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George W. MacRae

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Introductory Note

The papers in this volume were prepared for discussion at the One Hundred Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature convened at the Anaheim Hilton and Towers, Anaheim, California, November 23–26, 1985. 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 of The Scriptorium 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

Interpreting Mark's Story of Jesus' Death: Toward a Theology of Suffering

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Yale University

The story of the death of a friend is hard enough to tell, but how do you tell the story of the death of one who had divine favor as God's "beloved child" (Mark 1:11)? And if the way of death is ignominious and repulsive,[2] how could one speak of it at all, let alone give it meaning? As if that were not enough, the story which had to be told was of the violent death of the one who was supposed to inaugurate God's final, triumphant rule in the world. But that is what the earliest Gospel attempts to do: to tell the story of Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah and child of God (Mark 1:1), who suffered many things, was rejected, and was condemned to death on a cross (Mark 8:31, 9:31, and 10:33-34). The news that "Jesus, the Nazarene who was crucified, had been raised" (Mark 16:6) only added to the mystery.

This story remains as much a mystery for us today as for Christians for whom the Gospel of Mark was written. In some respects Mark's story of Jesus' death is *more* of a mystery to us. The traditions of the Markan community included a "ransom" myth (Mark 10:45) and a covenant sealed with blood (Mark 14:24), in terms of which Jesus' death could be interpreted. But neither of these ways of interpreting the cross can be entered into easily by Christians today—at least not by those who belong to Western cultures. Although the "ransom" myth and the "blood covenant" are not the primary symbols in Mark's interpretation of Jesus' death, they were living traditions available to the Markan Christian community in a way that they are not for many Christians today.

For other reasons Christians today may be less able to appreciate the depth of the mystery of the cross than were the earliest Christians. The latter knew well the Jewish expectation of the coming of the Messiah, who would defeat God's enemies and the enemies of Israel. Early Christians could, therefore, feel the weight of the story of the cross crushing their hope that Jesus would be this Messiah. Two millennia after Christianity went its own way, separate from and over against Judaism, it is difficult to enter into this hope of our Jewish ancestors in the faith and into their sense of defeat at the crucifixion of Jesus, whom they had hoped was the Messiah.[3]

Not only has there been a loss of the Jewish roots of messianic expectation but there has been a loss of the belief that God's emissaries will be protected by God from defeat. To put it cynically: we expect the good to die young. The story of Jesus' death is what one would expect. Given the political situation, the Roman execution of an itinerant, Jewish charismatic, whose popularity could be construed as a threat to peace and stabil-

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[1]This essay is a slightly revised version of a chapter for a book in preparation with William A. Beardslee, John B. Cobb, Jr., Russell Pregeant, Theodore J. Weeden, Sr., and Barry A. Woodbridge, and reflects their contributions.

[2]Cf. Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977).

[3]For the disappointment of messianic hopes with the death of Jesus, see the post-resurrection narrative of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:13-35).

ity in the Syrian province of the early Roman Empire, comes as no surprise.[4] That is what one would expect, at any rate, if one lacked confidence in the belief that God protects the "good" and defeats their enemies.

It is precisely this belief that many Christians find difficult to accept today. For it appears that God allows the innocent to suffer, or does not succeed in preventing their suffering—or even causes their suffering as part of some grand scheme beyond our comprehension. Moreover, the ending of Mark's Gospel is so troubling because Jesus is denied vindication or compensation for his suffering and untimely, unseemly death, to the extent that the message of Jesus' resurrection remains muted and obscured.

On the other hand, the primary message of Mark's story of Jesus' death, expressed in the juxtaposition of predictions of the passion and resurrection and discussions of the nature and cost of discipleship (Mark 8:27-10:52), seems to hold more promise for the modern reader. For it is relatively easy to understand selfless devotion to the task which God has set for one to the point of enduring suffering and rejection, even dying, for the sake of obedience to the "will of God." We can admire Jesus' resolve not to be turned aisde from the path that lay before him, or his resistance to every effort to rescue him from death on a cross.[5] For precisely in this resolve and resistance we see a Jesus who practiced what he preached: those who try to save their lives will lose them, but those who lose their lives for the sake of God's cause will save them (cf. Mark 8:35).[6] This portrait of Jesus can serve as a powerful model for those who need the courage to "make a last stand" in response to what they perceive to be the call of God.

Even here, however, difficulties remain. For one thing, Mark's story of Jesus' death implies that physical force is not to be used in resistance to unjust governing authorities, a policy over which Christians, of all ideological persuasions, disagree. For another, the teaching that the ideal form of discipleship is self-denial may be a needed corrective for those who tend to put themselves before all others, but it has been a less than liberating word among women and minorities, especially blacks in America, for whom it has meant continued oppression. Moreover, for men and women, regardless of their status within society, the ideal of self-denial, even in the face of great suffering, offers no word of grace to those who are unable to fulfill the ideal—that is, it is a curse and not a blessing to the majority of Christians.[7] And recent developments in Islam demonstrate the dan-

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[4]Cf. Nils A. Dahl, *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974) 10-36, and Ellis Rivkin, *What Crucified Jesus? The Political Execution of a Charismatic* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984).

[5]Cf. Peter's rebuke in Mark 8:32-33, Jesus' own prayer in Mark 14:32-42, and the taunts in Mark 15:29-32. It is curious, however, that among the Gospels only Mark (14:47) lacks Jesus' rebuke of the disciple's armed resistance at Jesus' arrest (cf. Matt 26:52-54, Luke 22:51, and John 18:10-11).

[6]Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr., "The Genre and Function of the Markan Passion Narrative," *HTR* 73 (1980) 153-84.

[7]For a critique of "self-denial" as "the" solution to "the" human predicament, see Valerie Saiving, "The Human Situation: A Feminine View," pp. 25-42 in *Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion* (Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow, eds.; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979), orig. pub. 1960; and Susan Nelson Dunfee, "The Sin of Hiding: A Feminist Critique of Reinhold Niebuhr's Account of the Sin of Pride," *Soundings* 65 (1982) 316-27. Cf. Daniel Day Williams, *The Spirit and the Form of Love* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981; orig. pub. 1967), especially pp. 84-88 and 192-213; Bernard M. Loomer, "Two Conceptions of Power," *Process Studies* 6 (1976) 30-31; and the literature cited by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) p. 95 n. 56.

gerous results of glorifying self-sacrifice and elevating martyrdom as the purest form of faithful obedience to God. Finally, however, the promise that those who endure to the end will be saved (Mark 13:13b) is subject to the objection that God seemingly allows or actually causes suffering, or that God is unwilling or unable to prevent it in the first place.

The central question that Mark's story of the death of Jesus poses, therefore, concerns God's role in relationship to suffering and to victory over it. Christians have traditionally tried to understand suffering in the framework of God's rule or sovereignty. Some believe God is the all-powerful, holy, and just creator of the world, and totally loving as well. These two propositions are compatible with each other and can account for the experience of suffering as long as suffering can be explained as a consequence of human evil, or as a helpful aspect of the process of human growth, where suffering is understood as either punishment or discipline. It can be seen as God's punishment of wrongdoing and understood in a moral sense as something that we bring on ourselves. Even innocent suffering, which cannot have this kind of meaning, can be seen as a test or discipline in which the innocent sufferer will be vindicated and the suffering compensated for in the future. One can also say that some suffering comes from a purpose of God which we cannot understand.

These traditional ways of making sense of suffering start with the assumption that God must be understood to be in absolute control of the world, even as we suffer, regardless of what humans or other creatures do. Deeply ingrained as this way of thinking is in the Christian tradition, Mark poses a challenge to this traditional understanding of suffering, victory over it, and God's role in both. It is no accident that, in the New Testament, Mark[8] has been the focus of new and deeply probing study, precisely because in our own time, as in Mark's time, traditional explanations of suffering have been thrown into complete disarray.[9]

Those who have lost confidence in traditional ways of thinking about suffering may find it is easy to enter into one of three fairly simple solutions that were already explored in early Christianity. One way of dealing with suffering, which was taken into early Christianity from Stoicism, and so is especially available for Christians, is to accept the suffering (others' as well as one's own) that one encounters and to transcend it by affirming one's own freedom in spite of the circumstances. With the telling of the full stories of the inhumanity of black slavery and of the horrors of the Jewish Holocaust, as well as stories of other arbitrary and meaningless destructions of human life,[10] the depth and extent of human uncertainty and insecurity have come home to us in the late twentieth century. The Stoic approach may have commended itself more and more, especially among Christians, as offering a pattern by which many could live from day to day,[11] but the dignity that Stoicism gave to ancient Stoics was denied to black slaves and Jews in the Nazi death camps, however they bore their suffering; to silence outrage over their suffering with a Stoic response would only add to the outrage called for by their circumstances.

Another way of dealing with suffering when the traditional ways are shattered has

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[8]One could also add the book of Revelation and the study of apocalypticism generally; and in the Old Testament, recent attention has been given to Job and Daniel.

[9]For a discussion of the contemporary "problem of evil," see Stephen T. Davis (ed.), *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981).

[10]Cf. Richard Rubenstein, *The Age of Triage: Fear and Hope in an Overcrowded World* (Boston: Beacon, 1983).

[11]Cf. Paul Tillich (*The Courage to Be* [New Haven: Yale University, 1952] 101), who has written that Stoicism is the great alternative to Christianity for modern Western people.

been to turn to some form of apocalyptic hope for a reversal of the human condition, with the faith that soon it will all be different. Freedom from suffering can come, according to this alternative, only when God finally intervenes, destroys the evil world, and creates a new world in which nothing evil occurs (Rev 21:1-4; cf. 7:17). The third option is a gnostic dualism in which evil is depicted as in control of or endemic to the world, producing the suffering of the innocent, who are a select group (the "elect") who truly understand reality. From this perspective, escape from this world and union with the transcendent spiritual world are offered as the solution to the problem of suffering. These closely related apocalyptic and gnostic solutions to the loss of traditional ways of dealing with suffering, like the Stoic approach, but in different ways, give dignity to lives which are affronted by the blows that fall upon them; and so all three remain live options for Christians today.

What we encounter in most of the New Testament, however, are expressions of the newness and wonder of the faith and hope that God would soon complete the transformation of existence that had begun with the coming of Jesus as the Messiah, so that suffering is not a self-conscious "problem." Because of the intensity of their faith, the earliest Christians were able to deal with suffering in a relatively relaxed way. Occasionally problems did arise, as when Paul was criticized by rival Christian missionaries because of "hardships" of various kinds, which occasioned Paul's boasting in his "weakness" (2 Corinthians 10-13); or when early Christians found it difficult to deal with being persecuted, which is the situation behind Mark's Gospel, where elements of Stoic and apocalyptic solutions are combined.[12]

God's transformation of the world begun through the life and death of Jesus has not been completed; its progress has, from time to time, been halted by human disobedience; and the present capacity of the nuclear arsenals of the world powers to destroy this planet threatens to thwart God's purposes permanently, so far as the course of events on this planet is concerned. Therefore, we cannot force the intensity of New Testament faith into life again, much as we would like to, but we may look into its expressions of faith to see whether there is an element in it which opens a new path of response in us to our situation. Mark is of great help here; for, though the Gospel of Mark can be read as affirming an apocalyptic way of dealing with suffering, as well as a Stoic-like way of acceptance, Mark can also be read as posing a challenge to the understanding of God's role in suffering and in victory over it as it is understood in these perspectives.

This Gospel leads its readers into the world of Jesus' suffering and death, and of the disciples' struggle with those events and their own suffering, in order to show them a way of faith in the midst of the searing questions that suffering raises. Mark does not spell out this faith in all its aspects—that was not needed. Our task is not so much to repeat this faith in God and in Jesus as the Christ but, rather, to allow it to enter into creative contrast with other ways of understanding God's role in suffering and in victory over it.

As Mark tells the story of Jesus, three ways of dealing with suffering are set out: the elimination of suffering; evading it; and meeting suffering directly, to the end—death, even death on a cross—with no mitigation. For Mark, Jesus models the way to follow, while the disciples serve as a reminder of how hard a way it is and of how easy it is to evade the harshness of life, especially in the name of faith, religion, or God's cause.

The disciples in Mark typify traditional, and quite understandable, ways of dealing with suffering: hoping for the elimination of suffering by God's swift and all-powerful intervention, and evading suffering. Neither of these ways of dealing with suffering is presented in Mark as wrong in and of itself. If we follow Mark's own account, Jesus gathered disciples precisely during a period when Jesus' power over evil forces was

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[12]Cf. also the Gospel of John, which approximates a gnostic solution, and the book of Revelation, which typifies an apocalyptic solution.

demonstrated by bringing relief to sufferers through a ministry of miraculous healing (Mark 1:16-8:26). One does not find in Mark a Stoic willingness to be content with the existence of suffering, or a passive acceptance of it; on the contrary, Jesus struggles against forces that cause others to suffer and sends the disciples out to do the same (Mark 3:13-19 and 6:6b-13). Moreover, Jesus, in apocalyptic fashion, promises that the coming sufferings of "the end" will cease when the "son of man" arrives on the clouds "with great power and glory" to gather the "elect" (Mark 13:26-27), with the assurance that "the end" is near, even though "the hour" cannot be known (Mark 13:28-37). So hoping for the removal of suffering, and the correlative belief in God's power of intervention, cannot in and of themselves be wrong. But they are relativized by another image of divine power and its way of dealing with suffering, to which we will turn in a moment when we consider the endurance of suffering.

