact that Yose's statement is a polemic against individuals such as Arios is obscured by attention to the fact that the story contains the characteristics of the aphoristic inquiry.

2. ***The Adversative Pronouncement Story.*** These depict an adversary relationship between the primary and secondary characters or groups (Robbins, 1981:35). Within the Rabbinic literature these are distinguished from the common dispute and debate forms in that the final utterance is a pithy statement or maxim which is memorable not because it wins the issue under dispute, but because it constitutes a provocative response to the situation presented in the beginning of the story as a whole. Robbins divides the adversative pronouncement stories into two main types: (1) the correction, and (2) the dissent. The dissent, in turn, he divides into the objection and the rebuff.

2.1 ***The Correction.*** "In the correction, the primary character gives a response, either on his own initiative or in reply to a question—a response that alters, reverses, or negates an assumption held by a person or group in the first part of the story" (Robbins, 1981:35). There is no criticism of this primary character either before or after his utterance. Both corrections found in the early Rabbinic literature are "direct corrections," in which the primary character corrects an assumption held by the secondary character in the story (ibid.).

2.11 ***M. Ber. 1:1.*** One time [R. Gamaliel]'s sons returned [after midnight] from a wedding feast. They said to him: "We have not yet recited the *Shema*." He said to them: "If the morning star has not yet risen, you [still] are obligated to recite [it]."

In a face-to-face confrontation, Gamaliel gently corrects his sons' wrong assumption that, because it is after midnight, they have lost the opportunity to recite the *Shema*-prayer, required every evening. The legal nature of the comment distinguishes this Rabbinic story from the pronouncement stories found in the Gospels or, for instance, pointed out by Robbins. Indeed, what is important or "memorable" about Gamaliel's final utterance becomes clear only when that legal statement is viewed within the *halakhic* setting to which it is intrinsic, that of M. Ber. 1:1 as a whole. The point is that all

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clearly dominate the stories, I agree with Porton that they should be deemed pronouncement stories. Still, the extent to which these items differ from the standard pronouncement story will be important when, at the end, we consider the larger traits of the Rabbinic material and question the degree to which they provide formal and substantive parallels to the Hellenistic pronouncement stories.

religious obligations to which one is subject "up until midnight" may, in fact, be performed throughout the night. The story of Gamaliel's sons serves the editor's purpose of emphasizing that point. Outside of this larger legal context, the story is neither memorable nor meaningful.

2.12 ***Sifra* 45.** It once happened that one of his students was rendering [legal] decisions in [R. Eliezer]'s presence. [R. Eliezer] said to his wife, Imma Shalom: "He will no longer live after the end of the Sabbath." And when he died after the Sabbath, sages entered and said to [Eliezer]: "Rabbi, you are a prophet!" He said to them: "I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. However, thus I received from my teachers, that anyone who renders legal decisions in the presence of his teacher deserves death."

Eliezer corrects the wrong assumption of sages. The realization that the student would die came not through prophetic abilities but because he had mastered Rabbinic knowledge. While there is no conscious adversarial relationship, Eliezer does present an important idea: Rabbinic learning provides the individual with insights tantamount to, or perhaps more powerful than, prophetic abilities. In this respect the rhetoric of the story is epideictic, strengthening our respect for Rabbis. Yet as in the previous example, and unlike those corrections cited by Robbins (1981:36-37), the final utterance in this Rabbinic story is not important because it is a witty or insightful maxim which characterizes the human condition or portrays the personality of the main character. Rather, it is important because it correctly describes Rabbinic law: One may recite the evening *Shema* until daybreak; one may not render legal decisions in the presence of one's teacher.

2.2 ***The Dissent.*** The dissent differs from the correction in that here a person or group takes an active role of adversary to the primary character. The category's name derives from the fact that "these stories portray dissension by a person or group against the primary character" (Robbins, 1981:39). Both sorts of dissent stories which Robbins locates in the four Lives of Plutarch are found as well in the early Rabbinic literature: the objection and the rebuff.

2.21 ***The Objection.*** A secondary person or group plays an adversarial role by objecting to the actions or ideas of the primary character. This calls for a response (the dissent) on the part of the main character, a response which appears as the story's final, pithy, utterance. Seven such pronouncement stories occur in the early Rabbinic literature. Their relative prominence is accounted for by the fact that these stories are closely akin to the unembellished disputes found with great frequency throughout the Mishnah, Tosefta and early Midrashic literature. Objections are essentially disputes developed through the addition of a specific setting. As we therefore should expect, the rhetoric in these stories is legal.

2.211 ***M. Ber. 2:5.*** There was an incident concerning Rabban Gamaliel, who recited the *Shema* on the night of his wedding. His students said to him: "Did you not teach us, our Rabbi, that the groom is exempt from reciting the *Shema* on the night of his marriage?" He said to them: "I will not listen to you so that I would remove the Kingdom of Heaven from me for even one hour!"

The students object of Gamaliel's actions, claiming that he contradicts his own teaching. His dissent forms the final, poignant, statement of the passage. Just as there are reasons for each and every law, so there are (in this case, religious) justifications for rejecting a particular rule. This same theme is carried forward in the next two entries, which comprise the continuation of the text of Mishnah Berakhot.

2.212 ***M. Ber. 2:6.*** [Gamaliel] washed on the first night after his wife had died. His students said to him: "Did you not teach us, our Rabbi, that a mourner is forbidden to wash?" He said to them: "I am not like other men, for I am of feeble health."

The form is exactly the same as in the preceding story. The students object that Gamaliel's actions are inconsistent with his teaching. He dissents, claiming that his is a special case and therefore not subject to the usual rule. As with the preceding example, the story's formulator's point seems to have been to reveal aspects of Gamaliel's character, aspects which all people should strive to match.[8] Gamaliel was extremely pious (2.211), yet not to a fault (2.212). The following story points out another aspect of Gamaliel's character, completing the model for all people who strive to be saintly.

2.213 ***M. Ber. 2:7.*** And when Tabi his slave died, [Gamaliel] received consolation because of him. His students said to him: "Did you not teach us, our Rabbi, that one does not receive consolation on account of slaves?" He said to them: "Tabi was not like other slaves; he was ritually fit."

Gamaliel again follows the presumed intent of the law, though not its letter. This is the aspect of his personality which this tripartite unit as a whole points out and the stressing of which seems to have stood behind the Mishnaic redactor's placement of these parallel accounts. We should not however ignore the essentially legal ramifications of these three pericopae. At their deepest level, these depictions of Gamaliel's character serve not to portray a specific personality, but to teach all readers the expected and acceptable attitude towards observance of the law in personal life. In this respect these internally legal and epideictic materials have a more central, deliberative function.

2.214 ***T. Pis. 4:13.*** One time the 14th [of Nisan] fell on the Sabbath. They asked Hillel the Elder: "Does the Passover offering override the Sabbath?" He said to them: "And do we have only one Passover offering in the year which overrides the Sabbath? We have more than 300 Passover offerings in the year, and they [all] override the Sabbath." The whole courtyard collected against him. He said to them: "The continual offering is a community sacrifice and the Passover offering is a community sacrifice. Just as the continual offering, which is a community sacrifice, overrides the Sabbath, so the Passover offering, which is a community sacrifice, overrides the Sabbath. Another matter: It is said concerning the continual offering '*its season*' (Num. 28:2), and '*its season*' (Num. 9:2) is said concerning the Passover offering. Just as the continual offering, concerning which '*its season*' is said, overrides the Sabbath, so the Passover offering, concerning which '*its season*' is said, overrides the Sabbath. And furthermore, [it is an] *a fortiori* [argument]. Since the continual offering,

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[8]In these two entries and the one which follows, application of the standard rhetorical categories (see n. 2) does not appear fruitful. Each of these stories reveals legal or judicial rhetoric, insofar as Gamaliel stands accused of a wrong action and his guilt or innocence is under dispute. Yet as is characteristic of all such discussions in Rabbinic literature, these stories also have a deliberative function. That is, the basic question is not whether Gamaliel has transgressed. Within the Rabbinic master-disciple relationship, that is not a possibility. Rather, the real issue is under what sorts of circumstances one may, in general, ignore specific directives. At the same time, finally, these stories have clear epideictic overtones, strengthening the reader's belief that such a figure as Gamaliel would not do what is forbidden. It is in this regard that Gamaliel serves as a model for all Israelite behavior.

which does not produce liability to [the punishment of] cutting off, overrides the Sabbath, the Passover offering, which does produce the liability to [the punishment of] cutting off, how much the more should it override the Sabbath. And further, I have received from my masters [the tradition] that the Passover offering overrides the Sabbath, and not [merely] the first Passover offering [overrides the Sabbath], but [also] the Passover offering of the individual [overrides the Sabbath]." They said to him: "What will be the rule for the people who do not bring knives and Passover offerings to the Sanctuary [before the Sabbath, so as to prevent themselves from needing to do forbidden labor on the Sabbath itself]?" He said to them: "Leave them alone. The holy spirit is upon them. If they are not prophets, they are the disciples of prophets."

Hillel's long opening statement, which explains how we know that the Passover offering overrides the Sabbath, comprises the setting of this pronouncement story. The objection is the challenge presented by the unspecified "they," who ask about the rule for people who forget to prepare the proper utensils before the Sabbath, since carrying on the Holy Day itself is forbidden. The weight of their objection is to propose that, because Hillel's ruling potentially will lead to a transgression, it is unacceptable. The dissent, Hillel's final utterance, claims that those who object do not correctly understand the situation. Subject to the holy spirit, the people naturally will do the correct thing. While this incident thus contains all of the elements of the pronouncement story, it is of a very different character from those pronouncement stories found, for instance, in the Gospels or pointed out by Robbins as belonging to this particular category (Robbins, 1981:36-37). Contrary to what the pronouncement story form should indicate, the emphasis of this story, and its point, does not devolve around the final utterance alone. Rather, the real point here seems to come when Hillel notes that he actually is quoting the teaching of his masters. Only at this point is his opinion accepted. The conclusion of the story, containing the question of those who object and providing the context for Hillel's final utterance, is an anti-climax. The story's "they" now have accepted Hillel's view as authoritative, coming as it does from past masters. They therefore ask him a further question, concerning a practical issue in carrying out his view. Already having gained their trust, Hillel answers in a memorable, if somewhat cryptic, manner, comparable to the final *apophthegmata* we find in many pronouncement stories. Yet since this final utterance is not the focus of the pericope as a whole, classification of this unit as a pronouncement story is debatable. While it has all of the elements of such a story, those elements do not interact in a manner familiar from those examples of the pronouncement story suggested, for instance, by Robbins.[9]

2.215 ***Sifre Deut. 38.*** One time R. Eliezer and R. Zadoq were reclining at a feast for the son of Rabban Gamaliel. Rabban Gamaliel mixed a glass [of wine] for R. Eliezer, but he did not wish to accept it. R. Joshua accepted it. R. Eliezer said to him: "What is this, Joshua? Is it right that we should recline and Gamaliel beRabbi should stand and serve us?" R. Joshua said to him: "Leave him alone that he might serve [us]. Abraham, the greatest one of the world, served the ministering angels, even though he thought that they were Arab idolaters, for it is said, *And he lifted his eyes and looked, and behold, three men stood in front of him* (Gen. 18:2). And is it not an *a fortiori* [argument]? Now if Abraham, the great one of the world, served the ministering angels, and he thought that they were Arab idolaters, should not Gamaliel beRabbi serve us?"

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[9]The long exegetical introduction to this pericope also serves to distinguish it from the usual pronouncement story, with its short statement of setting or context.

The story contains all of the elements of the present category. Eliezer objects to the use of Gamaliel as a servant. Joshua, the primary character, corrects Eliezer's wrong assumption that Gamaliel is being demeaned. Joshua does this by pointing out that even Abraham served others, people who he thought were of lower stature than himself. Joshua has the last word, which, true to the objection form, leaves adversarial tension concerning whether or not Eliezer accepted his explanation. Yet within Rabbinic literature, and legal rhetoric in general, this tension is hardly noteworthy as an element peculiar to this form. While the literature abounds with disputes and debates comparable to the one we find here, these almost never conclude by indicating explicitly that one party came to accept the other's opinion.

2.216 ***Sifre Deut. 43.*** And one time Rabban Gamaliel, R. Joshua, R. Eleazar b. Azzariah and R. Aqiba entered Rome. They heard a din from Petilon, 120 miles away. They began crying, but R. Aqiba laughed. They said to him: "Aqiba, why are we crying, but you are laughing?" [Aqiba] said to them: "And you, why are you crying?" They said to him: "Should we not cry, for the gentile idolators, who offer sacrifices to [false] gods and prostrate themselves before idols, sit in peace and ease. But the House which was the footstool of our God is burned with fire and has become a dwelling place for beasts of the field." [Aqiba] said to them: "It is even for that reason that I laugh. If [God] acted thus towards those who anger Him, how much the more [will He act in this way] towards those who do His will, [so that Israel eventually will also dwell in peace and ease]."

Gamaliel, Joshua and Eleazar b. Azzariah object to Aqiba's laughing at the sound of people engaged in idol worship. Aqiba corrects their wrong understanding of his action, explaining why it is indeed appropriate to laugh in such circumstances. The story's rhetoric is epideictic, strengthening our belief in the positive and ongoing relationship between the people of Israel and its God.

2.217 ***Mekh. Ish. Vayassa 1.*** Again it once happened that a student went [before the ark to lead the service] in the presence of R. Eliezer, and [the student] lengthened his prayers. [Eliezer]'s students said to him: "Our Rabbi, you saw that so-and-so lengthened his prayers." . . . [Eliezer] said to them: "He did not lengthen [them] more than Moses, for it is said: *So I fell down before the Lord forty days* . . ." (Deut. 9:25). Fro R. Eliezer used to say: "There is a time to shorten [one's prayers] and a time to lengthen [them]."

The students object to the actions of a third party, the person who lengthened his prayers. Eliezer, the primary character, corrects them, indicating that contrary to what they think, there are occasions upon which it is proper to lengthen one's prayers. While all of the elements of the objection thus are present, the classification of this pericope as a pronouncement story still might be questioned. This is because the final utterance ("For R. Eliezer used to say . . .") is not primary to the story as a whole. It is, rather, a legal statement, tacked on to what would have been a complete, intelligible, story even without it. This entry thus is not comparable to the pronouncement stories with which we have become familiar, in which the final utterance comprises the central, intrinsic, focus of the pericope as a whole. This item became a pronouncement story through an apparent accident of redaction, the inclusion of the secondary ending which contains Eliezer's final, legal, ruling.

2.22 ***The Rebuff.*** In the rebuff a secondary character, instead of the primary one, makes the final dissent. That is, the primary character performs an action or makes a statement which stimulates a dissenting response from the secondary character (Robbins,

1981:40). Robbins (1981:41) suggests that such stories are "virtually non-existent in a literature in which the primary character is a religious leader." In such a literature we should expect that the primary character always will have the final, poignant statement. Notably, this claim does not extend to the early Rabbinic literature, in which we find three rebuffs, as well as a multitude of non-pronouncement story disputes and debates. All of these conclude with at least one religious figure's being proven wrong. This literature allows these religious figures to appear in negative light because of its original audience, restricted to group members alone. The fact that the documents with which we deal are not first and foremost public statements means that they may portray attitudes unfitting to a literature, such as the Gospels, intended to prove directly to the outside world the holiness and infallibility of their primary characters.

2.221 ***M. Ber. 1:3.*** R. Tarfon said: "I was going on the road and I reclined to recite the [evening] *Shema* according to the words of the House of Shammai, and [in doing so] I placed myself in danger from robbers." They said to him: "You deserved to lose your life, for you transgressed the words of the House of Hillel."

A secondary party, referred to simply as "they," rebuffs Tarfon for endangering his life by following an erroneous teaching. This is a rebuff, and not an objection, because Tarfon, who clearly is the main character, does not have the final word but, rather, is left speechless. While the unit concerns an issue of law and is best understood within the legal context provided by the pericope of Mishnah of which it is a part, the final statement clearly transcends that context. It makes the more basic point that all matters of law should be decided in accordance with the opinion of the House of Hillel. In this respect, the internal legal rhetoric gives way to an overriding epideictic and deliberative function.

2.222 ***Sifra 58b-c.*** A certain student said before R. Aqiba: "I must say what I have learned: [*When a woman at childbirth bears a male*] *she shall be unclean seven days. . . . And on the eighth day* [*the flesh of his foreskin*] *shall be circumcised* (Lev. 12:2-3). One might think [that he should be circumcised] fifteen days [after his birth; that is, the] eighth [day after her] seven days [of uncleanness; however] Scripture says, *on that day* [which proves that circumcision is on the eighth day after birth]." R. Aqiba said to him: "You sink in mighty waters and you bring clay up in your hands. For is it not already said: *And a son eight days old you shall circumcise, all the males forever* (Gen. 17:12)?"

This appears to be a rebuff, in which Aqiba, a secondary character, rebukes the student whose exegesis takes up the main portion of the entry. While this is essentially an exegetical debate, it meets the definition of a pronouncement story because of the presence of an (albeit undeveloped) historical setting (viz.: [Once] a certain student said . . .) and the inclusion of Aqiba's provocative retort ("You sink in deep waters . . ."). The rhetoric is deliberative, indicating when a child should be circumcised. The real poin, however, is the more generalized one, that there is little value in, and no need for, Scriptural interpretations which ignore what is stated explicitly in the Biblical text.

2.223 ***Sifra 94a.*** One time an ulcer formed on the leg of Joseph b. Pakas, and he asked the doctor to operate. He said to him: "Let me know when [you] finish the operation and [the leg] remains [hanging] as if by a hair." The doctor [finished the operation and] left [the leg hanging] as if by a hair, and he made this known to him. [Joseph] called to his son, Nahunyah. He said to him: "Hunyah, my son, until now you have been obligated to care for me. From now on, go away, for one does not defile [himself] by the limb of a living person, even his

father's." And when the matter came before sages, they said that it was said [concerning him]: "*There is a righteous man that perishes in his righteousness* (Qoh. 7:15), [which means] the righteous one is lost, and his righteousness [is lost] with him."

The primary character is Joseph b. Pakas, whose leg is operated on. Sages, a third party, have the final word, rebuffing him for being overzealous concerning matters of defilement. The point of this indirect rebuff thus is that "one can be, so to speak, too righteous" (Porton, 1981:93). Making this point concerning proper actions, the rhetoric here is deliberative.

3. ***The Affirmative Pronouncement Story.*** These stories place the primary and secondary characters in an affirming relationship, characterized through agreement between them or praise of one for the other (Robbins, 1981:42). They are of two general types, the commendation and the laudation.

3.1 ***The Commendation.*** In the commendation, the primary character ends the story with the final statement of praise. This praise may be for himself (self-commendation), the second party within the story (direct-commendation), or for some third party (indirect-commendation) (ibid.). In the early Rabbinic literature, we find one example of the direct-commendation and two of the indirect-commendation. In each the praise offered is for prowess in matters of law and exegesis. By definition, the rhetoric in these stories is epideictic, affirming our knowledge of the legal abilities of Rabbinic authorities.

3.11 ***Tos. Hag. 2:1.*** One time R. Yohanan b. Zakkai was riding on his donkey, and R. Eleazar b. Arak was close behind him. [Eleazar] said to him: "Rabbi, teach me one section of the Maaseh Merkavah." [Yohanan] said to him: "NO! Thus I have said to you previously, that they do not teach about the Merkavah to an individual unless he is a sage who understands his own knowledge." [Eleazar] said to him: "Now I wish to discuss with you." [Yohanan] said to him: "Speak." R. Eleazar b. Arak opened [his discourse] and expounded the Maaseh Merkavah. R. Yohanan b. Zakkai got down from his donkey and wrapped himself in his prayer shawl, and both of them sat on a stone under an olive tree, and he discussed before him. [Yohanan] stood and kissed him on his head and said: "Blessed is the Lord, the God of Israel, who gave a son to Abraham, our father, who knows [how] to understand and to explain the glory of our Father in heaven. There are those who expound well but do not live well. There are those who live well but do not expound well. But Eleazar b. Arak expounds well and lives well. Happy are you, Abraham our father, for Eleazar b. Arak, who knows how to understand and to explain the glory of our Father in heaven, came out of your loins."

This is a commendation, for Yohanan praises Eleazar, whose actions and words are depicted in the first part of the story. In this particular example, the narrative tension is increased, because, in the first few lines, Yohanan corrects Eleazar's presumed wrong belief that he is fit to be taught esoteric knowledge. The pericope belongs here, however, and not under aphoristic corrections, because of the eventual commendation, which is the point to which the story as a whole develops. In light of that ending, the correction in the middle leaves no aphoristic tension. We are not left to wonder whether or not the secondary character, Eleazar, accepts the criticism.

3.12 **Tos. Kel. B.B. 1:2-3.** One time a certain woman who had woven a garment in cleanness came before R. Ishmael for [him] to examine her [concerning whether

or not the garment indeed was to be deemed clean]. She said to him: "Rabbi, I know that the garment was not rendered unclean; however, it was not in my heart to guard it [from uncleanness]." As a result of the examination of her which R. Ishmael conducted, she said to him: "Rabbi, I know that a menstruating woman entered and pulled the cord [so that she may have conveyed uncleanness to the garment by her shaking the web] with me." Said R. Ishmael: "How great are the words of sages, for they used to say, 'If one did not intend to guard it [from uncleanness], it is unclean.' "

This is an indirect commendation, for the situation depicted in the beginning of the story leads to Yohanan's praising of a third party, the sages, who are not directly involved at all.

3.13 ***Mekh. Ish. Pisha 16.*** One time the students spent the Sabbath in Yavneh, but R. Joshua did not spend the Sabbath there. When his students came to him, he said to them: "What new thing did you [learn] in Yavneh?" They said to him: "After you, Rabbi." He said to them: "Who spent the Sabbath there?" They said to him: "R. Eleazar b. Azzariah." He said to them: "Is it possible that R. Eleazar b. Azzariah spent the Sabbath there and you did not [learn] anything new!" They said to him: "[He stated] this general statement [when] he explained [Deut 29:9-10]: '*You are standing today all of you . . . your little ones and your wives.* Now did a little one actually know [enough] to understand [the difference] between good and evil? Rather, [they were mentioned in the verse] to give a reward for those who brought them [and] to increase the reward for those who do His will to establish what is said, *The Lord was pleased for his righteousness' sake*' " (Is. 42:21). He said to them: "This is a new teaching and more than that, [for] behold, I was like a person seventy years old, but I was not worthy [to understand] this thing until today. Happy are you, Abraham, our father, for Eleazar b. Azzariah came out of your loins. The generation is not an orphan generation, for Eleazar b. Azzariah dwells in it."

This is another indirect-commendation, for the one being praised, Eleazar b. Azzariah, is not directly confronted by the one praising him, Joshua. Eleazar is commended for his insightful exegesis of Scripture.

3.2 ***The Laudation.*** This second type of affirmative pronouncement story differs from the commendation in that the praise is for the story's primary character, delivered by an outside party (Robbins, 1981:44). Four examples of such stories are found in the early Rabbinic literature.

3.21 ***Tos. Ber. 3:20.*** They said about R. Haninah b. Dosa that he was praying when a lizard bit him; however, he did not stop praying. His students went and found it dead. They said: "Woe to the man whom a lizard bites; woe to the lizard that bites Ben Dosa."

An unidentified "they" both provides the setting and delivers the praise of the story's main character, Haninah b. Dosa. Haninah is commended for his fervor and concentration during prayer.

3.22 ***Tos. Ned. 5:15.*** It happened to Hananyah b. Hananyah that his father dedicated him to be a Nazarite. He brought him before Rabban Gamaliel, [and] Rabban Gamaliel examined him to see if he were of age. [Hananyah] said to him: "Why are you worried? [Are you worried that] I am [not] under my father's authority? [If] I am under my father's authority, behold, I am a Nazarite. But if I am under

my own authority, behold, I am a Nazarite from this moment [forward]." [Gamaliel] stood and kissed him on the head. He said: "I am certain that you will be an authoritative teacher in Israel before you die." And he did become an authoritative teacher in Israel before his death.

Gamaliel, a secondary character, praises Hananyah b. Hananyah, the primary character. "Gamaliel's praise results from the fact that Hananyah was willing to fulfill his father's wish that he become a Nazarite whether or not his father had control over Hananyah's life" (Porton, 1981:88). The final sentence is tacked on and not part of the expected pronouncement story form, which would have the entry end with Gamaliel's laudation.

3.23 ***Sifre Num. 75.*** [*And the sons of Aaron*], *the priests*, [*shall blow the trumpets*] (Num. 10:3). "Whether blemished or unblemished"—the words of R. Tarfon. R. Aqiba says: "*Priests* is said here, and *priests* is said elsewhere (Lev. 1:11). Just as *priests* which is said elsewhere [refers to] unblemished [priests] and not to blemished [priests], also here [*priests* refers to] unblemished [priests], and not to blemished [priests]." R. Tarfon said to him: "How long will you rake [words] together and bring them against us, Aqiba?" He was unable to bear up. "I swear by the life of my children that I saw Simon, my mother's brother, who girded his feet [for he was a cripple] standing and blowing the trumpets." [Aqiba] said to him: "Yes, [but] perhaps [he did this only] on Rosh HaShanah, Yom Kippur or the Jubilee year?" [Tarfon] said to him: "You are not refuted. Happy are you, Abraham, our father, for Aqiba has come out of your loins. Tarfon saw and forgot, [but] Aqiba explained [it] on his own and made [it] agree with the law. Behold, anyone who separates himself from you, [Aqiba], it is as if he separated himself from his own life."

The story concludes with Tarfon's praise for the primary character, Aqiba, for his prowess in matters of law.

3.24 ***Sifre Num. 131.*** One time Sabta of Ulan hired his donkey to a gentile woman. When she reached the edge of the territory, she said to him: "Wait until I enter the temple of [the territory's] idol." When she came out, he said to her: "Wait for me until I enter and do as you have done." She said to him: "Is it possible that you, a Jew, [will enter and serve the idol]?" He entered [and uncovered himself] and wiped himself on the nose of Peor. Then all the gentiles laughed and said: "No man has served [Peor] like this before!"

Sabta's actions are praised by a secondary group, whose laudation comes at the end of the story. The author's use of irony in placing this praise in the mouths of gentiles highlights the story's polemic intent. By commending Sabta, the gentiles themselves admit to the irrational character of idol-worship. This heightens the epideictic force of the story by strengthening the reader's belief in the Israelite way of life.

4. *The Corpus as a Whole.* Robbins's system of classification proves a viable means of organizing the Rabbinic pronouncement stories. Each of the entries fits clearly into one of the categories which Robbins delineated in his work on Plutarch's *Lives*. To see the Rabbinic pronouncement stories within these categories is, however, only a first step. The more important task is to consider the extent to which use of these classifications furthers our understanding of the Rabbinic material. So far, we have seen that some of the Rabbinic pronouncement stories are in fact illuminated by recognition of their similarities to other, Hellenistic, pronouncement stories. Yet many of the pericopae with which we have dealt have features and literary functions which are obscured through Robbins's classification scheme. While we find certain affinities with the rest of

the pronouncement literature, we also find important differences. These must now be elaborated.

4.1 The synoptic table (following page) indicates that twelve of the twenty-four early Rabbinic pronouncement stories (fifty percent) are adversative. Within the context of the Rabbinic literature, this is not surprising. That literature uses the dispute as one of its basic formal building blocks. This form is particularly prominent in the Misnah and Tosefta, in which six of the twelve adversative pronouncement stories are found. The weight of this is that what we have identified as adversative pronouncement stories do not in fact represent a striking, autonomous, formal category within this literature. They are, rather, slightly developed disputes, augmented simply through the addition of an often vague setting, normally missing in the early legal and exegetical literatures. This consideration extends to all but perhaps two of the adversative examples under discussion. It applies as well to two of the aphoristic stories and to two commendations, marked on the synoptic table by asterisks. These entries, fourteen out of a total of twenty-four pronouncement stories, concern purely legal or exegetical issues. They do not suggest maxims which have generalized interest outside of the legal contexts in which they have been redacted. Nor do these items provide anecdotes intended primarily to reveal the character and personality of specific Rabbinic figures.[10] They are legal materials—disputes and debates—first and pronouncement stories second. This being the case, the formal ways in which they parallel the Gospel and Hellenistic pronouncement stories are less meaningful than their classification within Robbins's schema might lead us to believe.

4.2 Alongside the adversative materials, the Rabbinic pronouncement stories are divided almost evenly between the aphoristic category (five items, or 20.8 percent of the total) and the affirmative classification (seven items, or 29 percent of the whole). Unlike the previously discussed materials, certain of the aphoristic pronouncement stories closely parallel the sorts of materials found in the Gospels and other Hellenistic literatures. Here we find maxims (M. Av. 2:6) and comments of general interest, for instance concerning the character of Israelite existence after the destruction of the Temple (Sifre Deut. 80 and 322, both set in the context of exegesis of Scripture). We even find a picture of the Rabbinic authority as sage and thinker, concerned with the larger issues that pagan philosophers address (T. Shebu. 3:6, Sifre Deut. 13). In these items the Rabbinic use of the pronouncement story's literary form fills a role similar to that function identified in other literatures.[11]

4.3 The situation as regards the affirmative pronouncement stories is much closer to that evidenced in the adversative stories, discussed at 4.1. These materials too concentrate upon issues of law. Almost uniformly, that is, the statement of praise with which they conclude is for the named authority's prowess in matters of law and Scriptural exegesis. In this regard, T. Kel. B.B. 1:2-3 is most telling. As the asterisk marking it indicates, that pericope is essentially a legal dispute, augmented with a vague historical setting. Unlike in non-Rabbinic pronouncement stories, the final statement here is not

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[10] As regards the stories concerning Gamaliel, M. Ber. 2:5-7, see my comments at 2.213 and in n. 8.

[11] Note however my comments to these specific pericopae (at 1.11, 1.12, 1.21 and 1.22). These indicate that while the pericopae under consideration here follow the general substantive and formal traits of the pronouncement story, their meaning is not properly revealed through analysis of these traits in particular. For the cases of T. Shebu. 3:6 and Sifre Deut. 13 we saw how classification on formal grounds as aphoristic inquiries actually obscured the deeper point of the stories.

APHORISTIC		ADVERSATIVE			AFFIRMATIVE	
			Dissents			
Descriptions	Inquiries	Corrections	Objections	Rebuffs	Commendations	Laudations
M. Av. 2:6		M. Ber. 1:1*	M. Ber. 2:5* M. Ber. 2:6* M. Ber. 2:7*	M. Ber. 1:3*		
	T. Shebu. 3:6		T. Pis. 4:13*		T. Hag. 2:1 T. Kel. B.B. 1:2-3*	T. Ber. 3:20 T. Ned. 5:15
Sif. Deut. 80* Sif. Deut. 322*	Sif. Deut. 13	Sif. Deut. 43	Sif. Deut. 38*			
		Sifra 43c*		Sifra 58b-c* Sifra 94a		
						Sifre Num. 75* Sifre Num. 131
			Mech. Ishmael Vayassa 1*		Mech. Ishmael Pisha 16	

Synopsis: The Early Rabbinic Pronouncement Stories
(*= legal or exegetical materials)

the main focus of the pericope as a whole. Its formulator's concern was the larger legal and exegetical issue being discussed and not the final utterance, which in a true pronouncement story should be the central focus of attention. The same is the case at Tos. Hag. 2:1, Mech. Ishmael Pisha 16 and Sifre Numbers 75, also listed under the affirmative pronouncement stories. Within this category, only T. Ned. 5:15 and Sifre Numbers 75 are close to the usual literary function of the pronouncement story. They concentrate upon the person being praised (albeit for matters of law) and establish that person's character as a model to be imitated. Sifre Numbers 131 is different from all of these other pericopae. It functions not as a laudation of its main character but simply as an anecdote which pokes fun at pagan idol-worship, thereby commending Israelite religion.

4.4 All but perhaps seven[12] of the twenty-four Rabbinic pericopae evidence an essential difference from the pronouncement stories found in the Gospels and Hellenistic literatures. All literary movement in these stories should be towards the final utterance. This utterance serves as the focus of the story as a whole and reveals the point which the story's formulator wished to make. In the majority of the Rabbinic stories, which concern legal or exegetical issues, this characteristic is not found. The formulator's interest most often is depicted in the legal issue itself. Indeed, description of this issue often takes up considerably more space than the pronouncement story's "setting," to which it is parallel. Of course, of literary necessity, even in the Rabbinic literature, the story "moves" towards the final utterance. But in this literature, that utterance does not provide the culmination and point of the whole. It simply suggests the resolution of the legal or exegetical issue already described. This being the case, it is essentially a facet of that legal issue, not an autonomous, memorable or witty remark. While the outward form of the Rabbinic pericopae reviewed here thus matches that of the pronouncement story, their underlying character is different. The reason for this may now be spelled out.

5. ***The Individual in Rabbinic Literature.*** The centrality of the pronouncement story's final utterance reveals the story's emphasis upon the personality of the individual who either himself stated that pronouncement or about whom it was said. In failing to focus upon this utterance, the Rabbinic pericopae now discussed are consistent with the Rabbinic literature's general tendency to ignore the personality traits of individual Rabbinic masters. This characteristic neglect of the individual accounts for the overall paucity of pronouncement stories within Rabbinic literature. It also explains why most of the stories which we do find are not close functional parallels to the Hallenistic and Gospel pronouncement stories.[13] Indeed, as we shall now see, the formulaic character of the Rabbinic literature as a whole is such that traits of individual personality are virtually ignored throughout.

5.1 Individual Rabbinic documents evidence a high degree of stylistic uniformity. All that the Mishnah has to say, for instance, is expressed within a small number of highly formalized and stylized linguistic patterns that appear in both anonymous rules and in the mouths of named authorities.[14] Such forms "by nature remove us from the historical figure because they 'package' or epitomize his thought, obscure idiosyncracy and unique modes of expression, and thereby conceal distinctive elements of personality,

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[12]These are: M. Av. 2:6 (1.11), Sifre Deut. 322 (1.13), Sifre Deut. 43 (2.216), Sifra 94a (2.223), T. Hag. 2:1 (3.11), T. Ber. 3:20 (3.21), Sifre Num. 131 (3.24).

[13]On this and the following, see Porton's original formulation, 1981:94-96.

[14]See the evidence from my work on Mishnah-Tractate Terumot (1981:21-25 and passim) and the original discussion of this phenomenon in Neusner, 1977:234-46, 298-302 and 1979:155-81.

character, and intellect" (Green, 1978:81). The topical arrangement of these documents further serves to obscure the traits of individual masters, for these "documents are not constructed around the sayings of any individual, but follow either a thematic, formal, topical or scriptural arrangement in which the teachings or opinions of various masters are gathered to address a single issue or to interpret a particular verse of Scripture" (Green, 1978:80).

5.2 Through their use of linguistic patterns and their particular mode of arrangement of materials, the formulators of early Rabbinic literature thus worked to do exactly the opposite of what the pronouncement story form hopes to accomplish. The purpose of that form is stated clearly by Robbins (1981:30), who writes concerning Plutarch's *Lives* that, "The memorable sayings at the end of these stories exhibit the wit and wisdom of people in the midst of political and social strife in Greece and Rome from the seventh century B.C. through the first century A.D. . . . In addition, portions of his *Lives* contain strings of apophthegms designed to display a special attribute of the person about whom the life is being written." It is exactly these "special attributes" of personality, represented in people's reactions to particular political and social contexts, that the formulators of Rabbinic documents worked to efface, as Green's comments show. We therefore can be surprised neither at the small total number of pronouncement stories that the Rabbis created and preserved nor at the degree to which those stories that we do find in their literature fail to fit the substantive characteristics of the Gospel and Hellenistic formal parallels. These conclusions appear probative despite the several Rabbinic stories which reveal epideictic rhetoric, designed to strengthen respect for the Rabbinic authority being cited. In these cases the praise uniformly is for ability in matters of law and exegesis, on the one hand, or for the Israelite way of life in general, on the other. Indeed, the majority of items reviewed, including those that evidence epideictic rhetoric, serve a much more basic deliberative function, describing in legal terms the behaviors expected from all Israelites. What is revealed here thus is not individual traits of personality, but facility, knowledge and piety in public matters of law and practice.

6. ***Conclusion.*** Porton uncovered and reported on several examples of early Rabbinic pronouncement stories. This paper carried forward that work to show that these stories may be classified within the types of pronouncement stories found in the Greek literature and categorized by Robbins. While this work of classification of the Rabbinic pericopae was successful, it highlighted not the similarities between the Rabbinic and Hellenistic texts but their differences. Let us review these differences and the conclusions based upon them.

6.1 Within the early Rabbinic literature the pronouncement story was neither a popular nor, where it does appear, a notably unique, form of literary expression. Few such early Rabbinic stories appear. The ones which we do find consist for the most part simply of slightly embellished disputes and debates. Like the literature of which they are a part, these deal almost exclusively with issues of law and exegesis. We need not therefore assume that, in creating these pronouncement stories, the editors of our documents followed a form familiar to them from other literatures. Nor do they seem consciously to have created a form of expression suited to meet specific literary and substantive needs, for instance, to facilitate the transmission of biographical data.[15] It is quite possible, therefore, that by analyzing Rabbinic pericopae under the rubric "pronouncement stories," we impose upon the Rabbinic literature a category essentially foreign to it. If this is the case, any claims, based upon the pronouncement story, of a relationship between the Hellenistic literature and the Rabbinic materials are by nature fallacious.

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[15]See above, 1.11.

6.2 This conclusion, based upon considerations of literary form and style, is strengthened when we note further that the Rabbinic pericopae analyzed here differ substantively from their Hellenistic and Gospel counterparts. As my comments to the individual entries show, the Rabbinic pericopae are not intended to emphasize the particular personality traits of the individuals who either make the pronouncement or about whom it is said. This is in keeping with the overall character of the early Rabbinic literature, which shows little interest in the personality of specific Rabbinic masters. Yet it is exactly contrary to the use of the pronouncement story form in the Gospels and Hellenistic literatures, in which that form serves to display the unique attributes of the individual around whom the story revolves.

6.3 Realizing these differences between the Gospel and Hellenistic pronouncement stories, on the one hand, and the Rabbinic materials, on the other, we must maintain and broaden the conclusions reached by Porton in his article on this topic. First, as Porton has shown, it is unlikely that, in their portrayal of Jesus, the authors of the Gospels were influenced by Rabbinic literature. The stronger parallel exists between the Gospels and Greek works on the philosophers and politicians. Second, we now see that there is little correlation between the Rabbinic material and the Hellenistic pronouncement story in general. This means that it does not appear that additional study of the early Rabbinic pronouncement stories will provide fruitful conclusions regarding either the Rabbinic literature or the pronouncement story form in general. The dissimilarities between the character and usage, in the two literatures, of an outwardly common form has been instructive of the very different underlying concerns and interests of the Hellenistic and early Rabbinic literatures. Work must now be continued in the contexts of these individual literary traditions so as to explore and explain these distinctive characters.[16]

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aspect dominates all the gospel accounts of the way in which Jesus summoned individuals to follow after him. To be sure, it is not always so linguistically explicit as in Mk 1:17 par., where Jesus addresses Peter and Andrew with the demand δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, or in Mk 2:14 par. (Levi), Mk 10:21 par. (the rich man), Mt 8:22 par. (anonymous), or Jn 1:43 (Philip), where the challenge is ἀκολούθει μοι. But materially every such incident is exclusively marked by the initiative of Jesus. This is attested even when there is no explicit call, as, for example, in Mk 1:19-20 (James and John), Mk 10:46-52 (Bartimaeus), and in the Lukan version of the call of the first disciples (Lk 5:1-11). The main point is that the prospective disciples simply obeyed Jesus when they left all and followed him. In this respect the tradition is unanimous: one can become a disciple only on the basis of a call. Indeed, there is not a single instance in the synoptic tradition where an individual *successfully* volunteers to become a disciple![6]

Despite the curious and often striking character of the call story, it has received only passing consideration in the literature on Jesus and the gospels. R. Bultmann, for example, examines the Markan call stories under his rubric of the "biographical apophthegm," and compares them to Elijah's prophetic call of Elisha in 1 Kings 19. His analysis, however, occupies less than a page.[7] E. Schweizer's monograph, *Lordship and Discipleship*, likewise deals only briefly with the subject of "following Jesus."[8] More recently, M. Hengel attends to the call narratives as part of his exegesis on Mt 8:21-22 ("Let the dead bury the dead") and in light of his study of discipleship in the gospels. Hengel's conclusions, unfortunately, are mostly negative: "Nowhere do we have reports of calls of such telling brevity as those in Mk 1:16ff. and Mk 2:13f."; and "individual analogies from the Hellenistic field are hardly comparable with Jesus' situation."[9]

As the work of these scholars indicates, the study of the gospel call stories has suffered from a failure to consider these narratives in relation to similar accounts in religious and philosophical biographies roughly contemporary with the gospels. This failure is especially acute because a substantial amount of work has already been done on this aspect of Greek biography.[10] The present essay seeks to remedy this deficiency by

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[6]Nor does the Johannine account differ fundamentally in this regard (Jn 1:35-51; cf. 15:16).

[7]*History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 28-29. M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York: Scribners, 1934) 44, classifies the call stories as *paradigms*, but devotes scarcely any attention to them.

[8](SBT, 28; London: SCM, 1960) 11-20. Equally superficial is W. Bieder, *Die Berufung im Neuen Testament* (AThANT, 38; Zürich: Zwingli, 1961).

[9]*The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 19 n. 12 and 12. At the conclusion of his study, Hengel's assertions become even bolder: "Jesus' 'charisma' breaks through the possibilities of categorization in terms of the phenomenology of religion. The *very uniqueness* (!) of the way in which Jesus called individuals to 'follow after' him is an expression of his underivable 'messianic' authority. We can therefore do nothing but agree with Hans Conzelmann when he emphasizes that 'what is specific in Jesus' self-consciousness is documented in his relationship with his disciples.' As to the call of the disciples, in the last analysis only the call of the OT prophets by the God of Israel himself is a genuine analogy" (p.87). Cf. the review of the German ed. (1968) by H. D. Betz, *JBL* 88 (1969) 116-17. Betz is properly critical of Hengel's analysis. Also unsatisfactory is A. Schulz, *Nachfolgen und Nachahmen* (StANT, 6; Munich: Kösel, 1962), who argues that Jesus' call to "follow after" him is to be understood by analogy to the rabbinic expression *halakh ʾahᵃrê*, taken to mean "teacher and pupil living together in the service of the Torah" (p. 33).

[10]See esp. O. Gigon, "Antike Erzählung über die Berufung zur Philosophie," *Museum Helveticum* 3 (1946) 1-21; and, more generally, E. Norden, "Antike Menschen im

exploring possible connections between the call narratives of the gospels and of ancient biography in general. It will be argued that the call stories of the synoptic tradition (i.e. of Mark and Q) have been shaped by a pre-existing literary schema whose roots can be traced to Cynic philosophy. The literary models for these narratives were supplied by the biographical anecdotes (*chreiai*) about Socrates and Diogenes in which the act of becoming a disciple is characterized as a decisive and paradoxical event. These narratives have no historical value in the strict sense; their primary intention is to disclose who is a genuine disciple, and who is not, and to illustrate the way in which a person enters into discipleship.

I

Bultmann's classification of the call story as an *apophthegma* (ἀπόφθεγμα) stands in need of correction. If analyzed strictly on the basis of literary form, these stories are closer to the ancient rhetorical category of the *chreia* (χρεία), or anecdote, a brief narrative relating a striking saying or deed of some individual.[11] The typical forms of the *chreia* are those in which the saying or deed is introduced by (1) a question, or (2) a personal remark, or (3) a very brief description of the setting (frequently in the genitive absolute), as the following examples illustrate:

> 1. When someone inquired of Anaxagoras, "Have you no concern for your fatherland?" he replied, "I am greatly concerned with my fatherland," and pointed to the sky.[12]
>
> 2. One day when Antisthenes was censured for keeping company with evil men, he replied, "Physicians attend to their patients without getting the fever themselves."[13]
>
> 3. At Megara Diogenes saw the sheep protected by leather jackets, while the children went bare. "It's better," he said, "to be a Megarian's ram than his son."[14]

In all three examples it is clear that the introduction merely serves the purpose of giving the circumstances necessary for comprehension: the author does not give in to the pleasures of story-telling. In keeping with the style, the hero is only characterized by the actual saying or deed; and the more striking the saying or deed, the greater the attention to conciseness.

The *chreia* became a popular literary form in the Hellenistic and Roman periods among grammarians and rhetoricians, and found its way into the handbooks for orators and the grammatical exercises of the schools, as can be seen from the numerous "school

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ringen von ihrer Berufsbestimmung," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Jahrgang 1932) XXXVII-LIII; and W. Schwer, "Beruf," *RAC* 2 (1954) 141-56 (with bibliography).

[11] Χρεία ἐστὶ σύντομος ἀπόφασις ἢ πρᾶξις μετ' εὐστοχίας ἀναφερομένη εἴς τι ὡρισμένων πρόσωπον ἢ ἀναλογοῦν προσώπῳ, so Theon, *Progymnasmata* 5, 201 (in L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* Leipzig: Teubner, 1853 2: 96); cf. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.9. Strictly defined, an *apophthegma* is a terse, pointed saying of a particular person *without* a narrative framework; a *gnomē*, or maxim, is a saying not connected with any person.

[12] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 2.7.

[13] D.L. 6.6.

[14] D.L. 6.41.

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Call Stories in Greek Biography and the Gospels

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A common feature of biographical accounts of divine men in antiquity is the power of attraction these figures exert over the masses and the gaining of individual and specially privileged disciples.[1] Pythagoras, for example, is reported to have so captivated the inhabitants of Croton that "he derived many disciples from that city, not only men but also women, and even many kings and rulers from the neighboring barbarian territory. Thus he turned every man to himself, so that by one single lecture . . . he captured more than two thousand men. They did not return home, but together with children and wives established a great school of fellow hearers."[2] The fifth-century philosopher Empedocles, associated by tradition with Pythagoreans, gives a similar picture of his own appeal in his hexameter poem, *Purifications* (Καθαρμοί): "I go about among you as an immortal god, no longer a mortal man, held in honor by all, crowned with fillets and flowing garlands. Whenever I enter into their flourishing cities, they follow me by the thousands, some seeking oracles, while others beg to hear a word of healing for their various diseases."[3] The biography of the Neopythagorean Apollonius of Tyana suggests that he too had an unusual effect on his contemporaries. Once when he visited Ephesus "even the workmen would not remain at their tasks, but followed him, one admiring his wisdom, another his beauty, another his way of life, and some of them everything about him."[4] One disciple in particular, a certain Damis of Nineveh, is said to have decided to follow Apollonius with the words, "Let us depart, Apollonius, you following god, and I you."[5]

The traditions about Jesus contain similar accounts of the miraculous effect of his call to discipleship. The distinguishing feature of these narratives, however, is that each is marked by the initiative of Jesus and the demand for an immediate response. This

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[1]On this, see L. Bieler, ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ: *Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Wien: Höfel, 1935) I: 122-29; and, in general, H. D. Betz, "Gottmensch II," *RAC* 12 (1982) 234-312.

[2]Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae* 19-20; cf. Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica* 30.

[3]31 B 112 (Diels-Kranz). The similarities between this passage and the various *Sammelberichte* in Mark (e.g. 1:32-34; 3:7-12; 6:53-56) are striking. "There are few ancient accounts . . . which come so close to the evangelists' accounts of the flocking of the masses to Jesus, the miraculous physician" (H. Windisch, *Paulus und Christus* [UNT, 24; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1934] 59ff.).

[4]Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 4.1; cf. 4.24; 8.21; and G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Appolonios von Tyana und das Neue Testament* (SCHNT, 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970) esp. 182-83.

[5]Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 1.19. Philostratus adds the humorous note that Damis "had a taste for the road."

texts" which survive on papyrus.[15] Indeed, the use of *chreiai* in the schools of rhetoric was so widespread, and had such a firmly fixed place in the educational curriculum of the first century A.D. that Quintilian refers to the composition of *chreiai* as a rudimentary activity for pupils who are preparing for the schools of rhetoric.[16] The implication is that this discipline was included among the first essentials of general education (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία). This is confirmed by Aelius Theon, a younger contemporary of Quintilian, who tells us that the *chreia* began the standard list of rhetorical *progymnasmata*.[17] The work of the doxographers and biographers of philosophers increased its distribution still further. As F. Leo and others have shown, the *chreia* became the major vehicle of biographical characterization in antiquity.[18] It should not be surprising, therefore, if examples of *chreiai* are also to be found in the gospels, although little attention has been given to the subject.[19] Theon's definition of the *chreia*, as "a concise and pointed account of something said or done, attributed to some particular person," precisely fits the brief, detachable pericopae of which so much of the gospel of Mark, and indeed the synoptic tradition in general, consists. As M. Dibelius suggested more than a half a century ago: "The analogy of the 'Chriae' may help explain a development within the tradition of Jesus' sayings. In view of the wide occurrence of Chrie-like material it must have been easy for Christians, when they had become authors to a certain extent, to dress the sayings of Jesus in the form of 'Chriae,' when they would become more striking and impressive."[20] Quite interestingly, this is exactly how Papias (relying on "the elder John") describes the composition of the gospel of Mark.

> Mark became Peter's interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said and done by the Lord. For he

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[15]See esp. E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule* (Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1913) nos. 29 and 46; cf. R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1965) nos. 1985-96.

[16]*Instit. orat.* 1.9.3-6; cf. F. H. Colson, "Quintilian I.9 and the 'Chreia' in Ancient Education," *Classical Review* 35 (1921) 150-54; and H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956) 156, 172, 174, 282.

[17]Followed by the *gnome* (maxim), *mythos* (fable), and *diēgēsis* (narrative); Theon, *Progymnasmata* 1, 157 (Spengel 2: 64). Cf. S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977) 253-54. No doubt the *chreia* exerted an influence outside the classroom. The Roman historian Tacitus, writing at the end of the first century A.D., observed that: "all these rules of the rhetoricians are common property and there is scarcely a bystander in the crowd who, if not fully instructed, has not at least been initiated into the rudiments of culture" (*Dialogus de oratoribus* 19).

[18]Aristoxenus seems to have been the first to make *chreiai* an essential part of Greek biography; cf. F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901) 102ff.; and A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1971) 23 and 76. This is supported by the anecdotal nature of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* of Socrates (esp. 3.13), Plutarch's Lives, Lucian's biography of Demonax (12-67), and the biographies of philosophers by Diogenes Laertius.

[19]Exceptional are R. O. P. Taylor, *The Groundwork of the Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946); R. M. Grant, *The Earliest Lives of Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961) 17-18 and 99-101; W. R. Farmer, "Notes on a Literary and Form-Critical Analysis of Some of the Synoptic Material Peculiar to Luke," *NTS* 8 (1961/62) 301-16; and V. K. Robbins, "Pronouncement Stories and Jesus' Blessing of the Children: A Rhetorical Approach," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1982* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982) 407-30.

[20]*From Tradition to Gospel*, 160. His entire discussion of the *chreia* is instructive (pp. 152-64).

> had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give his teaching in *chreia*-form, not making as it were a systematic treatise (σύνταξις) of the Lord's oracles. Thus, Mark did nothing wrong in writing down single points as he remembered them.[21]

Despite certain legendary features, this account is nevertheless an important witness to the process of the composition of the gospels, and evidence that at a very early date the gospels were being examined from the standpoint of Greek literary criticism.

Precisely how the early Christians produced collections of *chreiai* concerning Jesus deserves further consideration. We may assume that in some instances writers drew upon sayings or actions of Jesus orally preserved which they recast in the form of *chreiai*, and that these then circulated singly or in collections for the use of teachers and preachers in the Christian communities. In other instances we should imagine that these writers constructed *chreiai* about Jesus on the basis of typical incidents and sayings found in *chreiai* attributed to such famous personalities as the Seven Sages, Socrates, and Diogenes. These they would no doubt have encountered in their preliminary education.[22] The relationship, however, between oral and literary traditions is more complex than is usually imagined, and deserves more thought than is usually given. In the case of the gospel call stories, we must ask whether or not these narratives exhibit stereotypical features found in other accounts of the way in which philosophers, wandering teachers, and divine men summoned persons to discipleship. If, however, no analogies can be found (as many claim), then it would appear that the call stories of the gospels have at least some claim to historicity. On the other hand, if certain analogies present themselves, then it seems that the call stories may have been composed in light of some "pre-existing" literary model, and would therefore bear little relation to the historical Jesus. These are questions to which we now turn.

II

We have already noted that Bultmann interpreted the call stories in Mk 1:16-20 and 2:14 in relation to Elijah's prophetic call of Elisha in 1 Kings 19:19-21.[23]

> So Elijah departed from there and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen before him, and he was with the twelfth. Elijah passed by him and cast his mantle on him. And he left the oxen and ran after Elijah, and said, "Let me kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow you" (LXX: ἀκολουθήσω ὀπίσω σου). And he said to him, "Go, and return to me, for I have done something very important to you." And he returned from following him, and took the yoke of oxen, and slew them, and boiled their flesh with the yokes of oxen, and gave it to the people, and they ate. Then he arose and went after Elijah (ὀπίσω Ηλιου).

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[21] *Apud* Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.39.15 For this translation of *chreia*, see Taylor, *Groundwork* 29 and 75-81. Porphyry's remarks about the history of the traditions about Pythagoras are similar: "They (i.e. Pythagoras' disciples) collected the writings of the elders and such things as they remembered, and they composed summary memoranda which they left behind" (*Vita Pythagorae* 58).

[22] Cf. G. von Wartensleben, *Begriff der griechischen Chreia und Beiträge zur Geschichte ihrer Form* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1901), who has collected more than 500 examples. By far the most common *chreiai* are those attributed to Diogenes the Cynic.

[23] Cf. note 7 above; so also Hengel, *Charismatic Leader*, 16-17; and Schulz, *Nachfolgen und Nachahmen*, 100-103.

At first glance, the language and structure of Elijah's call of Elisha (esp. in the LXX version) appears to be a precedent for the dynamics in the Markan call stories. In the LXX version of the story we have a sudden call of an individual engaged in his daily tasks, a response recounted with the verb ἀκολουθέω and the preposition ὀπίσω, and the abandonment of family and possessions. These features are also found in the Markan accounts of the call of the first disciples. Despite the things they have in common, however, a closer reading reveals one essential difference between the call to follow Jesus and the story of Elijah and Elisha. In 1 Kings 19 Elisha agrees to follow Elijah only on the *condition* that he be allowed to return home and say farewell to his family. It is just this kind of precondition that is explicitly rejected by Jesus in Lk 9:57-62:

> As they were going along the road, a man said to him, "I will follow you wherever you go." And Jesus said to him, "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head." To another he said, "Follow me." But he said, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father." But he said to him, "Leave the dead to bury their own dead. . . ." Another said, "I will follow you (ἀκολουθήσω σοι), master; but let me first say farewell to those at my home." Jesus said to him, "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God."

As this passage indicates, unless the response to Jesus is immediate and unconditional, it is invalid. The third saying, found only in Luke, is clearly reminiscent of the call of Elijah. But whereas Elijah permits his disciple to say farewell to his family, and even to offer a banquet for his friends, the call of Jesus permits no delay. This feature is characteristic of all the gospel call narratives. One looks in vain for anything similar in the OT or in subsequent Jewish literature.[24] Furthermore, a systematic search of Tannaitic literature reveals that there are no rabbinic stories of "calling" and "following after" analogous to the pericopae in Mark and Q. Whereas in the gospels the decisive call comes from Jesus, entry into a rabbinic school is generally based on the initiative of the prospective pupil: a person who wishes to become a disciple seeks out a rabbi and attempts to convince the rabbi to accept him as a disciple.[25] In contrast Jesus is portrayed in the gospel call stories much like the wandering philosopher-teacher in Greek tradition who gathers disciples whom he himself chooses. This similarity has been recognized by a number of scholars, but they all too quickly reject its significance for interpreting the gospel call stories. K. H. Rengstorf is typical: "(in his call to discipleship) we are perhaps tempted to detect a *Greek trait* in Jesus. But it will be seen that the roots of this *wholly non-Jewish* relation of Jesus to his disciples are to be found not in the affinity of Jesus to Hellenism, but in himself."[26] However, Rengstorf fails to perceive the literary (i.e. non-historical) nature of the call narratives. The question is not the "affinity of Jesus to Hellenism," but the affinity of the authors of the gospel tradition to Hellenism. Once this distinction is recognized, then a study of the gospel call stories in light of the Greek biographical tradition ought to be explored more fully.

We may find a clue to the proper understanding of these peculiar narratives by comparing them with the biographical *chreiai* produced especially, but not exclusively, by

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[24]There are, however, some analogies in Jewish wisdom literature: "She (wisdom) goes about seeking those worthy of her and graciously appears to them as they are on their way" (Wis 6:16; cf. 6:12, 13).

[25]Cf. K. H. Rengstorf, "μαθητής," *TDNT* 4: 444 and 447; and J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) 2: 83-86, 148, 258-59, 322-23.

[26]Rengstorf, "μαθητής" 445. Similarly Hengel: "Jesus went around Galilee . . . like a wandering Cynic preacher" (*Charismatic Leader*, 54; cf. n. 59).

the Cynics. Although developed centuries earlier, the *chreia* was the primary literary form used by the Cynics to celebrate and idolize founder-figures, such as Socrates, Diogenes, and Crates, and to give expression to Cynic ideals and values. The Cynic, or cynicizing, *chreia* distinguishes itself from other examples of the genre by the curious and often extreme actions, situations, and sayings of its central hero, which in turn becomes the basis for a demonstration of Cynic ideals. It was thus a "useful" vehicle for the promulgation of Cynic values in their task of παραχαράττειν τὸ νόμισμα (i.e. "to remint the coin of convention").[27] Our thesis is that, in the case of the gospel call stories, not only has a standard form been taken over (viz. the *chreia*) but also a specific content (viz. Cynic conceptions of discipleship). This can be seen by comparing typical call narratives from the biographical traditions of Jesus, Socrates-Xenophon, and Crates-Zeno.

> And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net into the sea (for they were fishermen). And Jesus said to them, "Follow me (δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου), and I will make you fishers of men." And immediately they left their nets and followed him (ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ).[28]

> Socrates encountered Xenophon in a narrow alley, and he stretched out his staff to bar the way, while he inquired where each kind of food was sold. When Xenophon had answered, Socrates asked another question, "Where do men become good and honorable" (καλοὶ κἀγαθοί)? But when Xenophon was puzzled, Socrates said, "Then follow me and learn" (ἕπου τοίνυν καὶ μάνθανε). From that time on he was a disciple (ἀκροατής) of Socrates.[29]

> Zeno went up to Athens and sat down in a bookseller's shop, being then a man of thirty. As he was reading the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, he was so pleased that he inquired where men like Socrates were to be found. Just then Crates passed by and the bookseller pointed to him and said, "Follow that man" (τούτῳ παρακολούθησον). From that day on he became Crates' disciple.[30]

The similarities between these three accounts are striking, both in form and content. Each story is cast in the form of a *chreia*. Each reports a sudden call of an individual engaged in the ordinary affairs of life, and an immediate response characterized by "following." Furthermore, the purpose of following is the same in each account: to become something which the person now is not ("fishers of men," "good and honorable," and "like Socrates"). These and other examples demonstrate that the gospel call story exhibits all the features of the Greek philosophical call story. It shows the same typical situations and actions, and often employs the same keywords. It also appears to serve the same function: to draw attention to Jesus as the ideal philosopher-teacher, and to give expression to a particular understanding of discipleship. In other words, a Hellenistic form of portraying how the ideal sage gathers disciples was adopted by some early Christian writers to describe the relation of Jesus to his disciples. No doubt, the knowledge of this form was mediated through a widespread educational system in which these writers would have encountered such narratives.

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[27] The well-known formula of the Delphic oracle given to Diogenes the Cynic (D.L. 6.20 and 71). Cf. Wartensleben, *Begriff der griechischen Chreia*, 28-30.

[28] Mk 1:16-18.

[29] D.L. 2.48.

[30] D.L. 7.2-3.

III

Not all the call stories of the gospels occur in exactly the same form as those cited above. Some, for example, have undergone expansion so that in place of a terse saying one may find a longer one or even a dialogue. The description of the setting, moreover, may require several sentences and the original saying or deed may be explained or its effects described. This is illustrated by the Lukan form of the call of the first disciples (Lk 5:1-11). Here the author (or his source) has combined both Markan call stories (Mk 1:16-18 and 19-20) and transposed them into a miracle story about a fantastic catch of fish. The miracle, however, assumes secondary importance, while the essential point of the call story has been retained: the disciples respond to Jesus' call by leaving all and following him. The logion about "fishers of men" may have suggested this particular elaboration.

Another attempt to transpose a call story into a miracle story occurs in the account of the healing of "blind Bartimaeus" (Mk 10:46-52).[31] However, a close comparison with the usual form of the miracle story (viz. *problem, solution,* and *proof*) shows that the account of Bartimaeus is not a miracle story but a call story. The dynamics of the call story are clearly discernible: Jesus *calls* (φωνέω) Bartimaeus, who responds by *following* (ἀκολουθέω). Moreover, Bartimaeus' identification of Jesus as ῥαββουνί suggests a master-disciple relationship. On the other hand, the attempt to reconstruct an underlying miracle story creates more problems than it solves.[32] It entails not only the omission of parts of the story as it now appears in Mark (e.g. the dialogue between Bartimaeus and the crowd, 10:47-48), but also the re-assignment to Jesus of words now credited to others (e.g. 10:49), and even the re-introduction of elements now absent in Mark's account (e.g. a healing gesture by Jesus). The difficulty in classifying Mk 10:46-52 as a miracle story emerges even more clearly if we compare it with the one other account of the healing of a blind man in Mark (8:22-26). The latter account is a typical example of a miracle story: problem (8:22), solution (8:23-25a), and proof (8:25b-26) are all perceptible. The blind man remains anonymous and passive, and Jesus is clearly the center of attention. Such a comparison makes all the more evident the unique elements in the story of Bartimaeus: he is named,[33] he is the center of the story, and he emerges as a disciple of Jesus.[34] What emerges from such an analysis is the clear indication that the story of blind Bartimaeus as it now stands in Mark has as its intention something other than the narration of a wondrous healing by Jesus. To be sure, a healing is present in the story, but in such an abbreviated form that it is subordinated to the theme of discipleship. Thus, Mk 10:46-52 functions in much the same way as Lk 5:1-11.[35]

This procedure of expansion and elaboration of originally small units of tradition is not unique to the gospels but is encountered in Greek biography as well. Philostratus'

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[31]Cf. P. J. Achtemeier, "'And he followed him': Miracles and Discipleship in Mark 10:46-52," *Semeia* 11 (1978) 115-45.

[32]As noted by Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 213.

[33]This is the only account in which the recipient of a miraculous healing is named in Mark, and with one exception (Jairus, Mk 5:22), the only healing where anyone except Jesus is named.

[34]That an individual could become a disciple of Jesus and not be included in the list of the Twelve is clear from the account of the call of Levi (Mk 2:14). Matthew eliminated this problem by changing "Levi" to "Matthew" (Mt 9:9).

[35]In a similar fashion, the author of the Fourth Gospel (Jn 1:35-51) has reworked the call of the first disciples by elaborating the description of the setting, introducing dialogue, and heightening attention on the divine status of Jesus. I hope to treat the Johannine account in more detail on another occasion.

biographies of the Sophists and of Apollonius contain relatively few "genuine" (i.e. condensed *chreiai*. However, from the few examples he has retained, we can see that he also had in front of him brief accounts which were originally isolated. These he has edited by expanding and weaving them into longer narratives of biographical description.[36] What is important to note is that in both Greek biography and the gospels these elaborations appear to be carried out in accordance with the prescriptions laid down by the rhetoricians regarding the elaboration (ἐργασία) of the *chreia*. Those NT interpreters, therefore, who reject the *chreia* as relevant to the analysis of synoptic material because of its short length fail to understand that the *chreia* may be either condensed or expanded. In fact, the abbreviated style of the *chreia* tolerates many extensions without necessarily altering the form. The rhetoricians knew that in certain situations *chreiai* could and should be expanded. Theon, for example, describes the handling of *chreiai* in the following way:

> Students give themselves practice on *chreiai* by (1) reproducing, (2) varying, (3) adding, and (4) inverting. We (5) expand and (6) abridge them, as well as (7) construct and (8) reconstruct them. The method of reproducing is obvious: someone has uttered a *chreia*, we try as best as we can to convey the meaning in the most descriptive form, whether by using the identical words or others.[37]

Among the eight ways of handling the *chreia*, Theon offers an example of how a *chreia* might be "expanded." First, he cites a *chreia* about the Theban general Epameinondas in its condensed form.

> Epameinondas, as he was dying childless, said to his friends, "I have left two daughters: the victory at Leuctra and the one at Mantineia."[38]

Next, Theon shows how this *chreia* could be expanded into an essay of a few sentences. "We expand it in the following way" (ἐκτείνομεν δὲ οὕτως):

> Epameinondas, the Theban general, was indeed a good man even in time of peace, but when war broke out between his country and the Spartans, he performed many brilliant deeds of courage. When Boeotian leader at Leuctra, he defeated the enemy, but while campaigning and fighting on his country's behalf, he died at Mantineia. But when he was dying of his wounds, and his friends were particularly grief-stricken that he was dying childless, he smiled and said, "Stop grieving, my friends, for I have left you two immortal daughters, two victories for my country against the Spartans: the one at Leuctra, the older, and the younger, the one just born at Mantineia."[39]

The expanded version of the *chreia* about Epameinondas offers a good analogy to the expanded call stories in Lk 5:1-11 and Mk 10:46-52, which appear to have been based originally on much smaller literary units. Students were required to write condensed and expanded versions of the *chreia* as part of their preliminary education before they learned the more sophisticated style of the periodic construction requiring intricate

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[36]E.g. *Vitae sophist.* 1.19 (Nicetes), 25 (Polemo); 2.1 (Herodes Atticus), 4 (Antiochus), 16 (Euodianus), 31 (Aelian).

[37]Theon, *Progymn.* 5, 210 (Spengel 2: 101).

[38]Theon, *Progymn.* 5, 213 (Spengel 2:103-4).

[39]Theon, *Progymn.* 5, 213 (Spengel 2: 104). Cf. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, 258-59.

subordinating syntax. Since a number of call stories in the gospels appear to be moderately expanded *chreiai*, their existence in this form suggests that the gospel writers learned to compose in Greek by performing rudimentary exercises on small literary units like those discussed in the *Progymnasmata*.

IV

Thus far we have been concerned with only one type of call story, namely, the *successful* call story. This type might appear in condensed or expanded form, but in either form the result is the same: the disciples respond immediately to Jesus' sudden call by following him. There is, however, another type of call story in which the result is quite the opposite. In this type the dynamics of the successful call story are reversed, so that instead of the initiative being on the side of the caller, the prospective disciple is made to approach the teacher. But when this is the case, the story always ends with the would-be disciple being rebuffed, either by a saying or deed of the teacher. A collection of two *unsuccessful* call stories is found in Mt 8:19-22 (par. Lk 9:57-62).

> And a man [Mt: scribe] came up and said to him, "Teacher, I will follow you (ἀκολουθήσω σοι) wherever you go." And Jesus said to him, "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head." Another [Mt: of the disciples] said, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father." But Jesus said to him, "Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead."

Here Matthew introduces a pair of *chreiai* from Q, supplying a setting for them and identifying the first claimant to discipleship as a "scribe" and the second as "another of the disciples." Luke places them in a different setting, along with a third saying. These *chreiai* are grouped together to illustrate inappropriate attitudes about the nature of discipleship. Indeed, they function as caricatures of the successful call story insofar as both represent basic misunderstandings of what it means to follow Jesus. The first claimant approaches Jesus with a boast, "I will follow you wherever you go"; the second appears willing to follow Jesus, but only if a certain condition is met, "Let me first go and bury my father." However, each is rejected by Jesus with an extreme, even bizarre, saying. Jesus counters the heroic statement of the first claimant by pointing dramatically to the dangers the life of discipleship entails. To follow Jesus, the homeless wanderer, means to be exposed and vulnerable in a way not even the animals are. Similarly, to follow Jesus means to sever all ties to social conventions. Not even the requirement of burying one's father, which was the most basic of all social and religious duties, can come between Jesus and his disciple.[40]

The radical criticism of social convention embodied in these call stories approximates the *modus vivendi* of the Cynics. In particular, Jesus' extreme demand to "leave the dead to bury their own dead" is paralleled only in Cynic polemics against social taboos and the unnecessary expense of burials. In Lucian's biography of Demonax, the authentic Cynic answer of the dying philosopher to the question of his interment is: "The smell will bury me." And to the objection whether he did not find it shameful to be eaten by dogs and birds, the reply is: "There is nothing wrong in my being of service to some living creature once I am dead."[41] It is not surprising, therefore, that when we begin to

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[40] Jesus' call also supersedes an individual's tie to home and family (Lk 9:61-62), as well as to occupation and possessions (Mk 1:16-20; 2:14; 10:17-22).

[41] Lucian, *Demonax*, 65-67. For further Cynic parallels, see A. A. T. Ehrhardt, "Lass die Toten ihre Toten begraben" *Studia Theologica* 6 (1952) 128-64, esp. 131ff. Cf. also E. Wechssler, *Hellas im Evangelium* (Berlin: Metzner, 1936) 259, who interprets this and other sayings on "following after" in a Cynic context.

inquire about possible analogies to the "unsuccessful" call story, our attention is once again drawn to Cynic tradition. In the biographies of various Cynic sages there are a number of accounts which exhibit all the characteristics of the unsuccessful call story as we have encountered it, for example, in Mt 8:19-22 par. Consider the following episode from the biography of Diogenes the Cynic:

> Someone wanted to study philosophy under him. Diogenes gave him a fish to carry and commanded him to follow him (ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν). But the man threw it away out of shame and departed. Some time later Diogenes met him and laughed and said, "Our friendship was broken by a fish."[42]

With this account compare the following unsuccessful call story in Mk 10:17-22:

> And as he was going along the way, a man ran up and knelt down before him, and asked him, "Good teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said to him, "Why do you call me good? No one is good but the one God. You know the commandments . . . (etc.)." But he said to him, "Teacher, I have kept them all from my youth." And Jesus stared at him and loved him and said, "You lack one thing. Go, sell your possessions, and give the proceeds to the poor . . . , and come, follow me" (δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι). But he was shocked at this saying and sadly went away for he had many possessions.[43]

Aside from the differences in form (the first is a condensed *chreia*, the second an expanded one), the dynamics of both stories are strikingly similar.[44] In each, an individual whose identity is unknown approaches a teacher seeking to become a disciple, and then fails to attain the goal of his quest because the cost of discipleship is too great. Although some might question the legitimacy of comparing Diogenes' requirement to "carry a fish" with Jesus' demand to "sell all," the difference is really one of degree and not kind. Both demands are radical in the sense that they require the prospective disciple to exercise complete disregard for social convention. And this is the reason why both refuse to become disciples.[45]

The failure of the unsuccessful call story only serves to underscore the essential points of its counterpart, the successful call story: the necessity for a prior call and an immediate, unconditional response, and the willingness to sever all ties to convention. This raises the question of the theory of discipleship embodied in the call story. The call story itself does not contain an explicit theory of discipleship, due in large measure to its anecdotal nature. It does, however, imply one. First, the call story presupposes an

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[42]D.L. 6.36. Another version (according to Diocles) follows: "When someone said to him, 'Diogenes, lay your commands on us,' he took him away and gave him a cheese to carry, which cost half an obol. When the other refused, he said, 'Our friendship was broken by a little cheese worth half an obol.'"

[43]In its present form this story looks like an expanded *chreia*. Mark's editorial work can perhaps be recognized in the introduction (17a), Jesus' saying about who is "good" (18), the list of the commandments (19b), and the reference to "treasure in heaven" (21c). Cf. a variant of this story in the Gospel of the Nazoreans (*apud* Origen, *Comm. on Matt.* 15.14). Note that following Jesus is placed above the observance of the law!

[44]As noted by P. N. Poulos, "Form and Function of the Pronouncement Story in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*," *Semeia* 20 (1981) 56-57.

[45]The demands of Jesus and Diogenes also seem to serve a similar function: to determine whether an individual is a worthy candidate for discipleship. On this notion of testing, see Musonius Rufus, frg. 46 (in *YCS* 10 [1947] 141); and D.L. 6.21.

anthropological dualism; that is, a humanity divided into two camps: in religious terms, the saved and the lost, and in philosophical terms, the wise and the foolish. But this dualism is concealed from the eyes of the world. The call story shows us ordinary, even disreputable, individuals, such as fishermen, tax collectors, and slaves, who do not seem to enjoy the necessary qualifications for the philosophical or religious life. The call by a divinely appointed agent functions in such a way as to disclose the true nature of the one called. It is an event which lies beyond the realm of human volition: one cannot decide to become a follower of Jesus; the initiative rests solely with him. This idea is expressed clearly by Jesus in the Fourth Gospel: "You did not choose me, but I chose you" (Jn 15:16). And the transformation or conversion occurs instantaneously; there is no notion of preliminary training. In this respect, the call narratives in the synoptic tradition are not far from the Johannine understanding of discipleship.[46]

A second way in which the theory of discipleship implicit in the gospel call stories may be discerned is through the sayings (*Nachfolgeworte*) which often form the climax of these accounts (e.g. "I will make you fishers of men" [Mk 1:17], "Sell what you have and give it to the poor" [Mk 10:21], "Foxes have holes, birds of the air have nests; but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head" [Lk 9:58], "Leave the dead to bury their own dead" [Lk 9:60], and "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" [Lk 9:62]). Taken together, these sayings, which some have claimed go back to the historical Jesus, present a picture of discipleship characterized by homelessness, poverty, vulnerability, and lack of family.[47] Once again, the closest analogy to this cluster of ideas is to be found in Cynic philosophy. In his treatise on the ideal Cynic (i.e. on the *true* philosopher) Epictetus asks how it is possible to live a happy life without possessions, clothing, family, or home. His answer is:

> Behold, God has sent you the man who will show you in practice that it is possible. "Look at me," he says, "I am homeless, cityless, without possessions or a slave. I sleep on the ground. I have neither wife nor children nor home, but only earth and sky and one rough cloak. Yet what do I lack? Am I not free from care and fear? Am I not free?[48]

What is to be made of the numerous similarities between the gospel call stories and Cynic philosophy? Are we to assume that the authors of these narratives came into contact with Cynic teaching about the nature of discipleship, and that they then took over this tradition as a useful vehicle for presenting their own ideas?[49] Or are we to attribute these narratives to the "wandering charismatics" of the earliest stage of

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[46]Bultmann's notion of the "dualism of decision," by which he characterized the disciples' response to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, could be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the synoptic call stories (*Theology of the New Testament* [New York: Scribners, 1955] 2: 21-26 and 76).

[47]Here it would be interesting to compare the understanding of discipleship embodied in the call stories with those collections of sayings which deal explicitly with the theme of discipleship (e.g. Mk 8:34-38; 10:28-31; Lk 14:25-33). Although these collections have much in common with the call stories, they betray later developments, particularly by stressing the necessity of martyrdom in light of the death of Jesus, introducing the idea of rewards, and sometimes presenting a theory of discipleship contrary to that found in the call story (e.g. the notion of "counting the cost beforehand," Lk 14:28-32).

[48]Epictetus 3.22.45-48. In the context of a call story, the Cynic Crates responds to Diogenes' call by "giving up his fields to sheep pasture and throwing his money into the sea" (D.L. 6.87). Cf. Ps.-Diogenes, *Epp.* 31 and 38 (ed. Malherbe).

[49]The affinity of Christianity to Cynicism is demonstrated by the way in which the early Christian Peregrinus could be converted by Cynic philosophy (Lucian, *Peregrinus*).

Christianity, who not only composed and handed them down, but also put them into practice? In other words, does the similarity in social ethos between the Cynics and wandering Christian preachers explain the similar understanding of the nature of discipleship?[50] These questions are not easily answered, and deserve more attention than can be given here. It may be instructive, however, to recall Dibelius' observation about the importance of the *chreia* in the development of the traditions of Jesus' sayings: "In view of the wide occurrence of Chrie-like material it must have been easy for Christians, when they had become authors to a certain extent, to dress the sayings of Jesus in the form of 'Chriae,' when they would become more striking and impressive."[51] We should carry this important insight one step further: not only has the Jesus-tradition been affected by the *form* of the *chreia*, but, more significantly, it has also been affected by the *content* of the *chreia*. Many of the same typical situations, actions, and sayings which are found in Graeco-Roman *chreiai* attributed to famous personalities are also encountered in the *chreiai* about Jesus.[52] Since by far the most popular figures of "chriic imagination" were Diogenes and the Cynic school, it should occasion no surprise that various Cynic themes and motifs reappear in the tradition of Jesus' sayings. This process of the transformation of the Jesus-tradition undoubtedly took place in the context of Graeco-Roman education, in which the gospel writers learned to compose in Greek by performing rudimentary exercises on small literary units like the *chreia*. (I take this to be the meaning of Dibelius' statement about the early Christians becoming "authors to a certain extent.") The similarity, therefore, between the understanding of discipleship embodied in the gospel call stories and Cynicism is perhaps best explained in terms of Hellenistic rhetoric, rather than in terms of a common social ethos or a direct contact with Cynic philosophy.

Summary

The results of our study can now be summarized. (1) The call stories of the synoptic tradition (i.e. of Mark and Q) conform to the ancient rhetorical category of the *chreia*, and are found in both condensed and expanded form. (2) The call story admits of two types. In the *successful* call story the initiative comes from Jesus himself, whose call elicits an immediate and unconditional response on the part of the prospective disciple. Here the emphasis is on the miraculous nature of Jesus' call which abruptly detaches those who are called from their previous obligations. In the *unsuccessful* call story the prospective disciple approaches Jesus in an inappropriate fashion, and is summarily rebuffed by him. Here it is shown that following Jesus plunges the disciple into total lack of security, and requires a radical break with even the strongest of social conventions. Together, both types of call story stress that the act of becoming a disciple is a decisive, yet paradoxical, event. (3) There are clear parallels in form and content with the Greek ("cynicizing") call story, upon which the synoptic accounts are modeled. Thus, with Bultmann, we can speak of "ideal scenes" in both cases: the call story has a marked paradigmatic character.

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[50]As suggested by G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 8-16; cf. idem, "'Wir haben alles verlassen' (Mc. X 28): Nachfolge und soziale Entwurzelung in der jüdisch-palästinischen Gesellschaft des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Ch.," *NovT* 19 (1977) 161-96.

[51]Cf. note 20 above.

[52]See e.g. R. C. Tannehill, "The Pronouncement Story and Its Types," and "Varieties of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories," *Semeia* 20 (1981) 1-13 and 101-19.

The Sociology of Matthew: Some Basic Questions Concerning Its Relation to the Theology of the New Testament

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Sociology of the New Testament, while it can claim some distinguished forebears, is a relative newcomer to the field of New Testament studies. As might be expected, there has been considerable confusion about where, if at all, it might properly take its place among the ranks of the New Testament forces. In the following I shall attempt to cast some light on the relation between sociological enquiry and more traditional forms of enquiry into the beliefs of the New Testament writers. To this end it will first be necessary to outline the goals of those who prosecute such sociological enquiries (I shall take Matthew as the main source of examples). I will then set out certain general considerations about the interpretation of texts and show how they may bear on some of the work already done in this field; finally I shall return to the question of the place of the sociology of the New Testament in the general field of New Testament enquiry.

1. *What's being asked for by scholars*[1] *who want a sociology of Matthew?* Let me list some possible candidates.

(a) At the least I think people want to know something about the social context of Matthew's Gospel. They want to know, that is, what kind of community received it, produced its final writer/redactor, preserved the traditions which it contains, possibly left its own mark on those traditions and added to them. In asking about the *kind* of community which is associated in these various possible ways with the Gospel, scholars may again be asking for various kinds of information. (i) They may want to know where it was located. Was it a rural or urban[2] community? Under what kind of political ruledid it stand? Was it under direct or indirect Roman rule? What power if any would Jewish

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[1]In practice there are, to my knowledge, no books which set themselves this specific aim. Among books which contribute to an illumination of this subject should be mentioned: W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge, 1964); G. Forkman, *The Limits of Religious Community* (CB NT Series 5; Lund, 1972); D. E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23* (Suppl. NovTest 52; Leiden, 1979); G. Künzel, *Studien zum Gemeindeverständnis des Matthäus-Evangeliums* (Stuttgart, 1978); E. Schweizer, *Matthäus und seine Gemeinde* (SBS 71; Stuttgart, 1974); W. G. Thompson, *Matthew's Advice to a Divided Community* (AnBib 44; Rome, 1970).

[2]Such questions are raised about first century religious movements by: H. Kreissig, *Die sozialen Zusammenhänge des judäischen Kreiges* (Berlin, 1970); W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians. The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (Yale, 1983); G. Theissen, *The First Followers of Jesus* (London, 1978); *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982).

religious authorities have had over it? (ii) They may want to know what its social composition was. From which strata of society were its members drawn? What were their occupations, income, conditions of housing, land-tenure, etc.? (iii) They may want to know something about the social structures of the community itself. What forms of leadership, decision making, community care, discipline, what patterns and modes of socialization obtained?[3]

(b) They may be looking for ways in which an awareness of the social and political setting of the Gospel can help to illuminate what is actually being said at particular points in the text. A good example of this is provided by Theissen's discussion of the passages about eating foods sacrificed to idols in Corinth.[4] The differences between the various parties Paul is addressing may be explained by reference to the different social practices which characterized the groups to which they belonged, viz. dining out, eating meat, rather than by reference to differences in religious belief or cultural background. Where Matthew's Gospel is concerned it may be very important to know what the social position of his community was when we come to discuss the passages like Matt 6:25 ff. which encourage if not the abandonment of possessions, then at least the down-grading of their importance on one's scale of values.

(c) They may be asking for some more generalized account of the place of Matthew's Gospel and its community in the development of Christianity as a religious movement with its own social world.[5] Again Theissen's account of the sociology of early Christianity provides an example of what may be being asked for here. Christianity is seen in the context of the social anomie which pertained in first century Judea; analogies are drawn between the kinds of response which Jews made to these conditions, both on a secular and on a more strictly religious level, and a broad thesis is suggested about how Christianity developed from these beginnings to become ultimately a state religion. Significant in this is the move from a basically charismatic, anomic form of Christianity such as characterized Jesus and his first followers to the more everyday, urban kind of religion introduced by the ex-Pharisee Paul. Again where Matthew's Gospel is concerned it will be interesting to ask to what extent there is an attempt here to reaffirm Jewish norms, how particularly his treatment of the Law compares with other forms of intensification or radicalization of the Law in the inner Jewish reform movement. Simply, does Matthew's Gospel represent a move towards a normalization of Christianity?

2. *Some proposals from a general theory of interpretation.* I assume for the time being that there's nothing actually incurably wrong with any of these requests, though (c) in particular may need a great deal of clarification. However before moving on to deal with them in a little more detail I would first like to offer some fairly general reflections based on the kind of perspective which Alan Miller and I have been trying to bring to bear on Biblical texts.[6]

(i) It's worth dwelling a while on the fact that what Biblical scholars, like other interpreters of written texts, are doing is trying to discover the sense of a series of inscriptions or marks on a surface. They are, that is to say, concerned to move from the written, linguistic terms, expressions, sentences in their texts to the *senses* which these

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[3]Cf. the works of Schweizer and Forkman cited in note 1.

[4]Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 121-174.

[5]J. G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, 1975). H. C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (London, 1980). B. J. Malina, *The New Testament World. Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (London, 1983).

[6]A. Millar and J. K. Riches, "Interpretation: A Theoretical Perspective and some Applications," *Numen* XXVIII (1981); see also J. K. Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London 1980, New York, 1982).

expressions possessed when they were used on this particular occasion. The interpreter that is to say seeks to bridge the gulf between the knowledge of what inscriptions a text contains and the knowledge of what is being said through these inscriptions by the author of the text.

(ii) In the past there has been a tendency on the part of Biblical scholars to think that what was required in order to discover the sense of a particular passage was a full and sure grasp of the particular language in which it was written. Clearly this is important, but equally it is not sufficient. Even if we achieve a competence in New Testament Greek equivalent to that of an educated native speaker of the time, it does not follow that we then automatically understand what is being said by a particular text. This for at least three reasons. In the first place, even if we are fully apprised of the existing uses of expressions in a particular language we may fail to notice interesting shifts and changes in usage which give significantly new senses to perhaps quite familiar expressions. Secondly, while we may be able to furnish a reasonable translation of a particular text, it does not follow that we have understood all the conceptual connections which were being made in its course. Knowledge of contemporary English is not a sufficient condition for the understanding of say complex texts in physics. And thirdly, we may well need to know something about the particular situation to which a text is addressed, something, that is, about the experience of its writer and its readers. This suggests three areas where we need further clarification and elaboration of what is required for a successful interpretation of written inscriptions. Firstly, we need to know more than simply the standard conventional sense of expressions in a particular natural language at a particular time. We also need an understanding of how within a given text a particular expression may receive perhaps quite interestingly new senses. Second, we need to be more willing to explore the range of conceptual links which are intended by a particular text. Scholars in the New Testament field have perhaps tended to concentrate on relatively high level theological beliefs without paying sufficient attention to their links with beliefs about the nature of society, and morals, with certain kinds of attitude, etc. Third, there is a need to explore the relation between beliefs and experience. We need to understand how certain beliefs are linked to certain expectations or actual enjoyment of experiences and how certain experiences may have a bearing on our beliefs.

(iii) As indicated, Alan Millar and I have attempted to set out a perspective on the theory of interpretation which might help to clarify some of these issues. A key theme in this perspective is its stress on the fact that understanding an expression involves understanding a network of conventionally linked expressions. In the case of some expressions to understand what they are used to say on some particular occasion is to understand what concepts or beliefs they express on that occasion. The understanding of such expressions thus goes hand in hand with the identification of a network of logically interrelated concepts and beliefs which corresponds in structure with the network of conventional relations to which the expressions belong. That is to say, neither beliefs nor sentences, expressions, terms, exist independently. They belong to a system of beliefs. Sentences are linked by convention, by learned links to other sentences which are accepted by a particular natural language community at a particular time. Beliefs are linked logically with a whole range of other beliefs of different degrees of abstraction and practicality. Equally beliefs and sentences are linked to varying forms of sensory experience, desires, events, etc. At the simplest level what this means for interpreters of ancient texts is that if they want to understand the meaning of a particular text, they will have to discover the conventional links existing at the time between various linguistic expressions and contents of sensory experience and that this will enable them to posit the kind of system of beliefs and experience which this particular collocation of sentences was intended to express.

This is of course very general. Perhaps a little more light will be shed on the kind of things we have in mind by dealing with the various points I raised above.

(aa) Given that sentences and expressions are linked by learned, conventional links, we can speak of the conventional sense of a particular sentence or expression. It is the usual sense; what someone else in that particular community would naturally understand by it. But of course that does not rule out the possibility that someone may want to use it in a modified sense. When he speaks about say the kingdom of God, he may be expressing a belief about God's power which is linked with a rather different range of beliefs and expectations and desires than would be usual in his community. We can detect this, as historians, by being alert to the differences in the network of beliefs from what might be expected, and to do this we need to consider quite a wide range of evidence.

(bb) It follows from what we have just said that to understand any belief, whether it is being expressed in quite conventional ways or not, we need to trace out its conceptual and experiential ramifications as far as possible. The better we understand the whole network of beliefs and experience, the better we shall understand any particular belief within that system. Thus again if we are considering what Matthew might mean by "kingdom of God" we shall need to know not merely what he might have believed about the manner of God's exercise of judgment, but also e.g. about what his attitude was to paying taxes to foreign rulers, etc.

The point about emphasizing that theological beliefs have to be seen as forming part of a network of beliefs is among others precisely to emphasize that the theological beliefs expressed, e.g. in Matthew's Gospel are *logically* related to other beliefs, e.g. about the nature of humanity, the value of certain courses of action, the nature of the community's relation to the world, the attitudes proper to believers, etc. That is to say there is a link between theological beliefs and ethical, political, social beliefs such that we only fully appreciate what is being affirmed by say a claim that all authority has been given to Jesus when we have grasped how that relates to statements about paying Temple tax, predictions of judgment on the little ones and stories about the execution of Jesus by the Roman authorities. *And vice versa.* We only really understand what is meant by the ethical and political judgments of Matthew's Gospel when we have seen how they relate to the specifically theological claims which it makes.

(cc) The network model may offer us interesting ways of describing the interaction between belief and various forms of experience. It may for instance be that changes in the social and political circumstances of a particular group mean that expectations which went with particular beliefs are now no longer fulfilled. This may lead to the revision of the beliefs by way of modifications of the belief system or it may lead to the development of strategies to shield the group from the unwelcome experience. Or it may be that the experience which a group or an individual makes in relation to a particular set of beliefs prompts him to clarify or to develop those beliefs. But equally it may be that a group's beliefs lead it to take an active role in changing the circumstances in which they find themselves in order to bring them more in line with their own expectations, interests and desires.

All this is still rather schematic. But before moving on to show how it bears on the sociological enquiry into Matthew, let me meet one fairly obvious question. Most of what I have been discussing has been concerned with the *sense* of texts. Sociological interpretation of texts, it might be argued, should be concerned primarily with the way in which certain beliefs and belief systems *function* to regulate, control, to reorganize or reform a particular society. They may be seen as serving the interests of a particular group, e.g. of a group marginal to a particular political constellation or of one already in control of a particular polity. This point may be readily accepted. Any utterance may have a particular function, whether it be to inform, to persuade, to frighten, to uplift, to comfort, etc., etc. Similarly the same text may at different times serve different purposes in relation to its particular readership. This last point however may lead us to suppose that the function of a text is perhaps quite unrelated to its sense, and so on

occasion it may be. Nevertheless we would question whether, if when we are investigating the function of Matthew's Gospel in the community for which it was written, considerations of its sense can be left on one side. The point is that even if we were to suppose that the beliefs which Matthew advocates were advocated simply and solely with the intention of advancing the interests of his particular group and without any consideration as to whether they were in fact true, it would still be important for an understanding of how Matthew hoped to achieve his ends to know what sense he attached to his Gospel and how he thought the beliefs contained in it related to the interests of his own community.

3. *Ways in which our perspective may help to meet the various requests by scholars for a sociology of Matthew.* I refer here to the requests listed in 1. above. In discussing them I shall introduce some discussion of the relevant literature to illustrate particular points. This is of course not intended as an exhaustive review of present research in this field.

(a) In discussing the nature of sociological enquiry into the New Testament it is sometimes suggested that the concern of scholars is with a description of the social attitudes and patterns of behavior of the Christian communities. This for example is Theissen's statement of his program in *The First Followers of Jesus:*[7]

> The aim of a sociology of the Jesus movement is to describe typical social attitudes and behaviour within the Jesus movement and to analyse its interaction with Jewish society in Palestine generally.

A number of points may be made about this initial, admittedly very brief statement of aims. Perhaps we may note first that Theissen speaks of typical *social attitudes* and behavior as opposed more generally to simply *beliefs*. Why does he exclude theological beliefs from the reckoning? Do they not inform and indeed explain certain patterns of behavior in such a way that we shall not fully understand the behavior until we have come to terms with the beliefs? One of the analogies to Christian wandering charismatics that he discusses is that of the Cynics. But in discussing them he has virtually nothing to say about the beliefs which distinguish them from the Christians. Cynicism, as a quite widespread phenomenon over a longish period may relate less to particular social and political conditions than to the general vulnerability of human existence in the ancient world. The prevalence of disease and the insecurity of material possessions may well prompt some to believe that it is better to learn to live without physical or personal attachments. This may be quite different from the kind of renunciation of security and personal possessions which is inspired by a belief that the new age is about to dawn and that one must break with the old and commit oneself to the new. Such a belief may in turn be prompted by an acute crisis in a particular society as it finds its old ways critically undermined by an alien power which controls it. My point here is that it may be quite misleading to limit one's considerations simply to patterns of behavior and social attitude and their interreaction with certain social conditions, particularly where it is difficult to establish confidently what kinds of social factors might bear on a particular pattern of behavior. Consideration of the beliefs of a particular group may in fact help us to guess more accurately what their social setting was, though the process will always remain somewhat circular.

One might perhaps make a similar point in relation to the *function* of beliefs. The point is this. Social attitudes have by definition a bearing on social conduct and patterns of behavior, though one should not always suppose that even this bearing is a simple one: do all those who profess xenophobia always behave xenophobically? But other beliefs also have a bearing on social conduct, e.g. theological beliefs, and it may be

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[7] P. 1.

important to understand this bearing for a better understanding both of those beliefs and of the patterns of behavior of the group which holds them.

The bearing of theological beliefs on the behavior of the subscribing group may broadly be of two kinds. (aa) logical: when conjoined with other beliefs they may generate further beliefs which bear directly on social behavior. Thus one may believe that God alone is king. This conjoined with the beliefs that kings demand absolute obedience and that Caesar claims kingship over the Jews, may lead to the belief that Jews should reject Caesar's claims over them. If Caesar levies taxes it may further lead them to conclude that Jews should refuse to pay. (The precise logical connections here need careful explanation and filling out.) (bb) functional: the intended function of the expression of a particular belief on a given occasion may be to influence or direct the group addressed in a particular way: viz. to persuade them of the wisdom of a particular course of action, to bring to mind certain sanctions on their behavior, to commend a certain course of action, to remove certain inhibitions, etc. Clearly such intentions can hardly be realized without reference to the sense of the beliefs expressed or to their logical connections, but it may be helpful in our attempts to *discover* the sense of certain expressions to consider what their function might be, just as it will clearly offer one account of their bearing on patterns of group behavior.

Let us consider Matthew's eschatological material from these points of view. I will take them in reverse order. (bb) function. It might be worth exploring the general thesis that while for Jesus expressions of belief in an imminent end were intended to encourage his hearers to loose their ties with the old ways and to entrust themselves to what was to come, for Matthew their function was more to *explain* certain tensions within the community and to *re-enforce* certain patterns of behavior. Thus in Matt 13 the parables of the dragnet and the wheat and the tares both emphasize that the process of sorting out the just from the unjust must wait until the process of catching/growth is completed. It is reasonable to suppose that here the intended points are (i) to explain how it is that God can tolerate the unjust within his community of the new age and (ii) to enjoin patience on those who would seek to expel the unjust now. Of course a whole number of things follow from what is said, viz. about the importance of maintaining the rules of the community, but this may not be the intended point or function of the story in its Matthean version. It is obvious of course that if we correctly discover its intended function we shall be in a position to make certain conjectures about the community and indeed about its history. Similar points might be made in relation to Matthew's redaction of Mark 13. If scholars have detected a tendency in Mark to insert the experience of the church into the period preceding the end, viz. to offer some general explanation of the experience of persecution by means of expanding the overall schema of the end-events, then in Matthew this is achieved notably by inserting part of Mark's material into the mission charge in Matt 10. But further to this the intention of Matt 24-25 is clearly to enjoin watchfulness and correct observation of the community's norms. Again this is achieved by the parables inserted between the Mark 13 material and Matthew's own depiction of the judgment scene. Eschatological material which was originally rule reversing is here being used in a manner which is rule enforcing.

(aa) At the same time we must not lose sight of the way in which the material in Matt 24-25 is given a very distinctive sense by the final episode of the sheep and goats. It is compassion and love shown "to least of one of these my brethren" which is the norm by which all are to be judged. That is to say we have here a clear expression of the new social norms which are to provide the basis of the new community.

It might seem that to emphasize the role of theological beliefs within the network of beliefs which comprise the belief system of the Matthean community is, in the context of a sociological enquiry, to put the emphasis in the wrong place. Alan Miller and I would argue to the contrary that it is very important, precisely within such a context, to reaffirm the significance of theological beliefs. Elsewhere we have offered a critique of

"counterpart" theories of interpretation which suggest that theological beliefs in effect mask hidden social beliefs and attitudes which when uncovered by the social anthropologist give the real sense of the literal theological beliefs.[8] The same point can be made by pointing again to the dangers of conceptual reductionism. If it is supposed that the content of beliefs about God and his purposes for the world (e.g. kingdom beliefs in Matthew) is exhausted by their empirical content (e.g. beliefs about the proper ordering of the community, its external and internal boundaries) then we fail to understand the meaning of the beliefs about the community because we fail to understand the bearing on them of the theological beliefs with which they are linked.

(b) Scholars, we have said, may be looking for ways in which an awareness of the social and political setting of the Gospel can help to illuminate what is actually being said at particular points in the text. This looks to me quite promising. As I have just suggested sentence to experience links may be as important for the understanding of the sense of expressions as are sentence to sentence links. Moreover such sentence to experience links may easily change from one social group to another. Eating meat may have quite different associations and therefore meaning for groups whose only opportunity to indulge is at certain religious festivals, as opposed to other groups where it is something which marks more regular forms of social intercourse.

Let us consider this in relation to Matt 6:25 ff. I have suggested elsewhere[9] that the point of the original unit, vv. 25f., 28-30, is not so much to advocate a general doctrine of God's care and providence as to use the *greater* marvel of God's care for the lilies to bring home to Jesus' disciples the reality of God's care for them which they are already experiencing in their vagrant, mendicant life with Jesus. Similarly, Theissen has suggested that these sayings will have related directly to the early Christians' experience of a wandering charismatic existence. What he actually says is perhaps worth noting, as its precise formulation may lead to possible error. Commenting on Matt 6:25-32 he says:

> It is wrong to read words like this in the mood of a family walk on a Sunday afternoon. There is nothing here about delight in birds and flowers and green fields. On the contrary, these words express the harshness of the free existence of the wandering charismatics, without homes and without protection, travelling through the country with no possessions and no occupation. The final words, "Therefore do not be anxious about tomorrow, for tomorrow will be anxious for itself. Let the day's own troubles be sufficient for the day" (Matt 6:34), may well be born of bitter experience.[10]

There is here an important point about the way Theissen describes the relation between the beliefs expressed in the sayings in Matt 6:25ff. and the experiences of the early Christian preachers. It is, that is, misleading to say that "Consider the lilies . . ." expresses "the harshness of the free existence of the wandering charismatics." Rather, it specifically expresses the *belief* that God does indeed care for his own, even for those who are exposed to hardship without adequate means of providing or caring for themselves. It expresses *this* belief rather than a general belief in the beauty of God's world (which might be prompted by their association with a family Sunday afternoon walk) because of the particular links in the early church between such sayings and the harsh experience of charismatic wandering preachers.

Similarly we can ask what beliefs may have been expressed by these sayings when they were preserved and perhaps modified by Matthew's community. Here we have to

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[8] "Interpretation," p. 44. Cf. esp. the critique there of Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966).

[9] *Jesus*, pp. 149f.

[10] *Followers*, p. 13.

reckon with the possibility of a change in the sense of the original sayings, partly in virtue of additions which may have been made to this complex of sentences, partly in virtue of such sayings being uttered in, let us suppose, an urban context and by a settled if perhaps impecunious community, where they will have had associations with perhaps very different kinds of experience. Thus if 6:33 was an addition of the Matthean community its sense may have been not so much to enjoin a policy of *abandoning* any attempt to make provision for one's physical well-being so as to be free for the work of the kingdom, as to enjoin a *subordination* of such attempts to the task of establishing the Christian community and preserving its faithfulness to the teaching of Jesus. Such a sense will have been related to the situation of the Matthean community and to the changed sense which the traditional sayings in Matt 6:25ff. received when uttered in that context. If it was urban then we shall have to ask what were the associations in such a context of sayings about not caring for the morrow or about not taking food, money and adequate clothing when embarking on a journey. Here it may be appropriate to take into account the fact that such patterns of behavior may have been similar to those of the Cynic philosophers of the time, who would have been not unfamiliar figures in the towns of Syria. Did the Matthean community feel the need to distinguish the behavior of its founders from that of the Cynics? Does the reference to taking no sandals (ctr. Mark) mean that now they wished to characterize the apostles' behavior more as an act of worship than as a refusal to provide for their own physical needs? Does the remark that the laborer deserves his food represent an attempt to present the mode of existence of wandering charismatics as *work*, rather than as a pure act of renunciation for its own sake. Or more simply, the fact that these sayings might easily be taken as referring to the life of essentially itinerant figures, may well have meant that they were no longer felt to apply to the community itself. They might then be taken as sayings primarily with the function of instructing the community about their duties towards Christian wandering charismatics, or they might be reinterpreted and given a sense which did apply to their more stable form of existence.

I said above that Theissen's way of making the point about the need to take into account the social setting of Matt 6:25ff. for its proper understanding was in a sense misleading. Let me elaborate. I hope I have shown that I agree fully with him that it is necessary to take it into account if we are to understand fully the *sense* of what is being said. The danger lies in the fact that the impression can easily arise that the sense of these sayings is exhaustively given when we have discovered the experience to which they refer. This is certainly suggested when Theissen writes: "these words express the harshness of the free existence of the wandering charismatics. . . ." But the point is that the sense of the sayings is given not simply or solely by the experience with which they are associated, but rather that the sense is given by the saying as it is linked when uttered with a whole network of other sentences and experiences. The more we know of such sentence to sentence and sentence to experience links the better we shall understand the sayings we are studying. There should be no sharp divide between the theology and the sociology of the New Testament. A full understanding of Matthew's beliefs will involve an exploration of their social context. But equally a full understanding of the social attitudes and patterns of behavior in Matthew's community will involve understanding how they are linked to its theological beliefs.

This is the place to introduce a further distinction which may help to clarify some of the worries which Biblical scholars have I think sometimes felt about the sociology of the New Testament. The objection may be put fairly roughly. The trouble with sociology of the New Testament, it might be said, is that it simply reduced the theological statements of the Biblical writings to statements about the social setting, character, etc. of the early Christian communities. This charge of reductionism may be further clarified if we distinguish between conceptual and explanatory reductionism. Conceptual reductionism required that the content of all matter of fact beliefs is exhausted by their empirical

content. Beliefs about transempirical entities such as God must then be construed as beliefs which are *really* about the empirical desires and interests of the community which held them. Explanatory reductionism seeks to explain why people adopt general world views or ideologies (including under these headings systems of religious belief) in terms of beliefs and desires pertaining to the physical environment. I shall be concerned with questions of explanatory reductionism later in this paper. The point I wish to make here is that the network model which Alan Miller and I would advocate does not entail any form of conceptual reductionism. Quite the contrary. It attempts to explain the relationship between the theological and the empirical content of beliefs, affirming certainly that theological beliefs do have a bearing on the empirical world, but denying that their content is exhausted by this. Equally it affirms that a full understanding of theological beliefs entails an understanding of the bearing which they have on the empirical world.

(c) Scholars may be looking for some more generalized account of the place of Matthew's community in the development of Christianity as a religious movement with its own social world. That is to say they may be seeking explanations of how Christianity developed as a religious community and looking to analogies in the history of other religious movements for suggestions as to how the fairly fragmentary information available may best be pieced together. In particular they will be seeking to understand the correlation between social conditions pertaining at the time and the development of particular patterns of belief and group behavior within the Matthean community.

We have already noticed Theissen's definition of the nature of a sociological enquiry into the New Testament in (a) above. Let us look further at his program. He divides his enquiry into three areas: role, factors and function. That is to say as well as attempting to discover typical patterns of behavior within the Christian community, we need (aa) to consider the way in which various social factors bear on such typical patterns of behavior (the English translation says: "is determined by society"; this is seriously misleading: the German "Bedingtheit"[11] would perhaps be better rendered "its being conditioned by"); (bb) to consider the way in which the Christian community acted upon contemporary society.

We have already suggested that where the identification and description of the social attitudes and behavior of a particular group is concerned we must be careful to take theological beliefs into account as well. There is another set of important questions concerning the way in which we characterize the interrelation between a particular group and the society in which it is located. How do various social factors: economic, ecological, political and cultural bear upon the beliefs and attitudes of a particular group? And vice versa?

Putting the question that way is instructively ambiguous. It may be asking a general question: what is the nature of the causal relation between beliefs etc. and the social conditions of the subscribing group? Or a set of more specific questions e.g. about how changing social circumstances and experience may affect the sense of particular beliefs and patterns of behavior, and, equally, how different beliefs and patterns of behavior in a particular community may bear upon the social conditions under which they live.

It is important initially to distinguish the two types of question. On the one hand the general question is one which involves a considerable range of considerations, philosophical, metaphysical and theological as well as historical. It clearly will make a difference how we decide such a question whether for instance we think we have adequate grounds for believing in the existence of a deity who can influence the minds and actions of people. The other questions are on our assessment ones which can be illuminated by

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[11] *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung* (Munich, 1977, p. 10).

the analysis of the network of beliefs and experience which make up the belief system of the community.

Keeping these two sorts of question apart is most important if the enterprise of a sociological enquiry is not to be seriously misunderstood at the outset. For it may easily be thought that any enquiry into the social factors which bear upon a group's belief and practice assumes a particular answer to the general question. What scholars who ask such specific questions are doing, it might be said, is looking for the underlying needs, desires, interests which might explain the religious beliefs themselves. That is they are committed to a particular answer to the general question, namely, that it is the social factors, the underlying needs, interests etc. of a particular group which cause it to adopt a particular set of beliefs and pattern of behavior. Beliefs are merely the ideological concomittant of group interests. But it is I think fairly clearly not true that scholars are always so committed. They may just as well look for the *beliefs* which have caused a particular group to act in a particular way in response to certain social factors, which that is to say have had a causal relationship to events and developments within their wider society.

That scholars may take such differing stances is sufficiently evidenced by the accounts of the Jewish resistance movement in the first century offered variously by Heinz Kreissig and Martin Hengel.[12] Kreissig, writing from an explicitly Marxist perspective, sets out to discover the underlying socio-economic causes of the Jewish revolt and finds them in the division of interests as between town and country, between landowners and tenants, hired laborers, etc. Hengel on the other hand is more concerned to uncover the beliefs of the Zealots and to see how these relate to earlier forms of Jewish belief, at the same time as attempting to show how these variant forms of Jewish belief have interesting new implications in terms of the courses of action which they enjoin. For Kreissig, Hengel's approach is like "finding an Old Testament text for every event in Judea."[13] This sounds very much like the expression of some fairly radical form of explanatory reductionism, suggesting, that is, that the real explanation for such events lies not in the beliefs on the participants, but in the economic interests which they represent. Yet even if, as Kreissig's Marxist perspective would require, we were to see all theological beliefs as ultimately *explicable* in terms of underlying socio-economic forces, it would still be necessary to account for how it was possible for Judas and his followers to rationalize armed resistance in the way that they did, and this would require just the kind of examination of changes in concepts and beliefs and the unravelling of their content which Hengel's analysis provides.

It might however be supposed that scholars have to commit themselves to one or other of these general stances. Either they must look for the beliefs which explain the actions or the interests which explain the beliefs. Yet even if one holds that theological beliefs may have a causal effect on the social conditions of a particular society, it does not of course follow that this will always be true. Similarly even if we hold that theological beliefs are *ultimately* explicable in terms of socio-economic forces, it does not follow that there are no cases where the immediate cause of a particular event or pattern of events is not some religious belief. What we require, that is, is a theory of interpretation which will allow us to document both cases where beliefs are modified as a result of changing social circumstances and cases where beliefs may be the cause of events, patterns of behavior and developments in society. It is this that the network model allows. It is in fact neutral with regards to the question whether *ultimately* all beliefs, no matter whether at one level they may be thought to influence events, etc., are but the product of certain social influences.

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[12] In variously *Zusammenhänge* and *Die Zeloten* (Leiden, 2d ed., 1976).

[13] *Zusammenhänge*, p. 92.

In conclusion then let me indicate in relation to Matthew's gospel how such a model may help to document the interaction between a group's behavior and beliefs and its surrounding society.

Theissen in *The First Followers of Jesus*[14] suggests that the behavior of the early Christians has strong analogies with various patterns of anomic behavior for which we have evidence in first century Palestine. In particular, as is well known, he focusses attention on the wandering charismatic leadership of the church and the similarities between its lifestyle and that of other prophetic groups of the time. Such behavior is however set within a wider context of different types of anomic behavior, evasive (emigration, Qumran), aggressive (brigands, Zealots), and subsiditive (beggars, prophets) which are found both in quite widespread instances of social disintegration and within the inner-Jewish renewal movement. He lists a range of factors, socio-economic, socio-ecological, socio-political and socio-cultural which may in some ways account for the occurrence of such patterns of behavior. The social pressures on Jews in the first century were such as to make it increasingly difficult for them to sustain their own community norms and they therefore took certain paths of action to enable them to deal with these problems. In its early stages the Christian community, in some ways not unlike the prophets mentioned in Josephus and Acts, were inspired by the hope that God would intervene to put an end to this age which so sorely threatened their traditional norms. Meanwhile their task was to abandon the struggle to maintain their lives in this world, to repent and to preach the gospel of the coming kingdom of God. The spearhead of this activity was the wandering charismatics and the rest of the movement provided some kind of support bases for them. Along with this went a radicalization of the norms of the new community concentrated on an ethic of homelessness, unprotectedness, and the loosening of the ties of family and work.

All this is familiar enough. What I want to consider briefly is the effect on such a group of its urbanization on the one hand and the growth of numbers and consequent strains on its internal organization and discipline on the other. I assume that Matthew represents such a stage in the development of the Christian community, one moreover at which the prospect of an imminent end of the present age is beginning to fade. That is to say, Matthew's community faced problems posed by its changed location and social structure, and also by the discontinuity between its own expectations about the coming of the kingdom and the actuality of a continuation of the old order of things.

In the first place we can refer back to the discussion of eschatology above. Matthew responds to the dissonance between actual experience and the expectations raised in his community by belief in the kingdom by modifying that belief in such a way as to allow a greater place within the overall historical schema for the experience of the church. This as we also noticed allowed him to use such beliefs in interestingly different ways, notably: less as promises and more as sanctions. This change in the function of Matthew's eschatology is related to other changes in the community's teaching which are more directly related to the change in locality and in social structure.

Again, we have suggested that the urban context in which Matthew's community found itself might raise considerable questions about passages like Matt 6:25ff. and chap. 10 The problems here are quite simply that there would be difficulty in maintaining the norms of the earlier wandering charismatic stage of the community's life once the community became urbanized and committed to maintaining itself by some kind of provision for its daily needs. Exactly how this came to prominence as a problem which exercised the minds of the community leadership I shall not speculate here. It may always have been a problem for the groups of sympathizers in one form or another. But equally it may not have been a problem which got a lot of attention until the local

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[14] *Followers*, pp. 34f.

communities grew in numbers and importance generally within the Christian movement. What I suggested above was that the tension between the norms of the predominantly itinerant stage of the movement and the daily demands of urban life on the more stable communities of Matthew's generation were softened (i) partly by portraying Jesus' more radical commands as being directed specifically to the founder group within the community; (ii) partly by modifying the sense of Matt 6:25ff. so that it now reads as an injunction to subordinate daily cares to the needs of the community rather than to abandon them altogether in order to pursue an itinerant ministry. That is to say, patterns of behavior which were basically anomic are being bracketed off, allowing for an increasing normalization of the community.

This process of normalization is fuelled, we may suppose, by the growing needs of the community to regulate its own affairs. But while we may say that with some confidence on the one hand, it would be wrong to suppose that in seeking to resolve problems of community organization and discipline Matthew was simply motivated by a desire to establish order at any cost. Chap. 18 is a complex passage on any reckoning. It deals with entry requirements, with disciplinary and expulsion procedures. There are, as Forkman has shown well,[15] interesting parallels between what we find here and what is found elsewhere in Qumran and Rabbinic Judaism, but always with equally interesting differences. Just as in Matthew's redaction of Mark 13 the insertion of parables into the text plays a key role, so too here. The parable of the lost sheep and of the unforgiving servant underline Matthew's intention to maintain the continuity between the openness and radical forgiveness which inspired the preaching ministry of the wandering charismatics and the organizational forms and community norms which he was concerned to develop. It is difficult to judge how successful he was in this attempt. Certainly phrases like "Let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax-gatherer" and the anger of the master in the second parable seem to indicate points of considerable discontinuity. Equally his use of the Mark 13 material to provide strong sanctions on community behavior may represent a considerable departure from the original sense of Jesus' eschatological sayings. My point here however is not to argue the case for any particular view of this quite delicately balanced issue as to show that there is a case here to be argued for or against beliefs having significantly influenced the circumstances and patterns of behavior of a particular group. It is indeed most likely that there has been considerable interaction here between the two.

4. *Conclusion*. I started by asking where an enquiry into the sociology of the New Testament might properly take its place in the ranks of New Testament forces. Perhaps the form of the question is not entirely felicitous. There's a story of an encounter between Albrecht Ritschl and Richard Rothe.[16] Rothe had been expounding his view of the relative competencies of the various theological disciplines. Ritschl, tiring of the unduly neat compartmentalization of the various forms of enquiry, suggested that it sounded all rather like a military parade. He, by contrast, was a fighting soldier and brought all his forces to bear on the same objective. "Then," replied Rothe, "your artillery will fire on your cavalry and your cavalry will ride down your infantry." "Not," replied Ritschl, "if I am a good general."

Just so. The point as it relates to the sociology of the New Testament is this. It should not be our concern to carve out for ourselves an area of enquiry quite distinct from what has gone before. We are concerned to develop questions and modes of enquiry which may serve to storm the bastions of the New Testament corpus which, we might remind ourselves, remains in many ways as formidable and impregnable as it was 200 and

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[15] *Limits*, pp. 39-114.

[16] Related in H. Timm, *Theorie und Praxis in der Theologie A. Ritschls und W. Herrmanns* (Gütersloh, 1967).

more years ago. The questions and modes of enquiry are not, I have tried to show, wholly discontinuous with what has gone before in New Testament studies. In the past attention has indeed focussed more on discovering the *beliefs*, theological and ethical, expressed in the early Christian writings. What is now proposed is an enquiry designed to explore the social attitudes and patterns of behavior of the early Christian communities and their interrelation with their immediate society. This can of course be presented as a quite separate and distinct enquiry from the former. If we adopt certain forms of conceptual reductionism it must indeed seem such. But if we don't, then the way is open for an intermeshing of this newer form of enquiry with the more traditional one. For now, as we have seen, it becomes important for the understanding of particular forms of action to discover how they are linked to certain sets of beliefs. It becomes important that we distinguish carefully the sense and the function of particular beliefs. And it becomes important that we explore the process of interaction between the beliefs of the community on the one hand and its changing experience on the other. What I think has made many dissatisfied with certain forms of Biblical theology has been the way in which it has divorced the beliefs expressed in the various New Testament writings from their context within a complex community history. I for one do not wish to abandon the enterprise of Biblical theology in favor of sociology of the New Testament. I do see sociological enquiry into the New Testament as adding an invaluable string to the New Testament historian's bow. Equally, of course, it's only fair to say that it raises a whole set of new historical conundrums which may make the ultimate goal of understanding the New Testament merely recede once again.

The Jerusalem Community and Kashrut Shatnes

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In the hellenistic world, and during the subsequent Roman period, city temples and international cult centers performed complex socio-economic functions within the community. Their role was interpreted, revised, championed and protected by the local aristocracy who supported and dominated the cult. Politics, economics, social stratification, land tenure, small manufacturing, and agricultural methods, etc., were determined by theological assumptions. Problem solving took place obliquely by means of the language of myth and ritual. Hellenistic temples were the repositories of community wealth and the site of creative activity in the arts and sciences. The expenditure and allocation of local resources were in harmony with the accepted value system as formulated by the aristocracy and supported by a concept of sanctity which was the foundation of civic obedience. Alliances between the city and its rural neighbors were described as familial ties between gods and goddesses.[1]

A temple was the point for both cash and produce offerings and the site of the local market. It was a center for the collection of that civic revenue which was generated from tithes and sacrifices. Temple wealth came from land ownership, workshop rent, merchant fees, agricultural offerings, animal sacrifices, special fairs and regular pilgrimages. The success and failure of an individual as a member of the extended family was associated with the proper execution of his religious duty. Participation in temple activities was essential for the maintenance of social status, and mandatory for social advancement. The gymnasium, the critical agency for status certification, was closely linked to the temple and its rites.[2]

The hellenistic temple pattern was disrupted by the arrival of the Romans who transformed the essential social consensus by means of strict central control. They effected the institution of Roman capitalism and the systematic export of large quantities of goods, produce, and gold to Italy. A considerable trade deficit developed between colony and capital which was only slightly redressed by regional Roman military expenditures. Certain commercial cities prospered as they exploited Italian needs. Alexandria

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[1]M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) 36-173. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974). R. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1956). J. Fennelly, "Primitive Christian Values of Salvation," *Man and His Salvation: Studies in Memory of S. G. F. Brandon* (ed. E. Sharpe and J. Hinnells; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973).

[2]T. Frank, *Rome: An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1936; Octagon, 1975) v. A. C. Johnson, *Egypt: An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1936; Octagon, 1975) ii.

achieved such a trade surplus while serving Rome that it became wealthier than the capital itself. Antioch, Athens, Thessalonica, Carthage, et al., became beneficiaries of Roman international exploitation, allowing the realization of a significant profit. In Italy, first Pueteoli and then Ostia were centers of foreign business wealth as the location for commerce and shipping to Rome.[3]

The Romans transformed local temples into agencies for the collection of Imperial revenue. The operation was frequently under the supervision of a client priesthood or king. If the client failed, the Romans would assimilate the gods into their pantheon and re-establish the old temple as an adjunct of the Imperial cult. The state and the shrine then would be placed under military control. The Imperial soldiers slowly abandoned the martial service for the bureaucratic functions of an army of occupation. Specific responsibility was transferred to the Equestrian leadership of "new men" who were exclusive in their loyalty to the Caesar who appointed them. After nationalization a temple was promptly emptied of its treasure (which was sent to the Emperor) forcing the local economy to rely on Roman capitalism for support. In the document "the gnomon of the idiologus" from Theadelphia, Egypt, ca. 150 C.E., there is a description of this complex Roman involvement in the operation of a *Fayum* cult center. Roman policy had caused the devout of many temples throughout the empire to withdraw their activity from the local shrine and to practice the traditional religion (status maintenance and advancement) within the confines of the extended family and the social club. Formal public worship was replaced by the private cult and the mysteries. It was during this period that the stateless religion of Isis and the philosophy of Astrology greatly prospered.[4]

The Jerusalem Temple

The Temple in Jerusalem was a hellenistic structure which manifested a significant number of unique characteristics. Although it was a nationalistic center, it had developed a pattern of operation which made it a stateless religion since the time of the Achaemenids. It had protected itself from hellenization by preserving, in a revised form, a semitic way of life as an alternative to Greek philosophical speculation. Its monotheistic God forbade physical representations and claimed universal sovereignty. This God resisted easy assimilation at a reduced status level within the Greco-Roman pantheon. The exclusivist God of the Hebrews became a pivotal point for the preservation of semitic pride throughout the fertile crescent. Semites were caught in the conflict between Rome and Parthia and were being subverted by an expansive hellenism. The Hebrew Temple religion sustained itself as the center of a complex minor market which was small enough not to threaten the establishment but large enough to perform national and international services. The Jerusalem temple and market complex was granted permission to dominate several aspects of Roman-Parthian trade and political cooperation.[5]

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[3]S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938; Greenwood, 1969) 238ff. R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974). M. Rostovtzeff, *A Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941) i 280-84. Johnson, *Rome*, 639-70. J. A. S. Evans, "A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Greco-Roman period," *Yale Classical Studies* 17, 200.

[4]M. H. Crawford, "Rome and the Greek World: Economic Relationships," *Economic Historical Review* 30 (1977) 42-52. J. Fennelly, "Roman Involvement in the Affairs of the Egyptian Shrine," *BJRL* 50 (1968) 317ff.

[5]J. L. Daniel, "Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period," *JBL* 98 (1979) 45-65. S. W. Baron, *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972) 75-117. J. F. Strange, "Archaeology and the Religion of Judaism in

The Theology of the Temple had been founded on holiness, defined as the code of acceptable behavior and practice necessary to maintain social order within the community and to provide a defense against the outside world. Hebrew dietary laws in Leviticus taught men to avoid those things in nature which were contrary to the Hebrew creation story (the divine order of things, right, normal and proper). If the laws were followed the God would bless. If they were ignored the blessing would be withdrawn and the taboo deed would become the source of grave danger with the ensuing threat of divine punishment. Men prospered on earth by conforming to holiness and perished when they deviated from it. All foreign things, and those considered non-conventional, were by nature suspect. Cattle, camels, sheep, and goats were the normal meat diet of the population. When one was forced to eat other animals it was abnormal and inconventional and thus fraught with danger. Strange food was a punishment because it was a repudiation of the average which represented God's normal way. The danger of pollution from the strange was made minimum if the animals eaten during adversity were similar to the food enjoyed during the times of stability and prosperity. Unacceptable foods frequently featured aspects of the diet of neighboring enemies. Many ancient Hebrew dietary taboos were a means of rejecting the cuisine of the Arabs and the Philistines. Clean and unclean created a self-aware group able to live separate throughout the world. Membership and status were assured and the power to resist assimilation was guaranteed.[6]

The Temple structure was a reflection of the Hebrew creation epic written by its own priests centuries earlier. The physical plant was a paradigm of the value system of the society in that it was the model for a stateless religion within hellenism. Attempts were made to assimilate the Jerusalem Temple but these were rejected. Each attempt to introduce a statue of the divine into the Holy of Holies was the sign of an enemy desire to destroy Hebrew-Semite separateness and its east-west market. People who chose to assimilate found greater value in the larger, popular pattern of Roman city-state affairs but the traditional Hebrew-Semite found his reward in resolutely standing apart. The unique quality of a small, well-disciplined international market offered a higher return than Roman capitalism. With Roman world power, and the subsequent destruction of most temple-based city states, the pendulum of favor swung toward Jerusalem, creating growth via rapid expansion. The Jewish market was being inundated by new believers and "god-fearers."[7]

This growth manifested itself by a dramatic change in the Temple structure ca. 20 B.C.E. Herod, the Jewish-Roman client, began to dismantle the Zerubbabel Temple (with its myriad of revisions and alterations) in order to construct a modern building which would reflect Roman times. The new building would manifest the techniques of the architect Vitruvius. This Herodian structure was faithful to Roman concepts of order, function and design while it had a semitic facade. There was an ornamental Roman eagle over the sanctuary door which was continually an insult to the devout. It represented an attempt to bring the Hebrew God into the Roman family of deities (Josephus *Ant.*, xvii 7:2-4; *Wars*, i 33:2-4).

The impact of Rome on provincial temples may be seen in the shrine of Dendur. It is a Roman temple constructed in accord with Vitruvius's rules with an Egyptian exterior. Dendur demonstrates the universal dimension of the reign of Augustus. Its facade and

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Palestine," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ed. H. Temporini & W. Hasse; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979) II 19.1, pp. 650-57.

[6]A. Büchler, "The Levitical Impurity of the Gentile in Palestine Before the Year 70," *JQR* 17 (1925) 1-81. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Praeger, 1966) 53ff.

[7]J. Klausner, "The Economy of Judea in the Period of the Second Temple," *The World History of the Jewish People: The Herodian Period* (ed. M. Avi-Yonah; New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1975) 180-206.

dedication to Petesi and Pihor slightly masque the power of the Roman Army's cult of the Dioscuri. It is only after Roman rule had been withdrawn from the Tropic of Cancer that local Egyptians cut in the north door, which made the building acceptable to the worship of Isis. Dendur and the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem were constructed at the same time. Both manifest the influence of Roman expansionism.[8]

The main sources of information concerning the Herodian Temple are found in Josephus and the *Middoth* section of *Mishna*. A few important details are suggested by the New Testament and by Philo of Alexandria. There is a considerable amount of diverse detail to be found in archaeological reports. The Herodian Temple ought to be known as the "third" temple but it is called "second" in current Judaism because its sacred ritual was not interrupted during the period of its construction. This provides an easy way to avoid the embarrassment caused by a Herodian-Roman influence on the temple which served as paradigm for the *Mishna*. The temple complex was divided in two sections: the general courtyards and buildings, and the cult clean inner compound close to the central shrine. Most of the Temple area was within the existing compound of the Haram-el-sharif. The primary sacred building faced east, toward the sunrise and the Mt. of Olives. It was protected by a high courtyard wall. The Temple precinct was surrounded by an outer colonnade which created a large southern courtyard. Most pilgrims to the Temple entered from the south, close to residential Jerusalem. Jesus and his disciples appear to enter from the east, via Bethany, Bethpage and Gethsemene. The large southern courtyard and the Solomon Stoa were accessible to both the pious visitor and the practicing Jew. In 36 C.E. a balustrade was erected around the Temple wall decreasing the space of the large southern courtyard. The balustrade provided a small additional area near the Temple wall for the assembly of the ritually clean prior to their entry into the sacred courts. It marked a continuing emphasis to isolate the Temple from the non-practicing Jews and to create greater restrictions upon pious visitors and gentiles. A very small passageway must have remained open so that the ritually unclean and newly arrived pilgrim might circumambulate the exterior wall before beginning the ritual of cleansing. The passageway left a narrow corridor along the eastern edge of the shrine, between the two walls and the two main east gates.[9]

There are considerable problems associated with an accurate identification of the gates, but it appears that the "Beautiful Gate" may be the monumental eastern entry which was aligned with the Sushan (Persian) Gate. A flight of steps went down toward the Kidron from the "Beautiful Gate." Its first landing was at Solomon's Stoa, probably 10 to 15 feet below the Temple courtyard. The Stoa ran to the south of these steps and was constructed on top of a terraced retaining wall cut into the edge of the Temple hill. It was associated with Solomon in recognition of the tradition which attributed to him the invention of the revetment technique used for the terracing of the Temple foundation. Primitive Christians congregated at Solomon's Stoa and several events are recorded in Acts which gain clarity when viewed from the perspective of this identification. The Pharisee in the parable with the Publican (Luke 18:9-14) might well be standing at the top of the steps by the "Beautiful Gate" looking into the inner shrine, while gazing to his unclean left to observe the Publican below on Solomon's Stoa. This portico provided the ritually unclean and the gentiles the closest access to the Temple doors and an external view into the Holy of Holies. At special seasons of pilgrimage a portion of Solomon's

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[8]J. Fennelly, "The Temple of Dendur," *SBL Seminar Papers 1982* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1982) 129-34.

[9]M. Avi-Yonah, "Jewish Art and Architecture in the Hasmonean and Herodian Periods," *WHJP*, 250-63. M. Burrows, "Jerusalem" 10, *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) ii 859-66.

Stoa would need be used to sell those goods necessary for the operation of the Temple sacrificial cult.[10]

The Temple Support System

The practice of holiness, according to the rules of ritual piety, require special acts of separation to enable the worshipper to distinguish between the sacred and the profane. The Jerusalem Temple, like many others of the hellenistic age, had special laws concerning food, clothing and vessels to be used (and afterward discarded) in the presence of the divine. Priests were chosen by family of origin and for physical appearance. Their lives and actions were carefully circumscribed by strict cultic convention. Villages within the area of the supportive society provided cattle, grain and fruit in accord with Temple rules. Sacred garments (not only the High Priest's robe) were woven according to ancient and venerable patterns. It was considered an honor to provide goods for the Temple and a necessary method of status maintenance for the landed aristocracy. The Temple lifestyle was the model for an acceptable social-economic pattern of behavior. The Temple cult practiced the perfect way of living: hospitality, eating, greeting, washing and dressing. In the presence of the divine the distinctive way of life was preserved intact. A semitic people, inundated by a hellenistic tide, preserved their identity and socio-economic benefits via a strict obedience manifest in their contributions to the Temple support system. All elements of the production of goods for the Temple were generated from and constructed by the participating society. The Jerusalem Temple resisted radical hellenization and its supporting members tried to separate themselves from hellenization on a personal and family basis. In order to maintain distinctiveness, the diaspora affected Temple patterns of life and supported the shrine by contributions and pilgrimages.[11]

With the arrival of Roman power and the establishment of Judaea as a Roman client state in 39 B.C.E., the Temple cult was forced to change. Status reward for aristocrats came from Roman and pro-Roman sources of wealth and power. The rebuilding of the Temple by Herod demonstrated a shift in acceptable life style: food, clothing, housing and social practice. The Pharisees expanded their influence as the rank and file resisted Romanization. The landed aristocracy were reduced in power to become minor officials who ran the Imperial estates. The populous looked toward the Pharisees for the maintenance of their value system and cultural integrity. The Pharisees were associated with the Temple but were separate from its traditional leadership. They sought to maintain Temple purity in their homes and throughout the diaspora while the old aristocracy was reluctant in Palestine and negligent abroad. This follows a pattern which is observable among other religions in the client lands. The Pharisees had, by their demand for objects and offerings of temple purity for their homes, expanded the local Synagogue-agora's commerce in materials which maintained holiness quality. Their buying practices throughout the world transformed the old temple support system into an enlarged vertical cartel. Jews sold and bought temple quality goods to and from their co-religionists, who were the dealers and suppliers of the Synagogue-agora.[12]

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[10] S. Safrai, "The Temple and the Divine Service," *WHJP*, 282-337.

[11] S. Safrai, *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum: The Jewish People in the First Century* (ed. S. Safrai et al.; Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976) 865ff.

[12] H. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 35-79. S. B. Hoenig, "Oil and Pagan Defilement," *JQR* 61 (1970-71) 63-75. R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) 57-120.

The Formation of the Synagogue

The origin of the Synagogue is rooted in the time of the Exile and the conversion of the east semites. The Synagogue-agora took on greater importance and new functions during the early Roman Empire. This coincided with the rapid expansion of the influence of the Pharisee party. The Synagogue-agora was the center of Jewish life and business. It was an auxiliary to the Temple which provided a local focus (in Jerusalem and the diaspora) necessary for the life of a "stateless" religion. It included a place for prayer, a center of education, an assembly area, a banqueting hall, a hostel for visiting merchants, a law court, and the location for the bi-weekly "clean" market. This "clean" market was gaining in importance as additional people, under the influence of the high status Pharisees, began to define their social status in terms of obedience to Temple food and clothing regulations. The Synagogue-agora stretched throughout the diaspora. Acceptance to buy and sell in the market and to participate in the festivals was a primary function for group identification. A Jew was one who was engaged in synagogue life and was obedient to the sabbath laws, circumcision, and to the four pillars of Jewish practice. (1) Food was increasingly being prepared according to the temple laws of *kashrut*. This isolated the cult member from certain foods and kept him from associating with non-members. Ritually acceptable food was grown, delivered, sold and prepared under the supervision of explicit laws. This created a vertical cartel wherein purity was assured by the trustworthiness of the other participants in the system. (2) Clothing was manufactured in harmony with *shatnes* laws which prohibited the mixing of certain fibers. Only an observant weaver and tailor could vouch-safe the garment. Clothing once prepared for Temple use alone now became a household item of larger demand. (3) Residence within a sabbath's day journey (3,000 feet) of the synagogue created a density of cult-member population which protected the viability of the Jewish market. (4) The observation of a particular set of laws for business contracts and management (*mishpat holem*) created close associations of members. The rabbis expanded this concern, following 70 C.E., to create the correct practice for the economic life of the synagogue participants. Laws for working hours, contracts, means of payment, acceptable trades, methods of partnership, etc., were organized according to the preferred religious model.[13]

The four pillars of practice created a close religious socio-economic community. This vertical cartel provided the necessary food, clothing and shelter for observant family units. Participants bought and sold to each other within an isolated, limited but stable market. As the influence of the diaspora increased the market grew and expanded its previously small share of international trade. Participation by non-members as customers of the Synagogue-agora (especially for expensive, low-volume imported goods) brought extra capital into the market creating a greater profit and a credit surplus.

The Synagogue Advantage

The legal status of the Jews in the Roman Empire was neither clear nor simple. Rome frequently appeared to operate on a local ad hoc basis, allowing for considerable discrepancy in policy from region to region. In Cyrene, during the rule of Augustus, Jews were described as *isoteleia*, a status between *metics* (resident aliens) and citizens. Philo of Alexandria consistently argues for the corporate rights of the *politeuma:* a publicly recognized national body with the privilege to organize its foreign colonies (Synagogue-agora) within the Empire and subject to specific legal controls. Josephus accords the Jews of Alexandria the status of *isopoliteia:* potential citizens or persons granted reciprocal citizenship. Smallwood concludes that the Jewish legal position must be a

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[13] S. Safrai, *CRINT*, 793-832. Z. W. Falk, *CRINT*, 504-33.

collegium: the ancient right of assembly and freedom for the observance of ethnic customs. A final definition is not achieved until Vespasian established the Jewish tax, long after the search for "citizenship" had abated.[14]

In the absence of a clear Imperial definition, a variety of local accommodations were in operation. Synagogues in the diaspora were permitted to exist as the cult association centers of a most favored people. Perhaps the status somewhere between *politeuma-collegium* is the best compromise. Augustus, who had reconfirmed Julius Caesar's ban on trade association guilds, permitted the Jews to continue as a *collegium*. Within this definition synagogues proliferated throughout the Empire. Tradesmen's synagogues became abundant. There was a linen-worker's synagogue in Tarsiim, and one for lime-burners in Rome. An international silk trade was fostered by a chain of synagogues spread across the ancient world. S. Applebaum writes:

> It therefore seems probable that in the first century of the present era, in Asia as in Alexandria, both mastercraftsmen and working artisans were an organized factor in the larger Jewish communities- . . . the craft guilds were part of the Jewish communal organization.[15]

Babylonian Jews had national synagogues in Sepphoris and Tiberias to protect their interests along the silk route. The Synagogue-agora became a major focus for Jewish trade guilds which operated under the protection of a religious society. S. Applebaum again:

> It may be that these bodies were deliberately incorporated into the synagogue framework in order to avoid suppression by the authorities: as religious societies they could claim the privileges accorded to Jewish organizations by Julius Caesar.[16]

The great Alexandrian Synagogue was described in the Babylonian Talmud as just such a market and employment center.

> . . . and when a poor man went in he recognized who his fellow tradesmen were, and went to them, and thus got their work for the support of himself and his family. (*B. Talmud*, Succah v. 76-85)

E. R. Goodenough cites Samuel Kraus who, in 1922, suggested the Great Synagogue was a large merchant's hall.[17] This position is supported by Zeitlin, Rivkin, Gutmann, and Applebaum.[18] S. B. Hoenig sees the ancient city-square as the forerunner of the synagogue and supports the view of a multi-use of the synagogue for commercial activities.[19] It appears that prayers and readings continued throughout the day while the

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[14]E. A. Judge, *The Social Patterns of the Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale Press, 1960) 18ff. E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under the Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill) 237-53. A. Kasher, "The Isopoliteia Question in Caesarea Maritima," *JQR* 68 (1977-78) 16-27.

[15]S. Applebaum, *CRINT*, 483.

[16]S. Applebaum, *CRINT*, 703 n. 5.

[17]E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953) ii 86.

[18]J. Gutmann, *The Synagogue* (New York: Ktav, 1975) 23, 75. S. Applebaum, *CRINT*, 701-25.

[19]S. B. Hoenig, "The Ancient City-Square: The Forerunner of the Synagogue," *ANRW* II 19.1 pp. 448-76. A. T. Kraabel, "The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence Since Sukenik," *ANRW* II 19.1 pp. 477-510.

tradesmen went on about their concerns. Periodically they would look up from their work and say, "Amen" when the *chazan* signalled with his prayer shawl. All commercial activity was, of course, forbidden on the sabbath.

Originally designed to provide support services for the practice of Jewish ceremonial law (first in Jerusalem and then in the diaspora), during the early Empire the synagogue developed into a vertical cartel. The ship owners of one synagogue insured their cargo risks by joint action. In another location, if the price of silk dropped as much as 6 percent in a day, the *shofar* was sounded! A Jewish merchant shipping triangle was active (and dealt with large sums of cash) in the ports of Alexandria, Delos, and Pueteoli. The rabbis manifested special concern with market problems, profit margins and business ethics. On the Day of Atonement the High Priest offered a special prayer for a new year of flourishing trade.[20]

The Jewish commercial advantage in the Empire existed from ca. 20 B.C.E. until ca. 50 C.E. and drew to itself the pious gentile (God-fearer) as well as the uncircumcised Israelite and proselyte. The *Gemara* for Pesahim 96a refused to exclude the uncircumcised from the Passover meal. At the local level the uncircumcised were able to effect an acceptable sacrifice. These pious men were generous supporters of the synagogue and were considered associate members if they kept the ordinances and followed the essential customs. Hellenistic Judaism encouraged these pious persons to participate in synagogue life, thereby expanding the size and strength of the Jewish market and its general influence. God-fearers benefited because of the international scope of the market and the special privilege of Roman favor. The Jewish advantage brought prosperity to Jews and God-fearers in both the east and west until its success drew the attention of the Romans toward the massive cache of Temple gold.

Temple Gold

The annual revenue of the Temple was prodigious. Had mature males from the estimated seven million Jews paid the half-shekel tithe, the income would have been in excess of ten million drachma (one-half shekel = 3.3 drachma). When women, slaves and proselytes paid a voluntary tithe, it too was accounted as acceptable (*Shekelim*, 1.3,5). The Romans provided protection for the safe gathering and transporting of the tithe and, despite opposition in Ionia, Cyrene and Ephesus (Josephus, *Ant.*, xvi, 160-73), the right to send gold to Jerusalem was upheld. The tithe was a necessary act to establish one's Jewishness and to allow an individual to participate in the synagogue socio-economic network.[21]

The Synagogue-agora was also the center for the collection of the Temple tithe. Philo writes: ". . . practically in every city there are banking places for the holy money where people come and give their offerings" (*Spec. Leg.* i.78). Here Philo (who does not know the word synagogue) describes the site as a banking place. Special envoys were chosen from among the leading families to accompany the tithe money to Jerusalem. What had been temple produce support at Leontopolis in Egypt (and perhaps for a Babylonian Temple too) in Ptolemaic times had become a gift of gold to Jerusalem in Imperial times. When Galileans brought their tithes to Jerusalem it was presented with great pomp. Josephus, with his usual penchant for hyperbole, reports that the gold bullion train from Babylon was so great that ten thousand men were needed to guard it (Josephus,

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[20]R. Kimelman, "Judaism in the Greco-Roman City: The Case of Third Century Tiberias," *SBL Seminar Papers 1980* (ed. P. Achtemeier; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) 101-12. M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 171ff.

[21]S. Applebaum, *CRINT*, 677ff.

Ant., xviii, 313). The collection in Nisibis was under the personal supervision of a resident Jerusalem Temple official named Joseph ben Bathyra. If Nisibis had a resident Jerusalem officer then we can expect one to also live in Alexandria, Babylon and Damascus, among other cities.[22]

Not only did Jews send their annual membership tithe, but 300,000 pilgrims are reported to have journied three times a year to the Holy City for worship and sacrifice. Many brought their own tithe plus the tithe of associates. The Romans enjoyed the pilgrimage because there was a sales tax on each item used by a visitor to effect his religious journey. If Egyptian shrine records from the early Imperial age are an indication of Roman policy, then most of the Temple revenue was required to pay Roman tax demands. The pilgrims carrying the tithe probably resided at one of the 394 synagogues mentioned by the Palestinian Talmud as being in existence in Jerusalem before 70 C.E. The Synagogue-agora was an ideal hospitality center for the reception of pilgrims by trade or by nationality. Both Luke and John appear to classify Christians in Jerusalem with regional rather than trade identification. There are a few instances when Paul and Acts mention trades. On the day of Pentecost a world-wide cluster of ethnics was surprised at the multilingual skills of a group of Galileans. Christianity proclaimed itself a world force born of a Galilean core membership.[23]

Pilgrims who came to Jerusalem brought gold. This made the Temple a glorious sight. Permission to transport gold, Rome's most preciously guarded commodity, was a unique privilege granted to the Jews. A golden vine decorated the entrance to the sanctuary. Pilgrims added gold leaves and clusters of fruit as offerings. These objects were public manifestations of the wealth on deposit. Alexander the Arabarch (father of Ti. Julius Alexander and brother of Philo) had the nine gates of the Temple covered with gold as a mark of his wealth, power and business acumen. His letter of credit to Agrippa I for a considerable sum of money to be collected at the port of Pueteoli while en route to Rome demonstrates the scope of the powerful financial network of the Alexandrian Jews. Queen Helena of Adiabene in Parthia not only sent food to Jerusalem during the famine of 46/47 C.E., but was well known for her numerous gifts of gold to adorn the Temple building. Gold offerings were a visible sign of private and Synagogue-agora fortunes placed in escrow on Adiabene's behalf within the sanctuary. Here, under the pious supervision of sacred safe-keeping, the gold established one's international reputation within Judaism so that letters of credit would receive easy, world-wide acceptance. A contemporary document (*4 Macc* 4:3) reported personal accounts being deposited in the Temple. Surplus wealth permitted the Temple to issue loans and to take mortgages. During the early days of the Empire the Temple became an international banking center and the convention city for 300,000 businessmen-pilgrims.[24]

Christians have given special theological attention to the event of the cleansing of the Temple by Jesus. His action was probably an attack on the complex ancillary functions of pilgrimage supplies which took place in the open courtyards of the Temple compound. It reflects an attack on the use of the Temple as a tax gathering center for the support of Rome and the Herodian aristocracy. It also shows a later Christian rejection of the Temple's economic power which had restricted the participation of gentiles and God-fearers. Christians saw the Temple in a negative light because it was drawing the

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[22]J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia: I: The Parthian Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1969) 50.

[23]A. J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977) 60-90. N. Q. Hamilton, "Temple Cleansing and Temple Bank," *JBL* 83 (1964) 365-70. F. V. Filson, "Ancient Greek Synagogue Inscriptions," *Biblical Archaeologist* 32 (1969) 45.

[24]S. Safrai, *CRINT*, 191-204. S. Safrai, *WHJP*, 324-31.

attention of the Romans to Palestine. Along with the Pharisees and the Essenes, the Christians viewed the imposition of full Roman capitalism upon Israel with great foreboding. Each of these groups had a different solution to the problem. The Pharisees took the Temple home and sought to discipline the society with strict practices. The Essenes withdrew into the desert. Christians had several reactions, the most famous of which was a radical expansion of the membership and an abandonment of the ritual forms. The Christian cleansing story manifests a contemporary concern with the Roman sales tax on goods and with the 16 percent exchange rate charged for Temple shekels.[25]

Roman Interest in Temple Gold

The Romans had expected that the Herods would integrate Judaea into the Empire. The rebuilding of the Temple, in harmony with Imperial style, was a step in that direction. The Herods encouraged trade and commerce along Roman lines as centered around the new structure. Roman capitalism sought to exploit economic life through the establishment of Imperial estates. It attempted to control political activity by gathering and expending gold from the Julio-Claudian war chest. Roman emperors hoarded gold, and none with a more disastrous outcome than Tiberious who, in 33 C.E. deflated the world money supply and forced trade and commerce to a standstill. The Jews avoided the disaster due to their own supply of gold and the ability to transact business by means of letters of credit. These letters bypassed the paucity of gold in circulation. Jerusalem had the only major source of gold, independent of Tiberius, and the finest international credit system. Sejanus coveted its wealth. His appointee, Pontius Pilate, attempted to use Temple funds to build an aquaduct into Jerusalem and then sought to bring Imperial shields into the city. Both acts were opposed by Jews and were seen as steps toward the assimilation of Temple wealth into the Emperor's treasury. Josephus reported that Pilate sought to bring copies of the Imperial busts into the city. This was another step toward nationalization and the establishment of the Imperial cult. Sejanus, who held the central authority in Rome throughout the period of Jesus' public ministry, desired Jerusalem gold to act as a war chest for his planned coup d'etat. He foresaw the crisis of 33 C.E. being exacerbated by the drain of bullion toward the luxuries of the far east and the thoughtless hoarding by Tiberius on Capri. His death in 31 C.E. removed him from contention before the crisis hit. Had he survived, he would have appeared as a savior to the weak and destitute Roman landed aristocracy.

The most dramatic attempt to nationalize the Temple took place in 39 C.E. when Gaius Caligula sought to reinflate the economy with Jerusalem gold. Plans were announced to install a statue of Jupiter in the Temple. Palestinian farmers and diaspora businessmen were faced with a genuine catastrophe. The farmers led a massive protest and refused to plant crops. The businessmen sent bribes for Agrippa I to distribute in Rome. Protection of the Temple from defilement was not only an act of religious courage but it was also a political defense of the unique Jewish market advantage. A statue meant nationalization and the destruction of the Jewish vertical cartel. It marked a drastic change in the farmer's tax burden. Agrippa's timely intervention (Why else had the Alexandrians, for one, given him such generous credit?), aided and abetted by a conservative Roman policy which was adverse to change, turned the tide. There can be no question that the preservation of the Temple system had become a very expensive business. From this moment every wise Jew knew that the Temple must fall or it would continue to be a source of Roman blackmail. Pharisee, diaspora businessman, and Christian were in basic agreement. Bribery, Gaius's preoccupation on the Rhine, and the crisis with Flaccus probably caused the Emperor to postpone nationalization for a short while.

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[25]H. Montefiore, "Jesus and the Temple Tax," *NTS* 11 (1964) 60-71.

Thirty-one years later, when the Temple did fall, its gold hoard, prudently smaller, allowed Vespasian to refinance the bankrupt Empire for the life of the Flavians and the stoic pleasure of the Antonines.[26]

The Pharisee Party and the Danger of Over-Expansion

The Pharisee party, with its six thousand members, was deeply concerned with the Temple. They had developed a disciplined organization and had created, by their demand for Temple quality food and clothing, a small special market. Their influence grew as diaspora Jews began to identify themselves by observing Pharisee type practices for ritual celebrations and daily life needs. Popular support had shifted away from the High Priests who had been chosen from among the pro-Roman aristocratic families. The religion now pointed itself toward pious living Pharisees. By the year 33 C. E. the right to appoint the Captain of the Temple had become a prerogative of the Pharisees. Pharisaic interpretations of the *halakah* by Hillel and his distinguished descendants earned for them the respect of the people.[27]

The Pharisees answered the Temple crisis with five specific responses. (1) They withdrew, to the purity of their own homes, from the Temple uncleanliness (while also attempting to police it). (2) They sought to maintain the validity of the Jewish market by demanding product loyalty and a stricter obedience to the code of holiness which they observed. (3) They began to exclude God-fearers and both the non-circumcised Israelite and the proselyte. (4) They began to disassociate themselves from the highly hellenized aristocratic Jews of the diaspora. (5) They reversed the Jewish expansionism of the Augustan age with drastic intrenchment.

The Christian Revitalization Movement

Christianity began as a revitalization movement within the complex structure of Judaism during the reign of Emperor Tiberius. It accepted for itself a place within the poorly defined *politeuma-collegium* of Judaism. The earliest documents point to an economic-social pattern among Christians similar to, and often indigenous with, the Synagogue-agora. Paul's arrangements for the Jerusalem offering appear modeled on the diaspora collection of the Temple tithe. It probably traveled, in Roman eyes at least, under Temple auspices. The money was accompanied to Jerusalem by a locally chosen group of men (1 Cor 16:13; 2 Cor 8:19-23). If Christians were able to move their tithe to Jerusalem with such apparent ease, it is safe to suggest that most of the other tithe money went first to a Jerusalem synagogue before being deposited in the Temple. The Christian tithe went to the Jerusalem church which, acting as a regional-tradesmen synagogue, attempted to liquidate its assets so as to create capital for a Christian central banking function. This was a temporary move until the Jerusalem Christians could regain access to the Temple-synagogue banking system from which they had recently been excluded (Acts 4:1-18). The James group was intent upon restoring access to the Temple by accepting certain conservative modifications in Christian behavior which would enable Christians to return to full membership within the system. Peter under-

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[26] G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 33-46. M. Crawford, "Money and Exchange in the Roman World," *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970) 40-48.

[27] M. Smith, "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," *Essays in Greco-Roman and Related Talmudic Literature* (ed. H. A. Fischel; New York: Ktav, 1977) 183-97. S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2d ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1952) ii pt. ii, pp. 129-71.

stood this plan and accepted it as an exemplary goal. He reacted accordingly when the James group reported success while he was with Paul in Antioch. But, almost twenty years had elapsed since the agreement on strategy had been made. The accord with the Temple authorities had taken too long to effect. It had become irrelevant. Paul knew that many of those who had become Christians since the Resurrection were Samaritans and secular gentiles who never had access to the Temple-synagogue system and who saw no value whatsoever in obeying its now obsolete laws. Hellenist Christians of the Stephen group had abandoned the Temple and its code of holiness from the very start. They were the active ones in the opening of Christian membership to the very groups which the Synagogue-agora had sought to exclude by emphasizing pro-Pharisee practices.[28]

Christianity was one of several movements seeking to revitalize a moribund Temple Judaism. Its pattern struck a chord of sympathy in Samaria, among the gentiles, and throughout diaspora Judaism. Serendipitously it uncovered a number of major structural defects in the socio-economic fabric of the Roman Empire. It suddenly, and surprisingly, became a revitalization movement not only for Judaism but for much of the Mediterranean world.

The earliest phases of the movement expanded so rapidly that Christian origins were lost in the synthesis of its own successes. There were a number of core beliefs which became very obvious to members of the growing religion during the late first century. If these core beliefs were not part of the original Jesus message then they must represent a very early consensus of what that message was thought to contain. Because of the nature of New Testament documents, our understanding of core belief has been influenced by the Pauline community. It appears certain that the core structure was concerned with many of these points:

social mobility and equality for slaves, freedmen, etc.
obliteration of old Roman nationality status rules
freedom of movement and trade
programs of social welfare
equality of men and women
contracts based on fidelity, not race nor ritual performance
a community of believers replaced the extended family
a new calendar of ritual events (none during the season of the earthly twin)
an international assembly of believers
open markets
all foods are clean, all garments acceptable
no limitations on place of residence nor distance from the market place
no circumcision as initiation into membership
martyrdom
encratism
confrontation with Rome
apocalypticism
religious life without a Temple structure
reading and writing skills and use of the codex form
hospitality
the Christian tithe to Jerusalem

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[28]A. F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956) 264-81. M. Hengel, *Poverty and Riches in the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 35-64. E. Rivkin, "Pharisaism and the Crisis of the Individual in the Greco-Roman World," *JQR* 61 (1970-71) 27-53. J. G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1975) 93-113.

The Primitive Christian Community

Fragments of information preserved in Acts 1-8 and in the gospels enable us to piece together some general observations about the life of the Jerusalem Christian community within the context of our socio-economic analysis. The New Testament writes theology while our generation wants to read history. The conflict between Christians and the rising identification of Temple Judaism with Pharisaic practices is a major New Testament theme. It is obvious in pericope 35, *On Anxiety* (Matt 6:25-34; Luke 12:22-31), that *kashrut* and *shatnes* are rejected as irrelevant to the heavenly Father's will. Henceforth the disciple is instructed not to strive for (merimnao) food, drink or clothing.[29] The gentiles may seek quantity and the Jews a certain religious quality, but the Christian understands that there is a natural God-given purity to all essential goods. Christian goods exist apart from base materialism or religious prohibition. The gospels reflect the revitalization of a society wherein Pharisaic restrictions, centered on *kashrut* and *shatnes*, were being replaced by a new open society based on fidelity to the Messiah. The newly righteous (cult clean) person achieved a status of oneness with the divine without the practice of the old hellenistic food and clothing regulations. Christians were forming a new international horizontal open market.

This concept was associated by the author of Luke-Acts with the early preaching ministry of Peter. Dorcas, the holy woman (chaera) of Joppa (Acts 9:37-43) had suddenly died. She was a model Christian widow.[30] It was not her marital status which was important but her spiritual status. While Peter was in Lydda the associates of Dorcas called him to Joppa to confront a grave injustice: Dorcas was not supposed to die! The other holy women of Joppa show the nature of the crisis by holding up the garments which Dorcas had made. Her sewing may suggest pious work and sentimental regard, but the incident demands a far more serious interpretation if it is to elicit a healing miracle of the magnitude of a resurrection of the dead. Her death must be seen as a punishment for breaking the *shatnes* laws. Peter was obliged to raise Dorcas in order to show to all concerned that freedom from the old purity regulations would not result in death. The abandonment of the restrictions on clothing manufacture by Christians was a manifestation of grace and was not to be a source of punishment. Immediately following this miracle Peter withdrew to the house of Simon the tanner, to reside with a man who practiced an unclean trade. This led immediately to the next event, wherein Peter learned, in a vision from God, about the nature of *kashrut*. Peter discovered that things called "common" (koinia) are no longer to be considered as unclean. The use of *koinonia* informs us of the nature of the Jerusalem community. It is a community which consumes common foods, wears common clothes and even eats and drinks with the unclean dead (Acts 10:41).[31]

Christian Gold

The narrative sections of Acts 1-10 show a considerable interest in money. The beggar at the "Beautiful Gate" is informed that Peter and John do not have silver or gold (Acts 3:1-16). Barnabas brought his money to the feet of the apostles (Acts 4:36-37). Ananias and Sapphira held back some of their money (not fully convinced of the benefit of Christian liquidity). They died. Simon Magus sought to place his offering at the feet of the apostles but his offering was rejected (Acts 8:9-24). He was a Samaritan and,

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[29] R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 4. 593-98.

[30] G. Stählin, *TDNT* 9. 448-65.

[31] F. Hauck, *TDNT* 3. 789-810. N. J. McEleney, "Conversion, Circumcision and the Law," *NTS* 20 (1974) 319-40.

while he might be an ancillary member, he could not be accepted into the full membership of the Jerusalem community which would have been accomplished had the gift been kept. The Ethiopian eunuch, who was returning from Jerusalem and who was seated in his chariot when visited by Philip, was the treasurer of the Queen. Along with his unusual status he held a most important civic responsibility. These events precede the incident of the conversion of Saul which may also be viewed from the perspective of the Temple-synagogue market.

The High Priest, placed under considerable pressure by Rome (which was seeking to nationalize the Temple during the depression of 33 C.E.), accepted the request of a diaspora Pharisee named Saul to discipline the more extreme elements of the Synagogue-agora who were espousing a belief in a risen Messiah. Saul felt that Christian beliefs were a radical distortion of the primary Pharisaic doctrines. Ellis Rivkin, writing in *USQR*, said:

> What gave life to the crucified messiah was the Pharisaic belief in the resurrection of the dead. Agonizing, despairing, and stunned, the grief stricken disciples clutched at the core hope of the Pharisaic system: the belief that the Heavenly Father would reward the righteous with eternal life and resurrection.[32]

This group of Christian enthusiasts, both men and women, consisted of Jews and numerous uncircumcised Israelites and proselytes. Their excesses signaled a breakdown of standards and an unacceptable departure from the general Jewish value system as understood by the Pharisees. It went beyond the limit of toleration and became a factor of increased stress. The Christian messiah himself had been an open critic of Temple economics and now, during the sensitive period of the Imperial depression, the messiah's adherents, operating from within, were placing the system in an intolerable position. The High Priest had the authority to expel them from the synagogue in so far as they had invested wealth in the Temple-synagogue economic structure. He had authority to freeze their assets and exclude them from the financial benefits and the protection of the *politeuma-collegium*. Christians with strong Jewish affiliations, when uncovered by Saul, would have been forced to travel to Jerusalem to appear before the High Priest to have the ban removed and their accounts released from seizure. Ananias, who knew about Saul's authority, resisted God's command before being instructed: "Go, for this man is a vessel of election (skeuos eklogaes) to me to bear my name before the nations, rulers, and sons of Israel" (Acts 9:15). Christianity was establishing a stress resolving value system by means of *newly* chosen vessels. Paul was to be part of a new *kashrut*. By means of a distinctly Pharisaic metaphor, Christianity upset the old pattern of holiness which required the separation of the classes of different things.

The High Priest Caiaphas was reported to have given letters to Saul of Tarsus to carry to Damascus to use as authority to arrest Christians (Acts 9:2). These would have been presented to the Jerusalem Temple official stationed in Damascus. At the heart of the issue is the jurisdiction of the High Priest. Haenchen lists the alternatives and concludes that the High Priest had no authority to sanction arrest in Roman territory.[33] Hengel feels that Luke has "dramatically exaggerated the legal competence of the delegate from Jerusalem." He suggests that Hellenists, opposed to Stephen or even to Saul

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[32]E. Rivkin, "The Meaning of Messiah in Jewish Thought," *USQR* 26 (1971) 398. W. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 164-92.

[33]K. Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 9. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 320 n. 2. D. L. Jones, "Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult," *ANRW* II 23.2 pp. 1023-54.

himself, took the initiative in this endeavor.[34] The only authority the High Priest had was to place a ban on the individual's participation in the Temple cult. Rabbis used the phrase *dein kai luein* to designate a forbidden or an unacceptable act. It is the perfect passive participle of *dein* which the author of Luke-Acts used to describe Saul's authority to lead "bound" (our banned) to Jerusalem.[35] Thus, if he found followers of the "Way" within the Temple-synagogue system, Saul could lead them under ban (as performers of an unclean or forbidden act) to Jerusalem. Judged unclean (Christian, uncircumcised Jew or proselyte), one would be separated from his synagogue and forbidden to participate in its activities. Cash resources and assets would be frozen. One had been expected to invest capital within the Temple-synagogue market structure. In order to be restored and to regain access to one's assets, a trip to Jerusalem would be essential. Probably many "liberals" hedged their investments by keeping certain amounts of money invested outside the system, after the practice of Ananias and Sapphira. As the pressure for a strict Jewishness grew, hellenists would find themselves in an exposed economic position. They would not be able to pass the requisite demands of Jewishness to insure their status within the system. When one remembers that "tables" (trapedza) in the New Testament usually suggests money tables or a banking function, then the problem of the hellenist widows (holy women) appears to be a money problem.[36] These women were no longer able to pass the requirements to remain in the synagogue system. They were among those who were restricted as the system increased its discipline on the membership. As individuals invested less and held back more, their loyalty became questionable and their participation marginal. Being judged "unclean" (under a ban) would have removed a person from the protection of the *politeuma-collegium* status given to Jews by Rome. The capitalization of the Jerusalem Church sought to relieve the financial burden forced upon some Christians. This too was put under extra pressure when it became necessary to restrict the financial participation of the hellenist holy women (widows). This led to the founding of the Deacons as an alternate method to resolve the problem. It is the Deacons who begin the great gentile expansion of Christianity. Neither Simon Magus nor the Ethiopian participated in the Jerusalem community system, but rather in that community which was being organized by Stephen, Philip, and the Deacons. Non-holiness patterns of organization became the hallmark of Samaritan-hellenistic Christianity. As a hellenized pattern it lost Jewish-Roman protection but flourished all the same. It became attractive to wealthy gentiles who were permitted to keep their savings apart from the control of Jerusalem, were able to participate in a community of similar minded ethical monotheists, and were not afraid of Rome.

The Conclusion as a Prelude

Christianity, as a Jewish revitalization movement, attempted to transform its society by means of a new belief pattern and polity which was expressed in common theological language. Christianity was born into a world of Temple-synagogue holiness marketing. It sought to make some key alterations to the presuppositions of that system. It questioned the role of the Temple, the nature of purity, the structure of the extended family and the stratification of society. It foresaw the breakdown of the

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[34] M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 76-107.

[35] G. J. Blidstein, "The Sale of Animals to Gentiles in Talmudic Law," *JQR* 61 (1970-71) 188-98. J. D. M. Derrett, "Binding and Loosing," *JBL* 102 (1983) 112-17.

[36] Bauer, Gingrich, and Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) 824 n. 4. L. Goppelt, *TDNT* 8. 211. R. J. Bagnall and R. Bogaert, "Orders for Payment from a Banker's Archive," *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 79-108.

Jewish *politeuma-collegium* advantage and even appeared ready to predict the fall of the Empire. It proposed a new way of life with a new pattern of behavior and interaction.

In Acts 1-10 the references to goods, money and property demonstrate how the new movement sought to distinguish itself from the old as it responded to a changing Jewish policy predicated upon a Roman interest in Temple gold. Judaism began to be revised by the followers of Jesus both at home and throughout the diaspora. Unexpectedly, two enormous non-Jewish revitalization movements were born with the establishment of the Deacons. The first was the transformation of the philosophical astrology of Simon Magus into an upper-class form of intellectual Christianity, while the other was the conversion of Isis of Egypt, introduced under the guise of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch. Both of these movements were conceived early and developed quickly according to the needs of their own societies. The editor of Luke-Acts did not concern himself with the growth of either of these groups for he remained loyal to his purpose, ". . . to compile a narrative of the things which have been accomplished among us . . ." (Luke 1:1).

The Authenticity of 2 Thessalonians: Linguistic Arguments

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At the 1978 Consultation which led to the formation of this seminar, I presented a paper on "Pauline Syntax: The Transformational Patterns of 1-2 Thess." I argued that the linguistic approach of transformational-generative grammar provided a framework for studying the stylistic peculiarities of an author. The sample used for that study was a comparison of the opening chapters of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, presented entirely in linguistic symbols. The evidence showed a very different syntactical pattern in the two chapters. I suggested at the time that this argued against common authorship, but that a more thorough analysis of the Thessalonian correspondence was needed in light of the larger Pauline corpus and of further work on a transformational-grammar of Hellenistic Greek. In the past five years some progress has been made on both of those fronts, but neither project is near completion. Therefore, this paper represents a progress report, not a concluding statement.

The linguistic approach being employed here is based on my *Hellenistic Greek Grammar and Noam Chomsky*.[1] As that was applied to the syntax of 1 Thessalonians and shared with members of this seminar, the format for presenting the evidence was changed from the original one of using linguistic symbols exclusively to the present method of arranging the Greek text in such a way as to indicate the syntactical relationship of the major units of each sentence. The symbols are still used where it is necessary to abbreviate a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase by NP or PP, respectively. Such an analysis of the text of 1 Thessalonians 1:2-3:10 is presented in "1 Thess 2:13-16: Linguistic Evidence for an Interpolation."[2] A similar analysis of 1 Thess 4:9-5:11 was prepared for the response to the seminar paper of James Reece in 1980. For the present paper the text of 2 Thessalonians has been arranged according to the same schema and is provided in the Appendix.

I

The question of the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians has a long history, which is summarized in the major commentaries and NT introductions. The arguments against authenticity have recently been rehearsed by John Baily.[3] Since questions of authorship directly involve linguistic arguments, these summaries typically give lists of Pauline and non-Pauline language. The two most exhaustive lists are still those of Frame[4] and

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[1](SBLDS 62; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

[2] *JBL* 102 (June, 1983).

[3]"Who Wrote II Thessalonians?" *NTS* 25 (1978-79) 131-45.

[4] *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians* (ICC; New York: Scribner's 1912) 28-34.

Rigaux.[5] Frame gives lists of words and phrases in various relationships to other NT writings, and Rigaux has even longer lists of vocabulary and stylistic expressions and constructions. The more recent commentary by Ernest Best refers to the computer-assisted "statistical analysis of style" which he calls the "linguistic and stylistic evidence."[6]

The common feature of these commentaries is that "linguistic evidence" primarily means vocabulary, whether individual words or phrases. These lists provide valuable information regarding the lexical component of language, which reflects the focus of the field of linguistics at the time, namely, the units from which sentences are built. The primary limitation of this as linguistic evidence is that it is difficult to quantify how much "non-Pauline" language a writing can have and still be "Pauline." While the Greek grammars of the period comment briefly on the larger features of sentence construction, such sections are typically very brief and are located at or near the end of the discussion on syntax. Even Nigel Turner's volume on *Style*[7] is no exception, since he primarily provides lists of Semitic-like constructions and not an analysis of the style of individual writings or authors.

This is one area in which contemporary theories of language can add significantly to traditional grammars. By placing the focus at the level of the sentence unit and making explicit the syntactical relationships within a sentence, contemporary linguistics offers the means to formalize the discussion about style. One example of the traditional approach is provided by the treatment in Blass-Debrunner of "the period," defined as "the organization of a considerable number of clauses and phrases into a well-rounded unity," which is noted to be "rare in the NT."[8] This definition is built on an unspecified quantity, "considerable," and an undefined quality, "well-rounded unity."

The phenomenon labeled there as "the period" can be described as the syntactical complexity of the sentence, and can be presented by means of the devices which interrelate the units at the clause level. These units are called here embedded sentences, or simply embeds. A complex sentence is thus one which has embeds, in addition to the matrix sentence, and the degree of complexity of the sentence can be measured by the total number of embeds within the sentence and the number of times one embed has another embed within it. Evaluations regarding stylistic quality can refer to the pattern of the embedding, whether there are embeds before the matrix sentence, as well as after it, whether the embeds are in parallel pairs, and which embedding devices are chosen: participle, infinitive or a COMP-word ("complementizer") such as ὅς, ὅτι, ἵνα, καθώς, ὡς.

Beyond the level of the sentence, Greek uses a variety of conjunctions to establish the relationship between the sentences which comprise a paragraph or section. Another feature of contemporary linguistics is its growing interest in studying these larger units of the text. Two examples of work on such units of Pauline discourse are by Johannes P. Louw[9] and Joseph E. Grimes.[10] Grimes, in particular, is concerned with levels of embedding and the use of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, the latter corresponding to COMP-words. When analysis of this kind is applied to an entire writing,

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[5] *Les Épitres aux Thessaloniciens* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1956) 80-94.

[6] *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: Black, 1972) 25, 52.

[7] *A Grammar of the New Testament: Vol. IV Style* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976).

[8] *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961) §464.

[9] "Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament," *BT* 24 (1973) 101-18.

[10] "Signals of Discourse Structure in Koine," *SBL 1975 Seminar Papers*, 151-64.

one can begin to talk more explicitly about the stylistic patterns of that author. This will yield observations about style that go beyond those which focus on choice of words and expressions (exemplified by Turner).

II

As has often been observed, the overall literary relationship between 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians is so close as to suggest imitation.[11] However, the linguistic evidence indicates that there are many significant differences between the two. In the earlier work on 1 Thessalonians noted above, some of the stylistic patterns were described explicitly in linguistic terms. The opening thanksgiving section (1 Thessalonians 1:2-10) contains three separate sentences, each with several levels of embedding. The first sentence of the section is the most complex sentence in the letter, having 10 embeds. The degree of complexity, however, as measured by the depth of embedding within embeds, stops at level five (an embed within an embed, within an embed, within an embed, within an embed). In the rest of 1 Thessalonians no sentence contains as many embeds nor has embedding beyond level four, except the sentence that has been identified as an interpolation (2:14-16), which thus calls attention to itself linguistically as not part of the stylistic pattern of the whole letter.

The opening thanksgiving section of 2 Thessalonians (lines 1-27 in the Appendix) contains 20 embeds, and the embedding within embeds goes to level 15. This is the greatest degree of embedding in any thanksgiving section in the Pauline corpus. The pattern that most resembles it is that of Ephesians, where 18 embeds are embedded to level 13. The other comparable letter is Colossians, which also has a one-sentence thanksgiving section, containing 12 embeds embedded to level 9. These three are the only Pauline letters with thanksgiving sections constructed as one long sentence. These three also happen to be the very letters whose Pauline authorship is often disputed. In the remaining Pauline letters the thanksgiving sections have at least three sentences (except for Philemon, which still has two), connected by γάρ, δέ or καί. The sentence with the most embedding is the opening one in Philippians, with 7 embeds embedded to level 6. The pattern of embedding in 1 Thessalonians, therefore, is the typical Pauline pattern, while 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, and Ephesians have another pattern.

There are, to be sure, many Pauline features within this second pattern. The embedding in 2 Thessalonians contains a number of parallel pairs similar to the typical Pauline pattern. In the thanksgiving section there are parallel pairs in lines 3 and 4, 11-12 and 13-14, 16 and 17, 20 and 21, 24 and 25, 26 and 27, all connected by καί. What is missing is any pair of adverbial participles (the only one is in line 15). It is also typically Pauline that the frequency of such pairs is considerably less in the rest of 2 Thessalonians than it is in the thanksgiving section.