The second way of dealing with suffering is to evade it. This way is often associated in the Gospel of Mark exclusively with the disciples; and in one important respect it is the way that they exemplify. But it should be noted that Mark's portraits of both Jesus and the disciples show ambiguity toward the evasion of suffering. The disciples, who seem to loathe the thought of *Jesus'* suffering (Mark 8:31-33, 9:2-13 and 30-32), are at times ready to suffer with him (Mark 14:31) and to risk taking up arms in Jesus' defense (Mark 14:47), but in the end they take to flight (Mark 14:50). Jesus' ambivalence is no less dramatic. Jesus rejects Peter's temptation to turn aside from a path that would lead to suffering, rejection, and death (Mark 8:31-33); and the attempts to get Jesus to demonstrate his power by saving himself and coming down from the cross, so that mocking onlookers might "see and believe," fail (Mark 15:29-32). But in Mark, Jesus also struggles with the question whether to avoid suffering and asks to be rescued from it by God: the answer which comes is that it is "God's will" that Jesus should suffer (Mark 14:32-42, which illustrates the saying of Jesus in 8:35). It is worth noting that while Luke 22:40-46 intensifies Jesus' struggle with this question, Matthew 26:36-46 reduces it, and John 18:11 (preserves only a remnant of the theme of Jesus' struggle (cf. 12:27) and replaces it with a prayer for the church given by a Jesus whose mission has reached its hour of "glory" (John 17). Mark's Gethsemane story implies that Jesus really could have played the coward and refused to obey; although Mark does not say this outright, without that assumption the story is inexplicable.

It would be wrong, however, to interpret this note of divine "will" as a general rule explaining all suffering as expressing God's "will," so that one must always obediently endure it. Even the view that Jesus "must" be crucified, or that Jesus' death was God's "will" (Mark 14:32-42), expresses only a *hypothetical* necessity.[13] Much of Mark's story of Jesus makes little sense unless Jesus' death is to be considered genuinely contingent. The authorities could have accepted Jesus' call to repentance instead of taking action against him (cf. Mark 11:27-33); or, once Jesus was arrested, Pilate could have released him (cf. Mark 15:6-15). "The betrayer" bears a curse for the murderous act and so, by implication, could also have acted otherwise (cf. Mark 14:17-21). *If* Jesus' mission was to be accomplished, Jesus must not abandon it under any circumstance, even in the face of the threat of execution on a cross; but, since the governing authorities were determined to make and carry out such a threat, and since one of Jesus' disciples had decided to play "the betrayer," Jesus "must" die on a cross, *if* God's purposes were to be achieved through him. The words of Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane, ". . . all things are possible to you; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what you will" (Mark 14:35-36), suggest other contingencies: God could prevent the death of Jesus but still accomplish God's purposes through Jesus; or God could pass on the mission of accomplishing those purposes

[13]The verb "must" (*dei*) in Mark 8:31 is replaced by future tenses in 9:31 and 10:33-34.

to someone else, or God could have abandoned the mission altogether, *if* Jesus had not obeyed. In each case, the decision would be God's as well as Jesus'.

So in Mark, not only the disciples face the temptation to evade suffering, their own and that of others, but Jesus does too—and so does God! For, even the knowledge that Jesus' suffering was God's "will" does not prevent an outcry of protest against God's abandonment, of which Jesus' death on the cross seemed to be a sign (Mark 15:34). That Luke, who portrays Jesus as the preeminent exemplar of the martyr's piety (Luke 23:44-46), did not preserve this outcry (and neither did John) suggests that at least one early Christian interpreter of Mark 15:34 read it, not as the beginning of a psalm of victory, but as a lament. What this protest, and the scene in Gethsemane with the disciples, make clear is that no one—especially God—ought to abandon people in their hour of suffering. And yet that is precisely what God does, *if* it was within God's power to rescue Jesus from death on a cross! In the synoptic Gospels, only Mark emphasizes this possibility; for 15:35 is peculiar to Mark, and instead of "*all things* are possible to you" (Mark 15:36), Matt 26:39 reads "*if* it is possible," and Luke 22:42 had "*if* you are *willing*."

In Mark's Gospel it is Jesus who depicts the third way of dealing with suffering, namely, endurance. Of course the disciples also claimed to be ready to follow Jesus, even to the point of enduring death for his sake (cf. Mark 10:39 and 14:29-31),[14] but their deeds never match their expressed intentions (cf. Mark 14:37-41, 50-52, and 66-72). In contrast, Jesus is portrayed as one who struggled with his own suffering, but who was willing to enfure it for the sake of proclaiming the gospel of God's liberating rule in the world.

Mark's story of Jesus' death implies that the motivation for choosing this way of dealing with suffering is not a Stoic "apathy," which seeks psychic tranquility under all circumstances—even in the face of great suffering, whether another's or one's own—nor is it a Cynic "love of hardship," whose aim is to build character, although elements of these perspectives cannot be completely excluded;[15] rather, the motivation to endure suffering is located in Jesus' obedience to the mission of spreading the gospel of God's liberating rule in the world, a mission that was more important than Jesus' safety. This way of dealing with suffering offers a view of life in which death (even death on a cross) is not the greatest evil that a person could suffer—it would be worse to compromise one's deepest commitments and highest hopes, in short, to turn away from the call and promise of God (and here the similarity to Cynic/Stoic perspectives is closer).

If we take Jesus in the Gospel of Mark as a model, we can see that enduring suffering need not mean passivity and non-resistance. For one thing, Jesus struggled against the suffering of others and its physical, personal, social, and supernatural causes. Even in Jesus' own suffering, endurance takes the forms of protest to God and of defiance of the governing authorities. Even while obeying the call of God, Jesus expresses outrage at the price of obedience, an outrage that is addressed as much to God, whose call is uncompromising, as to the world, whose evil raises the cost of faithful obedience to the ultimate. And even while submitting to the authority of Roman and Jewish officials, Jesus' silence and unwillingness to compromise his commitment to proclaiming God's sovereign and liberating rule in the world defy and resist their authority. So the endurance of suffering can also be a form of active resistance.

Finally, it is important to remember that, although Jesus entered the city of Jerusalem as one of the "marginal" people (a Galilean), nevertheless he brought with him a following and a reputation as a prophet. Jesus was not powerless, like the legendary

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[14]Cf. the third evangelist's portrayal of the disciples' loyalty throughout Jesus' sufferings (Luke 22:28).

[15]These elements are stronger in the "code of household duties" in 1 Pet 2:11-3:7 (cf. Col 3:18-4:6, Eph 5:21-6:9, 1 Tim 5:1-6:2a).

Simon of Cyrene, a stranger to the city "from the country," who was *compelled* to carry Jesus' cross (Mark 15:21). Jesus had *the freedom to choose* "endurance" as a way of dealing with suffering; it was not forced on him.

The Gospel of Mark holds these three approaches to suffering in creative contrast: the elimination of suffering through human action and, in the end, by God's swift intervention; the evasion of suffering, even at times seemingly by God; and the obedient endurance of one's own suffering without mitigation, and without divine intervention. The traditional vision of the elimination of suffering by direct divine intervention does justice to only one of these elements. It is often overlooked, however, that even where you would most expect this view, namely, in the empty tomb scene (cf. the foretelling of the resurrection in Mark 8:31, 9:31, and 10:34), the element of direct divine intervention is muted and obscured, so that this traditional vision of God is relativized in Mark's story of Jesus' death, a point underscored by Mark's ending. One might expect to find this view in the miracle traditions in the period in Mark's story of Jesus *prior* to the arrest, trials, and crucifixion (Mark 1:16-8:26; for the theme of divine power after Mark 8:26, see the sayings about the "parousia" of the "son of man" in 9:1, 13:26-27, and 14:62); but even here, God does not act *directly*, as one agent *alongside* others, but only *in and through* Jesus (exceptions would seem to be the heavenly voice at Jesus' baptism [1:11] and at the "transfiguration" scene [9:7], and the eclipse [15:33] and the rending of the temple curtain [15:38] at the moment of Jesus' death).

Mark, therefore, does not presuppose an image of God as "omnipotent." In the strict, traditional sense this doctrine cannot be found anywhere in the Bible. Of course much of the Bible supports the view that God has so much power that God can accomplish anything God chooses, that is, that no other power can successfully resist God's. Typical in the New Testament are Mark 10:27 and 14:36 (". . . all things are possible" to God). The traditional doctrine of "omnipotence," however, strictly means more than that: it implies that literally *all power is God's*, that in fact there are *no other powers besides God*. It is this doctrine that cannot be found in Mark, nor anywhere else in the Bible, where the belief that demons, angels, human beings, and the rest of creation all have power besides God's is taken for granted. Here God's power to accomplish whatever God decides to do is exercised against real resistance, as Mark's story of Jesus' death dramatically illustrates. This story makes no sense unless it is assumed that Jesus' disciples, the governing authorities, and even Jesus himself *really* had power to resist what God was trying to accomplish in and through Jesus. When Jesus' proclamation—in deeds as well as in words—of God's liberating rule in the world met with opposition, an opposition that would lead to Jesus' death, it appeared as though God's power would be successfully resisted. When Jesus struggled with the threat to his own life that the continuation of his mission had brought, again it appeared that God's efforts would be defeated, or at least that God would have to choose some other way to achieve God's purposes if Jesus had not continued. One way of interpreting the story of Jesus' *resurrection*, which Mark assumes more than narrates, is that although the death of Jesus was the result of genuine *resistance* to God's power, it did not prevent God from doing what God had decided to do, which was to spread the liberating rule of God in the world *in and through Jesus*, a mission that continues after Jesus' death. In this sense, God's power is supreme, for God literally has an infinity of ways ultimately to accomplish anything God chooses. No greater power than this is coherently conceivable![16]

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[16]For a discussion of the incoherence of the strict, traditional idea of "omnipotence," see Schubert M. Ogden, "Evil and Belief in God: The Distinctive Relevance of a 'Process Theology,'" *Perkins School of Theology Journal* 31 (1978) 29-34; and David R. Griffin, *God, Power, and Evil: A Process Theodicy* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976). And

We began with Mark's story of Jesus' death on the cross and asked what God appears to be like in its light. Approaching the question of God's role in suffering and in victory over it from this angle uncovers a dimension of Mark's passion narrative often overlooked. For one can see that, in Mark's story of the cross, God is limited by the contingencies of the created order—the unpredictable actions of men[17] among the friends and foes of Jesus—and does not act directly, as one agent alongside others, to bring about faith and victory over evil. When faith comes, it comes by means of a kind of "persuasion," as is illustrated by the centurion, who acknowledges the true identity of the crucified Jesus after seeing how Jesus died (Mark 15:39). A traditional theist might point to the eclipse (Mark 15:33) and the rending of the temple curtain (Mark 15:38) as evidence that God's victory over evil is through the exercise of direct divine power. But isn't it curious that a God who is able to act in such an all-powerful fashion does not (would not or cannot?) use that power to rescue Jesus from the cross? At this point, Mark implicitly locates the victory over suffering in Jesus' refusal to reject God's mission, whether at the counsel of the disciples or under pressure from the religious and governing authorities, and in the face of penalty by death. That is to say, Jesus' (and God's) apparent defeat is seen to be victory when viewed in the light of Jesus' steadfast endurance,[18] which is God's victory as well as Jesus', since it was God's mission that was at stake.

This is no ordinary victory, and it raises serious questions for the reader. For one thing it comes with no little physical and existential pain. What person would wish another to suffer so in body and spirit? How much less would an all-loving God! Can we really believe that this is how God would have had Jesus' life turn out if God were in total control? Instead, it is possible that God could not prevent Jesus' crucifixion. In any case, it happened; that much we know. But Mark's implication is that God accepted it, as it was, as the unsurpassable expression of God's struggle with evil on behalf of those who suffer. God's acceptance is expressed through the voice of the centurion in Mark 15:39 ("This was a child of God!"), who echoes God's own voice, heard earlier at Mark 1:11 and 9:7 (cf. 12:6), and the voices of the demons and evil spirits (Mark 1:24, 3:11, and 5:7), which in turn are echoed by the high priest (Mark 14:61). Such acceptance implicitly answers Jesus' lament expressing the sense of being abandoned by God (Mark 15:34), suggesting that God takes suffering into the divine self.[19]

According to a more traditional apocalyptic scheme, the figure of Christ or the "son of man" inherits the features of a God who addresses evil with an arsenal of violent power. Nowhere is this apocalyptic scheme more striking than in Daniel and the book of Revelation. Mark's drama of Jesus' death stands in marked contrast to such a scheme, in which God's exercise of power is affirmed and dramatically demonstrated in classic images of violence and victory. In Mark the apocalyptic figure, the supernatural "son of man," is cast in the role of a historical and mortal figure, Jesus of Nazareth (Mark 2:10 and 28), whose primary essence is to be found not in violent power but in suffering and

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for a fuller discussion of the view of God proposed here, see John B. Cobb, Jr., *God and the World* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969).

[17] In Mark the actions of women contrast sharply with those of men (cf. the roles of women in 14:3-9 and 66-72, 15:40-41 and 47, and 16:1-8; and outside the passion narrative, see 7:24-30, where a woman, a gentile from Syrophoenicia, prevails over Jesus' objections to extend his mission beyond the Jews).

[18] Cf. the concept of "conquering" in Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26, 3:5, 12, 21, 5:5, and 21:7.

[19] Cf. the similar interpretations of Jesus' passion in Mark by Theodore J. Weeden, Sr. ("The Cross as Power in Weakness [Mark 15:20b-41]," pp. 115-34 in *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14-16* [Werner H. Kelber, ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976]), and Donald Senior, C.P. (*The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark* [Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984] especially pp. 144-48).

dying for others (Mark 9:12 and 31, 10:33-34 and 45, 14:22-25, and 15:33-39). This dimension is not entirely lacking in the book of Revelation, as the image of the "lamb that was slain" shows, but overall the balance is tipped in favor of displays of violent, divine power. In Mark it is the suffering and death of Jesus that reveal to human beings the divine power of this "son of man" (Mark 15:29-32 and 39)—the demons and evil spirits, on the other hand, recognize Jesus' true identity only in miraculous displays of power (Mark 1:24, 3:11, and 5:7).

In addition to gaining a different angle on the vision of God's power suggested by viewing Mark's story of Jesus' death from the question of suffering, we find that evil too is seen in a different light. In the apocalyptic scheme of things, the world is caught in the grips of a battle between good and evil forces, a view that is as dualistic as is the gnostic one, in which evil is identified in some way with "matter" and good with "spirit." According to the Christian apocalypticism of the book of Revelation, for instance, evil is the manifestation of the power of Satan and of Satan's forces, which include human representatives, principally the Roman Emperor and other governing authorities, certain Jewish synagogues, and Christian heretics, all of whom exercise power against God and the people of God.

Although supernatural forces of evil play a role in Jesus' death in Luke (22:3) and in John (13:2, 27; cf. 6:70-71, and 8:44), in Mark violence is unleashed against Jesus, God's representative, not by these forces (however, cf. Mark 8:33), but by other human beings—by Jesus' own chosen followers (Mark 14:10-11, 17-21, 30, 32-45, 50-52, 54 and 66-72), and by Jewish religious authorities, Pharisees, scribes, elders, and chief priests, who all also represent God (Mark 3:6, 8:31, 10:33, 11:18, 12:12 [which refers to 12:27], 12:13, 14:1, 43, 53, 55-65, 15:1, 3, 10-12, 31), as well as by Roman officials, namely, the Herodians (Mark 12:13) and Pilate (Mark 15).[20] While the traditional apocalyptic figures, supernatural forces of evil, are present in Mark's story of Jesus in the form of demons and unclean spirits, Jesus renders them impotent because they oppress *others*, not because they pose a threat to *Jesus*. Even the governing authorities, other traditional apocalyptic representatives of evil, are not the primary agents of Jesus' death in Mark's story. A centurion at the cross affirms that Jesus is a child of God (Mark 15:39). The Herodians participate in the attempt to entrap Jesus (Mark 12:13), but Mark puts the role of Herod in the background (Mark 6:14-29), in contrast to Luke, who introduces a "trial" before Herod (Luke 23:6-16). And of course the soldiers, at the initiative of Pilate after the trial (Mark 15:15b), abuse Jesus inside the governor's palace (Mark 15:16-20); but Pilate tries unsuccessfully to press the innocence of Jesus (Mark 15:6-15), a motif that receives increased attention in Matthew, Luke-Acts, and John.

The point is that violence against Jesus in Mark is not the work of supernatural forces of evil but of "good" people. This ironic twist opens up the possibility of seeing reality from a point of view different from that common religious one which neatly separates good and evil into two readily identifiable camps. For violence and suffering, and other forms of evil, are the result of agents within the created order who thwart God's purposes by resisting God's power. The parable of the sower (Mark 4:3-9), which plays so important a role in Mark's interpretation of Jesus' parables, makes the same point in its own way.[21] Indeed, Mark's whole narrative pattern challenges the need to

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[20]Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr. (*Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* [HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972]), who points out that prophets, "righteous ones," the "poor," and martyrs can die at the hands of their own "good," religious people as well as at the hands of the wicked among their own people and among the gentiles.

[21]Cf. Theodore J. Weeden, Sr., "Recovering the Parabolic Intent in the Parable of the Sower," *JBL* 47 (1979) 97-120.

have a God whose power can eliminate all forms of evil "once and for all," as a way of addressing the problem of evil.

With the recognition of the existence of evil precisely within the goodness of the created order, and not beyond or outside it, Jesus' outcry of protest on the cross takes on significance in the attempt to understand suffering. In most of the New Testament, protest and outrage are relatively muted, since faith in the God who has come near in Jesus as the Messiah has almost overcome the note of angry protest—almost, but not quite. Even in the relatively late New Testament book of Revelation, full of apocalyptic confidence in the victory of God, one hears the outcry of protest on the lips of Christian martyrs: "O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before you will judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth?" (Rev 6:10; cf. Ps 90:13a). And in Mark, whose accepted way of dealing with suffering, namely, obedient endurance, is "beyond protest," so to speak, powerful words of protest nevertheless appear in the climactic scene of the crucifixion: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34). Of course these words come from the opening of Psalm 22, one of the psalms of lament, which cry out against suffering or persecution but end with a note of faith and trust in God. This was surely known both to the author of Mark and to the first hearers of this Gospel. Nevertheless, Psalm 22 as a whole remains a profound outcry of protest; and it is noteworthy that Mark quotes only the opening words decrying God's abandonment of the sufferer, and that among the other accounts of the crucifixion, only Matthew (27:46) has preserved these stark words, indicating that they were no easier to interpret and to absorb into Christian faith then than they are now. Although the principal way of dealing with suffering in Mark consists of trust and endurance, at this turning point in the story of Jesus' death the element of trust is complicated by an outcry of protest.

So the cry of protest is as "traditional" as is faith. These two, faith and protest, are connected in two related but different ways. First, the outcry to God is part of the life of *faith*. For God accepts the outcry, with its anger and frustration, into God's own experience. The faithful do not have to find a way to "swallow" the anger that unjust and inordinate suffering arouses; rather, as Mark (and Job, Jeremiah, and the Psalmist) also knew well, outrage and protest are part of what we bring to God and part of what God accepts and transmutes in the creative divine experience. That is what is implied by Mark's placing of a powerful outcry to God at the center of the story of Jesus. Protest in the midst of suffering can be part of a strong and fully faithful relationship to God and may actually strengthen it.

What was Jesus' protest about? The scene in Gethsemane as well as the outcry on the cross place the emphasis on God's seeming *inaction*. Jesus prays for God to *do something* to prevent what was about to happen; then Jesus protests when God does nothing. So God could be blamed, at least indirectly, for the crucifixion of Jesus. This protest is the expression of a crisis of faith created by a traditional vision of what is possible for God. Mark's Gospel and its readers undoubtedly shared such a vision, which is expressed in Jesus' protest.

The element of protest in Mark's story of Jesus' death recognizes that for the sufferer the present seems to be empty of God, so filled as it is with isolation and alienation. As J. Dominic Crossan puts it, Mark created the gospel genre as a "form for absence."[22] But Mark also knew that there is, nevertheless, more to life than appears in these empty moments! Precisely because of the breakdown, which is so widespread today, of faith in God's ongoing purpose and presence, it is important to struggle seriously with this "nevertheless." One way of affirming this "nevertheless" would be to revive an

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[22]J. Dominic Crossan, "A Form for Absence: The Markan Creation of Gospel," *Semeia* 12 (1978) 41-55; and "Empty Tomb and Absent Lord (Mark 16:1-8)," pp. 135-52 in Kelber (ed.), *The Passion in Mark*.

apocalyptic scheme, in one form or another—that is, to cling to the confidence that, *in the end,* God's purpose will win out and completely overcome evil. Granted, this apocalyptic form of the "nevertheless" can certainly be found in Mark. And this has been a way of faith that has stood the test of the harsh and tragic periods in one's life and in history, and its revival can quicken faith against the erosion of time which wears away trust in God's goodness or presence, or both. In the end, however, this way of affirming the "nevertheless" is, as Crossan rightly sees, a "form for absence," for it leaves the *present* empty of God. Another way of affirming this "nevertheless" is to place suffering *within God* and God *within* the experience of suffering itself, but not as the cause or origin of suffering—rather, as its final place of rest, as the Companion and Co-sufferer, who embraces all the pain and angry protest. This too is a faithful interpretation of Mark's story of the death of Jesus.

A different, but related, way in which faith and the outcry of protest are related can be seen in the religious roots of the struggle against suffering and its many causes. It is often by crying out in indignation that we are put in touch with what God is doing. But it is necessary to make clear that God is known not in *misery itself* but in *the protest and struggle against it.* The God of the Bible not only accepts and creatively transforms the fear and anger that arise out of suffering, but also does something about the suffering itself and its causes. The faith that God interacts with those who cry out to God, a fundamental part of a "biblical" faith, is traditionally oriented toward a God who can literally reach out with a mighty arm and defeat the powers of evil. What is at stake in this vision of God, however, is something more fundamental than its various literal expressions, namely, the faith that God does take suffering seriously and is actively engaged in the struggle against it. From the Hebrew faith in God's active and purposeful presence *in history,* this conviction passed into a more transcendental, apocalyptic form of faith, which focused on God's presence *at the end of history,* a form of faith that Mark received. However imperfect, the apocalyptic vision of God's victory over suffering and its causes provided a framework within which faith and the outcry of protest could be held together, for it offered a way of understanding God's *action.*

It is in this light that we can understand Mark's strong emphasis on the servant who obediently endures suffering; for the sufferer can cry out in protest and at the same time trust that God's mighty arm of deliverance will demonstrate its power. Holding these elements in creative contrast, as we saw earlier, results in a vision of God's power and action that differs from the apocalyptic one. For according to Mark, Jesus' death on the cross affects God, insofar as God accepts Jesus' suffering and angry protest *as God's own.* This is what the "ransom" myth and "blood covenant" known to Mark (10:45 and 14:24) imply: God's own self is affected by Jesus' death.

In process categories, Mark's story of Jesus' death on the cross implies that God's power is "relational" or "reciprocal" rather than "unilateral" or "one-directional," which means that it illustrates God's capacity to *be influenced by* others as well as the capacity to *influence* others.[23] If the power of God to be *influenced by* others has been largely overlooked in the interpretation of Mark's story of Jesus' death, God's power to *influence* others has not always been seen through the lens of this story: the only direct action that can be seen on the cross is that of *Jesus,* who acts *in concert with God,* or *in God's stead. God's* action can be seen in the cross of Jesus, therefore, precisely only in the actions of *another,* Jesus, whose actions God has influenced through persuasion, through a "call" (Mark 1:9-11) and prayer (Mark 14:32-42). So the cross, as a sign of God's power, relativizes the apocalyptic visions, in which God's power is understood in terms of direct, "one-directional" or "unilateral," and typically violent, action.

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[23]For this distinction, see Bernard M. Loomer, "Two Conceptions of Power," *Process Studies* 6 (1976) 5-32.

It is possible, therefore, to understand faith as oriented toward a God who is in this twofold sense a Companion, whose power takes the form not only of accepting angry protests but also of joining in them, and whose power affects the actions of others, persuading them to struggle against suffering and its many causes. Such a faith is able to help us overcome the bitterness and isolation of suffering, and so to help us be ready to enter into the struggle of others in and against suffering—in short, to embody God's own redemptive purpose within the physical, personal, and social realities of the world. The outcry of protest can, then, be a call to work out one's faith by striving toward eliminating as many causes of suffering as one can, reducing the amount of suffering, and bringing relief when and where suffering occurs.

This protesting faith, or faithful protest, however, gives up the certainty that God's "will," understood as a definite outcome determined in advance, will win out. But this does not mean that we must trust in a powerless God; on the contrary, God's power, understood in "relational" terms as *influencing* the actions of literally all others and *receiving* the actions of literally all others, is unsurpassable even if it is not all-controlling. A divine power, limited by the contingencies of the world with respect to the *outcome* of God's acts but not with respect to God's *aims, purposes, or will,* stands as an alternative to the power of the traditional theist's God, whose *will* to struggle against suffering is challenged by the many forms of carnage, injustice, and oppression that drench history with blood and tears and so give rise to the outcry of protest.

Mark, like our modern artists and writers who shun accepted religious "explanations" of why people suffer, is reserved in "explaining" why things happen as they do to Jesus. And yet, Mark is not silent, but turns our attention to the searing question that arises from suffering: how can we grasp meaning out of the ordeal of suffering, and hold on to it in life and thought? Whatever answer one gives, it will not bring the security of a door closed tightly shut against the question that suffering poses to life's meaning. We have proposed an answer by holding in creative contrast the three elements of Mark's story of Jesus' death—obedient endurance, faith in God's deliverance, and the outcry of protest. Human suffering threatens all networks of meaning, even Mark's and ours. And so the message of this Gospel sets us, like the women at the empty tomb, on our way with our faith tempered by fearful realism.

The Mythic Unity of the Apocalypse

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Horse lovers never beat dead horses or even distinguished horses that have gotten old and sick; nor do they snap the whip at strong, healthy horses without reason. Structural analysts of mythology have been around for decades doing distinguished work; many are still strong and healthy. Their elegant and economic analyses, simple but with much explanatory power, can evoke satisfaction rarely experienced. Yet there is, I think, reason to snap at the heels of these grand chestnuts.