A second stylistic feature of an author's embedding pattern is the embedding device used. In this section of 2 Thessalonians the use of a COMP-word for embedding is especially frequent and the use of a participle is unusually infrequent. The ratio of COMP-words to participles throughout 2 Thessalonians is much higher than it is in 1 Thessalonians. A more precise stylistic measure would be to note the choice of embedding device for a particular kind of embed. The easiest such one to measure is the adnominal (adjectival) embed, where the choice is either the articular participle or a COMP-word ("relative pronoun"). The Pauline choice is the articular participle, and the ratio of it over the COMP-word is even much higher in 1 Thessalonians than in the Pauline pillars (Romans,

[11] See Bailey, 132-34.

1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians). In contrast the ratio favors COMP-word over participle in 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, and Colossians.[12]

III

2 Thessalonians 2 begins the body section of the letter. Its formal features are the same as those of the parallel section in 1 Thessalonians, but again there are linguistic differences. The section opens with a unique version of a request formula,[13] in that it uses an "asking" verb, which is infrequent in Pauline letters, and then in the paraenetic section instead, such as 1 Thess 4:1 and 5:12. The latter passage is especially instructive since the content of the request is in an embedded sentence that uses an infinitive, the typical way to embed such a sentence without a COMP-word (ὅτι, ἵνα, or ὅπως). In 2 Thess 2:2 the embed uses the articular infinitive following εἰς, which is more commonly used to express result rather than content. The syntax here is particularly unclear, since a direct exhortation follows in v 3. The section concludes when the thanksgiving is resumed at v 13. Since it is primarily the eschatological perspective of this passage that has called into question the authenticity of the whole letter, the linguistic evidence here is particularly important.

The most obvious observation regarding lines 28-61 is that they do not continue the pattern of embedding and degree of complexity seen in the thanksgiving section. This is generally true of the Pauline corpus. The difference is to be found in how the sentences within the section are connected. The first two sentences begin without conjunctions (lines 33 and 42), probably since both are in the form of direct discourse—a command and a question. There are several sentences in 1 Thessalonians 2 which do not have conjunctions (e.g. 2:8, 9b, 10), and they are not direct discourse, so the absence here is not problematic. What is noteworthy is that the next four sentences use καί three times and γάρ once. The use of καί as a matrix sentence conjunction is not very frequent in the undisputed Pauline letters. Its frequency here is in contrast to the use of γάρ, a Pauline favorite which is used only here in the first two sections of 2 Thessalonians. The other two letters where γάρ is used infrequently and not until the second chapter are Ephesians and Colossians.

Another feature of Pauline style which differs in this section is how the author maintains linguistic contact with the audience. The contact is direct when the language is persistently first and second person, in either the verb forms or the pronouns, and when the author addresses the audience in the vocative. This section begins with several such features. The opening formula has those features as an integral part of its form, which affects the use of the personal pronouns through line 33. When the new information is introduced following line 34, it is entirely in the third person, except for the parenthetical interlude at lines 42-45 (οὐ μνημονεύετε . . . ; οἴδατε). The result is a quite impersonal approach to the material, especially in contrast to the very personal tones in 1 Thessalonians, both in the corresponding section in chapter 2 and in the eschatological section (4:13-5:11) to which this is often compared.

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[12]Philippians as a whole also has this ratio. However, this is primarily the result of the "third letter," 3:2-4:3, since in the rest of Philippians, the ratio is even. Philippians, in general, often exhibits features which range between those contrasted in this paper as typically Pauline and distinctively different in 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, and Colossians.

[13]See Jack T. Sanders, "The Transition From Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus," *JBL* 81 (1962) 348-62; John L. White, "Introductory Formulae in the Body of the Pauline Letter," *JBL* 90 (1971) 91-97.

The intensity of the author's linguistic contact with the audience is especially reflected in the use of vocative forms and of emphatic pronouns, first and second person pronouns in the nominative. The favorite Pauline vocative is of course ἀδελφοί. It is only used in 2 Thessalonians where it is part of a structural formula or a parallel to 1 Thessalonians (2 Thess 1:3; 2:1, 13, 15; 3:1, 6, 13). It is not used at all in Ephesians nor Colossians. The emphatic use of the pronoun is very limited in 2 Thessalonians: ἡμεῖς once and ὑμεῖς twice (2:13; 1:12; 3:13) and those are in formulaic contexts. 1 Thessalonians uses such pronouns 18 times (Ephesians and Colossians have relatively limited use with 11 and 10 times, respectively).

IV

The remaining sections of 2 Thessalonians are quite parallel to the structure, and often language, of 1 Thessalonians.[14] The linguistic evidence is, therefore, predictably less distinctive. The use of conjunctions, however, does continue to follow the different patterns. In 2 Thessalonians γάρ is much less frequent than δέ, whereas in 1 Thessalonians it is the dominant conjunction. There are also typical Pauline conjunctions used in 1 Thessalonians which are not used at all in 2 Thessalonians: διό, διότι, καθάπερ, ὥσπερ, and are likewise not used in Ephesians and Colossians (except for διό in Ephesians). Several other Pauline constructions in 1 Thessalonians not found in 2 Thessalonians (nor Ephesians and Colossians unless noted) include: οὔτε . . . οὔτε, οὐ μή, οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καί (Ephesians once).

V

Summary: The linguistic evidence presented here has focused on features related to the syntactical patterns within sentences and to the connection between sentences, as well as on features involved in linguistic contact with the audience. Each of these areas has revealed traits in 2 Thessalonians which were not typical of the Pauline style of 1 Thessalonians. The thanksgiving section is one long complex sentence, with more embeds in embeds than any other such section. The style of embedding favors COMP-words over participles, in contrast to 1 Thessalonians and the Pauline pillars.

The second section (chap. 2) reverts to a more typical level of embedding complexity, but the connection between sentences does not follow the Pauline pattern. Particularly noticeable is the use of καί and the limited use of γάρ. This section also lacks the typical features of linguistic contact with the audience, vocative address, and first and second person pronouns and verbs being very restricted. The rest of the letter is the most parallel to 1 Thessalonians and, therefore, the least distinctive linguistically, though the conjunction pattern continues.

These features of 2 Thessalonians are also, for the most part, the same features found in Ephesians and Colossians. One plausible explanation would be that these features are in general literary features and less like an oral, rhetorical style. The latter would exhibit features of less embedding complexity, greater uses of causal conjunctions (γάρ) and more persistent linguistic contact with the audience through vocative address and personal pronouns. These are all features of the Pauline style which are present in 1 Thessalonians, but not in 2 Thessalonians. Any treatment of 2 Thessalonians should offer a plausible explanation of these differences.

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[14]Bailey, 133.

APPENDIX

1 [3]εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἀδελφοί
2 καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν
3 ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν
4 καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη ἑνὸς ἑκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν PP
5 [4]ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι PP PP PP
6 αἷς ἀνέχεσθε
7 [5]ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ
8 εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ
9 ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε
10 [6]εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ
11 ἀνταποδοῦναι θλῖψιν
12 τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς
13 [7]καὶ ὑμῖν ἄνεσιν PP PP PP PP [8]PP
14 τοῖς θλιβομένοις
15 διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν
16 τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεὸν
17 καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ NP
18 [9]οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν NP PP καὶ PP
19 [10]ὅταν ἔλθῃ
20 ἐνδοξασθῆναι PP
21 καὶ θαυμασθῆναι PP
22 ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη NP PP PP
23 [11]εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα...PP
24 ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ NP NP
25 καὶ πληρώσῃ NP PP
26 [12]ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ NP PP
27 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ PP.
28 [1]δὲ ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας NP καὶ NP PP
29 [2]εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς
30 μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι μήτε PP μήτε PP μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς
31 ὡς δι' ἡμῶν
32 ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου.
33 [3]μή τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον
34 ὅτι
35 ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον
36 καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας NP
37 [4]ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα
38 λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα
39 ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι
40 ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν
41 ὅτι ἔστιν θεός.
42 [5]οὐ μνημονεύετε
43 ὅτι ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν;
44 ἔτι ὢν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
45 [6]καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε
46 εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ.
47 [7]γὰρ τὸ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας.
48 μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι
49 ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται.

50 [8]καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος
51 ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι NP
52 καὶ καταργήσει τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ
53 οὗ ἐστιν παρουσία κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν NP PP [10]καὶ PP
54 τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις
55 ἀνθ᾽ ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο
56 εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτούς.
57 [11]καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πέμπει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης
58 εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ ψεύδει
59 [12]ἵνα κριθῶσιν πάντες
60 οἱ μὴ πιστεύσαντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ
61 ἀλλὰ εὐδοκήσαντες τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.
62 [13]δὲ ἡμεῖς ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε PP, ἀδελφοὶ
63 ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου,
64 ὅτι εἵλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπαρχὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν PP
65 [14]εἰς ὃ ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμῶν PP.
66 [15]οὖν ἄρα, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε
67 καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις
68 ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε εἴτε διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν.
69 [16]δὲ NP καὶ NP [17]παρακαλέσαι NP καὶ στηρίξαι PP.
70 ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς NP καὶ NP
71 [1]τὸ λοιπὸν προσεύχεσθε, ἀδελφοί, περὶ ἡμῶν
72 ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου τρέχῃ καὶ δοξάζηται
73 καθὼς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
74 [2]καὶ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων.
75 γὰρ οὐ πάντων ἡ πίστις.
76 [3]δὲ πιστὸς ἐστιν ὁ κύριος
77 ὃς στηρίξει ὑμᾶς καὶ φυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.
78 [4]δὲ πεποίθαμεν ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς
79 ὅτι καὶ ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε.
80 ἃ παραγγέλλομεν
81 [5]δὲ ὁ κύριος κατευθύναι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας PP καὶ PP.
82 [6]δὲ παραγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, PP
83 στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ
84 ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν
85 ἣν παρελάβοσαν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν.
86 [7]γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἴδατε
87 πῶς δεῖ
88 μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς
89 ὅτι οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν
90 [8]οὐδὲ δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρά τινος
91 ἀλλ᾽ PP νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι
92 πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν.
93 [9]οὐχ
94 ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν
95 ἀλλ᾽
96 ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν
97 εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς.
98 [10]γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν
99 ὅτε ἦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
100 ὅτι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.
101 εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι
102 [11]γὰρ ἀκούομεν
103 τινας περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως
104 μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους
105 ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους.

106 12δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν PP
107 ἵνα τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.
108 μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι
109 13δὲ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, μὴ ἐγκακήσητε
110 καλοποιοῦντες.
111 14δὲ εἴ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν PP
112 τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε
113 μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι αὐτῷ
114 ἵνα ἐντραπῇ.
115 15καὶ μὴ ἡγεῖσθε
116 ὡς ἐχθρὸν
117 ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε
118 ὡς ἀδελφόν.
119 16δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης δώη ὑμῖν NP PP PP
120 ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.
121 17ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου
122 ὅ ἐστιν σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ
123 οὕτως γράφω.
124 18ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ PP.

Law and Ethics in Traditional China and Israel

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Traditions Covered. In comparing the cultures of ancient China and Israel, it is useful to regard each as a combination of traditions. These traditions stood in more or less sharp conflict with each other within their societies, but in practice they operated to a large extent in a complementary fashion. The reason for this situation lies in the fact that human life has various aspects, all or most of which are required for its survival or well being. In a complex society, these become the domains of specialized groups which enter into competition with one another, not infrequently overemphasizing the importance of their own areas or perspectives. Already during the fifth century B.C.E., classical China was larger in size than was Israel, so that somewhat sharper divergencies are to be expected within it. There are clear indications, however, that also in Israel specialists such as priests and wisdom teachers competed with each other to some extent, although their literary products now stand together within the Bible. In comparing the two societies, then, it is important that the observer hold the totality of one in juxtaposition with the totality of the other and that specific comparisons deal with phenomena within the corresponding parts of the whole. For China, these include Confucianist, Taoist, legalist, and other orientations. The present analysis will ignore Buddhism as a relative newcomer to China, often functionally duplicating the more native Taoism; thus the prime focus will be on structural correspondences between biblical Israel and pre-Buddhist China, with only a limited reference to later data.

A. One can observe that the genres of ancient Chinese and Israelite law and ethics are similar in range. In particular, the following types appear in both areas.

1. **Civil law.** This area involves settlements of various issues with recourse to few, if any, penalties. It includes standards for inheritance, sales, and restitution for damages. Civil law assumes reasonably good faith on the part of all participants; problems treated arise more from inadvertance or uncertainty than from high-handed wrong doing. Israelite formulations in this regard are cast almost consistently in casuistic ("When a person . . .") style. Chinese provisions for this domain remained largely oral until the twentieth century; as collected in later times, they frequently existed in the form of legal proverbs, e.g., "Houses are repurchased before New Year."[1]

2. **Penal law.** Minor penalties are often employed in both Chinese and Israelite civil law, but the application of major penalties forms a tradition of its own. The central image in the latter sphere is that of a conflict between the individual and the group, rather than between two private individuals; the basic focus is on removing the offender from society—such as through execution—although in Confucian thought there is an

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[1]E. Kroker, *Die amtliche Sammlung chinesischer Rechtsgewohnheiten* I, 1965, 127.

interest in reintegrating the transgressor upon repentance. In Israel penal law is formulated typically either in "When . . . you" style (the addressee being the community in its judicial function) or in "nominal" form, that is, with the use of a participle ("the one killing") or of a relative clause ("the one who . . .") for the offending individual.[2] Chinese penal laws, surviving only in fragmentary fashion from earlier times, are cast partially in a form corresponding to the Israelite nominal style.

3. **Announcements of divine blessings and penalties.** Consequences from the divine realm are mentioned in both China and Israel. Divine punishments can take the place of humanly executed penalties when judicial authorities fail to act; more typically, they respond to deeds for which no formal human penalty is envisioned. Some traditions, especially the Confucian, view human consequences, such as popular support for a regime or revolution, as a way in which the divine acts.

4. **Injunctions.** This category includes a considerable body of material cast in imperative form, with little or no specific reference to consequences, but with an authoritative tone which goes beyond the giving of advice. Human or superhuman sanctions are often implied, although not expressly stated. The occurrence of this style in the Hebrew Bible is well-known; there it appears typically on the lips of God. In Chinese such a form occurs especially in the "Canon of Documents," partially antedating Confucius, and in popular instruction. In both cultures, injunctions not only prohibit evils but, above all, support positive actions for the benefit of human life.

5. **Regulations, or third-person directions.** Both Israelite and Chinese literatures include a large body of detailed directions for behavior. Israelite directions concern religious rituals in a narrow sense, such as sacrifices. Confucianism provides, in addition, precise guides for social interaction. In style, such directions are typically phrased as descriptions of what a person does in a given context. In both Hebrew and Chinese, linguistic forms used for prescription and for description overlap considerably (e.g., classical Chinese marks the difference only in the negative). Thus the regulatory directives frequently hover between moods. They do not normally mention sanctions, but auspicious or inauspicious consequences can often be silently understood.

6. **Moral precepts and reflections.** Moral precepts form part of what in Israel is called "wisdom"; Chinese reflections regularly appeal to human insight, with consideration of both extrinsic or pragmatic advantages and intrinsic values. They can take the form of ideal descriptions (e.g., "a wise son hears his father's instruction," Prov. 13:1; "a noble person gives to help the needy," *Analects*, VI, 4), of imperatives, or of statements indicating natural consequences ("A soft answer turns away wrath, " Prov. 15:1; "Whose government is unostentatious, his people will be quite prosperous," *Han Fei Tzu*, 58). Sometimes they use questions to lead the hearer to more or less evident conclusions.

7. **Special proposals and criticisms.** Special suggestions may relate only to particular cases, but often they express or imply policies. In both cultures, not only are orders given by constituted authorities, but frequently proposals and criticisms are presented to superiors. In Israel, advice by courtiers (usually sought by the king) and critical evaluations by prophets are prominent phenomena. In China, respectful, but insistent criticisms and suggestions for the improvement of governance are highly prized, especially in Confucian ideology.

8. **Indirect support for law and ethics in histories and songs.** Both Israel and China have a strong historical consciousness. In Israel, a major emphasis lies on divine action working even in contrast to human activity. In a typically Chinese (especially Confucian) view, Heaven's action is to be seen in the deeds and attitudes of good human

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[2]M. Buss, "The Distinction Between Civil and Criminal Law in Ancient Israel," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Academic Press, 1974) 1. 51-62.

beings. Especially in China, therefore, human lives can act as positive or negative models for later generations. Songs, both Israelite and Chinese, include descriptions of the ideal and complaints about evil. They frequently have wide appeal within the populace, so that they embody norms for many.

B. In content, Chinese and Israelite law and ethics have comparable concerns. These can be stated as follows.

1. **Social order.** A society requires a minimum of order to be able to survive. The degree of order sought, however, can vary. In this regard, there is a major divergence within Chinese culture. Legalists stress governmental authority, with a use of penal law; Confucianists regulate many details of human life, largely through persuasion with the use of praise and censure; philosophical Taoists champion spontaneity or passivity; religious Taoists regularly envision supernatural consequences and are sometimes revolutionary, seeking a new order. Divergence within Israel may well be somewhat less, although certainly differences existed between priestly orientations—often settled and structured—and a less ritualized wisdom and a frequently critical prophecy.

2. **Restitution for damages.** A desire for restitution is probably universal, in part as a wish to regain what is lost and in part as a warning against damaging actions in the future. Both Israel and China, in the form known through their literature, have passed beyond private vendettas for this end to the settlement of conflicts under the supervision of the community, including the clan and guild. In China, cases of injury are dealt with partly informally with what can be called civil procedure, and partly under formal penal law, depending on the motive attributed to the person at fault. Israel uses a less differentiated system—probably old, but operative also in the civil law of the U.S.—according to which a private party can collect punitive damages above the loss when the offender has acted in bad faith.

3. **Aid to the weak with an approach toward equality.** Israelite ethics emphasizes concern for the weak and includes certain rules, such as the reversion of landed property to an original owner, which have the effect of maintaining a high degree of economic equality. Chinese ethics contains similar provisions. Aid to orphans, elderly solitaries, and the handicapped is urged by Confucianists; it becomes one of the major duties of the local magistrate and sometimes of higher levels of government, as well as of private individuals and of philanthropic organizations. A variety of non-Confucian groups seek to establish social equality in a more radical fashion. According to systems of land holding actually practiced in certain times, tilled land is redistributed periodically to avoid concentration. The humanitarian and philanthropic impulse is largely a matter of positive actions. In both China and Israel, it is expressed typically in the form of injunction or ideal descriptions and is only rarely supported by penal sanctions.

4. **Good human relations.** Instruction for enjoyable human interactions appears in both Israel and China. In Hebrew literature, this material is commonly classed as "wisdom." Sanctions are based almost entirely on the natural responses of human beings to one another. Chinese literature discusses relations between family members, friends, teachers and students, and others. Chinese, Taoists, and Mohists do differ in their emphases upon each.

5. **Biological order.** Organic welfare, including health, is an ordinary human aim. Chinese tradition contains various directives for procuring and processing food, prolonging life, and existing in harmony with nature. The Hebrew Bible presents so-called purity rules about proper foods and for avoiding the effects of death, discharges, and skin eruptions. It is unclear to what extent these rules actually enhance biological welfare and to what extent they represent a symbolism of natural wholeness. In any case, from the point of view of the ancient Israelites—as in corresponding cases for the Chinese—biological order is enhanced.

6. **Homage to the Author or Foundation of Life.** Israel's religion includes as a significant element a system of rituals honoring its divine Creator, Founder, and Lord.

Some of these are commanded—for instance, first fruits, which acknowledge a divine gift. Others are more or less voluntary, but regulated in their execution. Chinese culture similarly contains ritual expressions expressly designed to give thanks and to render devotion to members of the spiritual world, whether deities or ancestors. In detail and theory, they vary for groups and individuals; yet ritual appears to be a perennial aspect of human life.

Conclusion. Although the present discussion represents only one step in a larger path, it is already clear that in regard to law and ethics Israel is not highly unique, but shares features with a society with which it does not stand in close historical connection. Such parallels are probably grounded in human existence; that this existence can include reference to a divine origin is clear. While some of the correspondences are not surprising, two stand out as less well known and perhaps unexpected: the readiness of persons in both cultures to engage in criticism and the common interest in supporting the weak. Are these emphases universal in human societies? If not, why are they present here?

For an understanding of Israelite literature, parallel phenomena from other cultures can help to clarify the functional role and structural character of legal and ethical provisions. The transcultural variety of genres reflects the fact that different areas of concern are properly approached in varying ways.[3]

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[3]Such theoretical reflections, together with more specific data, will be the object of discussion at the national meeting's group session.

An Introduction to a Generative Analysis of Biblical Hebrew Phonology

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In biblical studies, as in many other areas of learning, language analysis has rarely thrived as an end in itself. For the most part linguistics has served the needs of philology.[1] Grammar has been formalized in order to read and interpret a text fluently and correctly. Special attention has been paid to irregular patterns and to rare and unexpected forms. The philologist encountering an odd phenomenon can consult a specialized grammar book and find an explanation of a puzzling form or construction, or the thrust of a peculiar idiom. By correctly identifying unusual language forms the philologist can proceed with the business of interpreting the text. Grammar ministers to meaning, and this is as it should be. Ultimately all disciplines should serve to elucidate the literatures that we study by clearing out the channels of communication, removing the clutter of unknowns that block our understanding of what the other mind is saying.

Nevertheless, although languages are worth studying in order to hear what the other voice is saying, they are fascinating "animals" in and of themselves. One significant assumption of the generative approach to language study is that by analyzing how human beings produce and perceive language, we learn something important about what it is to be human.[2] Even when linguistic analysis does not increase our understanding of what a particular text means, it always tells us more about how the language of that text means.

The generative method is one manifestation of structuralism. Structuralism views the object of its study, whatever that might be, as a self-contained system in which all the parts interact in a thoroughly interdependent way.[3] For language this means that the various components of a language inform and relate to each other on various levels. Changes in one domain of a language may trigger adaptations elsewhere in the language. A phonological change that leads to the dropping of short vocalic case-endings, for example, may lead further to the development of syntactic constraints on word order. Most especially, though, within a component of a language, such as its sound system or phonology, the various linguistic operations interact in numerous ways. They may have to "line up" to apply in a specific hierarchical sequence. The presence of one operation may block the application of another. A number of processes may be subordinated to a single overriding constraint or principle. Since we are interested here in phonology, my

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[1]Cf. my monograph "The Phonology of Akkadian Syllable Structure," *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 9/1 (May 1983), esp. 7. Many of the general points that follow are discussed in greater detail there.

[2]Cf., e.g., J. J. Katz, *The Underlying Reality of Language and Its Philosophical Import* (New York, 1971).

[3]Cf., e.g., J. Piaget, *Structuralism* (New York, 1970).

remarks will focus on that area, though in general they may be appropriate to the other components of language too.[4]

TWO LEVELS OF STRUCTURE

The generative approach sees language on two major levels. The concrete, or surface, level presents language as produced or spoken. This is the phonetic level. Beneath the surface structure is an abstract level, or deep structure, the representation of language before it emerges as speech by passing through all the appropriate phonological rules. This is the phonemic level. The theory is based on the following assumptions regarding language learning. When a child hears a language, he or she relates variants of the same word or morpheme to each other and posits a single deep or underlying form from which all the variants are derived. The actually occurring forms are derived from the underlying form by rules, which the child induces from the relations between all posited underlying forms and variants. (There is psychological evidence for the existence of both the phonemic level and rules.)[5] The rules map the underlying forms onto their phonetic realizations in speech. Thus, hearing the words *electric* and *electricity*, the speaker would perceive a phonemic relation between the two words, posit *electric* as the underlying, or base, form of *electricity*, and derive the latter by applying an internalized phonological rule that would convert *k* to *s* preceding the suffix /iti/. The rules, then, generate correct surface forms from underlying bases and account for the name of the theory, "generative."

One of the issues within generative phonology is the extent to which the underlying level can be abstract. Can we posit a phonemic representation that never appears on the surface because it is always transformed by the rules? Some phonologists argue for a degree of concreteness such that only an actually occurring form can be posited on the underlying level.[6]

Consider the paradigms of final-*yod* verb stems in Hebrew. The final *yod* of the stem occurs in none of the regular Masoretic Hebrew forms in the paradigms, although it does turn up in some archaic and/or pausal forms. Compare normal *yɛḥĕzū* 'they see' beside pausal *yɛḥĕzōyūn* (Isa 26:11). In the second, uncommon form the *yod* appears phonetically. But is the *yod* to be posited as phonemic in the first form? I would say,

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[4]Good general introductions to generative phonology are S. A. Schane, *Generative Phonology* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973) and L. M. Hyman, *Phonology: Theory and Analysis* (New York, 1975). More advanced discussions are A. H. Sommerstein, *Modern Phonology* (Baltimore, 1977) and M. Kenstowicz and C. Kisseberth, *Generative Phonology: Description and Theory* (New York, 1979). The classic presentation on which subsequent discussions have been based is N. Chomsky and M. Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York, 1968).

[5]Cf., e.g., J. A. Fodor, T. G. Bever and M. F. Garrett, *The Psychology of Language* (New York, 1974), esp. 432-34; W. A. Wickelgren, "Phonetic Coding and Serial Order," in E. C. Carterette and M. P. Friedman, eds., *Handbook of Perception, Volume VII: Language and Speech* (New York, 1976), esp. 246-50; A. Cutler and D. Norris, "Monitoring Sentence Comprehension," in W. E. Cooper and E. C. T. Walker, eds., *Sentence Processing* (Hillsdale, NJ, 1979), esp. 113-24.

[6]For various positions, consult, e.g., P. Kiparsky, "Phonological Representations," in O. Fujimura, ed., *Three Dimensions of Linguistic Theory* (Tokyo, 1973) 1-136; L. M. Hyman, "How Concrete Is Phonology?" *Language* 46 (1970) 58-76; M. K. Brame, "On the Abstractness of Phonology: Maltese ʕ," in idem, ed., *Contributions to Generative Phonology* (Austin, 1972) 22-61; J. B. Hooper, *An Introduction to Natural Generative Phonology* (New York, 1976).

yes. The paradigm of the suffixed form of the final-*yod* verb like *ḥɔ̄zɔ̄* 'to see' includes forms such as *ḥɔ̄zīθī* 'I saw' and *ḥɔ̄zīθɔ̄* 'you (m. sg.) saw.' The long *ī* vowel of the second syllable will best be interpreted as the contraction of the vowel /i/ and the glide /y/ to long *ī*. Because the language possesses a rule to rewrite /iy/ (when it is not followed by a vowel) as *ī*, and because there is no reason to find a long *ī* vowel in the second syllable of the *qal* conjugation suffixed verb-form paradigm, a *yod* is implicit in the surface form and will be posited underlyingly. The fact that the pausal form *yɛḥĕzɔ́yūn* and certain derived nouns, such as *ḥizzɔyōn* 'vision' (2 Sam 7:17), manifest the *yod* phonetically reinforces this interpretation of the verbal paradigm. (We may not be so lucky for every final-*yod* verb.)

Clearly the phonemic representation will not always occur on the surface. It seems best to me, therefore, to posit an actually occurring form on the deep level, where possible, but to be prepared to posit a more abstract underlying form where such a representation is implied by the alternant phonetic forms.

It is important, from a generative perspective, to emphasize that the grammar of a language entails the underlying forms and rules that a person would induce from the speech that he or she hears. This has two procedural implications that demand our attention. One is the need to segregate the synchronic grammar of a language from its history. The other is that linguistic data should be culled from a spoken language.

SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC

If a grammar is based on what a child would induce about the language that he or she hears, we must exclude from the grammar word-forms and rules that no longer exist in the language, to which the child has no access. Thus, to return to our example of final-*yod* verb stems, it would be simple to establish the original presence of the final *yod* in the verb *ḥɔ̄zɔ̄* by means of a comparative study of the West Semitic languages and a historical reconstruction of the final-*yod* paradigm. We could trace Masoretic *ḥɔ̄zɔ̄* to a much earlier **ḥazaya*, or better **ḥaðaya*.[7] The native speaker of biblical Hebrew, however, had no such information but, rather, produced correct forms on the basis of inducing bases and rules from the contemporary language. The grammarian seeks to recapture those inductions.

The difference between a synchronic interpretation and a historical reconstruction can be illustrated by the example of Hebrew determination.[8] Upon hearing a number of forms such as *habbayit* 'the house,' *hammɛlɛx* 'the king,' *hayyōm* 'the day' (or 'today') a native speaker would induce the following rule: Determination is produced by prefixing /ha/ to the stem and doubling the initial consonant of the stem. The historical linguist may trace determination back to a deictic particle **hā* plus the stem.[9] In time the long vowel segment plus the following consonant evolved into a short vowel segment plus

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[7]Cf., e.g., Ugaritic *ḥdy*, where the final *yod* appears consonantally in V AB, B:23-24: *mid tmtḫṣn wtʿn, tḫtṣb wtḥdy ʿnt* "She did much combat, then looked; she fought, then saw, did Anat."

[8]Cf. J. L. Malone, "Systematic vs. Autonomous Phonemics and the Hebrew Grapheme *dagesh*," *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 2 (1975) 121.

[9]Cf., e.g., J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1913) 133; H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes* (Halle, 1922) 262. There is also a view that derives Hebrew gemination from **hal* + initial stem-consonant; cf. A. Ungnad, citied in C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908) 316, n. 1; see also E. Kautzsch, ed., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, trans. A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910) 111-12.

doubled consonant. But the ordinary speaker of biblical Hebrew knew nothing about the reconstructed particle with long *ā*. He or she knew that to say 'the king' you prefix /ha/ to the stem and double the stem's initial consonant. A grammar comprises a speaker's implicit knowledge of his or her language; it is synchronic.

SPOKEN LANGUAGE: A BIT OF A PROBLEM FOR US

The second problem involves the premise that "language" means spoken, natural language. This raises a special issue concerning biblical Hebrew, which is a historical (or "dead") language with no direct record of its spoken nature. There is reason to believe that although the Bible's Hebrew is literary, its main linguistic features reflect colloquial language. The Lachish letters and other epigraphic materials—which are the best testimony to colloquial ancient Hebrew that we shall ever have—display a Hebrew closely resembling that of, say, the Book of Kings.[10] Nevertheless, since the Bible had undergone considerable development phonologically by the time we get any vocalized texts, it is precisely in the area of phonology that we lack direct evidence of Hebrew in the ancient periods. Any synchronic phonological analysis must be based substantially on reconstruction and is accordingly a risky enterprise.

The analysis of biblical Hebrew as vocalized by the early medieval Masoretes of Tiberias is another matter. It is possible that the Masoretic vocalization represents the result of a natural phonological evolution of the Bible's Hebrew into a synchronic Tiberian stage. We may then perform generative analysis of Tiberian Hebrew phonology. This is essentially what Joseph L. Malone has done in an unpublished comprehensive study and in numerous published articles.[11]

Although the only way to test such a hypothesis is to try and see what happens, a sort of "catch-22" inheres in the situation. Unless Tiberian Hebrew is a systematic, natural language, it would be inappropriate to apply a generative analysis to it. On the other hand, if the generative approach to linguistic analysis is not only sound but desirable, one ought to adopt it in order to ascertain whether or not Tiberian Hebrew behaves like a natural language.

Although we cannot explore this knotty issue at length here, it is worth considering a case or two in point. In a fairly recent essay, J. L. Malone has attempted to show that certain seeming deviations from typical Masoretic forms reflect natural processes of a living language.[12] If Malone's analyses are correct, the implication is that Tiberian Hebrew behaves like, and probably is then, a natural language. Here is one of his illustrations.

For reasons he delineates in his comprehensive study, Malone posits the first schematic vowel of the *qal* imperative to be underlyingly /o/. (Compare the *u* that is most

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[10]Note, for example, that the Lachish letters employ the *waw-* consecutive, a feature of biblical Hebrew that has sometimes been taken to be purely literary; see Donner and Röllig, *KAI* #194:6-7; cf. 200:4, 5, 7, 8. For attempts to identify evidence of colloquial Hebrew in the Bible, see A. Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* (Tel Aviv, 1967), 2 vols. [in Hebrew]; B. A. Levine, "Chapters in the History of Spoken Hebrew," *Eretz Israel* 14 (1978; L. H. Ginsberg Volume) 155-60 [in Hebrew]; G. Rendsburg, "Evidence for a Spoken Hebrew in Biblical Times" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1980).

[11]The unpublished large study is *Tiberian Hebrew Phonology*. Some of his articles are cited elsewhere in the notes to his paper.

[12]J. L. Malone, "Textually Deviant Forms as Evidence for Philological Analysis: A Service of Philology to Linguistics," *JANESCU* 11 (1979; Bravmann Memorial Volume) 71-79, esp. 76.

frequently reconstructed by historical Semitic linguists.) Using the stem /š-m-r/, the underlying form would be /šomr/. When a high vocalic suffix, such as /ī/ or /ū/ is added, the first schematic vowel undergoes a kind of umlauting and is raised to *i*, thus: *šimrī*, *šimrū*. The same occurs normally to the stem /ʿolz/ 'rejoice' when it yields a m. pl. imperative *ʿilzū*. However, a deviant form of the 2 f. sg. *ʿɔlzī* is also attested (Zeph 3:14). Is this form a Masoretic slip? Or is it an authentic Tiberian Hebrew form? Malone opts for the latter. He explains the deviant form as the product of a natural and common enough linguistic process of suppressing a rule, in this instance the rule of "Imperative Raising" or umlauting the first stem-vowel of the *qal* imperative. What surfaces is the form as it would look had it undergone all the phonological rules but "Imperative Raising."

Lest we get impatient and judge this explanation to be only ad hoc, Malone cites another case of rule-suppression in the *qal* imperative. Normally Tiberian Hebrew lowers a *ḥatef*-vowel, or colored schwa, to *ă* following an initial guttural consonant in verb stems. Thus the pausal form which would otherwise be *ʿšvŏ́ŏ̆ū* 'serve!' undergoes "Schwa Coloring" and occurs typically as *ʿăvŏ́ŏ̆ū* (Ezek 20:39). There exists, however, a deviant form *ḥ̮ɔ̄rɔ̄́vī* 'dry up!' (Isa 44:27). As in the preceding example, Malone explains this as the result of suppressing the "Schwa Coloring" rule. Since rule-suppression is a natural linguistic process and attests to the existence of the rule, it is at least possible that Tiberian Hebrew is a natural language.

In all fairness to the cynical, it is also possible that Tiberian Hebrew is not entirely natural. We are all familiar with examples where the Masoretes, or their traditions, fouled up, creatively inventing forms because they were stuck with anomalous words or because they misunderstood difficult or ambiguous ones. An apparent case of an ambiguous form that the Masoretes mistakenly parsed is *hizzakkū́* 'cleanse yourselves!' in Isa 1:16. The Masoretes take the stem to be /z-k-y/ 'to be pure, innocent.' But what form is implied by the double *zz* and the double *kk*? A *hitpaʿel*, it would seem. If so, why is there a double *zz* instead of *zd*—that is, **hizdakku*—which is what we expect? Malone proffers an involved phonological solution to account for the assimilation of *zd* to *zz*.[13]

There is a philological snag with the anomalous or uncommon Masoretic form. Isaiah presents a sequence of two verbs, *raḥăṣū́ hizzakkū́* "wash, cleanse yourselves" of the crimes that have tainted your hands (see v. 15). Now in a context of cleansing and in juxtaposition to the verb *rɔ̄ḥaṣ* 'wash' we expect a form of the stem /z-k-k/, not /z-k-y/. Compare Job 9:30: *ʾim hiŏrɔ̄ḥaṣtī vəmē šɔ̄lɛɣ, wahăzikkōŏ̆ī bəvor kappɔ̄y* "If I would wash myself with soap-plant, or cleanse my hands with lye."[14] In Job it is clear that the stem /z-k-k/ is used in parallel with /r-ḥ-ṣ/. Our *hizzakkū́* in Isa 1:16 should be parsed as a *nifʿal* imperative of /z-k-k/ and vocalized correctly as *hizzákkū*, as Honeyman has proposed.[15] Consequently, if such argumentation be persuasive, the anomalous *hizzakkū́* is a Masoretic ghost-form and is not a reflex of a living language situation.

The moral of this discussion, then, is: when a generative phonologist analyzes Tiberian Hebrew he or she must guard against assuming that Tiberian Hebrew reflects a natural language just because generative analysis produces interesting results. Nevertheless, the more generative theory works in explaining living languages, the more sanguine one can be about applying it to Masoretic Hebrew. And the more generative analysis satisfactorily explains Tiberian Hebrew, the more it will impress Hebrew linguists of other stripes.

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[13] J. L. Malone, "Systematic Metathesis in Mandaic," *Language* 47 (1971) 396-97, n. 5.

[14] N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, 1967) 170-71.

[15] A. M. Honeyman, "Isaiah I 16 הִזַּכּוּ," *VT* 1 (1951) 63-65.

MASORETIC VOCALIZATION

While we are speaking of the Masoretes, we should touch, albeit briefly, on the issue of how to interpret the Hebrew graphemes and the Masoretic vowel symbols in particular. Does each vowel symbol represent a distinctive vocalic quality—*a*, ɔ, *o*, *u*, ɛ, *e*, *i*, and ə—or do some represent long vowels and others short versions of those same vowels? To take the two most salient cases: does *qameṣ* represent a long *pataḥ*, and does *segol* represent a short *ṣere*? The usual corollary is that both *pataḥ* and *segol* are always short and that *ṣere*, at least, is always long. One would certainly get that impression from the SBL style sheet, by whose stipulation *ṣere* is transcribed as a long *segol* and *qameṣ gadol* as a long *pataḥ*.

The system of only five vowels (excluding schwa) makes little sense. Why would the Masoretes employ a single symbol to render both *qameṣ qaṭan*—the realization of a closed /o/—and a long ɑ̄? It is much more likely that the same symbol represents both short and long *qameṣ*, ɔ and ɔ̄. And why should a *ṣere* always be long? It is hardly likely that the *ṣere* in the first syllable of a segholate noun is long—that the first *segol* in *mélɛx* is short but the first *ṣere* in *sêfɛr* is long. Moreover, it is surely unreasonable to analyze the open and accented *segol* at the end of, say, *yɔ̄fɛ̄́* 'fair' as short but the *ṣere* with only a secondary accent in the construct counterpart *yəfè* as long.

The issue is worth reviewing because the improbable presumption of a five-vowel rather than a seven-vowel system for Tiberian Hebrew has misled recent generative work on Hebrew phonology by Alan Prince and John McCarthy.[16] The Masoretic system of pointing distinguishes seven vowel qualities, plus schwa, and this should form the basis of any phonological interpretation.

A SKETCH OF THE GENERATIVE METHOD

A hallmark of the generative approach is its view that the phoneme is an abstract bundle of relevant phonological characteristics or distinctions called "distinctive features." These features tend to be, for any given language, of an abstract definition. It is more common usage among generativists, for example, to find features such as "front," "low," and "continuant" than to find narrower qualities such as "fricative" or even "labial." The reason for this is that the more general labels are capable of capturing larger generalizations. Following the assumption that speakers will organize and interpret their language in the most economical way, the generative method looks for wider descriptions and broader explanations, covering as much as possible at a single stroke. So without our getting into all the features that one would need in order to analyze Tiberian Hebrew, we should note at least that a matrix of features must be delineated and that those features are generally taken to be binary. That is, what distinguishes one phoneme from another is the presence or absence of a particular feature that the language possesses. A vowel, for example, may be plus or minus "low," or "round," or "long." A stop consonant may be plus or minus "voiced," to consider but one feature. Features are formally represented by listing the relevant and non-redundant ones for each phoneme in square brackets.

As we saw above, the main objective of generative analysis is to identify the underlying representation of the surface forms and induce the rules by which the surface forms can be derived from the underlying representation in the most straightforward and efficient way. The most basic form of writing a rule is this: a ⟶ b/ ____. This means that an underlying representation *a* becomes realized phonetically as *b* when it is in the environment described to the right of the slash. The underline signifies the location of *a* in

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[16]Cf. J. L. Malone, "Messrs McCarthy and Prince and the Problem of Hebrew Vowel Color" (ms., 1980).

the environment. Sometimes *a* and *b* are best represented not by a particular phoneme but by a set of distinctive features because in that way a number of phonemes can be grouped to express a more general process.

Here is an illustration. A short /a/ in a closed and unstressed syllable raises to *i*, but not if the following consonant is a guttural. Thus we have *yišmór* 'he guards' but *yaḥtóm* 'he seals.' If we characterize gutturals as [+back] and [-vocalic], we may write the rule as follows ("str" = "stressed"):

$$a \longrightarrow i \,/\, \underset{\substack{[-\text{back}]\\[-\text{str}]}}{\underline{\qquad\qquad}} \quad C$$

But we may take note of the fact that /a/ is the lowest and only back vowel in Hebrew and incorporate a greater degree of explanation into the rule by labelling a as [+ back]. In other words, /a/ is not attenuated to *i* when the immediately following consonant is articulated in a position similar to it. We may then write (# = word boundary):

$$\underset{[+\text{ back}]}{V} \longrightarrow i \,/\, \underset{[-\text{str}]}{\underline{\qquad\qquad}} \quad \underset{[-\text{back}]}{C} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \# \end{Bmatrix}$$

We could go further and describe /i/ as [+flat]—to distinguish it from /u/—and as [+ high]—to distinguish it from /e/—but that is less significant to our purpose here.

Now what is even more interesting is that Tiberian Hebrew not only raises /a/ to *i* in certain circumstances. In similar circumstances it lowers an underlying /i/ to *a*. There is something of an inverse, or "flip-flop," relationship between the two processes. Generative analysis seeks a single formulation to express both processes in the same rule. Malone has formulated such a rule of "Lowering-Raising."[17] We shall present a slightly simpler version of the rule here and illustrate.

$$[\alpha\,\text{high}] \longrightarrow [-\alpha\,\text{high}] \,/\, \underset{\substack{[+\text{voc}]\\[\alpha\,\text{str}]}}{\underline{\qquad\qquad}} \quad C \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \# \end{Bmatrix}$$

("voc" = "vocalic," i.e., a vowel.) This means: a vowel that is plus-or-minus "high' (*alpha* represents a variable feature) will become minus plus/minus (as the case may be) "high" when it is plus/minus (as the case may be) stressed and is in a closed syllable. This rule accounts for the second vowel of the underlying singular construct form /kabid/ 'heavy' becoming *a* in *kəvàď* and the first vowel of the underlying plural construct /kabiday/ becoming *i* in *kivďé*.

For our concluding illustration in this introduction to a generative analysis of Tiberian Hebrew phonology, let us see how rules apply beneath the surface and in ordained sequences. One of the most salient rules of Tiberian Hebrew phonology is Spirantization. A stop consonant spirantizes following a vowel at any level of derivation. Thus, in the absolute form of the plural for 'kings,' *məlōxím*, the /k/ spirantizes to *x* following a vowel. The derivation is more or less as follows:

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[17] J. L. Malone, "A Hebrew Flip-Flop Rule and Its Historical Origins," *Lingua* 30 (1972) 422-48. For another Hebrew variable rule, cf., "Low Shortening" in Malone, "Textually Deviant Forms," 73, n. 8.

/makalīm/	
malaxīm	Spirantization
malaxím	Stress Assignment
malāxím	Pre-tonic Lengthening
məlāxím	Vowel Reduction
[məlōxím]	Rounding

Note that Stress Assignment must precede Pre-tonic Lengthening and Vowel Reduction, and that Pre-tonic Lengthening must precede Rounding.

What is clear from the following case is that Spirantization applies at every opportunity in the derivation of surface structure from deep structure.[18] Consider the derivation of the corresponding construct form:

/malakay/	
malaxay	Spirantization
malaxày	Stress Assignment
malxày	Vowel Deletion
[malxè]	Diphthong Contraction

Spirantization of /k/ must occur early in the derivation because if Stress Assignment and the succeeding Vowel Deletion had preceded it, the context for Spirantization would no longer exist.

Generative analysis, then, does not stop after positing underlying bases and formulating rules. It proceeds to study relations among rules and overriding constraints which dominate the rules. It begins on the top, or surface, and works its way down to the deep structure, the level that is closer to cognition itself. It explains how a language works and seeks to explain most fundamentally how language works.

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[18]Cf. Malone, "A Hebrew Flip-Flop Rule," 441-42.

Generative Phonology and Tiberian Phonetics

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In traditional linguistic analysis, particularly in America, phonological analysis is relatively independent of the phonetic values of the segments being analyzed. To be sure, phonetic considerations are of considerable practical assistance in phonological analysis, but they are not primary. Such phonological analysis is fundamentally a distributional analysis: if segments are found in contrastive distribution, they are classed as distinct phonemes (or members of distinct phonemes, while segments found in complementary distribution are identified as allophones of a single phoneme. It is not surprising, then, that phonological analyses of Tiberian Hebrew have been quite successful, even where the phonetic character of the segments under analysis has been uncertain. It is also not surprising that these analyses do not greatly advance our understanding of Tiberian phonetics; in traditional linguistics, phonetics and phonology are distinct levels of analysis.

In generative phonology, on the other hand, phonetics and phonology thoroughly interpenetrate one another. The segments under analysis are regarded not as autonomous units, to be found in contrast or in complementation with one another, but as bundles of distinctive features. These bundles of features are similar to other segments, and form natural classes with them, according to the number of distinctive features they have in common. The distinctive features are phonetically defined, so that the entire edifice of generative phonological analysis rests upon a foundation of phonetic analysis, and it is impossible even to begin a generative-phonological analysis of a language without considering in some detail its phonetic character. From this, it would seem that generative phonology has even less help to offer the student of Tiberian phonetics than does traditional phonology: phonological analysis cannot even begin until phonetic analysis has been completed. In fact, however, generative phonology comprises more than an analytical method, but includes a large number of claims about what phonological patterns—hence, to some extent, what phonetic patterns—are likely or unlikely in natural languages. Generative grammar also presents a rather comprehensive model of speech production. These characteristics of generative theory raise the possibility that the methods and findings of generative phonologists might be of use in studying the phonetics of a dead language such as Tiberian Hebrew. It is the thesis of this paper that generative phonology can indeed aid the student of Tiberian phonetics, and it will attempt to demonstrate this usefulness through case studies.

The notion that linguistic forms no longer uttered are nonetheless somehow retained as part of a language has traditionally enjoyed great popularity in philological circles; such a view informs the assignment of eight cases to Koine Greek by Robertson,

to give one example.[1] This perspective views language as organic: as it develops and changes, a language does not forsake the physiology, so to speak, established by its history. So far as non-generativist structuralist linguists are concerned, this view of language is utterly mistaken: as Zellig Harris has stated, "phonemes are not remembered once they cease to exist [i.e., be pronounced] in a dialect."[2] Languages do not have an existence independent of the people who speak them; since those people die, a form which has dropped out of usage will be permanently lost. Thus, the view of Kahle[3] and Sperber,[4] among others, that all of the gutturals of Hebrew had ceased to be pronounced by the time of Jerome, but were somehow "remembered" and were re-introduced into the language in the Masoretic period, would seem to be completely untenable.

According to generative-phonological theory, however, forms which are lost to the surface structure of a language—that is, which are no longer pronounced—could possibly be retained in underlying representations.[5] It is conceivable that such retention of form at an abstract level of the language could foster a re-emergence of those forms in the surface structure—in pronunciation. This certainly does not prove that the gutturals actually did drop out of pronunciation and then re-appear in Masoretic Hebrew, but it may help to free such a view from the scorn which it has sometimes had to endure.[6] The possibility of the re-introduction of "lost" pronunciations is also supported, of course, by such factors as the retention of the gutturals in the written language (i.e., of the guttural graphemes), the natural conservatism of religious reading traditions, and the influence of Arabic upon the pronunciation of Hebrew. Thus, phonological considerations become highly relevant to a question of Hebrew phonetics.

An example of the use of generative phonology in considering a more complex issue may elucidate the way in which phonological data may "interact" with other types of data in the formation of a phonetic judgment. The pronunciation of the Hebrew emphatic consonants *ṭet*, *tsade*, and *qof* has always been problematic for scholars, and there is little firm evidence regarding their pronunciation in Tiberian Hebrew. What evidence we possess, from modern pronunciations of Hebrew, from ancient transcriptions of Hebrew into other languages, and from cognate languages, is inconsistent.[7] Joseph Malone, however, has argued from a generative-phonological perspective that the emphatics *ṭet* and *qof* may be uvularized:

> Chomsky and Halle (1968:431) consider *ṭ* and *q* to be *pharyngealized*, i.e. in their features [+low], and hence restrict Spirantalization to [-low] segments. But this won't work, as can be seen by checking C & H's Table 3 (307). If plain *k* is [-ant, -cor, +high, *-low*, +back], then pharyngealized *q* should be [-ant, -cor, +high, *+low*, +back] which by marking convention XVII (405)

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[1] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 4th ed. (Nashville, 1934), 14.

[2] Z. S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation* (New Haven, 1939), 15.

[3] Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (New York, 1959), 164-71.

[4] A. Sperber, "Hebrew Based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 1937-38, cited in James Barr, "St Jerome and the Sounds of Hebrew," *JSS* 12 (1967) 15.

[5] See N. Chomsky and M. Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York, 1968), esp. 50-55.

[6] Compare the remarks of E. Y. Kutscher, "Contemporary Studies in North-western Semitic," *JSS* 10 (1965), 26, on the fricativization of the *begadkepat* consonants.

[7] See Gene M. Schramm, *The Graphemes of Tiberian Hebrew* (Berkeley, 1964), 16ff for a summary of this evidence.

would have to be modified to [-ant, -cor, -high, +low, +back]. But this latter is how C & H (307) define a *pure pharyngeal* segment, which *q* definitely is not.

Using C & H's features, the closest possible explication of Hebrew 'emphasis' would seem to be *uvularization*, which however would require a conjunctive specification

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-high} \\ \text{+back} \end{bmatrix}.$$

Then while plain *t* would be [+ant, +cor, -high, -low, *-back*], 'emphatic' *ṭ* would be [+ant, +cor, -high, -low, *+back*] (cf. part of Bauer and Leander's characterization of *ṭ* 'indem sich der hintere Teil de Zungenrückens gegen den wichen Gaumen erhebt' 1962:166); and while plain *k* would be [-ant, -cor, *+high*, -low, +back], 'emphatic' *q* would be [-ant, -cor, *-high*, -low, +back], i.e. a *pure uvular* which jibes well with the available phonetic evidence. Problems remain, however, and the foregoing should not necessarily be interpreted as an endorsement of Chomsky-Hallean uvularization as an explication of Hebrew 'emphasis'.[8]

Malone's argument comes to this: because the choice of features in generative phonology makes 'predictions' about what sounds will or will not occur, or co-occur, in a language, the inability of the features of Chomsky and Halle to distinguish between pharyngealized uvulars and pure pharyngeals constitutes a claim that these will not co-occur in a language. If they were found to co-occur in a living language, of course, then the features would have to be modified to fit the facts; where the phonetic character of the segments is in question, however, and there is no independent evidence that the claims of the feature set are incorrect, then it is reasonable to accept those claims and search for an alternative phonetic analysis which conforms both to the conventional evidence from transcriptions and reading traditions and to the predictions of the feature set.

The alternative analysis of the Tiberian emphatics which Malone suggests is remarkably ingenious, and very attractive, because of the manner in which it melds four virtues. First, Malone's suggestion adopts for *qof* a phonetic value which is widely accepted and which, as he notes, accords well with traditional evidence. Second, his suggestion for the value of *ṭet* fits with the evidence for "some . . . coarticulatory feature" noted by Schramm[9] and is similar (e.g. in sharing the feature [+back]) to the pharyngealization which is attested in the modern pronunciation of Hebrew emphatics and is adopted by Chomsky and Halle. Third, his suggestion does not violate the "predictions" of the Chomsky-Halle feature set. Fourth, Malone achieves a unified analysis of "emphasis in *ṭet* and *qof* (they share a uvular character, and the set of features distinctive to such segments), despite the fact that in only one of the two segments is the emphasis communicated through a secondary articulation.

As Malone acknowledges, "problems remain, however," and he is not willing to commit himself to his suggested analysis. One problem arises from the fact that not all the "claims" or "predictions" made by the selection of a particular set of distinctive features can be read as possessing equal weight. In selecting their features, Chomsky and Halle clearly exercised care that each feature embody a natural class, and that the interaction of the major features (e.g. [± anterior], [± coronal]) would also make accurate linguistic claims. Where their selection was inadequate, other linguists could be expected to discover this and modify their system accordingly[10]—where major and

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[8]Joseph L. Malone, "Messrs Sampson, Chomsky and Halle, and Hebrew Phonology," *Foundations of Language* 14(2) (1976), 253.

[9]Schramm, *The Graphemes of Tiberian Hebrew*, 16.

[10]See Sanford A. Schane, *Generative Phonology* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), 29-30 for

frequently-encountered phonological phenomena or processes are involved. In the case before us, however, the phenomena concerned are not found in the frequently-studied languages, and, as Malone's discussion makes clear, Chomsky and Halle were not even aware of the "claims" being made by their own feature set. Hence, the "claim" that pharyngeals and pharyngealized uvulars will not co-occur in a language cannot be regarded as "tried in the fire and found true," and cannot be granted very great weight.

In addition, Malone's suggestion is weakened because, though uvularization is similar to the pharyngealization which is attested in modern pronunciations of Hebrew, it is not itself attested in any of those reading traditions. Furthermore, uvularization appears to be an extremely rare, even "exotic" linguistic phenomenon: it is not even mentioned in Peter Ladefoged's *A Course in Phonetics*,[11] which is noted for its thoroughness; nor is it encountered anywhere in the 197-language sample of the *Handbook of Phonological Data from a Sample of the World's Languages*.[12] Pharyngealization, by contrast, is found 57 times in the same corpus.[13] Though it is not at all impossible that uvularization occurred in Tiberian Hebrew, the rarity of the phenomenon argues against accepting Malone's hypothesis except upon the strongest evidence. Finally, the fact that *qof* does not pattern with the gutturals and with *resh*, which is probably a uvular,[14] by resisting gemination suggests that it is not a uvular.

The difficulties in both Malone's and Chomsky and Halle's analyses of the Tiberian emphatics may be overcome by the hypothesis that these are the glottalized sounds [s$^{?}$], [t$^{?}$], and [k$^{?}$] (Schramm mentions the possibility that *ṭet* and *qof* are glottalized[15]).

The fact that all of the emphatics are voiceless is not surprising if they are glottalized, since all glottalized consonants, being pronounced with the flow of air from the lungs cut off at the glottis, must be voiceless. The articulatory character of the glottalized consonants conforms to the conventional description of the emphatic as pronounced "with a compression of the larynx,"[16] while their acoustic properties conform to the designation "emphatic": "The energy of the release of a glottalized stop is dependent upon the degree of compression achieved by the raising of the larynx and this may vary from considerable force to very little indeed";[17] the Tiberian emphatics would exhibit the "considerable force." The hypothesis that the emphatics are [t$^{?}$], [s$^{?}$], and [k$^{?}$] makes them parallel to the [t^{h}], [s], and [k^{h}] (*tav*, *samech/sin*, and *kaf*) of Tiberian Hebrew, yielding the paradigmatic symmetry which is a common characteristic of natural languages. Whereas uvularized consonants appear to be virtually unknown, and pharyngealized consonants are uncommon, glottalized consonants are a relatively frequent occurrence in natural languages—and hence must be regarded as a likely "candidate" for the identification of the Tiberian emphatics. In the *Handbook of Phonological Data from a Sample of the World's Languages* there are noted: no uvularized consonants, 57 pharyngealized consonants, and 347 glottalized consonants (248 ejectives, 53 preglottalized, 33

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[11]Peter Ladefoged, *A Course in Phonetics* (New York, 1975).

[12]Crothers, John H., James P. Lorentz, Donald Sherman, and Marilyn M. Vihman, compilers and eds., *Handbook of Phonological Data from a Sample of the World's Languages: A Report of the Stanford Phonology Archive* (Palo Alto, 1979).

[13]Crothers et al., *Handbook of Phonological Data from a Sample of the World's Languages*, 182-83.

[14]As is argued in the thesis from which this paper is taken, Gregory Enos, *The Sounds of Tiberian Hebrew: A Study in Linguistics and Philology* (unpublished master's thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1982).

[15]Schramm, *Graphemes*, 16ff.

[16]W. Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. and enl. by E. Kautzsch, 2nd Eng. ed., rev. by A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910), 37.

[17]R-M. S. Heffner, *General Phonetics* (Madison, 1950), 137.

"glottalized" (i.e. undifferentiated), 13 postglottalized).[18] Finally, it may be noted that the glottalized pronunciation of the emphatics is characteristic in Ethiopic languages.[19]

The advantages of interpreting the emphatics as glottalized consonants may also be seen by examination of the individual emphatics. The available evidence offers support for analyzing *qof* as either a velar or a uvular stop.[20] This can readily be accounted for on the hypothesis that Tiberian *qof* is a glottalized velar stop, since it has properties in common with both [k^h] and [q]. The affinity of [$k^?$] to [k^h] is obvious; but [$k^?$] also shares with [q] the features [+low]; [k] and [k^h], on the other hand, are [-low]. Perceptually, there is a "sharpness" to the [$k^?$] which is similar to that of the [q].

The case of *tsade* is particularly fascinating. Again, there is strong evidence for each of two quite different pronunciations. On the one hand, the [¢]/[ts] pronunciation of *tsade* is so widely attested that it has been taken as evidence for a Proto-Semitic [¢]/[ts].[21] But there is also ample evidence, on the other hand, that *tsade* was pronounced as some species of *s*, rather than as an affricate. *Tsade* was consistently transcribed as *sigma* in the LXX[22] and was treated by Jerome as a sort of *s*, though one of a most peculiar sort.[23] Schramm notes the pronunciation of *tsade* as a sibilant among the "Oriental" Jews.[24]

As in the case of *qof*, the interpretation of *tsade* as a glottalized consonant ([$s^?$]) readily accounts for both sets of data. The affinity of [$s^?$] to [s] is clear enough; but it is perceptually extremely similar to [¢]/[ts]. So close are they, in fact, that some of the "[¢]/[ts]" pronunciations of *tsade* found in modern Jewish communities could conceivably be mistakenly-recorded instances of [$s^?$]; this would be similar to the case of Hausa, in which the "ts" is actually a glottalized *s*.[25]

Finally, it may be noted that understanding the emphatics as glottalized consonants results in an even greater consistency of the meaning of the term "emphatic" than does Malone's hypothesis and that it avoids the same difficulty which motivates Malone's suggestion, i.e. the inability properly to distinguish between segments by the use of features.

The above discussion has given only a small sampling of the potential usefulness of generative phonology to the student of the phonetics of Tiberian Hebrew. In the consideration of the pronunciation of the emphatic consonants, in particular, I have tried to show how the specific insights of generative phonology can interact with more broadly-based linguistic reasoning to suggest new solutions to old problems. I hope that a number of scholars will soon begin to exploit the potential of phonological theory, and particularly generative-phonological theory, in furthering our understanding of Tiberian phonetics.

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[18]Crothers et al., *Handbook of Phonological Data*, 182-83, 199-203.

[19]Schramm, *Graphemes*, 16ff.

[20]See Schramm, *Graphemes*, 17-18.

[21]Sabatino Moscati, ed., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 33.

[22]Alexander Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to Their Solution* (Leiden, 1966), 177; but cf. the *tau-sigma* transliteration in a Greek manuscript of the fourth century C.E., noted by J. Cantineau, "Essai d'une Phonologie de l'Hebreu Biblique," *Bulletin de la Societe de Linguistique de Paris* 46 (1) (1950), 104.

[23]Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 172.

[24]Schramm, *Graphemes*, 17.

[25]Dr. Donald Burquest, personal communication, 1982.

SPES in the Later Imperial Cult

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The ideology of Roman imperial virtues evolved in the course of social and political developments of the late first and early second centuries after Christ. Specific virtues reflect the expansion of welfare programs and the growth of the principate. *Securitas,* for instance, came to represent the security of the people, as well as that of the emperor; *Libertas* came to approximate our own idea of freedom from want and was associated with the liberality of the emperor.[1] In this paper I shall outline some parallel developments in *Spes,* the imperial virtue of Public Hope and Confidence.

The virtue of the earlier empire represented the confidence of the people in the emperor and the hope of the imperial house for the continuation of the dynasty. These two aspects converged in the birth or adoption of an imperial heir, who symbolized hope for the future. Velleius Paterculus, describing the adoption of Tiberius in A.D. 4, pictured the heir as the fulfillment of the hope of a great name (2.103: *spem magni nominis*), e.g., the name of Caesar, and the realized hope of the security and eternity of the empire (*spem . . . conceptam perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii*). At the same time the adoption symbolized to private citizens the hope of children (*spes liberorum*) and other domestic blessings. The emphasis here was upon the desire of Augustus to maintain a stable form of government through the rule of a single individual. This "hope of Augustus" found expression in the coin types SPES AVGVSTA of Claudius and the Flavians. Domitian, for instance, was popularly represented as Prince of Youth and the hope of the imperial house (*RIC* 233). Vespasian strengthened the connection between imperial hope and youth and, in the effort to establish his own dynasty, modeled upon the house of Augustus, he appropriately emphasized *Spes Augusta* as a symbol of his own hope.[2]

After the end of the Flavian dynasty in A.D. 96, however, new symbols replace *Spes Augusta* in coinage. Hope in Trajan is associated with the emperor as *optimus princeps* (*RIC* 127). Especially noteworthy are Hadrian's FORTVNA SPES which shows Fortune facing Hope (*RIC* 246) and SPES P R which reveals a new deity *Spes-Fortuna* (*RIC* 275). The new deity assumes, along with the flower of Hope, the attributes of Fortune, the

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[1]J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford 1979), 197-200. Concerning *Libertas* and *Securitas* see J. R. Fears, *Roman Liberty: An Essay in Protean Political Metaphor* (Bloomington, Indiana 1980), 18, 21-22 and A. V. Stylow, *Libertas und Liberalitas. Untersuchungen zur innenpolitischen Propaganda der Römer* (Munich 1972), 58-62, 168, n. 14; H. U. Instinsky, *Sicherheit als politisches Problem des römischen Kaisertums* (Baden-Baden 1952), 31-39.

[2]M. E. Clark, "*Spes* in the Early Imperial Cult: 'The Hope of Augustus,'" *Numen* (forthcoming, 1983).

cornucopia and rudder set upon a globe.[3] While these are not the only innovations in the virtue of Hadrianic coinage, it is clear that here two new aspects of imperial hope are popularized: the deity *Spes-Fortuna* symbolizes materialistic blessings of hope and the legend *Spes populi Romani* now draws attention to "the hope of the Roman people," rather than primarily to the hope of the imperial house.

The numismatic evidence thus points to a shift in emphasis in the concept of *spes* between the end of the Flavian dynasty and the reign of Hadrian. This development, in particular the disappearance of the legend *Spes Augusta*, has been attributed to the lack of a natural heir on the part of Nerva, who did not issue a *Spes* type, and his successors, Trajan and Hadrian, who were adopted.[4] I would like to argue, however, that the coins reflect a larger intellectual development which we should attribute to the period of Trajan's reign. Moreover, it can be shown that the imperial virtue *spes* developed in conjunction with the concept of Trajan as *optimus princeps* and that the virtue came to represent the emperor's concern for the welfare of the Roman people. Here we must consider a number of passages from Tacitus and Pliny which reflect, both directly and indirectly, upon hope in Trajan. These references are all the more valuable, since both authors present a consistent view of Trajan, so that we might expect them to direct us toward new attitudes of imperial hope.[5]

A survey of the term in the literature of the first century indicates that pejorative aspects of hope as ambition and desire were emphasized. The Romans sometimes viewed hope as an ambivalent quality, but Seneca often places it in the category of improper human desires with *ambitio* and *cupiditas*.[6] At the same time Seneca does allude to the imperial virtue. For example, in *Consolatio ad Polybium* 13.4 he refers to the hopeful mood at the beginning of Claudius' reign and in *De Clementia* 2.2.1 to the confidence for the future which is derived from Nero's manifestation of humane feelings and clemency. What we might then admit to be an allusion to the public concept in Seneca's works appears to have little to do with his philosophical denouncements of improper hopes. Tacitus, however, bridges the gap between the pejorative aspects and the public concept. His significance lies in the extension of the philosophical equation of *spes* with impulsive amibition to the level of the virtue of the emperor.

In a context in which we expect to find *spes* as an imperial virtue it actually figures as ambition, or the term draws attention to the lack of hope in the emperor. Several examples illustrate the point. In *Annals* 3.13.6 the historian's evaluation of Claudius reflects upon the public virtue: "Surely all were destined to the principate by repute, hope and respect (*fama, spe, veneratione*) than that future prince whom fortune was keeping in secret." The term here represents the public aspect of the confidence of the people, that hope which they ought to have in the emperor, but which Tacitus implies is lacking. Another example of the virtue twisted in this manner is Tacitus' account of Seneca pleading for mercy before Nero. The philosopher had earlier proclaimed his hope for the future in Nero's mercy, but in *Annals* 14.54.2 his appeal to hope in the emperor

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[3]Plutarch, *Moralia* 281E, 323A, refers to this deity as Τύχη εὔελπις. A monument also showing Hope facing Fortune is in the Vatican Collection. See W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin 1903), vol. 1, 741.

[4]P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichesprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1931-37), vol. 2, 172.

[5]See R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps. Saggio sulla storia e sui tempi dell' Imperatore Traiano* (Messina 1927 and repr. New York 1975), 187-238, esp. 232-34; Liebescheutz (above, n. 1).

[6]See P. Grimal, *Sénèque ou la conscience de l'empire* (Paris 1979), 332-34, 358-60 and P. G. Walsh, "*Spes Romana, Spes Christiana*," *Prudentia* 6 (1974), 34-35. Seneca, *Ben.* 2.27.3, *Ira* 3.2.2., *Tranq.* 2.7, *Ep.* 9.11.

meets with failure. Much of the same is found in the *Histories*, except that here the identification of *spes* with ambition is explicit. Otho's hopes for adoption, which he desired more every day (1.13.4), invite comparison with Seneca's observation in *De Ira* 3.2.2 that hope excites further hope, just as ambition feeds upon ambition. Though written earlier than the *Annals*, the *Histories* deals with more recent events of the principate and betrays Tacitus' sinister view of the Flavian dynasty as tyrannical. The historian is harshest in his treatment of Vespasian and Domitian. For example, Vespasian's contemplation of assuming the principate is described as turning secret hopes overin his mind (2.74.2: *cum spes occultas versaret animo*). Tacitus even alludes to the popular Flavian manifestation of Hope and Domitian's role as prince of youth in 4.68.3. There Domitian is described as *ille spe ac iuventa properus* in a context which is clearly derogatory, for the young man also evinces "unbridled passions" and "youthful impetuosity." From these instances Tacitus' attitude begins to emerge. He implies that *spes*, as associated with imperial figures, is little more than the impulse to seek the throne, or that, as the confidence of citizens in the emperor, such hope is ineffectual. By innuendo he attributes Vespasian's rise to secret ambitions and he represents Domitian's qualities of youth and hope as nothing more than uncontrolled passions.

Tacitus, then, associates the hope of the principate with the darker side of human nature. The one exception to this tendency is Germanicus whom the historian admires. In *Annals* 1.33.2 Tacitus mentions a popular belief that, had Germanicus' father lived to gain the throne, he would have restored liberty; and that after his death the same goodwill and hope were placed in his son (*unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem*). According to Tacitus, however, the youth is murdered with the connivance of Tiberius. Scholars have noted that Tacitus denigrates Tiberius by developing a comparison between him and Germanicus.[7] I would like to argue that precise implications concerning *spes* arise: Tiberius' hope has nothing to do with the expectations of the people, while Germanicus serves as a symbol of these expectations. On the one hand, Tiberius fails to fulfill the "new hopes" after the death of Augustus, manifesting rather *superbia* and *saevitia* (1.4.2-3). The emperor also disappoints the expectations of those seeking public office (2.36.2). On the other hand, Germanicus is associated with the public cult of *Spes*, when in A.D. 19 it is he who rededicates the shrine which previously had been destroyed (2.49). What is more, Tacitus portrays the people at the funeral of Germanicus as crying out that the republic has fallen and that now all hope is gone (3.4.1: *concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant*). One can detect here a discrepancy between the true imperial concept, as represented by the hope of the people, and the grotesque expression of the idea as little more than the selfish desire to gain the imperial throne.

While Tacitus' attitude in the *Annals* and *Histories* suggests that there is little hope for the empire, in *Agricola* 3.4 a markedly different view emerges. According to this passage, Nerva joined things previously incompatible, the principate and liberty. Trajan increased the happiness of the times and the public security has taken on not only hope and prayers (*nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica . . . adsumpserit*), but also the confidence of prayer and its substance. This passage was written early in the reign of Trajan and in the work Tacitus bitterly describes the suffering during Domitian's "reign of terror." In the regimes of Nerva and Trajan, however, the historian found relief from past oppression. The connection here of public security with hope should be considered in light of Tacitus' denigration of previous imperial figures. The passage demonstrates in full Tacitus' view of imperial hope. Trajan has restored the awaited public hope and expectations of the people, which had not been realized under previous regimes.

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[7]F. Klingner, "Tacitus über Augustus und Tiberius," *Tacitus. Wege der Forschung* 97, ed. V. Pöschl (Darmstadt 1969), 520-35, and A. Michel, *Tacite et le destin de l'empire* (Paris 1966), 121-30.

Pliny's *Panegyric* to Trajan in A.D. 100 affords an opportunity to view the restoration of this new hope. Although Tacitus suggests that Trajan provided hope to the people, his examination is from the historian's perspective of the past and hence is largely a negative view. Pliny compliments the attitude of Tacitus by looking to the future with specific programs of Trajan in mind. The orator thus emphasizes the positive manner and specific terms in which this hope is now realized.

Pliny begins by stating that he is dealing with a parent rather than a master (*Pan.* 2.3). Throughout the speech the emperor is depicted as the "public parent" in a number of ways, including the traditional title of *Pater Patriae*. In the motif of Trajan as a paternalistic figure the orator is actually developing a new conception of the emperor as caretaker of the people. Trajan is a public parent who provides for the needs of the Romans, manifesting qualities of concern for the people, such as *liberalitas*, *securitas* and *indulgentia*.[8]

In the system of paternalistic concepts *spes* becomes a virtue associated with the emperor's welfare programs. Trajan's altruism takes the particular form of caring for children of the poor. Nerva undertook support of indigent children in a program which was developed and further expanded by Trajan and Hadrian.[9] In paragraphs 26-27 the subject is the distribution of grain (*congiarium*). Pliny refers to children as the "future people" of Rome as they are displayed to the emperor by their parents holding them aloft (26.1). The vivid description reminds one of the scene on the Arch of Beneventum which depicts a father holding a child on his shoulders so as to view the emperor.[10] Trajan plays an active role in the care of these children. Pliny claims, "Rightly so, Caesar, do you undertake the hope of the name of Rome by your own expenses" (26.4: *Recte, Caesar, quod spem Romani nominis sumptibus tuis suscipis*). The means of caring for the children of impoverished citizens is a good emperor (26.5). The great encouragement for rearing children lies in the hope of food and the distribution of grain (27.1: *spem alimentorum, spem congiariorum*); but greater still is the encouragement for the hope of liberty and security (*spem libertatis . . . spem securitatis*).

Pliny's rhetorical use of children here thus parallels his idea of the emperor as a paternalistic figure who assumes the actual role of parent for indigent children. His ideas of liberty and security also involve the welfare of the people and are joined with the liberality of the emperor as the means by which this hope is realized (27.3). Pliny's view of the virtue, moreover, differs from that of Velleius Paterculus in the description of the adoption of Tiberius (2.103). There the hope of domestic blessings proceeded from the "hope of a great name" to the security of the empire and eventually to the people. Pliny's emphasis upon the "hope of the name of Rome," however, is broader and his concept represents the active intervention of Trajan in the welfare of the people.

The emperor also provides hope to segments of Roman society other than the destitute and poor. In paragraph 69 the orator deals with those who wished to involve themselves in politics. The passage echoes Tacitus' claim in *Annals* 2.36.2 that Tiberius failed to fulfill the hopes of political candidates. Pliny argues that no one was disappointed in the present emperor. Trajan provided a solution so that "some left that day with joy, others with hopes, many were to be congratulated; no one had to be consoled"

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[8]See *Pan.* 6.1, 25.2, 40.1, 61.8, 67.1. Also *benignitas* and *caritas* are Trajanic virtues (*passim*). See M. Durry, *Pline le jeune. Panégyrique de Trajan* (Paris 1938), 233-34; A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, trans. J. R. Foster (London 1974), 318, and Paribeni (above, n. 5).

[9]F. C. Bourne, "The Roman Alimentary Program and Italian Agriculture," *TAPA* 91 (1960), 54-55, 57, 61.

[10]T. Lorenz, *Leben und Regierung Trajans auf dem Bogen von Benevent* (Amsterdam 1973), 28.

(69.1). The emperor exhorted those that failed to obtain office to petition the senate and, if granted, the candidates could hope for offices from the emperor (69.2: *atque ita a principe speraret honores*). Hope for political success also depends upon the concern and active involvement of the emperor. Here again the focus is upon the hope of the people rather than upon a concept whch emanates from the appearance of an heir or his rise to the imperial throne.

The orator actually turns the lack of a natural heir into an advantage for Trajan. Trajan's adoption is emphasized (5.1, 6.3-4, 7.4-6) and nowhere in the speech does *spes* appear as the hope of continuing a dynasty. Trajan did not gain the throne from his own fear or desire, but out of concern for the public benefit and in order to allay the fears of others (4.1). He provides relief from past fear, once so evident under Domitian. In 90.5 Pliny contrasts the past with the present: "thus as now there is hope and joy, then there was common grief and fear." Here it is manifest that the two different approaches taken by Pliny and Tacitus converge into a single view of Trajan as the restorer of public hope. It is, moreover, possible to see a connection between the renouncement of dynastic ambitions and the emphasis upon the hope of the people. As an altruistic prince and paternalistic caretaker of the Roman people, Trajan has channeled these political hopes into their proper course.

The views of Tacitus and Pliny, then, enable us to appreciate a new attitude towards hope and a shift in emphasis of the imperial virtue during the late first and early second centuries. It is in this literary context that we should understand the numismatic innovations of Trajan, and especially of Hadrian, who expanded the alimentary programs of his predecessor. Both Pliny and Tacitus draw attention to a new type of hope in the emperor, one which no longer represents the selfish ambition to maintain a dynasty. The coins of Hadrian likewise reflect the hope of the people. The legend *Spes populi Romani* clearly enunciates for the first time in coinage that hope of the Romans. The association of Hope with Fortune and the appearance of the deity *Spes-Fortuna* in Hadrianic coinage further suggest that material blessings are now to be expected from the imperial virtue. The cornucopia of Fortune, now assumed as an attribute of Hope, becomes an appropriate symbol of the hope of the Roman people.

Why Cecropian Minerva? Hellenistic Religious Syncretism as System

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The identification of Isis Regina in book xi, 5 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* with Cecropian Minerva, and with nine other Mediterranean goddesses as well, illustrates the remarkable complexity and profusion of data which the study of Hellenistic religion surveys. While scholars recognize resemblances in such data from a common text or historical period, they have been embarrassed by their inability to formulate the data into any coherent totality. In his "introduction" to Franz Cumont's pioneering study of *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Grant Showerman summarized this problem as "the apparently chaotic condition of paganism when viewed as a system."[1]

Cumont's initial perception of the religious situation in imperial Rome as systemic confusion yielded, however, to his apprehension of an evolutionary perspective from "the triumph of Christianity." This historical view disallowed Cumont any possibility of a systemic understanding of paganism and prescribed, instead, his historical inquiry into the "moral antecedents" of the Christian world.[2] As Showerman concluded: "M. Cumont is . . . a contributor to our appreciation of the continuity of history."[3] This view of Hellenistic religion as an historically ordered process has defined its study since the mid-nineteenth century.

A discrete period of Hellenistic history was first projected by J. G. Droysen in 1836.[4] Historical periodization does not represent fact, however, but the interpretative perspective of historical generalization.[5] Droysen's Hellenistic period presumes the so-called "Great Man view of history," a generalization which claims that such men as Alexander are the key to an intelligible history.[6] Further, Droysen's periodization presumes the rise of empire, a political bias, as the criterion for bracketing his Hellenistic period.

Arguably more significant for religious history than Alexander's conquests was the "Ptolemaic" cosmological revolution. Concurrent with Alexander's political transformation of the world, it rivaled the significance of widened spatial horizons by exemplifying

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[1]Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, authorized trans., 2nd ed. (1911; rpt. New York, 1956), p. vii.

[2]Ibid., pp. xif.

[3]Ibid., p. xii.

[4]J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 3 vols. (1836-43; 2nd ed., 1877; new edition by Erich Bayer, 1952-53; rpt. München, 1980).

[5]E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (New York, 1961), p. 76; M. I. Finley, "Generalizations in Ancient History": in Louis Gottschalk, ed., *Generalization in the Writing of History* (Chicago: 1963), pp. 19-35, esp. p. 23.

[6]Robert Stover, "Great Man Theory of History" in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York and London, 1972), vol. 3, pp. 378-82.

a widening of mental horizons.[7] Its new architecture of the world provided the occasion for the emergence of distinctive religious structures and confirms the beginnings of a period of Hellenistic religious history contemporary with the beginnings of a period of Hellenistic political history.[8]

A suitable conclusion to Hellenistic religious history is well marked, as Cumont suggested, by the emergence of one of its constituent traditions to dominance in the imperial West. Theodosius' late fourth century A.D. religious legislation in favor of Christianity and outlawing paganism effectively signals this conclusion and affirms an antecedent period of Hellenistic religion enduring some 750 years from Alexander's empire to Christian catholicity.[9]

Historical periodization is not only a generalization based upon interpretative perspective, it is based also upon judgment about the essential characteristics of that period.[10] For Droysen, "Hellenistic" signified *Verschmelzung,*[11] a process of fusion resulting from the interaction between Greek civilization and those Oriental cultures incorporated by Alexander into his empire. It is this Hegelian notion[12] of the mutual influence of various cultures, and specifically of the eastern and the western, as constitutive of an "Hellenistic culture which has dominated subsequent research, especially in the history of religions. Within a decade of the more influential second edition of Droysen's work,[13] religious studies had produced its technical term for Droysen's Hegelian characterization of Hellenistic religious fusion: syncretism.[14]

As a modern generalization about "the main characteristic feature of Hellenistic religion,"[15] "syncretism" betrays modern theological and historiographical concerns. The term apparently was appropriated from the "Syncretists," a seventeenth century Protestant movement which had attempted to harmonize the diverse sects of Protestantism in the face of Roman Catholicism. In 1886, Jean Réville used *syncretisme* as the central category for his historical study of Roman religion.[16] Whereas Réville used this term in the service of historical description, it retained its essentialist theological overtones. This "monotheistic tendency," as it came to be called, became a common feature of syncretism as "historical" description.[17]

The theological assumptions of syncretism began to be challenged by the end of the nineteenth century when the predominately German *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* placed

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[7]To paraphrase E. R. Dodds' observation in *The Greek and the Irrational* (1951; rpt. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971), p. 237.

[8]The importance of Ptolemaic cosmology for understanding Hellenistic religion in the face of its complexity and seeming contradictions is emphasized by Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (München, 1961), vol. II, pp. 702-11.

[9]Jonathan Z. Smith, "Hellenistic Religion," *The Encyclopedia Brittanica,* 15th ed. (Chicago, 1982), vol. 8, pp. 749-61.

[10]Finley, op. cit., p. 24.

[11]Ibid., vol. III, p. 447.

[12]Claire Préaux, *Le Monde Hellénistique,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1978), p. 7.

[13]M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), Preface.

[14]Paul Wendland understood syncretism and hellenization as virtually synonymous processes in *Die Hellenistische-Romische Kulture* 2nd and 3rd ed, (Tübingen, 1912, p. 129). See Also James Moffatt, "Syncretism," *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1922), vol. 12, pp. 155-57.

[15]F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions* (Indianapolis, 1953), p. xiii.

[16]*La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1886).

[17]See already Réville, ibid., p. 116.

Christianity itself in its context of Hellenistic religious history.[18] Based upon its nineteenth century usage, the oft-cited but incorrect etymology given for syncretism is the Greek verb *synkerannumi*, "to mix or join together."[19]

By contrast, syncretism in the ancient world signified a pattern of relationship rather than the monotheistic or essentialist tendency implied by "mixing together." It was derived from *synkretizo*, "to make two parties join against the third,"[20] and was used first, and in the ancient world exclusively, by Plutarch to describe the reconciliation of the normally factous Cretans in the face of attack by a foreign foe.[21] In other words, Plutarch employed the term to signify a coherent system whereby a system of resemblance structured the relations of its constituent parts. This system organized a play of sympathy and antipathy: antipathetic foes who resembled one another, Cretans, came into sympathetic relationship with one another only in antipathetical relationship with dissimilar foes, foreigners.[22]

Syncretism in this Plutarchian sense suggests precisely the possibility of what Showerman and others had so disparaged, the perception of Hellenistic religious syncretism as a coherent system. Syncretism understood as a system specific to an Hellenistic religious period contravenes Robert Baird's objection that "no real purpose is served by applying" this term to describe an historical process which is "both inevitable and universal."[23] Syncretism so understood might better inform a modern generalization about Hellenistic religion by offering a systemic model for understanding how divine relations came into being in the Hellenistic period.

The *locus classicus* for Hellenistic religious syncretism is book xi, 5 of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*.[24] Its introductory self-description by Isis--"manifested alone and under one form of all gods and goddesses . . . my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world, in divers manners, in variable customs, and by many names"[25] has been identified as "the syncretistic formula of union."[26] In commentary upon this passage, J. Gwyn Griffiths exemplifies the customary understanding for this example of syncretism by relating it to "the universalism engendered by the widening political horizons in the Hellenistic era."[27] This explanation presumes the relation between political event and religious reaction which has characterized the study of Hellenistic religion since Droysen.

A systemic analysis of this passage, however, would not understand this example of syncretism in terms of politico-historical cause, but in terms of religious discourse specific to Apuleius' Hellenistic novel. Like empire and cosmos, the *Metamorphoses* constitutes a finite field of inclusion. It contains a series of framed tales within framed

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[18]Werner Georg Kümmel, *Das Neue Testament: Geschichte der Erforschung Seiner Probleme* (Freiburg and München, 1958), pp. 310ff.

[19]Stanislav Segert, "Some Remarks Concerning Syncretism," in *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity*, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Missoula, 1975), pp. 63-66.

[20]Segert, op. cit. Although not signified by the term *synkretismos*, a process of religious "mixing together" is described by the first century A.D. popular philosopher, Dio Chrysostom, xxxi, ii.

[21]De fraterno amore, 19.

[22]See G. E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge, 1966), Pt. I.

[23]Robert D. Baird, *Category Formation and the History of Religions* (The Hague and Paris, 1971) p. 148.

[24]"Syncretism," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1970), p. 1029.

[25]Met. xi, 5.

[26]J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros* (Leiden, 1975), p. 144.

[27]Ibid.

tales, each mirroring the others; and its conclusion turns back upon the opening tale to render its meaning, and that of the entire novel, anew. In this way, the episodes in the novel are related to one another as parts of an interconnected whole.[28] If the concluding episode of the *Metamorphoses* exemplifies Hellenistic religious syncretism, it is not because it profoundly culminates a bizarre collection of tales with a religious moral; it is because it provides an effective religious paradigm both constitutive of and constituted by the entire novel.

In Apuleius' novel, the opening story of Aristomenes not only foreshadowed the plight of Lucius, the novel's hero, but suggests the plight of man in the Hellenistic world as a whole. Aristomenes told Lucius of his chance meeting with a long-lost friend, Socrates, who had fallen onto bad luck and had been reduced to a pale, thin beggar. Socrates had been attacked by bandits while on a business trip to Macedonia and finally escaped to an inn only to fall under the power of a wicked sorceress, Meroe. Ultimately, however, Socrates blamed not Meroe but Fortune for his condition.[29] By the end of the story, Fortune had placed Aristomenes in the situation of Socrates at the beginning. Before long, Lucius too would know the buffetings of Fortune.

Lucius became subject not only to the buffetings of an antipathetic blind fortune, but was also the recipient of the sympathetic benefits of Isis, who came to take pity on his fortune.[30] This beneficent aspect of Isis was known also as *Agathe Tyche*, Good Fortune, a virtue commonly attributed to Isis.[31] Isis, the antithesis of blind fortune, is "that fortune that is not blind but can see." Fortune's name (Gk: *tyche*, Lt: *fortuna*) means chance or luck, both good and ill. Her ambiguity, inconstant as the moon itself,[32] was her most characteristic trait.[33]

As a cosmological deity, Fortuna personified the universal but inclusive principle of resemblance with her contagious play of sympathy/antipathy.[34] Considered by some the most important deity of the Hellenistic period,[35] Fortuna was the absolute sovereign of Lucius' world.[36]

Lucius, and the other characters of the novel, are related to each other and to the goddess, both sympathetically and antipathetically, throughout. As the theriomorphic antipod of Isis,[37] Lucius is the emblem of the play of fortuitous antipathy; as the initiate into her cult, he is simultaneously the emblem of fortuitous sympathy. Similarly, the particular syncretistic configuration in book xi, 5 of Apuleius' novel is best understood as a sympathetic assemblance of normally discrete goddesses[38] representing good fortune in the face of an antipathetic relation to ill fortune.

To understand this Apuleian example of syncretism as a mixing together of rather obvious and overlapping divine attributes "engendered by the widening political horizons in the Hellenistic era" tells us little. Why is Isis associated with just Cecropian Minerva

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[28]Reinhold Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (München and Berlin, 1962), pp. 1-90.

[29]Met. i, 6.

[30]Met. xi, 5.

[31]V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 31-32, 94-96.

[32]Isis is introduced to Lucius in lunar imagery: Met. xi, 1.

[33]So Pliny, HN II, 22.

[34]Robert Graves, trans., *The Golden Ass* (New York, 1951), p. xii.

[35]For example, Pliny, HN II, 22.

[36]J. Tatus, *Apuleius and The Golden Ass* (Ithaca, 1979), p. 73.

[37]Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 1.

[38]A. D. Noch, "Ruler-Worship and Syncretism," 1942; rpt. in *Essays on Religion and The Ancient World*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972), vol. II, pp. 557f.

and the nine other goddesses and not, for example, with the Syrian Goddess, Atargatis. This goddess also is one of the characters of the novel[39] and shares with them the Hellenistic political universe as her domain; she shares also characteristics with other of the goddesses identified in book xi; and she is identified with Isis in other context.[40] However, she is mocked in the *Metamorphoses*. Apparently, Atargatis is excluded from Apuleius' particular configuration of sympathetic relationships established with good fortune precisely because of her association with Lucius' ill-fortune.[41]

Why just Cecropian Minerva?[42] Why not Atargatis? The example from Apuleius presents indeed the crux of Hellenistic religious syncretism. A systemic analysis of the problem offers an alternative to syncretism viewed as historical process. System is used here to signify that field shared by political, cosmological, and religious structures, and which governs the conditions of their possibility.

A systemic view of Hellenistic religious syncretism understands it as an enduring finite field. This field is exemplified by the architecture of Ptolemaic cosmology which endured from about the fourth century B.C. until the Copernican revolution of Renaissance Europe. Historical shifts both in political and religious configurations occurred within that system. Thus, the Augustan empire signaled a first century B.C. political reconfiguration with the Western succession of imperial embrace, while Theodosius signaled a fourth century A.D. reconfiguration in religious jurisdiction. An analytic of Hellenistic religious syncretism belongs to religious discourse specific to a period of religious history extending from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.

As the example from Plutarch suggests and that from Apuleius illustrates, Hellenistic syncretism best signifies relationships of resemblance construed in terms of sympathy and antipathy. These relationships were not understood in the Hellenistic period as a mixture of cultural particulars to be historically disentangled, but as patterns of relationships to be described in their particulars.

Showerman's view of "the apparently chaotic condition of paganism when viewed as a system" exemplified the assumptions of Droysen's historical definition. Actually, however, it has been the attempt to understand syncretism as an historically continuing process, based upon fragmentary and confusing historical remains, which has proved to be chaotic. When its constituent elements are viewed as related parts of a system, however, Hellenistic syncretism discloses not chaos, but a relatively clear sympathetic/antipathetic structure of resemblance.

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[39] Met. viii, 24f.

[40] Vanderlip, op. cit., p. 28 n. 18.

[41] Met. viii, 24.

[42] "Cecrops," was the mythical first king of Athens. The adjective "Cecropian," then, is analogous to "Athenian." Thus, the title "Cecropian Minerva" is itself a syncretistic conflation.

The Festival of the Septimontium: Eight into Seven Won't Go

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The Septimontium is unquestionably a puzzle. It has been variously described, by both ancient and modern scholars, as a religious festival, a religious and/or political federation, a stage in the synoecism of the city of Rome (with or without the formality of a wall and *pomerium*), or a combination of some or all of the foregoing. The confusion has been further increased by some doubts that have recently been raised as to the meaning of the word *Septimontium* itself. It is the intent of this author, if not to resolve these questions once and for good, at least to put forward some practical suggestions as to the nature of the institution, the meaning of its name, and the reasons for certain practices associated with it.

It is almost universally agreed that the word *Septimontium* is a compound of *septem*, "seven," and *montes*, "hills," and that it has some connection with the seven hills upon which Rome is supposed to have been built. This argument would be more satisfactory if our ancient sources showed more unanimity as to which seven hills these were —or even how many hills add up to seven.

The late republican M. Terentius Varro, our earliest extant source on the subject, informs us that

> Ubi nunc est Roma, Septimontium nominatum ab tot montibus quos postea urbs muris comprehendit; . . .
>
> (*De lingua latina*, hereafter *L. L.*, v. 41)

He then proceeds to list the hills, arriving at a total of seventeen or possibly eighteen, which is scarcely illuminating. In spite of Varro's eccentric arithmetic, however, the idea of the Seven Hills of Rome seems to have captured the imagination of later writers, for references to them appear in the works of Vergil and Horace, Tibullus and Martial, and even in the sober Greek of Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Not one of these attempts to name the hills in question, although Dionysius, before retreating in confusion, goes so far as to list the *four* regions of the unified city and state that they were named after the hills of Rome.[1] The *grandis dubitatio* in the matter upon which Servius remarks (*Ad Aen.* vi.783) is apparent in later antiquarians who attempted to arrive at a canonical list after the city had grown to embrace not only the "Great Hills" (Palatine, Esquiline, Caelian, Quirinal, Viminal, Capitoline, and Aventine) but the Janiculum as well.[2]

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[1]Vergil, *Georgics* ii.534 and *Aeneid* vi.783; Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 7; Tibullus, *Carmina* ii.5.55; Martial, *Epigrammata* iv.64.11; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 69; Dionysius, *Antiquitates Romanae* iv.13.3.

[2]See, for example, the imaginative efforts of Johannes Lydus in this line, *De mensibus* iv.155; and for a more complete analysis of the problem than can be undertaken

Modern scholars rightly reject Varro's list in favor of that of Sextus Pompeius Festus, the epitomizer of the careful Augustan encyclopedist Verrius Flaccus. Not that Festus is without difficulties; in his one undamaged passage on the Septimontium, he has written:

> Septimontium, ut ait Antistius Labeo, hisce montibus feriae: Palatio, cui sacrificium quod fit, Palatuar dicitur; Veliae, cui item sacrificium, Fagu<t>ali, Suburae, Cermalo, Oppio, Caelio monti, Cispio monti.
> (Lindsay edition, hereafter L, pp. 474-476)

That is, his list includes the two summits of the Palatine (Palatium and Cermalus); the Velia; the three divisions of the Esquiline (Oppius, Cispius, and Fagutal); the Caelian; and the Subura. Which as anyone can see is eight hills, or at least eight place names.

To be sure, it can be argued that Festus does not say that the number of hills should be seven. But the gloss of Paulus Diaconus on another, badly damaged passage at 485L would seem to suggest that Festus did do so there—and then set down the same list of eight names.

Various attempts, none of them particularly satisfactory, have been made to explain that these eight names are really seven. The most popular, based on a passage in Varro, *L.L.* v. 48, is that the Subura referred to by Festus is not the notorious district that in historical times lay between the Oppian and Cispian Hills and was not a hill at all but a valley, but rather a corrupt form of *Sucusa* or *Succusa*, one of the summits of the Caelian Hill. Festus, then, included *Caelio monti* in his list simply as an explanation of *Suburae*.[3] The obvious objection to this explanation is that *Suburae* and *Caelio monti* do not fall together in the text, but are separated at 476L by *Cermalo, Oppio* and at 459L (in Paulus) by *Cermalo*.

An alternative put forward by R. E. A. Palmer is that *Subura* is simply an error (since the Subura valley would be a *pagus*, not a *mons*), and should be deleted.[4] W. Warde Fowler, on the other hand, argues that it is *Caelio monti* that is the intrusion and should be omitted; the Subura valley lay within the limits of Festus' Septimontium and was regarded as a hill "by courtesy."[5] I see no evidence in Festus or elsewhere to justify such an assumption.

Finally, Franz Altheim maintains that Festus' list is correct, that by *Subura* he meant the Subura valley, and that the valley was included in the Septimontium but simply not counted as a hill.[6] If so, Festus has certainly expressed himself oddly, for he states quite categorically at 476L that the Septimontium is a festival *hisce montibus*.

The ancient sources also raise the question of what exactly the Septimontium was. Varro (*L.L.* v. 41) implies that it was an early name for the city of Rome, whereas Festus, quoting Antistius Labeo, is quite clear that it is *feriae*, a festival (476L). Varro

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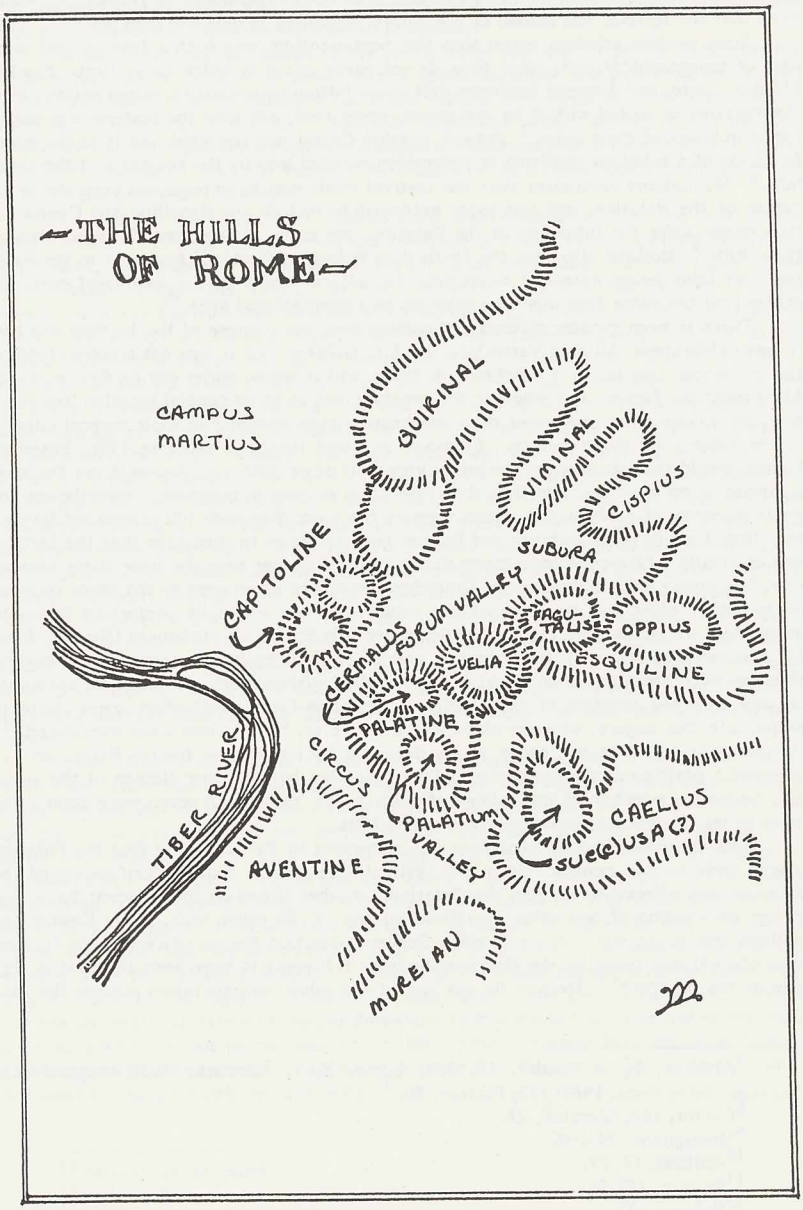
in this paper, Louise Adams Holland, "Septimontium or Saeptimontium?" *TAPhA* lxxxiv (1953) 21-28.

[3]Carter, Jesse Benedict, "Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium," *AJA* xii (1908) 172-83; Gjerstad, Einar, *Legends and Facts of Early Roman History* (Lund: Håkan Ohlsson, 1962) 23-24; Momigliano, "An Interim Report on the Origins of Rome," *JRS* liii (1963) 95-121; Platner, Samuel Ball, "The Septimontium and the Seven Hills," *CPh* i (1906) 69-80; Wissowa, Georg, "Septimontium und Subura," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Romischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1904).

[4]Palmer, Robert E. A., *The Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 123, 123 n. 2.

[5]Fowler, W. Warde, *Roman Festivals* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899) 266.

[6]Altheim, Franz, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (2 vols.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1956) II, 6-7.


THE HILLS OF ROME
CAMPUS MARTIUS
QUIRINAL
VIMINAL
CISPIUS
SUBURA
CAPITOLINE
FORUM VALLEY
FAGUTALUS
OPPIUS
ESQUILINE
CERMALUS
VELIA
PALATINE
CIRCUS
PALATIUM VALLEY
CAELIUS
SUC(C)USA (?)
TIBER RIVER
AVENTINE
MUREIAN

himself acknowledges that it is a festival at vi.24 (*dies Septimontium, feriae*), but maintains that the festival was named *ab his septem montibus, in quis sita urbs est.*

Most modern scholars agree that the Septimontium was both a festival and some sort of topographical unit; what they do not agree about is which came first. Fowler, Platner, Latte, and Altheim maintain that seven hilltop communities, either settled from the Palatine or united with it by synoecism, came first, and that the festival was established in honor of their union.[7] Others, notably Carter and Gjerstad, see it as the manifestation of a religious coalition or federation entered into by the residents of the seven hills.[8] Momigliano postulates that the festival itself may have predated even the unification of the Palatine, and was later extended to include the Esquiline and Caelian as they came under the influence of the Palatine, the name dating from the synoecism of these hills.[9] Holland also sees the festival as belonging first and foremost to the Palatine and later being extended to include the adjacent hills to the south and east, but denies that the name *Septimontium* referred to a geographical area.[10]

There is even greater diversity of opinion over the purpose of the festival and how it was celebrated. All that Varro tells us (*L.L.* vi.24) is that it was not a public festival for the whole city but one *montanorum modo,* which seems borne out by Festus, 476L: *hisce montibus feriae*. But whether the *montani* met at some central location (the Palatine, for example) or conducted their celebration independently in their several villages is the subject of much debate. Lindsay's restored text of Festus at 458L, based on Paulus, would seem to support the latter view; but as we shall see, Paulus is not the most accurate of epitomizers, and thus the restoration is open to question. Nevertheless the great majority of modern authorities support the view that each hill conducted its own sacrifice, for whatever purpose; and Palmer goes so far as to speculate that the festival was originally a city-wide observance dating from no earlier than the time of the Servian city, "an augury *salutis curiarum* or *Quiritium* which was taken over by the seven colleges of *montani,*" after the members of the *curiae* who had originally performed it moved away from the areas. He cites as evidence for this Plutarch's statement (*Quaest. Rom.* 69) that vehicles drawn by yoked teams, which were banned from a procession of augurs, likewise were not allowed to be driven during the Septimontium. He does not speculate on why only the *montani* of the contiguous Palatine-Esquiline-Caelian areas chose to perpetuate this augury, whereas elsewhere in the city, "other rites were introduced."[11] He mentions but does not pause to consider the fact that "the flamen Palatualis . . . attained a position in the hierarchy of lesser flamens but no other flamen of the seven hills became a member of the college of pontiffs."[12] Odd, if all seven were conducting more or less identical rites on their respective hills.

None of these scholars confronts the statement by Festus (476L) that the Palatine played some sort of central role in the festival. He reports that a sacrifice called the Palatuar was offered to (or for) the Palatium, another (*item*) on the adjacent Velia, but makes *no* mention of any other sacrifices on any of the other hills. Only Fowler and Holland attach any significance to this. Fowler notes that the sacrifice (for the festival as a whole?) was made on the Palatium because it "seems to have been the first in dignity of the *montes*."[13] Neither he nor any of the other commentators pursues the idea

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[7]Altheim, II, 5; Fowler, 16, 266; Latte, Kurt, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich: Osker Beck, 1960) 112; Platner, 80.

[8]Carter, 182; Gjerstad, 23.

[9]Momigliano, 99-100.

[10]Holland, 17, 29.

[11]Palmer, 127-29.

[12]Palmer, 123.

[13]Fowler, 267.

that perhaps the Palatium was "first in dignity" and therefore the leader of the other hills, which minus the Palatium were seven in number.

This solution, however, seems to me just a trifle too neat. I do not think that the Septimontium was a festival of seven hills or seven anything, and I find the theory put forward by Louise Adams Holland a far more satisfactory explanation of the ritual as described by Festus at 474-476L.[14] Holland's argument, briefly stated, is that the Septimontium was a religious festival, not a religious federation or a city, and that it was principally associated with the Palatine by reason of its purpose and the topographical nature of the area that it involved.

The Palatine, Esquiline, and Caelian Hills were separated from the rest of the region by what was regarded as a magical boundary provided by two spring-fed streams that flowed, one down the Argiletum and Forum valley, the other down the valley of the Circus Maximus, into the Tiber. Of the hills enclosed within the courses of these streams, only the Palatine was isolated and freestanding, its sides falling steeply to the valley floor except on the northeast, where the slope connecting the Palatium to the Velia allowed for a wagon road up to the summit. At this point the Palatine was fortified, both on the Palatium itself and lower down on the Velia where the road joined the Sacra Via. Because it was a natural fortress, the Palatine became the acropolis for the loose association of villages surrounded by the magical streams. The festival of the Septimontium, or *saepti montes*, "fortified hills," was the occasion for sacrifices "intended to invoke a blessing on the enclosure and its barrier."[15] The major sacrifice, called the Palatuar, was made, as Festus says, to the Palatium, where the principal fortification stood, by the flamen Palatualis, and a lesser one was offered on the Velia near the secondary barricade. Wheeled vehicles were banned primarily because the gates in the fortifications would naturally be closed during such a ritual, and at the same time because the draft animals that on other days drew the carts up the steep road to the Palatium deserved a day of rest. The name of the festival was originally the Saeptimontium. It came to be pronounced *Septimontium* because the double consonant *pt* tended to shorten the *ae* diphthong to an *e*. Varro, moreover, was notoriously careless of vowel quantities in deriving his etymologies, and would have experienced no difficulty extracting *septem montes* from *Saeptimontium*, regardless of how the word was pronounced.

Palmer objects to Holland's theory on the grounds that the tradition of Rome's Seven Hills, which Holland supposes to have originated with Varro, influenced the number of the *septem vici* of the Roman colony of Ariminium, founded in the early third century B.C., and judging from the archaeological evidence, perhaps those of the even earlier colony at Cales.[16] All that this suggests to me is that the false etymology of *Septimontium* from *septem montes* predates Varro by some 250 years, and that he merely perpetuated it and passed along the tradition of the Seven Hills to later writers. This particularly in light of Palmer's observation, "The names of the civic *vici* of colonies, Roman and Latin, also demonstrate an early want of uniformity in designating which of the hills were the canonical seven."[17] Evidently the *coloni* experienced the same difficulty as Varro in this regard. It should be added that if the flamen Palatualis presided over the one major sacrifice of the Septimontium (and perhaps the lesser one on the Velia as well), whether or not he was assisted by his brother *flamines* from the other hills, it would explain how he came to enjoy the distinction that Palmer attributes to him, while the others remained in relative obscurity.[18]

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[14]Holland, 28-34; passim.
[15]Holland, 30.
[16]Palmer, 129.
[17]Palmer, 129-30.
[18]Palmer, 123.

One final objection that could be leveled against Holland's theory is that Paulus, in his gloss on Festus 458L, states that on the Septimontium, *in septem locis faciebant sacrificium*. The damaged passage at 458L was restored by Lindsay, on the basis of this gloss, to read . . .‹*eo die in septem m›ontes fiunt sacrificium*. Holland herself, however, answers this objection:

> We find his faithfulness to the original varies greatly, but there are enough cases where Paulus has misinterpreted Festus to put the reader on guard. He is especially prone to confuse the facts and to show poor judgment on matters concerning religious antiquities.[19]

She proposes that this has indeed happened at 458L, and that Lindsay's restoration should be emended, on the basis of still another passage in Festus, 284L (*Publica sacra quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curis, sacellis: . . .*) to read . . . *eo die pro m ontibus fiunt sacrificia*.[20]

Although I consider Holland's explanation of the origin and purpose of the Septimontium as both sound and perceptive, I would like to propose one other possible function that it fulfilled, quite compatible with the religious one, which would explain the ban on wheeled traffic in a more satisfactory way than Holland does. If the sacrifices on the Palatium and Velia were intended to confirm by magical ritual the security of the Palatine defenses, they might well have been attended by the residents of all the hills that looked to the Palatine for refuge in time of danger, and the festival could very handily have doubled as a quite practical and non-magical attack drill to ensure that the people from outlying farms and communities knew the shortest route to the fortress and also their allotted camp area within it if the threat should turn out to be a protracted one.[21] Naturally wheeled traffic would be discouraged during such an exercise, since in the case of an actual attack the slow farm wagons would have clogged the narrow road from the Velia to the Palatium and slowed the evacuation. Once the villagers were assembled, the sacrifices could be conducted *pro montibus*, and the holiday would end in a general spirit of blessing and merry-making.

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[19] Holland, 20.

[20] Holland, 19.

[21] The villagers may even have packed along a picnic lunch to eat on their camp site, which became the origin of those picnic baskets that were a feature of the celebration in Domitian's day (Suetonius, *Domitian* 4).

Religious Fraud in the Roman Empire: Alexander and Others

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"Pin the tail on the charlatan" apparently provided an attractive diversion for some litterati of the Roman Empire.[1] Both fragments of treatises variously preserved and entire exposés imply a swarm of vendors of theological snake oil. Unfortunately, modern scholarship has often not sufficiently considered the theological and literary considerations which pervade this evidence; examination of these hidden, and not so hidden agenda, might well occasion other interpretations. Moreover, scholars with varying degrees of self-awareness, have usually utilized the paradigms of what they perceive to be "modern science" to produce value judgments of the alleged charlatans. This approach smacks of the notion popular in some nineteenth century circles that "magic is bad religion and religion is bad science."[2] Consequently, this paper has a twofold purpose. First, it wishes to identify some confounding factors for the traditional interpretation of the ancient evidence. Second, it hints that while value judgments are not theoretically impossible, the traditional appeals to "modern science" will not do. Since Lucian's *Alexander* often forms the point of departure for treatments of religious fraud, it too provides this paper's point of departure; the ensuing reconsideration should also have some utility for evaluating other charges of religious fraud in classical antiquity.

Scholarship on the literature of the Roman Empire has provided substantial insights which should claim the attention of investigators of alleged frauds in that period. Thus, studies of the Second Sophistic's rhetoric have shown that exposure of charlatans represented popular topos, both for Lucian and others.[3] As one scholar remarks, ". . . let it at least be remembered that Lucian liked few things so much as the composition of an invective."[4] Thus, whoever Alexander was, or was not, an evaluation must reckon with his biographer's hostile agenda. Again, investigators all too readily assert that Alexander

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[1] I consider many of these issues at length in my "The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire to A.D. 284," *ANRW* 2.16.3 (Berlin, forthcoming). For Lucian in general, J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain* (Paris, 1958). On Lucian's religious views, M. Caster, *Études sur Alexandre ou le faux prophète de Lucien* (Paris, 1938); ibid., *Lucien et la pensée religieuse de son temps* (Paris, 1937). For the period, G. W. Bowersock, ed., *Approaches to the Second Sophistic* (University Park, PA, 1974); ibid., *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969).

[2] Thus E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Religion and the Anthropologists," in ibid., *Essays in Social Anthropology* (New York, 1962) 29-45 and ibid., *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford, 1965); Eric J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion* (New York, 1975) 47-96.

[3] Graham Anderson, "Lucian: a sophist's sophist," *YCS* 27 (1982) 69-74; Bompaire (above, n. 1) 491-99; Caster, *Lucien* (above, n. 1) 314-34. See especially Lucian's *D. Mort., Gall., Vit. Auct.* passim with *Philops.* 2, 14 and *V. H.* 1.2, 29, 32, 2.28, 34, 43.

[4] Barry Baldwin, *Studies in Lucian* (Toronto, 1973) 104.

conned a credulous rabble. Although Lucian himself furnishes the counterevidence of the Glykon coinage, Marcus Aurelius, and two Roman consulars, this evidence palls beside his repeated emphases on the throngs of yokels following Alexander.[5] But the topos of the credulous religious addict has a literary history; it appears in genres as diverse as Theophrastus' *Characters* and Menander's *Dyskolos*.[6] Alexander the Quack may well have fooled the rustics, but is it not a bit too convenient that these two main thrusts of Lucian's work coincide with two popular topoi?

Lucian's account lacks rebuttal; this makes his negative picture of Alexander all the more persuasive. But what of the equally negative account of another alleged quack, Peregrinus, when compared with the two very favorable notices preserved in Aulus Gellius?[7] Gellius does not uncritically admire philosophers; elsewhere in his compilation he retails several sharp remarks about them.[8] Such considerations apply, indeed, to much of the religious polemic of the period; seldom are both sides of an argument preserved or, if they are, the one is severely truncated through its citation in a hostile context. Vagaries of literary transmission or the concerns of those in a position to read and preserve literature may have occasioned this lopsidedness.

The evidence for the physical mechanics of Alexander's alleged frauds also demands cautious handling. Lucian purports to describe the methods for what he considers slight-of-hand; other authors describe kindred tricks.[9] Modern scholars have often used this literary evidence to interpret the archaeological evidence, concluding in several cases that a shrine's architecture was designed for the express purpose of fraud.[10] But the notorious problem of the relationship of religion and ritual belies this. Cult mechanics, to an adherent, constitute not fraud, but part of the way one worships. Those same mechanics, to a non-adherent, betoken fraud.[11]

Lucian's purported exposé of the mechanics of Alexander's trickery has a quasi-scientific aura which makes it especially appealing to the modern audience nurtured on such exempla as Martin Gardener's exposure of, among others, Uri Geller.[12] Yet the epistemological status of what passes for "modern science" should occasion skepticism. At any given time science operates within a self-confirming paradigm system; it never

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[5]Glykon: Luc. *Alex.* 58 with Caster, *Études* (above, n. 1), 96-98. M. Sedatius Seuerianus (cos. suff. A.D. 153): Luc. *Alex.* 14, 27. P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (cos. suff. A.D. 146) ibid., 35. Marcus Aurelius: ibid., 48. Crowds: ibid., 15, 19 and passim; a plague may have helped: O. Weinrich, *MDAI* 38 (1913) 65-67.

[6]Theophr. *Char.* 16; Men. *Dysk.* 262-68, 393-414, probably influenced by a lost treatise of Theophrastus, *On piety:* E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (Cambridge, MA, 1965) 215.

[7]8.3, 12.11.

[8]9.2, 10.22, 13.8, 13.24, 17.19.

[9]I collect examples in my forthcoming study (above, n. 1), at n. 104. Athen. 5.198 C, F; useful orientation in *Der kleine Pauly*, s.v. "Automaten" and "Mantik (b) Mechanische Mittel."

[10]Campbell Bonner, "Dionysiac Magic and the Greek Land of Cockaigne," *TAPA* 41 (1910), 175-85 and ibid., "A Dionysiac Miracle at Corinth," *AJA* 33 (1929) 368-75; P. Gussman, *Pompei* (Paris, 1900) 80; T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* (Leipzig, 1924) 2.214, 272, 309; Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979) 252 nn. 26-27.

[11]See my study (above, n. 1) at n. 95; Jack Goody, "Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem," *BJS* 12 (1961) 142-64; Hans H. Penner, "Myth and Ritual: A Wasteland or a Forest of Symbols?" in James S. Helfer, ed., *On Method in the History of Religions* (Middletown, 1968 = *History and Theory Beiheft* 8), 46-57.

[12]See his collected essays in *Science: Good, Bad, and Bogus* (New York, 1981).

has transcendental critique.[13] It is easy to dismiss a system which does not conform to the canons of science as it is understood at a particular time; in actuality, at most, one can note the discontinuity of knowledge systems.

Did anyone even practice fraud? Interestingly, apart from three citations in the hermetic *Kyranides*, there exists no self-aware statement from antiquity to the effect of "this is how to fool people."[14] All evidence for fraud appears in polemical contexts. One wonders what has caused this.

Both evidential and epistemological problems render it difficult persuasively to dismiss Alexander as a fraud. He can perhaps, however, be evaluated in a kind of functionalistic, phenomenological framework. How cohesive a knowledge system did he provide in contrast to others, ancient and modern? But even this tentative evaluation must be circumscribed. Although Alexander may not, on these grounds, seem to have offered a system of much utility, that system obviously served the needs of his followers. Socio-economic prejudices have often obscured this. Scholarship might be the better if it paid a bit less attention to the *Pseudo-mantis* in Lucian's title.

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[13]Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2d ed.; Chicago, 1970); Richard M. Zaner, *The Way of Phenomenology* (Indianapolis, 1970) 97-106.

[14]I 12, I 17, IV 1.

Josephus: Heir Apparent to the Prophetic Tradition?

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In his book, *Israel in Revolution: 6-74 C.E.*, David Rhoads acknowledges that Josephus is "the major source for our knowledge of the political history of Israel during the period from 6 to 74 C.E."[1] Josephus was an eyewitness to the Jewish rebellion in 66 C.E., the ensuing war with Rome and, in 70 C.E., the final destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

The writings of Josephus are also one of the chief sources for the background to the New Testament. One New Testament professor was particularly fond of asking the question: "Name the young woman who danced for the head of John the Baptist, and name the source from which this information is derived." More than one student has been penalized for answering, "Salome and the Gospel of Mark." While it is true that only the Gospel of Mark mentions this event, it is also the case that the young woman is not named. That it was Salome who danced for the head of John the Baptist, is only inferred from the writings of Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. 137).[2]

Joseph Blenkinsopp has stated that "for the understanding of prophecy in Judaism during the first century of the era, including prophecy in early Christianity, the writings of Josephus are clearly of the utmost importance."[3] The inventory of areas with which Josephus' writings overlap is extensive. It is enough to point out that Joseph ben Matthias, taking later the name of Flavius Josephus from the Imperial family of the Flavii, lived and wrote at a very crucial time in history. Over the centuries, his writings have provided a recurring arena for scholarly activity. According to one recent report, we are currently witnessing a revival in Josephus studies.[4]

In his writings, Josephus made some rather remarkable claims concerning who he was and the nature of his mission. Standing before the walls of Jerusalem as a spokesman for the Romans, Josephus entreated the besieged Jews to lay down their weapons and turn themselves over to the Romans. In one of these speeches before the walls of Jerusalem, Josephus tells us that he stated to the besieged Jews:

> Remember, too, that I who exhort you am your countryman, that I who make this promise am a Jew; and it is right that you should consider who is

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[1]David M. Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution: 6-74 C.E.* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), p. 4.

[2]All references and quotations from Josephus are taken from the *Loeb Classical Library*, translated by H. St. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, and L. H. Feldman.

[3]Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974) 239.

[4]Raymond R. Newell, "The Renaissance in Josephus Studies: Reasons, Methods, Problems," a paper presented at the CBA/SBL Eastern Great Lakes Regional Meeting in Columbus, Ohio on April 9, 1983.

> your counsellor and whence he comes. For never may I live to become so abject a captive as to abjure my race or to forget the traditions of my forefathers. (*War* VI. 107-8)

The attentive reader of Josephus, like the besieged Jews of Jerusalem, is also invited to consider carefully who he is. In the hope that his readers will see and understand that which the besieged Jews did not perceive, Josephus makes certain claims in his writings about himself and his mission and then supports these claims by setting them within a context that causes them to appear natural and, at the same time, lends them legitimacy. The meaning to which the careful reader is led by these claims and supportive context is clear: Josephus' mission was ordained by the God of Israel.

The purpose of this paper is to examine one of the elements of this context that serves as a means of support for Josephus' claims. This examination will make no attempt to substantiate or invalidate these claims, rather, it is aimed at providing further information on his self-understanding as a prophet in the first century C.E. and, more particularly, the way in which this understanding is presented to his readers.

I

On the eve of the Jewish rebellion, Josephus had just returned from Rome where he had the opportunity to view first hand the power and majesty of the Roman Empire. Josephus relates that he attempted to dissuade "these promoters of sedition," but to no avail (*Life* 17-19). When it became apparent that the revolutionaries would have their way, several of the moderate leaders, including Josephus, pretended to go along with their planning in order that they might somehow direct or influence the rebels toward peaceful resistance at least until Cestius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria, could step in and put an end to the unrest (*Life* 22-23). Cestius' intervention, however, was less than effective. Josephus recounts that at the very time when the defeat of Jerusalem seemed certain, Cestius lifted the siege and marched back to the north (*War* II. 540-41). This turn of events had an immediate effect on the morale of the Jewish insurgents.

The revolution now gained momentum. As it turned out, Josephus was appointed leader of the Jewish resistance in Galilee (*War* II. 568). When Vespasian entered Galilee, Josephus and his army gave resistance. The rebel army, however, was no match for the Roman troops and Josephus and his army finally were forced to take refuge in the town of Jotapata which they defended for forty-seven days. When at last Jotapata was taken, Josephus, concerned for his life, jumped into a pit which at the bottom contained a small cave (*War* III. 341-42).

In this cave, Josephus discovered forty city officials concealing themselves from the Roman soldiers. After much discussion and debate concerning their course of action, they decided it would be better to die than to give themselves over to the Romans. They would do this by drawing lots and in turn killing one another, the last man committing suicide. Josephus relates that his efforts to avert this decision were futile. The subsequent drawing of lots, however, resulted in Josephus and one other being left alive. Josephus was successful in persuading this fellow countryman to turn themselves over to Vespasian who had promised that they would not be harmed (*War* III. 383-91).

Now, it was in this pit that Josephus relates that, through a dream, he realized the future course of events and his mission to his people. In response to this dream, Josephus tells his readers that he made a critical decision and we learn of that dream and that decision through the following statement and prayer.

> But as Nicanor was urgently pressing his proposals and Josephus overheard the threats of the hostile crowd, suddenly there came back into his mind those nightly dreams, in which God had foretold to him the impending fate

of the Jews and the destinies of the Roman sovereigns. He was an interpreter of dreams and skilled in divining the meaning of ambiguous utterances of the deity; a priest himself and of priestly descent, he was not ignorant of the sacred books. At that hour he was inspired to read their meaning, and, recalling the dreadful images of his recent dreams, he offered up a prayer to God. "Since it pleases thee," so it ran, "who didst create the Jewish nation, to break thy work, since fortune has wholly passed to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of my spirit to announce the things that are to come, I willingly surrender to the Romans and consent to live; but I take thee to witness that I go, not as a traitor, but as thy minister." (*War* III. 351-54)

II

This statement and prayer by Josephus are obviously quite important for an appraisal of his understanding of who he was and what his mission had become. Joseph Blenkinsopp, in his article on prophecy and priesthood in Josephus, begins his study with this statement and prayer.[5] Blenkinsopp's article is a convenient starting point for my own observations and it would be beneficial to briefly summarize the results of his study.

In the statement and prayer quoted above from Josephus, Blenkinsopp identifies three characteristics of the understanding of prophecy in the first century C.E. First, "the revelation which comes through divine inspiration has to do with the course of future events in the political sphere."[6] Second, the medium for this revelation can be a dream or the understanding of scripture. Third, insights into scripture are connected with the priestly office.

Next, Blenkinsopp notes that Josephus, adhering to the rabbinical belief that the prophetic succession *diadochē* ended with the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B.C.E.), never utilizes the term *prophētēs* for himself nor for any other person demonstrating prophetic gifts. Josephus, however, never hesitates to label other persons demonstrating a perverse message as *pseudoprophētēs*. In a recent article, D. E. Aune takes issue with this notion that Josephus limits the use of the term *prophētēs* to the canonical prophets.[7] Aune gives two examples. In the *Jewish War*, Josephus relates that the rulers had planted many prophets among the people in order to give them encouragement and to limit desertion (*War* VI. 286). Josephus does in fact use the term προφῆται. Preceding this statement, Josephus had related how a false prophet had been the cause of 6,000 people being destroyed. It seems clear that when Josephus states that "numerous prophets, indeed, were at this period suborned by the tyrants to delude the people," he is being caustic; the context demonstrates, beyond any doubt, that they were false prophets.[8] The second example by Aune is from the *Antiquities*. Josephus quotes from Alexander Cornelius concerning "Cleodemus the prophet" (ὁ προφήτης). Aune finds it significant that Josephus allows this designation to stand. This argument, however, loses much of its force when one considers that it is a quote at this point and that the term ὁ προφήτης would seem to be a traditional element in the name of this Cleodemus. The use of *prophētēs* in these two particular instances does not, it seems to me, change the notion that Josephus, in essence, was in agreement with the rabbis of the Tannaitic period and confined true prophecy to a normative age of the past.

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[5]Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974) 240.

[6]Ibid., p. 242.

[7]D. E. Aune, "The Use of προφήτης in Josephus," *JBL* 101 (1982) 419-21.

[8]One is reminded of Ezekiel 13 where false prophets are ridiculed and condemned, but referred to over and over as "prophets."

From the characteristics identified in Josephus' statement and prayer as well as other passages in Josephus, Blenkinsopp arrives at the following observations. Prophecy for Josephus is similar to the Essene view which relies heavily on the "inspired interpretation of biblical texts with reference to present and future fulfillment."[9] First century Judaism seemed to be aware of two prophetic traditions in her history: the canonical prophets which came to an end during the 5th century B.C.E., and what Blenkinsopp calls the "oracular priestly" tradition that terminated with the death of John Hyrcanus. Standing within the Jewish tradition, Josephus viewed the canonical prophets as the persons best equipped to record history for they received their knowledge of past events through divine inspiration. With this in mind, Blenkinsopp draws his conclusions. Josephus understood that the normative age of prophecy was over, but Israel's history continued. Therefore:

> God still made use of certain individuals as instruments for revealing the course of this future and guiding the destinies of his people. . . . Since he believed further that he himself had been entrusted with such a mission he was obliged to provide a context in which this claim could be made credible and intelligible to others and perhaps also to himself.[10]

According to Blenkinsopp, Josephus' priestly heritage, his own role as a priest, his political predictions, and his activity as a historian come together to create a context designed to give credence to his claim that his mission had been ordained by God. There is, however, another element that should be considered in a description of this context.

III

There are several circumstances in the life of Josephus that, when taken individually, appear quite unobtrusive, but when viewed as a set of circumstances seem curiously reminiscent of other sets of circumstances in the lives of certain Old Testament figures. Although this is by no means a new observation, its content and extent, to my knowledge, have never been examined fully.

Concerning previous observations, Josephus himself called attention to his similarity to Jeremiah (*War* V. 391). This similarity is commented upon and expanded slightly by Blenkinsopp[11] and Daube.[12]

In the *War* Josephus described himself. "He was an interpreter of dreams and skilled in divining the meaning of ambiguous utterances of the Deity" (*War* III. 352). At this point Thackeray entered a footnote and asked, "Did he claim kinship with his namesake, the patriarch Joseph?"[13] Attentive to Thackeray's footnote, Blenkinsopp observes:

> . . . St. John Thackeray may be correct in suggesting that reflection on the latter was a significant factor in Josephus' own self-understanding. He bore the same name, claimed the same power and was, like the patriarch Joseph, set free when his royal captor remembered his prophetic words, after which his powers were no longer questioned.[14]

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[9] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS 25 (1974) 247.*
[10] Ibid., p. 256.
[11] Ibid., p. 244.
[12] David Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980) 26-27.
[13] *War* III. pp. 674-75, note b.
[14] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974) 245.

Daube also noticed Thackeray's footnote.

> Already Thackeray suspects that Josephus, being endowed with the faculty of interpreting dreams, feels close to his ancient namesake. They have, of course, far more in common. Early promise, for example: Josephus at age fourteen was so learned that high-ranking officials consulted him. Above all, a translation wrought by God from the oppressor's dungeon to his palace. . . . According to Josephus, the king cooperated with Joseph in concluding the marriage, and in addition we learn that she was a virgin. Josephus himself, when still a prisoner, obtained Vespasian's authority to marry, and the lady, he informs us, was a virgin.[15]

Also, Blenkinsopp and Daube both call attention to the figures of Daniel and Ezekiel as other possible prototypes for Josephus. Daube adds to this list the account of Esther and Mordecai. Thus, Josephus' similarity to certain Old Testament figures has been noted. At this point, it is important to begin to examine some of these cases in more detail. We will concentrate primarily on Joseph.

IV

1. In the *Life*, Josephus tells us that as a child, "I made great progress in my education, gaining a reputation for an excellent memory and understanding" (*Life* 8-9). In Genesis 37, we find that Jacob loved Joseph because "he was the son of his old age" (Gen 37:3). There is no mention in Genesis 37 of Joseph's "understanding." In *Antiquities*, however, it is interesting to note that Josephus has added to the Joseph tradition the following statement: "Joseph, . . . was beloved of his father above all his sons, alike for the beauty of person that he owed to his birth and for virtuous qualities of soul, for he was endowed with exceptional understanding (*Ant*. II. 9).

2. A recurring theme in the *Wars* is the way in which Josephus is continually misunderstood by his fellow countrymen. This can be seen in the discussions on the eve of the revolution, during the siege of Jerusalem by Cestius, as Josephus attempted to organize the resistance in Galilee, and at the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. On more than one occasion, the misunderstanding of his countrymen led to plotting against Josephus' life (cf. *War* 595-607). Although the theme of "misunderstood" is only inferred in Genesis 37, Josephus makes it explicit by commenting on Joseph's brothers' reaction to his dreams. The brothers responded "as though it were some stranger who was to receive the benefits indicated by the dreams, and not a brother, whose fortunes it was but natural that they should share" (*Ant*. II. 17). Of course the idea of plotting against the life of Josephus finds its parallel in Genesis 37:18 where the brothers of Joseph "conspired against him to slay him."

3. The siege of Jotapata came to an end when the Roman earthworks reached the top of the city wall allowing Vespasian's soldiers to gain entrance into the city. In the *War*, we read: "But Josephus, when the city was on the point of being taken, aided by some divine providence, had succeeded in stealing away from the midst of the enemy and plunged into a deep pit, giving access on one side to a broad cavern, invisible to those above" (*War* III. 341-42). The term here for "pit" is λάκκον. Josephus comes very close to death while in this pit, but in the end escapes with his life. In Genesis, Joseph's brothers took him, "and cast him into a pit: and the pit was empty, there was no water in

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[15]David Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980) 27.

it" (Gen 37:24). Later, Joseph is taken out of the pit and sold to some passing merchants. The term for "pit" in *Antiquities* and the LXX is λάκκον.

4. When Josephus surrendered to the Romans at Jotapata, he related that the soldiers called for his execution. Some of the officers, however, looked on him with pity. "Titus in particular was specially touched by the fortitude of Josephus under misfortunes and by pity for his youth" (*War* III. 396). This scene of Josephus surrounded by hostile Roman soldiers calling for his punishment should be viewed alongside the account of Joseph surrounded by his brothers who also called for his death (Gen 37:20). In both cases, the first born, Titus and Reuben, argue against the others and succeed in saving Josephus/Joseph from death. It is instructive to note that in the case of Josephus, Titus is struck by the "youth" of Josephus. The idea of Joseph's youth is not mentioned in Genesis, but once again, Josephus had added to the Joseph account in *Antiquities*. In Reuben's speech to his brothers, he states: "he whose tender age should rather elicit all our compassion and care" (*Ant.* II. 26).

5. In Genesis, Joseph's brothers, with the assistance of Joseph's blood-stained coat carried back a false report to their father. In the *War*, Josephus reports that when the news of the fall of Jotapata reached Jerusalem "the facts were embroidered by fiction; thus Josephus himself was reported to have fallen when the city was taken" (*War* III. 434-35).

6. In Genesis, Jacob was shocked when he learned of the death of Joseph and we read that he "rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days" (Gen 37:34). In the *War*, Josephus relates that the false report of his death "filled Jerusalem with the profoundest grief. . . . While some mourned for a host, . . . others for a brother, all alike wept for Josephus. Thus for thirty days the lamentations never ceased in the city (*War* III 432-37).

7. In *Antiquities*, Josephus adds to the Joseph story the information that when the brothers returned to Jacob with Joseph's coat, Jacob "had already received news of his son's misadventure" (*Ant.* II. 36). It is difficult to understand, when reading the Joseph account in *Antiquities*, why Josephus added the statement that Jacob had already heard this news. Thackeray, in a footnote, labels this "amplifiaction." The more likely answer may be understood in the way in which Josephus related how Jerusalem had first heard the news of the fall of Jotapata.

> When the news of the fate of Jotapata reached Jerusalem, it was received at first with general incredulity, both because of the magnitude of the calamity and because no eyewitness had come to confirm the report. . . . rumour, with its propensity to black tidings, spontaneously spread the news of the city's fall. (*War* III. 432-34)

8. From the pit, where death appeared certain, Josephus escaped only to become a prisoner of Vespasian who "ordered him to be guarded with every precaution, intending shortly to send him to Nero" (*War* III. 398). In Genesis, Joseph is taken from the pit where his death appeared certain. The incident with Potiphar's wife results in his imprisonment (Gen 39:20).[16]

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[16]Ibid., pp. 27-28. Daube sees Josephus adding to the biblical account of Potiphar's wife (*Ant.* II. 56). Potiphar's wife, Daube points out, "in the course of her false accusation of Joseph, maintained that it was the unmerited, preferential treatment he received from Potiphar which made him throw off his restraint. No such argument is

9. In the *War*, Josephus relates that, "while he (Vespasian) did not release Josephus from his custody or chains, he presented him with raiment and other precious gifts, and continued to treat him with kindness and solicitude" (*War* III. 408). In the Joseph Narrative, we learn that Joseph found "favor in the sight of the keeper of the prison" and that he was treated with much kindness and respect (Gen 39:21-23).

10. While a prisoner, Josephus asks for a private audience with Vespasian and issues the famous prediction that he had received through a dream. "You will be Caesar, Vespasian, you will be emperor, you and your son here. Bind me then yet more securely in chains and keep me for yourself; for you, Caesar, are master not of me only, but of land and sea and the whole human race" (*War* III. 401-2). In Genesis, likewise, we learn that Joseph, while a prisoner, interprets Pharaoh's dream (Gen 41:25-32). Both men were released from prison when their interpretations of dreams/predictions proved accurate.

11. At this time, we learn that Josephus is thirty years old (*War* III. 396). In Gen 41:46 we read: "And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt."

12. From the *Life* (423), we learn that Josephus is then honored by Vespasian and Titus.

> On our arrival in Rome I met with great consideration from Vespasian. He gave me a lodging in the house which he had occupied before he became Emperor; he honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship; and he assigned me a pension. He continued to honour me up to the time of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness towards me.

In Gen 41:42 we read that, "Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck."

13. In Gen 41:45 Pharaoh changes Joseph's name to an Egyptian name. We know that Josephus, previously Joseph ben Matthias, later took the name of Flavius Josephus from the Imperial family of the Flavii.

14. In the *Life* we learn that Vespasian gave (commanded) Josephus to marry "one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, a virgin and a native of that place" (*Life* 414). In Gen 41:45 Pharaoh "gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On." Although Genesis makes no mention of this woman being a virgin, Josephus respectfully adds this information: "she was yet a virgin" (*Ant.* II. 91).

15. Josephus then begins his work of assisting Vespasian and Titus in the remainder of the war. This assistance reaches its height at the siege of Jerusalem where Titus "delegated Josephus to speak with them (the besieged Jews) in their native tongue, thinking that possibly they might yield to the expostulation of a fellow-countryman" (*War* V. 361). In Genesis, of course, Joseph began assisting Pharaoh by preparing Egypt for the seven years of famine (Gen 41:46ff.).

16. The result of Joseph's endeavors is well known; his storage of grain during the seven years of plenty provided food for the Egyptian people during the seven years of

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met in the Bible, while Josephus himself incurred dire danger through slanderous charges by enemies envying his privileged position."

famine. Joseph had done his work so well, that he was able to provide food for people of other countries including the relief of his own father and brothers (Gen 41:57-42:3). In the case of Josephus, it is obvious from the *War* that he perceived his actions at the siege of Jerusalem as beneficial for his people. It is only later, however, in the *Life*, that Josephus records that he had saved many of his own people *and* his brother.

> And I, . . . made request to Titus for the freedom of some of my countrymen; . . . Not long after I made petition for my brother and fifty friends, and my request was granted. Again, by permission of Titus, I entered the Temple, where a great multitude of captive women and children had been imprisoned, and liberated all the friends and acquaintances whom I recognized in number about a hundred and ninety. (*Life* 417-19)

17. We read in Genesis that Pharaoh presented land to Joseph and his family. "The land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brothers to dwell" (Gen 47:6). In the *Life* (419), Josephus tells his reader that "when at last Jerusalem was on the point of being carried by assault, Titus Caesar repeatedly urged me to take whatever I would from the wreck of my country, stating that I had permission." Later we learn that "Vespasian also presented me with a considerable tract of land in Judaea" (*Life* 425).

18. As we come to the end of this comparison, we find that both Josephus and Joseph lived out the remainder of their lives in a foreign land.

V

In his article, mentioned earlier, David Daube credits Josephus with a typological presentation of at least certain events within his own life. He concludes:

> Jeremiah is readily accounted for: seized on by God from the womb to be a prophet to Jews and gentiles, having to resist—in agony of body and soul—his people's endeavour to throw off the foreign yoke, trying to ensure a future for them after the collapse, he more fully than any other Old Testament saint anticipates Josephus's destiny. As for Joseph, Daniel and Esther-Mordecai, a little more explaining is called for. As already remarked, they are comparable to Josephus in being prophets providentially led through the grimmest threats to honour and glory; so while Jeremiah prefigures his life as a whole, yet minus the happy end, they have much to do precisely with that. At this juncture, however, it may be asked what qualifies them rather than, say, Jacob or David whom he does not appropriate. The answer lies in their peculiar function as valued advisers to the head of the host-country, pursuing simultaneously the welfare of the latter and of their fellow-Jews.[17]

The similarities that Daube identifies between Josephus and certain Old Testament figures are accounted for in terms of individual typologies. Thus, Jeremiah foreshadows many circumstances in the life of Josephus, while Joseph, Daniel and Esther-Mordecai account for certain others. According to Daube, these particular Old Testament figures have been selected due to their role as a counselor to the king of a foreign country. These counselors proved honorable in their dealings with the foreign

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[17]Ibid., p. 33.

leaders and at the same time remained faithful to their own people. Daube has displayed a genuine sensitivity in his perception of certain analogous circumstances between Josephus and particular Old Testament figures. And Daube may be quite correct in viewing these as individual typologies. I would want to raise the question, however, that rather than viewing these similarities as individual typologies, is it possible to establish one particular theme into which all, or at least most, of the similarities will fit?

In a thematic description of the Josephus/Joseph material, we could draw the following sketch:

> A man who is misunderstood and plotted against finds himself in a pit λάκκον where death is certain. From this pit he escapes only to be imprisoned by a foreign ruler. While in prison, he receives preferential treatment. When his interpretation of a dream/prediction proves accurate, he is released, given gifts and honors and is held in high esteem by the foreign king. From this position, he gives assistance and comfort to his own people.

With this sketch in mind, we turn next to the life of Jeremiah. It was pointed out earlier that Josephus himself called attention to his similarity to Jeremiah (*War* V. 391). Blenkinsopp states that:

> Jeremiah in particular seems to have served as a model for Josephus—at least retrospectively—in his conduct during the latter part of the war and the siege. As a true prophet he foretold the destruction but was rejected by the religious leaders who were misled by the pseudoprophets. After deserting to the Babylonians and suffering various indignities, he had further revelations in prison concerning the course of future events.[18]

The similarities between Josephus and Jeremiah might also be explained in terms of the sketch proposed above. Like Josephus, Jeremiah was the son of a priest (Jeremiah 1:1). Jeremiah was misunderstood and plotted against by his own people (Jer 38:4ff.), and found himself in conflict with the religious leaders (Jer 26:1ff.). Several of the princes of Judah went to King Zedekiah and asked for the death of Jeremiah. Zedekiah gave them permission to do as they wished with Jeremiah. Therefore, they took the prophet and "threw him into the well of Prince Malchiah" (Jer 38:6). The term translated variously as "well," "dungeon" and "pit" is λάκκον in the LXX and *Antiquities* (X. 121). Later, Jeremiah's friends complained to the king that the prophet was near death. Zedekiah commanded them to pull the prophet out of the pit. This was done and Jeremiah was confined to the "Court of the Guard" (Jer 38:3). During this house arrest, Zedekiah sent for Jeremiah and asked for his advice, whereupon Jeremiah prophesied that unless the king gave allegiance to Babylon, Jerusalem would be destroyed. After this prediction had been fulfilled, Jeremiah was released from prison, given food and a present (in *Ant.* X 157, Josephus reports that Jeremiah was given "valuable gifts"). Nebuzaradan, Captain of the Guard, had been commanded by the king to "take special care of him, and do him no harm of any kind, but do for him whatever he says" (Jer 39:11-12). Jeremiah remained in Judah where he gave hope and direction to the exiles (Jeremiah 29).

Once again, we find another figure that seems to fit the sketch outlined above. A man who is misunderstood and plotted against finds himself in a pit λάκκον where death is certain. From this pit, he escapes only to be imprisoned. (In Jeremiah's case, the ruler is not a foreigner). While in prison, he receives preferential treatment. When his interpretation of a dream/prediction proves accurate, he is released, given gifts and honors

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[18]Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974) 244.

and is held in high esteem by the foreign king. From this position, he gives assistance and comfort to his own people. Daube is correct in calling attention to Josephus' addition to the Jeremiah story.[19] In *Antiquities* (X. 158), the reader learns that the prophet "urged Nabuzardanes to release, at the same time as himself, his disciple Baruch, . . ."

Many circumstances in the life of Daniel also appear to fit within our thematic sketch, although not always in the same order. Daniel demonstrated early promise (Dan 1:4). In *Antiquities* (X. 189), Josephus adds the information that Daniel and his friends "made great progress" in their education (cf. *Life* 8). Daniel was misunderstood and plotted against by political leaders (Dan 6:4).[20] He was thrown into a lions' "pit" (λάκκον) where death seemed inevitable (Dan 6:16), but was miraculously saved (Dan 6:22). In the beginning of Daniel, we find that he and his friends received preferential treatment in regards to their diet (Dan 1:9-16). We learn that Daniel was skilled in the interpretation of dreams (Dan 1:17). When Belshazzar was faced with the problem of the hand writing on the wall, the Queen suggested calling Daniel "a man in your kingdom" (Dan 5:11). In *Antiquities* (X. 237), the Queen refers to Daniel as "a certain captive from Judaea." Upon solving the riddle of the writing on the wall, Daniel was given gifts and honor and high position (Dan 5:29). In Chapter 2 of Daniel, we learn that Daniel's interpretation of the king's dream saved his "companions." Josephus changes this relationship in *Antiquities* (X. 197): "Now, when Daniel heard that the king had commanded all the wise men to be killed and that among them he and his relatives were in danger, . . . " Finally, Daniel's name was changed (Dan 1:7) and he lived out his life in a foreign land.

In the case of Esther-Mordecai, it must be admitted, the thematic sketch does not fit appropriately. Still, Daube is certainly correct in his identification of particular type-scenes and the recognition that the Esther-Mordecai story does fit into the one overall theme which he suggests: "valued advisers to the head of the host-country, pursuing simultaneously the welfare of the latter and of their fellow Jews."[21] In our examination of Joseph, Jeremiah and Daniel, however, another pattern or sketch, more extensive, begins to emerge. Thus, Josephus could claim that his mission had been ordained by God. And this claim was made by a man who had been misunderstood and plotted against. From a λάκκον where death seemed certain, he escaped only to be imprisoned. He received preferential treatment while in prison and was released when his interpretation of a dream/prediction proved accurate. He was given gifts and honored by a foreign king and, from this privileged position, gave assistance and comfort to his own people.

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[19]David Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980) 27.

[20]In Josephus' description of how Daniel's position became the envy of other men (*Ant.* X 250-52), there is a clear echo of his own problems with people who had been jealous of his position.

[21]David Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980) 33.

Translating Cult: The Letter of Aristeas and Hellenistic Judaism

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In the myriad of studies on the Letter of Aristeas the label applied most often to the text is "apologetic."[1] One of the first scholars to question this classification was Victor Tcherikover.[2] He challenged the historical model presupposed by the use of the term, arguing that the text may have been directed towards a Jewish audience. Implicit in the model he rejected was the notion that a large percentage of hellenistic Jewish texts reveal a defensive posture and stem from situations of attack and counter-attack. The apologetic model also undercuts the text as a legitimate source of Jewish expression, if the text is written according to the needs and interests of non-Jewish readers. "Non-Jewish" forms and motifs are employed as part of the strategy of argumentation. An apologetic text is only indirectly a source for the study of Judaism, revealing the manner in which Jews presented themselves in attempts to persuade others.

Tcherikover rejected the outer-directed model in part because he wanted to claim these texts as legitimate forms of Jewish expression. In particular, his extensive research into the situation of Jews in Egypt let him to conclude that the conflict model assumed in the term apologetics did not reflect their concerns accurately. The extensive participation of the Jews in the general culture belied the notion that they produced mostly defensive literature.

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[1]Citations in English are from the standard commentary by Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (Philadelphia: Dropsie University, 1951). Additions to Hadas' bibliography include: D. W. Gooding, "Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies," *VT* 8 (1963) 357-79. L. Herrman, "La Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate," *Latomus* 25 (1966) 58-77. G. Howard, "The Letter of Aristeas and Diaspora Judaism," *JTS* 22 (1971) 337-48. B. S. J. Isserlin, "The Names of the 72 Translators of the Septuagint (Aristeas 47-50)," *JANESCU* 5 (1973) 191-97. S. Jellicoe, "The Occasion and Purpose of the Letter of Aristeas," *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 29-58. J. J. Lewis, "The Table talk section in the Letter of Aristeas," *NTS* 13 (1966) 53-56. O. Murray, "Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship," *JTS* 18 (1967) 337-71; and "Aristeas and his Sources," *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975) 123-28, Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 1971, ed. E. Livingstone, Berlin: Akademic Verlag. Daniel Schwartz, "The Priests in Ep. Aristeas 310," *JBL* 55 (1936) 261-84. G. Zuntz, "Aristeas Studies," *JSS* 4 (1959) 21-36, 109-126. For a partial listing of the scholars who use the term apologetic see V. Tcherikover, "The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas," *HTR* 2 (1958) 59.

[2]Victor Tcherikover, "Ideology" and "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48 (1956) 196-270.

The specific arguments Tcherikover used against this apologetic label were (1) the use of Greek does not indicate a non-Jewish audience,[3] (2) pseudonymity does not imply propaganda, (3) Jews may have enjoyed glorifying Judaism, (4) only Jews would have been interested in the allegorical explications of the laws,[4] and (5) anti-semitism was not widespread under the Ptolemies.[5] The first three points are not conclusive by themselves, but they begin to shift the burden of proof to those who automatically assume a defensive motivation. The last two points are particularly important and will be examined in greater detail below.

Tcherikover's alternative model for apologetics distinguished between inner and outer-directed propaganda. Inner-directed apologetics arose "to give expression to the intricate problems which developed within the Jewish community itself, and which attracted the interest of its members."[6] He reversed the strategy implied in the old model, positing instead that Jews had to be convinced of the value of Greek elements.

> Very cautiously he (the author) tries to impress upon the readers the idea that no abyss separates Judaism from Hellenism.[7]

Aristeas' propaganda was directed at two different segments of the Jewish population. One group was those Jews who did not correctly read the law (144) rejecting allegory.[8] He includes Jews too influenced by Palestinian Jews and even those who used poorly preserved scrolls. (30)[9] Judaea is portrayed, however, in an idealized manner. Nor does it seem likely that the entire text is an elaborate attempt to combat "rational" interpretation.[10]

The second presumed audience was Jews who abandoned practical proscriptions of the Torah. The aim of the Letter is an exhortation to cultic observance. While the allegories may have been directed to such individuals, it is also possible that these sections were compiled for those Jews who did observe the injunctions and wished for a rationale. The practical prohibitions discussed are limited. The author includes not eating mice and weasels (144, 164-65), unclean winged creatures (146), chewing the cud/parted hoof (153-154), marking clothes and doorposts (158-159), and washing hands (305-307). The phrase "fenced about with impregnable palisades" (139) can be presumed to apply only to these rules. The interpretation of sacrifice is theoretical, for the author

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[3]The intended Jewish audience of other hellenistic Jewish writers has been recognized since J. Freudenthal's comment on Demetrios, *Hellenistische Studien*, 1-2, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen reste jüdaischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Breslau: Skutsch, 1875) 8.

[4]Both Jews and non-Jews might have been interested in allegories of biblical laws. See E. R. Goodenough, "Philo's Exposition of the Law and his De Vita Mosis," *HTR* 27 (1933) 109-25.

[5]Tcherikover, "The Ideology," 60-62.

[6]Tcherikover, "Jewish Apologetic," 193.

[7]Tcherikover, "Ideology," 96.

[8]Ibid., 83-84.

[9]This theory has been discussed in greater detail by Howard, "The Letter of Aristeas."

[10]As evidence for this group Tcherikover cites the author's comment that the deity does not care for mice and weasels. Tcherikover presumes that this statement directly attacks the opposition. The opposition, however, does not seem best characterized as "rational." As to the poor scrolls, the need for better scrolls is necessary for the plot so the existence of poor ones should not be assumed to be historical.

probably did not participate in any sacrifices. He could have chosen any rulings to interpret; he chose these, not even mentioning others.[11]

By abandoning the outer-directed apologetical model Tcherikover was forced to find another "problem" to motivate the text. He described the audience as Jews who either did not interpret the law (rejecting allegory, 144 and 30), or those who allegorized too much (rejecting laws). The propaganda of the Letter stems from the "duality" of existence in which Egyptian Jews lived; the world of Judaism and of Hellenism.[12] Yet allegory is a fusion of Judaism and Hellenism only in that the texts are Jewish and the methods come from the general Hellenistic period. Allegory is employed as a means of finding the hidden truth, in this case the contemporary Jewish meaning, in an ancient document. The text's strategy comes not from an attempt to fuse two irreconcilable thought-systems, but from the author's struggle to find contemporary significance in older religious documents.[13]

While many scholars of Judaism have recognized the validity of Tcherikover's attack on the apologetic model, both the label and the underlying historical model continue to dominate research.[14] The implicit historical assumptions are still similar to those Tcherikover began to challenge, and in particular a hostile pattern of interaction is widely assumed.[15] It is worthwhile therefore to re-examine Tcherikover's points about anti-semitism and allegory, after reviewing the apologetic model.

In order to see how pervasive the conflict model is we need only turn to an alternate classification of Aristeas, that of romance. Moses Hadas[16] discusses the similarities of Aristeas to Greek romances, exploiting in particular the work of Braun.[17] His influential studies presuppose a shift in literary expression as a result of Alexander's conquest. Again we find that literary texts are seen as outlets of group aggrandizement. Both the form and content of Graeco-Oriental literature was, according to Braun, determined by the loser's need to express national sentiments in the wake of Alexander's domination. He distinguishes between two levels or types of nationalistic literature. The upper class authors produced works such as Berossus' *Babylonica* and Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*. The masses, however, expressed their feelings of alienation by means of the

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[11]Tcherikover realizes that other seemingly basic regulations are not mentioned. He thinks these are not discussed because they were taken for granted. ("Ideology," 84). This is an argument from silence. Observance may not be determined by allegory. Perhaps instead those rules which are deemed important were chosen to be allegorized.

[12]Ibid., 81.

[13]Tcherikover seems to have chosen the audience first, and then explored the function of allegory. By considering the functions of allegory it may be possible to refine Tcherikover's model.

[14]See for example, J. J. Collins' important new book *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) where he argues that negative attitudes towards Judaism partially shaped the self-perception of Egyptian Jews (pp. 4-7).

[15]For an especially extreme example, see the work of Daniel who states, "A survey of the comments about Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman literature shows that they were almost universally disliked or at least viewed with an amused contempt." "Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic Period," *JBL* 98 (1979) 46.

[16]Hadas, in his article "Aristeas and III Maccabees," *HTR* 42 (1949) 175-84, compared Aristeas to III Maccabees, describing them both as imaginative treatments of history. He stresses the similarities of Aristeas to romance, yet undercuts the classification by stating that it is not quite a romance. Instead it is historical prose on the way to romance, lacking the development of a central character around whom the plot unfolds.

[17]M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1938).

romance. Nationalistic romances were composed as a means of extolling local heroes in the face of foreign subjugation. These texts examined and articulated nationalistic traditions related to self-rule and native kingship. The heroes and their stories represented a non-violent means of protesting the presence of Greek cities in Oriental nations, "like thorns in their flesh."[18] Braun writes:

> In Hellenistic times more than ever, the Oriental longed for edification and consolation, for the revival of his self-esteem and pride, for appeasement of his hatred and contempt, or where the tensions were less acute, for equality with the ruling people.[19]

According to Braun the Jews were not exempt from these forces, and entered into similar debate with the rulers by creating their own literary texts of protest.

> In defense and counter-attack Jewish literary activity began to flourish again. The books of Daniel, Judith and Maccabees are perhaps the most typical of this nationalistic fighting spirit. Where, as in Ptolemaic Egypt, the clash of Jews and non-Jews was less violent, Jewish fiction was largely inspired by the tendency to enhance the prestige of the Jews in the eyes of the dominant Greeks.[20]

Braun considers the Letter of Aristeas to be typical of this literature.[21] The first question to be raised is how to interpret these "nationalistic" motifs—must they be viewed as anti-Greek?[22] Braun himself noted that some motifs were not only shaped by conflict and conquest, stating

> The fundamental conception of the Alexander romance, that Alexander was the rejuvenated and returning Nectanebus, does not seem to be merely proof of Graeco-Egyptian nationalism, but also a tribute to a popular older tradition which has already achieved literary form.[23]

The second question is the relation between the literary motifs and the day-to-day interactions of the various communities. Should we reconstruct general patterns of interaction based on these motifs? Too often the historical situation of antagonism has been reconstructed from literary debates. The conflict themes in particular may reflect the concerns of a literary elite, arguing with each other more than representing widespread sentiment.[24]

When we begin, for example, to investigate the place of Jews in Egyptian society, we find that the early history is based primarily on the Letter of Aristeas. For example, many scholars approvingly cite the statement in the Letter of Aristeas that Ptolemy Soter brought 100,000 Jews to Egypt, making some of them mercenaries and the others slaves.[25] In order to evaluate this statement it is necessary to consider both other

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[18]Ibid., 18.

[19]Ibid., 19.

[20]Ibid., 26.

[21]Ibid., op. cit.

[22]See note 53.

[23]Ibid., 24.

[24]The integration of other types of evidence including papyri and inscriptions must occur before these themes can be evaluated.

[25]Bouche-LeClerq, *Histoire des Lagides* (1903) I, 50-51, accepts Aristeas's statement, with no attempt to substantiate it. Similarly, Frazier in *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972: I, p. 57, n. 162) endorses Aristeas's statement based on

evidence which might support this story and its role within the narrative. As at least one scholar has pointed out, there is no other evidence for the existence of large numbers of Jewish slaves brought by Ptolemy Soter.[26] The only other ancient author who supplies indirect support is Agatharcides. According to Josephus, Agatharcides claimed that the Jews lost their city to Soter because they would not fight on the Sabbath.[27] Tcherikover realized that this directly contradicts another author also cited by Josephus. According to Hecateus, the Jews willingly followed the king to Egypt.[28] While Hecateus may be a forgery, the Agatharcides citation is not sufficient evidence to cite Aristeas as fact.[29] There is, however, no other evidence that Jewish mercenaries were forced to serve the king, as presumably these were if some of the same individuals were made slaves. Most Jewish mercenaries served by choice.[30] The Letter states that the king was forced to make them into slaves by his soldiers which as some have pointed out makes the king look even better. If, however, the king had taken them as slaves in battle, that would have been justified.[31]

As to the role of this section in the larger story, it permits Ptolemy Philadelphus to enact a decree freeing the slaves. This incident thereby demonstrates the beneficence of his rule, and at the same time elevates the status of Aristeas, who made the request. Westermann's careful analysis of the decree proved that it is probably a forgery based on P. Rainer 24.552.[32] This genuine decree concerns the status of persons who ended up as slaves, and provides for their manumission unless their owners can prove they were properly acquired.

Westermann demonstrated that the forger used a document which had nothing to do with the freeing of Jewish slaves in Egypt. It was in his attempt to make the document fit the situation of his narrative that the forger showed his hand.[33] The decree cannot

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Agatharcides and states that the same event (?) is mentioned by Pseudo-Hecateus "in less dramatic terms," (II, p. 974, n. 126).

[26]E. Abel, "The Myth of Jewish Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt," *REJ* 127 (1968) 253-58.

[27]The theme of Jews not fighting on the Sabbath is also found in 1 Macc 2:32ff. and in Plutarch *De superstit.* 169C, and may in part be an after the fact explanation for military defeat.

[28]Tcherikover solves the problem by positing a change in attitude towards the king during the various campaigns into Palestine, and also points out that different groups of Jews may have supported and opposed the king. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (New York: Jewish Publications Society, 1959) 55-59.

[29]J. J. Collins accepts it only hesitatingly (*Between Athens and Jerusalem*, p. 3, n. 14).

[30]The evidence for Jews serving in as mercenaries is extensive, beginning with the famous colony at Elephantine. Aristeas mentions mercenaries under the Persians (113) and the Egyptian king Psammetichus. Here he is simply describing voluntary mercenaries. Discussion of Jewish mercenaries includes Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 334-35; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellenistiques* (Paris: Bibl. ec. France d'Athenes et de Rome, 1949-50) 541-56. Hadas cites as proof of Jewish garrisons P. Hibeh 96 (259 B.C.E), P. Gurob 2 (226 B.C.E.), P. Gurob 8 (210 B.C.E.) and P. Gurob 26 (111 B.C.E.) (*Aristeas*, p. 99).

[31]See W. Westermann, "Enslaved Persons Who are Free" *American Journal of Philosophy* 59 (1938) 32.

[32]Ibid., 30.

[33]The objections Westermann raises against the genuineness of the decree include the implausibility of Philadelphus's phrase "contrary to justice" about the enslaving of captives, the extreme speed with which the decree was to be carried out (3 days), and the

be used as evidence that there ever was a manumission of Jewish slaves. The implications are two-fold. First, Philadelphus probably did not free the slaves and Soter probably did not enslave them, and second, one of the first instances of anti-semitism has been cast into doubt.

Based on the inscriptional and papyrological evidence, it seems that the Jews were integrated into every aspect of the general culture.[34] They were employed in a variety of occupations, serving in the sectors of the military, agriculture, and administration.[35] The earliest inscriptions show that they did not have separate burial grounds.[36] Nor did they serve in their own military units; we find Jewish names with varied military unit designations.[37] They took their disputes to the same courts as the Greeks and the Egyptians, submitting to the same legal system.[38] The suits they were involved in do not break down on racial or ethnic lines. There is no evidence that Jews lived in separate residential sections.[39] Synagogue inscriptions reveal a positive attitude towards the royalty.[40]

The only evidence of anti-Jewish attitudes is found in the writings of Manetho, in

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unlikelihood that the king would have reimbursed the owners for their losses. Ibid., 23-25.

[34]The standard work is Tcherikover and Fuks, (eds.) *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1957). P. M. Frazier's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* covers much of the evidence on Alexandrian Jews. The work of A. Segre, "The Status of the Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt," *Jewish Social Studies* 6 (1944) 375-400 and of A. Kasher, "First Jewish Military Units in Ptolemaic Egypt," *JSJ* 1 (1978) 57-67 must be used with care. Kasher, for example, relies heavily on Josephus to reconstruct earlier periods. See also Tcherikover's *Hellenistic Civilization*.

[35]Tcherikover-Fuks, *CPJ* I, pp. 11-19.

[36]The necropolis at Ibrahimiya contains Aramaic inscriptions from the reigns of Ptolemies I and II. Breccia argues that Jews and non-Jews are buried together, "La Necropoli di l'Ibrahimieh," *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie* 9 (1907) 35-86.

[37]See for example, the famous instances where two Jews are called Macedonians, *CPJ* II; 142, 143. For mixed units see Tcherikover-Fuks, *CPJ* I, p. 13.

[38]A Jewish notary (?) office is mentioned in Alexandria, (*CPJ* I; 143) and similarly in an inscription in Hierapolis (*CIJ* 775). The only evidence for a politeuma in Alexandria is Aristeas 310. The term "archon" is found in connection with the Jews in Arsinoe (*CPJ* 432). Tcherikover states that there is no need for proof of Jewish courts because they were so obviously needed. He adds, "Despite all this, the papyri have shown that the Jews of Egypt frequently appealed to the government courts and offices and were also influenced in their mode of living by the general hellenistic legal system, *Hell. Civ.*, p. 304, cf. *CPJ* I, pp. 132-36.

[39]Frazier (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, pp. 54-55) posits a separate quarter based on Strabo (Josephus, *A.J.* xiv, 114) though he also notes that Philo contradicts this (*In Flacc.* 54-56) and that Breccia found a synagogue inscription (41, OGIS 742) in Gabbari, which is on the other side of the city from the Delta Jewish quarter (not found in situ). Tcherikover states that ghettos as compulsory places of residence were unknown in the Hellenistic epoch (*Hell. Civ.*, p. 304).

[40]The two oldest synagogue inscriptions, from Schedia and Arsinoe (*CIJ* 1440 and 1532A), both date from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Both state that the Jews built the synagogues to honor the rulers. According to OGIS 129 Ptolemy VIII Euergetes granted the right of asylum to a synagogue.

the sections on the Exodus.[41] This is Manetho's personal view, and does not reflect the daily lives of Egyptians or Jews. As Tcherikover writes,

> During the hellenistic period anti-semitism does not pass beyond the limits of the purely literary.[42]

Attitudes towards Jews are in part reconstructed based on a general pattern of hostile interactions between ethnic groups in Ptolemaic society. Thus the Jews must integrate themselves into a culture in which there is already a deep-seated and seemingly irreconcilable antagonism between the Greeks and the non-Greeks (Egyptians).[43] Often the Ptolemies are portrayed as ruthless exploiters of the unhappy natives, with the Jews inevitably caught between them.

In order therefore to understand and be able to place the Jews, we must in turn examine the evidence for race relations in general. Here again we find that when the papyri and inscriptional material is considered, a very different picture of the Ptolemies emerges.[44] Westermann collected evidence of the rights of natives, finding institutions for their protection such as the right of asylum and the letter of safe conduct.[45] He also mentions the concern for subjects shown in P. Ranier 24.552 and the right of natives to call upon the name of the king in times of distress.[46] Cases were brought against people of the same ethnic groups as often as against those from other backgrounds.[47] He concludes,

> Differences in privileged position based upon population classes did exist, but their explanation is not be sought along the lines of race cleavage and racial hatred.[48]

Westermann refers to the work of Bickermann, who was one of the first to revise the question of social status.[49] According to Bickermann the privileges an individual

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[41]The lack of interest the author of Aristeas shows in Moses seems to indicate that he is not trying to debate with Manetho (C. Ap. I: 73ff. and I: 228ff.).

[42]Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, p. 25. As a possible first outbreak of "anti-semitism" Tcherikover cites an obscure reference to a persecution in 88 B.C. (Iordanis, *Rom* 81, cf. Frazier, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 88, n. 337). It may have been connected with the Jewish generals' support of Cleopatra III; the evidence is scanty.

[43]The sources used in constructing this picture are often external to Egypt; relying on comments by Polybius, Justin, and Strabo. Also important is "nationalistic" literature such as the Oracle of the Potter and the Demotic Chronicle. The opinion that the Ptolemies did not help their subjects became disseminated in part through the work of Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 2d ed., p. 180. Local reports were often interpreted as native reactions against foreign rule. See for example, S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1961) pp. 257-323.

[44]W. Westermann, "The Ptolemies and the Welfare of their Subjects," *American Historical Review* 42 (1937-1938) 270-87; C. Préaux, "Politique du race ou politique royale," *Chronique d'Égypte* 81 (1936) 111-38, and "Esquisse d'une histoire des révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides," *Chronique d'Égypte* 22 (1936) 522-52; J. Johnson, "Is the Demotic Chronicle an anti-Greek Tract?" *Festschrift for Erich Lüddeckens*, forthcoming.

[45]Westermann, "The Ptolemies," p. 276-78.

[46]Ibid., 281-82.

[47]Ibid., 273. He writes, "The process of give and take in legal adaptation between native ideas and those of the alien elements speaks strongly against the customary assumption of a widespread and bitter hatred between the two" (ibid., 280).

[48]Ibid., 272-73.

[49]Ibid., 272.

received were based primarily on the services which that individual supplied to the royalty. Therefore, a person would render a specific service based on his profession, as a soldier, priest, etc., and by that means achieve privileges from the government.

About the native revolts, which play an important role in theories of oppression, Janet Johnson writes,

> Since there were severe economic problems and social ills both in Egypt and in the rest of the Mediterranean world ruled by the heirs of Alexander, where rebellions also broke against established authority, it is much more probable that the basic causes and underlying factors of the "native" rebellions in Egypt were economic and social, not "racial." . . . There is absolutely no need to overstress a largely unsubstantiated "racial" antagonism in Ptolemaic Egypt."[50]

The revolts can be understood as reactions against corrupt and incompetent authorities, just as were the many revolts which occurred before the Ptolemies took over.[51]

Those anti-Greek sentiments which are represented take the form mostly of messianic prophecies, which as Westermann points out, "have been explained as academic revivals among the learned men of the temples, rather than as the expression of an active feeling which emanated from and moved the masses of the native population."[52] At least one of these texts, the Demotic Chronicle, is currently being re-evaluated as to its anti-Greek stance.[53] Finally, there is evidence that priests supported the Ptolemies, instead of inspiring the revolts.[54] One text even calls the Greeks "saviors" because they expelled the Persians from Egypt.[55]

The social status system for the Jews is the same as for everyone else, and they too would have been rewarded based on the particular services they rendered to the rulers and the state.

What purpose then does Aristeas fulfill for the reader?[56] The author's story about the translation of the Torah includes other sections which do not relate to the translation

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[50]J. Johnson, "Demotic Chronicle," 9. Westermann concurs, "The explanation of these events (attacks on shrines) by the theory of racial hatred, especially as evidences of anti-Hellenic feeling on the part of the native Egyptian population does not meet the test of close scrutiny in the presence of the new information which has been granted us. There is, in fact, some evidence which indicates that the 'dislike' of 'strangers' in the villages along the Nile was directed more sharply against newcomers from other nomes of Egypt than against aliens from the outside world (ibid., 273-74).

[51]Johnson, "Demotic Chronicle," 8-9 and bibliography cited there.

[52]Westermann, "Ptolemies," 275.

[53]Johnson, "Demotic Chronicle," 9-11. She argues that the king was denounced not because he was Greek, but because he failed to live up to the standards of proper behavior. See also her comments on the Potter's Oracle, pp. 6-7, which she believes cannot be used as evidence for the early Ptolemaic period. Research into demotic literature will no doubt help improve our picture of the interrelation of Greeks and Egyptians. See for example, J. Barns, "Egypt and the Greek Romance," *Akten des VIII Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie: Wien 1955*, (1956) 29-36.

[54]For other evidence besides the famous priestly decrees from Raphia and Canopus see Johnson, "Demotic Chronicles," p. 6 and extensive bibliography cited there.

[55]Johnson, "Demotic Chronicle," 7, n. 60.

[56]Practically every event in the history of Egyptian Jewry has been connected with the letter, including the building of the Temple at Leontopolis (Jellicoe, "The Occasion and Purpose of the Letter of Aristeas") and the writing of III Maccabees (T. Sterling, "III Maccabees and Pseudo-Aristeas").

effort.[57] This has led to the downfall of many theories too closely tied to the question of translation. Most theories which connect the text with a revision, or a controversy over a translation have failed to win much endorsement.[58]

Making a list of the topics included within the loosely woven narrative frame we find that the author discusses the origin of the Jews,[59] activities of a king,[60] description of the cult,[61] descriptions of the native land (Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside),[62] explanations of the laws,[63] and an introduction to Jewish theology (proper divine and human behavior).[64] All of these motifs are familiar from the biblical texts, and indeed include most of the central themes found there: land, law, cult, deity, and king. The text, however, is not an introduction to biblical religion. Each motif is cast in a new light by its integration into the translation story. The motifs are all the standard elements from the biblical texts. The specific interpretation of them, their articulation in this text, is distinctly "modern."

Perhaps the most obvious example of reinterpretation is the allegorization of the biblical injunctions concerning proscribed foods. We are guided by Tcherikover's suggestion of a Jewish audience, and are interested in particular in the function of allegory. Allegorical interpretation of ancient texts was widespread and no doubt Jews borrowed their methods from those around them.[65] Other communities besides the Jews had ancient legal or narrative texts that required interpretation. These texts no longer reflected current attitudes about proper religious behavior on the part of both deities and followers. The complex methods of allegory helped to "save" texts for various communities, religious and philosophical, by supplying new meanings for the texts.[66] The criteria used to judge the texts varied, and the debates over the correct understanding of traditional texts took many forms.[67]

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[57] As Hadas notes, the translation itself is carried out in two sentences (302-307) (*Aristeas*, 59).

[58] Contrast Kahle's theory that Aristeas supports a revision of the LXX (*Cairo Geniza*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 112ff.) and Klijn's idea that the author defends a translation against a later, less accurate one ("The Letter of Aristeas and the Greek Translation of the Pentateuch in Egypt," *NTS* 11[1964-65]154-58). There is little evidence in the text to support either of these theories.

[59] 12-14, Jews brought down into Egypt as slaves.

[60] 17-20, king grants petition to free Jews; 51-56, king orders vessels for temple; 174-181, king greets translators. The questions at the banquet also deal with kingship.

[61] 57-82, description of the vessel; 84-99, temple, sacrifices and high priest.

[62] 100-120, the citadel, the city and its surrounding countryside.

[63] 128-171, interpretations of the laws.

[64] 187-292, the banquet scene with philosophical questions and answers about kingship and virtuous behavior.

[65] For an introduction to the complex area of allegory see J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie* (2d ed.; Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1976). On Jewish allegory in particular see pp. 221-44 and the bibliography cited there. See also N. Walter, "Anfänge alexandrinisch-jüdischer Bibelauslegung bei Aristobulus," *Helikon* 3 (1963) 353-72. He believes that Aristobulus was similar to the Stoics, yet differed due to his monotheism. Within the limitations of this study the significant point is that the Jews did not work in isolation, and were influenced by textual methods and notions of interpretation used by non-Jews.