The method is well-known: the text of a myth is segmented into phrases and sentences, consisting minimally of a nominal and verbal relationship (mythemes), which gain their true meaning through a two-step process: first, by being grouped or bundled according to certain similarities, and second by *relating* the bundles. The real meaning of a myth is to be found in the hidden relationships among the bundles. So John Gager segments, bundles, and relates the bundles of the Apocalypse in the following way: a bundle of victory/hope consisting of 4:1—5:14; 7:1—8:4; 10:1—11:1; 11:15-19; 14:1-7; 15:2-8; 19:1-6; 21:1—22:5 and a bundle of oppression/despair consisting of 6:1-17; 8:5—9:21; 11:2-14; 12:1-17; 13:1-18; 14:8—15:1; 16:1-20; 17:1—18:24; 19:17—20:15 (1975:53). In the process, a move common to structural analysts is made from the surface text to a deep structure of oppositional relations which is reflected in the names of the two bundles: victory/hope, oppression/despair. That deep structure of binary opposition, though it comes last in the process of analysis, discloses the initial, existential situation to which myth is a response: "mythic thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution" (Levi-Strauss, 1967:221). That initial situation of contradiction is presupposed in every structuralist understanding of the mythic function: "Without these existential conflicts there would be no contradictions to overcome, no logical function of the myth as an attempt to solve these contradictions" (Ricoeur, 1976:86). So, with regard to the Apocalypse Gager writes that the rhythmic oscillation in the text between victory and hope, on the one hand, and oppression and despair, on the other, serves to overcome the existential conflict between religious faith and social realities among persecuted Christians. The "unwelcome contradiction between hope and reality" is overcome; that is, hope and reality are no longer viewed as "permanent, unbearable contradictions" (1975:52-54, cf. Yarbro Collins, 1984:142).

In what follows I shall try to critique structuralism at two points: its analysis of a mythic text into mythemes at the surface level and its assumptions about the conflicting structure of Christian existence, discovered at the deep level of the text. Finally, I suggest that myth itself embodies proportions and homologues rather than surface/deep oppositions.

1. The Linguistic Unity of the Apocalypse

At first appearance, the division of a text such as the Apocalypse of John into separate, discrete mythemes seems straightforward and uncomplicated. So do the next steps

of grouping and relating the groups at contrasting oppositions, for contrasts are obvious in the organizational structure of the Apocalypse. On a macro-level, the multitude of the faithful celebrating in heaven (7:9-17) contrasts with the opening of the six seals (6:1-17), the blowing of the seventh trumpet (11:15-19) with the six previous trumpets (8:7—9:20), or the laments over Babylon (18) with the rejoicing in chapter 19. On a smaller level, the 144,000 Jews on earth in 7:1-8 contrast with the innumerable crowd in heaven from every tribe and nation (7:9-17); the beast (12:18) with the lamb (14:1), no rest (14: 11) with rest (14:13), the feast of the lamb (19:9) with the feast of the birds (19:17-18), and the stamp of the beast (13:16) with the seal of the lamb (14:1). Thus the structuralist conclusions of Gager (1975:54-55) and Yarbro Collins (1984:141-42) seem justified.

Contrasting units are, however, only one of several kinds of relations which unify the language of the Apocalypse. Further, where one linguistic relation, such as contrast, marks a clear break, other threads at that point appear without seam. Thus the various unifying threads overlap in such a way that at no point is there a clear beginning or ending of a linguistic unit. The groupings of mythemes will depend upon the kind of linguistic relation that is being sought out. If contrast is sought out, then the Apocalypse can be segmented into contrasting units. That is, the lanugage of the Apocalypse can be bundled and grouped (just as it can be outlined) in different ways, no one of which is entirely complete.

1:1 Narrative Unity

On a macro-level, 7:1—8:4 contrasts with 8:5—9:21 (Gager, 1975:53). Yet those two units are fused through other linguistic relations, for example, structural reversal. In 7:1-2 John sees an angel from the rising of the sun (= East, cf. 16:12) commanding four angels on the four corners of the earth to hold back the four winds so that they do not blow and harm. At 9:13-15 (the only other reference to four angels) John hears a voice from the four horns (= corners) of the altar (= microcosm) saying: loose the four angels bound at the great river Euphrates (= East, cf. 16:12) so that they may kill one-third of the people. The East, the place of the commanding subject in Chapter 7, becomes that of the commanded object in Chapter 9; and the commanded object in Chapter 7, angels on the four corners, becomes the commanding subject in Chapter 9. That reversal of subject and object results in reversed consequences: harming (Chapter 9) rather than not harming (Chapter 7). Those two passages—along with 16:12-16, the only other reference to "Euphrates" and the "rising of the sun"—are also tied together structurally by being a part of the sixth in the heptads of seals, trumpets, and bowls, respectively.

Rev 19:11-16 makes up a clearly defined unit introduced by the stereotyped formula, "And I saw" (cf. Thompson 1969:332). It belongs in Gager's victory/hope column. On the other hand it accumulates images from earlier scenes in Gager's oppression/despair column. The rider of a white horse (19:11) occurs elsewhere only at the opening of the first seal in 6:2 where the first of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse is introduced. There the rider has a bow, is given a crown, and goes forth to conquer (6:2); the language in both visions (6:2; 19:11-16) thus unfolds a warring, conquering king, the first introducing and the second concluding the apocalyptic disasters described by the seer.[1] The phrase, "eyes like a flame of fire" (19:12), relates the rider of the white horse to the one who speaks to the angel of the church of Thyatira (2:18) and to the one like a son of man whom John sees in his inaugural vision (1:14). That figure also shares with the rider of the white horse a "sharp sword issuing from his mouth" (1:16, cf. 2:12; 19:15). The diadems (19:12), shared only with the dragon (12:3) and the beast from the sea (13:1), are a sign of

[1]This is not quite accurate, insofar as there is the "warless" battle between Satan and the saints in 20:7-10. On warring, cf. also 2:16; 11:7; 12:7, 17; 16:15; 17:14.

royalty as is of course the title, King of kings and Lord of lords (19:16, cf. 17:14). So also "ruling with a rod of iron" (19:15) is a royal image (Ps 2:9) that links the rider to the male child endangered by the dragon (12:5). As the Lamb earlier conquers by being slain (5:5, 9), so here the royal garment is "dipped in blood" (19:13), probably alluding to the crucified king, though the garment may simply be bloody from battle. As trampler of the wine press (19:15) the rider of the white horse reiterates the great judgment scene in 14:14-20 where one like a son of man seated upon a white cloud "harvests" the earth with the help of an angel.

Four times the rider's name is referred to: in 19:11 he is called "Faithful and True"; in 19:12 he has a written name that only he knows; in 19:13 his name is The Word of God; and, as noted above, in 19:16 his written name is "King of kings and Lord of lords." That the name is unknown probably identifies the rider of the white horse as outside the human sphere, for mystery also surrounds the name of the land-beast (13:17) and the woman riding the scarlet beast (17:5). The name Faithful and True (19:11) links this final revelation of the Word of God (19:12) to the one addressing the angel of the church of Laodicea (3:14, cf. 1:5). The Faithful and True Word of God riding the white horse also parallels "the faithful and true words of God" given to John and authenticated by God himself (21:5; 22:6). In fact, The Faithful and True Word of God riding the white horse is transmitted to us as part of those "faithful and true words of God." The words that transmit and The Word transmitted become one. Signifier and signified are united in the sign of the Word.

Thus, Rev 19:11-16 consists of transformations of a series of linguistic elements that appear earlier in the Apocalypse. Some are drawn from John's inaugural vision of the Christ (1:12-16). Others appear in introductions to the letters, in the description of the first of the four horsemen of the apocalypse, in the fighting Lamb who conquers the beast and 10 kings, in the newborn male child threatened by the dragon, and in the blood of the wine press of the wrath of God. That final transformation also takes into itself elements previously formed around the demonic figures of the dragon, the beast from the sea, and the whore on the scarlet beast. If we were to read the Apocalypse aloud with this cumulative process in mind, we would notice similarities and differences, on various levels, as structures, motifs, images, and perspectives form and unform diachronically. Each element has a different shape and a different location in the stream, but each is also a transformation of the other within the seer's pliable language.

Circularity (or ring composition or inclusion) refers to concentric development of a passage so that the ending reflects the beginning. A simple example occurs in 4:1: "*After this* I looked, and lo, in heaven an open door! And the first voice . . . said, '. . . I will show you what must take place *after this*.'" On a different level, the pregnant woman and dragon ring Chapter 12, for that chapter begins with their conflict, shifts to a battle in heaven, and then ends with another version of the woman/dragon conflict. Rev 17:1—19:10 is enclosed by an antithetical ring consisting of the Great Whore clothed in purple and scarlet at the beginning and the Bride of the Lamb clothed in bright, pure, fine linen at the end. Or an even larger unit, 12:1—19:10 is ringed by another set of feminine images: the pregnant woman clothed with the sun and the bride of the Lamb clothed with pure linen. Circularity consists of repeated words, syntactical forms, or motifs. As with all analysis, location of circularity becomes the more ingenious, the more removed it is from actual language in the Apocalypse.

The seer tends to develop his material concentrically into ever-widening rings. So, for example, several of the eschatological promises to those who conquer, an element in the seven letters of Chapters 2-3, reappear in the vision of the New Jerusalem in Chapters 21-22. At the beginning of the vision of renewal, God makes the link to the letters by saying, "He who conquers shall have . . ." (21:7, cf. 2:11). The tree of life promised to those victorious at Ephesus (2:7) appears in the city (22:2). The victorious at Smyrna will not be harmed by the second death, a phrase which is made clear in 21:8 (cf. 20:6, 14).

Those conquering at Sardis will not have their names wiped from the book of life (cf. 21:27). And to those conquering at Laodicea, Jesus promises a seat with him on his throne, while at 22:5 his servants reign forever in the city with the enthroned God and the royal Lamb.

The final section of the Apocalypse (22:6-21) circles back to the beginning to create one grand circularity. At Rev 22:8 John once again identifies himself as the seer who hears and sees what he writes (cf. 1:9). At 22:13 Jesus calls himself the "first and last" (1:17), but also creates a cumulative effect by including as well "alpha and omega" (cf. 1:8) and "beginning and end" (cf. 3:14; 1:5). Rev 22:16 repeats several elements in the introduction at 1:1-2. The chain of command and blessing in 1:1-3 are repeated in 22:6-7, and the assertion that "the time is near" (1:3) is repeated in 22:10 (cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, 1981:26).

1.2 Metaphoric Unity in the Apocalypse

As though to highlight the importance of figurative speech, the seer often introduces some of the most basic elements in his landscape through a simile. The "sea," for example, used throughout the Apocalypse as an element coordinate with "land," "earth," and "heaven," first occurs as a figure in the throne scene: "and before the throne there is as it were a sea of glass, like crystal" (4:6, cf. 5:13; 7:1, 2; 12:12; 14:7. With the new heaven and new earth, the sea passes away and is no more, 21:1). So, also, "fire" first appears metaphorically as a simile in a description of eyes in John's inaugural vision (1:14). Later, as an independent element "fire" describes various catastrophies and punishments (cf. 8:8; 9:17; 11:5; 14:10; 16:8; 17:16; 19:20; 20:9). Several terms for animals are also introduced through metaphorical speech. The first living creature around the throne is "like a lion" (4:7, cf. 5:5; 9:8, 17; 10:3; 13:2). "Serpent," a significant animal in the action of the Apocalypse, first appears as a simile describing the tails of the horses released at the blowing of the sixth trumpet (9:19). "Serpent" then appears in its own right as an independent object in conflict with the woman (12:9, 14, 15) and as the one bound for 1,000 years (20:2). Before an eagle is seen flying the mid-heaven crying woes (8:13), the term has been used in a simile describing the fourth living creature (4:7). So also the activity of warring first occurs in a simile (9:9). The two witnesses wear sackcloth (11:3), but earlier "the sun became black as sackcloth" (6:12).

Metaphorical, figurative language creates a different kind of unity from that of transformed narrative elements described in previous sections. Metaphoric language operates "vertically" rather than "horizontally" to unify terms and references. In that process absolute distinctions among categories—for example inanimate objects, animal life, humans, and supra-human beings—disappear. In John's inaugural vision, the divine becomes present visually as "one like a son of man, clothed with a long robe and with a golden girdle round his breast." The white color of his head and hair is as wool or snow. His eyes are as a flame of fire; his feet like bronze fired in a furnace and his voice sounds like many waters. His face is like the sun shining in full strength. Almost all the similes are drawn from inorganic materials. From his mouth issues a sharp, two-edged sword, and, more striking, he holds in his right hand seven stars. This portrait is drawn from traditional images in the Old Testament, but it nonetheless combines in unusual ways elements of everyday experience to produce a creature that bridges distinctions among fundamentally different categories.