[66] For early examples of allegorical reinterpretations among the Greeks see R. Grant, *The Letter and the Spirit (London: SPCK, 1957) 1-36.*

[67] A sampling of the variety of standards includes Plato's well-known attack on poets, Pindar's statement that only good things should be said about the gods (Olymp. 1:35); also, Zeno's belief that Homer did not contradict himself (Dio Chrys. 53.4), and

In relation to Aristeas, the point which is of special significance is that allegorical interpretation concerns not only texts, but the actions described as well. Cultic "allegory," just as textual allegory, supplies new meanings for cultic behavior when the earlier understanding has been lost, or is no longer appropriate.[68] Thus the author of Aristeas allegorizes the food laws so that they can once again be reclaimed by the community. Allegorizing does not always lead to rejection of laws.[69]

The problem for the author of the Letter of Aristeas, as for other allegorizers, is that he simply does not think the deity would have instituted the laws in the forms in which they appear, that is, for their own sake. God does not care about mice and weasels (144). Therefore, there must be some other significance for the ruling. The allegorization process is not used to eliminate the laws; mice and weasels will still not be eaten. The allegorizing rejects not the act, but the prior justification or rationale for the act. It is possible to retain the cultic action, for while the action may still be carried out just as it used to be, the theory behind the action is new. The author of Aristeas would claim that simply to do the action is not enough, for the individual must understand the basis for the deed. By exhibiting his ability to analyze the true meaning of an action, the author shows that he is among the enlightened worshippers. The distinction he draws is not so much between Jews and non-Jews, as between those who know the import of religious deeds, and the others, who are "men of food and drink and raiment."[70]

Allegory is not the only means of reinterpretation. Other themes can be re-worked by telling new stories which include those themes. In some cases the need for a new evaluation of a biblical motif resulted from the changed historical situations. The king, for example, can no longer fulfill his role as leader of his nation, for the king is now a foreigner. This foreign king can, however, free the slaves and thereby function as their leader. He can also support their cult, a pattern for which there is precedence in the biblical material.[71]

The Jews also did not have the same relationship to the native land. Instead, because they no longer lived there, they viewed it with nostalgia. Judaea is portrayed, as many have noted, as a utopia where clean and unclean do not walk on the same side of the street.[72] The cult is carried out in a make believe manner, where the aesthetic dimension has taken over completely and the actions are important for what they symbolize.[73]

The long-winded descriptions of the vessels sent by the king to the temple are reminiscent of the equally complex descriptions of the tabernacle and its implements in the Bible. In both cases the loving detail of the description seems more important than its clarity. Here the focus has shifted away from the building to the objects which the

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Hecateus' and later Cornutus' attempts to find rational interpretations for myths (P. Decharme, *La critique des traditions religieuses chez les grecs* [Paris: Picard, 1904] p. 69).

[68]For reinterpretation of Pythagoras's commands see Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, 42-44, where enigmatic injunctions such as "do not stir a fire with a knife," are given ethical meanings. Similarly, Plutarch writes that ancient theology is found "not only in story and tradition but also in rites and sacrifices," *De Isis*, 45.

[69]Contra, for example, Hanson (*Allegory and Event* [London: SCM Press, 1959] p. 43) who argues that while Aristobulus does not explain away the laws, Aristeas does.

[70]Noted by J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 180.

[71]For example, Cyrus in Isaiah 50.

[72]Hadas, *Aristeas*, 48-51.

[73]This is not to say that the sacrifices did not have a symbolic dimension in the Bible. This symbolic meaning has shifted, however. Tame animals are sacrificed so that the sacrificers "might be conscious of no arrogance in themselves (171)."

foreign king can contribute. Again the objects reflect values beyond their appearances; their role was in part symbolic before, but now it is symbolic of something different.[74]

In the banquet scene the translators can outline their philosophical and religious system of Jewish values. They can describe their deity, the ways in which he interacts with people, and how one should behave properly as a result. As in the biblical material, the behavior of the king is especially important for he is the representative of the deity on earth, and at the same time a human. The investigation is accomplished by means of questions and answers rather than by narratives about the king's life.[75] The implied exhortations construct a picture of the proper mode of life for a Jew who is concerned with living a life befitting the true god.

The goal of the Letter of Aristeas is the presentation of a new Torah, complete with its new language, content, function and methods of interpretation. The narrative about the translation includes within it the presentation of a new "Torah" with reformulated native traditions. The roles of the homeland, the cult, the deity, the king and the nation have all changed. The homeland has lost its meaning as the home for the king and the deity; the land is now the place where the cult is carried out in perfection, leaving those in Alexandria free to contemplate new symbolic meanings for these actions. The king acts as messiah not by rebuilding the temple or ruling the nation, but by lavishing gifts on the temple and freeing Jewish slaves.

The Letter's claim about the translation of the Torah from Hebrew to Greek is tht the new story is the same as the old. Translating the Torah from Hebrew into Greek does not change it at all; the new version is an exact replica of the old. The Letter is a particularly interesting attempt at transforming religious doctrines. The argumentation about the identity of the two versions is so integral to that text that a slight of hand occurs. A new Torah is substituted for the old while the author repeatedly tells the reader that the two versions are exactly the same.

Tcherikover's persuasive suggestions about an inner-directed function opened up new possibilities for the intended audience for the Letter or Aristeas. However, when we place the Letter in the context of other hellenistic reinterpretations of traditional religious and philosophical texts we find that the "Judaism versus hellenism" model is not appropriate. Nor does the text debate several specific observances, for presumably neither the "rational" interpreters nor those who allegorize too much, ate mice and weasels. Instead the author establishes so close a connection between his interpretation and the traditional story that the old version becomes the new without changing a word.

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[74]The vessels reflect "the majesty of the king's renown (79)," as well as his recognition of the deity.

[75]By investigating the king's behavior an ideal model of human action is outlined.

Adam in Pauline Christology

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The trouble that Adam causes to New Testament scholars reflects all too clearly the trouble which, according to Jewish tradition, he has caused to the human race in general. A long line of puzzled commentators and theologians bears witness to the apparently intractable nature of the problem: what part does Adam play in Paul's theology, and particularly in his Christology? Scholarly opinion on the passages where Adam is explicitly mentioned (Rom 5:12-21; 1 Cor 15:20-49) ranges from treating them as peripheral to insisting on their absolute centrality. Some have detected covert reference to Adam in several other passages (e.g. Rom 1:18ff., 7:7ff., Phil 2:5-11; Col 1:15): others remain skeptical. And if there is no agreement in sight on the question of the sources from which Paul took the idea (gnostic? Philonic? rabbinic? apocalyptic?), there is still less sign of progress in discovering what precisely he meant by it.

A full survey of the relevant secondary literature is neither possible nor necessary in such a paper as this. In line with most recent writers on the subject, we make the working assumption that the relevant background literature is to be found in the broad stream of Jewish writings, not in gnosticism as such.[1] This, however, only focuses attention more closely on the questions: which parts of the Jewish background are relevant, what are they really saying, and what does Paul mean by his use of them? In Robin Scroggs' classic little study, the spotlight is placed on anthropology: through Adam-language "Paul describes the reality and assurance of the restoration of man's humanity."[2] The relevant Jewish background—the intertestamental and Rabbinic writings—bear witness to an Adam-speculation used to predict the restoration of humanity to its state of original, or at least intended, glory. The last age will correspond to the first. More recently, S. Kim has provided a very full discussion of hypotheses on the origin of Adam-Christology,[3] and, concluding that all have been to a lesser or greater extent unsatisfactory,[4] provides one of his own: Adam-Christology, like wisdom-Christology, is a development of image-Christology, which in turn can be traced to Paul's vision of

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[1]See e.g. R. Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966; hereafter cited simply as Scroggs); S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981; hereafter simply as Kim); H. C. Kee "Christology and Ecclesiology: Titles of Christ and Models of Community," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1982 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; Chico: Scholars Press, 1982) 227-42, here at 237 ff.

[2]Scroggs, 111; see too J. A. Ziesler, "Anthropology of Hope," *ExpT* 90 (1979) 104-9.

[3]Kim, 162-93.

[4]Kim, 193.

Christ on the road to Damascus.[5] This conclusion, however, is very different to that proposed by J. D. G. Dunn in his brilliant and provocative *Christology in the Making*, which was in the press at the same time as Kim's book, preventing any dialogue between the two. While Dunn completely agrees with Scroggs and Kim in seeing Adam-Christology as a Jewish phenomenon, unrelated to gnostic *Urmensch* speculations, he holds it well apart from Paul's wisdom-Christology. He sees the two as distinct strands, stemming from different ideas and leading to different conclusions.[6] For him, Adam-Christology is first of all a way of talking about Christ in his resurrection glory, and then, because of the Christological use of Psalm 8, a way of referring to his achievement in sharing the lot of the first Adam, even unto death, in order finally to become the last Adam, that which Adam should have been but failed to be.[7] Adam-Christology thus speaks, for Dunn, only of Christ's goal and task. It is with wisdom-Christology that Christ is somehow identified with the pre-existent divine purposes of salvation.[8]

Although it thus appears that, as we said before, there is no apparent consensus on the subject, work such as we have mentioned has undoubtedly been beneficial. Released from the stifling hypothesis of the *Urmensch* redeemer-figure, scholarship has been able to advance into new and apparently fruitful ways of reading Paul. It is true that not all exegetical problems have thereby been solved. Romans 5 remains a very difficult passage, with vv. 15-17 proving especially intractable, and there is no agreement on how 5:12-21 as a whole fits into the flow of the letter. Nor has 1 Corinthians 15 yielded up all its secrets. And if the question of whether or not Adam-Christology is to be detected in Philippians 2 (with Kim, Dunn, Hooker, Caird and others, though Scroggs, for one, remains skeptical) and Colossians 1 (with Kim and Caird, but against Dunn) is by no means settled, nor is it yet clear what the results would be if there were to be agreement on finding Adam there. There is therefore plenty of scope for fresh investigation and new hypotheses at every level of the enquiry.

I wish to argue in this paper that the work done so far has not yet gone to the heart of the matter. Specifically, it has overlooked a central feature of the Jewish background material which is in fact very important for interpreting Paul. Speculation about Adam, in the intertestamental and rabbinic literature in particular (though we shall concentrate on the former) is not about "man in general." It is about Israel, the people of God. It is not, perhaps, surprising that this theme should have gone unnoticed for so long. A former generation brought to the material the questions of post-reformation dogmatics; subsequent ones have often been careful to filter off the apparently unassimilable, Jewish elements in Paul. Talk about Adam was bound to be marginalized in such discussions, and ideas about the national hope of Israel likely to disappear altogether. Even now that we have heeded the warnings of Stendahl, Sanders and others[9] against such a one-sided reading of Paul, the interpretation of his Adam-theology has not

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[5]Kim, 260ff.; summary, 267f.

[6]J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM, 1980; hereafter simply as Dunn) 98-128 (Adam), 163-212 (Wisdom), 258-68 (conclusions).

[7]Dunn, 107ff.

[8]Dunn, e.g. 193-94; see too his article "Was Christianity a Monotheistic Faith from the Beginning?" *SJT* 35 (1982) 303-36, especially 327ff.

[9]See, e.g., K. Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 133; E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM, 1977) 1-12, 33-59; C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (London: SPCK, 1978).

noticeably improved.[10] But (as we will argue in the first main section of this paper) the use of "Adam" themes in the Jewish literature which may without controversy be considered a part of the background to the NT—i.e. the Old Testament, the Scrolls, and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha[11]—consistently makes one large and important point: God's purposes for the human race in general have devolved on to, and will be fulfilled in, Israel in particular. Israel is, or will become, God's true humanity. What God intended for Adam will be given to the seed of Abraham. They will inherit the second Eden, the restored primaeval glory. If there is a "last Adam" in the relevant Jewish literature, he is not an individual, whether messianic or otherwise. He is the whole eschatological people of God. If we take "Adam" language out of this context we do not merely distort it: we empty it of its basic content. And if we are to use this material at all for understanding Paul—as I believe we must—we cannot ignore its emphases, or imagine that Paul ignored them, but must ask what he did with them. Part III of this paper will therefore explore Pauline theology, and particularly Christology, in this light.

II

In this section, then, I shall argue that Adam-theology, where it occurs in the OT and intertestamental writings, fulfills a specific purpose. It either advances, or develops, a claim about the place of Israel in the purposes of God. It is another way of saying that the world was made for the sake of Israel, or that Israel is God's intended true humanity.

This view goes back at least as far as the final redaction of Genesis. In its present form, the book clearly highlights ch. 12 as its turning-point: after the curse of the fall, the flood and Babel (chs. 3, 7 and 11), God promises to bless Abram and his family. As later tradition put it, Abraham will be God's means of undoing the sin of Adam.[12] This broad theme is given significant detail by a set of recurring motifs,[13] in which the commands given to Adam in Gen 1:28 reappear in a new guise:

> 1:28: And God blessed them, and God said to them "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.
>
> 12:2f.: I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you . . .
>
> 17:2, 6, 8: I will make my covenant between me and you, and will multiply you exceedingly. . . . I will make you exceedingly fruitful, . . . and I will give to you, and to your seed after you, all the land of Canaan . . .
>
> 22:16ff.: Because you have done this . . . I will indeed bless you, and I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is on the

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[10]There is, strangely, virtually no discussion of Adam in Sanders' massive book—a lacuna which our argument makes all the more peculiar.

[11]The Targumim and the Rabbinic literature will, we believe, bear out our contentions about the Jewish background, though space forbids what would inevitably be a lengthy discussion of the material and the difficult questions of its date and relevance to the NT.

[12]*Genesis Rabbah* 14:6.

[13]Unaccountably ignored by all commentators I have consulted, with the sole exception of U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961-64) 2. 124f.

seashore . . . and by you shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves, because you have obeyed my voice.

26:3f.: (The Lord said to Isaac) I will be with you, and will bless you; for to you and to your seed I will give all these lands, and I will fulfill the oath which I swore to Abraham your father. I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and will give to your seed all these lands: and by your seed all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves . . .

26:24: Fear not, for I am with you and will bless you and multiply your descendants for my servant Abraham's sake.

28:3: (Isaac blessed Jacob and said) God Almightly bless you and make you fruitful and multiply you, that you may become a company of peoples. May he give you the blessing of Abraham to you and to your seed with you, that you may take possession of the land of your sojournings which God gave to Abraham.

35:11f.: And God said to (Jacob) "I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall come from you . . . the land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac I will give to you, and I will give the land to your descendants after you.

47:27: Thus Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt . . . and they gained possessions in it, and were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly.

48:3f.: Jacob said to Joseph, "God Almighty appeared to me . . . and said to me 'Behold, I will make you fruitful, and multiply you, . . . and I will give you this land, to your seed after you . . .

Thus at key points in the narrative[14]—Abraham's call, his circumcision, the offering of Isaac, the transitions from Abraham to Isaac and from Isaac to Jacob, and in the sojourn in Egypt, the narrative quietly makes the point that Abraham and his family inherit, in a measure, the role of Adam and Eve. The differences are not, however, insignificant. Except for 35:11f., echoed in 48:3f.,[15] the command ("be fruitful . . .") has turned into a promise ("I will make you fruitful . . ."). The word "exceedingly" is added in ch. 17. And, most importantly, possession of the land of Canaan, and supremacy over enemies, has taken the place of that dominion over nature given in 1:28. We could sum up this aspect of Genesis by saying: Abraham's children are God's true humanity, and their homeland is the new Eden. These themes recur, in various ways, throughout the Pentateuch.[16] There are also echoes in several significant passages in the other divisions of the Hebrew Bible. The restoration of Israel after her punishment will be like a new creation, with the people once again being fruitful and multiplying in the land (Jer 3:16; 23:3; Ezek 36:11; Zech 10:8). The future glory of the land itself is described in language appropriate to the paradise of Eden.[17] None of these passages allows us to say that the only significance of

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[14]Cf. too 9:1, 7; 16:10.

[15]Which would seem to put Jacob on a level with Adam (1:26ff.) and Noah (9:1-7).

[16]Exod 1:7; 32:13; Lev 26:9; Deut 1:10f.; 7:13f.; 8:1; 28:63; 30:5, 16. Note also the theme of the "subjugation" of the land (e.g. Num 32:22), recalling the subjugation of the world to Adam in Gen 1:28.

[17]E.g. Isa 11:1ff.; 45:8; etc.; see Scroggs, 54f.; A. T. Lincoln *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special*

the allusion is the heaping up of grand ideas about the future of God's people. The underlying point, time after time, is that Israel, the family of Abraham, is God's true humanity. Her land is God's land. Her enemies are God's enemies, and they will be subject to her in the same way that the beasts were subject to Adam.

It is within this context that we should understand those passages in the OT which make similar claims about Israel's King (Ps 72:8; 110:2; Isa 11:1ff.; etc.: compare too Ps 8:4f.; 68:28-30; 80:15 [MT], 17).[18]

This whole complex of themes comes into sharp focus in the time of crisis between the exile and the start of the Christian era. Attention has been drawn often enough to the (highly polemical) restatement of Israel's role as God's true humanity in Daniel 7.[19] The righteous remnant is seen as the true Adam, given sovereignty over the "beasts" that are oppressing God's people. It may be that here, as also in Ps 8:4, there are royal characteristics in the picture of the "son of man": if so, it seems to me more likely that these have been "democratized," as in Isa 55:3ff., that the "royal" meaning is primary.[20] Those plans and promises which the King had inherited are now, in the kingless state of God's people, transferred to the righteous remnant. It should be noted again that the inclusion of "Adamic" characteristics in the whole picture is not the result of mere speculation, an attempt to construct a neat scheme in which the last time will correspond to the first. It is a strong statement of nationalist theology. The Lord of the world is the God of Israel: and his righteous people will soon be in their rightful place, ruling over the nations as God's vice-gerent. The two doctrines of monotheism and election, taken together, apparently have as their corollary the characteristic hope of apocalyptic eschatology. Israel's God will act in history to vindicate his own name by installing his people at his right hand, ruling over the nations of the world.

It should not be difficult to show how intertestamental Judaism continued and developed this picture—though the point may be regarded as controversial in some quarters. It is not for the sake of speculation about the future of "man in general" that Adam is mentioned, though Scroggs (for example) often writes as though that were the case.[21] The reference is always, rather, to the claim: Israel is God's true humanity. Thus Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, align Israel with Adam, and the Gentiles with the beasts over whom Adam rules. 1 Enoch regards Israel as Adam's true

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Reference to his Eschatology (SNTSMS 43; Cambridge: University Press, 1981) 48ff.; and especially N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (C. H. Dodd Festschrift; ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: University Press, 1964) 422-43.

[18]See H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM, 1974) 159-65; Scroggs, 14f. The connections in Jewish tradition between Abraham and David (see R. E. Clements, *Abraham and David: Genesis XV and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition* [London: SCM, 1967]) go hand in hand with similar links between David and Adam himself (see Scroggs, 14, and recently E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ: The Christian Experience in the Modern World* London: SCM, 1980 172f).

[19]See e.g. M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (London: SPCK, 1967) 71ff.; recently, A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979) 122ff.

[20]See A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (London, 1955) 74-76; J. A. Emerton, "Son of Man," *JTS* 9 (1958) 225-42: C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977) 26.

[21]E.g. pp. 29, 55: he sees the point we are making on e.g. pp. 27, 31, but does not develop it as we have here. So too Ziesler (above, n. 2) regards the material as though its basic concern were with "man-in-general."

heir.[22] The Wisdom of Solomon asserts that the righteous will be restored to God's intended place for them as lords of creation.[23] The later writings 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch witness to the same theological position: Israel will be given the rights of Adam's true heir.[24] The pre-existence of Adam in Ben-Sira (49:16) parallels that of the great kings David, Hezekiah and Josiah earlier in the chapter. And in the well-known references from Qumran (1QS 4.23, CD 3.20, 1QH 17.15), as well as those not so frequently cited (e.g. 1Q Lit Pr. 2.3-6, 4Q pPs37 3.1f.[25]), the reference to Adam is one of the many ways in which the sect claims for itself the status of being God's true Israel, those who are to be seen as his true humanity. The passages in which the giving of the law is made parallel to the creation of humanity (e.g. Ben-Sira 17:1-4) demonstrate the same point: for the law, particularly in the troubled period between 200 B.C. and 150 A.D., was regarded not merely as a general code of ethics, but as the charter of Israel's national life.[26] As the tension between covenant promises and political reality became more and more acute, the visionaries who bequeathed Israel the apocalyptic writings used the idea of Adam and his glory to assert the centrality of Israel within the divine purposes.[27] That later Rabbinic thinkers made the same connection is clear enough from the evidence compiled by Scroggs.[28] Claims, for instance, about Adam being created in the spot where the temple was to be built are not to be seen merely as speculations about the first man, but as legitimations of Israel.[29] The rabbis may well not be "interested in making Adam into a savior figure who has a personal involvement in the acts or results of the eschatological events."[30] They do not need such a figure. For them, Adam has become embodied already in Israel, the people of the Torah, and in her future hope.[31]

This material (as opposed to this summary of it, which has been deliberately pared down to a minimum) provides plenty of evidence for the central claims of our first section. Adam speculation is to be correlated with the many other claims about God's purposes for Israel and her Torah which the same body of literature advances. As has recently been well argued in another context, the national hope is primary. Messianic expectations, where they occur, are best understood as a function of the fervent

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[22]Jubilees 2:23; 3:30f.; 15:27; 16:26; 19:23-31; 22:11-13; T Lev 18:10; 1 Enoch 90:19, 30, 37ff.

[23]Wisd Sol 2:23f.; 3:8.

[24]E.g. 4 Ezra 3:4-36; 6:53-59; 9:17ff.; 2 Baruch 14:17-19: see Hooker (as n. 19) pp. 49-56: J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen. 1.26 f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) 31ff.

[25]In 1Q LitPr 2.3-6 Israel takes the place of the "seed of Man." In the *pesher* on Psalm 37, the phrase "the glory of Adam" is clear in the Hebrew given in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan*, vol. 5 (ed. J. M. Allegro; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 44, 171, despite Vermes' placing of the phrase "and to whom all the glory" in a bracket (G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [2d ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975] 244).

[26]See Jervell (above, n. 24) 34ff.

[27]There is no space here to enter into the details of debate about the origin, nature and aims of "apocalyptic" in general. I am convinced, however, that until the centrality of Israel's national hope within this "movement"—if it can be called that at all—is recognized, the material will not be in focus.

[28]E.g. pp. 40-46; Jervell, 78ff., 91f.; Hooker, 73f.

[29]Scroggs, 51.

[30]Scroggs, 58.

[31]See too, in addition to the references listed by Scroggs, Jervell and Hooker, *Genesis Rabbah* 12.9, 14.6 (quoted above), and 15.4 (Adam created for the sake of Abraham).

expectations of the covenant people. Thus a Messiah, if one is envisaged, draws on to himself the hope and destiny of the people itself. He, like the nation, is called the son of God.[32] There is a fluctuation between the king and his people, seen for instance in the Davidic overtones of the Abraham stories, in the solidarity expressed in e.g. 2 Sam 5:1-3; 19:41-20:2, and the transference of royal promises to the people at large (Isaiah 55). In subsequent writings, we find such promises again referred to the whole nation (cf. Jub 1:24) or to the righteous remnant 4QFlor 1.18f., 1QS 8.4-10).

If it is true that post-biblical Jewish theology applied to Israel the attributes of true humanity, another much-discussed theme finds a secure place within the same overall pattern. Whatever may have happened to the idea of "wisdom" in later thought, the writers who, between the testaments, developed those traditions which we find embodied in the earlier chapters of Proverbs did so in a particular direction. Already in the early material "wisdom" is seen as God's vicegerent in creation (Prov 8:22-31). In obedience to God, wisdom is set over the created order, and thus becomes the pattern for a truly human existence, corresponding to the place intended for Adam.[33] That, indeed, is the underlying logic of Proverbs 1-9. In the Wisdom of Solomon and Ben-Sira these ideas are developed in a particular direction, already latent in the OT. Since those who fear the Lord, who walk in his ways, are the children of Israel who observe Torah, wisdom becomes closely identified with Torah itself (e.g. Ben-Sira 17:11; 19:20; 24:1-34; 38:34; 39:1-11; Baruch 3:9-4:4): together they form the charter for Israel's national life *precisely as* the way of life of God's true humanity. On the one hand this means that to follow Torah is to be in tune with the world. This is the aspect stressed by Hengel in his fine treatment of the subject (loc. cit.). On the other hand—and this is the important point in the context of this paper—the identification of wisdom and Torah means, yet again, that the world is made for the sake of Israel, and that Israel is taking on the role marked out for Adam. Finally, this idealized wisdom becomes the possession, in particular, of David's heir, Solomon. By identifying him with the wisdom tradition (1 Kings 3:4-15; 4:29-34; Prov 1:1, etc., and Wisd. Sol. 9 et passim) the royal claim to be the true Israelite and hence the true Man is further enhanced.

III

It may now be suggested that this complex of Jewish thought provides a clearer way in to Pauline Christology than has hitherto been recognized. We will discover that Paul is to be understood against this background not merely at one or two isolated points but all along the line. Not that he agreed with the conclusions of Ben-Sira or 4 Ezra. He forcibly rejected them. To propose a Jewish background for his thoughts does not mean that Paul had no critique of Judaism. We suggest, however, that the reasons for his rejection of the traditional conclusions about God's purposes for Israel were not that he had acquired different categories of thought altogether, but that a new factor, arising from within the traditional matrix of Jewish ideas, had occasioned a revolution in his understanding. To put it simply: the role traditionally assigned to Israel had devolved on to Jesus Christ. Paul now regarded him, not Israel, as God's true humanity.

It will not be possible in this paper to deal with the full range of issues raised by the presence of Adam in Paul's writings. We cannot, in particular, discuss the relation of Adam to universal sin, and hence certain key passages, i.e. Rom 1:18ff.; 3:23; 5:12; and

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[32]For the relation of national and Messianic hopes, see A. E. Harvey, *Jesus and the Constraints of History: The Bampton Lectures, 1980* (London: Duckworth, 1982) 76-78. On the link of royal and national titles see H. C. Kee (above, n. 1) pp. 237ff.

[33]See M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (London: SCM, 1974) 1. 157.

7:7ff., cannot be handled here. We may simply notice that Paul argues, there and elsewhere, that Israel too is "in Adam," and that Israel therefore cannot simply be affirmed, or her national aspirations underwritten, without more ado. By shifting Israel's eschatological role on to Jesus Christ himself Paul has thus made room, we suggest, for a more radical treatment of the problem of evil than was possible for, say, the author of 4 Ezra. In the present paper, however, we will focus not on the problem of evil, but on the question of Christology.

We may therefore proceed to examine the relevant passages, armed with the possibility that when Paul aligns Christ in some way with Adam the role he is thereby assigning to the former is that which, *mutatis mutandis*, his Jewish contemporaries would give to Israel, or perhaps to Israel's anointed king. In looking at passages which have been the subject of whole monographs it will, of course, be necessary to restrict the detailed argument to the minimum necessary to bring out this line of thought.

(a) *1 Cor 15:20-57*

Paul's lengthy discussion of the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15 contains two of the three passages where he explicitly aligns Adam and Christ. Whoever precisely his envisaged opponents in this chapter may have been,[34] the intention of the section as a whole should be clear. Paul is explaining the nature of the future resurrection, in order to help the Corinthians to believe in it.

Within this context the first passage (15:20-28) explains that the resurrection is a two-stage process. Christ is the "first-fruits," and those who belong to him will be raised when he returns. The overall point of this, within the chapter as a whole, is that the resurrection of believers is a still future event, which will complete and make sense of the present state of the church. In order to make this clear, Paul sets out what is fundamentally a Jewish apocalyptic scheme, though with one drastic modification. The resurrection, instead of being a single event at the end of time, has broken into history already in the single instance of Jesus Christ. This was necessary because, according to scripture, the Christ must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet (Ps 110:1, quoted in v. 25). This means that there must be an interval, a space of time, between the event of his enthronement and the final completion of the task. That is the point Paul is making. The fact of Christ's resurrection does not mean that there is no more resurrection to come. On the contrary, properly understood against its apocalyptic background it actually entails the future resurrection of believers.

Within this apocalyptic framework, the role played by Christ is to be understood in four complementary ways. He stands in parallel to Adam (vv. 21-22). He is the first-fruits, *representing* those who are "his" (vv. 20, 23). He is the Messiah (v. 25: Psalm 110 is clearly Messianic, or at least is clearly so used at this stage of Jewish understanding). He is the one who takes the role of Man, or the son of man, in Psalm 8 (v. 27). When we put this complex of ideas side by side against the background of apocalyptic expectation outlined above (as the overall context of this passge fully justifies us in doing), the result is clear. Jesus, according to Paul, is the one upon whom has now devolved the vocation of Israel. He undertakes this role precisely as Israel's representative Messiah (*hoi tou Christou* in v. 23 is a good indication of this.[35] Paul's Adam-Christology is basically an

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[34]In addition to the commentaries, see especially A. C. Thiselton, "Realized Eschatology at Corinth," *NTS* 24 (1978) 510-25; A. T. Lincoln (above, n. 17) pp. 33ff.

[35]Compare the use of the genitive in e.g. Rom 8:17; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:23; 2 Cor 10:7 (twice); Gal 3:29; 5:24; see W. G. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God* (London: SCM, 1966) 137f.

Israel-Christology: Jesus, as Messiah, is the true Man, through whom God is now ruling the world as he always intended (vv. 25-28).[36]

Having established this point, and reinforced it with a more personal appeal (vv. 29-34), Paul turns to the question of the nature of the resurrection body itself, and this occupies him from v. 35 right through until v. 57, leaving only v. 58 to conclude the chapter with a general exhortation. Here again it is important, in approaching the "Adam" passage (vv. 42-49), to bear in mind the clear line of thought in the section as a whole. Paul's point, building on his previous statement of the futurity of the general resurrection, is that believers need a new *sort* of body, and that God can and will give this to them. This is clear from the analogy of the seed (vv. 36-38), which is expanded into a general statement about the different sorts of bodies in the created order (vv. 39-41), and the purpose of vv. 42-49 in this context is therefore (not to give Christological statements for their own sake, but) to apply the point specifically to the future resurrection body which believers will be given. Vv. 50-57 then sum up the argument (*touto de phemi*, v. 50), again claiming that the present mortal body is not appropriate for the life of the future kingdom of God, and showing how this problem will be resolved in the final *dénouement*. Vv. 54-57 thus correspond, in the second half of the chapter, to v. 28 in the first half.

It is thus perfectly true that the overall thrust of the passage is anthropological, i.e. that Paul is discussing the nature of humanity in its present and future conditions. This actually points the way through some of the notorious difficulties that surround vv. 45-47 in particular.

One of the first problems we meet is the nature of Paul's writing at this point. It is customary to treat vv. 42-49 as an *argument*, and then to express perplexity at how in fact this argument works. But there are good reasons for questioning this view of the passage. For one thing, Paul's regular logical connectives (*gar*, *oun* and *ara* in particular) are noticeably absent from the whole passage.[37] For another, the style of vv. 35-41 (in common with much of the earlier part of the chapter) is not argumentative, but simply assertive. Paul does not need to argue these points, which are quite acceptable to his hearers. As the same kind of writing continues from v. 42 down to v. 44a, we are thoroughly justified in treating this section in the same way. Paul is simply claiming: as in the world of plants, so in the world of human existence. (Vv. 39-41 are really a parenthesis: v. 42 looks back to the image of sowing in vv. 36-38.) His statements are not a logical proof but an explanation. He is saying "if you understand the matter like this, you will see what the future resurrection will be like." This, as we will see, considerably simplifies the interpretation of vv. 44-45.

Before we come to that controversial passage, though, it will be as well to look at what follows it, in order to get as many bearings on it as we can. Remembering that the whole thrust of the passage is anthropological, not Christological, it is startling to realize that, without v. 45, no one would ever have thought of reading v. 46 as anything other than a continuation of the line of thought in vv. 42-44. V. 45 appears to intrude almost as an aside. Paul's thought runs straight on:

> 44. It is sown a *psychikos* body, it is raised a *pneumatikos* body. If there is a *psychikos* body, there is also a *pneumatikos* body.

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[36]See M. D. Hooker, *Pauline Pieces* (London: Epworth Press, 1979; published in North America under the title *A Preface to Paul*) 40.

[37]Indeed, they are absent from vv. 35-49 entirely, with the exception of the *gar* in v. 41b—which is not in fact part of the main line of thought, but merely an elucidation of part of v. 41a.

46. But it is not the *pneumatikos* that is first, but the *psychikos*, then the *pneumatikos*.

V. 46, in other words, is perhaps not discussing at all the question of two mythological men, and speculating on thier proper chronological sequence. It is simply pointing out, in line with the passage as a whole, that the physical precedes the spiritual as the seed precedes the plant. In this light it may be suggested that v. 47 too should be read in the same way, with *anthrōpos* simply meaning "humanity": "The first sort of humanity is from the earth, the second is a gift from heaven" (picking up v. 38, "God gives it a body," with a typical reverential substitution of "heaven" for "God").[38] If this understanding is correct, Adam and Christ as individuals are not the main subjects of discussion, but a buttress to the anthropological assertions of vv. 42-44, 46-47. Nor, indeed, are they merely illustrations of the two types of human existence. Paul does not suppose that believers are going to become, like Christ, life-giving spirits: in that respect Christ is unique. He is, rather, the source of the new spiritual/bodily life promised to his people.[39] The sense in which he is the prototype for resurrection existence is not brought out until the conclusion in vv. 48-49, where again the point being made is not Christological but anthropological. Earthly humanity is like Adam's body, heavenly humanity like Christ's resurrection body, and believers, who presently share the one, will[40] at the last share the other.[41]

This understanding of the passage removes from v. 45 much of the weight which has often been heaped upon it, and which it has frequently been unable to bear. It also sets up the context within which the compressed statement about Christ can be understood, and can contribute to our overall picture of Paul's Adam-Christology. There are four points which need to be made.

First, there is no need to advance complex hypotheses about gnostic or Philonic mythology in order to explain Paul's language here.[42] The passage is quite comprehensible in terms of the aim and nature of Paul's discourse as a whole, showing the reasonableness of belief in the future resurrection, granted the nature of the created order (as in vv. 36-41) and the fact of Jesus' resurrection itself. All that is being emphasized in the contrast of the two forms of human existence in vv. 46-49 is the anthropological point.

Nor is there any need (second) to suppose that Paul is regarding his additions to Gen 2:7 in v. 45 as somehow themselves authoritative.[43] Neither the second clause ("the last Adam became a life-giving spirit") nor the interpolations ("first" and "Adam") in the first clause are anything more than explanatory. The force of the verse is to say: "this

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[38]See Lincoln, 45, for a similar argument.

[39]It is a mistake (though a common one) to see the *sōma pneumatikon* here in totally non-physical terms: see W. L. Craig, "The Bodily Resurrection of Jesus," in *Gospel Perspectives* (ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham; Sheffield: JSOT Press) 1. 47-74.

[40]Reading, with most scholars, the indicative rather than the imperative.

[41]The fact that "image" in this verse awakens overtones of Gen 1:26f., and of such other Pauline passages as Rom 8:29 and 2 Cor 4:4, is not of much further significance for the exegesis of the passage as a whole.

[42]See the discussions in Lincoln, 44f.; Dunn, *Christology*, 123f.; A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Philo's 'Heavenly Man,'" *NovT* 15 (1973) 301-26, and Wedderburn's unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis (1974) "Adam and Christ: An Investigation into the Background of 1 Corinthians XV and Romans V.12-21."

[43]Contra e.g. Lincoln, 42; J. D. G. Dunn, "1 Corinthians 15.45--Last Adam, Life-Giving Spirit," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (Moule Festschrift; ed. B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley; Cambridge: University Press, 1973) 127-41, here at p. 130.

view of two-stage humanity, *psychikos* and *pneumatikos*, coheres with the statement of scripture[44] that 'man became a living *psychē*': that was the first man, Adam, and his humanity was not the end of the story. There is now a new Adam, and *he* has become a life-giving spirit." In other words, we are once more faced not with an argument, but with a complex *assertion*. (The same is true in v. 44b, "if there is a 'psychic' body, there is also a 'pneumatic' one." This is not an argument ending with Q.E.D., but a claim, based on two things: (a) the analogy of the seed in vv. 36-38 and (b) the fact of Christ's resurrection, to which Paul then explicitly refers in v. 45).

Third, there is the problem of the meaning of the implied *egeneto* in the second half of the verse ("the last Adam *became* a life-giving spirit"). Recent studies have tended to suggest that, according to this passage, Christ became "Last Adam" for the first time at his resurrection. But this is not warranted by the passage. (a) The parallel with v. 45a, in which the first Adam *becomes* a "living *psychē*" when God breathes into his nostrils the breath of life, suggests that Christ, *already* the last Adam, *becomes* life-giving spirit at the resurrection. This parallel is made all the clearer in the light of Ezek 37:9-14. (b) The grammar of the verse itself suggests that, while Christ does indeed "become" something fresh in his resurrection, the phrase "Last Adam" is not the description of what he became, but of that which he already was and continued to be. Paul does not write "Christ became the Last Adam, a life-giving spirit," but "the Last Adam became a life-giving spirit."[45] It is the latter phrase, not the former, that indicates the new status (if that is the right word) upon which Christ, the Last Adam, has entered at his resurrection. (c) As we will see from Romans 5 and Philippians 2, an important part of Paul's Adam-Christology is the fact that Christ was obedient unto death. He is therefore already to be regarded as the Last Adam, the true Man, in his earthly life. The possible objection to this, that until his death he was simply part of the first Adam (so to speak),[46] will be dealt with later. It is difficult to see how, without quite different issues intruding into the discussion here, the verse could be read in any other way.

Fourthly, we may enquire as to the basis upon which Paul makes this bold assertion. In his article on the verse, Dunn suggests that early charismatic experience—experience of Jesus *as* life-giving spirit within the community—formed the foundation of the idea, in two ways. First, "the nature of the believing community's experience of Spirit enables Paul to affirm that Jesus has become *pneuma zōopoioun*, and therefore also *sōma pneumatikon*"—this, answering the question as to how the exalted Jesus is known to possess a spiritual body. Second, this same communal experience of Jesus as life-giving spirit "is what enables Paul to affirm the representative significance of Jesus' resurrection and resurrection body."[47] But there are problems with this explanation of the logic of the phrase in terms simply of charismatic experience. For a start, while experiencing the Spirit *as* Christ (in Dunn's languge, p. 141) may indeed enable Paul to assert that it is Christ himself who has now become their life-giving spirit, his step from this point to Christ's *sōma pneumatikon* is not only not stated, it would not be obvious to the opponents whom Paul is seeking to controvert. If they were, as Dunn maintains,

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[44] *houtōs kai gegraptai* need not mean "as is proved by . . . ," but simply "whence also it follows that . . .": for this meaning of *houtōs* see Arndt and Gingrich, art. *houtos*, lb. The *kai* especially supports this. It is not the case (contra e.g. Dunn, art. cit., p. 130) that the whole verse must be regarded as being, for Paul, a scriptural quotation.

[45] Dunn, art. cit., p. 140 (so too his *Christology*, 108), equivocates by paraphrasing "As the first Adam *came into existence (egeneto) at creation* . . ." (my italics). The *egeneto* of John 1:14, cited by Dunn as a parallel (p. 139) could scarcely be taken in this wary.

[46] So Dunn, loc. cit.; and *Christology* 105ff.

[47] Dunn, art. cit., pp. 134, 135.

gnostics, it would be just such a step that they would be unwilling to make. More important is the positive point, that Paul's belief in Jesus' resurrection did not depend on the experience of Jesus as Spirit, but went back to his vision on the road to Damascus (see 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8; etc., which are not to be reduced to inner or "pneumatic" experiences only). Paul believed Jesus to be alive as *sōma pneumatikon* because he had seen him with his own eyes. That is foundational to the whole chapter.

This vision, with the new awareness of who Jesus was that resulted from it, provides a better basis for his identification with, or representation of, his people than that offered by Dunn. As in 15:20-28, where it is *en tō Christō* that all shall be "made alive," so here; Christ is the representative of his people because he stands for Israel, the people of God, the true humanity. The Adam-Christology which we discovered in 1 Cor 15:20-28, in short, helps us to make sense of 1 Cor 15:45. As Last Adam, the representative of the people of God in their eschatological task and role, Christ completes his work of obedience on the cross (see below) and, being raised up after death, enters upon a new mode of human existence, becoming in one sense the pattern and in another sense the life-giving source for the future resurrection life of those who belong to him. The best background for understanding the Adam-Christology of 1 Corinthians 15 turns out to be that Jewish eschatology we sketched earlier. The Last Adam is the eschatological Israel, and in Pharisaism that future hope was bound up with the resurrection. Paul's claim is that Jesus, as Messiah, is the realization of Israel's hope, the focal point and source of life for the people of God.

(b) *Rom 5:12-21*

1 Corinthians 15 was not, of course, designed to give a complete picture of Paul's Adam-Christology. Any such construct will have to take into account the other significant passages as well. And Rom 5:12-21, while underscoring several of the points made above, brings other important aspects into prominence. In particular, the passage shows (as does Philippians 2, which we shall discuss below) that Paul has not simply taken over the Jewish ideas of the eschatological humanity as they stood, but has modified them in the light of the gospel.

Perhaps the most important point about the whole section is the significance of *dia touto* at the start of 5:12. The most natural way to read this is at its face value, meaning "for this reason," "so it comes about that."[48] Paul invites his readers to stand back and see the result of the argument so far. Whether or not we admit implicit reference to Adam in 1:18ff. and 3:23 (I would be happy with both, but my argument does not depend on this) it is beyond dispute that the argument of 1:18-4:25 as a whole has shown the plight of humanity and the salvation achieved by God in and through Jesus Christ. It is clearly this that Paul is summing up in 5:12-21, by the multiple series of "as . . . so . . ." contrasts in 5:12, 18-21 (assuming that 5:12a contains the first half of an incomplete contrast, restated in v. 18). The force of this point becomes apparent if we understand the preceding argument in the following way.[49] The gospel of Jesus Christ (1:3f.) reveals the righteousness of God, i.e. (in its OT and intertestamental sense, *pace* Käsemann, Stuhlmacher and Müller) his faithfulness to his covenant promises to Abraham, his impar-

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[48] Against e.g. Scroggs, 77; for recent discussion see U. Wilckens, *Die Brief an die Römer* (EKK 6; Cologne: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978) 1. 314f.

[49] Space forbids the detailed treatment this really requires. I have argued the position fully in the second chapter of my unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis (1980) "The Messiah and the People of God: A Study in Pauline Theology with Special Reference to the Argument of the Epistle to the Romans."

tiality, his proper dealing with sin and his helping of the helpless.[50] Ch. 4 is not simply an example of Christian faith before Christ, nor a mere proof from scripture of the abstract doctrine of justification by faith. Abraham, as in the OT and intertestamental literature, is the father of the people of God. Paul's innovation in the light of the cross and resurrection is that he argues from the covenant passages themselves (Genesis 15 and 17) that this people of God must be (a) worldwide and therefore (b) characterized by Christ-shaped faith, not by race, circumcision or Torah. God's answer to the sin of humanity (of Adam, if we admit the reference in 1:18ff. and 3:23) is the people of Abraham, and Paul has shown that Abraham's true people are those redeemed in Christ. 5:1-11 then provides an advance summary of the point which is made in various ways throughout chs. 6-8.[51] The privileges of Israel, particularly those of the fulfillment of the law and of being children of God, have been transferred to Christ and thence to those who are "in Christ." 5:12-21 stands in relation to 1:18-5:11 and chs. 6-8 as the link which holds the two parts together. Summing up the first, it provides the basis for the second.

The result of this for our present investigation is clearly that Paul's use of Adam, and his setting of Christ in antithesis with him, falls exactly in line with the Jewish background we have explored. The people of Abraham are the true humanity: and Paul declares that Abraham's people are Christ's people. Unlike 1 Corinthians 15, therefore, 5:12-21 has the force of a Q.E.D. This general point is further reinforced if we allow for covert reference to Adam in 7:7ff. and in 8:19-25. The former passage is indubitably based on 5:20 and (arguably) deals, on one level at least, with the Torah and its effects on Israel. The latter passage shows, much as in 1 Cor 15:20ff., how the restoration of humanity through death and resurrection will be the occasion for the renewal of creation. God's intended order will at last be realized: obedient humanity will rule over a restored world. Christ, and his people, form the true humanity which Israel was called to be but, by the law alone, could not be.

Paul has not, however, simply substituted Christ (and his people) for the nation of Israel in current Jewish expectation. The resurrection of Jesus, bursting upon Paul's consciousness on the road to Damascus, did not merely mean that Jesus would now take the place in his thinking formerly occupied by Israel (and perhaps by the Messiah, though we do not need to suppose this for the hypothesis to work). The resurrection of the one who had been crucified showed Paul that the scheme of thought itself needed reevaluating. That, we suggest, is the reason why he must add the qualifying statements of 5:15-17 before he can proceed with the unfinished sentence of v. 12 (vv. 13-14 are of course a parenthesis on a different topic). If v. 15 emphasizes the difference between Adam and Christ as a contrast between the trespass of a human being and the gift of God, with all that the latter implies of a new, sovereign, creative act, that sets the scene for v. 16. The crucial phrase is *ek pollōn paraptōmatōn*. Christ did not begin where Adam began. He had to begin where Adam ended—with the entail of sin, working its way out to judgment, the judgment spoken of in 1:32; 2:1-16; and 3:19-20. The task of the second Adam was not, then, merely to replace the first Adam. It is one of Paul's chief points in Romans—especially in chs. 2, 3, 7 and 9—that Israel too is "in Adam," and that the law does not help her out of this plight but merely exacerbates it (2:17-3:20; 5:20; 7:7ff.). The re-evaluation of his basic theological scheme which Paul was compelled to make meant a new understanding of the task to which the true Israel, God's true Man, was called. He had not merely to replace Adamic humanity with true humanity. He had to deal with the "many trespasses," and the consequent judgment, which had resulted from

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[50] Op. cit., 57-65; see the brief statement in G. B. Caird's review of E. P. Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* in *JTS* 29 (1978).

[51] See e.g. N. A. Dahl, "The Messiahship of Jesus in Paul," in his *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis, 1974) 37-47.

the sin of Adam. Thus there comes about in v. 16 the further contrast of judgment and justification. The work of Christ is not merely to inaugurate a new race of humanity. It is to effect a favorable verdict for those who, left to themselves, would be in the dock unable to find a defense (3:19f.). This reversal has come about because (*gar*, v. 17) whereas Adam's sin allowed death to usurp the reign of man over the world, the work of Jesus Christ has restored "those who receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness" to their proper role as truly human beings. Thus the contrasts between Adam and Christ in vv. 15-17 show that the task of the last Adam was not merely to begin something new, but to deal with the trouble of the old: not merely to give life, but to deal with death.[52] It is at this point that Paul, while certainly starting from the Jewish apocalyptic background in which Israel was to be God's true humanity, has given a new dimension to that picture. The cause of this re-evaluation could only be the realization that God's anointed had died on a cross, not as the result of a horrible accident but as the paradoxical and unexpected revelation of the righteousness of God (3:21-26).

One of the significant results of this for our enquiry is that the point made above in relation to 1 Cor 15:45 is again underlined. It is true that in the resurrection Christ became the prototype, and source of life, for the future resurrection of believers. But his task as Last Adam was not confined to this. His role was that of obedience, not merely *in place of* disobedience but in order to *undo* that disobedience. That is the point made in vv. 18-19, where the "act of righteousness," the "obedience" of the one man Jesus Christ, undoubtedly refers to his long pilgrimage to Calvary.[53] The weakness of the view that sees Christ as Last Adam only in his resurrection is that, in sticking too closely to the Jewish eschatological model (without, perhaps, always realizing it), it fails to provide what Paul achieves: an adequate soteriology. In reacting, not without reason, against a soteriology focused on incarnation, it has offered instead one focused on resurrection. Paul's is centered firmly on the cross.

Final evidence that Paul's Adam-Christology in this passage is based on the Jewish view that saw Israel as the Last Adam is found in vv. 20-21. The place "where sin abounded" (v. 20b) is undoubtedly Israel, the "place" where "the law came in that the trespass might abound." Adam's trespass, active though unobserved until Sinai (vv. 13-14, cf. 7:9a), found fresh opportunity in the arrival of the Torah. Again it could display its true colors as trespass, the flouting of the commands of God. And it was there that grace abounded.[54] The obedient act of Jesus Christ was the act of Israel's representative, doing for Israel what she could not do for herself. Adam's sin and its effects are thus undone, and God's original intention for humanity restored in the Age to Come, which has already begun with the work of Jesus Christ (v. 21).

We may therefore draw two conclusions on the basis of 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5. First, the apocalyptic belief that Israel is the Last Adam is the correct background against which to understand Paul's Adam-Christology. For Paul, Jesus stands in the place of Israel. To him, and to his people, the glory of Adam now belongs in the new Age which has already dawned. But, second, the fact of the cross compelled Paul to rethink the nature of God's plan for his people. Jesus had not driven the Romans out of Palestine. He had died a penal death at their hands. The resurrection forced Paul to regard that death as an act of grace, and hence not as a denial of Israel's role in God's purposes but as the fulfillment of that role and those purposes; which meant that God's plan, and Israel's role, had to be re-evaluated. Jesus, as Last Adam, had revealed God's

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[52] 5:12-21 clearly includes within its summary scope the range of ideas expressed in 3:24-26; 5:6-10.

[53] See below on Philippians 2.

[54] See e.g. C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC ns; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975) 1. 293.

saving plan for the world by enacting it, becoming obedient to death, even the death of the cross. And if we wish to see a fuller outworking of this theme we must turn to Philippians 2.

(c) *Phil 2:5-11*

The parallel between Rom 5:12-21 and Phil 2:5-11 provided by the common theme of Christ's obedience unto death provides sufficient initial justification for postulating a close link in thought between the two passages, but this is by no means the only reason for the contention that the Philippians passage is a further example of Paul's Adam-Christology. Although most scholars are now happy to read it in this way, doubts are still sometimes expressed on the subject, and there is certainly no agreement among those who do see Adam in Paul's mind here as to what conclusions should be drawn from this supposition. While it is clearly impossible here to do more than touch on certain aspects of this controversy-laden passage, we wish to comment on four areas in particular: the certainty of the reference to Adam, and the implications of this for (a) the question of Christ's "pre-existence," (b) the meaning of *harpagmon* in v. 6, and (c) the nature of Christ's obedience. To begin with, though, it must be stressed that our concern here is with the Christology of Paul, not that of his hypothetical predecessors.[55] The close links, both in language and thought, between 2:6-11 and the context in which it now stands[56] show that, whether or not the hymn had a pre-history (and there has always been a significant number of scholars who have questioned this) it now says what Paul wanted it to.[57] This will have certain implications as we proceed.

We begin by suggesting that the passage is indeed to be taken as an expression of Adam-Christology, despite the lack of explicit reference to Adam by name. Not only does Christ's obedience form a link with Romans 5, as already noted. There is also a link with 1 Cor 15:20-28, made by the statement of Christ's exaltation (Phil 2:10f.), especially as the themes of those verses are echoed in Phil 3:20f., where—as in 1 Cor 15:27—reference is made to the exalted position of humanity in Ps 8:7. Again, the theme of exaltation and lordship (2:9f.), with its overtones of Gen 1:27f., confirms a reference to the creation story, or at least to the ideas which developed from it. A more subtle but no less persuasive argument is advanced by G. B. Caird, who suggests (a) that each possible meaning of 2:6 is open to the objection that the idea could have been expressed more simply, (b) that the complexity is probably due to an implied contrast between Christ and someone else, and (c) that of the possible candidates for the contrasting figure only

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[55]We are thus starting out in a very different way from many writers on this passage, particularly J. Murphy-O'Connor in his article "Christological Anthropology in Phil. 2.6-11," *RB* 83 (1976) 25-50; cf. his p. 26. The indispensable work on this passage is still R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians 2.5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (SNTSMS 4; Cambridge: University Press, 1967); see too now O. Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper 2.6-11: Untersuchungen zu Gestalt und Aussage eines urchristlichen Psalms* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1976).

[56]See the evidence presented by M. D. Hooker, "Philippians 2.6-11," in *Jesus und Paulus* (W. G. Kümmel Festschrift; ed. E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975) 151-64, here at p. 152f.; and see further below.

[57]See Hooker, loc. cit.; Kim, 147; G. Johnston, *Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon* (London: Nelson, 1957) 30; G. B. Caird, *Paul's Letters From Prison* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) 100-104, and his "The Development of the Doctrine of Christ in the New Testament," in *Christ For Us Today* (ed. N. Pittenger; London: SCM, 1968) 66-80, here at 66.

Adam will do, and he does very well.[58] When we add to this the close apparent contrast with Adam made at point after point in the hymn (see Martin 163f.), a good *prima facie* case can be made for seeing Adam implicit in the hymn as a whole.

Nor are the possible objections to this view as strong as they are sometimes supposed to be. For a start, the fact that the passage may be pre-Pauline does not mean that it cannot be aligned with Romans 5 and 1 Corinthians 15. Even if there were agreement about the origin of these verses, there can be no doubt that they are well anchored in their present context in Philippians, and that this context—particularly 3:2-21—contains many passages which show that the author of the letter had the material and language of 2:6-11 in his bloodstream.[59] Nor is it the case that finding Adam-Christology in Philippians 2 depends on accepting the *res rapienda* view of *harpagmos* in 2:6 (see below).[60] Dunn has briefly but adequately answered the objection of Vincent and Glasson, that there is no real parallel between the sin of Adam in Genesis 3 and the grasping at equality with God implied in Philippians 2:[61] and the final possible objection, that the contrast would seem to make the true man *become* man, and that it is difficult to see what this might mean, is partly answered by Hooker,[62] and will be further resolved below. We may therefore proceed on the assumption that Phil 2:5-11 is another example of Adam-Christology.

Since, however, this is already quite widely agreed, the real problem is: so what? Three conclusions have at different times and in different ways been held to follow from the presence of Adam-Christology here: the absence of incarnational theology, the *res rapienda* view of *harpagmos*, and a lack of reference to the Isaianic Servant of the Lord. I suggest, however, that none of these conclusions is necessary, and that Adam-Christology in fact (a) actually entails, rather than ruling out, incarnational Christology, (b) strengthens quite a different view of *harpagmos*, and (c) provides a context within which a reference to the Servant of the Lord is quite possible, and may even be held to be likely.

(a) Until recently it was an automatic assumption that in this passage above all others Paul attributed to the one whom he now knew as Jesus of Nazareth, the Lord Christ, an existence prior to his human birth. Moreover, during this existence this figure made a conscious choice, described in the two verbs *ouch hegesato . . . alla ekenosen . . . .* This traditional view has found it easy to read v. 6 as the Pauline equivalent of, say, John 1:1f., and to align it with such other passages as 2 Cor 8:9, in which a similar choice appears to be attributed to the pre-existent Christ, and with passages like 1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:15ff., which have usually been taken to refer to the activity of this same figure in mediating the creation of the world. The majority of scholars this century have agreed that this view of Jesus stems from pre-Christian speculation about a heavenly redeemer figure, though the precise origin of such speculation has remained a matter of considerable debate.

This view has, however, come under strong attack in the last few years, notably from Professor J. D. G. Dunn. I am in complete agreement with many of his conclusions. Others, however, need to be challenged, and our argument so far provides a good base from which to do so. Within the context of this paper, the basic point to be made is that detecting Adam-Christology within the Philippians 2 hymn—indeed, claiming that it forms the basis and heart of the hymn—does not, as Dunn thinks, rule out the idea of Christ's pre-existence, but rather helps to show what Paul meant, and did not mean, by it.

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[58]Caird, *Paul's Letters From Prison*, 120f.

[59]Contra e.g. Scroggs, loc. cit.; see, for instance, the links with 3:2ff. as noted by Bultmann and Käsemann (the latter in his "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2.5-11," printed in his *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* (5th ed.; Göttingen, 1967) 1. 51-95.

[61]Dunn, *Christology*, 311 n. 73. For Glasson see below, n. 85.

[62]Art. cit., 162f.

We thus agree with Dunn completely (a) in his assertion that Adam-Christology is central to the passage; more particularly, (b), in seeing 2:6-8 as setting up a contrast between Christ's obedience and Adam's sin, and 2:9-11 as placing Christ in the role designed for man, namely Lord of the world (in obedience to God). We also find completely convincing his arguments against a gnostic background for the hymn and in favor of Jewish one, and agree totally when he rejects the idea of a pre-existent *man* as the controlling concept in 2:6ff.[63] Dunn's underlying polemic against the incarnational soteriology that he sees as a corollary of the "pre-existence" view of 2:6f. is likewise in order up to a point. It is quite true that an over-emphasis on incarnation, i.e. to the exclusion or at least the downplaying of the cross and resurrection, pulls Pauline theology badly out of shape. But his contention that the fundamental Adam-Christology of the hymn ultimately rules out incarnational theology (in some sense) altogether as the correct interpretation of 2:6f. is subject to certain very damaging objections.

First, we may build on the argument of G. B. Caird that, for the passages to work in its paraenetic context (2:3-5, 12ff.), the point being made must be that, in contrast to Adam's grasping at a status to which he had no right, Christ voluntarily renounced a status to which he had every right.[64] In fact, this is supported not only by the immediate paraenetic context, but also by the further application of the same point in 3:4ff., where Paul describes the glories of his position as a Jew and tells how, for the sake of gaining Christ, he had turned his back on them. The Christological pattern worked out in the doctrine of justification is one of privilege renounced, leading to death and to new life the other side of death (3:7-11). In other words, the undoubted presence of Adam-Christology here does not mean that Adam and Christ *must* be parallel in *every* way, that Christ must have "faced the same archetypal choice that confronted Adam."[65] On the contrary, (a) we have already seen that in fact the task of the second Adam was more than merely succeeding where the first Adam failed; (b) we can now see that the logic of Philippians 2 and 3 requires that Christ and Adam should *not* be set in exact parallel. It is, therefore, not to the point to demonstrate that Adam was not thought of as pre-existence.[66] It is not surprising that Dunn has considerable difficulty in showing *how* in some sense Christ faced the same choice as Adam: the parallel he draws with Rom 7:7ff. proves, if anything, our point, not his, and he never explains why Christ's freely embracing, within his ministry, the fallen lot of humankind should constitute the archetypal choice by which Adam's sin is undone—nor why, if this choice is the all-important moment in the drama of salvation, Paul does not say so more clearly.[67]

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[63]Against e.g. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (2d ed.; London: SCM, 1963) 174ff.

[64]Caird, *Letter From Prison*, 121. The link with the paraenetic context is clearly made by the repetition of the verb *hēgeisthai*; see n. 56 above.

[65]Dunn, *Christology*, 117.

[66]Op. cit., 119.

[67]Op. cit., 120f. Rom 7:7ff., arguably, picks up the thought of 5:13-14, 20, that the arrival of the Torah effects a new stage in Israel's position. Dunn's paragraph from pp. 120-21 is full of problems. He can hardly claim that "to press this question" (i.e. the question of when or in what sense the earthly Jesus faced the same sort of choice as Adam) "is probably . . . to misunderstand what the hymn is trying to do" when he has been arguing very strongly that Adam-Christology is *the* context of meaning within which individual words and ideas must be understood. His alternative ("Quite possibly the author assumed Christ's sinlessness and was in effect trading on its corollary—viz. that he who did not sin need not have died" . . . Christ's "whole life constituted his willing acceptance of the sinner's lot" . . ."every stage of Christ's life and ministry had the character of a fallen lot freely embraced") raises the questions (among others): how could Paul have

In fact, the hymn both in outline and in detail makes, we suggest, much more sense if we see Christ and Adam as contrasted but not in strict parallelism. Christ's obedience is not simply the replacement of Adam's disobedience. It does not involve merely the substitution of one sort of humanity for another, but the solution of the problem now inherent in the first sort, namely, sin. The temptation of Christ was not to snatch at a forbidden equality with God, but to opt out, by clinging on to his rights, of the task allotted to him, that he should undo the results of Adam's snatching.[68] As Lohmeyer pointed out, only of a divine being can it be said that he was *obedient* unto death, since for all other human beings since Adam death comes as a mere necessity. (Murphy-O'Connor's objection to this causes more problems than it solves, since it postulates the sudden appearance of a sinless human being, whose sinlessness was a known fact that became the basis of a good deal of theological speculation, without anyone raising the question as to *how* such total obedience was possible, or what it implied about the person concerned.)[69] And, as Marshall has recently argued, vv. 6-7 are very odd if the person referred to had never been anything other than a human being.[70] The contrast between Christ and Adam, which Dunn is correct to claim as the context within which the terms of the hymn must have their sense determined,[71] is thus made most effectively if Christ is understood to have renounced the rank and privileges to which he had—and continued to have—every right. This can be expressed more exactly when we discuss the meaning of v. 6 (see below). For the moment, we note that the presence of Adam-Christology says nothing of itself against pre-existence. It may actually require it.

Further, we suggest that the logic which underlies the *dio* in v. 9—the turning-point in the hymn—is best understood from the same perspective.[72] The honor given to Christ in vv. 9-11 includes the title *kyrios*, and the adoration which, according to Isa 45:23, belongs to the one God and to him alone. But this is not a mere apotheosis of a hero as a reward for a job well done. It is organically related to what has gone before. Christ's exaltation and divine honor are the public recognition that what was accomplished in his obedience and death was the outworking of the very character of God. The exaltation declares that the cross was the revelation of *divine* love. Again the paraenetic context is important. Though the word *agapē* does not occur in the hymn, the *idea* of this sort of love is precisely that which is being commended in vv. 1-4, where the word occurs twice (cf. too 1:9). Christ's own example is held up for the church to imitate: not that his incarnation, death and exaltation are *merely* exemplary, but they are

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accounted for Jesus' astonishing sinlessness, and why, if this was so important as the foundation of the train of thought, is it mentioned so rarely? What soteriological value is there in the "free embracing of a fallen lot" per se—and what precisely does that phrase mean? And, again, *in what way* were these choices of the human Christ antithetical to Adam's—as they must be for Dunn's whole argument to work?

[68]Cf. above on Rom 5:15ff.

[69]See E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2:5-11* (Heidelberg, 1928) 41; see Murphy-O'Connor, op. cit., 42.

[70]See I. H. Marshall, "Incarnational Christology in the New Testament," *Christ the Lord* (D. Guthrie Festschrift; ed. H. H. Rowdon; Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1982) 1-16, here at p. 6.

[71]Dunn, 119.

[72]Close to us at this point are Caird, *Letters From Prison*, 123, and C. F. D. Moule, "The Manhood of Jesus in the New Testament," in *Christ, Faith and History: Cambridge Studies in Christology* (ed. S. W. Sykes and J. P. Clayton; Cambridge: University Press, 1972) 95-110, here at p. 97. Our argument in this section includes by implication a critique of other proponents of a non-incarnational reading of Philippians 2, e.g. J. A. T. Robinson, *The Human Face of God* (London: SCM, 1973) 162ff.

at least that.[73] There is then no sense of an arbitrary reward in v. 9, nor of an exaltation to a divine rank or nature not already possessed (both before and during his human life). This will again be important in discussing the meaning of *harpagmon*, below.

The third argument[74] against Dunn's contention is also based on the second half of the hymn (2:9-11). Again, Dunn is right to see Adam-Christology here, but wrong in the conclusions he draws from this. Jesus is indeed exalted to the place designed for Man, according to Psalm 8 (and for the Messiah, according to Psalm 110: see the discussion of 1 Corinthians 15 above). But[75] Paul expresses this in language drawn directly and obviously from Isa 45:23, which is not merely taken from a passage whose basic theme is monotheism (see the repeated affirmations of Isa 45:5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22) but is actually the climax of that passage, the fullest statement of the belief that Israel's God, Yahweh, is the only God of all the earth. Whatever value is to be given to *kyrios* in v. 11 —whether, that is, it would be recognized as the equivalent of the Tetragrammaton[76]— this use of Isaiah 45 does incomparably more than merely "add a new dimension to the christological claim."[77] If we are indeed to "attune our twentieth-century ears to the concepts and overtones of the 50s and 60s of the first century AD in the eastern Mediterranean," to "read these texts with a sympathetic sensitivity to the presuppositions of the first readers" (Dunn, 125)—as surely we must—then we can hardly allow ourselves not to notice what would have glaringly obvious to any even moderately educated Jew, let alone a Pharisee of the Pharisees. In Phil 2:10f. Paul credits Jesus with a rank and honor which is not only in one sense appropriate for the true Man, the Lord of the world, but is also the rank and honor explicitly reserved,according to scripture, for Israel's God and him alone.

But if this is so, we can scarcely suppose that Paul did not reflect—indeed, had not already reflected before committing such an enormous claim to writing—on the implications of this identification. And when, within the same passage (specifically, in v. 6) we find what, *prima facie*, appears to be precisely the result of such reflection (Christ's "equality with God"), we are justified in concluding that he had indeed done so. For consider. If the God who will not share his glory with another has now shared it with Jesus (the position asserted in 2:9ff.), then there are only three possible conclusions that can be drawn. Either there are now two Gods. Or Jesus—who up until then had been a man and nothing but a man—has now been totally absorbed into the one God, without (so to speak) remainder. Or there is a sense—requiring fuller investigation and exploration, no doubt—in which Jesus, in being exalted to the rank described in 2:9ff., is receiving no more than that which was always, from before the beginning of time, his by right. As Moule says in his review:

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[73]The objections of Käsemann (art. cit., above no. 59) to an ethical interpretation of the hymn are really objections, on quite non-exegetical grounds, to a soteriology that focuses exclusively on *Imitatio Christi*—which we are certainly not advocating. Käsemann is adequately answered at this point by e.g. Hooker, "Phil. 2.5-11."

[74]I have sketched this argument before in my review of Dunn in *Churchman* 95 (1981) 170.

[75]In Moule's review in *JTS* 33 (1982) 259f. Moule questions whether 2:9-11 can be "squeezed into a purely Adamic pattern." Our argument suggests that, while part of the point of 2:9-11 is that this is the place of the true Man, those verses in fact go beyond anything that could be said of any man other than Christ.

[76]See M. Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (London: SCM, 1976) 77-83; the straightforward equivalence is questioned by e.g. G. Howard, "The Tetragram and the New Testament," *JBL* 96 (1977) 63-83.

[77]Dunn, 118; see too Murphy-O'Connor, art. cit., 47.

> A polytheist can accommodate the apotheosis of a Heracles. Can a monotheist rank Jesus in a transcendent category (very different from that of a translated Moses or Elijah) and still manage not to perceive that this must imply eternal existence?[78]

Now it should be clear that Paul remained a monotheist, and never sold out this position to any sort of hellenistic ditheism or polytheism.[79] It is also clear from dozens of passages that he regarded Jesus Christ as still being Jesus Christ, not absorbed into God the Father. There is obviously the closest of unions between Son and Father, as the last phrase of the hymn indicates: honor to Jesus glorifies the Father. But if Jesus is not one-for-one identical with the Father, and if Paul is still a monotheist, then the assertions of 2:9-11 must mean that Jesus—or, more accurately, the one who *became* Jesus—must have been from all eternity "equal with God" in the sense of being himself fully divine. When, therefore, we find in this same passage a statement which both appears to assert this and on other grounds (see above) *must* mean this if the logic of the passage is to work, we have every reason to conclude that the statement in question—Phil 2:6-7—refers to the choice made by the pre-existent one (whom we now know by his human name, Jesus) to be obedient to the saving purposes of the Father by becoming man and dying on a cross.[80]

At the same time, the whole context of Adam-Christology shows that this incarnation of a pre-existent divine being, and the subsequent glorification to divine splendor of a crucified man, are not in fact incongruous, but on the contrary appropriate. The task of the man who would represent Israel and so save the world is a task which, in OT language, is (however paradoxically) reserved for God himself. The final position of the obedient man—set in glorious authority over the world, in fulfillment of Gen 1:26ff., Ps 8:4ff., and Daniel 7:14—is one which (according to Isaiah 45) is thoroughly appropriate for God himself. And—to look at the question from the other side—the nature of a human being, that is, the fact that humans are made in the image of God, means that becoming human is thoroughly appropriate for one who from the beginning was *en morphē theou*. It may be that, after all, *morphē* here is Paul's way of describing the pre-existent Christ as being, so to speak, a *potential* man. *Eikōn* might have implied (as it has, probably rightly, been taken to imply in Col 1:15; see below) that the one so described was already a man. *Morphē* does not need to carry these implications, and is thus able to indicate the appropriateness of the becoming human of the pre-existent one without implying that this incarnation has already happened.[81]

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[78]Moule (above, n. 75) 262.

[79]Against e.g. H.-J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (London: Lutterworth, 1961) 160ff.

[80]From this perspective it is straightforward to understand 2 Cor 8:9, with almost all scholars, as referring to the choice of the pre-existent one (against Dunn, 121ff.). It is scarcely "manichaean" (Dunn, 122) to contrast the glory of his pre-existence with the whole story of his human life and death: the contrast being made is not between divinity and humanity per se (though such a contrast surely still exists!) but between Christ's pre-existent state and the humble humanity, and its consequence, that he actually took.

[81]See the discussion in Kim (195-200). The objections of C. H. Talbert ("The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2:6-11," *JBL* 86 [1967] 141-53) can be quite easily overcome: to his summary (p. 141 n. 2) it may be answered (a) that kenosis is, as we have seen, not required, (b) that 2 Cor 8:9 provides a good parallel, and (c) that several options are still open to the exegete without his being forced to say that the pre-existent one abandoned his divinity. For his fourth point, see n. 86 below.

(b) Though this discussion therefore encourages us to adopt, precisely within the framework of Paul's Adam-Christology, the traditional view that Phil 2:6f. describes the decision of the pre-existent Christ (to call him that for ease of reference; see below) to become man and die on the cross, this must be filled out by an appropriate understanding of *harpagmos* in v. 6. (It would in some ways have been good to have discussed this point first, but that would be to run the risk of being accused of begging the question.[82]) It has usually been assumed, as I said earlier, that Adam-Christology in Philippians 2 would depend upon, or actually invite, the understanding of *harpagmos* in v. 6 as *res rapienda:* that is to say, if Christ is to be contrasted with Adam, such a contrast must be made by Christ's refusing to snatch at that equality with God at which Adam grasped (and so fell). In other words, the parallel of the two figures would suggest that Paul understood Christ to be refusing to snatch at an equality with God *which he did not already possess:* and this view is often held to be less likely than the other, in which (taking *harpagmos* as *res rapta*), Christ did not count equality with God, which he already possessed, as something to be clung on to.

But this conclusion is by no means required. For a start, we have already seen that the parallel with Adam is not an exact one, since the logic of the balance requires that Christ give up a status to which he is already entitled. On this basis, Caird narrows down the possible meanings of v. 6 to two: Moule's (which we will discuss below), and a more or less traditional *res rapta* solution ("Christ . . . was equal with God, but did not count this a prize to be clutched"),[83] for which he (Caird) expresses a slight preference. It is therefore already clear that the *res rapienda* solution is not merely not required by the presence of Adam-Christology, but may actually be ruled out by it.

But there are objections too to the *res rapta* view. As Moule has pointed out, it is not really *res rapta* that is in view, but *res retinenda*—the meaning, that is, that Christ, already possessing equality with God, chose not to keep hold of this status. But there are two difficulties with this. First, it may be doubted whether *harpagmos* can mean anything of the sort.[84] Second, it seems to result in a scheme of thought whereby Christ actually gives up equality with God itself, not merely the rights and privileges appertaining to that status, to receive it back in his resurrection and/or exaltation: and this rank kenoticism has long been subject to damaging criticism, not least on the grounds that it undermines that very soteriology which the hymn appears to offer (see above). Aware of these problems, some scholars have recently revived a different view, claiming to contain the strong points of both the *res rapienda* and the *res rapta* solutions.[85] In this complex view, Christ is seen as already being in the form of God, which status is interpreted as referring to his pre-existent state. A further stage of exaltation,[86] however

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[82]See Murphy-O'Connor's criticisms of those with whom he disagrees. I have discussed the question of *harpagmos* in more detail in a forthcoming article.

[83]Caird, *Letters From Prison,* 120.

[84]So C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflexions on Philippians 2.5-11," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (F. F. Bruce Festschrift; ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Exeter: Paternoster, 1970) 264-76, here at p. 267; and R. W. Hoover, "The Harpagmos Enigma: A Philological Solution," *HTR* 64 (1971) 95-119.

[85]See Martin, 152f.; J. L. Houlden, *Paul's Letters From Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970) 75. According to T. F. Glasson ("Two notes on the Philippians Hymn [2.6-11]," *NTS* 21 [1974-75] 133-39), this view goes back, via Jaeger, to Lightfoot himself. But Glasson, and for that matter Lightfoot too, do not sufficiently distinguish between the many subtly different nuances that have been suggested by different writers.

[86]Reflected, so it is asserted, in *hyperupsose* (v. 9). Our position, we may note here, allows a full sense to the prefix (though it does not demand it), in that Christ's full exaltation, while not giving him a status of divinity which he did not have before, raises him to the new position of the *human* Lord of the world; see below.

("being on an equality with God") awaited him: and, though it was his by right, he refused to obtain it by grasping, but instead won it by the paradoxical road of obedient suffering and death. Again Adam-Christology is invoked: Adam, too, was in the form of God, but he grasped at equality and fell. But this view in fact collapses back into the *res rapienda* view,[87] with the only difference that it attempts at the same time to salvage the idea of pre-existence (that, presumably, is what Martin *means* when he says that he retains the *res rapta* sense: but this is a most misleading way of putting it). The contrast with Adam, too, is puzzling: was Adam before the fall *en morphē theou* in the same sense that Christ was, according to this reading of Philippians 2? Finally, this view throws the emphasis of the whole hymn in the wrong direction. It highlights Christ's attainment of glory as the fundamental point, and then claims that this glory was won not by snatching but by a passage *per aspera ad astra*. And this looks suspiciously like a mere cunning move, a *reculer pour mieux sauter*, with the *via crucis* being accepted solely because of the personal triumph which would follow. This hardly provides the model of self-abnegation required by the context of 2:3ff.[88]

Dunn and martin, in their different ways, maintain the Adam-Christ parallel by claiming that only the phrase "in the form of God," not the phrase concerning equality with God, applies to the pre-existent Christ. M. D. Hooker, by contrast, maintains the parallel by suggesting that *both* phrases apply to Adam as well as to Christ.[89] On the basis of some Rabbinic traditions, she suggests that Paul saw Adam himself as already possessing equality with God, but failing to realize the fact and, by thinking to grasp for himself what was already his by right, losing it. This keeps Adam and Christ nicely parallel, and avoids making *harpagmos res rapienda*, but does so at a certain cost. It is by no means clear that Paul, or the other NT writers, would have agreed that Adam was "equal with God": it was quite controversial enough to claim that for Jesus himself (John 5:18). Nor is it clear what we then make of the parallel with Christ: is *he* "equal with God" in the same way that Adam was (i.e., on this view, being a perfect human being), and, if so, how does this relate to the talk of his *becoming* man in the second half of v. 7? Hooker's reply to this—that Christ "is truly what Man is meant to be," embodies some important insights, but does not, perhaps, answer the objection itself, that in v. 7 Christ, becoming Man, becomes what, until that moment, he is not. There is no doubt, as we have seen, an *appropriateness* about this "becoming." But it seems clear that not until he is exalted as Lord is Christ fully *all* that (eschatologically speaking) "man is meant to be," and to make this claim about one who is not yet even man at all seems very odd.

The other possibility which appears to remain open has been canvassed recently by C. F. D. Moule and—albeit with various differences—by R. W. Hoover. Moule suggests that v. 6b should be understood to assert that Christ, possessing equality with God, did not understand or construe that equality in terms of grasping or snatching. Instead, he regarded it as meaning self-giving. Moule backs up this contention with impressive parallels and linguistic arguments both for his own case and against the alternatives.[90] Hoover, with a very full array of comparative philological data, concludes that *harpagmon ti hēgeisthai* and similar phrases form idiomatic expressions that fit neither into the *res rapienda, res rapta* or *res retinenda* mould (the last, in particular, is simply impossible, as Moule too has pointed out).[91] Instead, the translation which seems to result from the many parallels is " 'he did not regard being equal with God as something to take

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[87] As Hoover rightly pointed out (art. cit., 101).

[88] Nor, for that matter, by the parallel thought in 3:3ff.; see above.

[89] Hooker, art. cit.

[90] Moule, "Further Reflexions."

[91] Above, n. 84.

advantage of,' or, more idiomatically, 'as something to use for his own advantage.' "[92] The Greek idiom definitely indicates that this equality with God was already possessed by Christ. Though the arguments of Moule and Hoover are not identical, the meanings they propose are very close. Moule, understanding *harpagmon* strictly, according to its ending, as denoting the action of the verb, highlights the second half of the antithesis: instead of regarding this equality as meaning snatching or getting, Christ regarded it as entailing the course of action described in 2:7f. Hoover, with some impressive Hellenistic parallels, takes the word as equivalent to *harpagma*, indicating the result of the action of the verb, and hence as referring to *what could be done with* this equality (i.e. it could be taken advantage of).[93] The result in each case works out to be more or less the same. Christ, being equal with God, did not interpret that equality as meaning that he had the right to self-aggrandizement. The antithesis ("but emptied himself") refers, then, not to the *loss* of equality with God but to the *unexpected interpretation of* that equality. Christ, according to this view, understood his equality with God as constituting a vocation to take on the form of a servant, and to become obedient even to the death of the cross. It will be apparent that this interpretation coheres well with my earlier suggestions about the significance of *dio* in v. 9. In fact, the Adam-Christology we have been studying works as well (if not better) on this view as it does on any other. Christ, possessing equality with God, did not regard this as something to be used for his own advantage. Adam, not possessing it, tried to snatch at it. It may be that, even though the idiom pointed out by Hoover could be clear as it stood, the phrase was doubly appropriate precisely because *harpagmon*, by itself, could bear the meaning of *res rapienda*. For Adam the question was how to regard that equality with God which he did *not* possess. And this imbalance within the contrast reflects that complex picture which we observed in Romans 5. There are some senses in which Adam and Christ are parallel, and some in which they are not. Christ's act is a gift of divine grace, in the context of the "many trespasses" resulting from the sin of the one man Adam. This essentially philological solution of the old *harpagmos* problem coheres very well with our earlier theological argument. The vocation of self-giving to which Jesus was obedient is seen not—precisely not!—as the abandonment of divinity or of equality with God, but as its perfect expression. To think that the cross must have been prefaced by a *kenōsis* of divinity is to rob of its power one of the central NT affirmations about God: that he is love.[94]

(c) The nature of Christ's obedience—in particular, the explanation of *why* the shameful death on the cross was in fact the perfect expression of the love of God—is opened up in a new way if we set the hymn's Adam-Christology, i.e. its complex parallel and contrast between Adam and Christ, against the Jewish background we outlined earlier and the outworking of it in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5. We have suggested that Christ, as Last Adam, takes on the role of Israel in the purposes of God, and (moreover) that the cross, shown by the resurrection to be the crucifixion of the Messiah, forced Paul to re-evaluate the way in which that role should be understood. If Paul's Jewish background contained the idea that Abraham's family was to be the means of solving the problem posed by Adam's sin, the resurrection showed Paul that this purpose had now been accomplished not by the nation as a whole but by one person (since, as is clear from 1 Corinthians 15, the resurrection of Jesus is to be seen as the beginning of the Age to Come). In this light, the cross indicated to Paul that God's purpose had been accomplished not in the way one might have expected (here again the Moule/Hoover solution of Phil 2:6 makes its impact felt) but by the shameful and penal death of the

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[92]Hoover, art. cit., 118.

[93]Ibid.

[94]See the sequence of thought in Rom 5:6-10; 8:31ff. Another possible parallel (Rom 15:3) is discussed by Hoover, 118.

cross. It is within that context, not that of a hunting for miscellaneous proof-texts or mere verbal allusions, that we may suggest that Paul's description of Jesus' self-humiliation and death in vv. 7-8 owes more than a little to the picture of *Israel*, the obedient Servant of the Lord, in Isaiah 40-55.[95]

The strength of this suggestion is clearly in the proposed theological structure. That Jesus, as Last Adam, should take on a role apparently marked out for Israel in the OT fits excellently with the overall understanding we have seen elsewhere. It is well known that Jewish exegesis of Isaiah 53 is hard to pin down when it comes to the precise identity of the Servant of Yahweh.[96] It seems extremely unlikely (here we differ completely from, say, Jeremias) that there was a pre-Christian Jewish belief, based on Isaiah 53, in a coming redeemer who would die for the sins of Israel or the world. On the contrary, it seems far more likely that it was the cross itself, which Paul's Damascus Road vision compelled him to recognize as the paradoxical climax of God's saving plan, that forced him to rethink the *nature* of that plan. And when, in the book of Isaiah which he knew so well,[97] he found a description of Israel which nevertheless fitted remarkably well with the events of Jesus' cross, and which lent to those events a significance in the realm of soteriology, we should not be surprised if he made use, albeit allusively, of this description. Within that context the verbal allusions make their own point (as they do in the parallel passage of Rom 5:12-21).[98] The theological structure we propose shows that Servant-Christology and Adam-Christology belong well together, and cannot be played off against each other. Both, in the last analysis, are *Israel*-Christologies.

Objections have, of course, been raised to the "discovery" of references to Isaiah 53 in Phil 2:5-11. Of these, most are in fact objections not to the view we have suggested, but to the idea that "the Servant" was a well-known title in contemporary Judaism, now applied to Jesus.[99] This view is, however, not only not necessary for my case but actually made less likely by it. The meaning of the cross was not, according to Paul, something for which Judaism was well prepared; quite the contrary.[100] Professor Hooker—herself no enthusiast, to say the least, for discovering references to Isaiah 53 in the NT—states our position well:

> . . . proper question to ask in this case is whether Jesus is understood to be exercising the role which is described in Isaiah 53—not whether he is "identified" with some imaginary figure.[101]

To such a question we return an emphatic affirmative. What Hooker herself says two pages earlier—with reference to Jesus', and Israel's, *sonship*—applies equally well if not

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[95]See the debate in Martin, 211-13; O. Hofius (above, n. 55) pp. 70ff.; and A. Feuillet, *Christologie Paulinienne et Tradition Biblique* (Paris: Desclee De Brouwer, 1972) 92-100.

[96]See e.g. S. R. Driver and A. Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (2 vols.; Oxford and London, 1876-77); W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias in *TDNT* 5. 654ff. It is misleading to say, as is frequently done, that all "servant" passages in the LXX use *pais*, not *doulos*, to translate *ebed*; compare Isa 42:19; 48:20; and 49:3, 5.

[97]See, recently, C. J. A. Hickling, "Paul's Reading of Isaiah," in *Studia Biblica 1978* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; JSNT Suppl Series 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980) 3. 215-23.

[98]See too Rom 4:24f., etc.

[99]As expounded by e.g. J. Jeremias (e.g. above, n. 96).

[100]Cf. 1 Cor 1:23ff., etc. The real scandal is not simply the death of the Messiah but the shameful and penal mode of that death.

[101]Hooker, *Pauline Pieces*, 68, note.

better here: "Israel should have been obedient to God; this obedience has now been fulfilled, so Paul argues, in the person of Jesus Christ."

This understanding of the nature of Christ's obedience shows, again, that the argument from the order of clauses is not compelling—i.e. that the mention of *morphē doulou before* the mention of Christ's becoming "in the form of men" does not rule out a reference to the task of the servant, Israel, in Isaiah 40-55.[102] It is not the case that Christ first became man and then adopted the role of the servant. His fundamental mission—the reason for his coming into the world—was to accomplish the task which was marked out for Israel, namely, to undo the sin of Adam. In order to achieve this goal, he became man. It is quite true that in becoming man he became subject to the powers that govern human existence in general, and in particular to death itself. It is also important not to miss the point that crucifixion was the form of penal death reserved particularly for *douloi*—and this could be one reason why Paul has chosen this word, rather than *pais*, which, though one regular LXX rendering of *ebed*, could carry also quite different connotations to do with Jesus' sonship. If this is correct, the weight of Paul's soteriology here lies neither on incarnation nor on exaltation per se, but on the cross, understood as the climax and completion of the divine plan of salvation. The task marked out for Israel has been accomplished by her representative.