1.3 Perspectival Transformations

Mapping the unity of the Apocalypse as a web interlaced in different ways, both horizontally and vertically, becones virtually impossible. From a limited perspective which deliberately ignores some of the threads, a plot line can be traced. So, Schüssler

Fiorenza writes: "Revelation is not cyclic since its narrative moves forward . . . from promise to fulfillment. Yet this forward movement of the narrative is not linear-logical or linear-temporal. It can best be envisioned as a conic spiral moving from the present to the eschatological future" (1981:26). The image of a conic spiral incorporates nicely concentric and linear movement, but even that forward movement can be traced only at the expense of other crisscrossing threads of fulfillment which occur throughout the Apocalypse. For example, at the blowing of the seventh trumpet "the mystery of God, as he announced to his servants the prophets" is fulfilled (10:7, cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, 1981:114). The Apocalypse could end with Chapter 11 in the heavenly celebration of God's just judgment of the dead and his eternal reign (11:17-18). Or after the battle of Armageddon, the heavenly theophany brings eschatological fulfillment. Terms such as "climax," "interruption," or "interlude" help to simplify the complex web by subordinating certain elements, but they inevitably distort the wholeness of the Apocalypse. Even an understanding of the Apocalypse through the metaphor of a web distorts its wholeness, for that metaphor suggests that there are strands that exist throughout the work. If "web" and "conic spiral" are inadequate images for describing the unity of the Apocalypse, then how much more the image, "contrast." Binary structure can be maintained only by omitting certain portions of the text and by emphasizing topical over formal elements (cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, 1985:167). The linguistic unity of the Apocalypse is better apprehended under the image of "stream" within which all images, figures, contrasts, and structures flow as whorls, vortices, and eddies.

2. Disclosure of an Unbroken World

The intertexture of Apocalyptic language makes structuralist analyses both problematic and arbitrary. If the text is to be divided into binary oppositions, an appeal must be made to something other than the logical consequences of formal or thematic analysis, for the Apocalypse as a complex system of linguistic signs does not lend itself to segmentation, binary opposition, and dualistic groupings.

If, however, we shift emphasis from language as a complex system of signs to that vision of reality which language discloses and encompasses, do we find justification for binary oppositions? What vision of reality becomes transparent in the seer's apocalyptic language? Does integration and unification occur only on the surface level of the myth? Does it disclose in its depth a wholeness of vision consonant with the intertexture found at the surface level or does the surface disguise and dissemble a world divided by irreconcilable contradictions?

Structural analysis of the Apocalypse presupposes the latter, for the purpose of mythic language is to resolve fundamental contradictions in our experience and understanding of the world which otherwise cannot be resolved. If such conflicts did not exist, then mythic language would have no purpose: "mythic thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution" (Levi-Strauss, 1967:221). Thus, mythic language as a system of *signifiers* presents a stream of wholeness and unity, but the *signified* points to a fundamentally different kind of reality. In Ricoeur's terms, "the function of structural analysis [which reverses the movement of "mythic thought"] is to lead us from a surface semantics, that of the narrated myth, to a depth semantics, that of the boundary situations, which constitute the ultimate 'referent' of the myth" (1976:87).

If Ricoeur's formulation is acceptable, then a critique may be made along the following lines: what is the nature of the boundary situation which constitutes the ultimate referent of the myth? That is, boundary situations provide a point of inquiry into the structure of the world being disclosed through the mythic language of the seer: the nature of differentiation, how differentiation is structured in boundaries, and how bounded differentiation relates to wholeness of vision. In the previous section I argued

that the language of the Apocalypse forms a web that cannot be segmented into neat oppositions. In what follows, I shall argue that the world disclosed through that language does not contain irreconcilable forces bounded in opposition.

2.1 Boundary Situations

"Boundary" is essentially a spatial metaphor. Boundaries appear on maps in different colors or hues to mark out the area enclosed by them. When used metaphorically, boundaries involve the projection of situations and their relations as a "topographical arrangement in space" (Jaspers, 1970:2.177). Even time is thus given a spatial turn when the focus is on temporal boundaries. So, from the seer's vantage point overlooking all boundaries (including past, present, and future), temporal movement is viewed much as a conductor views the sequence of performance while overviewing a musical score. This is not to deny a temporal, eschatological dimension in the Apocalypse, but the temporal aspect can be overstated—as occurred in biblical theology which emphasized the activity of God in history. As we have seen, the seer has not organized his material along a strong narrative line with an appropriate climax at the end. Rather, there is repetition, concentric movement, and ever-widening circularity. Those literary characteristics do not lend themselves to an exclusively eschatological interpretation of the book. Moreover, the Apocalypse does not anticipate and move towards a clearcut, totally final "end." William Beardslee has pointed out that nowhere in the New Testament "is there a full expression of hope as confronting a total end" (1970:228). There is, instead, the end of a stage or an era and the beginning of another; between the two exists a boundary transformation which, with respect to the Apocalypse, occurs not only at the end of the work, but also at several points throughout it. Put differently, time and temporal distance do not control the realization of the new age. Spatial boundaries are at least as important, as the heaven/earth axis combines with the present/future axis in the presentation of God's kingdom. Eschatological temporality cannot be understood apart from its spatial component. Even the "end" comes as a city let down from heaven, and the eschaton is described through a detailed mapping of space in that city. Conversely, place (τόπος) is not fixed and static space, but a situation of destiny and contingency. The woman flees into the wilderness to a place prepared for her (12:6, cf. 12:14); no place is found for the dragon in heaven after the battle with Michael (12:8); if the Ephesians don't repent, their lampstand will be removed from its place (2:5). Items in nature such as islands and hills—even heaven and earth—do not have fixed places (6:14; 20:11). Given the combination of temporal and spatial dimensions in the Apocalypse, the image of transformational boundaries is appropriate for comprehending its eschatology.

A boundary is formed by the coming together of two different qualities, objects or forces. For example, a social boundary marks the meeting of life inside and outside the Christian community, or Rev 4:1 marks a literary boundary between the seven letters and the ensuing visions. In other words, a boundary designates a situation in which differences touch one another, More precisely, a boundary structures a situation in which differences touch one another; it calls attention to the contiguity of differences and becomes a kind of "transformer" which allows those differences to cross over on the other side. By looking at what and how much is transformed in a boundary situation, we may learn about the structural constitution of the world in which the boundary occurs. For that reason boundary situations disclose more clearly and more fully the underlying structures of the larger world than situations of unmarked change. There is, thus, a dynamic quality to boundaries; they mark moments of transformation or modulation rather than fixed limits beyond which there is no passage. Of literary genres, myth more than any other explores, explicates, and manages those movements across boundaries. The connection by structuralists, among others, of myth and boundaries is thus significant. That connection

justifies the use of the term "myth" to describe the Apocalypse, for it is a language of boundaries.

The seer recognizes commonplace boundaries: a three-story universe (5:3) with divine forces above and evil forces below; a celestial realm with familiar objects of sun, moon, stars, and sometimes the atmospherics of thunder, lightning, and hail. Also birds, specifically an eagle at one point, inhabit the sky (more precisely, "mid-heaven") (6:12-13; 12:1; 8:13; 19:17). With respect to earth there are references to hills and islands, wilderness, and various types of water-bodies such as seas, lakes, and streams (e.g., 12:6; 6:14; 1:9; 16:20; 9:14; 7:17; 19:20; 12:18; 8:9). Among life forms, a few plants are referred to: trees, grass, and plants in general, all of which are specially protected from evil forces. Generally speaking, trees and plant life are classified with redeemed humans as under divine care (cf. 7:1; 9:4, but 8:7). In similes or as objects in the world, the seer mentions animals such as horses, lions, birds, leopards, bear, and frogs (e.g., 16:13; 6:2; 9:8; 19:17; 13:2). Humans are classified generally into peoples, tribes, tongues, and nations. (5:9). The seer also recognizes social classifications such as kings, great ones, rulers of a thousand, wealthy, strong, merchants, and those sitting on horses—most of whom are associated with evil. People are also contrasted as small and great, wealthy and poor, free and slave (cf. 6:15; 18:3; 19:18; 13:16. No male/female contrast is made). The seer refers to several categories of godly, faithful people: prophets, servants, fellow-servants, brethren, apostles, saints, my people, and those fearing Him (great and small) (cf. 10:7; 11:10; 18:20; 19:5; 21:3; 22:9).

More striking, however, are the many times that the seer transgresses those normal boundaries. By transgressing through metaphoric language, the seer creates both the awesome divine and the monstrous evil. The creator God who sits upon the throne is described by means of images of precious stones, jasper and carnelian, and by a rainbow that looks like an emerald (4:3). Heavenly figures around the throne appear like a lion, an eagle, an ox, and a man—all with six wings and full of eyes (4:6-8). A mighty angel comes down from heaven wrapped in a cloud, with a rainbow over his head, with a face like the sun and legs like pillars of fire (10:1). Or a woman appears in heaven clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet and 12 stars on her head (12:1).

The red dragon of Chapter 12 has ten horns and seven heads as well as a tail that sweeps down one third of the stars of heaven and earth (12:3-4, only evil forces seem to have tails, cf. 9:10, 19). The beast from the sea has ten horns and seven heads. It was like a leopard, its feet like a bear's, and its mouth like a lion's (13:1-2). The locusts who come up through the opening from the bottomless abyss combine a stinger like a scorpion, an appearance like horses, though with human faces, women's hair, and lions' teeth (9:7-10).

Alongside those hybrid characters typical of myth, boundaries occur elsewhere in unexpected places. The New Jerusalem forms a complex boundary with sacred space on earth, eschatological time, and heaven above—a boundary that cannot be charted in an ordinary space-time grid. At the beginning of Chapter 4 a boundary transformation occurs simultaneously in several dimensions: the spatial movement "up" (4:1) becomes synonymous with the psychological state of "being in the spirit" (4:2), and clairvoyance of the future: "come up here and I will show you what must take place after this" (4:1).

2.2 Boundaries as Homologies

The simultaneous transformations in Rev 4:1-2 exemplify that often in the Apocalypse bounded differentiation takes the form of a homologous relationship. That is, boundaries structure differentiation so that different dimensions of the seer's world—space, time, psychological state—correspond in position, structure, or character. Satan and a political officer become homologues, as do Christ and Christians or heaven and the world to come. Such associations provide a point of entry into the structure of the seer's world of wholeness.

One obvious set of homologies forms around symbols of faithfulness such as "white." The worthy Sards will walk with Jesus in white (3:4-5), the 24 elders are clothed in white (4:4), those under the altar are given white robes (6:11) as is the multitude before the throne (7:9). The one like a son of man in the inaugural vision has "white hair" (1:14), later he is seated on a "white cloud" (14:14), and yet again on a "white horse" (19:11, 14); the victorious at Pergamum will be given a "white stone" (2:17), and the final judgment occurs before a great "white throne" (20:11, cf. 6:11). Clothing creates homologous characteristics among several figures. The one on a white horse shares bloody garments with the heterogeneous multitude before the throne (19:13; 7:14). The seven angels with the seven last plagues share "golden girdles" with the one like a son of man (15:6; 1:13). They wear "clean, bright linen," as do the eschatological bride of the Lamb (19:8) and the army of the Word of God on the white horse (19:14). The "brightness" of the linen is shared with the river of life (22:1) and the morning star (22:16). Clothing reflects inner qualities and essential characteristics such as purity and whiteness; nakedness or lack of clothing, shame (3:18; 16:15). For that reason garments are to be kept—like commandments, works, and words—in preparation for the coming of the Christ (16:15). At 19:8 an explicit homology is made between pure garments and righteousness where the "fine linen, bright and pure" of the Bride of the Lamb is identified with "the righteous deeds of the saints."

Spatial homologues appear between the heavenly throne, the eschatological Jerusalem, and the earthly temple. The precious stones in the heavenly throne scene (4:3, 6) derive not from traditional throne descriptions in apocalyptic literature, but from descriptions of the eschatological Jerusalem (e.g., Isa 54:12). The seer draws that homology further in his description of the new Jerusalem in Chapter 21 (cf. 21:11, 18-20). Further, only the throne (4:2) and the new Jerusalem (21:16) are predicated by the verb κεῖμαι indicating "situatedness" or "fixed location of place" (contrast τόπος above). In the temple at Jerusalem (11:1-2) a spatial boundary divides the temple proper from the court outside. The court can be profaned by the nations, but not the temple. So with the New Jerusalem: "nothing unclean shall enter it, nor any one who practices abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life" (21:27, cf. 21:8). Yarbro Collins suggests that the courtyard/temple boundary also parallels the earthly/heavenly boundary in the Apocalypse (1984:68). The Jerusalem temple and the eschatological city are further linked by the activity of measuring, for only in relation to those two is a measuring rod (κάλαμος) mentioned (11:1; 21:15). Parallels between heavenly throne scenes in the Apocalypse and the Jerusalem temple are fairly obvious (cf. Thompson, 1969:337). Heavenly sacrifices create smoke so thick that no one can enter the temple (15:8). Inside the heavenly temple stands the ark of the covenant or the tent of witness (11:19; 15:5). Through such homologies the sacral space of the Jerusalem temple, the heavenly throne scenes, and the eschatological Jerusalem are superposed in the dynamics of the seer's world.