There are certain important conclusions to be drawn from this discussion of Adam-Christology in Philippians 2. First, to sum up our argument so far: the hypothesis that here Paul is developing an (admittedly complex) Adam-Christology has been vindicated.[103] We have seen, moreover, that this Christology can best be understood against the background of the Jewish expectation that the eschatological Israel would be the true humanity—significantly reworked, however, in the light of Paul's reflection on the fact of the cross: and that this Adam-Christology does not rule out a reference either to the pre-existence of Christ or to the soteriology of Isaiah 40-55, but actually makes both probable.

From this argument it follows, in relation to the debate about incarnational theology in this passage, that much of the usual view of "pre-existence" is not in line with Paul's conception. (a) It is not a hellenistic idea, pulling early Christology away from its Jewish roots; it has no necessary connection with any gnostic, or Philonic, speculations about an *Urmensch* or Primal Man. Dunn's speculation that the development of Christology moved from a non-incarnational Philippians 2 to a gnostic view of the passage (and/or other passages) and thence to the "orthodox" view of pre-existence, is not nearly so likely as the following alternative: that an incarnational Philippians 2 was taken up (i) by a Greek theology which, being unwilling to posit apparent "changes" in God, understood that pre-existence as the pre-existence of a *man*, and (ii) by gnostic speculations. (b) This position is not to be conceived as a departure from Jewish monotheism. Paul, at least, intends to keep it firmly within this framework. (c) It does not involve the abandonment of Paul's eschatological perspective:[104] on the contrary, it depends on it and indeed fills it out (we might compare Gal 4:4, "when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son," though of course the precise meaning of the formula-like second clause is disputed). (d) It is nothing to do with the idea of a pre-existent *man* (hence, *a fortiori*, it does not refer either to a pre-existent *Messiah*). One of the weaknesses of Dunn's

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[102] Against Caird, *Letters From Prison*, 121, and with (e.g.) J. M. Furness, "Behind the Philippian Hymn," *ExpT* 79 (1967-68) 178-82.

[103] In the light of this, with Romans 5 and 1 Corinthians 15 in mind, we may conclude that the fundamental emphasis and outline of the passage is thoroughly Pauline. If it was written by someone other than Paul, it had already had a very strong influence on his thought.

[104] As Dunn suggests (*Christology*, 124).

account is that he tends to assume that "pre-existence" must mean the pre-existence of a human being. But the *genomenos* of Phil 2:7, which of course (taken in this sense) is not far from the verb's meaning in John 1:14, positively rules this out. This naturally raises the question as to what language it is possible for us to use in referring to this pre-existent being. To call him either "Jesus" or "Christ" appears anachronistic. Perhaps Dunn's own illustration in a different context, where it may after all not belong,[105] will work here: when we say "the Prime Minister studied economics at Oxford" (or perhaps, *mutatis mutandis*, "the President acted in cowboy movies"), we are not saying that Mrs. Thatcher was Prime Minister while at Oxford, or that Reagan was President while riding bareback into the sunset. We are using an easily comprehensible shorthand in order to say "*the person who became* Prime Minister, or President, and to whom we can most easily refer by that title, did these things in her, or his, earlier days." The best parallel to this sort of shorthand in Paul's writings is clearly 2 Cor 8:9: " . . . our Lord Jesus Christ, who though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor." Paul's use of the words "Jesus Christ" cannot be taken to indicate that only his human existence is in view, since there would still then be the anachronism of the word *kyrios*. The fact that this phrase ("our Lord Jesus Christ") is the easiest way for Paul, or us, to refer to *the person who became* Jesus Christ should alert us to the fact that it was in this sense, rather than in that of a pre-existent humanity, that he was using the words. (e) The fact that the nearest antecedents to this Christology are apparently *personifications* (of, e.g., Wisdom or the Torah) in the relevant Jewish literature does not mean that Paul's talk about Jesus' pre-existence is equally to be taken as a mere figure of speech. As Caird points out, Phil 2:6f. and 2 Cor 8:9 attribute a conscious choice—a choice which can be used, in each case, as an ethical example—to this pre-existent one. No mere personification, then, but a person, a conscious individual entity, is envisaged.[106] Equally, the line of thought explored above (in relation to the corollaries of Paul's ascription of Isa 45:23 to Jesus) shows that the one thus exalted is to be identified as an individual entity existing, equal to God the Father, prior to his human birth. But in order to follow up this point a little further we must look—more briefly this time—at our final major passage.

(d) *Col 1:15*

We have seen that there are several good reasons why Adam-Christology should be recognized in Philippians 2, and that a majority of scholars are happy with this. Though the same would not be true of Col 1:15, arguments have been advanced recently which suggest that, at the least, our survey of the material would not be complete without a glance in this direction.[107] It is, of course, more usual to see the primary background of the Colossian "hymn" (if such it be) in wisdom-Christology. But it may be suggested (a) that there are in fact several hints that Adam is, so to speak, about the place somewhere, and (b) that in fact we should not set up wisdom-Christology and Adam-Christology as mutually exclusive alternatives, but should rather see them as complementary emphases.

The description of Christ as *eikōn tou theou* in 1:15 does not stand alone. It is picked up by 3:10, where Christians are said to be renewed in knowledge "according to

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[105] P. 334, n. 121; see Moule's sharp criticism in *JTS* 33, p. 260.

[106] We cannot here go into the complexities of the word "person" except to express the wish that a word with less potential for creating theological and philosophical red herrings were available for the task.

[107] We assume for the purposes of this paper that Colossians, if not by Paul himself, was written by someone close to him who knew his mind well.

the image of the creator." Here there is a clear reference to Genesis 1,[108] which is strengthened by the other echoes of that passage in, for instance, 1:6, 10 (bearing fruit and multiplying)—not to mention the ideas of the creation of the world, and of the sovereignty of Christ over creation, which are found in the hymn itself and which clearly belong with the Adam-Christology we have outlined.

This would not of itself, perhaps, be enough to do more than suggest a possibility, in view of the many other overtones which commentators have discovered in this passage—overtones which there is no space here even to discuss.[109] The point we wish to make can therefore best be put in the conditional mood: *if* there is here a reference (of some sort) to Adam, then certain conclusions follow which would support and, indeed, help to elucidate further the ideas we have been exploring so far. In particular, the role of Adam fits remarkably well with the position traditionally ascribed to Wisdom—which is not surprising if, as we argued in the first section of this paper, the attributes of "wisdom" itself had been fashioned as one way of describing the truly *wise* person as the truly *human* person. Wisdom, like Adam, is God's vice-gerent, his obedient servant, who is set in authority over the world. That is why (for example) Solomon is, in Jewish tradition (as in 1 Kings 3, Proverbs, Wisdom etc.), the truly wise man and hence able to be the ruler under whom Israel attains her pre-eminence in the world.

It follows that, if Jesus is the true Man, he will inevitably be the fullest embodiment of divine wisdom. Not only so: once again, in making such a claim, there is an implicit displacement of the other regular candidate. The well-known links of "wisdom" speculation with similar ideas about the Torah should, we suggest, be understood as a further extension of the claim that Israel is God's true humanity. Israel's national charter, the Torah, is that which equips her for this role, living in obedience to God and confidently expecting him, in consequence, to vindicate her and exalt her over the nations. To identify Torah and wisdom, and to see both as (in some sense) "pre-existent" is to make once more the claim that the world was made for the sake of Israel. Her blueprint is the world's blueprint: in her glorious destiny the eternal purposes of God will be fulfilled. Once again the doctrines of monotheism (the God of Israel is the one true God, the creator and ruler of the whole world) and election (this God is indeed the God *of Israel*) were combined to produce claims about the nature and future of Israel. It is against this background of thought, we suggest, rather than that of speculative metaphysics indulged in for its own sake, that the grandiose claims about wisdom and Torah are to be understood. And it is this background that helps us to see one at least of the emphases of Col 1:15ff. as being: Christ is that which Israel thought to be; that which Adam was meant to be. He is the blueprint of creation (i.e., he is the true wisdom): he is the blueprint of redemption (i.e., he takes the place of the Torah as the charter of the redeemed people).[110] It is against this background too, we suggest, that 1 Cor 8:6 and 2 Cor 4:4 are best understood, though space forbids further treatment of either passage here.[111] In short, Adam-Christology and wisdom-Christology belong very closely together. Both are, once more basically *Israel*-Christologies.

If this is so, then we have in Colossians 1 another example of Christian rethinking of the basic Jewish categories. Christ as the true Adam is the one who undoes the sin of the first Adam, reconciling the world to God (v. 20) and inaugurating the resurrection life

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[108]So Caird, *Letters From Prison*, 174-78; H. N. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of his Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 71, 81ff.

[109]See recently Kim, 144ff., 258ff.

[110]The virtual identification of these two, wisdom and Torah, in some branches of Judaism is further evidence of the theological position Paul came to oppose.

[111]See Kim, passim. Both passges are set in contexts where a polemic against Judaism is at least implicit.

of the people of God (v. 18). The cross and resurrection show that the people of God cannot merely be affirmed as they stand, cannot simply *replace* Adam, but must *redeem* Adam; and that this is accomplished through the death and resurrection of Israel's representative.[112]

One much-debated issue in Col 1:15 may have some light thrown on it as a result. The meaning of *eikōn* can be given its full force of "the *human* image of God." The one referred to here is not a "pre-existent image" in the old sense argued for (for instance) by Lightfoot.[113] He is—the present tense is not insignificant—the true man. And the title "firstborn" is probably to be seen, along with this, as the honorific title given to the king, as in Ps 89:27. But this does not mean that the passage knows nothing of Christ beyond his truly human life, death and resurrection, and the dignity which is his on that basis. On the contrary, the assertion of the hymn is, we suggest, that the one of whom all this is true is to be identified as one who enjoyed divine splendor prior to becoming human. In fact, part of the point of the hymn would seem to be the *appropriateness* of this: the one the Colossians know as *their* Lord is Lord of the whole world as well as of the church, and he is this not merely by right of redemption (1:20) or conquest (2:15) but, more fundamentally, by right of creation (1:16f.). There is no need, in v. 16, to collapse *en autō* and *di'autou* into *eis auton*.[114] The phrases are of course complementary, but they are hardly identical. Nor are we thereby suggesting that there was in Judaism a well-known idea about a pre-existent hypostasis (i.e. "Wisdom") and that the author of the "hymn" is simply identifying Christ with this figure. Recent work has again and again shown that this is to read a metaphor (specifically, a personification) as if it were a literal statement. "God's wisdom" is a way of referring to the one God himself, acting wisely.

But this in fact supports the view of the hymn we are suggesting, and helps, rather than hinders, our understanding of how the theology of the passage works. Paul is not breaking out of monotheism, ascribing to Jesus a divinity somehow different from that of the one God of Israel. He is (just as in 1 Cor 8:6) suggesting that it is precisely this God, and none other, who has now made himself known *in* Jesus of Nazareth: one might say, has made himself fully known *as* Jesus of Nazareth, in particular in his death on the cross. Hence the line of thought in vv. 18-20. The task of reconciliation committed to Jesus was a task for the "whole fullness of divinity" (understanding the periphrastic *plēroma* in 1:19 in the light of 2:9). Thus, if 1:16 ascribes to the man Jesus (spoken of in 1:15) a role, function and status appropriate for one who existed before the world was made, 1:19-20 ascribes to the one God of Israel the identity and achievement of the man Jesus of Nazareth. Paul's regular distinction between God the Father and Jesus the Lord (e.g. Col 1:3) should then be taken, not as implying that Jesus is somehow not, or not fully, divine, but as qualifying, filling out, the resultant picture. Otherwise, 1:19 and the "wisdom-Christology" of the section might run into problems.[115] Merely to say that the complete Godhead now dwells in Jesus is not sufficient. Such a statement simply raises all the traditional questions of Christology without answering them. By itself, it would imply an incredibly split Christology, and/or a thoroughly modalist view of God: if it did not mean that, it would simply indicate that sort of total, one-for-one identification of Jesus and God which we have seen that Paul refuses to make. It therefore seems that in

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[112]The importance of the cross in this context is clear not only from v. 20 but also from vv. 12-14, which are, at least in their present setting, very closely linked with vv. 15ff.; indeed, E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 32f., makes this introduction to vv. 15ff. part of the hymnic section as a whole.

[113]See Caird, *Letters From Prison*, 175-78.

[114]As Caird does (p. 178); see too Dunn, *Christology*, 190f.

[115]The awkwardness of Dunn's formulation of his position (*Christology*, 193, 195f.; see too his article as cited above n. 8) would seem to require further work in this area.

this passage, as in Phil 2:6-11 and 1 Cor 8:6, we see the beginnings of that new understanding of monotheism which was to reach a fuller form in subsequent Trinitarian formulations.

The point of all this for our present investigation is to reinforce our earlier conclusion that incarnational theology and Adam-Christology belong together. Underlying both the *hoti-* clauses (1:16; 1:19) is the suggestion, once more, of the *appropriateness* of the incarnation. The place marked out for man in creation, and the role mapped out for Israel (the place and role, that is, expressed in the form of speculative metaphor by Jewish talk about pre-existent Wisdom and Torah) are both appropriate vehicles for the self-expression of the one true God. The humiliation and exaltation of the true Adam, the image of God, are to be understood as the self-revelation, in action, of God himself. Adam-Christology is not an alternative to Wisdom-Christology, nor either of them to incarnational theology. Rightly understood, all three belong together.

IV

We may now draw some preliminary conclusions, each of which would warrant further discussion and elaboration in its own right: we can do no more here than summarize. First, it is clear that the contrast of Adam and Christ is somewhere near the heart of Paul's thought, and is indeed to be understood against the background of his Jewish heritage. It is also clear, however, that this Jewish background did not supply Paul with complete and readily usable moulds into which the Christian message could be poured. On the contrary, the fact or a crucified and risen Messiah, while only comprehensible in Jewish terms, also meant a drastic reappraisal of the values and aspirations that Paul would have held in his earlier days. (It is worth pointing out that there is a large difference between the background and the tendency of an idea. To say that a concept is thoroughly Jewish is in no way to say that it can have no critique of Judaism, as the whole prophetic tradition from Elijah to John the Baptist bears witness. Conversely, to say that certain ideas cut against the aims or aspirations of Judaism is not to say that they must have come from a non-Jewish background. This may sound obvious, but the point is frequently ignored in practice.) Thus in Paul's background the idea which he brings to expression in terms of Adam-Christology was essentially a view of Israel: Israel was, or was to become, God's true humanity. The transfer of this not merely to Jesus but to Jesus as the one who had been crucified meant that Paul now had a new perspective on the eschatological role and task of Israel, as enacted by her representative. This in turn provided him in ways we cannot explore here, with on the one hand his critique of Israel (as well as of the world) and on the other hand his worldwide missionary strategy, with Israel still included (Rom 11:11ff.). The source of this Adam-Christology was therefore not miscellaneous speculation indulged in for its own sake, nor a deduction from the fact, learnt on the road to Damascus, that Jesus was in fact the "Image of God."[116] On the road to Damascus, we suggest, Paul realized that the one who had been crucified was in fact Lord and Messiah. All else flowed from this.

We must therefore challenge the currently popular view that Jesus only became "Last Adam" at his resurrection. 1 Cor 15:47, as we suggested earlier, does not say that. It is because he is Last Adam, the eschatological representative of the people of God, that Jesus' obedient life and death make theological sense (so much so that the suffering and death of Christians are seen as being themselves "in Christ," not "in Adam," as they would otherwise have to be).[117] Paul's Christology did not, we suggest, begin

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[116]The basic thesis of Kim.

[117]Rightly, M. D. Hooker, "Interchange in Christ," *JTS* 22 (1971) 349-61, here at pp. 358ff.

with the idea of Christ's exaltation and then work back to include, under a different category altogether, his pre-resurrection life. Dunn's theory about the two emphases of Psalm 8[118] must be judged ingenious but unnecessary. Psalm 8 is of course very important for Paul. But he never separates its component parts as Dunn suggests, and on the contrary interprets it with the help of Psalm 110, which is certainly "Messianic" (as Psalm 8 itself *may* be). Christ as "Last Adam," in fact, is Christ *both* in his obedience unto death *and* in his new state of post-resurrection existence as "life-giving spirit."

This results in a much more characteristically Pauline soteriology than is achieved by the various alternative views. In Dunn's scheme, for instance, Christ merely reveals the way to attaining the new humanity—namely, by living according to the Spirit. Ironically, while Dunn polemicizes against an emphasis on the incarnation as the saving event, he does not—as one might have expected—replace it with the cross, but only with the resurrection. As a result, his scheme lacks coherence.[119] Sin is not dealt with: humanity is simply pulled up to a new level. Dunn's view is, in fact, more like a straight Christianization of the Jewish view which Paul (by contrast) had radically redefined in the light of the cross and resurrection. Humanity, on his view, is simply to be raised to the spiritual level: that is all (apparently) that is required. It is not clear, from this account, why the cross should have been necessary at all, nor, particularly, why it should be described—within this same Adam-Christology, both in Romans 5 and Philippians 2—as *obedience*. It is much more satisfactory—and, *prima facie*, more Pauline—to see the cross as the center of soteriology. But if the cross is at the center, incarnation, while itself not *the* saving event, is a necessary prerequisite, just as the resurrection is the necessary demonstration, after the cross, that Jesus' death was a victory, not a defeat (1 Cor 15:17). It is *God's* love that is revealed on Calvary (Rom 5:6ff.): as we saw earlier, the logic of the Philippians hymn is that Christ is now exalted because his obedience unto the death of the cross was precisely a task which God alone could appropriately perform. It was Israel's obedience, acted out by Israel's representative despite the disobedience of all others, Jew and Gentile alike. When Jesus died, "all" died, and in that death "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself," making the sinless one to be sin, so that sinners could share his status of righteousness (2 Corinthians 5). We have here the makings of something which scholars for several generations have been tempted to regard as a contradiction in terms: an incarnational theology that has not moved outside Judaism, nor borrowed its fundamental ideas from pagan thought.

Another element of Paul's thought which deserves fuller treatment on the basis of our argument is the nature of his "corporate Christology."[120] If we are correct, his Adam-Christology does indeed furnish an important clue in this area. This is not to say that I agree with W. D. Davies' well-known view about Adam, as the representative of the human race, being the model for the Pauline conception of the corporate Christ. Rather, I suggest that the clue lies in the fact that the language about the eschatological Adam has as its reference the purpose of God for Israel. Christ is the representative of his people because he is the representative of Israel. This suggests—and 1 Cor 15:20ff., as we have seen, provides strong initial support—that Jesus' Messiahship played a more important role for Paul than is usually supposed.[121] It may also thereby supply clues to

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[118] *Christology*, 108-13.

[119] There is not space here for a critique of the material in *Christology*, 105-7, 111-13, 119ff., except to say that it is never clear from Dunn's treatment how or why this soteriology works at all. All he is left with is a bare examplarist view: Jesus is the pattern to show people how to attain to the new sort of humanity.

[120] See C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology*, ch. 2, etc.

[121] See N. A. Dahl, as above n. 51. For the usual view see W. G. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*.

the background and precise meaning of Paul's "incorporative" language ("in Christ," "body of Christ," etc.), though again it is impossible to pursue these matters further here.[122]

Finally, the Adam-Christology I have proposed, and the incarnational theology which I have suggested follows from it, has a good deal to say about Paul's understanding of both divinity and humanity. If Paul held a severe doctrine of universal sin (Rom 1:18-3:20; 5:12, etc.), he never linked this, as subsequent theologians have often done, to a view that between God himself and humanity as it is meant to be there is as large ontological gulf amounting to total incompatibility. For Paul, "the union of the human and the divine which had been achieved in Jesus was precisely that which God had intended from all eternity as the destiny of man"[123]—and, we might add, as the destiny also of God. In other words, from Paul's perspective God made Adam to be Lord of the world, and made him in his own image, so that he might himself appropriately *become* Lord of the world, in (somehow) a fuller sense, by becoming man. But that is not the whole story. Looking from the same Pauline perspective, God made Israel to be the means of redeeming the world, and in parts of the OT and some of the Jewish traditions he allowed the Davidic king to be seen as the focal point of Israel's life—so that he might himself become the redeemer of the world *by becoming Israel*. From Paul's point of view, Israel according to the flesh had clung on to her vocation to be the eschatological humanity in the first sense, but had never recognized the second. Seeking to rule the world, she had not embraced the vocation to redeem it. In Christ's death and resurrection, by contrast, Paul saw the centrality of the cross in the purposes of God—and at the same time the dignity of true human nature, the depth of God's love, and the astonishing fact that those two are, in Jesus Christ, not two but one.

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[122]On the relation between the Messiah and his people, see Kee, art. cit. (above, n. 1) pp. 237ff.

[123]Caird, "Development of the Doctrine of Christ," 79.

Graeco-Roman Cultural Accommodation in the Christology of Luke-Acts

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Decades ago, Samuel Sandmel advised New Testament and rabbinic students who had never "strayed into the Hellenistic world" to put on their pilgrim sandals."[1] Although no stampede has taken place, one can discern a developing appreciation of the fact that early Christian leaders, many of whom were of Jewish background, used Greek to articulate the message concerning God's action in connection with Jesus Christ. Preeminent among these Hellenistically oriented writers are St. Paul, the writer of Second Peter, and the composer of Luke-Acts.

Apart from his evident commitment to the Christian faith, St. Luke's choice of dramatis personae and his frequent references to matters relating to the Roman imperial establishment suggest that he was especially intrigued by the political scene. His own relation to the Nazarene therefore posed the unusual challenge of interpreting the significance of Jesus the Jew in meaningful terms primarily to Graeco-Roman audiences, whether composed of dispersed Jews or non-Jews, of Christians or non-Christians. In the

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Abbreviations

BAGD = W. Bauer, W. Arndt, F. Gingrich, F. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

Benefactor = F. W. Danker, *Benefactor. Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (Clayton Publishing House, Box 9258, St. Louis, Missouri, 63117). Reference to specific documents translated in this work are prefaced by "No." or "Nos."

OGI = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.*

SIG = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3d ed.

TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*

Note: All translations are my own.

[1]Samuel Sandmel, in a review (*JBL* 80 [1961] 89-90) of Clinton Morrison, *The Powers That Be* (1960), which he praises as a "useful opener of horizons," p. 90. Since most of the literature on Luke's conceptual world predates more recent interest on the part of New Testament scholars to move beyond the frontiers charted by Religionsgeschichtler in the early 1900s, I see no point in chastising at every turn students of Luke for not covering the specific Hellenistic terrain here traversed. Of greater interest in an exploration of this type are the primary data of the probable cultural context in which Luke wrote. Many of these are gathered for the first time in a form accessible to New Testament students in *Benefactor*, which contains translations and commentary on 53 Hellenistic documents, some of them rendered for the first time into English. I am grateful to the publishers for their permission to use material from this work. Exploration of the paradigm of benefactor in full-scale exposition of Luke was first undertaken in *Jesus and the New Age: A Commentary on the Third Gospel* (1972, 6th ed. 1983).

transcultural phenomenon of reciprocity he found a major resource for conveying to such a mixed audience the basic structure of his understanding of Christology. Through use of the Greek semantic field and themes relating to Graeco-Roman perceptions of optimum divine or human qualities and performance, with special emphasis on beneficence, he was able to reinforce an impression of unity under the impact of sharpness of detail, resulting in a portrait of Jesus as apotheosized benefactor.

Were it not for the fact that it is difficult for some students of the New Testament to disengage themselves from terminological fixations, one could avoid the risk of boring readers with the caution that a generic English term such as "benefactor" does translate a specific Greek word, such as εὐεργέτης, but encodes a pervasive Graeco-Roman cultural phenomenon that generates numerous terms, formulations, and literary types.[2] Even a passing acquaintance with Greek documents of a public nature would suffice to reveal the fact that Greeks could write thousands of lines about benefactors without using the εὐεργετ- family.[3] Failure to recognize this basic semasiological reality has contributed to repeated misunderstanding of, for example, Luke 22:24-27, to the effect that Luke here disavows in principle the role of benefactor as a model for understanding the person and work of Jesus Christ.[4]

PART I. BENEFACTOR PROFILE

Graeco-Roman

From earliest documentable times Greeks displayed a strong interest in what our generation would call superstars, that is, people of exceptional merit, frequently summed in the term ἀρετή.[5] In the Homeric Age the principal candidates for such appraisal came from the ranks of the nobility. Their chief claim to recognition was military prowess, exercised in behalf of the security of family and homeland. Worth was measured in terms of value to the social and political structure of which they were a part. And as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* attest, rhetorical ability ran a close second to performance as prime requisite for a person's claim on the public interest.[6]

After the Homeric Age, deities, immortalized heroes, and heads of state progressively shared the qualities that are attributed to them by eternally emerging hope and anticipation for better things.[7] From them came the bounties that offset a plenitude of human misery. Theirs was the power to promote stability amid the interplay of disruptive forces. The very conception of deity is functioning beneficence.[8]

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[2]Robert F. O'Toole fails to grasp this basic semantic point in his review (*CBQ* 44 [1982] 333-34) of Gerhard Krodel, *Acts* (1981).

[3]On the εὐεργετ-family see *Benefactor*, pp. 323-24.

[4]Alfred Plummer's mistake (*The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 4th ed. 1910, p. 501) is echoed by O'Toole (see above note 2).

[5]On ἀρετή see *Benefactor*, p. 318.

[6]On oratorical ability see *Benefactor*, pp. 339-43.

[7]Practically every ruler's inauguration is viewed as the beginning of a new age. The praise accorded Galba by Tiberius Julius Alexander is typical, *OGI* 669. 7-9 (= *Benefactor* No. 51). Birthdays of rulers are similarly celebrated; especially notable is the inscription of Priene, *OGI* 458 (= *Benefactor* No. 33). See also Mark Edward Clark, "Images and Concepts of Hope in the Early Imperial Cult," *Society of Biblical Literature 1982 Seminar Papers* (vol. 21; ed. Kent Harold Richards; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982) 39-43.

[8]The use of θειότης in Rom 1:20 is not redundant; it refers to God's goodness in creating the world and to his providential care in its maintenance; similarly, Goddess

With the decline of the city state as a political force Greeks rapidly developed a more democratic view of excellence for which Homeric poetry cleared the way. For example, Odysseus, man of wits, prevails over brute force. It was only natural that philosophers should subsequently qualify as people of exceptional merit, and Plato is at pains to demonstrate the superior contributions that can be made by someone like Socrates, who was, also, underestimated by his fellow-citizens.

In the course of time benefactors increasingly vied with one another for the honor of being recognized for bestowal of bounties beyond traditional boundaries. This can be termed the pandemic outreach.[9] Populaces in Greece and Asia Minor developed an obsession for awarding crowns, portraits, or statues to their benefactors.[10] Demosthenes' *Oration on the Crown* is one of the best introductions to the phenomenon.

Eventually, paced by the democratization of arete, bestowal of awards became so commonplace that ordinary citizens received citations for their fine civic conduct.[11] Physicians, actors, and even secretaries and treasurers of a mutitudinous variety of guilds received accolades that were formulated in precisely the same rhetorical patterns once reserved for the guardians of pomp and circumstance.[12]

Recitals of the virtues and deeds of superstars, divine or human, may be embraced under the generic word **aretalogy.** Unfortunately this term is frequently encountered in narrow application by modern scholars to performance records of deities, resulting in much needless methodological controversy concerning the classification of specific literary documents, such as the Gospels of the New Testament.[13] Much would be gained if it were recognized that any recital, biographical or autobiographical, whether as a single composition or part of a literary complex, that is designed to extol the virtues or performance of a deity or human being qualifies as aretalogy. In such case the term focuses attention not on a specific type of content but on the quality of the content relative to the extolling agent. The power and beneficence of Isis differs from that of Augustus, but the compositions in which their contributions are celebrated bear a common stamp.[14] We do not know what the specific social and political motives may have

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Artemis is honored because of her self-manifestation, *SIG* 867. 30. The qualification signifies that deity is construed in functional terms.

[9]On the pandemic theme see *Benefactor*, pp. 336-39. Nero boasted that, although others had liberated cities, he would liberate an entire province, *SIG* 814. 25. The Greeks were delighted with the temporary reprieve from unusual and burdensome taxation, but they probably were aware of another pandemic phenomenon: What one politician bestows another can retrieve. The theme 'no more worlds to conquer' is used in *OGI* 458. 37-39 to celebrate the outstanding performance of Caesar Augustus.

[10]On "cheap awards," see Theodor Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire From Caesar to Diocletian* (vol. 1; trans. William P. Dickson; London, 1909) 290-92.

[11]One of these inscriptions describes a gentleman named Eudamos as a "fine young man, of good judgment and decorous in his behavior, who strove to be a model of arete . . ." *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae* VIII, 412c, p. 77 (= *Benefactor* No. 7).

[12]See *Benefactor* Nos. 1-9, 20-21, 23.

[13]Morton Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," *JBL* 90 [1971] 174-99) and David Lenz Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBLDS 1; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1972) afford access to the principal discussions. On the problem of genre see especially Charles H. Talbert (*Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974) and *What is a Gospel: The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia, 1977).

[14]For Isis see *Benefactor* No. 26 (a translation of the aretalogy discovered at Maroneia and first published by Yves Grandjean, *Une Nouvelle Aretalogie D'Isis à Maronée*[Leiden, 1975]) and No. 29 (Kyme). For Augustus see *Res Gestae* (= *Benefactor* No. 43).

been that led to the production of the aretalogies involving Isis, but about Augustus' 'state-of-the-union' message there need be no uncertainty—besides being an aretalogy it is a political statement.[15] And precisely because it is the political statement of a recognized superstar it is an aretalogy.[16]

New Testament

Deity is the primary model of excellence in the Graeco-Roman world. Apart from other considerations, it comes as no surprise that writers of New Testament documents exalt the One they have learned to know as God through their experience of Jewish religion. Clearer understanding of Luke's Christology therefore requires primary recognition of God's superstar status.

God

Hans Conzelmann is recognized for reminding biblical scholars of what classicists knew all the time, that a document such as Luke's Gospel was not written on an island of literary isolation, but actually manifested features of editorial sensitivity and imagination. Had he been more acquainted with Graeco-Roman literary productions, he would not have ignored the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel, which offer the best clues to Luke's Graeco-Roman oriented Christology.[17]

Of eight occurrences of the terms σωτήρ, σωτηρία, and σωτήριον in the Gospel, six appear in the first two chapters (1:47, 69, 71, 77; 2:11, 30). In view of the fact that saviorhood is the primary entitlement to superstar status in the Graeco-Roman world, Acts 4:12 beyond question indicates that God is the Supreme Superstar or Benefactor who donates Jesus to humanity.[18] As executor of his Father's beneficent purpose, Jesus is the ultimate among human beings who might be celebrated for their excellence. He is therefore the Great Benefactor, and one of the functions of Luke 1-2 is to prepare auditors for development in the rest of Luke-Acts of this thematic strain concerning the cooperative work of God and Jesus in the rescue of humanity. The auditors of course know the basic story, but they will be interested in knowing what Luke does with it.

The aretalogical tones of the Magnificat (1:46-55) and of the Benedictus (1:68-80) proclaim God as the Great Liberator.[19] Like Isis, Supreme Benefactor for many in the

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[15]See especially *Res Gestae* IV. 19-VI. 35, in which Augustus calls attention to his piety, his generous contributions to the State, his extension of peace, and expertise in international relations.

[16]I suggest the following working definition: **Aretalogy.** Greek loanword. An account of the virtues, exploits, or benefactions of a deity or of a human being whose contributions or performance are considered exceptional by a responsive Graeco-Roman public. Synonyms: Citation, civic award, award of merit.

[17]Hans Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit* (Tübingen, 1954), translated by Geoffrey Buswell, *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York, 1960). On Conzelmann's approach to the Infancy Narratives see, among others, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981) 184.

[18]On salvation as a theme see *Benefactor*, pp. 393-416, and the entries σῴζω and σωτηρία in BAGD, with literature.

[19]Compare Pindar's Magnificat, *Pythian* 2. 49-52. Basil Gildersleeve said of the aorists in these lines that they display "concentrated action in the present" and project a tone of "finality" (*Pindar*, New York [1885]261). This is exactly Luke's point in his use of aorists in the Magnificat and the Benedictus. As is frequently the case, Gildersleeve's precise grammatical sense is of great help in clearing away hermeneutical smog.

Graeco-Roman world, the God of Israel breaks the reign of tyrants.[20]

Nothing was more welcome to the ancients than peace, and no one's boast of pacification was more eloquently put than that of Augustus in the *Res Gestae*. Luke is therefore at pains to establish the program of the Gospel in the context of the reign of Augustus and, after defining Jesus' superstar identity ("Savior," 2:11) he establishes God as the ultimate source of the benefit that is being conferred ("peace," verse 14). The reciprocity system is unmistakably enunciated. Acknowledgment or "glory" is due the Supreme Benefactor.[21]

At Luke 1:73 the Supreme Benefactor is committed by an oath to Abraham to secure deliverance for "us." The phrasing is formulaic (ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν, and synonymous with the term "promise" (ἐπαγγελία), whose content is defined as "salvation" (Acts 2:39-40).[22]

Acts 14:15-17 and 17:24-31 feature the Supreme Benefactor's broad concern for humanity's welfare. Graeco-Roman auditors who had never heard portions of the Septuagint might well have made associations with claims that were made for a deity such as Isis, who is honored in an inscription discovered at Kyme as "discoverer of the fruits (of the earth) for humanity" (line 7); "separator of heaven from earth" (line 12); "creator of strong justice" (line 16); "mistress of the rivers, the winds, and the sea" (line 39). "To me all things give way" (line 46); "I founded enclosures of cities" (line 51), she proclaims.[23] In the *Golden Ass*, Lucius reciprocates the beneficence of Isis in these words:

> On land and sea you guard humanity. With saving hand outstretched you still the storms of life. The tightly intertwining threads of fate you separate. You still the stormy blasts of Fortune and curb the banefilled movements of the stars. The gods above hold you in honor, and the deities below revere you. You whirl the world and give the sun its rays. The universe responds to your command. Your heel is firm upon the power of Hell. For you the constellations move, seasons abide the doing of your bidding, divinities rejoice, and elements are at your beck and call. At your decree winds blow, the clouds rain down their nourishment, seeds burgeon, and the buds come into flower. Sky-roaming birds, and beasts that range the mountains; earth-gliding serpents, and monsters swimming in the deep—all tremble at your majesty.

Such a deity deserves more than the customary expressions of devotion, and Lucius goes on to chant:

> Yet my own skill is far too weak to register your praise and my estate too poor to satisfy your altar's need of sacrifice. I feel to the depths your majesty, but lack fullthroated utterance. And, truth to tell, a thousand mouths and thousand tongues to fill the same with endless file of unwearied words would not suffice. In beggarment one course is left to me, devoted as I am; deeply engraved within my heart I shall forever hold in store your countenance divine and treasure your most holy Godhead.[24]

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[20]See Isis, Kyme line 25 and Maroneia lines 30-31. (See note 14 above.)

[21]See below on gratitude, p. 402.

[22]For the phrase ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν see *Benefactor*, pp. 353-54; *OGI* 266. 19.

[23]Sirach 24:5-6 displays Wisdom in competition with Isis for control of the cosmos. Luke's interest in Wisdom shows an awareness on his part of the relation between earlier Christological traditions and his own paradigmatic use of benefactor constructs.

[24]*Benefactor*, pp. 178-79.

Luke's Supreme Benefactor makes Isis superfluous, and Jesus Christ is God's demonstration of the ultimate in beneficence.

Jesus, Mighty in Word and Deed

The last chapter of the Gospel echoes chapters 1 and 2 in presenting the thematic gist of Luke-Acts. Especially significant is the evaluation of Jesus in 24:19: "mighty in word and deed before God and all the people."

The phrase "mighty in word and deed" is a Hellenistic synonym for a benefactor.[25] The expression "before God" engages him in the vertical relationship that was of primary importance, not only to devout Jews, but also to Graeco-Romans in their evaluation of human superstars and would suggest that he was a man of exceptional piety.[26] In all his word and action Jesus demonstrated his commitment to God. That he was "mighty in word and deed before all the people" recollects the pandemic outreach in his message and his deeds, and would suggest to Graeco-Romans the virtue of civic accountability and impartiality summed in the recurring word δικαιοσύνη.[27] Similarly Opramaoas, a millionaire superstar of the second century, dispensed his wealth so prodigally and without respect to boundary stones, that no major city in Lycia deprived itself of a memorial to his bounties.[28]

Luke 22:25-27

Before entering into specifics concerning Luke's presentation of Jesus as a man "mighty in word and deed" it is necessary to take account of Luke 22:25-27, a passage of considerable importance for clarification of Luke's view of Jesus. Unlike some heads of state and some of their representatives who sought accolades without serious investment of merit,[29] Jesus here emphasizes that he has not sought greatness but opportunity to demonstrate his interest in service (see also 9:46-48). Far from disavowing the category of benefactor, here expressed by the term εὐεργέτης, Luke shows that Jesus lends freshness to popular expectations that prompted such a term. The desire for domination and the unquenchable thirst for titles that tainted so much of Graeco-Roman administration is quite evidently here condemned,[30] not the role of benefactor as such. A glance at Acts 4:9 (εὐεργεσία) and 10:38 (εὐεργέτης) ought to dispel any doubt about the evangelist's intention.[31]

Nor does Luke's recital stand in isolation. Even in the Graeco-Roman world only a few superstars were nominated for the title Megas. Most well known are Alexander and Demetrios Poliorketes.[32] Octavian, perhaps the greatest of the Roman emperors, emphatically declares his refusal to accept the title of dictator (*Res Gestae* I.5.31), and

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[25]On the word-deed theme see *Benefactor*, pp. 339-43.

[26]Augustus is proud to submit the public's verdict on his own life: "A man of arete and forbearance, of upright and reverent character." (*Res Gestae* VI. 34. 19-20 [= *Benefactor* No. 43]). On εὐσεβεία see *Benefactor*, pp. 343-45. A principal theme of the Aeneid is Aeneas' role as a superstar. He displays his piety in response to his assignment as the founder of Rome. What at first appears to be a monotonous theme is in reality of profound importance to Vergil's Graeco-Roman public and is one of the prime indicators of compositional unity in his ageless work.

[27]On the δικαιο-family see *Benefactor*, pp. 343-48.

[28]*IGR* III, 739. xix. 68 (= *Benefactor* No. 19).

[29]See *Benefactor*, p. 324.

[30]See Mommsen's complaint, note 10 above.

[31]See below, pp. 405 and 408-9.

[32]On Demetrios, the Rommel of antiquity, see *Benefactor*, pp. 202-5.

concerning his formal recognition as benefactor of the Roman People, under the title of Augustus, he has at least the grace of political sagacity to state that "of actual power I possessed no more than my associates in various offices" (VI.34.21).[33]

In brief, the paradigm of benefactor used by Luke for evaluation of Jesus is not derived from consideration of specific figures in Graeco-Roman history, but from his keen appraisal of the hopes and aspirations expressed by many in the accolades that they accorded their deities and heads of state.[34] Out of that depth reality, here encoded as 'benefactor,' are generated the various positive appraisals of Jesus Christ that come to expression in Luke-Acts. Jesus out-benefactors them all.

Words in Luke's Gospel

Much of Luke's interest in adding "Q" and "L" material to his content from Mark reflects his intention to demonstrate Jesus' mastery in word, the counterpart of deed. Of the many such instances, the following are representative.

Luke 4:17-19

Jesus' inaugural address at Nazareth (4:17-19) derives from a Semitic work, but the depth structure is transcultural, and with the help of the Septuagintal rendering, the words of Jesus as monitored by Luke would be readily decoded by Graeco-Roman auditors with the help of their own superstar paradigms. Apart from any demonstration in deeds, Jesus' message is said to find fulfillment "today." The tone is unmistakably imperial.

Luke 6:20-49

Luke's more extensive parade piece in demonstration of Jesus' power to command with words is Luke 6:20-49. That he speaks as an emperor is apparent from the tone and diction of verses 46-49. The now-then contrasting topical pair, 20-22 and 24-26, is designed for special appeal to Hellenistically trained ears.[35] Encouragement of generosity is rooted in the philanthropic character of God (27-38). Inclusion of the illustrations that follow (39-45) is typical in accounts of prestigious persons.[36]

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[33]The section in *The Cambridge Ancient History* 10:1-606, by M. P. Charlesworth, W. W. Tarn, and Henry S. Jones, has endured as a fine general discussion of Augustus and his statecraft. Other references in *Benefactor*, pp. 258 and 280 passim.

[34]O'Toole makes this methodological error in his review of Krodel's *Acts;* See above note 2.

[35]Compare the Greek classical data cited in Danker, *Threnetic Penetration in Aischylos and Sophokles* (unpublished PhD dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1963) 70-106. See also Eugen Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 30; [Stuttgart, 1938] 11-12. Like the reciprocity system, the theme is transcultural. Chang Tsai (third century B. C.) wrote:

They that were once lords of a thousand hosts
Are now become the dust of the hills and ridges.
I think of what Yün-men said
And I am sorely grieved at the thoughts of "then" and "now."

("The Desecration of the Han Tombs"[New York, 1941] 76. See also Hedwig Jahnow, *Das Hebraische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung* (BZAW 36; Giessen, 1923) 99.

[36]Talbert's discussion of biography (*Literary Patterns*, see note 13 above) is helpful but needs to be freshly examined in the light of the larger context here explored.

Luke 7:1-10

To reinforce the point of the Sermon Luke relates the story of a centurion who pleaded with Jesus in behalf of a valuable sick slave. From a structural perspective the account is especially interesting. Much of the impact derives from the dramatic interplay of two superstars who can command the world with their words. Graeco-Roman cultural experience is the resonating board for Luke's Christological point. The centurion is a superstar because he is Rome at Capernaum. But he gives the edge to Jesus. And those who followed the plot would readily note the connection with the point made in 4:25-29.

Luke 7:36-50

Auditors of Luke 7:36-50 would be quick to grasp the reciprocity thematic of the passage, but the main focus is on the verbal power of Jesus and his exercise of imperial power, expressed in "forgiveness" (49) and in the administration of "salvation" and "peace" (50).[37]

Luke 22:14-37

Farewell speeches are a transcultural phenomenon, but Graeco-Roman auditors would find especially striking the oath taken by the hero in the face of imminent peril (22:14-20).[38] Reference has already been made to verses 24-27.[39] The imperial theme of verses 28-30 requires no comment.

Word in the Book of Acts

That which found fulfillment in the message of Jesus at Nazareth continues to register progress. The agricultural parable in Luke 8:4-14 hoists a major theme developed in the Book of Acts. Identification of seed and auditor of the Word is maintained in Acts. The Word grows (6:7; 12:24; 19:20), and the auditor knows that the numerical increase of the People of God is meant. Movement from Jerusalem to the entire Graeco-Roman world is anticipated in the figure of the bushy mustard tree (Luke 13:19). Because of their participation in the program of outreach to the nations the proclaimers of the Word share in the superstar status of Jesus Christ.

Acts 14:15-17

Ernst Haenchen was perplexed by Luke's observation that the message of Barnabas and Paul as presented in Acts 14:15-17 could have had such an effect on the original

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[37]The themes of forgiveness, salvation, and peace are understood differently in different contexts, but the rationale is the same. Much of past historical-critical philology lacked appreciation of the anthropological factor. The question is: How does the receiving public of a ghetto language, such as the Koine used in the New Testament writings, understand the source document? Quite obviously such a public lacks the exegetical expertise of knowing how they ought to understand it. Much of the genius of Luke relates precisely to awareness of this latter fact.

[38]Augustus uses the *Res Gestae* as his farewell to Rome. In I. 2. 10-12 he emphasizes that he carried out his resolution to avenge the murder of his father.

[39]See above, p. 7.

audience that it would treat them as deities.[40] Such approach to an ancient text fails to do justice to the author's structural intent. Luke is at pains in verses 8-18 to establish Paul as a superstar. Graeco-Roman auditors of his book would note the "booming voice" and its immediate effect (verse 10).[41] Verse 11 registers a common Graeco-Roman perspective, but Luke agains focuses on Paul's verbal mastery; he is Hermes, who has made a κατάβασις.[42] To erase misunderstanding, Luke records further interplay of Barnabas and Paul with the crowd. This maneuver gives him opportunity to show that Paul is a superstar under the direction of the Supreme Superstar or Benefactor. The fact that no specific Christian qualification is added to the message further indicates Luke's concentration on the benefactor paradigm. The crowd's response to the message concerning the Supreme Benefactor serves to show how profoundly the apostolic word had affected the crowd. This was their way of demonstrating their gratitude within the framework of the reciprocity system with which they were familiar. Their conduct, implies Luke, contrasts with that of some Jews in Iconium (14:1-6).

Acts 17:22-34

Paul's oratory is so effective that even in Athens, the citadel of Greek culture, Paul made a number of converts (Acts 17:34). Given the type of audience, suggests Luke, the results were again amazing. Certainly missionaries who have labored for years without registering a single convert cannot be expected to understand the negative appraisal made by some readers of Luke's account.[43]

Acts 20:17-35

In response to Paul's autobiographical aretalogy recorded in 20:17-35 there was general weeping and the assembly hugged and kissed the apostle.[44]

Jesus and Deeds

The counterpart of rhetorical ability is performance, and Luke liberally sprinkles the Gospel and Acts with recitals of extraordinary deeds so as to indelibly impress his auditors with the superstar status of Jesus and his associates in proclamation of the

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[40]Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK; Göttingen, 1956 and subsequent editions), ad loc.

[41]The fact that it is a Septuagintalism does not alter the matter. Graeco-Roman auditors would recognize that Luke-Acts contained in places a goodly amount of odd Greek, but they would interpret this as part of Luke's expertise in communicating a tone of antiquity in a book that would be all the more persuasive because of its suggestion that the themes contained in it bridge the centuries (see note 81). From the *Res Gestae* (I. 7. 45-46) we know that Augustus associated his political interests with Roman respect for the values of antiquity. Luke's public would simply convert Semitic constructions into semantic patterns familiar to them from their own cultural experience. Biblical philological criticism can lack much of its potential interest when it fails to take account of this basic phenomenon.

[42]Hermes is the favorite of orators. On the appearance of the gods in human form, see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8. 611-724. See Haenchen on the historical problems relating to the passage in Acts.

[43]Haenchen's appreciation of the Graeco-Roman context illuminates much in connection with Acts 17.

[44]For the autobiographical approach compare Augustus' *Res Gestae*.

Word. Acts 10:38 registers a definitive statement of Jesus' benefactor status: "He went about as a benefactor . . ." (διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν). When Luke's auditors heard that Jesus distributed bread to a crowd (Luke 9:12-17), they might well have been reminded of Roman emperors who were accustomed to make generous distributions of grain to the populace, or of philanthropists who ensured supply of grain in times of famine.[45] The point of the account is, of course, to establish the fact that the disciples are to be responsible for the on-going life of the Christian community.

Calming of the Lake, Luke 8:22-25

As does Isis, Jesus displays mastery over the raging waters (Luke 8:22-25).[46] Here word and deed are linked in reinforcement of the point made in 8:4-15 about the varied fortunes of the seeds.

Miracles of Healing

The impact made on Luke's Graeco-Roman public of the numerous miracles of healing requires no comment. Classification of these deeds in the category of extraordinary beneficence is mandatory. They would be expected of one who hopes to compete with Isis or Asklepios.[47] Here it is of pertinence to scrutinize Luke's editorial activity in connection with his recording of Jesus' miracles.

In 1975 Paul Achtemeier expressed wonderment over Luke's apparent failure to shape the miracle stories relating to Jesus in the direction of Old Testament prophetic motifs.[48] But once Luke's basic Graeco-Roman perspective is recognized such surprise need no longer be registered.

Pandemic Outreach

Numerous inscriptions published in celebration of physicians' benefactions express the pandemic theme of the honorand's concern for the well-being of all who were in need of his services, even of those outside his immediate geographical locality, and in many cases without hope of recompense.[49] Mindful of the expectations of his Graeco-Roman auditors, and in keeping with the thematic note in Luke 2:10 (compare 2:31, 38) of God's

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[45]The imperial reference and associated emphasis on healing of the desperate in Luke 9:11 sets the tone for the succeeding narrative. On distributions in the Empire see D. van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe Romaine sous l'Empire* (1939). Opramoas spent staggering sums in relief of earthquake victims (*IGR* III, 739. xi.40.20-25; xiii.53.5-54). An official who served under Kleopatra and Caesarion appeared as a "shining star," and as "a beneficent deity he gave light to the desperate" starving populace through prompt distribution of grain (*OGI* 194.19-20) Augustus classified his own comparable relief measures as liberation "from fear and threatening peril" (*Res Gestae* I.5.34). The tribe of Peukaste honored Gaius Popillius Python, flamen of the Caesars, for his numerous public services, including the sale of grain below cost during times of need (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XVII, 315).

[46]Isis, Kyme 43: "I calm or enrage the sea at will."

[47]See for example, the great devotion expressed for Isis (Maroneia = *Benefactor* No. 26); for Asklepios (*IG* II, 2d ed., 4514.1-10 [translation, *Benefactor*, p. 193]).

[48]Paul J. Achtemeier, "The Lucan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus: A Preliminary Sketch," *JBL* 94 (1975) 547-62.

[49]For public recognition of physicians and their pandemic approach see *Benefactor* Nos. 1-4.

outreach to "all the people," Luke modifies a number of Markan passages to highlight the pandemic aspect of the message. Two examples of a general nature follow.

Mark 1:32-34 refers to an undefined number of people who were bringing "all the sick and the possessed" to Jesus, but the conclusion of the scene states that he healed "many." Luke 4:40 states that "all who had sick people among them" brought their patients to Jesus. This rendering suggests not only a large number of invalids but also implies that no one was considered ineligible to bring a sick person to Jesus. Luke emphatically states in the conclusion to this recital that Jesus healed them all by putting his hands "on each one of them" (verse 40).[50] At Luke 6:19 ("and he was healing all of them"; Mark 3:10, "he healed many") Luke registers the importance of his editorial change by amplifying the echo of this passage in Acts 5:16: "all were experiencing healing."

Two especially interesting recitals permeated by variations of the pandemic outreach theme are Luke 5:1-11 and Luke 7:1-10.

Super-Bountiful Catch of Fish

Mark has a brief account of a call to discipleship issued by Jesus to Simon, Andrew, James, and John (Mark 1:16-20). In Luke 5:1-11 this recital undergoes considerable expansion and modification. Most obvious is the conjunction of commanding word and remarkable performance. Verses 1, 3, 5, and 10 refer to Jesus as communicator. Attention is directed in a variety of ways to the catch of fish by Simon. It is first of all described as the capture of a "great number." Then his crew's nets are at the rending point. Now they need the help of their partners who are in another boat. Both boats are soon so loaded with fish that they begin to ship water. Simon's reaction ("depart from me, for I am not one of the pious folk") receives an explanation from the evangelist: the skipper and his companions were astonished at the immense number of fish they had caught. The significance of the religious note expressed in verse 8 is now clear. It is a matter of coping with the beneficence of God. Simon does not consider himself worthy of such lavish generosity. Graeco-Roman auditors would readily run this datum through their own cultural experience. Beneficence of the gods is not to be taken lightly. Woe to the person who, like Agamemnon, is guilty of insolence in the face of extraordinary good fortune. Humility at such moments is a mark of prudence.[51] But, as Luke will shortly record, "God is helpful to the thankless and the boorish" (6:35). Jesus therefore is shown to top the benefaction of the great catch with the unique benefit of partnership in his own ministry.

A Story about Two Superstars

When compared with Matt 8:5-13, the Hellenistic accent in Luke's account of the healing of a centurion's slave (Luke 7:1-10) is heard more distinctly. In Luke's account the centurion receives accolades for benefactions bestowed on Capernaum (verses 4-5). The sending of the embassy and their petition are expressed in diction that is used repeatedly in decretal inscriptions.[52] With elegant brevity Luke prepares the stage for entry of two benefactors, and the ensuing dialog permits Luke to present Jesus as the superstar superior to Roman authority. Since the healing itself is secondary to this

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[50] *Benefactor*, p. 338.

[51] The dreadful sequence: κόρος, ὕβρις, ἄτη.

[52] On envoys see F. Poland, *De legationibus Graecorum publicis* (Leipzig, 1885); D. J. Mosley, "The Size of Embassies in Ancient Greek Diplomacy," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 255-66.52. On the terms παραγίνομαι and ἀποστέλλω see *Benefactor*, p. 91. St. Paul's description in 2 Cor 8:18 is thoroughly Hellenistic.

theme, Luke ignores the how of the cure or the response to it. Such interests are satisfied in the account of the Youth at Nain (7:11-17), which climaxes in verse 16 with an echo of 1:68-79.[53]

Deed in Acts

Acts 3:1-10

Of primary importance in the structure of Acts is the recital of the healing of the lame man, Acts 3:1-10.[54] Luke tells the story in such a way that the Hellenistic stamp falls heavily in the concluding verses (8-10). As in numerous recitals in the Third Gospel, the climactic emphasis is praise of God.[55] "Jesus Christ the Nazarene" (6) is the Great Superstar, but he is the benefaction of the Supreme Superstar. Hence Luke emphasizes that the healed man "praised God" (8), and his response is seconded by "all the people."

The twofold emphasis on divine benefaction prepares Luke's public for the subsequent thematic amplification of the relationship between the two principal superstars and the role of the apostolic superstars Peter and John in the healing of the man. Peter expressly disclaims any personal responsibility for the man's cure. The words "our own power and piety" would readily suggest to Graeco-Roman auditors formulae that are typical of public response expressed in Hellenistic decrees extolling the benefactions of public officials.[56] Rather, says Luke's Peter, it is the God of Israel who has through this healing "glorified" his "servant."[57] The import of this statement in verse 13 cannot endure under-emphasis. It is God who determines the superstar status of Jesus Christ. In succeeding verses Luke masterfully sketches the contrast between the macabre benefaction the people secured from Pilate and their own rejection of the Great Benefactor, the ἀρχηγός of ζωή (3:14-15), diction that requires no further comment as to its Hellenistic derivation.[58]

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[53]No student who claims to be conversant about Apollonios of Tyana can fail to have read Basil Gildersleeve's marvelous appraisal of this thaumaturge in *Essays and Studies Educational and Literary* (Baltimore, 1890; reprint, 1968) 251-96. Howard Clark Kee's related caution in *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia, 1977) 17-18, is a contemporary invitation to exegetical prudence.

[54]See the instructive study by M. Dennis Hamm, *This Sign of Healing, Acts 3:1-10: A Study in Lucan Theology* (unpublished PhD dissertation, St. Louis University, 1975).

[55]Compare Luke 5:25-26; 7:16; 18:13; 17:15; 18:43; 19:37, 55.

[56]The phrase "our own" is suggestive of independence from other resources. Luke uses the phrase with exquisite economy and force. On the *idios* feature see *Benefactor*, pp. 335-36. The point of Acts 20:28 is that God assumes the total cost of reacquisition of humanity. Since Luke's public knows that the God of Israel does not have blood, they would need no semantic indicators beyond the tie-in with their own cultural experience of the benefactor who gives to the uttermost: in this case God's "own blood" is Jesus himself. The soteriology is Luke's, not Paul's. Waldemar Schmeichel's explanation of Luke's diction in 20:28 ("Does Luke Make a Soteriological Statement in Acts 20:28?" *SBL 1982 Seminar Papers*, 501-514) requires major adjustment from the Graeco-Roman perspective.

[57]On Luke's bridging of Semitic "servant" views with Hellenistic benefactor understandings see Danker, *Luke* (Proclamation Commentaries, 1976) 70-82.

[58]See Paul-Gerhard Mueller, *Christos-Archegos: Der religionsgeschichtliche und theologische Hintergrund einer neutestamentlichen Christuspraedikation* (Frankfurt/M., 1973).

Acts 4:5-12

Acts 4:5-12 rephrases the point made in chapter 3, but with more Hellenistic volume. There is no question concerning the classification of the healing. It is a benefaction (εὐεργεσία, 9) and falls into the broad category of salvation (the verb σῴζω, 9). By raising Jesus Christ from the dead, the Supreme Superstar endorses Jesus with power plenipotentiary. To Graeco-Roman auditors who had been accustomed to link the theme of salvation with the mighty of this earth, the declaration in verse 12, which bears all the marks of an edict, puts all other superstars in a subordinate position.[59] And the perfect passive participle δεδόμενον ("given") stamps the action as God's abiding benefaction. When Peter and John subsequently declare that they "can only recite what they have seen and heard" (20), Luke's Graeco-Roman auditors hear the familiar Hellenistic word-deed theme generated. With the words "all were glorifying God" (21) Luke calls concluding attention to the Supreme Benefactor, who through the healing of the lame man has provided a signifier of salvation in its profoundest aspects.

Acts 27

St. Paul is the principal apostolic superstar in Luke's narrative. In his climactic presentation of Paul's career as a philanthropist entrusted for outreach to the world with the Gospel concerning the Great Benefactor, Luke shows how Paul undergoes great danger and is responsible for the rescue of a great number of people (Acts 27).

After tossing in a storm for two weeks Paul invites the crew to dinner (27:34). With gestures reminiscent of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Luke 9:12-17), in front of all he gave thanks to God (Acts 27:35). This action signifies that all attention is to be focused on God as Supreme Benefactor, and the entire depiction of the terrors of the deep serves to enhance that portrait.[60] At the same time the apostolic superstar's piety is affirmed. The residents of Malta, who had themselves assumed the role of benefactors (28:2), take an opposite view after Paul is bitten by a venomous snake. Not finding their negative perceptions confirmed, they protected themselves against any adverse reaction from powers that were beyond their reckoning and without hesitation referred to Paul as a deity or divine man.[61] As a centurion named Julius had done earlier (27:1-3), a prominent man named Publius showered Paul with kindness (28:7). Paul reciprocated his benefactions by healing Publius' father-in-law (verse 8). Again Paul's piety is highlighted; in acknowledgment of the Supreme Benefactor, he prays as he lays hands on the sick man. Verse 10 is true to the Hellenistic spirit of the scene: the numerous healings are reciprocated with "numerous awards" (πολλοῖς τίμαις).

The repeated interplay in Acts 27-28 of philanthropic thematic at various social levels is further indication that Luke's primary paradigm for understanding the significance of Jesus is the culturally embedded phenomenon of benefaction and reciprocity. Of all human benefactors Jesus is the greatest, second only to God, Supreme Benefactor.

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[59] On edicts see Margareta Benner, *The Emperor Says: Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire* (Göteborg, 1975). The edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander has elicited much comment; translation, *Benefactor* No. 51.

[60] On sea-narratives consult Vernon K. Robbins, "By Land and by Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; Special Studies Series, Box 2190, Danville, VA 24541) 215-42.

[61] On the terms θεός and *divus* see *Benefactor*, p. 46.

PART II. THE PASSION ACCOUNT

Once Luke's basic theological perspective and the paradigm for understanding it are perceived, details in the contours of his Christology begin to emerge with greater clarity. Through his edition of the story of Jesus' arrest and sentence and through a variety of references to the manner of his death Luke shows that Jesus is himself a superstar but enjoys that status because he is subject to great hazard in a climactic demonstration of God's generosity to humanity.

Endangered Benefactor

Endangered Benefactor is a recurring theme in Hellenistic documents honoring superstars, and Luke's Graeco-Roman auditors would have found a way to penetrate the "folly of the cross" through association of the fate of Jesus with experiences of many of their superstars.[62]

In praise of Demetrios the Great (336-283), who bore the byname Poliorketes, the Athenians in fulsome accolade declared that he "endured danger and hardship."[63]

Antiochus I of Kommagene, self-styled superstar, proclaims in an inscription that his piety and holiness had helped him "to survive in marvelous ways the great dangers (κινδύνους) that befell him," thus enabling him "to achieve remarkable mastery in matters of State that appeared to be hopeless."[64]

In a letter of acceptance of honors voted him by Ionians in 167-166, Eumenes II repeats their references to the "many great struggles" (πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας) that he had undertaken in their behalf against non-Greeks, and "with indifference in the face of approaching danger."[65]

Of an otherwise unknown philanthropist named Menas we learn from the extensive citation in his honor that he "spares no expense in rendering public service nor gives thought to any hazard (κίνδυνον) that imperils his own interests when he leaves on embassies in behalf of the city."[66]

Death is the ultimate hazard, and Hellenistic audiences knew well the tradition of Alkestis, daughter of Pelias and Anaxibia and wife of Admetos. As reported by Hyginus, Apollo had agreed that "another could volunteer to die in Admetos' place." When his father and mother declined, Alkestis offered herself. Herakles came on the scene and brought her back from the nether regions.[67] In Euripedes' classic treatment, *Alkestis*, Admetos upbraids his aged father Pheres for lacking the will and the courage to die in his behalf. (lines 644-645).

A pseudonymous writer, in a fragment attributed to the brilliant orator Demades (about 350-319), treats the topic of the ultimate hazard in these words: "If by my death I am in a position to contribute something to the common welfare (πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν), I am prepared to die. For the winning of public goodwill through one's own

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[62]On the theme of endangered benefactor see *Benefactor*, pp. 417-435; also Danker, in *Society of Biblical Literature 1981 Seminar Papers* (Vol. 20; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981) 39-48.

[63]Werner Peck and Nicolaos Kyparissis, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 66 (1941) 221-27, see p. 226, line 7 (= *Inscriptiones Atticae Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum* I (Chicago, 1976) 256-62, see p. 261, line 7; translation, *Benefactor* No. 30.

[64]*OGI* 383. 20-21.

[65]*OGI* 763. 8-14.

[66]*OGI* 339. 4-6 (= *Benefactor* No. 17).

[67]Hyginus 51 (ed. Rose).

death is a noble enterprise, if the sacrifice of life redounds to the interests of the city and not to the rhetorical prestige of my opponents."[68]

A pox on anyone who is unwilling to run the risk. With withering scorn the orator Lysias asks his audience why Andokides should receive any consideration: "For the conferment of what benefit (εὐεργεσία)?" he sneers. "Because he incurred danger many times on account of you in behalf of (ὑπέρ) the city?"[69]

With his customary finesse Luke incorporates in the passion account a story about the healing of the ear of the high priest's slave (Luke 22:49-53). Common in descriptions of Hellenistic benefactors are references to their concern for and interest in others especially in the midst of personal danger and inconvenience.[70] This motif is here linked by Luke with that of the benefactor's indiscriminate bounty. Surrounded by his enemies, Jesus heals without prejudice. By recording this tradition Luke suggests to his public what the passion of Jesus ultimately means.

Obligation

The term δεῖ is thematic in Luke and calls repeated attention to the fact that Jesus accepts his responsibility to incur whatever danger the Supreme Benefactor expects him to undergo. Its usage also contributes an imperial tone to Luke's entire work. The repeated references to Jesus' death as "necessity" alert Luke's public to the fact that this death can be understood only in terms of God's character and attitude as a beneficent Creator, who can convert history's most atrocious deed into an instrument of absolution for humanity.

Luke 18:18-19:10

Consideration of the theme of necessity provides a bridge for understanding the dynamics of Luke 18:18-19:10 in Luke's theological structure. Mark's anybody (Mark 10:17) becomes in Luke's recital an archon (Luke 18:18), a minor superstar, who addresses Jesus as a superstar ("good teacher") who can inform the archon about some public or private service that he can render in order to "inherit eternal life."[71] The dramatic benefactor structure of the recital (verses 18-23) is now established. Luke's thematic interests are adequately met by Mark's succeeding dialog, in which Jesus first of all reinforces the prerogative of God as Supreme Benefactor. The phrase "no one except God is good" (Luke 18:19) is Eastern in its logic. One must take God into primary consideration in evaluating goodness or beneficence. The archon prides himself on his own identity as a superstar. The phrase "from my youth" (Luke 18:21) is typical in Hellenistic description of honorands.[72] Jesus challenges his claim to identity as a superstar. If you want to be a real superstar, "Sell all you have and distribute it to the poor" (22). There

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[68]Demades 4 [179].

[69]Lysias 6. 40.

[70]See especially on Menas (note 66 above) and Seleukos (text in P. Roussel, *Syria* 15 [1934] 33-74 [= *Benefactor* No. 18]). In his proclamation to Hellas, Nero comments on the perils he has endured in traversing land and sea on behalf of the Greeks (*SIG* 814. 22-24).

[71]On the theme of goodness see *Benefactor*, pp. 318-320.

[72]Augustus begins his *Res Gestae* with the datum that he was only nineteen when he became a benefactor to the State ("I raised an army on my own initiative and at my own expense and I liberated the Republic when it was oppressed by a tyrannical faction"). Repeated mention is made of Opramoas' youthful promise (see *IGR* III, 739 and references in *Benefactor*, pp. 348-51; p. 384, note 146.

follows a reference to the Supreme Benefactor, who honors the reciprocity system: "You will have treasure in heaven." Then the punch line: "After that, come back and follow me." A surprise ending.

Once the identity of the Supreme Benefactor is established the person of Jesus is no longer a conundrum. Only a very exceptional superstar could make such a claim on human beings. Jesus is indeed a "good" teacher, and he is more. Luke 18:24-27 reinforces the point that God is the Supreme Benefactor who can bestow salvation against the greatest odds. Verses 28-30 find meaning in terms of Hellenistic reciprocity systems. But verses 31-34 climax the entire section through Jesus' prediction of the fate that shortly awaits him in Jerusalem. What the Twelve fail to understand is the generosity of God that will ultimately be displayed after events have run their course. The blind man (18:35-42), who is surrogate for the post-Easter Christian community, "sees," and the account appropriately terminates with "all the people giving praise to God." Unlike the archon, who like so many would-be superstars (see 22:25) wished to be known as a man of superior excellence, Zacchaeus (19:1-10) recognizes the special benefaction of God in the person of Jesus and in turn becomes a benefactor of many (19:8).

Gratitude and Ingratitude

Honorary inscriptions ordinarily record a public's unwillingness to appear ungrateful for benefits received.[73] To highlight for his auditors the immense beneficence of God, Luke calls attention to the concomitant theme of gratitude or ingratitude. Luke 17:12-19 anticipates strictures pronounced especially in the early chapters of Acts. One of the ten healed lepers returned to praise the Supreme Benefactor (15). In the same breath he gives thanks to Jesus. Through this conjunction of the two directions taken by the Samaritan's reaction to his healing Luke expresses his dominant theological theme: Jesus Christ, the extraordinary manifestation of God's beneficence. The nine other men are indicted for their failure to "return" and "give glory to God" (18). The locale of anticipated response is crucial. The Samaritan returns to Jesus. Jesus Christ is the Great Superstar. God's role as Supreme Benefactor is intimately linked with his person and work. Or, as Acts 4:12 expresses it: "No other name. . . ."

The repeated use of the topos, "You have endeavored to destroy Jesus, but God raised him up and now offers everyone the opportunity to repent" (Acts 2:14-39; 3:12-26; 13:15-41; see also 4:8-12), would suggest to Graeco-Roman ears the ultimate in a superstar's dedication, the acme of the Supreme Benefactor's tolerance and generosity, and the nadir of ingratitude.

Peace is the prime benefit a superstar can bestow.[74] Jerusalem failed to recognize the divine benefaction expressed in Jesus' person. There will come a time therefore when the attitude of God toward her will be clouded in obscurity (Luke 19:41-44). Yet God is determined to practice the role of Supreme Benefactor, and Jesus Christ remains the point at which God's identity is recognized (Acts 10:36).

Resurrection and Exaltation

Reversal in fortunes appears as a common theme in documents emanating from Greece and Rome. As noted earlier, Luke exploits this cultural interest especially in the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55), in the Sermon on the Plain (6:20-26), and in the parable of The

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[73]Examples in *Benefactor*, pp. 436-42.

[74]See, for example, *Res Gestae* 2.13; Ptolemy III, *OGI* 56.12; Ptolemy VI, *OGI* 116.8; excellent discussion, Wilhelm Nestle, "Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt," *Philologus* Supplement 31/1 (1938) 1-79, especially pp. 60-61.

Embarrassed Guest (14:7-11) who sought the place of honor at a banquet. The seekers of the heights are brought low, and the humble are exalted. All this is introduced, of course, in preparation for the reversal of the humiliating death to which Rome sentenced Jesus after his repudiation by the leaders of the people of Israel.

Jesus anticipates his triumphant vindication. Far from negating his identity as unique Son of God, the trip to the cross is entry into full exercise of God's power (22:69). Graeco-Roman auditors who were untutored in the mysteries of Jewish apocalyptic would probably understand the term "Son of man" or "Son of humanity" as an affirmation of fragility in contrast to the more durable aspect of "Son of God" (22:69-70).[75]

After the crucifixion the period of fragility is over. From the moment of his conception, Jesus' identity had been established. Parented by the Holy Spirit, he entered the world as the Son of God (Luke 1:34). The shepherds heard him pronounced Christ and Lord (2:11). At Nazareth Jesus affirms his role as Christ when he proclaims that the Spirit has christ-ed (ἔχρισεν, "anointed") him (4:18; so also Acts 10:38 and see 4:27). Demons know him to be such (Luke 4:41) and Peter uses a formulation ("the Christ of God," 9:20) that echoes a phrase in the story of Simeon ("the Lord's Christ," 2:26). In view of the data of the Gospel Luke's auditors would not experience the perplexity of some of his latter-day interpreters over the statement that "God had made him Christ and Lord" (Acts 4:36). Luke's public would note that the primary stress of the text is an affirmation about God, who carries out the beneficent plan of bestowing the Spirit on all who repent. The declaration, "God has made him Christ and Lord," is Eastern in its logic and does not affirm that the essential status of Jesus has undergone a change. He has been the Great Benefactor and remains such. Rather, the passage affirms that God refuses to permit the powers of this world to subvert the divine intent. This is the logic that generates the edict "There is no other name. . . ." (4:12). God's mind in the matter will never be changed, and the Anointed Superstar now is in charge of the next phase in God's demonstration of beneficence. The Holy Spirit is the manifestation of divine power and the generating cause of Jesus (Luke 1:35). What Jesus receives from his beneficent Father he pours out on the household of Israel (Acts 2:33), and through Israel to the world. The virginal conception (Luke 1:32-33), in contrast to the nationalistic Davidic origin (1:27, 32-33), is of importance to Luke as a supportive base for his view of Jesus Christ as Isaiah's Servant in mission to the world.

The foregoing analysis aids in clarification of Luke's apparently prejudicial indictment of Israel for the death of Jesus. Were Luke permitted to formulate his own reply, it might run something like this: "My emphasis on the indictment of Jesus by Israel is in no way to be construed as an expression of antipathy toward Jews. Rather, the failure of Israel is the background for appreciation of the overwhelming generosity of God, for the promise is first of all applicable to the Jews. One of my heroes, Paul, came at things from a different perspective, yet he is said to have written, 'Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound' (Romans 5:20). It would have been beside the point to focus attention on the guilt of the Romans, but I clearly indicate that the buck stopped with Pilate, who was Rome in Jerusalem. I tried to make the point that all the mighty of the earth closed in on Jesus (see especially Acts 4:25-27) in reinforcement of my theme that God ultimately introduces a reversal in favor of the humble."

At Acts 1:6 the disciples ask Jesus when he intends "to restore Israel's autonomy." From 1:7 to 3:21 Luke provides his public with an answer to the question. The disciples are themselves taken into the task of restoration, which involves "the complete restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) that God promised through the ancient prophets." Until this task is

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[75]See, e.g., the expression "son of pain" (ὀδύνης υἱός) meaning "madman" in Menander *Dyskolos* 88 (Danker, "The υἱος phrases in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960) 94.

achieved, the heavens must be in receipt of Jesus (3:21). Ἀποκατάστασις, the term for restoration, would be readily grasped by Graeco-Roman auditors as a reference to Jesus, to God, or to both as benefactors.[76] The Rosetta Stone records that Ptolemy V "restored (ἀποκατέστησεν) to their normal condition all the things that had suffered neglect in times past."[77] Nero is said to have "restored (ἀποκατέστησεν) (to Hellas) its ancient autonomy and freedom."[78] Again, Jesus is the Great Benefactor, under orders from the Supreme Benefactor. The ascent into heaven is not the means of giving Jesus an identity he did not possess before his death, but is part of the strategy of God in carrying out his beneficent purposes, first of all in behalf of Israel, and then for the world (3:25). Saul-Paul becomes the chief instrument for achievement of the latter objective.[79]

PART III. SPECIAL STRUCTURAL ASPECTS

Once the main outlines of Luke's use of his cultural paradigm have been determined, it is appropriate to explore other indicators of his sensitivity to the expectations of his Graeco-Roman public.

Luke fills his first three chapters with data that would assure his public that Jesus is indeed a superstar. Apart from other considerations, the conception and birth of John the Baptist is featured so as to draw attention to the superior status of Jesus. Appearances of heavenly messengers suggest that great things are afoot in connection with the son of Mary.

Greeks and Romans were accustomed to hear of portents that attended the birth of their superstars.[80] Zachariah's speech is impaired (Luke 1:20), but he recovers after he writes the assigned name John (1:64). Elizabeth's embryo reacts enthusiastically to Mary's greeting (1:44).

Oracles were an established part of Graeco-Roman life.[81] Simeon is in receipt of one, but in Christianized form, "through the Holy Spirit" (2:26). Simeon predicts ambivalent fortunes for Jesus (2:28-35).

At the age of twelve Jesus displays precocity and like an Alexander reveals aptitude for his life's assignment (2:41-52).[82]

Apart from awareness of other considerations that might have dictated Luke's choice of names for his genealogy, Graeco-Roman auditors who had some acquaintance with traditions that entered into Matthew's form of the genealogy could not fail to note the absence of personalities of dubious character. Less Jewishly oriented auditors would

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[76] See *Benefactor*, p. 423.

[77] *OGI* 90.18 (= *Benefactor* No. 31).

[78] *SIG* 814. 42-43; see *Benefactor*, p. 423.

[79] On Paul's role in the literary context see *Benefactor*, pp. 424-26.

[80] On the place of portents in ancient literary works see, for example, Lucan *Civil War* 7. 199-200; Horace *Odes* 1.34.7; Lucretius 6:400-403.

[81] On oracles and prophecy see E. von Dobschütz, "Christianity and Hellenism," *JBL* 33 (1944) 245-65, esp. pp. 245-46; this important article and the work by H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1956) are overlooked by Charles H. Talbert in his judicious collection of ancient testimonies, "Prophecies of Future Greatness: The Contribution of Greco-Roman Biographies to an Understanding of Luke 1:5-4:15" (in *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God's Control of Human Events, Presented to Lou H. Silberman*, ed. by James L. Crenshaw and Samuel Sandmel [New York, 1980] 129-41.

[82] On the motif "from earliest youth" see above, pp. 413-14.

be impressed by the antiquity of Jesus' pedigree.[83] Many superstars in Greece and Rome had divine ancestry ascribed to them. Jesus can trace his ancestry to the One God.[84]

Immortals

None of the items cited in the immediately preceding paragraphs were associated exclusively in Graeco-Roman minds with the so-called "immortals," including especially Herakles, Kastor and Polydeukes (the Dioskouroi), Asklepios, and the late-comer Alexander, whose deification invited a tidal wave of obsequiousness that in some instances disgusted ancient writers.[85] Nor are the traditions by any means consistent, and generalizations based on ancient literary testimonies are to be warily greeted. At the same time, the data incorporated by Luke would suggest to Graeco-Roman auditors that what is understood of Jesus on other grounds, namely his vindication through the ascension, is here consonant with such status and therefore appropriately positioned at the beginning of the entire narrative. But of pre-eminent importance is the general classification of Benefactor, which accommodates all exceptional features connected with Jesus that find expression in Luke's two-volume work.

It is important to observe in this connection that immortals were ordinarily recognized as such precisely because of the extraordinary benefits they conferred on their

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[83]The aristocratic ancestry of Opramoas (*IGR* III, 739) is repeatedly brought to the attention of the visitors to this benefactor's mausoleum.

[84]On the divine ancestry of such immortals as Herakles, the Dioskouroi, and Asklepios see Lewis Richard Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1920), hereafter cited Farnell, *Cults*.

[85]On the subject of the immortals see Farnell, *Cults*. Antiochus I of Kommagene endeavored to bypass the temporal and popular process by establishing a cultic locale for himself, *OGI* 383 (= *Benefactor* No. 41). The inscription composed by him for the tomb of his father Mithradates Kallinikos (first published by Friedrich Kark Doerner and Theresa Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* [Berlin, 1963] 40-59 = *Benefactor* No. 42) is of extraordinary significance for students of intertestamental theological developments. Inscriptions are the most important source for evidence of popular religion and therefore of the place of immortals in their understanding. (Vincent J. Rosivach has caught the scent in "Mars in the Inscriptions," *SBL 1982 Seminar Papers*, pp. 431-35.) Greek and Roman literary figures ordinarily write from the perspective of the elite and for the elite. Hence we have so many lacunae in our documentation of ordinary life in the ancient agora and boondocks. Since much of the early Christian membership came from the less privileged classes, it is important to derive evidence from cultural sources with which they were more probably collectively acquainted. In the case of a Graeco-Roman public, inscriptions are the most reliable source. Most papyri are of secondary value (except for official documents which often made their way on to stone), for they generally contain material of a private matter. Hence commercial documents and private correspondence make up the bulk of our papyrological inventory. Official decrees and bureaucratic decisions of other types, on the other hand, would be of general interest to Graeco-Roman populaces. Few citizens, it is true, would bother to read most of the citations that appeared on statues. But the formulations would be familiar to them, and the fact that Luke records Paul's interest in an inscription at Athens (Acts 17:23) is another indication of Luke's interest in Hellenistic affairs. Moreover, the question of the historical origins of Hellenistic-Christian Christologies is not to be confused with the question of the profile of Luke's Christology. Compare Howard Kee's criticism of standard scholarly Christological research, "Christology and Ecclesiology: Titles of Christ and Models of Community," in *SBL 1982 Seminar Papers*, p. 226. For a representative collection of literary sources relating to immortals see Charles H. Talbert, "The Concept of Immortals in Mediterranean Antiquity," *JBL* 94 (1975) 419-36.

worshipers, and the deeds attributed to their lifetime on earth became paradigms of their current beneficent activity.[86] Herakles is a "savior" who provides military aid, stimulates courage, and brings healing.[87] The Dioskouroi are "Sons of God" and hailed by many as saviors of mariners.[88] Asklepios is the great healer, who is praised by an unknown devotee in these words of an inscription from 138 C.E.:

> These are the words of your loving servant, O Asklepios, child of Leto's son. O blessed one, joy of my desire, my Divine Head, how can I come to your golden dwelling while I lack the strength in my limbs that once brought me to your shrine, unless your heart is inclined to me and you are willing to heal and permit me once again to enter your abode, that I might behold you, my God, more resplendent than earth in the springtide. . . . You alone, O Divine and Blessed One, have the power. You love compassion, and the Gods Supreme have granted you as a mighty boon to mortals, a shelter from sorrow.[89]

Common to Jesus and the immortals is their reputed function as benefactors. But Graeco-Roman auditors of Luke-Acts would be impressed with a primary difference. Immortals achieve their status *because* of their benefactions.[90] Jesus is indeed a benefactor, but he is in his person the manifestation of God's beneficence. His exaltation is further evidence of that beneficence. Moreover, immortals are promoted by worshipers who find them helpful.[91] Jesus is rejected by his own religious group, and the community that gathers about him after Pentecost partakes of the same generative power that brought Jesus into being (Acts 1:8 = Luke 1:35). To begin, then, with a species is methodologically inaccurate. All immortals are benefactors, but not all benefactors are among the immortals.

Through use of the benefactor paradigm Luke is able to maintain a bridge between the identity of Jesus and his associates in the proclamation of the gospel to the world, and yet convey the uniqueness of Jesus relative to those whom he associated with himself in a program of beneficence (Luke 5:1-11). Together with him they are benefactors, but he is the Great Benefactor. Also, the paradigm of benefactor makes possible the relative association of God and Jesus Christ. God could not be understood as an immortal, but the Deity's action in connection with Jesus Christ qualifies the God of Israel as the Supreme Benefactor.

Luke's use of Mark's incognito feature of the so-called Messianic Secret is in keeping with all his other literary tactics and does double service in his Gospel.[92] First, it serves to draw attention to the resurrection as the climactic demonstration of divine beneficence. Second, it would be interesting to some of Luke's Graeco-Roman auditors who may have had knowledge of incognito thematic in epic and dramatic productions. In the account of the Three on the Road to Emmaus (24:13-35) Luke compounds the possibilities of incognito through use of the unknown guest motif, masterfully employed in the *Odyssey*, part of the bible of the Mediterranean world, and exploited by Euripedes with powerful dramatic effect in the *Bacchae*.[93]

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[86] On the benefactions of immortals and their subsequent recognition see Farnell, *Cults*, passim.

[87] On Herakles see Farnell, *Cults*, 95-174.

[88] On the Dioskouroi see Farnell, *Cults*, 175-228.

[89] *Benefactor*, p. 193. The source is *IG* III/1, 171a = *IG* II 2d ed., 4514.1-10. Further details on Asklepios in Farnell, *Cults*, 234-279.

[90] See note 86, above.

[91] Farnell, *Cults*, passim.

[92] See Danker, *Luke* (Proclamation Commentary) 78-81.

[93] See Gerald K. Gresseth, "The *Odyssey* and the *Nalopakyana*," *TAPA* 109 (1979) 63-85. See *Odyssey* 13. 429-38.

Attestation

Among the semantic items that, in conjunction with other indicators, signal for Graeco-Roman auditors the presence of benefactor features is the term μαρτυρέω and cognates.[94]

The basic logic is expressed in Acts 14:17. The term ἀγαθουργέω used in this passage explicitly defines God as benefactor, for whose activity there is ample testimony, especially in the realm of agriculture.[95] Quite evidently one who draws attention to this fact extends the witness process, and Luke records that the apostolic words incited the crowd to make sacrifices in their honor, so grateful were they for introduction to the new deity. Perhaps, if one may be permitted an irreverent and uncritical irrelevance, it was a dry season.

Since the resurrection of Jesus is the climax of God's beneficence exhibited in Jesus, it is a matter for attestation, according to Acts 13:31, a passage that echoes Luke 24:48 and Acts 1:22.

At Acts 2:40 Peter is said to be rendering attestation to the people. This is stated after his recital of the divine beneficence (verse 38).

PART V. REPENTANCE

Appreciation of the dominant role of the benefactor paradigm in Luke's two-volume work also contributes to clarification of his accent on repentance. Generated by the culturally embedded phenomenon of reciprocity, repentance would be understood by Graeco-Roman auditors as the appropriate response to the kind of divine benefaction described by Luke. Those outside traditional Jewish moral perspectives would naturally think in terms of distribution of material things. Hence Luke has a great deal to say about the proper use of wealth.

Among the key exhibits for Luke's approach are The Stupid Grain Hoarder (Luke 12:16-21) and Zacchaeus, Unexpected Host (19:1-10). The former is not only a fool, but stingy. Like the misanthrope in one of Menander's comedies, he has concern only for himself. He is an anti-benefactor.[96] He should have reciprocated divine bounty by distributing to the poor. So confident is he of his presidency over the future that he does not bother to draw up a last will and testament. Now he will not even know his unanticipated beneficiaries. To a Graeco-Roman that meant he would receive no accolades, an assured portal to eternal obscurity. Zacchaeus wakes up to the New Age reality. His effusive response to Jesus' self-invitation attests the superstar status of Jesus. Luke's public would also note that the declaration of necessity (δεῖ, 19:5) involves God as the Supreme Benefactor, for the Great Benefactor is under orders. Through his munificent response and concern for the poor, Zacchaeus qualifies as a minor superstar or benefactor. He has manifested genuine repentance and has a dynamic acquaintance with the supreme benefaction, salvation.

Zacchaeus' response to divine generosity finds an echo in the account of The Generous Widow (Luke 21:1-4). Luke's narrative helps Graeco-Roman society develop fresh criteria for determining superstar status. Jesus makes a superstar out of the woman and shows that the quality of generosity is not dependent merely on quantity.[97]

In his recital of the two felons (Luke 23:39-43) Luke draws attention to the superstar status of Jesus, first by revising Mark's identification of the outlaws as bandits or

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[94] On the theme of attestation see *Benefactor*, pp. 442-49.