Finally, "conquering through death" functions as a significant homologue between Christ and Christians. At 12:10-12, for example, Christians imitate Christ, conquering the dragon "by the blood of the Lamb" and "by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death." At 6:9 victorious ones in white "had been slain," just as had the worthy Lamb (5:9). And at 7:14 those from the great tribulation wore robes made white through the blood of the Lamb. Sacrificial language, which underlies most of those references, becomes explicit at 14:4 where the 144,000 "redeemed from the earth" are designated "first fruits for God and the Lamb." In a related homologue, both Christ and his followers are "priests to our God" (5:10; 1:6). Followers also share the royal status of sonship and are given "a name which no one knows" (21:7, cf. 2:18; 2:17 and 19:12). Symbolic homologies also occur among forces of evil (cf. 9:1-6; 11:1-10; 12:3-17; 13:11-18; 17:1-14; and 20:1-10): seven heads, 10 horns, redness, nomenclature, and tails. They derive from the bottomless pit, and they conflict with the godly. They are

also characterized as blaspheming deceivers who demand falsely worship and submission from others. More specific connections can also be made among various embodiments of evil in the Apocalypse. For example, the ruler of the abyss (9:11) and the scarlet beast (17:8) are both associated with destruction (Ἀπολλύων 9:11; ἀπώλειαν, 17:8), and the ruler of the abyss and the beast from the sea appear in connection with the fifth trumpet and bowl, respectively (9:11; 16:10-11). Thus the beast introduced abruptly in 11:7 is a transformation or manifestation of the ruler of the abyss in 9:11. Finally the false prophet, introduced in 16:13, is placed third in sequence homologous to the beast from the earth (dragon:beast from sea:beast from earth :: dragon:beast:false prophet) and engages in the same activity of deception (19:20; 13:14).

Kings of the earth are frequently linked to one of these demonic figures (e.g., 9:7; 17:14; 19:19). Other earthlings are identified with the demonic by an iconic stamp on the right hand or forehead which in connection with the beast of the earth (equals false prophet) is said to provide the economic freedom of buying and selling (13:16-17). They are deceived by the false prophet to worship the beast (19:20), but ultimately they shall share with the other demonic forces torment of fire and sulphur (14:9, 11).

Finally, opponents of the faithful in the seven churches are also brought into the orbit of the demonic. Those at Smyrna are warned that the diabolos is about to throw some in prison (2:10). The diabolos is of course the dragon of Chapter 12 who reappears in Chapter 20; the prison (φυλακή), moreover, in which the Smyrnians are about to be thrown forms a homologue with the prison from which Satan is loosed (20:7) and that into which Babylon falls (18:2). Satan's throne at Pergamum (2:13) forms a homologue with the throne of the beast (16:10; 9:11); references to the deep things of Satan (2:24) and to the synagogue of Satan (2:9; 3:9) also link the church's opposition to the demonic. Those of the synagogue of Satan claiming to be Jews blaspheme (2:9) which is otherwise done only by the beast from the sea and the scarlet beast. The prophetess Jezebel, a teacher of whom John does not approve, deceives—an activity done only by Satan, the beast of the earth, and Babylon the Whore—those at Thyatira; moreover, her teachings include the practice of fornication (cf. the Balaamites at 2:14) which links her with the activity of Babylon the Great Whore (Rev 17-19). Fornicators in the eschaton have to stay outside the New Jerusalem (22:15) and/or burn in the lake of sulphur (21:8). Thus a homology is formed among opposing prophetic groups in the churches, Babylon the Great Whore, and those condemned at the eschaton.

2.3 Soft Boundaries

A sharp dichotomy seems to separate homologies among the faithful from those among the forces of evil. They are set in opposition, and readers/hearers are called upon to decide for one or the other. Those with the mark of the beast are thrown into the lake of fire, the second death (19:20; 20:14), and those whose names are in the Lamb's book of life shall enter into the New Jerusalem (21:27). The Laodiceans are called upon to display a clearcut position: be either hot or cold, but not lukewarm. Much of the Apocalypse describes conflict between those two groups of forces: those in the churches against their adversaries, two prophets against the beast, woman against dragon, saints against the beasts, witnesses against the Whore Babylon, riders on white horses against false prophets. Their conflicts are described through military language of warring, battles, armies, weapons, victories, and defeats. On the surface level, those conflicting oppositions support the structuralist notion that opposition and conflict are fundamental to the seer's world, for clearly demarcated boundaries separate the faithful from evil forces.

Although the seer marks his boundaries well, often as battle lines, those boundaries are not hard and impenetrable borders over which nothing passes. Rather they are "soft" boundaries through which transformations or modulations occur. Evil contrasts with the godly, but evil is not of a fundamentally different order from good. Underlying those

surface oppositions is a shared order which can unfold either faithfulness or evil. As a result of this shared deep structure, those contrasting forces share similar features and can be transformed, one into the other.

Similarities can be seen in descriptions of the Lamb and the various beasts. One of the heads of the beast from the sea is described "as slain" (13:3, ὡς ἐσφαγμένην) as is the Lamb in the throne scene (5:6, ἐσφαγμένον). Further, though slain, both live (2:8; 13:14, ἔζησεν, cf. 13:3, 12). A similar pattern is repeated in the description of the scarlet beast who was, and is not, and is to come (17:8).[2] The Lamb and the beast from the sea also share a similar place in their respective hierarchies: each is an agent to a higher sovereign (13:2, 4; 12:10; 5:12; 3:21), yet each is worthy in his own right to receive power and authority from those below (5:12; 17:13); and each wears the royal insignia of diadems (19:12; 13:1; cf. 12:3). Each thus serves as icon of the sovereign above (13:14-15; 3:14), while forming a worshipping community around himself (cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, 1981:134) with the mark of the beast and the seal of the Lamb functioning homologously in their respective communities.

Soft boundaries also separate feminine images of good and evil. Babylon and Jerusalem, feminine images of cities, embody homologues and similar qualities. Both are clothed with fine linen and bedecked with gold, jewels, and pearls (18:16; 19:8; 21:18, 19, 21), and both function as sexual partners in their respective systems (19:7-8; 18:3). The "great city" may refer to good or evil (16:19), and Jerusalem, the city of God, can even be understood πνευματικῶς as "Sodom and Egypt" (11:8). In this transformation of Jerusalem, Christian interpretation is clearly at work, but the prophets of old also refer to such a metamorphosis of the holy city (cf. Lam 4:6; Isa 13:19; Jer 22:6). "Woman" in the Apocalypse also moves fluidly between good and evil. At 12:14 the woman who recently gave birth—clearly a figure embodying godly associations—flees into the wilderness from the dragon. In the next reference to wilderness in the Apocalypse, John is introduced in the spirit to the woman on the scarlet beast full of blasphemous names (17:3). If the passages referring to wilderness are taken strictly sequentially, the good woman has been transformed in the wilderness into the evil woman on the beast. Wilderness would thus function symbolically as a place similar to chaos with transformational potential for judgment, deliverance, nourishment, punishment, death, and rebirth (12:6; 17:16, cf. Thompson, 1978:95-96, 193).

Even God and Satan, the epitome of good and evil respectively, are not separated by hard, impervious boundaries. Several common aspects flow between them, especially images and symbols related to sovereignty and worship. As God is enthroned, so is Satan (4:2; 2:13). Satanic locusts have golden crowns on their heads like the 24 elders around the throne of God (9:7; 4:4), and both God and Babylon the Whore are said to rule as king or queen (15:4; 17:18). As supernatural forces with their own spirits (22:6; 16:14), both God and demonic forces are worshipped and glorified (15:4; 18:7; 13:4; 4:11). Through a word play on the Greek word θυμός, God and the Whore offer a similar wine drink to others. All the nations and the kings of the earth drink from the wine of the θυμός of her πορνεία (14:8; 18:3), and God will give to her and to all those worshipping the beast a drink from the wine of his θυμός or the θυμός of his ὀργή (14:10; 16:19).

Although humans belong to the earthly plane, the divine to heaven above, and the demonic to the plane below, those three stories of the seer's universe are not separated absolutely. Through an "open door" John moves from earth to heaven (4:1).[3] In other

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[2]There are three versions of the third item of that pattern: εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει 17:8, παρέσται 17:8, and ὄγδοός ἐστιν 17:11.

[3]Movement through that open door is homologous to spiritual transformation which is linked to prophecy (19:10), cultic time (1:10), and the giving of life (11:11). At 11:8 typological and allegorical exegesis is designated as a form of spiritual transformation.

instances a cloud serves as a transformational symbol between heaven and earth (1:7; 14:14; 10:1; 11:12). Otherwise, the movement is designated simply by verbs of motion (e.g., 4:1; 11:12; 10:1; 3:12; 8:5; 16:2). Movement between earth and the demonic plane below occurs and is controlled through images of opening, locks, keys, chains, seals, loosing, and binding (9:1; 20:1-3). Since the realm below represents not only the demonic but also death, resurrection symbolizes movement from the plane below, and the "first-born from the dead" therefore has the keys to death and Hades (1:18).

Ultimately, the demonic plane can claim no independent reality, for it derives from the heavenly plane above. Demonic power becomes operative on earth when a fallen "star" is given a key to open the shaft to the abyss below (9:1). This "star," in origin from heaven, is apparently later identified as the angel Abaddon or Apollyon who rules over the bottomless pit (9:11), and who still later is identified with the scarlet beast (17:8). In Chapter 12 the soft boundaries between God and Satan are spatially symbolized in the "fall" of Satan which parallels the fallen "star" in Chapter 9. There, between two versions of a story of conflict between the evil red dragon and the good pregnant woman, the seer inserts a narrative about the origin of Satan/dragon in heaven (12:7-12). It is a striking insertion, for it tells how Satan—the most powerful and concentrated image of evil in the Apocalypse—once served in the divine court. Satan, the ancient Serpent, the Diabolos, thus emerges as a transformation of heavenly, divine realities. More specifically, that Dragon (hypostatized evil) derives from the activity of judgment or assessment—a judicial dimension of God himself and his heavenly powers (12:10, cf. Job 1:6-12; *1 Enoch* 40:7). Through transformational symbols of conflict and descent, Satan—whose authority and power lie behind all other evil forces in the Apocalypse—metamorphoses from the divine.

Boundaries between "times" are also soft. From the seer's perspective, no hard boundary separates present and future, as John sees both "what is and what is to take place hereafter" (1:19). Similarly, the one dictating the letters is the "first and last," and John's God is "the one who is and was and is to come" (1:4; 2:8). Even the "new heavens and new earth" in Chapter 21 are envisioned as a transformation from the earlier. As the first disappears (21:1, ἀπῆλθαν), the new comes into being (21:1, 2, 5). The one on the throne declares both the newness of everything (21:5, καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα) and its "completion" (21:6, γέγοναν). Both contain the notion of transformation. The "new" contrasts with the "old," but there is a continuity of substance, whether it be a name (2:17), a song (5:9; 14:3), or heaven and earth (21:1). καινός could better be translated "renewal" or even "restoration," for the portrayal of the "new" borrows heavily from descriptions of the paradise from of old. γίνομαι signifies metamorphosis throughout the Apocalypse: transformation into the spirit (1:10), transformation from life to death (1:18), the sun into blackness (6:12), and water into blood (8:8). The perfect tense, γέγοναν, can thus be translated, "all has been transformed." By means of these terms the seer described "a drastic transformation of existence," which is typical of eschatological portrayals in the New Testament, but he makes no sharp dualism between this age and the age to come (cf. Beardslee, 1970:228).

That radical transformation completes what has occurred and is occurring in the reality of Christ and Christian existence. In a manner distinctive to the Apocalypse, the coming of Christ in glory is laced with images of death and the cross. In the Gospels apocalyptic announcements including the Synoptic Apocalypse are in form and content clearly delineated from the Passion Narrative and descriptions of Christ's weakness and humiliation. So also in the Pauline Epistles, the irony of Christian existence is delineated clearly from apocalyptic phenomena: humiliation, crucifixion, weakness, and foolishness

become Paul's model for Christian living (1 Cor 1, 4:8-13; 2 Cor 4:10), but those aspects are not part of his apocalyptic scenarios (1 Cor 15; 1 Thess 4:16). In the Apocalypse of John, on the other hand, the apocalyptic Christ comes as "the pierced one" (1:7) and the messianic "lion from the tribe of Judah, the root of David" is revealed as "the slain lamb" who is worthy through being slain (Rev 5:1-14). From that first vision to the final victory of the Word of God on a white horse clothed in a garment soaked in blood (19:12), imagery of sacrifice, blood, and death permeates the visions of the mighty apocalyptic figure. Through that mixing of imagery, there is a fusion of Jesus' first coming and *parousia*. One overlays the other in such a way that the finished picture shows details of a mighty warrior as a crucified Lamb. The first and second "coming" of Christ cannot be differentiated as two distinct eras with a clear boundary between them; the second is a more radical transformation begun with the first.

Finally, social categories may be placed alongside space and time as examples of the soft permeable boundaries that operate in the seer's world. There is ironic blurring of status by means of which appearance and reality are contrasted: those at Laodicea appear rich and prosperous but are poor, wretched, pitiable, and naked (3:17), and those at Smyrna appear in poverty but are really rich (2:9). There is eschatological reversal through which greatness is brought low, even to be no more, and lowliness is transformed into greatness (e.g., 18:21); 19:2; 7:9-17). Those transformations occur through white clothing, ascent, and cultic liturgies, on the one hand, and descent, judgment, and images associated with the demonic, on the other. A radical egalitarianism wipes out distinctions between John, those to whom he writes, and heavenly angels. John reminds his hearers/readers that he is their brother and a fellow participant in their imitation of Jesus (1:9). Twice, an angel from heaven admonishes the seer that they are "fellow servants"—the angel, John, and John's brethren who hold the testimony of Jesus (19:10; 22:9). All share a common status in the same social order.

Even social categories distinguishing faithful from unfaithful are not bounded by impassable borders. First loves may be abandoned by falling (2:4-5); those once alive may become dead (3:1); faithfulness is called for (2:10, 19); garments must be kept (16:15). Only those who persevere to the end will conquer (2:10-11). On the other side, the faithless are urged to be transformed through the alchemy of repentance (μετάνοια cf. 2:5, 16). A deceiving, self-acclaiming prophetess like Jezebel, who functions and has attributes like the beasts and the dragon, can repent along with her followers (2:21-23). Even the most blasphemous may be transformed through repentance and cross the boundary from un-faith to faith (16:9, 11). An image like the opening of a door makes the possibility of faithfulness available to all (3:19). Thus, just as there is no fundamental dualism between heaven and earth or this age and the age to come, so there is no "dualistic division of humanity" (contrast Yarbro Collins, 1984:170).

2.4 Boundaries as Ratios

This analysis of soft boundaries and homologous differences seems to suggest that anything can be transformed into anything else in the Apocalypse of John and that there is no structure to boundary situations. Everything appears to flow randomly in an indiscriminate flux, as the transforming process occurs. Such is not the case. A boundary catches some aspect of the flowing process and casts it in a new direction or a new mode, but it does so in accordance with proportions and ratios that operate throughout the seer's world. That is, an inner structure guides the transformations which take place on the boundary.

Measures and numbers provide a form of insight into that inner structure. The activity of measuring occurs twice in the Apocalypse: in connection with the New Jerusalem (21:15-17) and the temple of God (11:1-2). Such activity is not done to compare dimensions of the city or temple to some external unit of measure; in fact, in Chapter 11 no

mention is made of a unit such as cubits or stadia. Measurement is rather bound up with that which is intrinsic and essential to the object being measured. For example, only the temple proper, the altar, and those worshipping—all of which share sacrality—are measured. That which is not holy is appropriately not measured, for measuring bounds the holy (cf. Ezek 40-48; Zech 2:1-5).

As Sweet suggests, numbers embody "structural elements of the cosmos" (1979:14). They do so, however, not in and of themselves as individual occurrences, but in relation to one another. So, for example, the number six does not necessarily signify "evil and incompleteness," nor seven, "completeness and fulfillment" (Sweet, 1979:14-15). The creatures around the heavenly throne have six wings and the dragon along with the first beast has seven heads. But when the sixes in the number of the beast are linked to the sixth seal, sixth trumpet, and sixth bowl—all of which allude to the great, prepared day of wrath of God on which final conflicts with evil occur—then the number 666 does signify concentrated penultimacy and destructive evil. So, also, the numbers 12, 144, and 1,000 in 7:4-8 and 21:16-17 connect "people of God" to "the eternal sanctuary provided by God" (Mounce, 1977:381). More specifically, the 144 cubits of the wall of the city connect to the 144,000 sealed ones redeemed by God (7:4-8), and the incomparably larger cubed city—12,000 stadia long, wide, and high—relate to the great multitude that cannot be counted (7:9-12). Or, if that specific connection cannot be sustained, the following ratio can be: 144 cubits of wall are to the 144,000 redeemed as the 12,000 stadia city-cube is to the totality of those redeemed, presumably at least a thousand times the 144,000. In that way the individual measurements of wall and city, which make no sense as specific, individual dimensions, take on significance.

Inner structures of John's world are disclosed in greater detail through ratios, which express not simply numerical relationships but also qualitative proportions. That is, proportions and ratios express certain universal structures of John's world.[4] With that in mind, a further clarification can be made about boundaries: a boundary situation is nothing more or less than a fundamental ratio at work or in process. The intersecting of differences in a boundary situation marks the point at which an essential proportion is made, and by tracing through proportions formed in boundary situations throughout every dimension of the seer's world, fundamental aspects of the structure of that world are disclosed: God is to Satan as the Lamb to the beast as the faithful in the churches to those who deceive and mislead as the Christian minority to the larger Roman world; heaven is to earth as the eschatological future is to the present as the temple to space around it as cultic activity of worship is to everyday activity as being in the spirit is to normal consciousness. Ratios can be formed among social, political, religious, theological, and psychological aspects of the seer's world because every boundary situation implicates a common structural component within the seer's world.

Sexual expressions in the Apocalypse illustrate the structure of boundary situations. Babylon the Great can boast of many sexual exploits. All the kings of the earth fornicated with her, and those dwelling on earth became drunk from the wine of her sexual passion (14:8; 18:3; 17:2). Babylon is therefore called the Great Whore (17:1), full of abominations and uncleanness of her fornication (17:4). She destroyed the earth by her fornicating (19:2). Babylon the Whore is homologous to Jezebel, the prophetess at Thyateira, who deceived "my servants" to fornicate and who does not seem to want to repent from her fornication (2:20-21, cf. 2:14). The Bride of the Lamb forms a homology with faithful Christians, so that Babylon the Whore is to Jezebel as The Bride of the Lamb is to faithful Christians. Jezebel and The Bride are also linked by their respective sexual roles and their dress in linen (18:16; 19:8), so that Babylon the Whore is to The Bride as

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[4]So, Newton's insight into gravitation expresses a universal structure in the Newtonian world: as the apple falls, so the moon, and so everything (cf. Bohm, 1983:21).

Jezebel is to the faithful Christians. In connection with eschatological events, fornicators experience the "second death," i.e., burning in the lake of fire and sulphur (21:8), which is apparently equivalent to dwelling outside the city gates of the heavenly Jerusalem (22:15, cf. the two lists of of vices). Those condemned to the second death contrast with those at Smyrna who conquer (2:11) and with those who share the "first resurrection" and reign as priests with Christ for 1,000 years (20:6).[5] They are obviously the ones who will live inside the new Jerusalem, participating in such activities as eating of the tree of life in the restored paradise of God (cf. 2:7). Thus, fornication is to non-fornication as outside the New Jerusalem is to inside the city as outside the church proper is to inside the church proper. Most any boundary element in the seer's world can thus unfold into the totality of religious, social, political, and theological realities. As it unfolds, it becomes, as it were, nonlocal, disclosing through quantum jumps all other homologies and ratios.

3 Conclusions from the Study

If "boundary situations . . . constitute the ultimate 'referent' of the myth" (Ricoeur, 1976:87) and if our analysis of boundaries in the seer's world is valid, then boundaries do not separate fundamental, "existential conflicts" (Ricoeur, 1976:86) between religious promises and social disappointments, bodily mortality and spiritual hopes of immortality, or natural impulses and cultural demands; rather, boundaries provide points of transaction whereby religious promises, social encounters, biological givens, and cultural demands undergo mutual adjustments, form homologous relations, and contribute to the coherence, integrity, and wholeness of Christian existence.

So, for example, the social boundary between church and world does not separate existential conflict between religious faith and social realities among persecuted Christians; nor does it form "unwelcome contradiction between hope and reality" (Gager, 1975:52-54). Political persecution (whatever its precise nature) correlates at the social boundary not with disappointed religious hopes or threatened religious faith, but with Jesus' suffering and faithful imitation of Christ. At that same boundary rich Roman culture (perhaps inaccessible to many Christians) forms a homology with demonic excess, and political power with insubordination before God. That structure of the social boundary reiterates homologous structures in boundaries between biological mortality and cultic celebrations of death or among Christian existence, the heavenly court, and eschatological well-being. As structural reiteration occurs throughout the social, religious, psychological, cultural, and biological boundaries in the seer's world, no one of these boundary types can claim a privileged position over the others. We misunderstand the seer's world, and probably cognition as a whole, if the kind of boundary formation described above is seen simply as psychological or social compensation; for those structural reiterations derive from "laborious mutual adjustments" that implicate and unfold "modalities of the relations between man and the world" (Levi-Strauss, 1966:214). At bottom they reflect structures that arise out of the process by which human groups adapt to their specific environment. In that process, every situation that can be encountered in Christian existence takes its place as a homologue in the seer's world.

If there was an irreconcilable contradiction among religious, social, biological, and cultural dimensions of Christian existence, then the seer would be affirming that at the most fundamental level of reality there is an eternal, fixed metaphysical dualism. Such a view is antithetical to that of John. Only God is *pantocrator* (e.g., 11:17), and the kingdom of this world has always been, however implicitly, the kingdom of the creator God

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[5] As pointed out above, all Christians share with Christ royal and priestly attributes.

(cf. 11:15; 4:11. The syntax and liturgical setting of 11:15 underscore that there is no spatial or temporal dualism between the kingdom of the world and the kingdom of God). God creates and sustains all things. Transformations and changes permeate every boundary and break down every distinction because there is an underlying dynamic system into and out of which all distinctions fold and unfold. God's dynamic power may flow into rebellious vortices and opposing whorls, but ultimately everything and every power derive from and depend upon God. He is the process that binds past, present, and future; heaven, earth, and demonic forces under the earth; faithful followers, apostates, and infidels. For that reason, this monistic flow of divinely ordered being can never quite be compartmentalized into creature and creator, God and Satan, this age and the age to come, or heaven and earth. That is the unbroken world disclosed through the language of the Apocalypse.

This examination of language in the Apocalypse suggests that myth does not progress from oppositions to their resolution. Mythic signification does not hold together oppositions between unified signifiers and signifieds in conflict. Rather, in all its aspects myth speaks from unbroken wholeness to unbroken wholeness. Signifiers, signifieds, deep structures, and surface structures form homologies, not contradictory oppositions. Within that unbroken wholeness, separate entities arise as partners or members in a set of relationships. Mythic language, as all language, thus functions as one means of delineating and differentiating elements within a fundamentally undifferentiated flow rather than as a device for bringing into uneasy alliance impenetrable entities which are in conflict with each other.

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Geza Vermes's Contribution to Historical Jesus Studies: An Assessment

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One of the significant features of New Testament scholarship in the post-World-War-II period is the contribution of Jewish thinkers to studies of the historical Jesus. They have approached the matter with a greater knowledge of the related Jewish literature of the period than their Christian counterparts, especially the rabbinic writings. And they have come to it with a different relationship to Jesus—that of brother rather than lord. Their special perspective has added much to an understanding of the Jesus of history, the New Testament, and first-century Judaism.

My aim here is to survey that scholarship briefly and then concentrate on the contribution of one writer in particular, Professor Geza Vermes of Oxford University. Perhaps no other Jewish writer on Jesus of our era has been as influential as he in spurring other New Testament scholars to reexamine the issues surrounding historical Jesus studies. Four questions in particular will be addressed in assessing Vermes's significance: (1) What is his methodology? (2) How does he assess Jesus' observance of *halakhah*? (3) What is his view of Jesus' messianic consciousness? (4) What is Jesus' place within the Judaism of his day?

I. SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP: JEWISH WRITERS ON JESUS

1. Claude Montefiore

It seems appropriate to begin by mentioning the two most influential Jewish writers on Jesus of the pre-World War II period—Claude G. Montefiore (1858-1938) and Joseph Klausner (1874-1960). Along with a two-volume commentary on the Synoptic Gospels, Montefiore wrote several essays on the relationship between Judaism and Christianity and his assessment of Jesus. In "What a Jew Thinks about Jesus," he sums up his sentiments this way:

> Jesus is for me *one* of the greatest and most original of our Jewish prophets and teachers, but I should hesitate to say that he was *more* original than any one of them. Nor, in spite of a noble death, can I discover, in the number, or in the character, of the incidents of his ministry enough material to make me regard that brief career as the noblest, though it was in all probability the most influential, life which has ever been lived by man.[1]

[1] *Hibbert Journal* 33 (1934-35) 516.

Nonetheless, in an earlier article[2] Montefiore had spelled out the elements of Jesus' originality: operating as an eighth century B.C.E. prophet in the first century C.E.; putting the doing of good on the Sabbath ahead of its observance by healing on that day and never letting the "ceremonial law" stand in the way of the immediate fulfillment of the moral law(1); using the term "Father" with reference to God more constantly than is the case with any of the rabbis; seeking out and healing the morally sick; teaching a doctrine of deliberate self-sacrifice, love of enemies and freely-chosen poverty; forbidding divorce; and making religious demands in an absolute and unqualified way. Still, he notes, "There is a place for the unqualified demands of Jesus; there is a place also for the many-detailed delicacies of the Rabbis. There is a place for principles; there is a place also for their applications and for laws."[3] The individual who appreciates the teaching both of Jesus and the rabbis is richer, according to Montefiore, than he/she who knows only one or the other.