[95] See also Acts 17:23-25. The theme of gladness is strong in *OGI* 458. 1-11.

[96] Menander *Dyskolos* 328-335.

[97] For inscriptions relating to female superstars, apart from Isis, see H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*. Vol. II. *Texts on the Social History of the Greek World* (Leiden, 1969) 10-41.

revolutionaries to "doers of evil" (κακοῦργοι). Like Ptolemy Euergetes II (145-116 B.C.E.), who was called κακεργέτης, they are anti-benefactor figures, the opposite of ἀγαθουργοί ("doers of good" = benefactors").[98] Second, Luke introduces specific dialog, resulting in a contrast between the confession of anti-benefactor status by the one felon, and affirmation of the uprightness of Jesus, whose royal credentials are affirmed through the plea for remembrance. The reply of Jesus makes of the repentant felon the equivalent of an *amicus Caesaris* a much-coveted privilege in the Graeco-Roman world.[99] Through indirection Luke says it all.

Since Pentecost marks the bountiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:4), the long-expected donation of the Supreme Benefactor, it was to be expected that Luke should point to the extraordinary generosity of the new community (Acts 2:44-45; 4:32). It was said of Opramoas, the Lycian politician of a subsequent century, that he considered his purse public property, for he was so intent on meeting public need.[100] Herodes Atticus thought of safe deposit boxes as detention centers for cash. Money was to be given away, not put away.[101] Luke agreed.

PART VI. RECIPROCITY DECREE

In harmony with his presentation of the beneficence of the Supreme Benefactor, Luke uses Hellenistic decretal formulation in Acts 15:23-29 to show how beneficence can contribute to the solution of ecclesiastical problems. Detailed account of the Hellenistic diction and formal features in this portion of Acts is given in *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*. It is sufficient here to call attention to the reciprocity element.[102]

From a methodological point of view it is helpful to know that bureaucratese changes little over the centuries. The two letters that follow are typical of the kind of prose that found its way onto stone. The first is from Strategos of Aitolia:

> Dikaiarchos to the Council and People of Magnesia, greeting. *Whereas* the sacred envoy whom you sent comported himself with honor during his stay among us and has completed in an appropriate manner his duties relative to the sacrifices in service of the gods and has well discharged his responsibilities in connection with the Pythian Contest, and has shown laudable concern for the directors of the Contest and for colleagues who served as sacred envoys, therefore we, in deliberative assembly, together with the Amphictyonic Council, have honored him, and we have *resolved* to write you concerning him. You will do well therefore to receive with favor our commendation of Sosikles and the honors that have been bestowed on him. Farewell.[103]

The second is from Eumenes II to the Karians:

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[98]On Ptolemy II Euergetes see Athenaeus 184c.

[99]See also John 19:12. The commentators for the most part rely on the Wettstein tradition, which includes 1 Macc 10:65; 11:26-27; 2 Macc 8:9; and numerous Greek and Roman authors. Haman (Book of Esther) presumed on the relationship and King Artaxerxes terminated him on the gallows that Haman had designed for Mordecai.

[100]*IGR* III, 739. vii.28.105-106. Not only did Opramoas make munificent donations for public works, but when asked to also assume administration of the projects he accepted the responsibility without hesitation (xiii.53.50-54; xv.15.55.16-26; xvii.59.70-73).

[101]Philostratos *Lives of the Sophists* 2. 1 [547].

[102]*Political Issues in Luke-Acts*, ed. by Richard J. Cassidy and Philip J. Scharper (Maryknoll, NY, 1983) 49-58 (hereafter, *Political Issues*).

[103]Greek text in Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin, reprint 1967) no. 91d. Translation in *Political Issues*, p. 52.

> [It is our wish] that you should share in the sacrifices and [in the contests. We have therefore sent as envoys] Megon of Ephesos, whom we consider one of our friends and one who is held in [high] honor, and Kalas of Pergamon, adjudged by us [to be a person of merit], and who as a citizen has attained everything that befits his age, [and who has been chosen] by his city because it joins us in this proclamation. You will do [well], then, first out of consideration for the Goddess (Athena) and then for our person, to give [these men] a courteous hearing and to recognize the [Nikephorion festival and the inviolability of the sanctuary]. In so doing you will quite evidently [be sharing] in the advancement of her honors and you will find us very eager [in the future] to do everything in [our power] that is advantageous to your people. You will hear [from the envoys] at greater length about these matters. Farewell. Megon delivered it on the sixth of Anthesterion.[104]

The epistolary form of the Aitolian letter is merely a vehicle for transmitting the decretal formulation, consisting of preamble and resolution. So it is with the letter recorded in Acts 15:24-29. The letter from Eumenes is of interest, first of all, for its reference to the further elucidation that envoys will give of matters presented but briefly in the letter. Luke records that the envoys, Jude and Silas, are to announce verbally τὰ αὐτά, "the same things," or simply, "the details." Second, the formulaic "you will do well" is explicitly interpreted by the clause: "In so doing you will find us very eager to do everything in our power that is advantageous to your people." Such expansion is typical of the Asiatic style.[105] Luke's use of the phrase εὖ πράξετε is not to be explained at the hand of private papyrus letters. The formulaic patterns of private documents derive from bureaucratic practice, not vice versa.[106] One can therefore conclude that Luke's brief phrase εὖ πράξετε "is generated by the depth structure of the socio-cultural context common to the public envisaged for the audition of Acts 15, . . ."[107] This means that Luke's public would sense the reciprocity system at work. Jerusalem bends over backward in generosity to the addressees. No "burden" beyond a few slight concessions to Jewish sensitivities is to be placed on the fellowship.[108] In return for such courteous regard for Jewish scruples the addressees can be assured of continuing goodwill from the Christians in Jerusalem.

Of special significance in Acts 15:28 is the mention of the Holy Spirit, who is the manifestation of God functioning as Supreme Benefactor. In all collegiality with the Holy Spirit, the members of the Christian community (not the leaders only) in Jerusalem function as a body of benefactors, in outreach to the world.[109] As Luke records it, this was the objective announced at Nazareth (4:18). The decision by Jerusalem is presented in Luke's account as an integral factor of his Christology and cannot be properly understood apart from that conceptual context.

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[104]Greek text, C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (London, 1934; reprint, Chicago, 1974) no. 49a. Translation, *Political Issues*, p. 53.

[105]On the Asiatic Style see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Asianismus und Atticismus," *Hermes* 35 (1900) 1-52. *OGI* 383 (= *Benefactor* No. 41; see also No. 42) is an excellent example of the Asiatic Style.

[106]See Eiliv Skard, *Zwei religioes-politische Begriffe: Euergetes-Concordia* (Oslo, 1931).

[107]*Political Issues*, pp. 53-54.

[108]See *Benefactor*, pp. 393-94, on alleviation of burdens.

[109]Luke's emphasis on the democratic aspects of the proceedings is in harmony with the basic political traditions of hellenistic cities; see *Political Issues*, pp. 54-55.

SUMMARY

Luke assumes that culturally embedded understanding of benefaction and reciprocity offers possibility for interpretation of God's action in connection with Jesus Christ to a broadly representative audience. In accommodation of his public Luke uses the paradigm of superstar or benefactor. This paradigm permits Luke to write about God, Jesus Christ, and human beings in terms of quality of performance and their relationship(s) to one another, without prejudicing their differences in status. For the interpreter of Luke, our theory concerning his theological-Christological approach offers the following advantages:

1. It endeavors to do justice to Luke's many and varied references to God as agent and director of all the proceedings.
2. It displays coherence between the various data in Luke-Acts that relate Jesus and his activity to God.
3. It aims to demarcate the main lines of Luke's Christological approach, thus clearing the way for tidier methodological approaches to identification of the contours of the various Christologies that Luke encountered in his research and in the communities within which he developed his understanding of Christianity and its history.
4. It clarifies Luke's pneumatology as an integral factor of the divine activity expressed in Jesus.
5. It accounts for numerous editorial modifications of Mark.
6. It offers an additional instrument for probing the relationship of Luke's theology to that of Paul.
7. It opens further avenues to account more adequately for Luke's evident regard for the Septuagint and at the same time provides an additional base for understanding his departures from the Septuagintal tradition.
8. It suggests a fresh approach to Luke's attitude toward Jews and the Roman bureaucracy.
9. It demonstrates the contributions that can be made if critical inquiry extends beyond a narrow source-critical approach and embraces the possibilities offered by the various types of philological-literary inquiry that have been developed in recent decades, with special emphasis on cultural anthropology and semantic field analysis.
10. It helps correct the error of "reductionism" cited by Larry W. Hurtado, "The Study of New Testament Christology: Notes for the Agenda," *Society of Biblical Literature 1981 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent Harold Richards; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981) 185-92, see esp. pp. 188-91.
11. It does not suggest evasion of Jewish tradition that was incompatible with Graeco-Roman views, but would encourage exploration of the transcultural phenomenon of the political and cultural superstar in terms of the semantic fields used in purely Semitic cultures. Inquiry of this type would assist New Testament scholars in finding their way out of some of the impasses created by data that reproach the methodologies used to control them.
12. It establishes a paradigmatic base for recognition of comparable factors in other New Testament documents and thereby offers methodological access to clearer awareness of features of dissimilarity.
13. It calls attention to data that require consideration in determining cultural strata of target communities.

History and Text: The Reader in Context in Matthew's Parables Discourse

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"Have you understood all this?" They said to him, "Yes." And he said to them "Therefore every scribe who has been trained for the Kingdom of Heaven is like a householder who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old."

—Matt 13:52

Rabbi Akiba he called a "well-stocked storehouse." To what might Rabbi Akiba be likened? To a laborer who took his basket and went forth. . . .[1]

—Rabbi Judah the Prince

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

At last year's meeting of the Structuralist Exegesis seminar we agreed this year to take up certain questions that we had bracketed for a time, two of which were the nature/function/status of *context* and the nature/function/status of the *reader*. In both cases the broader concern as I interpreted it was a return in some sense of exegetical discourse to history. But history "in some sense" is precisely the problem. For if the issues of context and reader in relation to history were clearly marked, the way of speaking about the historical character of context and reader remained far from obvious. After structuralism and the structural turn how do we speak about the relationship of text to reader to context to history? Out of which framework? Under what prevailing epistemological constraints? Are we to deal at the level of theory or praxis, or both? Should we attempt to hammer out some rapprochement with traditional historical criticism on the one hand for whom context is a critical issue (i.e., form criticism), or with traditional literary criticism on the other with its concentration upon the original reader through a close reading of the text (i.e., redaction or composition criticism)?

Indications of our changing interests were visible last year. Witness on the one hand our collaborative effort with the Pronouncement Stories Group with its positivist view of text and notion of exegesis as the positive application of a scientific method of

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[1]The saying continues: ". . . When he found wheat, he put some in the basket; when he found barley he put that in; spelt, he put that in; lentils, he put them in. Upon returning home he sorted out the wheat by itself, the barley by itself, the beans by themselves, the lentils by themselves. This is how R. Akiba acted, and he arranged the whole TORAH in rings" (Avot de R. Natan, ch. 18). Cited in Susan Handelman, *The Slayers of Moses. The Emergence of Rabbinic Interpretation in Modern Literary Criticism* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1982) 45.

analysis to a text. Yet, at the same time, the form of our joint paper with its displaced authors, fragmented texts and fictional narrator pointed in a quite different direction, namely to text as intertextual production and exegesis as discourse of another sort. As a minimum we can say that the tension between these two directions indicates that the Seminar has ceased pursuing strictly structuralist ends but has yet to identify clearly where it stands other than to say that it is in some sense chronologically "post-structuralist." Whether or not this means that the seminar is ready to pursue "post-structural" or "post-modern" literary critical methods in the sense defined by Young or Norris[2] is less significant perhaps than the fact that a different understanding of text and of what it means to be a "critical" reader is emerging, one that necessitates taking up the question of the text in history in ways not accounted for in structuralist terms.

Our indebtedness as critics to structuralist modes of exegesis in particular and the structural turn in general is no less direct than it is formative. Think of our habit of asking, From what standpoint? At what level? With which method? or our concentration upon networks of relations, systems and structures, the concern for differences. Not only has our faculty for proposing different models, paradigms or frameworks for reading texts developed, but also the capacity for methodological self-critique that does not fail to ask the epistemological and ontological question. The structural turn on its own grounds has not only empowered a different kind of exegetical praxis, it has also made us aware of what we do as critics and the relationship of critical discourse to controlling modes of institutional power and vested interests. Think of our scheduling gyrations, to say nothing of the suspicious reception given the Seminar's efforts. In focusing upon the issues of context and reader at this moment we do so aided by structural exegesis's descriptive power, as Barthes says, "to reconstitute the object . . . to make known the rules of functioning or 'functions'" . . . to provide "a simulacrum of the object . . . a simulation that is both powerful and relevant." And for the same reasons we recognize that the historical questions of context and reader are somehow more than logarithms of functions and squares of logical operations. Just as structural exegesis addressed questions unmanaged by traditional historical exegesis, a different reflection upon context and the critical reader is called for—and de facto is being practiced—that in the aftermath of the structural turn understands the text in ways that structuralist exegesis cannot.

As a step toward developing that reflection further I want to discuss in this essay two ways of raising the questions of context and reader in history and to use both in reading the text of Matt 13, the discourse on the parables. Complementary in certain respects to one another, each situates the text in relation to history in a decidedly different fashion: the first as *literary* or *textual history* (as represented, for example, in the efforts of Derrida and Barthes), and the second as *cultural history* (as seen in the work of Foucault, as well as Jameson and Said). The notions then of context and reader prove to be field-variant terms with respect to the two directions of textual and cultural history. In the first instance, context is viewed in intertextual terms by which texts, understood as signs, disseminate and proliferate through relations of differentiation and deferral; the reader is reduced to the playful occasion for writing the text, so many libertine readings generated by the power of the text as signifier. In the second case, context is to be seen in institutional and discursive terms and exposed through an archaeological analysis. Context, which means more than text, and the reader as a decentered subject may both be defined in function of discursive rules that operate in a given cultural space in a way that may be opposed to another cultural space. After offering some

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[2]Robert Young, ed. "Post-Structuralism. An Introduction," in *Untying the Text. A Post-Structuralist Reader* (London: Routledge, 1981) 1-28; Christopher Norris, *Deconstruction. Theory and Practice* (New York: Methuen, 1982) chapter 1.

preliminary considerations of these two options I will draw from both in an effort to read Matt 13 using the concepts of intertextuality and archaeology, of the intertext and the discourse. What we will see is that in spite of their very different directions, Matthew's text calls for a reading as a process of intertextuality and of discursive praxis.

I. HISTORY INTERTEXTUALITY

In the now well-publicized "Yale Manifesto" Derrida reflects upon the notion of borders, those lines of demarcation that constitute limits separating text from extratextual world, text from text, text from reader. He says

> The question of the text, as it has been elaborated and transformed in the last dozen or so years, has not merely "touched" "shore," le bord (scandalously tampering, changing, as in Mallarmé's declaration, "On a touché au vers"), all those boundaries that form the running border of what used to be called a text, of what we once thought this word could identify, i.e., the supposed end and beginning of a work, the unity of a corpus, the title, the margins, the signatures, the referential realm outside the frame, and so forth. What has happened, if it has happened, is a sort of overrun [*débordement*] that spoils all these boundaries and divisions and forces us to extend the accredited concept, the dominant notion of a "text," of what I still call a "text," for strategic reasons, in part—a "text" that is henceforth no longer a finished corpus of writing, some content enclosed in a book or its margins, but a differential network, a fabric of traces referring endlessly to something other than itself, to other differential traces. Thus the text overruns all the limits assigned to it so far (not submerging or drowning them in an undifferentiated homogeneity, but rather making them more complex, dividing and multiplying strokes and lines)—all the limits, everything that was to be set up in opposition to writing (speech, life, the world, the real, history, and what not, every field of reference—to body or mind, conscious or unconscious, politics, economics, and so forth).[3]

Using the concept of textuality defined in semiotic terms as a wedge, Derrida activates a full-scale effort at prying apart and exposing the private parts of the western metaphysical system in the form of its literary and philosophical traditions. Against this backdrop his more particular concern in this essay is with the nature of the boundary questions that arise when such expressions as "that which lies outside of the text," the "referential realm outside of the text," "the opposition to writing (speech, life, the world, the real, history . . . every field of reference)" are used. He does this by arguing the ridiculous and absurd case that the text overruns everything established as a limit to its working. What Derrida has in mind in raising the question of the text in history (western intellectual history) is to draw attention to the boundary implications of the textual/extratextual dichotomy. At one level Derrida's concern is clearly not to deny or to diminish what is other-than-text, since the logic of "difference" demands the "other," but to direct slumbering attention to the *border* and the *fact* of the border that separates text from what it is not. The question is: What do the boundaries signify? On what basis do we consent to distinguish text from extratext?

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[3]Jacques Derrida, "Living On. Border Line," in *Deconstruction and Criticism* (ed. Geoffrey Hartman; New York: Seabury, 1979) 83-84. This is an essay in two parts with both "essays" running continuously on top and bottom of the same pages. "Living On" refers to the top half; "Border Line" to the bottom half.

In raising the matter of borders Derrida shows this to be but the question of difference in yet another guise. Like Lacan's bar separating signifier from signified within the sign, the boundary separating the text from context ("speech, life, the world, the real,") is an established border. For this reason "no border is guaranteed, inside or out"[4] on its own grounds but is authorized by some "*external* constraint"; all borders and relationships are arbitrary in some sense and can be violated. Derrida's major unfinished business is specifying the nature of this "external constraint"; for Foucault, by contrast, this matter lies at the heart of his historical writing.

A too-rapid reading of Derrida as a dismissal of the world by reduction to textuality fails to appreciate the problematic of borders that he presses:

> I am here seeking to establish the necessity of this whole problematic of judicial framing and of the jurisdiction of frames.[5]

In one sense this is not a call for total textualization of the world at the expense of context, history, referent or the other but a reaffirmation of difference as that which makes it possible before the fact to recognize the text/world relationship. Overrunning the border as he does with such statements as "Il n'y a pas de hors-texte" is part of an invasive strategy that underscores the necessity of difference/borders within history understood in the first instance as *textual history*. *Intertextuality*, the deferral of text to text to text, functions both as a confirmation of difference and the foreground for an understanding of the relation of text to historical truth. Once we recognize that the text consists of different traces that refer to other traces we can say with Riddel:

> Derrida deprives us of literature in its relation to truth, only to give us back "literature" in quotation marks, a text whose meaningfulness resides in its play of differences, including the insertion within of disruptive re-marks, other text, signs that are not filled with meaning but are always already doubled. . . .[6]

To understand the text within history is to comprehend its differential status in relation to other texts. Less convincing is the other side of this equation, namely that in order to understand history one must do so principally in intertextual terms, as a play of differences. Foucault will force the issue.[7] Derrida does not seek to dissolve boundaries (only to "spoil" them) nor "to extend the reassuring notion of the text to a whole extra-textual realm and to transform the world into a library by doing away with all boundaries, all frameworks."[8] Rather, he problematizes the very notion of boundary and along with it the way we habitually think about text, meaning, reader, context, history, and so forth, by multiplying instead of leveling boundaries. Yet, a limited view of text as sign suggests the very position that he denies.

Hyperbole notwithstanding, why should Derrida's view of text and what it implies about the text's place within history be so disturbing? In part it is because he does not honor traditional boundaries which distinguish between literary criticism and literary

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[4]Ibid., p. 78.

[5]Ibid., p. 88.

[6]Joseph Riddel, "From Heidegger to Derrida to Chance. Doubling and (Poetic) Language," in *Martin Heidegger and the Question of Literature* (ed. William Spanos; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979) 247.

[7]See Foucault's critique of Derrida in "What is an Author?" in his *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice. Selected Essays and Interviews* (ed. Donald Bouchard; trans. D. Bouchard and Sherry Simon; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977) 119-120.

[8]Derrida, "Living On," p. 84.

history, boundaries which define the latter as a search for the cause, origin, goal, purpose of a text, an approach predicated upon the fundamental separation of text from history, text from reader, text from context. The more serious irritation, however, is the recognition that he forces of the metaphysical investment in these boundaries. The very idea of borders as an enigma is a blow to a tradition which views its borders as given. There is considerable reluctance in admitting that my borders are imposed (Isn't all history written by the winners?); that any separation of text from context is always an imposition (in the sense of "imposere"), which means deceit, an imposture ("impositus"): "It is always an *external* constraint that asserts a text in general. . . ."[9]

Context is history viewed in terms of text and intertextual relationships. But what of the reader and the reader's role in this process of differentiation? First of all, there is no "ideal reader" who exercises a competence that connects text with text; no organized search for the spaces of indeterminacy to be mortared in so as to secure the text. Such a view implies a "right" sort of reader and an identification of the "right" borders. In the same way that historical context dissolves into texts, so the reader for Derrida gives way to the activity of writing, textual dissemination. This activity is neither a reactionary search for the true borders nor a radical overthrow of those that prevail: "No one inflexion enjoys an absolute privilege."[10] One would presume from this statement that it is a value-free activity. The reader is hardly more than an occasion for penetrating and expanding the network of texts that make up the literary intertextual chain; subjectivity is swallowed up by textuality. As an activity of reading the reader thus becomes a confirmation of an intertextuality that overruns those borders that have traditionally privileged the referent, the context, the cause, etc.; it is a strategy that at the same time gives the disseminating text free reign as signifier to cross the borders into other texts, and thus to show the signifying possibility of all texts with any context. The reader as controlling subject defers to the text. Moreover, whatever else we may want to say about them, the strategy of intertextuality dramatizes the force of difference that plays throughout history in the text. Whereas in the past we have been content to speak about literary history as genealogy from origin to telos because of the border separating text from context, now the semiotic nature of that imposed boundary is exposed and overrun to admit of the possibility of imposing a different distinction. We don't have far to go to see the reader as Bloom does as the opportunity for misreading, as the expression of the power of difference.

Thus we are forced to see in Derrida's notions of textuality and intertextuality that context and reader are not isolatable entities within an historical flow of events explainable simply in terms of cause/effect, accident, and the like, but are effects of textual differentiation.

> The literary text is a play of textuality, not simply in the obvious sense that a "work" of art always originates in the historical field of predecessors. Its own play of differences mirrors its displacement and reappropriation of other texts, and anticipates the necessary critical text which must "supplement" it. . . .[11]

In its relation to another text (to commentary, for example) neither preceding nor following text is superior or inferior, better or worse, *by nature*. From the point of view of differentiation the critical reading as intertext is as necessary as the read text; it is a signifier/signified in relation to another sign, a supplement, a necessary complement.

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[9]Derrida, "Border Lines," p. 171.

[10]Derrida, "Living On," p. 78.

[11]Riddel, "From Heidegger," p. 249. Cited in Vincent Leitch, *Deconstructive Criticism. An Advanced Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) 98.

Derrida prefers to direct attention to the boundary conditions of texts; that for him is the way to address the question of context. Every text is best viewed as always already bound up within a systemic relationship with other texts, woven just as signifier is to signified, signifier to signifier, signified to signified. One text defers, differs from, is differentiated from another. In viewing all texts as supplements, as writing, the reader as individual voice disappears in favor of the effects of difference and the process of differentiation itself only to emerge in the guise of the new text. Textual history by this definition is not a search for an Ur-text that has founded all others but a demonstration of connections, of residual texts present by negative implication, by differences in not commonalities of source or intention. This means, of course, at the same time, that textual history is a series of gaps between text and text, text and reader in the same way that there are always gaps between signifiers and signifieds.

A work of literature from this perspective is but an interplay—to invoke Barthes once again, a tissue, an interweaving, texture—in which there is always the possibility of finding and establishing a relationship with some other text, always a gap to be filled momentarily but never exhaustively, always more reading activity to take place, always room for one more reading. What this means for a literary history of the text is the short circuiting of the search for the one meaning, the one signifier, the one stable mental content, the one voice, the ideal entity, the signified that one seeks to make present by invoking the proper method and technical hermeneutic. That texts are understood to camouflage a meaning only later to be reconstructed through careful interpretation is a traditional view of literary critical boundary conditions. But if we view "meaning" as continuous acts of dissemination, dispersion, spreading out, as functions of differentiation, interspersed through the myriad play of difference both within the text and between texts, the history of the text is an effort at displaying the boundaries/limits/conditions/differences that join and disjoin texts from one another.

"Il n'y a pas de hors-texte." One could read this as a denial of the external world and of history. But what we would say is that Derrida affirms the impossibility of escape on the one hand from the Western tradition and on the other hand from the play of differentiation, i.e., textuality. We cannot do with literature what Kant wanted to do but failed to do with philosophy—that is make it a science of knowledge, to get outside of our representation to some high ground of apodicticity where we can determine the truth about the text, its meaning and context; there is no respite from the process of differentiation. Derrida's contribution to the study of the history of the text, it seems to me, is that he helps us to see the hopeless philosophical efforts to escape and to search for some foundation (of truth, meaning, language or subject), and the equally hopeless efforts of textual critics who do the same with their texts either by separating texts from other texts or divorcing texts from their readers. There can be neither escape from the Western tradition and its boundaries nor an overlooking of these borders, only an overrunning of the limits. Yet, what can Derrida's textual strategy say about these "external constraints"? Precisely because the reading subject is decentered how are we to describe the structures that organize and effect the production and reception of texts? Derrida gives us a textual history outside of culture and cultural praxis that leaves us with far too many gaps.

HISTORY AND DISCOURSE

The cultural history practiced by Foucault, Said and others contrasts sharply with the textual history that characterizes Derrida and other deconstructionists. If we admit to the limitations inherent in either situating the text outside of culture or in textualizing culture itself, but insist upon the importance of structur*al* thinking, then we must think of history in a different post-structural way. Foucault's notion of history as discourse moves us in that direction.

For Foucault history is defined in terms of discourse: history is an "immense panoply of heterogeneous discursive practices."[12] To describe history is to identify the discursive rules and procedures for writing and thinking characteristic of a particular field of knowledge within a cultural space as a whole. The way one goes about describing such rules of discourse is by a type of archaeological excavation that attempts to disclose the distinctive layers of discursive rules operating within a particular era. This is done not by finding the universal forms of order covering a given period of time but the extant forms of disorder; by concentrating upon the discontinuities and differences of discourse within and between eras, the faults that separate one discursive practice from another. Archeology thus makes *discontinuity* a "positive" descriptive tool: it helps to restore to "our silent and apparently immobile soil its rifts, its instabilities, its flaws."[13]

Discourse is the key to a description of cultural history, for if we can identify the *rules* that make certain ways of speaking/writing possible, we can recover those unacknowledged structures that permit one kind of knowing to be practiced and not another. Discovery of these rules enables us to explain why then certain objects and concepts appear and others do not, why certain theories take shape, change, disappear, etc. Knowing the discursive rules means understanding how it is possible for thought and action to assume the shape that it does in a given historical era. History is disclosed through an identification of shifting discursive rules and practices over time.

The discursive rules that prevail at particular moments and contribute to a culture's distinctive character do not fall under the control of individual speakers or writers. In this sense, when it comes to understanding a text Foucault is not at all concerned to identify generic constraints and rules of literary expression that individuals can choose to employ or not, but with what he calls the "positive unconscious" that underlies any individual expression and is at the same time responsible for the possible discursive practices of that individual. On this score Foucault shows his indebtedness, like Derrida, to the structural turn in that for him too the subject is "decentered" in relation to the discontinuities and regularities of his particular discourse and to the wider epistemic rules which cover the range of different discursive practices in a given historical period. (This is no less so in the post-modern period; we are simply more cognizant of it.) With the subject removed from the center the rules that govern discursive practice move to center stage. No longer can the historical critic simply identify the subject's thoughts, desires, intentions, background, and the like—though Foucault acknowledges that this research remains a possibility for others; rather he/she must also investigate the *system of formation* that regulates discourse and makes it possible for the subject to be subject, thus to be able to know and to speak in a certain way.[14]

Within each discourse (viewed as a "discipline" in the modern period), the statements that are uttered follow the rules peculiar to that discursive time and space. Those rules have their locus regionally in what Foucault calls the "archive," that is the "general system of the functions and transformation of statements"[15] whose regularities make a volume of discourse organized and understandable. The archive is that set of rules "which gives to what we say—and to itself, the object of discourse—its modes of appearance, its forms of existence and co-existence, its system of accumulation, historicity and disappearance."[16] As such historical investigation is an identification of various archives

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[12]Leitch, p. 148.

[13]Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon, 1970) xxiv.

[14]See M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (trans. Sheridan Smith; New York: Harper, 1972) 186-190.

[15]Idem, p. 130.

[16]Ibid.

in force and the differences or discontinuities that exist between one set of rules and another. It is in this sense that Foucault can assert, "History becomes 'effective' to the degree it introduces discontinuity into our very being."[17]

Importantly, the archive is not reducible to textual functions. Though Foucault concentrates upon the discursive character of knowing, "its forms of existence and co-existence," non-discursive aspects of culture, namely institutions, social relations, economic conditions, etc., which escape discursive reduction, occupy an important place. For Foucault discourse and non-discourse stand in a complementary relationship. Whatever non-discursive realm there is is knowable precisely in and through the practice of discourse which conditions the knowability of things. In contrast to proponents of a textual history that concentrate on intertextuality, Foucault argues for a notion of context that is discursive in nature, the system of cultural rules responsible for the production and reception of discourse. While in fact texts do defer to other texts, the rules and regularities that make the praxis of deferral possible constitute the suitable object of historical investigation. This is not to deny at some level the free play of texts and criticism but to situate it with respect to conventions and forces that operate at the level of a culture's being.[18] Texts and interpretations of texts, including their textual *form*, function as means of institutional power. Whether we speak of producing or reading a text, Foucault insists upon locating the text within the network of discursive, i.e. social, practices. Unlike Derrida's free-floating signifier/text which maintains rules of operation reducible to *differentiation* between it and other signifier/texts, Foucault's signifier/text is situated within a constructed, reticulated system of rules, regularities and discontinuities.[19]

The rules and regularities comprising a discourse have both a positive and a negative side to them. Within an archive speaking about some issues and topics is as much prohibited as others are permitted and encouraged. Control over what can be said or not said lies within the network of institutional and societal forces which prescribe limits, define boundaries and organize conditions by which the "truth" emerges. We can see this negative role, for instance, in the function of commentary or criticism in so far as the critic reinforces by way of his/her interpretation, by his/her praxis, prevailing discursive rules and institutional controls: explaining, disallowing interpretations, determining meaning, all share in the larger activity of critical reading whose very form and presence acts to exclude alternative forms of reading, explaining, interpretation, etc. Discourse is a praxis and an exercise of social control. The exclusionary side to the archive points to the conflictual nature of the power that takes its shape in the form of the rules themselves. Knowledge and speaking are modes of power and conflict.

Clearly such a view of the exclusionary character of the archive affects the way Foucault understands the reader of the text. Foucault's notion of discursive constraints contrasts with Derrida's view of the hedonist reading by which the text is dissemination and speaking about the text, a self-indulgent act with seemingly little self-conscious cultural significance. Since the archive enforces negative speaking rules, reading is far from an unfettered exercise on the reader's part of the play of the signifier for all its worth, but a regulated activity with fixed limits and enforced borders as regards what can and can't be said. Moreover, the limits placed discursively upon the reader signal an inclusion of the reader within history in another way. Since either production or analysis of a text is always a matter of cultural power being employed in one way or another,

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[17] M. Foucault, "Neitzsche, Genealogy, History" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, pp. 153-154.

[18] See Edward Said, "The Problem of Textuality. Two Exemplary Positions," *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1971) 703-714 especially.

[19] See Leitch, p. 150.

reading always exceeds a strictly individualist play of differences between texts and assumes a *place* within the life and praxis of a culture. Reading is an act of power. Thus if we take seriously Foucault's description of the text as imbedded within a matrix of discursive rules and institutional power flow then a reading is far from groundless or abysmal; it occupies a place within that given cultural archive.[20]

These different orientations toward context and reader should not obscure what Derrida and Foucault share in common. Each in his own way prescribes a form of critical openness and theoretical ingenuity that generates a different kind of knowledge about texts. Also each situates the critical task on even footing with literary production itself, subject to the same forces of differentiation as "literary" texts. And finally, each attempts to locate a critical space that tries to avoid what Said calls the "self-confirming operations of culture and the wholly predictable monotony of a disengaged critical system."[21] The fact that Foucault does not completely succeed, and Derrida even less so, in making criticism an openly contentious cultural praxis ought not deter us from drawing insights from both in exploring the historical character of Matthew's Parables Discourse.

MATT 13 AS INTERTEXTUALITY AND DISCOURSE

A brief overview of the contents of chapter 13 is in order. In this third of five major discourses by Jesus, Jesus speaks to the crowd and to the disciples on the matter of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the first half of the chapter Jesus presents four parables to the crowd who are identified in v. 2 as his listeners. However, the disciples' questioning in v. 10 indicates that they too have heard his discourse. Jesus seemingly speaks in two ways: first in an obfuscating manner to the crowd, and second in a clarifying way to the disciples. After v. 36 Jesus turns from the crowd to the disciples, now Jesus' exclusive hearers, both to explain the meaning of the parable and to offer three additional Kingdom of Heaven parables. At the end of the chapter Jesus speaks a final parable about a scribe trained for the Kingdom of Heaven (vv. 51-52).

Matt 13 displays a number of curious features: first the rapid and sudden change in hearership from crowd to disciples after v. 36; the matter of intentional obfuscation with respect to the crowd; the significance of the disciples' hearing and the contrast with the crowd's non-hearing; the presence of seven Kingdom of Heaven parables and an eighth non-Kingdom parable, and the function of the chiastic pattern broken by the Scribe text; the use of the Old Testament citations on the one hand to explain Jesus' speaking, and on the other the role of narrative discourse in explaining Old Testament citations. This latter point raises the important question of the relationship of text to text, of "discourse to discourse" in the chapter and of the overlapping and interpenetration of enunciations on the part of various characters within the text (Isaiah, Jesus, the narrator, for instance). Using the notion of intertextuality and discourse we will make an effort to address certain of these questions.

Viewing Matt 13 as a series of related texts, we can identify three different categories of texts contained within the chapter: (1) traditional Scripture (Isa 6:9-10; Ps 78:2); (2) Jesus' parabolic Kingdom texts (parables of the Sower, Wheat and Tares, Mustard Seed, Leaven, Treasure, Pearl and Dragnet); and (3) Matthean narrative commentary

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[20]Said contrasts Derrida and Foucault on just this score: "Whereas Derrida's theory of textuality brings criticism to bear upon a signifier freed from any obligation to a transcendental subject, Foucault's theories move criticism from a consideration of the signifier to a description of the signifier's *place*, a place rarely innocent, dimensionless, or without the alternative authority of discursive discipline. In other words, Foucault is concerned with describing the force by which the signifier *occupies* a place. . . ." (p. 709)

[21]Said, p. 682.

(Sower allegory and Wheat and Tares allegory, Scribe parable, indeed the narrative as a whole).[22] At the same time, we can associate with these different categories of texts different speaking or enunciating voices, different speaking times and different enunciative relationships. In the first instance, the enunciators of the Old Testament texts are identified as "prophets" (vv. 14-15, 35), though in the case of the Isaiah citation it is actually Yahweh who speaks; in the case of Jesus' Kingdom parables Jesus is the enunciator; and in the third instance the narrator is the one who speaks. Since the text belongs to the narrator, the narrator is in one sense enunciator of all the discourses. But it will be important to identify those moments when the narrator chooses to speak covertly and at other times overtly. As we will see the superposing of enunciations works with the intertextual relationship among texts to create a narrative with depth of voice and of ear.

Using the notion of sign to explain the interrelationship of text to traces of texts, we can say that the intertextual phenomenon is fundamentally semiotic in nature: sign in relation to sign. Following Peirce's triadic model of the sign, the sign structure is made up of sign/ground (more or less equivalent to Saussure's "signifier"), object and interpretant (equivalent to Saussure's "signified"). According to Peirce, each and every sign can become an element within or for another sign by virtue of the functional relationship of the elements of the sign to one another: sign/ground, object and interpretant or a combination of these elements in one sign can become sign in its own right, each with its sign/ground, object and interpretant; and each of these elements may become a further sign with its own triadic elements, and so forth, ad infinitum. So, for example, the sign/ground—object relationship in one sign can become the object for a second sign which transforms the first interpretant into a new sign/ground demanding *its* interpretant. We can represent this semiotic process as follows:

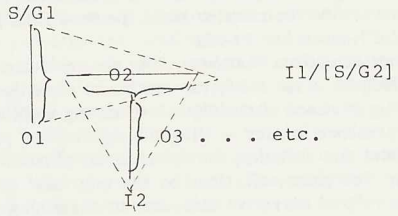

Fig. 1. Basic Triadic Sign

The intertextual process whereby texts defer to other texts can be explained in semiotic terms as the generating or producing of a new text-as-sign onto a previous text-as-sign. In the case of Matthew's text this process can be charted through the text as a serial production of different texts (represented often as different discourses) acting as interpretants for previous texts (both inside and outside of Matthew's gospel narrative). The narrator "builds" her text and also the competence of her reader at one and the same time. The use of the triadic schema has the advantage of allowing us to describe not only the relationship of Old Testament texts to Jesus' parables to Matthew's narrative

[22] Without attempting to resolve the question whether the historical Jesus used or avoided allegorical forms of texts or to establish the tradition history of the allegories within the chapter, we can simply acknowledge that the three texts in question (Sower allegory, Wheat and Tares allegory and the Dragnet allegory) in the final analysis belong to the narrator.

interpretation of both but also of showing how the interpenetration and overlapping of different speaking voices takes place, or the way different levels of discourse operate in relation to one another throughout the chapter.

In the schematic description to follow, we will concentrate attention upon the intertextual development and connections that are formed by various discourses within Matthew's text. Much more could be said about the narrational structure and the semantic organization of the text, but for the moment we will focus upon certain semiotic aspects of the text's structure. We will also point out ways in which the different levels of texts and of voices overlap and the effect achieved with respect to the reader, understood here to be the narrator's discursive partner. The case that we will argue is that the reader of Matt 13 is manipulated by the narrator into acquiring a cognitive and pragmatic ability to hear and to speak Jesus' parables and to engage in a praxis that produces both word and deed (to become a "Scribe equipped for the Kingdom of Heaven," v. 51).

After some initial narrative description situating Jesus vis-à-vis the crowd, the narrator offers an interpretive comment about Jesus' parable speaking to the crowd: "he told them many things in parables." This seemingly bland observation from the narrator's omniscient, birds-eye perspective awaits further specification. We can represent the relationship of the narrator's interpretation to Jesus' Sower parable as follows:

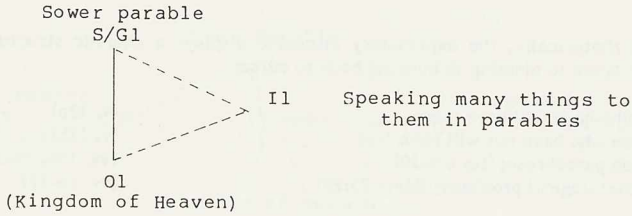

Fig. 2. Sower Parable as Sign

The narrator's description functions as an interpretant from the narrator's perspective upon Jesus's parable speaking, though the text leaves the object of the parable-as-sign ("Kingdom of Heaven") unspecified. In v. 24 the narrator will make it clear retroactively that the illustrand of the Sower parable is the "Kingdom of Heaven." The delayed identification is good narrating technique that forges anaphoric links between what precedes and what follows in the text. In this sign two enunciative levels are connected: the narrator's with Jesus. It is also worth noting that the interpretive remark paraphrases the Prophetic words in v. 35b; only after v. 36 will it become clear that the Psalm text is cited proleptically in v. 3.

The narrator's remark in v. 10, "then the disciples said to him . . ." introduces a new textual element in the discourse in which a different interpretant of Jesus' speaking to the crowd is offered. This explanation, enunciated by Jesus (but also by the narrator), is an interpretation not of the parable per se but of the narrator's interpretation (I1) *speaking in parables to the crowd* (See Fig. 3). This new interpretation (I2) is two-fold: a blessing upon the disciples and a curse upon the crowd. The object within this second sign (O2) is the Sower parable—Kingdom of Heaven relationship and the sign/ground is the narrator's previous interpretive remark about Jesus' speaking to the crowd (I1/ [s/G2]). Textually speaking, the explanation operates as an interpretant at two levels: on the one hand *inside* the narrative time, space and events as Jesus's commentary directed in response to the disciples' question; on the other hand *outside* of narrative time of Jesus in the narrator's time as commentary addressed to the reader about what has just preceded. We may represent the textual relationship and development as follows:

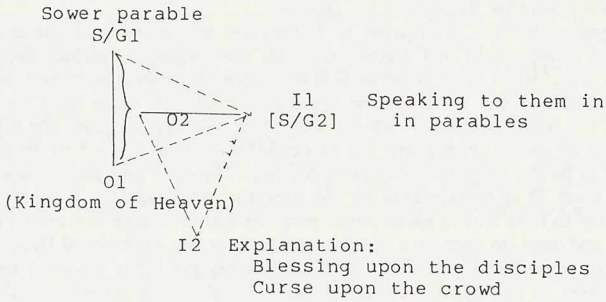

Fig. 3. Sower Parable and Explanation as Sign

Viewed rhetorically, the explanatory discourse displays a chiastic structure which moves from curse to blessing to blessing back to curse:

Those who have will have more	(v. 12a)
Those who have not will have less	(v. 12b)
Isaiah paraphrase; (Isa 6:9-10)	(vv. 13b, 14-15)
"Q" eschatological prophecy; (Matt 25:29)	(vv. 16-17)

In intertextual terms, the explanation is a double-text curse and blessing comprised of paraphrase and cited text (and in the case of the blessing a double citation). To know many things in parables is both good news and bad news: the good news is that knowing the meaning of what it means to speak/hear the parables leads to abundance and then some; the bad news is that speaking/hearing the parables leads nowhere—no further understanding, commentary, interpretation—nothing and less. The contrast between the two types of hearing and speaking relationships to Jesus is intensified when Jesus *stops* speaking to the crowd (i.e., leaves the crowd and turns toward the disciples, v. 36) but *continues* speaking about speaking/hearing and about the Kingdom of Heaven to the disciples. From the point of view of the reader the explanation extends the parabolic text. The allegory of the Sower text extends it further, thereby constituting textual proof that right hearing/speaking is continued speaking/hearing. Within the narrative events the crowd never speaks, while the disciples continue to ask questions; outside of those events the reader is provided with a pragmatic example of abundance in the continuing form of the intertextual development of the narrative itself. When we come to the Scribe parable at the end the issue of the metalinguistic and pragmatic implication of the parable will come to a head. Will the reader be able to continue to speak as instructed?

In semiotic terms the Sower parable as sign yields two different interpretants, two different texts. On the one hand the good news explanation by Jesus is repeated by the Q prophecy, which defers to yet another text (the parable of the Talents, Matt 25:29). A fragment from one parabolic text is used to interpret the meaning of speaking in parables itself. We have a textual loop: parable text unfolds parable text. In a similar way the bad news expressed as a paraphrase of Isa 6:9-10 is repeated in the Isaiah citation. Textual duplication has often been cited as a Matthean literary technique. Here we see an instance of it described in semiotic terms.

The Isaiah text also serves an important double function as sign. Within the narrative events at the level of Jesus' discourse with the disciples, the Isaiah text is used by Jesus to interpret Jesus' speaking relationship to the crowd (as curse). At the level of the narration, the narrative of Jesus' parable speaking functions as an interpretant of Isaiah's text (as fulfillment of Scripture). Sign/ground in the first instance becomes interpretant in the second. Within the narrative events Scripture interprets story; while outside narrative time story interprets Scripture. The reversible flow in interpretation and in the textual relationship illustrates Derrida's point that the borders separating texts can be crossed and are dependent upon an external point of view.

In the allegorical interpretation of the Sower parable (vv. 18-23) an interpretant of a different sort is introduced into the narrative flow. Unlike the explanation of parable speaking/hearing to the disciples in vv. 10-17, the allegory of vv. 18-23 interprets the parable proper as sign and functions interpretatively at the same enunciative level as the narrator's remark in v. 3 (I1). In order to distinguish visually between the two interpretants and their respective contents we will place the allegorical text to the left side of the initial triad schema. We will also see that the function of the allegory as interpretant is pragmatic, while that of the initial interpretation and subsequent interpretation in the explanation is cognitive.

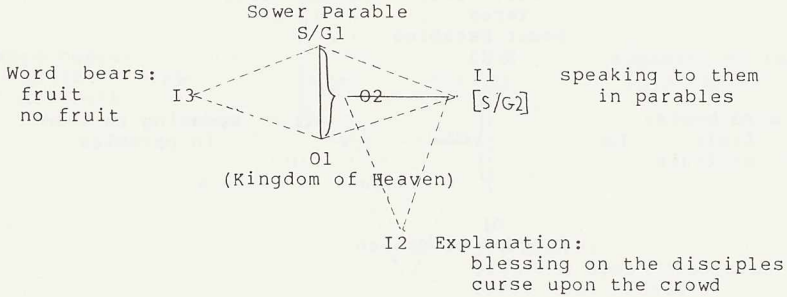

Fig. 4. Sower Parable, Explanation and Sower Allegory as Sign

Several comments are in order. First, the parable-as-sign can yield two different interpretants. While such interpretive productivity has been traditionally linked with the parables,[23] by no means is it an exclusive property of the narrative or trope; interpretive productivity is a characteristic, as Peirce has shown, of all signs. Second, the allegorical interpretation turns the meaning of the Sower parable in a different direction: away from types of *speaking/hearing* to types of *pragmatic responses* to parable speaking/hearing. The parable admits of different types of interpretants (both cognitive and pragmatic). We can anticipate that successful speaking/hearing produces both hearing, word and action; unsuccessful speaking/hearing only silence and aborted action.

Following the allegory the narrator asserts her presence within the flow of the text once again with the stitching comment "Another parable he put before them" (v. 24). Over the course of the next nine verses the narrator will make two more such comments and offer three more parables of the Kingdom of Heaven. The object of the parable-as-

[23]Compare Dodd's description as to the parable's "teasing," open quality *Parables of the Kingdom*, p. 5.

sign is identified retroactively (to v. 3). Intertextually, the Wheat and Tares, Mustard Seed and Leaven texts produce a textual loop that operates in two ways. First, within the narrative events Jesus returns to the initial discursive situation with the crowd and repeats without success his word; second, aside from the good story telling technique, at the narrator's level the reader is returned with considerably more information than the crowd to the start of Jesus' discourse. The crowd remains at a cognitive zero point—no net increase in knowledge; indeed with the physical separation of Jesus from the crowd in v. 36 Jesus is discursively separated as well. The reader, by contrast, has supplementary texts, multiple interpretants, connections with Scripture. The return to the starting point provides the reader with the opportunity now for a kind of competence check: with whom is the reader to be discursively identified—crowd or disciples? which speaking/hearing relationship and praxis will be assumed? The reader is positioned as "critical" reader, in the sense of Webster's second definition—to be situated in a decision-making post—not to know cognitively that the parable means more than itself. The allegory at the same time brings the reader to know that parable hearing/speaking will have a pragmatic interpretant which the second half of the discourse will develop.

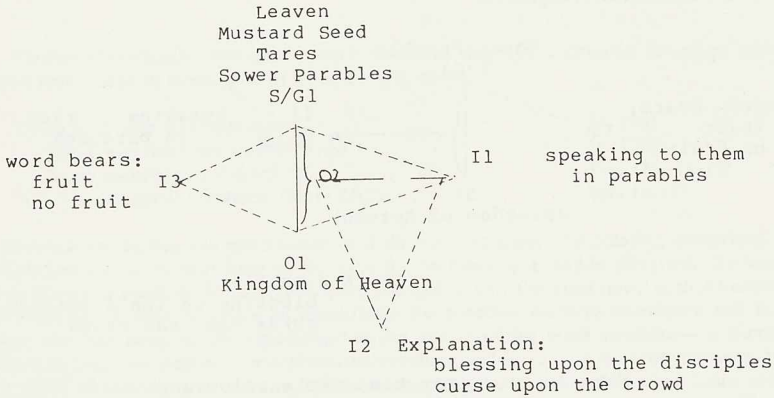

Fig. 5. Sower Parable, Explanation, Sower Allegory and First Parable Triad as Sign

Following the three Kingdom parables the narrator intrudes decisively with a commentary upon all that has preceded and effectively brings to a close the first half of the discourse. No longer speaking through Jesus, the narrator postures herself in an omniscient way once again (cf. v. 3a) and interprets what speaking to the crowd and speaking to the disciples about speaking to the crowd in parables therefore means. The narrator's description and cited text, Ps 78:2, function like Isa 6:9-10 as an interpretant both inside and outside the narrative events to interpret Jesus' parabolic speaking and the narrator's own interpretive development of the textual tradition. So far within the narrative two types of speaking/hearing relationships with Jesus are contrasted: the crowd as not hearing/speaking and so cursed, the disciples as hearing/speaking and blessed. The disciples's blessed hearing is one that opens up ears and mouths to new hearing/speaking rather than leaves one deaf and mute. At the narrator's level the reader is given to understand that successful speaking/hearing is itself continued parabolic speaking, continued Psalm speaking, continued Isaiah speaking, continued speaking of Yahweh's word (cf. Isa 6:8), continued narrative itself. Different, interrelated and complementary texts.

But intertextuality *also* means praxis—a productivity that yields fruit as word (metalinguistic word about the Word) and as deed. Thus parable hearing is more than a cognitive operation that extends the Word through the production of interpretation or deferral to another text, though it is that to be sure. It means producing a harvest of work which the second half of the discourse will go on to develop. Cognitive competence as understanding and parenesis as praxis of the word are equally and necessarily interpretants of the parabolic word. From the narrator's point of view as enunciator of Ps 78:2, the meaning of parable speaking is, to repeat, the production of the allegorical text and the extended narrative of this whole process. Here again we have textual recursivity. Opening the mouth in parables (v. 34) is an interpretant of the allegory of production of word as fruit; conversely, the allegory interprets the Sower parable. Word interprets act; act word. Borders are crossed and recrossed. Like the Isaiah citation before it, the narration of speaking in parables is interpreted as Ps 78:2, and conversely the meaning of Ps 78:2 is the narrative of speaking in parables, of opening the mouth in parables as is done in the Scribe parable of vv. 51-52.

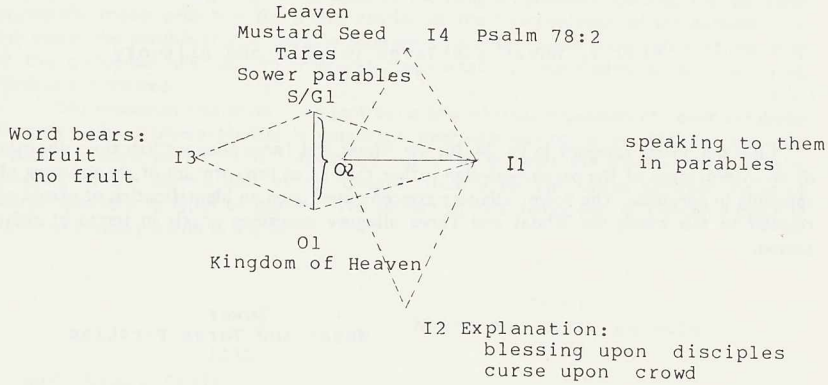

Fig. 6. Psalm Citation and Mt 13 as Sign

What has the reader learned? She has received both parables and interpretation of the parables in the form of allegory, explanation and narrative of parable speaking/hearing. At minimum she can conclude that the parable as text is always incomplete; the parable demands to be supplemented by other texts, parabolic and non-parabolic. Conversely parables of the Kingdom are supplements to Scripture and to commentary. A network of signs and texts.

In the second half of the chapter the interpretative focus shifts from cognitive competence (being the right kind of hearer/speaker) to praxis (doing the right kind of deed), though the interpretants are never completely separated from one another as the Sower and Wheat and Tares interpretants illustrate in Fig 7. If the first triad of parables functioned to reveal the enigmatic character of parable hearing/speaking, the second triad in vv. 44-50 illustrates the parenetic significance of Jesus' speaking.

In vv. 36-42 the narrative shifts back to a previous discursive relationship, in this instance with the disciples. At the level of the narrative events the narrator's description of Jesus' leaving the crowd in v. 36 closes the book on the Jesus-crowd discursive relationship and opens up a new chapter with the discipies. At the level of the narration, the reader repeats the act of returning to an earlier moment of the narrative in which the parable of the Sower is replayed (in v. 24), though now it is the parable of the Wheat

and the Tares. For this reason we can place the Wheat and Tares allegory in a comparable semiotic relationship to the Wheat and Tares parable as the Sower allegory to the Sower parable.

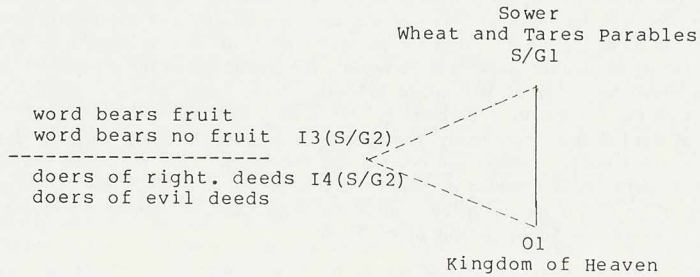

Fig. 7. Wheat and Tares Parable and Allegory as Sign

Like the Sower allegory in vv. 24-30, the Wheat and Tares allegory functions directly as an interpretant of the parable-as-sign rather than as an interpretant of the meaning of speaking in parables. The Sower allegory concentrated upon an identification of praxis as related to the word; the Wheat and Tares allegory describes praxis in terms of right action.

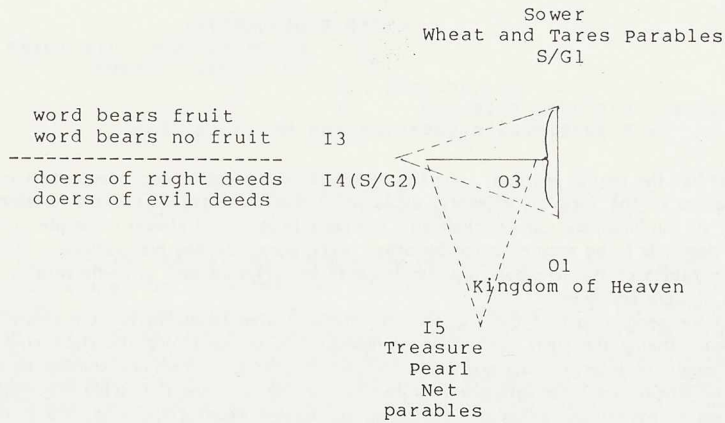

Fig. 8 Wheat and Tares Parable, Allegory and Second Parable Triad

The second triad of Kingdom parables (see Fig. 8) in vv. 44-50 (Treasure, Pearl and Dragnet) follows upon the Wheat and Tares allegory. Unlike the first triad which functioned semiotically as a redundant sign of the Sower parable, the second triad functions as an interpretant of the Wheat and Tares allegory to make clear the meaning of doers of righteous deeds versus doers of evil deeds. If the discursive effect of the first triad was to underscore the enigmatic character of hearing/speaking (in relation to the crowd), the effect of the second is to underscore the praxis associated with the parables (in relation to the reader). Rhetorically the parable triads look the same;[24] intertextually, however, they work quite differently. Finally, note that the object of the parable-as-sign has shifted from the Kingdom of Heaven in the first half of the discourse to righteous/unrighteous doing in the second half. This parallels the movement that Jeremias has identified in the development of the parabolic tradition from word about God to word about the church.

Addressed within the narrative to the disciples, the parable triad interprets righteous praxis, though unrighteous praxis is implicit in the Treasure and Pearl parables and explicit in the allegorical conclusion to the Dragnet parable. Outside the narrative events the reader sees how the interpretation of the interpretation of the parable is, in one sense, the parable itself: parable interprets parable. Jesus' enunciation at one level of the discourse functions to interpret the narrator's enunciation at another level. Borders are crossed.

The reader at this level is subject to an intertextual expansion of Jesus' parabolic discourse whose interpretation is enigmatic hearing/speaking in vv. 3ff. but becomes productive word in vv. 18ff. Matthew's narrative expands the meaning of parabolic speaking in the second half of the chapter from a discrimination between types of hearer/speakers to types of praxes. The import of this distinction will become clear in the final Scribe parable in vv. 51-52.

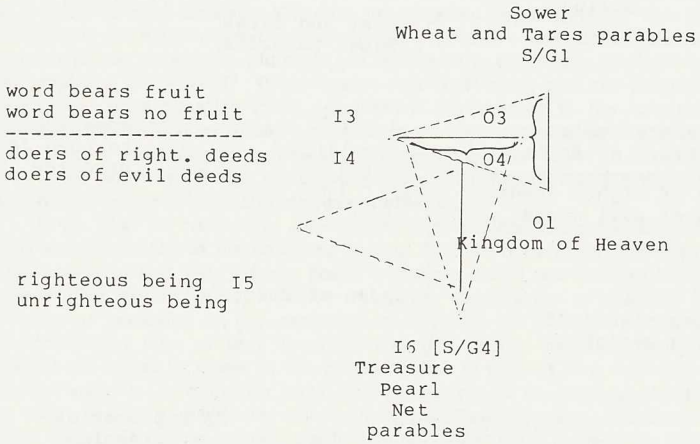

Fig. 9. Wheat and Tares Parable, Allegory, Second Parable Triad and Net Allegory as Sign

[24] See David Wenham, "The Structure of Mt XIII," *New Testament Studies* 25 (1974) 517 for an example of rhetorical analysis.

Within the Dragnet text we encounter a third allegorical interpretant (vv. 49-50). Though brief in comparison with the two preceding allegories, the allegory of the Dragnet functions climactically in the intertextual unfolding of the chapter.

This allegorical interpretation is grafted onto the Dragnet parable in the same way that the Wheat and Tares and Sower allegories interpret their respective parables. Outside the narrative (though the indices of the narrator's intervention have all but disappeared, suggesting a possible merger of the enunciative levels), the reader receives this third allegory as reinforcement of the interpretive, intertextual technique. More importantly, vv. 47-48 restate the meaning of what it means to act righteously (and unrighteously), while vv. 49-50 interpret that praxis as eschatological consequence. The latter's focus is upon the results of righteous/unrighteous behavior in contrast with the allegory of the Wheat and the Tares in vv. 37-43. If anything, the Dragnet allegory ignores the positive praxis and concentrates upon the negative (righteous being versus unrighteous being). Being and doing are interpretively linked. Hearing/speaking the parables of the Kingdom entails considerable risk (both positive and negative) and serves as point of contrast with the bountiful eschatological blessing of v. 12 (and Q and Matt 25:29). The Dragnet allegory defers to a prior text both inside and outside of the narrative.

The Scribe parable in vv. 51-52 functions as a concluding interpretant to what has been developed throughout the chapter. In the figure below we represent the Scribe text as grafted onto the Sower and Wheat and Tares allegories and, by implication, to the second triad of parables devoted to defining righteous/unrighteous praxis.

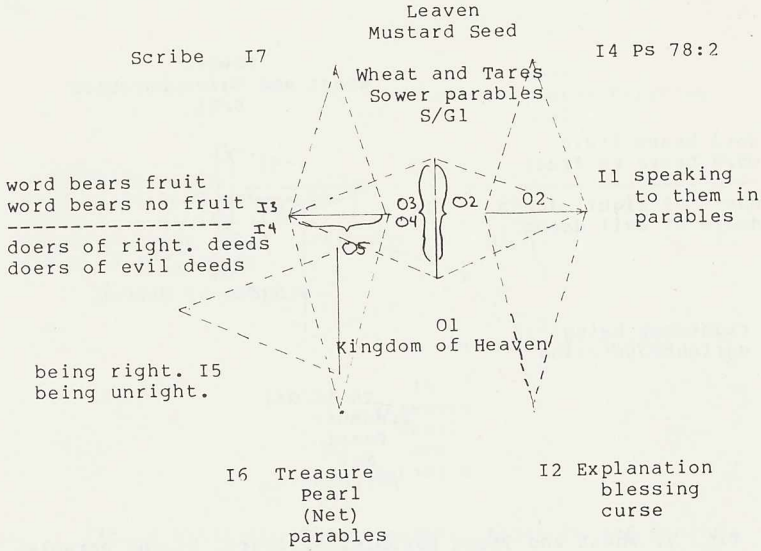

Fig. 10. Mt 13 as Sign and Semiosis

Within the narrative events the Scribe parable functions as Jesus' concluding word to the disciples about what it means to interpret parabolic texts. Grammatically speaking, the antecedent to the pronoun "these things" in the question "Have you understood all of these things?" includes within the narrative not only the Wheat and Tares allegory but also the Sower allegory in vv. 18-23, effectively connecting both halves of the chapter. At the level of the reader "these things" refers to the *entire* preceding narrative and is intended to ask: Have you understood what it means for the crowd to be unable to speak/hear the parables and for the disciples to succeed? Have you understood the cognitive and pragmatic meanings of the parable texts? The reader benefits from the position of having seen and compared the experience and outcome of the crowd's and the disciples' speaking/hearing. Like the Psalm text, the Scribe parable functions as a summary interpretant of all that has preceded: in the Psalm text the narrator speaks about speaking in parables; in the Scribe parable, she actually speaks in parables (the Scribe parable). She *produces* a parable.

From one point of view we can say that the function of the Scribe parable is to turn the productivity of parables hearing into the production of parables themselves, a metaparabolic production and a fitting conclusion to a discourse on the Kingdom parables; other types of discourse will be undertaken as the eschatological discourse in chapters 24-25 and the farewell discourse in 28:18-20 will make clear. We have already noted that this is the only one of eight parables whose illustrand is "a scribe trained for the Kingdom of Heaven": the contrast in parabolic comparison is marked: saying what the Kingdom is about to saying what someone who understands and follows the Kingdom is all about. The reader, as one who follows the action of the narrative from inside and outside, finds the designation of "You" implied in the verb "Have you understood" then to direct the question and the narrative text away from crowd and disciples to the reader herself. Are you able to produce Kingdom texts and interpretations and extend the intertextual process of the tradition in the way the narrator has? Are you able to unfold the parables of Jesus and the prophecies of Isaiah and the Psalmist and Q through a praxis that transforms word about the Kingdom into Kingdom speaking itself? Can you produce midrash upon the Kingdom text by following the narrator's example and producing a new interpretant that draws upon old texts and new texts to extend the parabolic text, Scripture, prophecy, God's word? If the reader says "yes" along with the disciples then the reader's own transformation itself becomes an interpretant to the narrative, a lived transformation not only of speaking parables/speaking about parables but also of becoming a righteous one equipped for teaching and preaching that is yet to come. Remember we are only half way through Matthew's gospel. The intertextual process continued to unfold narratively, metalinguistically, pragmatically.

From what we have seen, intertextuality as defined along the semiotic lines of Peirce and illustrated in the unfolding text of Matthew's Parables Discourse is an expanded notion of text that includes praxis (righteous deeds) and the very transformation of the reading subject herself (a scribe trained for the Kingdom of Heaven). The notion of history as textuality in this expanded sense avoids the pitfalls associated with the deconstructionist view of text (grounded upon the dyadic model of sign proposed by Saussure) and brings us closer to the notion of text in context as a regulated praxis set forth by Foucault. In the latter sense the text and reader are configured within history as a result in part of particular discursive rules. Textuality as a function of semiosis defined in Peircian terms eclipses the limitation of textuality in Derrida's literary sense and inserts both text and reader within a history discursively defined. This is a history whose borders do not lie exclusively between literary texts but between texts and reading subject, texts and discursive rules, texts and institutional power, and the like.

Foucault's insistence upon an identification of discursive rules as a way of understanding cultural artifacts such as texts and readers leads us to identify rules of formation that permitted the emergence of Matthew's Parables text and the Gospel as a

whole. One avenue toward such a description is an identification of those rules governing Rabbinic textual interpretation and practice. Thus we would situate the Parables Discourse as serious play upon text and tradition and our reading as more than an idiosyncratic, abysmal reading in deconstructionist terms. Reconstruction of the system of rules underlying Rabbinic and early Jewish Christian textual practice should enable us to see Matthew's text as made possible by a dynamic and dialectical understanding of the relationship between tradition and revelation and the role of commentary as extending revelation. While any full description is impossible here, some idea of the direction that a description might take will help to explain the "forms of existence and co-existence" of text and tradition in Matthew's text.

The concepts of revelation and tradition in Rabbinic thought are decisive for understanding Matthew's text and reader in history. If Gershom Scholem is correct, by the end of the second century of the common era a dramatic shift had taken place in the Rabbinic understanding of revelation. Understood initially to comprise "the concrete communication of positive, substantive and expressible content,"[25] a content expressed in Torah, revelation by the end of this period was understood to comprise "everything that will ever be legitimately offered to interpret its meaning."[26] This included not only Torah in written and oral forms but commentary upon Torah in both written and oral forms. This shift signals the birth of tradition. Revelation (as Torah) and tradition (as commentary on Torah) are soon viewed in a complementary and dynamic relationship. Revelation calls for tradition to unfold and disclose the significance of the Holy One in history in order to make "effective the revelatory word in every concrete state and relationship entered into by a society."[27] In the process tradition acquires authority all its own, thereby challenging the notion of a single, self-evident and univocal expression of revelation.

The way is thus opened for the emergence and continuing growth of revelation as tradition and the attribution of religious authority to new interpretations of Torah. Just as revelation expands to make room for tradition, so too Torah as *written* text makes room for oral expression: Torah is Torah whether written or oral in form, ancient or modern in origin. Like written Torah, Torah in its oral expression assumes a position of revelatory prominence as a word which seeks to illumine, interpret or otherwise expand the meaning of Torah. Consequently Mishnah *continues* the revelatory Word as part of a tradition that "turns the Revelation" as Talmud says, "Turn it [revelation] and twist it again, for everything is in it."[28] Furthermore, commentary, like oral Torah that precedes it, enters the tradition and becomes a means by which revelation continues, unfolds and addresses readers in new historical situations.[29]

If, on the other hand, in Rabbinic thought tradition, which includes oral Torah and subsequent commentary upon Torah, is understood to be part of an on-going, unfolding process of revelation, the inner logic of this thought, on the other hand, demands the "patently absurd position" that revelation *already* includes within itself as sacred tradition *all* subsequent interpretation: hence "Revelation comprises everything that will ever

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[25]Gershom Scholem, "Revelation and Tradition as Religious Categories in Judaism," in *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays upon Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971) 282-303.

[26]Ibid., p. 289.

[27]Ibid., p. 284.

[28]Ibid., p. 287.

[29]In a text that sounds very much like the Scribe parable in Matt 13:50 Scholem remarks: "Out of the religious tradition they bring something entirely new, something that itself commands religious dignity; *commentary*. Revelation needs commentary in order to be rightly understood and applied" (Ibid.).

be legitimately offered to interpret its meaning."[30] This enables the view that all later interpretation, even that which postdates and conflicts with previously written Torah was given to Moses at Mt. Sinai. So Rabbi Joshua ben Levi: "Torah, Mishnah, Talmud and Aggadah—indeed even the comments some bright student will one day make to his teacher—were already given to Moses on Mount Sinai."[31]

Operating beneath this "fiction" is a view of truth that sees it as "given once and for all, and it is laid down with precision. Fundamentally, truth merely needs to be transmitted . . . everything that can come to be known has already been deposited in a timeless substratum. . . ."[32] From this it is clear that in contrast to Hellenistic practice, Rabbinic practice does not conceive of revelation in *cyclical categories but in developmental, historical,* and *textual* forms, as commentary, as new interpretation, as intertextuality, as productivity and interconnection of texts and interpretations arising within different historical moments.

As revelation's embodiment, tradition in its many textual forms is a productivity that demands a hearing. In this sense tradition is nothing short of a textual praxis on the part of the hearer/scribe. But a hearing can be either of two sorts. On the one hand, the hearer/scribe can function as a mere receptacle of preserved tradition (i.e., of past texts and interpretations), one who does not augment the tradition in any way with his own questions and experiences. Tradition for this sort of hearer is petrified, closed. On the other hand, the hearer/scribe can press the tradition *in and through his questioning* to make "Torah concrete at the point where he stands . . . Applicable *hic at nunc,* fashioning his specific form of concretization in such a manner that it may be transmitted" (sic).[33] Because tradition is active, individual hearing it is always interpretation in response to some previous interpretation; it "perceives, receives, and unfolds that which lives in the Word." Thus "it is the force within which contradiction and tensions are not destructive but rather stimulating and creative."[34] By nature idiosyncratic and conflictual, tradition performs its revelatory function not through monologic, monovalent texts but *dialectically* in the oftentimes conflictual expansion and development of the tradition through new commentary and interpretation.

Thus, within the historical development of Rabbinic Judaism two major tensions emerge that affect the understanding of revelation, tradition and reading practice. First, the notion that revelation is "consistently unified and self-enclosed" gives way to a view in which it becomes "diversified, multifold and full of contradictions." The content of, indeed the very notion of, revelation is in process of development. The second tension is in the conflict between texts which constitute the tradition in the form of commentary. The varied possibilities for interpreting Torah and giving expression to the truth about the Word are all contained within the tradition, namely Torah itself. Witness, for instance, the interpretive debates between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. Even where Hillel interpretation comes to be considered decisive, the contradictory Shammai commentary is nevertheless preserved with great care. Tradition is a dialectical unity of conflictual, if not contradictory, interpretations.

To summarize certain elements of the discursive rules regulating the reading of Matthew's text, we can identify the following realities:

(1) *Revelation* as giving rise to tradition; tradition is an essential outgrowth of and complement to revelation. Tradition is the process by which

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[30]Ibid., p. 289.
[31] *Midrash Tanhuman,* ed. Solomon Buber, II, 60a., cited in Scholem, p. 289.
[32]Scholem, p. 289.
[33]Ibid., p. 297.
[34]Ibid.

revelation, codified in the form of Torah, is experienced in ever-different textual forms in ever-different historical contexts.

(2) *Tradition* as both a *process* and *productivity* that generates response on the part of the hearer/scribe of Torah. Tradition demands new interpretation, questioning and expression to meet new situations. Like revelation, tradition is unfolding and never complete.

(3) *Commentary* as the textual expression of tradition and the "legitimate form through which truth is approached."[35] Tradition lives in the multiplicity of texts and in the production of hearers/scribes of Torah who are thereby inserted within the developing flow of the tradition itself—the labyrinth of texts and practices—and through interpretation/commentary unfold the truth of the Word. In this way the recipient of the tradition forms and is formed by tradition in the disclosure of revelation.

(4) Finally, as textual interpretation, tradition is intertextuality of a *dialectical* sort. Containing within itself mutually exclusive interpretations, tradition makes a place for both the orthodox and the heretical, Hillel and Shammai, dialogs in conflict. Were it otherwise tradition would become a dead letter, a monologue, stasis.

What stands out in Matthew's narrative midrash upon Jesus' Kingdom speaking as seen in the use of the Scribe parable is that Matthew essentially does Jesus one better: Matthew does what Jesus does and then something more, something different. Whereas Jesus speaks about God as King in parabolic ways that are unusual and disorienting (as extraordinary growth, baking bread, purchasing merchandise, fishing seas), Matthew incorporates those texts, interprets them by grafting them onto Matthew's own allegories and scripture and fashions all into a narrative that puts the tradition into "proper" perspective (Matthew's perspective, of course). In Matthew's case this peculiarly Matthean perspective emerges at a time that demanded the development of a textual competence on the part of the readers/hearers of his Gospel, to make them Kingdom speakers and Kingdom hearers for their own day, a day rich with interpretive conflict with pharisaic counterparts.[36] If Matthew's effort in chapter 13 (and the Gospel as a whole) is any indication, to be a scribe trained in the Kingdom of Heaven is not simply a matter of miming Jesus, though following his atraditional interpretative strategy (i.e., using parabolic form and Kingdom of God content) has now become traditional and as such an authoritative way. Following Jesus' lead is not necessarily a rekindling of apocalyptic expectation of prescription of millenarian ethics but an affirmation of one's place within the larger tradition of which Jesus himself is a part and a playing of the interpretative, intertextual game competently and persuasively. Interpretation is in this sense an intertextual game, a serious game that follows rules which enable one to say many things. Textual production is an effort to win,[37] to exert interpretative control by entering into

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[35]Ibid., p. 289.

[36]Perhaps the conflict between Jamnian Jews and Matthean Jewish Christians is to be seen in more positive terms as a traditional conflict of interpretive strategies.

[37]In a commentary upon the interpretive process, Rabbi Eliezer is said to have been arguing against a majority interpretation: "Then he said: 'If the *Halakhah* always agrees with me, let it be proved from Heaven.' Thereupon a heavenly voice was heard saying: 'Why do you dispute with Rabbi Eliezer? The *Halakhah* always agrees with him.' But Rabbi Joshua arose and said (Deut 30:12): 'It is not in heaven.' What did he mean by that? Rabbi Jeremiah replied: 'The Torah has already been given at Mount Sinai [and

the tradition's dialog, engaging in arguments, using its images and literary texts in order to bring from out of the tradition the older elements of the tradition so that the tradition can come alive in a new way so as to address the present believing community in a way that counts. It is an effort to become that kind of hearer who presses the tradition's texts in and through her questioning, who makes "Torah concrete at the point where she stands."

From the point of view of intertext and discourse, Matthew's Parables Discourse is more than a mimetic historical description, or an imaginative reconstruction of the way Jesus was as speaker for God's Kingdom, or a play of semiosis for its own sake. Matt 13 is a manual for scribal or interpretive self-development, a working template of how to be a competent scribe oneself; it is a text that leads to the production of the reader by showing narratively the way Jesus spoke and the way Matthew the narrator speaks. "If you have ears to hear then listen."

But Matthew's text indicates that it is possible to say more. Here we encounter the gaps. The reader of this text is transformed into a reader who by her very reading practice becomes a living interpretant of Jesus' parabolic tradition, the prophetic tradition preceding him, and Yahweh's own word. As such she enters as a part of the tradition as participant in revelation's continuing expression. However, she cannot interpret exactly as either Jesus or Matthew did. Becoming a scribe/hearer of the Kingdom of Heaven necessarily means finding one's own way of saying it and being it through dialog with predecessors and that portends interpretation, a way characterized by conflict, reversal, undermining, challenging, contesting, and the like.

Finally, what is the point of all this textual effort? Certainly the play of dialectic itself can give a rush of excitement; certainly the interplay of texts yields some measure of uncanny satisfaction in its own right. But for Matthew's text and reader in its historical context intertextuality and discourse keep the tradition alive in the effort to unfold God's revelation. To read the text is to interpret the tradition and to participate in the revealing action of God in the world.

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thus is no longer in Heaven]. We pay no heed to any heavenly voice, because at Mount Sinai You wrote in the Torah (Exod 23:2): "One must incline after the majority."' Rabbi Nathan met the prophet Elijah and asked him: 'What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do in that hour?' He replied: 'God smiled and said: "My Children have defeated Me, My children have defeated Me."'" (Baba Metzia 59b, cited in Scholem, p. 292.)

How to Mismanage a Miracle: Reader-Response Criticism

Bernard Brandon Scott

INTRODUCTION

One of the principal goals established for the Structuralism Seminar was to explore structuralism's relation to traditional exegetical methods. Last year's joint session with the Seminar on Pronouncement Stories advanced this goal. The following project can be described as an attempt to ask traditional exegetical questions although informed by the insights of structuralism. The risk, of course, is that one may end up failing to meet the standards of both.

Overt methodological concerns will not be stressed because the members of this seminar are already conversant with the underlying methods, but more importantly it is perhaps advantageous when trying for a rapprochement to make methodology transparent. Structuralism is the framework or point of view, not the object of the exercise. Furthermore, by not attempting a full exegetical treatment of the text, I have chosen to concentrate upon the relation between audience and text, an interface between traditional and structural methods that might prove fruitful. This can be defined broadly as reader-response criticism.[1] Traditional criticism makes assumptions about or attempts to discover the historical audience (*Sitz im Leben*) while reader-response criticism studies the conditions of response, the process between text and reader whether implied or actual. Part of the reader-response criticism involves the use of an implied repertoire invoked by the text which is similar to genre studies of some recent historical criticism.

The text chosen for analysis is the Parable of the Rich Fool (Luke 12:16-20). For the purpose of this paper the form critical distinction between traditional and redaction will be assumed; the parable was preserved in the oral tradition and inherited by the author of the third gospel. The paper falls into three parts: the first deals with the parable as it occurs in the gospel according to Luke, the second the parallel story in Thomas and finally the narrative itself.

THE FOOL IN LUKE

To understand the parable of the Rich Fool in Luke's gospel requires a two-pronged approach: first, a comprehension of the parable's place in the Lucan narrative and then an investigation of the adaptations the author of Luke-Acts may have made in the parable proper.

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[1]The theory of reader-response criticism used is primarily that of W. Iser, *The Implied Reader* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1974) chap. 11; *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1978). For an important collection of essays dealing with the topic see, J. P. Tompkins (ed.), *Reader-Response Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1980).

The parable provides a negative example of the well-established Lucan theme of the necessity of poverty for following Jesus.[2] In comparison with the other synoptics, Luke consistently sharpens Jesus' words on poverty.[3] In terms of the gospel's narrative development, the parable occurs in the travel narrative, 9:52 - 19:10. Charles Talbert has analyzed the literary interrelation of the various themes and sections of the travel narrative.[4] For him, Luke 12:1-48 is parallel to Luke 16. Luke 12:1-48 contains three themes, the threat of hell (1-12), riches (13-34), and stewardship (35-48). These themes also appear in chapter 16, but in inverse order. Thus the two chapters form a chiasmus.[5] A majority of the material in Luke 12:1-48 is also in Matthew and therefore presumably derives from a common source (Q). The only material with no parallel in Matthew is verses 13-21. According to Talbert, Q alone could not provide a parallel to chapter 16, which is unique to Luke. Thus he concludes the parable was essential for constructing a parallel to chapter 16.

In the section built around the theme of riches, there are two episodes, one addressed to the public, the other to the disciples. Both conclude with sayings dealing with treasure (v 21, v 34). Verses 21 and 34 underline the point Luke is making in this section. The heart is where the treasure is—for the rich away from God, for the poor in heaven.

If the parable holds such a central place in the triptych of chapter 12, and alone contains material not common to Matthew, is the hand of the redactor evident in its formulation? Talbert had remarked that in the parable's introduction one could see Luke at work, although he gave no specific evidence.[6] But the handiwork is readily evident. Because of Luke's use of apophthegms to introduce parables, Bultmann has maintained that the connection between vv 13-15 and the parable are secondary.[7] Confirming evidence comes from the Gospel of Thomas where the inheritance question appears in Logion 72, indicating that apophthegm and parable were probably joined by Luke. At any rate, the question about inheritance has little to do with the parable.[8] Likewise as Dibelius[9] and others have pointed out, v 31 provides a generalizing, moral conclusion, the addition of which was a tendency of early preachers, thereby converting the parable to the task of exhortation. Thus either Luke or the early tradition provided the parable with an introductory apophthegm on inheritance and a concluding exhortatory saying.

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[2]W. G. Kümmel, "Der Begriff des Eigentums im Neuen Testament," *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1933-64* (Marburg, 1965), 273. Luke T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (SBLDS 39; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 103-115 on the theme of poverty in the travel narrative. Walter Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), deals with the thematic wealth and poverty in Luke-Acts; for analysis of Lucan use of the Parable of Rich Fool, 109-113.

[3]Luke 14:12//Matt 22:9; see also Luke 1:53; 3:11; 4:18; 6:24-5; 12:13-21; 14:12-14, 33; 16:1-13, 19-31.

[4]Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 55.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]*History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 61.

[8]*Pace* J. D. M. Derrett, "The Rich Fool: A Parable of Jesus concerning Inheritance," *HeyJ* 18 (1977) 131-51, who makes a number of interesting points concerning the parable, but unfortunately assumes the original unity of apophthegm and parable.

[9]Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons) 258, Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972) 106, maintains that v 21 gives the parable a moralizing tone consistent with Luke; A. T. Cadoux, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1931) 205, in agreement.

Luke has contributed more than simple arrangement. The vocabulary of the parable's beginning shows considerable Lucan adaptation. Verse 16a ("He said a parable to them, saying,") is clearly a Lucan construction (e.g., 14:7; 15:3; 18:1;). Furthermore the use of *tis* is a well attested Lucan trademark. The parables of the Good Samaritan (10:30), the Great Banquet (14:16), the Prodigal Son (15:11), the Unjust Steward (16:1), the Rich Man and Lazarus (16:19), the Unjust Judge (18:2), and the Pounds (19:12) all employ some form of *tis* in the introduction.

According to Jeremias's detailed word study, Luke's hand can be seen in the "and he debated in himself saying . . . 'What shall I do because . . . I shall do.'" This formulation is strikingly similar to the soliloquy of the Unjust Steward (16:3): "He said in himself . . . 'What shall I do . . . I will do.'" Jeremias points as other parallels to Luke 5:21, 7:49, and 20:13.[10] His evidence needs differentiation. 5:21, 7:49 and 20:13 are all instances of Lucan modification of material common to the synoptics, i.e., for which there are parallels, while 12:17 and 16:3 are parables that occur only in Luke. Luke has a strong preference for the stylistic arrangement verb, participle of saying, question. In the three passages common to the synoptics, only Luke has this formula. But he does not create the dialogue, rather as the examples show the formulation appears to be Luke's characteristic way of introducing a monologue. There is no reason to believe that *dialogizomai* is Lucan.[11] Although in the parables of the Unjust Steward and the Rich Fool Luke conformed the introduction of the interior monologue to his style, there can be no question of his creating that monologue.

THE THOMAS PARABLE

Logon 63 of the Gospel of Thomas preserves a parable strikingly similar to that in Luke.

> Jesus said, "There was a rich man who had much money. He said, 'I shall put my money to use so that I may sow, reap, plant, and fill my storehouse with produce.' Such were his intentions, but that same night he died. Let him who has ears hear."[12]

Early commentators upon the Gospel of Thomas advanced a number of opinions about the relation of the Thomas parable to the Lucan one. Dominic Crossan, while not addressing the problem in detail, does seem to favor the Thomas version as more original because it lacks the moral overtones associated with the Lucan version. The simple story in Thomas

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[10]Joachim Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 215.

[11]The evidence from usage is as follows. Mark uses *dialogizomai* seven times; Matthew three times in passages parallel to Mark. Luke also uses the verb seven times: three in passages parallel to Mark (in one parallel passage Luke uses the adjective); three times in material unique to Luke; and once in a passage parallel to Mark and Matthew where they do not use the verb. Thus no clear pattern emerges. Luke does show a clear preference for the adjective *dialogismos*.

[12]Translation by Helmut Koester and Thomas O. Lambdin in *The Nag Hammadi Library* (ed. James M. Robinson; San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977). J. N. Birdsall, "Luke XII, 16 ff. and the Gospel of Thomas," *JTS* 13 (1962) 332-36, deals with the fact that some manuscripts have as a conclusion to the Lucan parable the saying about those who have ears which concludes Thomas. According to Birdsall, there is no relation for the reading is late, from the lectionaries. There is no attestation from the Western text or the Diatesseron.

paints a stark tragedy of a man who spends his last day planning his future.[13] But Crossan is in the minority. The majority can be represented by Hugh Montefiore who sees the Thomas version as a simplification with consequent loss of vividness.[14]

Jacques-E. Menard comes much closer to the point when he remarks that they are not really two versions of the same story.[15] The Lucan story is about a man who must decide what to do with a bountiful harvest, while the Thomas story concerns a man who wants to increase his wealth to avoid suffering. This is no small point of difference. Although the stories are evidently similar, they are *not* the same story in different forms. Both belong to the wisdom trajectory dealing with riches, but they belong to different subsets. The Thomas story represents the more common subset of an admonition against greed, while the Lucan story belongs to a less common subset on the use of wealth.[16] Thus the Thomas parable can shed little light upon the synoptic parable. But the difference between the two stories provides an important clue to follow up when we turn to a reading of the parable.

SURFACE STRUCTURE

The parable's surface or verbal structure, while not as complex as the more elaborate parables, nevertheless is tightly constructed. It has three main parts: Introduction, Soliloquy, and Response. A unifying thread running through the parable is the use of verbs of saying.

Introduction	and he **debated** (*dielogizeto*) himself
Soliloquy	and he **said** (*eipen*) "I will tear
	and I will **say** (*ero*)
Response	**said** (*eipen de*) to him God

Other elements contribute to the parable's rapid pace. The soliloquy begins with a question, *ti poieso* ("What shall I do") and the response concludes with one, *tini estai* ("Whose shall it be"). A number of chiasmatic structures tie subsections together.

a b
I may gather together / fruit / my (*mou*)

b a
I will tear down / my (*mou*) / storehouses

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[13] *In Parables* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) 85. In "Parable and Example in the Teaching of Jesus," *Semeia* 1 (1974) 78-9, Crossan is much more certain that the Thomas parable is original. It is the moralizing aspect of the Lucan version that Crossan finds incompatible with Jesus' style.

[14] Hugh Montefiore and H. E. W. Turner, *Thomas and the Evangelists* (STBT 35; Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1962) 50. Ray Summers, *The Secret Sayings of the Living Jesus* (Waco: Word Books, 1968) 46, makes the same point, but Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961) 46, gives no opinion, remarking that it is difficult to decide. H. Schürmann, *Traditionsgeschichte Untersuchungen* (Dusseldorf: 1968) 232, sees dependence upon Luke.

[15] *L'Evangile selon Thomas* (Nag Hammadi Studies 5; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 163, provides a fine reading of the parable in the context of the Gospel of Thomas.

[16] See below on the question of repertoire.

While the odd use of *mou* in connection with storehouses had brought forth comment, no commentator has noticed the resulting chiasmus which creates an ironic relation between gathering in the harvest's results and tearing down the barns. Another chiasmus revolves around the use of *synago*.

a b
I do not have where (*pou*) / I may gather
b a
I will gather / there (*ekei*)

In the first line the form is adverb (*pou*) / verb (*synago*); in the second it is verb / adverb (*ekei*). A third chiasmus in the soliloquy involves the "tearing down and building up":

a b
I will tear down / my barns
b a
and greater ones / I will build up.

A final chiasmus in the soliloquy occurs in the address to the "soul."

a b
you have many / goods
b a
stored up for years / many.

This chiasmus revolves around "many goods" and "years many." These four chiasma serve to tie the soliloquy tightly together, producing several interplays within the speech. The four imperatives, "rest, eat, drink, enjoy," produce a nice finality to soliloquy.

When examining the reader-response function of the text we will draw out the structure of God's speech. Suffice it to say that each of its points provides a contrary to the "Soul Speech" (cf. below).

This careful structuring or ordering of the parable catches a hearer's attention, moving one along through the story.

READING PERFORMANCE

We will divide the story into seven lines to better observe both the interaction between story and hearer/audience and the development of plot and characterization.

LINE 1. A Certain rich man's lands brought forth bountiful crops. And he deliberated within himself, saying . . .

The parable's first lines conform to Lucan style, although the extent to which this is true is not always possible to ascertain with precision. (See above, "The Fool in Luke.")

The first line creates anticipation[17] on the audience's part; they expect certain developments in the story. Stating that the man was rich and had lands, while redundant, accents his wealth. This note is reinforced when his land is described as *chora* not *agros*. *chora* indicates extensive holdings, normally indicating a district or region.[18] The

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[17]Anticipation and retrospection are key terms in Iser's description of the reading process. Because no story can ever be told in all its details, there are always gaps that need to be filled in. The filling in of the gaps creates retrospection (looking back) and anticipation (looking forward). *The Implied Reader*, 279-282.

[18]BAG 2d ed., 889; Derrett, "Rich Fool," 143 maintains that it represents a whole district, a region separate from cities. I. H. Marshall, *Commentary on Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1978) 523, offers a helpful balance to Derrett's overstatement.

richness theme continues with the hint of the harvest's size; the verb indicates a good harvest.[19]

Accenting elements of richness indicates to the audience the story's intended direction; it hints what type of story this is. All stories invoke a repertoire of narrative possibilities drawn from the cultural stock.[20] The first Line implies that the story belongs to that group of stories which deals with wealth and its use. It is not a story that deals with its accumulation. Rather this rich man's problem is the disposal of his wealth;[21] his lands have already brought forth a good harvest at the story's beginning. Line 1 poses the use of wealth as the parable's theme.

That theme can invoke two possibilities: either the man will be successful or he will fail. Sirach is a treasury of information about common attitudes toward wealth. Sir 31:5-11 can serve as a model for the repertoire's possibilities.

> He who loves gold will not be justified and he who pursues money will be led astray by it. Many have come to ruin because of gold. . . . It is a stumbling block to those who are devoted to it, and every fool will be taken captive by it. Blessed is the rich man who is found blameless, and who does not go after gold. Who is he? We will call him blessed for he has done wonderful things among his people. Who has been tested by it and been found perfect? . . . His prosperity will be established and the assembly will relate his acts of charity.

Riches pose their own problem and the rich man has a difficult but not impossible task. The purpose of wealth is acts of charity, almsgiving (Sir 31:5-11). The hoarding of wealth is condemned,[22] it must serve a public need.[23]

At the conclusion of Line 1 the man becomes the subject both in grammar and story. This point, not normally noticed, is important. The story's beginning leads to an expectation that its subject is the use of the land's produce. But the harvest turns out to be only an occasion for the real subject, the man. Further, the rich man carries on his dialogue with himself. He excludes others from his story. This technique will be further developed as the story proceeds.

LINE 2. "What shall I do since I do not have a place where I may gather my fruit?"

If Line 1 outlined the general possibilities open to the story, Line 2 specifies the rich man's immediate problem. Where will he store the produce of his fields? The story needs a lack to proceed. The hearer is provided an important clue that the harvest is

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[19] *euphoreo* occurs only here in the NT; in Josephus it is used in reference to crops and oil, Plummer, *Gospel According to Luke* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914) 324.

[20] The repertoire consists of "the conventions necessary for the establishment of a situation" in a text; it is what might be called the extra-textual reality referred to or referenced by a text. See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1978) 53-85, quote p. 69.

[21] Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HKNT; Tübingen: 1929) accented this point.

[22] I Enoch 97:9-10 has a story similar to the Lucan parable. "'We have acquired everything that we desired, and now let us do what we planned, for we have gathered silver and filled our storehouses and as many as water are the husbandmen of our houses.' And like water your life will flow away, for your riches will not stay with you, but will quickly go up from you." *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (ed. Michael A. Knibb; Oxford: At the University Press, 1978) 2, 230.

[23] Derrett, "Rich Fool," 142, for evidence. Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor*, chap. 1, deals with the Poor in the Old Testament. While our interest is the Rich, Pilgrim presents an oblique analysis of the rich, since one cannot discuss the poor without discussing the rich.

larger than usual, since the man does not have sufficient storage space. An acute hearer would be alerted to something out of the ordinary happening. If the man lacks sufficient storage space for his harvest, how large is it? A rich man ordinarily would have sufficient storage space.

LINE 3. And he said, "I will do this: I will tear down my granaries and larger ones I will build and I will gather there all my grain and goods."

The man responds to his dilemma with a drastic action. He does not simply build more granaries or add on to his existing complex. Rather, all his existing storage will be torn down and new and greater ones built. Such all or nothing activity is characteristic of Jesus' parables, e.g., the selling of all to buy the land with buried treasure. It burlesques the everyday.

Line 3 echoes through Israel's traditions, setting up a number of resonances. The contrast "tear down/build up" occurs a number of times in the Old Testament, both in reference to acts of folly and God's protection.[24] But this potential resonance remains undeveloped. The hearer is drawn in other directions. If all the barns are to be torn down and new ones built, the size of the harvest is well beyond an average expectation. A harvest of such size implies a miracle of God's blessing and suggests two prominent aspects of Israel's heritage. The first is that of Joseph's stewardship in Egypt where he stored up a surplus from the bountiful harvests in preparation for the coming seven lean years (Gen 41:35-6). A surplus implies a barren future. This same notion is reinforced by sabbath preparations. While the people were in the desert, on the sixth day they would gather twice as much bread, for on the sabbath, a day of rest, they would find nothing in the field (Exod 16:22-27). This same pattern is followed in the seventh year sabbath for the land.

> The Land will yield its fruit, and you will eat your fill, and dwell in it securely. And if you say, "What shall we eat in the seventh year, if we may not sow or gather in our crop?" I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, so that it will bring forth fruit for three years (Lev 25:19-21).

The parallels with the Joseph story and Sabbath preparations are part of a repertoire upon which the audience can draw to make sense or build a consistency of the story's actions.[25] What kind of harvest demands such a drastic action? A harvest that is God's miracle. But at the same time the harvest's very size leads the hearer to anticipate that certain things are to happen. The miraculous character of the harvest places demands upon the rich man. To tear down his granaries and build new, larger ones implies that he like Joseph will care for his people in the coming lean years. As we have seen in connection with Line 1, wealth implies social responsibility. At the conclusion of Line 3, the audience judges the rich man to be prudent and wise, he is preparing for the lean years ahead, for both himself and his people.

LINE 4. "and I will say to my self, 'Self, you have many good things stored up for many a year.'"

The evidence that *psyche* here means the whole existing person and not the soul as a spiritual entity inhabiting a body is overwhelming, cf. Pss 41:6, 12; 42:5; PsSol 3:1.[26]

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[24] M. J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon Saint Luc* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1927) 359, noticed this contrast; also C. Schneider, *kathaireo, TDNT*, 3. 411.

[25] "Consistency" or "consistency building" is a technical term for Iser denoting the reader's effort to make sense of a text. Because a text contains gaps the reader must continually try to fit the pieces together so as to form a consistent "text-gestalt." *The Implied Reader*, 290-291; *The Act of Reading*, chap. 5, "Grasping the Text."

[26] E. E. Ellis, "La Fonction de l'Eschatologie dans Luc," in *L'Evangile de Luc* (BETL 32; Gembloux: Duculot, 1974) 146; Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* 1 (New York: Scribners, 1951) 168, 202.

In the translation proposed above I have used "self" as a better English equivalent.

While the scholarly literature has for the most part concerned itself with the translation and meaning of *psyche*, it is not the most important feature from a literary perspective. After Line 1, the parable has been a soliloquy, a self-dialogue. Now the man addresses himself formally as "Self." The parable's literary technique mimics or replicates its actions. The parable was introduced by an anonymous narrator, "he said," but by Line 4 the narrator has disappeared. The text does not say: "and he said to himself, 'Self.'", but "and I will say to my self, 'Self.'" The rich man has usurped the narrator's control of the story, has replaced him in the story. The rich man now fully controls his own narrative.

The rich man's dominance of the story, even at the level of narration, replicates the actions implied in Line 4. As we saw above in Line 3, the harvest is a miracle, and the storage of the surplus likewise implies its use for the community. But by Line 4 it is becoming apparent that he may have no such intention. He describes the harvest as *his* goods which will keep *him* for many seasons. Just as he has taken over the story, usurped it from the narrator, so he has usurped the harvest for his own well being. This rich man is surely no Joseph in Egypt preparing for the hard days ahead, so that he may protect his people out of present plenty.

LINE 5. "Rest, eat, drink, enjoy."

Plummer has remarked that the asyndeton marks the man's confidence,[27] climaxing the soliloquy. What began as a problem to be solved (what to do with the harvest) has reached its conclusion in the man's well being. The line has a clear Epicurean tone, recalling the famous inscription reported to be on the tomb of Sardinapalus. "Eat, drink, and sport with love; all else is naught."[28] A legendary figure of 7th century Assyria, Sardinapalus was widely known in the Hellenistic world as an example of Epicurean profligate life.[29] This caricature of Epicurean philosophy was widespread and rejected within Judaism[30] as well as the hellenistic world at large.[31] The "anti-Epicurean" attitude of Judaism is indicated by Isa 22:12-14. "In that day the Lord God of Hosts called to weeping and mourning, to baldness and girding with sackcloth; and behold, . . . eating flesh and

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[27]Plummer, *Commentary on Luke*, 324.

[28]Plutarch, *Moralia*, "On the Fortune of Alexander," LCL (1960) 336, relates the fate of two monarchs who both received the same power. One, the woman Semiramis, equipped great armies and defeated her enemies. The other, Sardanapalus, "spent his days at home carding purple wool, sitting with his knees drawn up in front of him among his concubines; and when he died, they made a stone statue of him dancing in a barbaric fashion and apparently snapping its fingers above its head." Then Plutarch relates the grave inscription.

[29]Franz H. Weissbach, "Sardinapal," PW, 1, A:2436-7; J. J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam: 1752; reprinted Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck —U. Verlags Amstadt, 1962) 2, 169, gives several parallel sayings; Abraham Malherbe, "The Beasts of Ephesus," *JBL* 87 (1968) 76, discusses the Epicurean evidence while dealing with the passage in I Cor. He does not relate his discussion to the parable.

[30]Henry Fischel, "Epicureanism," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 6 (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971) 817, gives evidence for stereotyped rejection of Epicureanism by the rabbis. One who denies the rabbinic tradition was referred to as *apikoros* which is derived from the Greek *epikyros*, although the rabbis do not appear to know this derivation.

[31]The largest collection of references to the widespread Epicurean sayings are in J. E. B. Mayor edition of Juvenal, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (London: MacMillan, 1886) 178ff.

drinking wine. 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.'"[32] Likewise when Tobias proposes to marry Sarah, her mother Raguel explains, "Eat, drink, and be merry; for it is your right to take my child. But let me explain the true situation to you. I have given my daughter to seven husbands, and when each came to her he died in the night. But for the present be merry" (Tob 7:9-11). The reference in I Cor 15:32 again evidences a common form of the Epicurean saying: "If the dead are not raised, 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.'"[33] These sayings demonstrate the widespread currency of the Epicurean sayings. But even more important the form of the saying involves a reference to death. It is the inevitable fate of death that prompts the Epicurean response.

Line 5 paints the rich man as hoarding the miracle of a fantastic harvest for his own pleasure. He refuses to share it with his community. In the ancient Mediterranean world he sins against two interlocking principles. The first holds that wealth be used for the community's good. This theme is amply evidenced in the wisdom literature (see above, Line 1). Secondly, he offends against the perception of limited goods.[34] This ordering of reality sees the goods of the world as limited, not infinite as they are so often imagined today. The perception of limited goods underlies the wisdom tradition's demand to share wealth. If one person hoards wealth, there will be none left to go around. If there is surplus today, there must be shortage tomorrow. Thus the rich man's saving up of his harvest to provide only for his own comfort, offends against the community's possibilities, wastes God's gifts, and ensures the impoverishment of others.

The Epicurean character of the man's response also hints at his folly for in all the Epicurean sayings one eats and drinks because of the inescapable fate of death. But this rich man believes he has fortified himself against the odds for many years to come.

LINE 6. God said to him "Fool, on this night they will demand your self from you. And the things which you have prepared, whose will they be?"

Even though only in this parable does God enter as a direct character, this does not destroy the parable's realism, for the harvest, the man's offense, and his Epicurean response have assumed a divine presence off-stage. A harvest of such proportions that it requires destroying current storage facilities to build new ones, can only be God's work. And as we have seen, death lurks behind the Epicurean eat and drink. Now God intervenes to restore the balance. His question, "Whose will it be?", leads the audience to the appropriate response, those for whom it was originally intended.

To this point the man has been in control. Beginning in Line 4 he eclipsed the narrator and began to narrate his own story ("and I will say" rather than the narrator's "he said"). The beginning of Line 6 is constructed in a suspenseful fashion. Literally it

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[32]When referring to the Isaiah text as "anti-Epicurean" I mean that what comes to be identified as Epicurean has in fact much older currency throughout the Near East. For example, Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-39* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974) 143, says that the Isaiah text may be a quotation from a song like those from Egyptian tombs. R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 186, identifies it as a proverbial saying. A. Penna, *Isaia* (La Sacra Bibbia; Turin/Rome: Marietti, 1964), sees it as parallel to Gilgamesh OB x, 3, 4-9. "They allotted death to mankind, life they retained in their keeping. Thou, O Gilgamesh, let thy belly be full; Day and night be thou merry; Make every day (a day of) rejoicing. Day and night do thou dance and play." (ANET 90) What this indicates is that the so-called Epicurean position is more ancient than Epicurus and very widespread, i.e., it is part of the repertoire.

[33]Besides Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," see Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914) 396; Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 278.

[34]Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981) 75-90.

translates "(he) said to him God" (Grammatically "God" is subject, but it comes last in word order). A hearer at first suspects that the narrator (*eipen*) is again emerging to direct the story. Only at the line's end does the subject of "(he) said" appear. God takes control.

God addresses the man as "Fool," a powerful epithet that signifies that the man's actions have denied God's existence.[35] The epithet confirms the way the audience has been putting the story together. A consistent way of viewing the story's parts has emerged in which the man has mismanaged his possibilities to the point that he has committed idolatry. The epithet confirms this. Further, various elements from the man's speech are echoed in God's response.

1a 2a 3a 4a
Self / you have many things / laid up / for many years
1b 2b 3b 4b
Fool / this night / your self / they take away from you

There are four items in each line. We have already seen that the first items set up a contrast. The man addresses his own self in a kind of self possession and God labels this idolatry for usurpation of both story and harvest and calls the man a fool. Given the story's logic, God is the only character who can address the rich man because he has eliminated all other competitors. Item 2b, "this night," contrasts with 4a, "for many years." What the man believes will last forever, will not make it through the night. Item 3b contrasts with 2a. While believing that he possesses many things, he will lose the only thing that counts. Finally, 4b, "They will take from you" contrasts with 3a, "laid up."

SUMMARY

At one level the parable is a narrative illustration of the evils that lie in the path of a wealthy man as he attempts to preserve his wealth. Not only is his wealth not acquired in iniquity, but it is the miracle of God, like the surplus of Joseph's time in Egypt or that of the land's before the sabbath. An audience soon expects this wealth to be stored up for the community's benefit. The man turns out, not only to intend not to store the wealth up for community charity, but he intends it for his own comfort and pleasure, to stave off death for many years to come. His proposal remains unfulfilled, for God promises that before the night is over, they will carry him away to death. The story concludes with God's question whose implication is that the wealth will now be used for those for whom it was originally intended.

FOOL IN A KINGDOM

The harvest's size, the Epicurean saying, and God's playacting are all figurative. They represent or stand for larger realities, referencing values from outside the narrative proper. The harvest figure implicitly invokes the symbol kingdom of God since the miraculous harvest stands for (i.e., is a metaphor for) kingdom. It represents God's blessing. Its very size, as noted above, suggests both the tradition of the sabbatical year and Joseph's overseeing of Pharaoh's surplus and lean years. The harvest's very bountifulness implies at the same time a lean future. This can be seen both in the literary parallels and in the notion of limited goods. The man's predicament is thus how to manage a miracle.

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[35]E.g., Ps 14:1, "The fool says in his heart, 'There is no God.'" Stephen A. Mandry, *There is no God! A Study of the Fool in the Old Testament, Particularly in Proverbs and Qoheleth* (Rome: Catholic Book Agency, 1972) esp. 49-54.

But the man's actions go directly contrary to the injunctions of the wisdom tradition for he takes the fruit of the harvest for his own benefit and attempts thereby to ward off the threat of death. But God interrupts the man's plans by announcing that on that very night he will die. God confirms the direction of the wisdom tradition. As we have seen, the literary technique of the parable, with its disappearance of the narrator, replicates the rich man's taking over the story. His idolatry, his usurpation of story and harvest, crowding out all around him, can only be remedied by God's intervention. All other characters have been eliminated.

The manner of God's intervention requires careful observation. First, God does not carry out the death; "they will demand your life." That those powers are ultimately divine is not to be contested; it may be a reference to the angel of death mythology.[36] But this is part of the parable's strategy. The kingdom's coming is not an apocalyptic intervention of the kingdom; God does not seek to right the kingdom's misuse by an apocalyptic destruction of evil. Rather the man will die in his sleep! To those who observe his death, it will be completely normal, carrying no special portent. The parable affirms the kingdom's presence in the metaphor of harvest, but it refuses to make it an apocalyptic kingdom. The man will die; reality will continue; the fruit of the harvest is there. God's gift still must be managed.

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[36]W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, THKNT, 257, argues that the "they" refers to the angels of death. See Str-B, 1, 144-9.

The Sermon on the Mount/Plain: Work Sheets for the Reconstruction of Q

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The following work sheets are intended to be as objective as possible a presentation of material shared by Matthew and Luke but not by Mark, without an effort to reconstruct the text of Q presumably underlying such parallels.

It is to be hoped that members on the Consultation on the Study of Q will prepare for the session by working through the various reconstructions available: Ronald D. Worden, "The Q Sermon on the Mount/Plain: Variations and Reconstruction," printed below in this Book of Seminar Papers, from his unpublished dissertation of 1973 from Princeton Theological Seminary entitled *A Philological Analysis of Luke 6:20B-49 and Parallels*. Ulrich Luz, "Sermon on the Mount/Plain: Reconstruction of Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}," a hand-out in his course on Q in the Summer Semester of 1978, printed below in the Book of Seminar Papers, reconstructs the intermediate stage between Q and Mt and Lk, namely, Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}. Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979; 2d ed. 1982), translated without the apparatus by Ivan Havener, O.S.B., St. John's University, Collegeville, MN 56321, who has circulated the unpublished translation privately, *The Fragments of Q: Text for the Study of the Sayings Source*. Wolfgang Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelisten: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung mit kurzen Erläuterungen* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1981), without the Greek text. Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), provides much of the raw material for a reconstruction without actually presenting the reconstruction itself. Members of the Consultation are invited to prepare in advance their own reconstruction and supply it to the Convener in time enough to be circulated to the mailing list prior to the meeting.

One of the sessions of the Consultation will be devoted to working through the Sermon in an effort to reconstruct it, on the basis of these work sheets, where individual variants can be discussed in terms of proposals already made and new proposals that may be made from the floor. The variants are hence numbered on the work sheets, both so that a variant can readily be identified in the discussion by verse number and variant number, and so that this numeration can be used in an *apparatus criticus* by persons preparing for circulation a written reconstruction.

We might adopt the policy of citing Q as follows: Q 6:20 (rather than Lk 6:20 par., or Luke 6:20 //, or Mt 5:3 // Lk 6:20). This practice would mean that one regards something in Lk 6:20 as coming from Q (though not necessarily implying that Luke, rather than Matthew or some wording or sequence diverging in part from both, preserves the wording or sequence of Q). This would be a crisp way of referring to Q as an entity in its own right, without the problem of numbering the Q sayings in a different numbering system than that of Luke (e.g., like the numeration of the 114 sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas*). Thus we could refer to a specific verse without prematurely settling upon a numeration system that would soon become antiquated, or without the problem of constantly renumbering (both of which problems have emerged in the case of the *Gospel of*

Thomas). A given variant could then be referred to as Q 6:20.1 (or, if the context makes it clear, simply 20.1).

Lacunae are not filled in and no decisions as to order have been made (though the Lucan order is followed on the work sheets simply as the current convention). The work sheets are merely intended to help identify where the reconstruction of the Q text needs to be done, in terms of conjecturing which lettering should be inserted or which sequence followed. All lacunae are arbitrarily set at three spaces. Lettering shared by Matthew and Luke is included even in some cases when it occurs in words of different meaning or syntax. A given reconstruction may in some instances reduce the amount of text outside brackets, by judging such agreements fortuitous and not derived from a shared wording present in Q. And a given reconstruction may in some instances rearrange the sequence, when the Lucan sequence is not considered to be that of Q.

Sigla: Square brackets [ ] indicate that some lettering that occurs in Luke, or in Luke and Matthew, has been omitted, since Matthew and Luke do not agree on a shared lettering. Parentheses ( ) indicate that some lettering that occurs in Matthew has been omitted, since it is not present in Luke. In both instances text may need to be reconstructed, though this is not always the case. Double square brackets [[ ]] surround material that is in Mark, but may well be here from Q, since it is in Matthew and Luke in a non-Marcan context or order in one or both gospels.

When Matthew has a sequence that diverges from that of Luke, the place where the divergence begins is marked by a slash / with the number of that variant preceding the slash ^{1}/; the place where that divergence ends is marked by a slash / with the number of that variant following the slash /^{1}; and the place in the Lucan text where the material thus delimited occurs in Matthew is marked by a double slash // followed by the number of that variant //^{1}. If the material thus delimited does not occur in Matthew in the parallel verse to that in which it occurs in Luke, a cross-reference to the location in Matthew is put at the conclusion of the Lukan verse. Thus (//^{1} 7:18) at the end of Lk 6:43 means that the sequence variant numbered 43.1 occurs in Matthew 7:18. Then at the end of Lk 6:44 one finds //$^{(43)1}$, which means that here is the position in Luke equivalent to where Matthew 7:18 places the variant 43.1. Reconstructing Q with the help of the work sheets is thus not simply a matter of filling the lacunae. Where there is a divergence of sequence and Matthew is preferred, a rearrangement of the sequence of the work sheet will be necessary.

WORK SHEETS FOR Q 6:20–49

6:20 [ ]^{1} ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΠΤΩΧΟΙ ( )^{2} ΟΤΙ [ ]^{3} ΕΣΤΙΝ Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ΤΙ [ ]^{4} //$^{(21)4}$ 6:21 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΠΕΙΝΩΝΤΕΣ [ ]^{1} ΟΤΙ ( )^{2}

ΧΟΡΤΑΣΘΗΣΙ [ ]^{3} ^{4}/ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΙ [ ]^{5}ΟΝΤΕΣ [ ]^{6} ΟΤΙ [ ]^{7} /^{4}

( )^{5} (//^{4} 5:4) 6:22 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΕΣΤΕ [ ]^{1} ΟΤΑΝ [ ]^{2} //^{3} ΥΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ( )^{4}

^{3}/ ΟΝΕΙΔΙΣΩΣΙΝ /^{3} ΚΑΙ [ ]^{5}ΩΣΙΝ [ ]^{6} ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ( )^{7} ΕΝΕΚΙ [ ]^{8}

6:23 ΧΑ( )^{1}Ρ[ ]^{1}ΤΕ [ ]^{2} ΚΑΙ [ ]^{3}Ε [ ]^{4} Ο ΜΙΣΘΟΣ ΥΜΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΣ ΕΝ

ΤΙ [ ]^{5} ΟΥΡΑΝΙ [ ]^{5} ΓΑΡ ΕΙ [ ]^{6}Ν ΤΟΙ [ ]^{7}Σ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ [ ]^{7}Σ [ ]^{8}ΩΝ [ ]^{9}

6:27 ^{1}/ [ ]^{2} ^{3}/ ΥΜΙΝ /^{3} ΛΕΓΩ //^{3} [ ]^{4} ΑΓΑΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΧΘΡΟΥΣ ΥΜΩΝ /^{1}[ ]^{5}

(//^{1} 5:44) 6:28 [ ]^{1} ^{2}/ ( )^{3} ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΕ ( )^{4}ΠΕΡΙ [ ]^{4} ΤΩΝ [ ]^{5}ΟΝΤΩΝ

ΥΜΑΣ /2 (//2 5:44) ( )6 6:29 [ ]1 ΣΕ ( )2 ΕΙ [ ]3 ΤΗΝ ( )4 ΣΙΑΓΟΝΑ
[ ]5 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ [ ]6 //7 ΣΟΥ ( )8 9/ ΤΟ ΙΜΑΤΙΟΝ /9 ΚΑΙ 7/ ΤΟΝ
ΧΙΤΩΝΑ /7 //9 [ ]10 6:30 [ ]1 ΑΙΤΟΥΝΤΙ ΣΕ [ ]2ΔΟΙ [ ]2 ΚΑΙ //3 ΑΠΟ 3/
ΤΟΙ [ ]4ΟΝΤΙ [ ]5 /3 ΣΙ [ ]6 ΜΗ ΑΠΙ [ ]7 6:31 1/ [ ]2 ΘΕΛΙ [ ]3ΤΕ ΙΝΑ
ΠΟΙΩΣΙΝ ΥΜΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ //4 ( )5 ΠΟΙΕΙΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ 4/ ΟΙ [ ]6ΩΣ /4( )7 /1
(//1 7:12) //(27)1 //(28)2 //(35)1 //(35)5 ( )8 6:32 [ ]1ΕΙ [ ]2
ΑΓΑΠΙ [ ]3ΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΑΠΩΝΤΑΣ ΥΜΑΣ [ ]4Α [ ]5 ΕΙ [ ]6 ΚΑΙ [ ]7 ΟΙ
[ ]8ΣΙΝ 6:33 ΚΑΙ [ ]1 ΕΑΝ ΑΙ [ ]2ΠΙ [ ]2ΗΙ [ ]2Ε ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ [ ]3Σ ΥΜΙ [ ]4
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ [ ]5ΟΙ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙΝ [ ]6 6:35 1/ [ ]2 ΑΓΑΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΧΘΡΟΥΣ
ΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ /1 [ ]3.4/ ΕΣΕ/4 5/( )6ΣΘΕ ΥΙΟΙ [ ]7 ΟΤΙ ( )8 ΑΥΤΟΙ [ ]9 ΕΠΙ
[ ]10 //11 //12 ΑΙ [ ]13ΟΥΣ 12/ ΚΑΙ /12 11/ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΥΣ /11 /5 (//1 5:44)
(//4 5:48) (//5 5:45) 6:36 //(35)4[ ]1ΣΘΕ [ ]2ΩΣ [ ]3 Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΥΜΩΝ
[ ]4 ΕΣΤΙΝ ( )5 6:37 [ ]1 ΜΗ ΚΡΙΝΕΤΕ [ ]2 ΜΗ ΚΡΙΘΗΤΕ 3/ [ ]4 ΚΑΙ
[ ]5 ΚΑΤΑΔΙΚΑΣΘΗ[ ]6/3Ε [ ]7 (//3 12:37) 6:38 1/ [ ]2
[[ΔΟΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ]]3 [ ]4 ΚΑΙ [ ]5 ΠΕ[ ]6[[ ]5Σ[ ]5 /1 ( )7 [[Ω]]8
[ ]9[[ΜΕΤΡΩ ΜΕΤΡΕΙΤΕ]]8 [ ]10[[ΜΕΤΡΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΥΜΙΝ]]8 (//1 13:12) 6:39 1/
[ ]2 3/ ΔΕ /3 [ ]3 ΤΥΦΛΟΣ //3 ΤΥΦΛΟΝ ( )4 ΟΔΗΓΙ [ ]5 ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΣ
ΒΟΘΥΝΟΝ [ ]6ΠΕΣΟΥΝΤΑΙ /1 (//1 15:14) 6:40 1/ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΝ
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ [ ]2ΤΑΙ ΩΣ Ο ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ( )3 /1 (//1 10:24-25) 6:41 ΤΙ
ΔΕ ΒΛΕΠΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ 1/ ΔΟΚΟΝ /1
[ ]2 ΕΝ ΤΩ [ ]3Ω ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ //1 ΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΕΙΣ 6:42 ( )1 ΠΩΣ [ ]2 ΤΩ
ΑΔΕΛΦΩ ΣΟΥ [ ]3 ΑΦΕΣ ΕΚΒΑΛΩ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ [ ]4 ΕΙ [ ]4 ΤΙ [ ]4 ΟΦΘΑΛΜΙ [ ]4
ΣΟΥ [ ]5ΗΙ [ ]5 //6 ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΣΟΥ 6/ ΔΟΚΟΙ [ ]7 /6 [ ]8 ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΑ
ΕΚΒΑΛΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ 9/ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΚΟΝ /9 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ //9 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙΣ //10
ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ [ ]11 ΕΙ [ ]11 ΤΙ [ ]11 ΟΦΘΑΛΜΙ [ ]11 ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΟΥ 10/ ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ
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ΠΟΙ [ ]10Ν 9/ ΚΑΡΠΟΙ [ ]11 ΚΑΛΟΙ [ ]11 /9 /1 (//1 7:18) 6:44 1/ [ ]2
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ΤΡ[ ]13N //10 //(43)1 (//1 12:33) 6:45 1/ //2 Ο ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΥ [ ]3ΕΙ [ ]4 ΑΓΑΘΙ]4 ΚΑΙ Ο ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ( )5 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΥ [ ]6ΕΙ [ ]7 ΠΟΝΗΡ[ ]7 2/ ΕΚ ΓΑΡ ( )8 ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ( )9 ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ //10 ΛΑΛΕΙ 10/ ΤΟ ΣΤΟΜΑ [ ]11 /10 /2 /1 (//1 12:34-35) 6:46 [ ]1Μ[ ]2 ΚΥΡΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ [ ]3 ΠΟΙ[ ]4 6:47 ΠΑΣ ( )1Ο[ ]2 ΑΚΟΥ[ ]3 ΜΟΥ Τ[ ]4 ΛΟΓ[ ]4 ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙ[ ]3 ΑΥΤΟΥΣ [ ]5 6:48 ΟΜΟΙ[ ]1 ΑΝ[ ]2 //3 [ ]4ΚΟΔΟΜ[ ]5 ΟΙΚΙΑΝ 3/ ΟΣ( )6 /3[ ]7 8/ ( )9ΘΕΜΕΛΙ[ ]9 /8 ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΤΡΑΝ [ ]10 //11 ( )12 ΠΡΟΣΕ[ ]13N 11/ Ο( )14ΠΟΤΑΜΟ[ ]14 /11 ΤΗ ΟΙΚΙΑ ΕΚΕΙΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ [ ]15ΣΕΝ [ ]16 //8 ( )17 6:49 ( )1 Ο [ ]2 ΑΚΟΥ[ ]3 ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΟΙ[ ]4 ΟΜΟΙ[ ]5 ΑΝ[ ]6ΚΟΔΟΜΗΣ[ ]7 ΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ [ ]8 9/ ΠΡΟΣΕ[ ]10N /9 Ο( )11 ΠΟΤΑΜΟ[ ]12 //9 //13 ΚΑΙ [ ]14ΕΠΕΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ [ ]15 13/ ΤΗ[ ]16 ΟΙΚΙΑ[ ]16 ΕΚΕΙΝΗ[ ]16 /13 ΜΕΓΑ( )17

The Q Sermon on the Mount/Plain: Variants and Reconstruction

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The dissertation consists of a philological analysis of Luke 6:20b-49 and the parallel passages in Matthew, chiefly in the Sermon on the Mount. Particular attention is addressed to differences in wording between the texts of Matthew and Luke with ascertaining the best possible explanation for these differences as a major objective. One significant result of the dissertation was renewed confidence in the methods which led to the classic solution to the Synoptic problem (the two source hypothesis) and in the results. Another was a reconstruction of the Q sermon (see below, pages 469-71).

METHODS

The body of the dissertation is an analysis in detail of factors relevant to a list of some 210 variants in wording between comparable clauses in the parallel passages from Matthew and Luke. The main focus is upon differences in words, phrases, and other elements of syntax in parallel clauses, though other differences are also indicated (differences in word order, the absence of a parallel clause, etc.). The arrangement of parallel passages, subdivision into sections, section numbers, and English section titles are taken from Kurt Aland's *Synopsis*.[1] The variants are listed in order, together with a simplified indication of the results of the analysis in the TABLE OF VARIANTS AND EVALUATIONS (below, pp. 459-69). Variant number 1 is to be read as follows: "The phrase τῷ πνεύματι is found in Matt 5:3 but absent from Luke 6:20b." In the same manner, variant number 2 means: "αὐτῶν in Matt 5:3 corresponds to ὑμετέρα in Luke 6:20b" and number 3 means: "τῶν οὐρανῶν corresponds to τοῦ θεοῦ" and so forth. The wording of the variants is descriptive, not evaluative; thus the term *omit* in variant number 1 should not be understood as a judgment that the difference is due to *deliberate omission* by Luke or by the Lukan tradition. It should be understood rather in the way it would be used in the collation of manuscripts for purposes of textual criticism. Evaluation of the variants is presented in the body of the dissertation and is summarized in the three columns to the right in the TABLE OF VARIANTS AND EVALUATIONS.

At many points there is attention to the possibility of translational variation arising within some type of Semitic substratum, whether oral or written, though this is not always relevant since many omissions or additions would be materially the same whether in Greek or in Aramaic. Each possible explanation for the origin of the

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*The following is taken with minimal adaptation from my dissertation (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1973), available in microfilm or xerographic copy from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI. Copies may be rather expensive due to length (ca. 600 pp.).

[1]Kurt Aland, ed., *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, (3d ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1965), secs. 78-83, pp. 102-10.

difference is given due, and independent, consideration. Column three in the table is a summary of conclusions based upon consideration of the possibilities of translational variation.

Whether any plausible explanation is found which indicates that a variant may have arisen in translation or not, each variant is considered from the point of view that it may have been originated by Matthew (which may rather mean at times, by the Matthean tradition) or by Luke (or by the Lukan tradition) because of some characteristic to be found within the respective Greek forms of the sentence within which the variant is found. These parts of the various discussions are summarized in the table in columns one (Mt.) and two (Lk.). One does not rule out the possibility of complexities within the tradition which these methods cannot explain, but with respect to any single variant the table includes the various possible explanations which may be determined objectively, that is, without resort to conjecture. Within these parts of the analysis the assumption that Matthew and Luke used Mark as a source constitutes the decisive criterion. Changes of Mark which are clearly established by examples within lists of homogeneous types of variation from Mark, especially when fewer or no converse changes are evident, provide evidence that the later Evangelist in question probably altered an underlying source, now represented by the Matthean or Lukan counterpart, in the same way. One constructs the lists of similar kinds of variations from Mark ad hoc and thus obtains empirical evidence. In so doing one avoids the danger inherent in the assumption that words found only in Luke or Luke-Acts, for example, are necessarily characteristic of Luke. Henry J. Cadbury cautions:[2]

> It must be recalled that with our limited knowledge of the ancient language even words found only once in all the range of known Greek—the so-called *hapax legomena*—are curiosities to us rather than personal idiosyncrasies of the writers. They indicate limitation in our knowledge rather than in their own currency.

A further refinement is necessary: attention to the various possible sources of a term or syntactic unit within a particular context. In any context where Matthew, for example, is using Mark one can immediately determine whether a term is derived from Mark or is introduced by Matthew, and one can observe what Matthew has omitted from Mark; when Matthew is using Q, however, there are at least two possible derivations for any unit of material. It is theoretically possible that a term should occur in Matthew ten times and not elsewhere, yet that nine of Matthew's occurrences of the term were derived from Q and one from another source or due to the suggestion of the nine occurrences in Q. Superficially it would have appeared that Matthew's ten instances were indications of a Matthean characteristic, whereas, in fact it would have been very typical of Luke to *omit* the term. The hypothetical case is extreme, perhaps, but it illustrates the caution which is justified at many points in the following analysis. There are nine basic possibilities in the Synoptic Gospels with respect to the source from which a passage, verse, or other context is derived: (a) Mark, that is, either the element in question or its context may have come from Mark's Gospel or a source roughly equivalent to the present form of Mark; (b) Q, that is, unless more precisely defined in a given instance, from a tradition which Matthew and Luke appear to have shared apart from their Markan source; (c) material now represented only by Matthew; (d) material now represented only by Luke; (e) either Mark or Q, that is, the context may indicate the possibility of derivation from either source, in which case both possibilities must be considered until one is eliminated; (f) either Mark or special traditions used by Matthew;

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[2]Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York, 1927; London: S.P.C.K., 1961; 1968) 214-15.

(g) either Mark or special traditions used by Luke; (h) either Q or special traditions used by Matthew; (i) either Q or special traditions used by Luke.[3] Within any one of these nine kinds of contexts it is possible that an element originated in the original tradition, at some point within the oral transmission of the tradition, with the compilation or editing of a written source, in an editorial modification or utilization of the source, or in translation at any one of these points. The decision whether a specific element entered a passage at a particular level or stage can only be properly assessed by considering the various possibilities of editorial modification against the background of possible source derivation. Whether one hopes to describe the pre-literary oral tradition or to describe the final redaction the necessary starting point is to be found at the juncture of the sources with the redaction; one thus starts in the middle and moves toward either, or better, both ends of the traditional trajectory. "Formgeschichte, Literarkritik und Quellenanalyse gehören zusammen."[4] The following analysis is concerned in the first place with the juncture at that mid-point.

There are presented in the following pages a TABLE OF VARIANTS AND EVALUATIONS (pp. 459-69) which summarizes the detailed analysis of each variant presented within the complete dissertation and a RECONSTRUCTION OF THE Q SERMON (pages 469-71). Within the table the two columns "By Mt." and "By Lk." include positive indications of editorial modification in Greek of an oral or written tradition, usually but not necessarily by the evangelist himself. A third column lists indications of "Translational" variation. The probability that a given evaluation is the correct

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[3]A considerable portion of the following analysis was worked out with just such a distribution of possible sources before the present writer learned that J. Arthur Baird uses exactly the same categories, *The Computer Bible: A Critical Concordance to the Synoptic Gospels* (1st ed.; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, Inc., n.d. [a computer print-out, received in Speer Library, Princeton, NJ, January 12, 1970), p. v.] A second revised ed. with a more practical format and quotation of the context with each word entry appeared in 1971. The source-derivation categories are the same as those in the first edition (2nd ed., p. ii). The first edition had been the basis for Baird's previously published *Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, c. 1969) in which the same source-derivation categories are used (cf. pp. 12-13). Baird's source-derivation categories are, with the corresponding letters a - i for source-derivation categories described on pages 4 and 5:

S1 [a] The Marcan source, whether in Mark, Matthew, or Luke
S2 [b] The Q source: where Matthew and Luke are parallel
S3 [c] The M source: Matthew's special material
S4 [d] The L source: Luke's special material
S5 [e] Matthew and [/or] Luke follow Mark, add material from Q
S6 [f] Matthew follows Mark, adds from M
S7 [g] Luke follows Mark, adds from L
S8 [h] Matthew and Luke follow Q; Matthew adds from M
S9 [i] Matthew and Luke follow Q; Luke adds from L

Of these abbreviations and their application Baird states (*Audience Criticism*, p. 12), "The following is based primarily on the source analysis of Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* . . . 1951 . Some judgments, however, are necessarily my own."

[4]Gerd Theissen and Philipp Vierhauer in R. Bultmann, *GST Ergänzungsheft* (4th ed., 1971), p. 15. It is one-sided and misleading to assert as Bultmann does (*GST*, p. 3), "es schliesslich gleichgültig ist, in welcher Quelle ein Stück gestanden hat," for one is thereby left with only subjective criteria to determine whether and when a pure form represents the starting point or the end-product of the traditional process.

evaluation for the variant is indicated by a sliding scale from +3 to -3. Numbers and sigla from the scale are used to reflect the indications and judgments expressed in the detailed analysis. These sigla are used:

+3 incontrovertably so
+2 very probable with strong indications
+1 probable with some indications
E inconclusive with mixed indications (E for either)
N no indications, inconclusive
-1 probably not so, some indications
-2 very probably not so, strong indications
-3 incontrovertably not so

A few borderline cases are ranked with the decimal numerals .5 or 1.5.

TABLE OF VARIANTS AND EVALUATIONS

Variants[5]	*Evaluations*[6] By Mt.	By Lk.	Translational
1. *The Beatitudes, Matthew 5:3-12; Luke 6:20-23.*			
Mt. 5:3//Lk. 6:20b			
1. τῷ πνεύματι//omit	+2		
2. αὐτῶν//ὑμετέρα		+1	+2
3. τῶν οὐρανῶν//τοῦ θεοῦ	+3		
Mt. 5:6//Lk. 6:21a			
3a. order: If Matthew 5:4 and Luke 6:21b are regarded as counterparts, their positions are different.			
3b. Mt. 5://omit			
4. omit//νῦν		+2	+2
5. καὶ διψῶντες//omit	+1		
6. τὴν δικαιοσύνην//omit	determined by no. 5		
7. αὐτοί//omit			
8. χορτασθήσονται//χορτασθήσεσθε	consistent with no. 2		
Mt. 5:4//Lk. 6:21b			
8a. order: See no. 3a.			
9. πενθοῦντες//κλαίοντες	E	E	+1
10. omit//νῦν	consistent with no. 4		
11. αὐτοί//omit	consistent with no. 7		
12. παρακληθήσονται//γελάσετε	+1 (person, cf. nos. 2, 8) vocabulary with no. 9		
12a. Note: Another counterpart to Matthew 5:4 is the Lukan *Woe*, 6:24.			
Mt. 5:11//Lk. 6:22			
12b. Mt. 5:7-10//omit			
13. omit//μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς . . . καὶ ὅταν			E
14. omit//οἱ ἄνθρωποι	+1	-1	+.5
15. διώξωσιν//ἀφορίσωσιν	+1		+1
15a. order: ὀνειδίσωσιν . . . καὶ διώξωσιν//ἀφορίσωσιν . . . καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν			
16. εἴπωσιν//ἐκβάλωσιν	+2		(+.5)
17. πᾶν (πονηρὸν) καθ' (ὑμῶν)//τὸ ὄνομα (ὑμῶν) ὡς (πονηρόν)	determined by no. 16		
18. ψευδόμενοι//omit	N, to be determined with 16, & 17		

[5]These variants are listed and discussed individually and at some length within the complete dissertation.

[6]The sigla used in these evaluations are explained on the preceding page (page 458). They represent the conclusions presented throughout the body of the complete dissertation.

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
18a. ἕνεκεν//ἕνεκα			
19. ἐμοῦ//τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	+1		
Mt. 5:12//Lk. 6:23			
20. χαίρετε//χάρητε	N, partly dependent upon 21		
21. omit//ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ	+1		
22. ἀγαλλιᾶσθε//σκιρτήσατε		+.5	+1
23. ὅτι//ἰδοὺ γάρ		+2	+1
24. τοῖς οὐρανοῖς//τῷ οὐρανῷ	E	E	+.5
25. οὕτως //κατὰ τὰ αὐτά		E	+1
26. ἐδίωξαν//ἐποίουν	+2		
27. τοὺς προφήτας//τοῖς προφήταις	determined by no. 26		
28. τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν// οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν	+1		

ii. *The Woes, Luke 6:24-6.*

Lk. 6:24-6

28a. omit//Lk. 6:24-6

iii. *On Love of One's Enemies, Matthew 5:38-48; 7:12; Luke 6:27-36.*

Mt. 5:44a//Lk. 6:27

28b. Parts of Matthew 5:13-37 have counterparts elsewhere in Luke:
Mt. 5:13//Mk. 9:49-50//Lk. 14:34-5
Mt. 5:14-16//Mk. 14:21//Lk. 8:16
Mt. 5:17-20//Mk. 16:16-17
Mt. 5:21-6//Lk. 12:57-9
Mt. 5:32//Lk. 16:18

28c. order: Mt. 5: [43], 44, [38, 39a], 39b-40, [41], 42//Lk. 6:27-30

28d. Mt. 5:43//omit

29. ἐγώ//omit	+3		
30. δέ//ἀλλά	+3		+1

30a. order: λέγω ὑμῖν// ὑμῖν λέγω

31. omit//τοῖς ἀκούουσιν	+1	E	

31a. omit//καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς

Mt. 5:44b//Lk. 6:28

31b. omit//εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς

32. καὶ//omit	E	E	
33. ὑπέρ//περί		+1	+1
34. διωκόντων// ἐπηρεαζόντων	+1		+1

Mt. 5:38b//Lk. 6:29a

34a. order: See no. 28c.

34b. Mt. 5:38, 39a//omit

34c. μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ//omit

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
35. ἀλλ'//omit	+1		
36. ὅστις (σε) ῥαπίζει//τῷ τύπτοντί (σε)	E	E	E
37. εἰς//ἐπί		+1	+1
38. δεξιάν//omit	+2		
39. σου//omit	E	E	+.5
40. στρέψον (αὐτῷ)//πάρεχε	E	E	E
41. αὐτῷ//omit	determined by no. 36		
Mt. 5:40//Lk. 6:29b			
42. dative case (τῷ θέλοντι κτλ.)// ἀπὸ (τοῦ αἴροντος κτλ.)	determined in part by no. 47		
43. σοι κριθῆναι καί//omit	+1		
44. τῷ θέλοντι . . . λαβεῖν// τοῦ αἴροντος	+1		+1
44a. order: λαβεῖν occurs in a different position than αἴροντος (no. 44).			
45. τὸν χιτῶνά (σου)//(σου) τὸ ἱμάτιον	+1 (partly determined by no. 43)		+.5
45a. order: The position of σου varies.			
46. τὸ ἱμάτιον//τὸν χιτῶνα	determined by no. 45		
47. ἄφες (αὐτῷ)//μὴ κωλύσῃς	-1	+1	+.5
48. αὐτῷ//omit [ἀπ' αὐτοῦ]	E	E	E
48a. order: ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον// καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς			
Mt. 5:42//Lk. 6:30			
48b. Mt. 5:41//omit			
49. τῷ//παντί		+1	
50. δός//δίδου		+.5	+1
51. accusative (with μὴ ἀποστραφῇς)// (ἀπό) and genitive (with μὴ ἀπαίτει)	determined by no. 54		
52. τὸν θέλοντα//τοῦ αἴροντος	+2		(Heb.?)
53. (ἀπὸ) σοῦ δανείσασθαι//τὰ σά	+2	+2	
	partly determined by no. 52		
54. ἀποστραφῇς//ἀπαίτει			+1 (oral!)
Mt. 7:12//Lk. 6:31			
54a. order: 7:12 occurs in a different context.			
55. οὖν//καί	+2		
55a. order. Postpositive οὖν.			
56. πάντα//omit	+1		
57. (πάντα) . . . ὅσα//καθώς	E	E	(-1)
58. ἐὰν θέλητε//θέλετε	E	E	+1
59. οὕτως//ὁμοίως	E	+.5	+1

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
60. καί//omit	+.5	E	
61. ὑμεῖς//omit	+1		
61a. ὅυτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται//omit			
Mt. 5:46//Lk. 6:32			
61b order: Mt. 5:46, 47, 45, 48//Lk. 6:32-33, [34-5a], 35b-6.			
62. γάρ//καί	+2		(Heb.?)
62a. order Postpositive γάρ.			
63. ἐὰν . . . ἀγαπήσητε//εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε	+1		+1
64. τίνα μισθόν//ποία (ὑμῖν) χάρις		+1	+1
65. ἔχετε//ὑμῖν . . . ἐστίν		+1	+1
65a. order: ὑμῖν ≠ ἔχετε.	determined by no. 64		
66. οὐχὶ (καί)//(καὶ) γάρ		+1	
66a. order: Postpositive γάρ.			
67. τελῶναι//ἁμαρτωλοί		+.5	-1
68. τὸ αὐτό//τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτούς	N	N	
69. ποιοῦσιν//ἀγαπῶσιν	determined by no. 68		
Mt. 5:46//Lk. 6:33			
70. omit//γάρ	+1		
71. ἀσπάσησθε//ἀγαθοποιῆτε		+.5	+1
72. (τοὺς) ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν//(τοὺς) ἀγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς	+1 in part		
	partly determined by no. 71		
73. μόνον//omit	+2	+.5 (stylistic?)	
74. τί περισσόν//ποία (ὑμῖν) χάρις		+1	
75. ποιεῖτε//ὑμῖν . . . ἐστίν	determined by no. 74		
75a. order: ὑμῖν ≠ ποιεῖτε			
76. οὐχί//omit		+1	
77. ἐθνικοί//ἁμαρτωλοί	E	E	
77a. NOTE: The last three words are identical.			
Mt. 5:45//Lk. 6:35b [or e]			
77b. omit//Lk. 6:34, 35a [or 35a, b, c, d]			
77c. order: See no. 61b.			
78. ὅπως//καί	+2		
79. γένησθε//ἔσεσθε	+1		+1
80. τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς// ὑψίστου	+1		
81. (αὐτοῦ no. 82)//αὐτός	E	E	
82. τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει// χρηστός ἐστιν		(+1)	
83. ἀγαθούς//τοὺς ἀχαρίστους		+2	-1
83a. order: πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς// τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς			
83b. καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους//omit			

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
Mt. 5:48//Lk. 6:36			
83c. order: See no. 61b.			
84. ἔσεσθε//γίνεσθε		+2	+1
85. οὖν//omit	+2		
86. ὑμεῖς//omit	+1		
87. τέλειοι//οἰκτίρμονες	+1		-1
88. ὡς//καθώς	E	E	E
88a. [omit//*v.l.* D Θ *pm.* καί]			
89. ὁ οὐράνιος//omit	+1		
90. τέλειος//οἰκτίρμων	determined by no. 87		
Mt. 7:1//Lk. 6:37a			
90a. order: Lukan counterparts to parts of Matthew's chapter 6 occur elsewhere: Mt. 6:7-15//Mk. 11:25//Lk. 11:1-4; Mt. 6:19-21//Lk. 12:33-34; Mt. 6:22-23//Lk. 11:34-36; Mt. 6:24//Lk. 16:13; Mt. 6:25-34//Lk. 12:22-23			
91. omit//καί	+1		
92. ἵνα (μή)//καὶ οὐ (μή)	+2		
Mt. 7:2a//Mt. 12:37b//Lk. 6:37b, c			
93. γάρ//καί = καί	-2	-2	
93a. order: Postpositive γάρ.			
94. ἐν ᾧ (γὰρ) κρίματι κρίνετε//ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου//μὴ καταδικάζετε, καὶ οὐ μή	N	N	+.5
95. κριθήσεσθε//καταδικασθήσῃ// καταδικασθῆτε	N	N	+.5
95a. omit = omit//ἀπολύετε, καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε			
Mt. 13:12a (b)//Mk. 4:25a (b)//Lk. 8:18a (b)//Lk. 38a, b			
95b. order: Order is a special problem here due to the existence of a double tradition; hence the special numerals, 96x-99x.			
96x. γάρ = γάρ = γάρ//omit		+1 (saying) -1 (conjunction)	
97x. ὅστις . . . ἔχει (=) ὃς . . . ἔχει (=) ὃς ἂν . . . ἔχῃ// δίδοτε, καί	from Mk. +1		
98x. αὐτῷ = αὐτῷ = αὐτῷ// ὑμῖν	determined by no. 97x		
99x. καὶ περισσευθήσεται// omit = omit μέτρον καλὸν πεπιεσμένον σεσαλευμένον ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν		+1	+.5

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
99a. Mt. 13:12b//Mk. 4:25b//Lk. 8:18b//omit			
Mt. 7:2b//Mk. 4:24b//Lk. 6:38c			
99b. order: Any direct relationship between Mark 4:24b and 5 and Luke 6:38 would involve an inversion in order:			
Mark 4:25a//Lk. 6:38a			
omit//Lk. 6;38b (no. 99x)			
Mark 4:25b//omit (no. 99a)			
Mark 4:24b//Lk. 6:38c			
100. ἐν = ἐν//omit		+2	
101. καί//omit//γάρ	E	-1	
101a. order: Postpositive γάρ.			
102. μετρηθήσεται = μετρηθήσεται// ἀντιμετρηθήσεται		+1	+1
Mt. 15:14//Lk. 6:39			
102a. order: Matthew 15:14 occurs in a different context.			
102b. omit (cf. Mt. 15:13)//εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς			
102c. [Mt. 15:13b//omit]			
102d. ἄφετε αὐτούς· τυφλοί εἰσιν ὁδηγοί//omit			
103. ἐὰν//μήτι	+2		
104. δέ//omit	+1		
104a. order: τυφλὸς δὲ τυφλὸν ἐὰν (ὁδηγῇ)//μήτι (δύναται) τυφλὸς τυφλὸν (ὁδηγεῖν;)			
105. ὁδηγῇ//δύναται . . . ὁδηγεῖν	+1		+1
105a. order: See no. 104a.			
106. omit//οὐχί	+2 (determined by no. 103)		
107. πεσοῦνται//ἐμπεσοῦνται	E	E	+1
Mt. 10:24a, b//Lk. 6:40a			
107a. order: Matthew 10:24-25 occurs in a different context.			
107b. NOTE: the first clauses are identical.			
107c. οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ//omit			
Mt. 10:25a, b//Lk. 6:40b			
108. ἀρκετὸν . . . ἵνα// κατηρτισμένος	-1	-1	+.5
108a. order: ἵνα ≠ κατηρτισμένος.			
109. omit//δέ	-1	-.5	N
110. τῷ μαθητῇ//πᾶς	+1 and	+1	
111. γένηται//ἔσται	E	E	E
111a. καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ//omit			

		By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
	Mt. 7:3//Lk. 6:41			
112.	τήν//τὴν . . . τήν		+2	+.5
112a.	order: τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ . . . δοκόν//τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ . . .			
113.	σῷ//ἰδίῳ	E	E	+.5
	Mt. 7:4//Lk. 6:42a			
114.	ἢ//omit	+1		
115.	ἐρεῖς//δύνασαι λέγειν	+2		+1
				(pretranslational?)
116.	omit//ἄδελφε	E	+.5	
117.	ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ//τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ			+2
118.	καὶ ἰδού//αὐτὸς . . . οὐ βλέπων	+.5	E	=.5
118a.	order: ἰδού ≠ βλέπων	+.5	E	+.5
119.	ἡ δοκός//τὴν . . . δοκόν	determined by no. 118		
119a.	order: ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ . . . //τὴν ἐν τῷ . . . δοκόν			
	Mt. 7:5//Lk. 6:42b			
119b.	order: position of τὴν δοκόν.			
119c.	order: position of ἐκβαλεῖν.			
120.	ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ//τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ	consistent with no. 117		

v. *"By their Fruits . . . ," Matthew 7:15-20; 12:33-35; Luke 6:43-45*

Mt. 7:18//Lk. 6:43 (cf. Mt. 7:17, 19; 12:33a, b)

120a. order: Lukan counterparts to Matthew 7:6-14 occur elsewhere:
Mt. 7:7-11//Lk. 11:9-13
Mt. 7:12//Lk. 6:31 (cf. no 54a)
Mt. 7:13-14//Lk. 13:23-24

120b. order:
Mt. 7:18//Mt. 12:33a, b//Lk. 6:43
Mt. 7:16a, 20//Mt. 12:33c//Lk. 6:44a
Mt. 7:16b//omit//Lk. 6:44b

120c. Matthew 7:17, 19 do not have exact counterparts in Luke.

121.	omit//γάρ (ἢ Mt. 12:33)	E	+1	
122.	δύναται (. . . ἐνεγκεῖν . . . ἐνεγκεῖν)//ἐστίν (. . . ποιοῦν . . . ποιοῦν)	+1	E	
123.	ἀγαθόν//καλόν (= Mt. 12:33)	+1		
124.	ἐνεγκεῖν//ποιοῦν (ποιήσατε Mt. 12:33)	+1	E	E
124a.	order: ἐνεγκεῖν ≠ ποιοῦν.			
125.	καρποὺς (πονηρούς)//καρπὸν (σαπρόν)	+1	E	+1

		By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
126.	πονηρούς//σαπρόν (σαπρὸν δένδρον, Mt. 7:17; δένδρον σαπρόν, Mt. 7:18; 12:33b; Lk. 6:43b)	+2		+1
127.	omit//πάλιν		+1	
128.	ἐνεγκεῖν//ποιοῦν (see no. 124)	determined by no. 124		
128a.	order: See no. 124a.			
129.	καρποὺς καλούς//καρπὸν καλόν	determined by no. 125		
	Mt. 7:16a, 20//Lk. 6:44a (cf. Mt. 12:33c)			
129a.	order: See no. 120b.			
129b.	Matthew 7:15 has no exact counterpart in Luke.			
130.	omit//ἕκαστον (cf. τό Mt. 12:33)	determined by no. 132 (E theoretically)		
131.	omit//γάρ (= Mt. 12:33; cf. ἄρα γε Mt. 7:20)	E	E	
132.	αὐτούς//δένδρον (= Mt. 12:33)	+2		
132a.	order: αὐτούς and δένδρον occur in different positions.			
133.	ἀπό//ἐκ (= Mt. 12:33)	+2		+1
134.	αὐτῶν//ἰδίου (omit Mt. 12:33)	E	E	E
135.	τῶν καρπῶν//τοῦ . . . καρποῦ	consistent with no. 125		
135a.	order: ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν//ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ			
136.	ἐπιγνώσεσθε//γινώσκεται	+1		+1
	Mt. 7:16b//Lk. 6:44b			
137.	μήτι//οὐ γάρ		+2	
138.	ἀπό//ἐξ	consistent with no. 133		
138a.	order: συλλέγουσιν occurs in different positions.			
139.	σταφυλάς//σῦκα	+1		
140.	ἢ//οὐδέ	determined by no. 137		
141.	ἀπό//ἐκ	consistent with no. 133		
142.	τριβόλων//βάτου	determined by nos. 139, 143		
143.	σῦκα//σταφυλήν	consistent with number 139	+1 (singular)	
144.	omit//τρυγῶσιν		+1	
	Mt. 12:35//Lk. 6:45a, b			
144a.	order: Mt. 12:33-35 occurs in a different context.			
144b.	order: Mt. 12: [33-34a], 35, 34b//Lk. 6:45a, b, c			
145.	omit//τῆς καρδίας	+1	E	
146.	ἐκβάλλει//προφέρει	E	E	+1
147.	ἀγαθά//τὸ ἀγαθόν	+1		+1
148.	ἄνθρωπος//omit		+2	
149.	θησαυροῦ//omit		+2	
150.	ἐκβάλλει//προφέρει	determined by no. 146		
151.	πονηρά//τὸ πονηρόν	determined by no. 147		

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
Mt. 12:34b//Lk. 6:45c			
151a. order: See no. 144b.			
152. τοῦ//omit	+1		+.5
153. τῆς//omit	+1		
153a. order: τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ//λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα			
154. omit//αὐτοῦ	+1, with difference in order, no. 144b		

vi. *The House Built upon the Rock, Matthew 7:21-27; Luke 6:46-49.*

Mt. 7:21//Lk. 6:46			
154a. order: See no. 120b.			
155. οὐ πᾶς (ὁ λέγων . . . εἰσελεύσεται)//τί	+2		
156. omit//δέ	+1		
157. μοι//με	determined by no. 158		
157a. order: μοι ≠ με.			
158. ὁ λέγων//καλεῖτε	E	E	+1
159. εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν//omit	+2		
160. ἀλλ'//καὶ οὐ	+1		
161. ὁ ποιῶν//ποιεῖτε	E	E	
	partly determined by no. 158		
162. τὸ θέλημα//ἃ		+1	
163. τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς//λέγω	determined by no. 162		
Mt. 7:24a//Lk. 6:47			
163a. order: Lukan counterparts to Matthew 7:22, 23 occur elsewhere: Mt. 7:22-23//Lk. 13:25-27			
164. οὖν//omit	+2		
165. ὅστις (ἀκούει)//ὁ (. . . ἀκούων)	E	+1	+1
166. omit//(ὁ) ἐρχόμενος πρός με καί		+1	
167. ἀκούει//ἀκούων	determined by no. 165		
168. τοὺς λογούς//τῶν λόγων	E	E	E
169. τούτος//omit [τούτων]	+2		
170. ποιεῖ//ποιῶν	determined by no. 165		
170a. omit//ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τίνι ἐστὶν ὅμοιος			
Mt. 7:24b//Lk. 6:48a			
171. ὁμοιωθήσεται//ὅμοιός ἐστιν	N	N	+1
172. ἀνδρί//ἀνθρώπῳ	N	N	+1.5
173. φρονίμῳ//omit	+1		
174. ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν//οἰκοδομοῦντι		+1	

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
175. αὐτοῦ//omit		+1	
	partly dependent on 174, 197		
176. τήν//omit	determined for Mt., if not for Lk., by nos. 175, 198		
176a. omit//ὅς ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν καὶ ἔθηκεν θεμέλιον			
Mt. 7:25//Lk. 6:48b			
177. καί//δέ		+2	
177a. order: Postpositive δέ.			
177b. Matthew has an extra clause plus an extra verb in κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ . . . προσέπεσαν.			
178. ἡ βροχὴ καὶ . . . οἱ ποταμοί// πλημμύρης		+1	
179. κατέβη . . . (καὶ) ἦλθον// γενομένης		+1	
179a. order: Subjects and verbs in nos. 178, 179.			
180. καὶ ἔπνευσαν . . . καὶ προσέπεσαν// προσέρηξεν	partly dependent on 181, 203		
181. οἱ ἄνεμοι//ὁ ποταμός	E	E	E
	some possible change by both		
182. (οὐκ) ἔπεσεν//(οὐκ) ἴσχυσεν σαλεῦσαι (αὐτήν)		+1	+1
183. omit//αὐτήν	determined by 182		
184. γάρ//διά (causal)	E	+1	+1
184a. order: Postpositive γάρ.			
185. ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν//καλῶς		+1	
186. τεθεμελίωτο//τὸ . . . οἰκοδομῆσθαι	determined by nos. 184, 200		+.5
186a. order: τεθεμελίωτο . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν//τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομῆσθαι			
187. omit//αὐτήν	consistent with no. 183		
Mt. 7:26//Lk. 6:49a			
188. καί//δέ	consistent with no. 177		
188a. order: Postpositive δέ.			
189. πᾶς//omit		+2	
190. (ὁ) ἀκούων//(ὁ) ἀκούσας	+1	+1 (sic) +1 aorist	+1
191. μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους//omit	+2 (τούτους)	+2 (the remainder)	
192. ποιῶν//ποιήσας	determined by no. 190		
193. αὐτούς//omit		+2	
194. ὁμοιωθήσεται//ὅμοιός ἐστιν	consistent with no. 171		
195. ἀνδρί//ἀνθρώπῳ	consistent with no. 172		
196. μωρῷ//omit	consistent with no. 173		
197. ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν//οἰκοδομήσαντι	consistent with no. 174		

	By Mt.	By Luke	Translational
198. αὐτοῦ//omit	consistent with no. 175		
199. τήν//omit	consistent with no. 176		
200. ἄμμον//γῆν χωρὶς θεμελίου	consistent with no. 185		+.5
Mt. 7:27//Lk. 6:49b			
201. καὶ . . . τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ//ᾗ		+2	
201a. order: οἰκίᾳ ≠ ᾗ.			
201b. κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καί//omit	consistent with no. 179		
202. ἔπνευσαν . . . καὶ προσέκοψαν// προσέρηξεν	consistent with no. 180		
203. οἱ ἄνεμοι//ὁ ποταμός	consistent with no. 181		
203a. order: προσέκοψαν ≠ προσέρηξεν.			
204. omit//εὐθύς	+1		
205. ἔπεσεν//συνέπεσεν		+2	+1
206. ἦν//ἐγένετο	E	+1	E
207. ἡ πτῶσις//τὸ ῥῆγμα	partly determined by nos. 180, 182, 202, 205.	+1	
208. αὐτῆς//τῆς οἰκίας		+1.5	
209. omit//ἐκείνης	determined by no. 208		
210. μεγάλη (πτῶσις)//μέγα (ῥῆγμα)	determined by no. 207		

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE Q SERMON

NOTE: On the symbols used below see the note at the end.

i. The Beatitudes

Mt. 5:3//Lk. 6:20b. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι αὐτῶν (ὑμῶν? *-hōn/kōn*) ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

Mt. 5:6//Lk. 6:21a. μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες, ὅτι χορτασθήσονται (χορτασθήσεσθε? *yisb^{e}ʿūn/tisb^{e}ʿūn*).

Mt. 5:4//Lk. 6:21b. μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες (πενθοῦντες? *bākayin*), ὅτι γελάσουσι (γελάσετε?/παρακληθήσονται).

Mt. 5:11//Lk. 6:22. μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν [μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς] οἱ ἄνθρωποι[, καὶ ὅταν] ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς (= *pār^{e}dūkōn/r^{e}dāpūkōn*) καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· Mt. 5:12//Lk. 6:23. χάρητε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσασθε (= *rūzū/dūṣū*) ὅτι (*ʾ^{a}rēy/ʾ^{a}rū*) ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς/τῷ οὐρανῷ (*š^{e}mayyāʾ*)· οὕτως (*kidnāh*) γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν (*qadmēhōn?*).

iii. On Love of One's Enemies

Mt. 5:44a//Lk. 6:27. Ἀλλὰ (*lāhēn*) ὑμῖν λέγω [τοῖς ἀκούουσιν]· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, [καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,] Mt. 5:44b//Lk. 6:28. [εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ] προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ (*ʿal*) τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς (*rāšᵉʿēhkōn?*). Mt. 5:39b//Lk. 6:29a. ὅστις (*man dīy*) σε ῥαπίζει/τῷ τύπτοντί σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα [σου (τήν = *-āk*)] στρέψον αὐτῷ/πάρεχε (*ʾattīb lēh/hab l-*) καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, Mt. 5:40//Lk. 6:29b. καὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι/αἴροντι (*lᵉdābᵉrayyāʾ* [Heb. *lallôqᵉḥîm/lannôśᵉʾîm*]) τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα. Mt. 5:42//Lk. 6:30. τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός/δίδου (*hab*), καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος [τὰ σὰ] (δανείζεσθαι for δανείζειν = *nāšāʾ* [Heb.]/*nāśāʾ* [Heb.]) μὴ ἀποστραφῇς/ἀπαίτει (*tipnēʾ min/tibʿēʾ min*). Mt. 7:12//Lk. 6:31. καὶ ὅσα/καθὼς (*kᵉmāh d-?*) ἐὰν θέλητε/θέλετε (*ṣᵉbēytūn*) ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως (*kidnāh*) ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς. Mt. 5:46//Lk. 6:32. καὶ (= causal *w-?* [Heb.]) εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε (*hēn ḥabbēbtūn* [or *rᵉḥēmtūm* or *raḥēmtūm*]) τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε (*māʾ lᵉkūn gᵉmūltāh? or gᵉmīltāh?*); οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν/τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν; Mt. 5:47//Lk. 6:33. καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε (ἀγαθοποιῆτε? perhaps both from *hēn bārēktūn* or *hēn gᵉmaltūn ḥisdāh* [*lisᵉnēykūn*, cf. Lk. 6:27b], "if you bestow the kindness [of a greeting even upon them that hate you]") τοὺς ἀσπάζοντας (?) ὑμᾶς, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ (ἁμαρτωλοὶ?) τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; Mt. 5:45//Lk. 6:35b. καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου, ὅτι [αὐτὸς?] τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς (δικαίους?) [καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους?].

iv. On Judging (*vide infra*)

Mt. 5:48//Lk. 6:36. Ἔσεσθε οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς/καθὼς (*kᵉdēn*) ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.

[iv. On Judging]

Mt. 7:1-2//Lk. 6:37-38 Καὶ

μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε·

(ἐν) ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε, κριθήσεσθε.

καὶ μὴ (κατα)δικάζετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ (κατα)δικασθῆτε·

(ἐν) ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, (ἀντι)μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Mt. 15:14//Lk. 6:39. Μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν; οὐχὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰς βόθυνον (ἐμ)πεσοῦνται;

Mt. 10:24//Lk. 6:40. οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον· ἀρκετὸς/κατηρτισμένος (*taqqīn*) [δὲ] γενήσεται/ἔσται (*yehᵉweʾ*) ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ.

Mt. 7:3//Lk. 6:41. Τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ/ἰδίῳ (*dīy lēk*) ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς; Mt. 7:4//Lk. 6:42a. πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν (= Semitic future tense [ἐρεῖς]?) τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· [ἄδελφε,?] ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ ἡ δοκός [ἐστιν] (ἡ δοκός ἐστιν = *qôrᵉtāʾ hīʾ/hūʾ* = αὐτοῦ) ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου; Mt. 7:5//Lk. 6:42b. ὑποκριτά, ἔκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκόν, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

v. "By their fruits . . ."

Mt. 7:18//Lk. 6:43. Οὐ [γάρ?] ἐστιν δένδρον καλὸν ([ʾillana ʾ] ṭabaʾ) ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρόν (bisaʾ/mᵉbaʾᵉsaʾ?), οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν. Mt. 7:16a, 20//Lk. 6:44a. ἕκαστον [γὰρ] δένδρον ἐκ (min) τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ/[καρποῦ αὐτοῦ] γινώσκεται (ἐπιγνώσεται?)· Mt. 7:16b//Lk. 6:44b. μήτι ἐξ ἀκανθῶν συλλέγουσιν σῦκα, ἢ ἐκ βάτου σταφυλήν; Mt. 12:35//Lk. 6:45a, b. ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ [τῆς καρδίας] ἐκβάλλει/προφέρει (ʾappēq) τὸ ἀγαθόν (tābtāʾ/tābān) καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει/προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν (bīyštāʾ [bīyšū?]/bīyšān [-ūtāʾ?])· Mt. 12:34b//Lk. 6:45c. ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

vi. The House Built upon the Rock

Mt. 7:21//Lk. 6:46. τί δέ μοι λέγετε/με καλεῖτε (līy qᵉrēytūn)· κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός [μου?] τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (τοῖς οὐρανοῖς?); Mt. 7:24a//Lk. 6:47. Πᾶς ὅστις (kōl man d-) ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους/τῶν λόγων (mallay or millay) καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτούς, [ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τίνι ἐστὶν ὅμοιος.] Mt. 7:24b//Lk. 6:48a. ὁμοιωθήσεται/ὅμοιός ἐστιν (yitdᵉmēy/dāmēy [hūʾ]) ἀνδρὶ/ἀνθρώπῳ (lᵉgabrāʾ [ligbar?]), ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ [τὴν] οἰκίαν[, ὃς ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν καὶ ἔθηκεν θεμέλιον?] ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. Mt. 7:25//Lk. 6:48b. καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι (προσέρρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς?) καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν· τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ (dīy or ʾᵃrey) ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. Mt. 7:26//Lk. 6:49a. καὶ πᾶς ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους καὶ οὐ ποιεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁμοιωθήσεται/ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ/ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ [τὴν] οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον. Mt. 7:27//Lk. 6:49b. καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι (προσέρρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς?) καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς (συν-?)έπεσεν (ʾitnᵉpēl), καὶ ἦν (hᵃwāt) ἡ πτῶσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.[7]

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[7] In this reconstruction of the Q sermon (pp. 469-71), the following signs have particular meanings:

/*or*. The discussion was inconclusive; either form of the two separated by the diagonal line may have been the form used in the source Q.

[ ] The enclosed word or words may or may not have been in the source Q.

[?] The enclosed word or words probably were not in the source Q, though some uncertainty is indicated in the discussion.

( ) Round brackets or parentheses enclose explanations, usually Aramaic wording which may have given rise to the variant at that point in the source. Within round brackets, square brackets [ ] may enclose explanations.

Sermon on the Mount/Plain: Reconstruction of Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}

Ulrich Luz

The fact that you sometimes have two columns is due to the following reason: I believe that the collection Q existed in different versions (Q^{Mt}, Q^{Lk} etc.). In some parts of the source it seems to me impossible to reconstruct the text of a real common source by merely subtracting the probable redactional emendments of Matthew and Luke. In these sections where I am compelled to assume that the versions Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk} differed considerably from each other, I have used two columns. It seems to me significant that this occurred particularly often in the Sermon on the Plain, in view of the fact that this is one of the most-used texts in early Christianity. Here the difference between the versions of Q becomes particularly visible. Another text where this would be applicable is the section of Woes Lk 11:39ff. There still remains a methodological problem: It seems to me that in places where the reconstruction of a common text of Q seems at least possible, there is the danger of appealing to the Evangelists' redaction too freely and of attributing changes *in dubio* to the Evangelists. But in cases where the reconstruction of a common version seems impossible and one must speak of the different texts Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}, there is the tendency to attribute different forms of the text *in dubio* to the different versions of Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}. To summarize: In cases where I finally have reconstructed a common version, one must ask whether there were not also differences in Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}, though only slight differences. In cases where I have ended up with two versions, Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}, one must ask whether I was not too reserved regarding the redaction by the Evangelists.

Sigla:

( ) Text supported by only one evangelist; probable form of the text [in distinction from instances where the text is supported by only one evangelist but no parentheses are used, in which case the text is considered practically certain]

(( )) Text supported by only one evangelist; fully hypothetical

. . . Lost text

[ ] Sequence of words uncertain

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* Prefatory note by James M. Robinson: In the Summer Semester of 1978 Ulrich Luz prepared and circulated to his class in Göttingen a reconstruction of Q prior to those published in 1979 by Athanasius Polag and in 1981 by Wolfgang Schenk. Though the reconstruction by Luz has not been published, he has been kind enough to put it at our disposal. In the case of the Sermon, he presents in parallel columns his reconstruction of Q, as it was available to Matthew, and Q, as it was available to Luke. In a letter of May 17, 1983, he characterized his understanding as follows in this paper.

Q^{Mt}	Q^{Lk}
5:3 Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ((τῷ πνεύματι)), ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία (τοῦ θεοῦ).	6:20 Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. cf. Lk. v. 24.25b
5:4 ((μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.))	
5:5 (μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.)	
5:6 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες (( )), ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται	6:21 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες ((νῦν)) ὅτι χορτασθήσονται. μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες ((νῦν)) ὅτι γελάσουσιν.
5:7 (μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.	
5:8 μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.	
5:9 μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.)	
5:11 μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ((μισήσωσιν)) καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν (( )) ἕνεκεν ((ἐμοῦ)).	6:22 μακάριοι ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς (καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν) καὶ ((ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν)) ἕνεκεν (τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου).
5:12 χαίρετε (καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε), ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τ((ῷ)) οὐραν((ῷ))· οὕτως γὰρ ((ἐποίουν))	6:23 χάρ((ητε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ)) καὶ ((σκιρτήσατε)), ((ὅτι)) ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ((οὕτως)) γὰρ ἐποίουν

Q^{Mt}	Q^{Lk}
τ((οῖς)) προφήτ((αις)) (τοῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν).	τοῖς προφήταις ((τοῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν)).
	6:24 πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.
	6:25 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι ((νῦν)), ὅτι πεινάσετε. οὐαὶ, οἱ γελῶντες ((νῦν)), ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε.
	6:26 οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν ((πάντες))· ((οὕτως)) γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις.
	6:27 (ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,
	6:28 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ((ὑπὲρ)) τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.)
5:39 ((ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει)) εἰς τὴν (( )) σιαγόνα ((σου)), στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·	6:29 τῷ ((ῥαπίζοντί)) σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα (( )), ((στρέψον αὐτῷ)) καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,
5:40 καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον·	((καὶ τῷ αἴροντί σου τὸν χιτῶνα (( )) ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον)).
5:41 ((καὶ ὅστις σε)) ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.	
5:42 τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός,	6:30 ((τῷ)) αἰτοῦντί σε ((δός)), καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.

Q^{Mt}	Q^{Lk}
(In Q^{Mt} elsewhere, probably with the same wording.)	
5:46 ἐὰν ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; ( ) καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ((τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν)).	6:31 καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως (( )) ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.
	6:32 εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ((ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν)); καὶ ( ) οἱ ((ἁμαρτολοὶ)) τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν.
5:47 καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, ((τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε)); ( ) καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν. (Similar to Q^{Lk}, cf. v. 42?)	6:33 καὶ ( ) ἐὰν (ἀγαθοποιῆτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς), ((ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν)); καὶ οἱ ((ἁμαρτωλοὶ)) τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν.
	6:34 καὶ ἐὰν δανίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, ((ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν)); καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς δανίζουσιν ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν τὰ ἴσα.
5:44 (ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ((ἐπηρεαζόντων)) ὑμᾶς (( )) · ((καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολύς.))	6:35 (ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ ((ἀγαθοποιεῖτε)) καὶ δανίζετε μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες· καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολύς.
5:45 καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ((ὑψίστου)), ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει (( )) καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ ((. . . καί πονηρούς)).	καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ (ὑψίστου), ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει (( )) καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ . . . καὶ πονηρούς.
5:48 ((γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες)), ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ((οἰκτίρμων)) ἐστίν.	6:36 (γίνεσθε) οἰκτίρμονες, (ὡς) ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.

Q^{Mt}	Q^{Lk}
7:1 μὴ κρίνετε ((ἵνα)) μὴ κριθῆτε·	6:37 ((καὶ)) μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ (οὐ μὴ) κριθῆτε·
7:2 (ἐν) ᾧ (γὰρ) κρίματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε,	(( )) μὴ καταδικάζετε, καὶ (οὐ μὴ) καταδικασθῆτε· ἀπολύετε,
	6:38 καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε· δίδοτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλὸν πεπιεσμένον σεσαλευμένον ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν· (( )) ᾧ (γὰρ)
(και) ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.	μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε (ἀντι)μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.
	6:39 (μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν; (( )) ἀμφότεροι εἰς βόθυνον ἐμπεσοῦνται.
	6:40 οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον· κατηρτισμένος δὲ ( ) ἔσται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ.
7:3 τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ [δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ] οὐ κατανοεῖς;	6:41
7:4 ( ) πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου ( )· ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος (τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ) σου, (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ) δοκ(ὸς)	6:42

7:5 ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου; ὑποκριτά,
ἔκβαλε πρῶτον [τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ
ὀφθαλμοῦ σου] καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις
[τὸ κάρφος (τὸ ἐν τῷ) ὀφθαλμ(ῷ) τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκβαλεῖν].

Q^{Mt}	Q^{Lk}
Similar to Lk, cf. 7:17? 18	6:43 (οὐ γάρ) ἐστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρόν, (οὐδὲ πάλιν) δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν.
12:33 (τὸ) δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ γινώσκεται·	6:44 ((ἕκαστον γὰρ)) δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ γινώσκεται·
7:16 (μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα;)	(οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν συλλέγουσιν σῦκα οὐδὲ ἐκ ((τριβόλων)) σταφυλὴν τρυγῶσιν).
12:35 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ ((τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν)), καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ ((προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν))·	6:45 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ((ἄνθρωπος)) ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ((θησαυροῦ)) προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν·
12:34 ἐκ γὰρ ((τοῦ)) περισσεύματος (( )) καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ	ἐκ γὰρ ((τοῦ)) περισσεύματος (( )) καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα (αὐτοῦ).

7:21-22 (τί δέ με καλεῖτε· κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;) 6:46

Q^{Mt}	Q^{Lk}
7:24 πᾶς (( )) ((ὁ)) ἀκούων μου	6:47 πᾶς (ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρός με καὶ) ἀκούων
τοὺς λόγους ( ) καὶ ποι((ῶν))	μου τ((οὺς)) λόγ((ους)) καὶ ποιῶν
αὐτούς ((. . .;))	αὐτούς, ((ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν)) τίνι
	ἐστὶν ὅμοιος.
((ὁμοιωθήσεται)) ἀνδρὶ (( ))	6:48 ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδομοῦντι
ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν	οἰκίαν, (ὃς ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν καὶ
οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.	ἔθηκεν θεμέλιον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν·
7:25 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον	πλημμύρης δὲ γενομένης προσέρηξεν
οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ	ὁ ποταμὸς
ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ	τῇ οἰκίᾳ
ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν·	ἐκείνῃ), ((καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν·
τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.	τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν)).
7:26 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς	6:49 (( ) ὁ (( )) ἀκού((σας)) (( ))
λόγους ( ) καὶ μὴ ποιῶν	καὶ μὴ ποι((ήσας))
αὐτοὺς (ὁμοιωθήσεται)) ἀνδρὶ	ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ
(( )), ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ	οἰκοδομή((σαντι)) οἰκίαν
τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον.	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν χωρὶς θεμελίου,
7:27 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον	((ᾗ)) προσέρηξεν
οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ	ὁ ποταμὸς
ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ	
ἐκείνῃ, καὶ ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἦν ἡ	καὶ εὐθὺς συνέπεσεν, καὶ
πτῶσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.	ἐγένετο τὸ ῥῆγμα τῆς οἰκίας
	ἐκείνης μέγα.