With reference to Mark 7:15, Montefiore notes that Jesus did not deliberately intend to teach his disciples to disobey the dietary laws in the Pentateuch. He does think that the editorial comment, "Thus he declared all foods clean" (7:19), is an accurate interpretation of the ultimate scope of the saying but not of its immediate intention.[4]

2. Joseph Klausner

Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times, and Teachings* appeared in 1922[5] "to provide in Hebrew for Hebrews a book which shall tell the story of the Founder of Christianity along the lines of modern criticism, without either the exaggeration and the legendary and depreciatory satires of such books as the *Tol'doth Yeshu*."[6] The book is a generally sympathetic portrayal of Jesus as "a Jew to his fingertips," yet one who—though never contradicting the Torah or the teaching of the Pharisees—presented in his teaching "the nucleus of such a contradiction." Klausner thinks Jesus came to believe he was the Messiah at his baptism and saw his final trip to Jerusalem at Passover as the time when he would "suffer greatly but would, in the end, be victorious and be recognized by the crowds . . . as the Messiah."[7] Klausner explains the empty tomb stories as resulting not from fraud but from a decision by Joseph of Arimathea to remove the body of a crucified individual from his own ancestral tomb and place it in an unknown grave. Moreover, Klausner insists that the faith of millions of nineteen hundred years' duration could not be based on a deception: "There can be no question but that some of the ardent Galileans saw their Lord and Messiah in a vision." Nonetheless, Klausner does not see how the bulk of the Jewish nation could found its belief on such a cornerstone because, presumably, of the subjective nature of the vision. The author sums up his sentiments this way: "If the time should ever come that the legends and theology would be removed from the figure of Jesus, he would emerge as the true Son of the synagogue that he was, a master teacher of ethics and a master teacher of parables."[8]

3. Samuel Sandmel

The premier Jewish New Testament scholar of the post-war period was Samuel

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[2]"The Originality of Jesus," *Hibbert Journal* 28 (1929-30) 98-111.
[3]Ibid., 111.
[4]Ibid., 103.
[5]ET: New York: Macmillan, 1925.
[6]Ibid., 11.
[7]Ibid., 302.
[8]Ibid., 414.

Sandmel (1911-1979), but historical Jesus studies were far from being his priority. Even the one book in which he says the most on the subject, *We Jews and Jesus*, is less a study of his own quest of the Jesus of history than of the liberal Protestant quest during the past two centuries. However, his position—gleaned from this and his other writings—is well worth summarizing.

Sandmel's methodology regarding historical Jesus studies reflects considerable caution: "The issue as I see it can be put in this way, that we cannot go back beyond the Gospels with any certainty, because the Gospels at the same time that they reveal Jesus, also conceal him."[9] Consequently, Sandmel's approach stresses the examination of the Gospels as documents which reflect what the early Church believed about Jesus rather than as documents providing factual data about his career and thought. Instead, the Gospels are "midrash on the career of Jesus."[10]

Although Sandmel finds the lack of certain data about Jesus unsatisfying, he considers it more in conformity with the extant data. Thus he can speak about the Gospels as being "potentially historical"[11] because a Gentile Christian like Mark, living in the Diaspora, could not have invented the Jewish scene so reliably. Yet to accept all the details of Mark as reliable history is unwarranted.

Sandmel's actual book on Jesus, *We Jews and Jesus*,[12] exhibits a degree of caution consistent with his methodological stance. The following discussion of his view on Jesus and *halakhah* and Jesus' place within Judaism is drawn principally from that book.

Not surprisingly, Sandmel observes that "the Gospel materials do not provide a full, crystal-clear reflection of Jesus' attitude to the Laws of Moses and the oral law."[13] He mentions the controversy over plucking ears of grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23-28 and parallels) and healing a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1-6 and parallels) as instances where Jesus' attitude seems closer to rabbinic Judaism than to that of his opponents. This appears in Jesus' question to his Pharisaic opponents, "Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good or to do harm, to save life or to kill?" (Mark 3:4) which, says Sandmel, reflects the rabbinic view that in matters of urgency Sabbath regulations must give way.

However, there is a point where Jesus goes beyond the *Pikuach Nefesh* or danger-to-life principle which enabled the rabbis to suspend Sabbath regulations. In declaring that "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; so the Son of man is lord even of the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27-28), Jesus is described in a role that puts him "at variance with both Jews and Judaism."[14] The same applies to Jesus' attributing to himself the prerogative of forgiving sins (Mark 2:1-12). In these two instances, according to Sandmel, Jesus assumes a position vis-à-vis the Torah that would be uncharacteristic for a Jew.

Regarding Jesus' strictures against divorce (Mark 10:1-12 = Matthew 19:3-9), Sandmel feels that to be more rigorous than Moses does not directly contravene him. In fact,

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[9] *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 192f. Elsewhere he says: "Those who, like me, would deny the historical reliability of the Gospels are saying this, that the Gospels give a mixture of reliable and unreliable history, but we do not know any responsible method to separate the strands from each other." *Two Living Traditions (Essays on Religion and the Bible)* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1972), p. 188.

[10] Ibid., p. 188. Cp. his statement in *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1957): "The evangelists disclose Jesus to us only after the Church has meditated on his significance as the Christ" (p. 207).

[11] *First Christian Century*, p. 191.

[12] New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

[13] *We Jews*, p. 136.

[14] Ibid., p. 137. Cp. *First Christian Century*, p. 93.

it is only in Jesus' "vague statements" about food laws (Mark 7:1-23 = Matthew 15:1-20) that Sandmel considers him to have deviated from his inherited Judaism.[15] If the controversy authentically represents the attitude of Jesus, there is a repudiation[16] of the Mosaic food laws of Lev 11 and Deut 14 and an anticipation of Paul's more sweeping nullification of Torah.

Sandmel thinks "the haziness in the records" makes it difficult for scholars to decide whether Jesus himself or his disciples claimed him as Messiah. Sandmel is of the opinion that the claims were made before his death and that "if Jesus did not actively announce himself as the Messiah, he at least acquiesced in the identification which others made."[17] As to Jesus' place within Judaism, the following judicious statement is characteristic of Sandmel's overall approach to Jesus: "Precisely what kind of person Jesus was —a teacher, a leader, a wonder worker, a prophet, a social reformer, a political rebel— cannot be ascertained. But that Jesus was a Jew, a son of the Synagogue, is beyond doubt.[18] In *We Jews and Jesus,* Sandmel speaks of "a Jewish loyalty" in Jesus which varies from the viewpoint both of Christian and Jewish partisans whose opposing motives "detach him from Judaism."[19] Finally, Sandmel feels that Jesus' career must have been "exceedingly singular" for his followers to say that he had risen.[20]

4. David Flusser

Flusser, professor in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has written extensively on Jesus. That his methodological approach clearly differs from Sandmel's can be seen in Flusser's statement: "The Jesus portrayed in these gospels [the Synoptics] is the historical Jesus not the 'Kerygmatic Christ.'"[21] He attempts to substantiate this view by noting that the first three gospels present "a reasonably faithful picture of Jesus as a Jew of his own time" and that they maintain his habit of speaking of the Savior as someone distinct from himself.[22] The picture which emerges from the Synoptics, says Flusser, is not so much of a redeemer of mankind as of a Jewish miracle worker and preacher.

In an earlier work,[23] Flusser suggested a set of rules for determining the actual words of Jesus. A key point here is that the Jewish literature of this period is "the key to the understanding of the New Testament texts."[24] Even if one argues that Jesus abandoned his Judaism, this remains true, according to Flusser. Similarly, he notes, the Ras Shamra texts are indispensable to an understanding of the Hebrew Bible despite the theological differences between the two. Thus, it is not sufficient for the New Testament

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[15] Ibid., p. 137.

[16] Sandmel expands on the point in a footnote: "While normative Jewish interpretation often drastically changed the sense and even the intent of a scriptural passage, such direct repudiation would imply that someone greater than Moses had arisen with authority to reject what Moses taught. Jews have not believed this to be the case" (*We Jews,* p. 152, n. 2).

[17] *We Jews,* pp. 48-49. Cp. ibid., p. 109.

[18] *Judaism and Christian Beginnings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 398.

[19] *We Jews,* p. 109.

[20] Ibid., p. 110.

[21] *Jesus.* (ET: New York: Herder & Herder, 1969), pp. 8-9.

[22] Ibid., p. 8.

[23] "Die Konsequente Philologie und die Worte Jesu" in *Almanach auf das Jahr des Herrn 1963.* Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, pp. 1-37.

[24] "*Konsequente Philologie* . . . ," p. 31.

scholar to be conversant with the Hellenistic literature of the period. He/she must know the Hebrew and Aramaic literature (including rabbinical material) as well.[25]

Flusser's guidelines reflect considerable confidence that—with careful attention to Jewish parallels—it is possible to get behind the Synoptic Gospels to the oral tradition about Jesus and even to his own words.

However, Flusser's optimism about recovering Jesus' words is tempered in another of his writings: the Hebrew-language article on Jesus which he co-authored with Yeshayahu Leibowitz in the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. There Flusser and Leibowitz note that, even on the assumption that the Synoptic Gospels contain Jesus' authentic teaching, the early Church has adapted the material because of misunderstandings or tendentiousness.[26] They also mention the recurring tendency of scholars to begin with a specific image of Jesus and to use it as the yardstick of what Jesus could or could not have said.[27]

Flusser thinks Jesus "fully accepted the Jewish Law," and that the community he founded—comparable in some ways to the Essenes—"saw itself as a movement of reform and fulfillment within Judaism, not as a secession from it."[28] He finds only one occasion in the Synoptic tradition where Jesus is in conflict with current practice of the law: Plucking ears of grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23-28 and parallels). The general view was that one could pick up fallen ears and rub them between the *fingers* (only Luke 6:5 mentions "rubbing" which Flusser takes as proof of its being more original than either Matthew or Mark). However a Galilean rabbi, Jehuda, held that it was also acceptable to rub them between the *hands*. Jesus was simply following his own Galilean tradition. Regarding the fact that all three Gospels describe the disciples (not Jesus) as plucking the grain, Flusser feels that "the Greek translator of the original was unacquainted with the customs of the people" and added this fact "to make the scene more vivid."[29] He seeks to support this contention by appealing to "a newly-discovered Jewish-Christian text" and to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, both of which omit the reference to the disciples' plucking the grain.[30]

On the one hand, Flusser has made the valid point—upon which Vermes elaborates—that Galilean and Judean *halakhic* practice differed to a considerable extent. On the other, his handling of the pericope is simplistic in its assumption that a "Greek translator" of the "old account" is the culprit plain and simple. The history of the tradition behind this text appears to be much more complex.[31]

Flusser likewise sees no violation of the Law in the failure of Jesus' disciples to wash hands before eating (Mark 7:1-23 and parallels). The purificatory rules "did not affect all Jews, but only those particular groups of Jews who had accepted them voluntarily for life."[32] He cites a rabbinic regulation, dating—he claims—from the generation before Jesus, in support of his position: "Washing hands before a meal is a matter of choice, ablution after a meal is obligatory."[33] Jesus words about defilement coming from within not without (Mark 7:15) are part of his critique of the Pharisees. Flusser likens that

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[25] Cp. Sandmel, *Two Living Traditions*, p. 145.

[26] "Yeshu," *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Publishing Co., 1971) Vol. 20, col. 417.

[27] Ibid.

[28] "The Son of Man: Jesus in the Context of History," in Arnold Toynbee (ed.), *The Crucible of Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p. 226.

[29] *Jesus*, p. 46.

[30] "Son of Man," p. 225.

[31] See, e.g., F. Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), pp. 90-93.

[32] *Jesus*, p. 46.

[33] *Tosefta Berakhot* 5, 13. Quoted in *Jesus*, p. 46.

critique to a similar one by the author of the Assumption of Moses who speaks in ch. 7 of "pernicious and criminal men, who claim to be righteous . . . pleasing themselves, hypocritical in all their ways. . . . Their hands and hearts are all corrupt, and their mouths are full of boasting and yet they complain: do not touch me lest you make me unclean."[34] The Markan comment in 7:19b, "Thus he [Jesus] declared all foods clean" (NEB and RSV) is, in Flusser's view, a mistranslation influenced by Origen's view that Jesus rejected Jewish dietary laws. He claims that "the Greek original can hardly be read in this sense,"[35] but we are never offered an alternate translation.

In Jesus' emphasis upon the danger of riches, Flusser sees indirect Essene influence.[36] In his stress on love, Flusser finds an affinity with the "Pharisees of love" of Hillel's School. Yet, Jesus viewed the Pharisees "with detachment" and would not identify himself with them.[37] Moreover, he goes further than the "Pharisees of love" by pointing the way to an unconditional love encompassing even one's enemies and sinners.[38] On this point, "Jesus' moral approach to God and man . . . is unique and incomparable" since Judaism forbids hatred of one's enemy but does not prescribe that he be loved.[39]

5. Pinchas Lapide

Lapide, an Israeli diplomat-turned-scholar, has in recent years been lecturing in West Germany and dialoguing with such leading German-speaking theologians as Hans Küng and Jürgen Moltmann.

In the dialogue with Küng, Lapide mentions five bonds linking an Israeli like himself to Jesus: geography, language, the Hebrew scriptures, "oriental imagination" with its use of parables and metaphors, and "concern for Israel."[40] In addition, he sees Jesus as "Jewish in spirit" in six respects: in his hope, his eschatology, his blind trust in God, "his very Jewish Messianic impatience," and his Jewish suffering.[41] Lapide also observes that every great Jew from Moses on has "provoked lively opposition among the Jewish people."[42]

He doesn't regard the synoptic Jesus as having ever violated the Torah, and finds only one "borderline case" in John, the healing of the lame man on the Sabbath (John 5:8-11). Lapide goes as far as to say, "But I suspect that Jesus was more faithful to the law than I am—and I am an orthodox Jew."[43]

Perhaps more remarkable than Lapide's view of Jesus' *halakhic* observance is his thesis that the resurrection really took place. He links it to the translation of Enoch to heaven (Gen 5:24), the transfiguration of Saul (1 Sam 10:6), the ascension of Elijah (2 Kgs

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[34]Quoted in *Jesus*, p. 47. Cp. *Berakhot* 14, b which lists five types of Pharisaic hypocrisy.

[35]"The Son of Man," p. 225.

[36]"Son of Man," p. 227.

[37]*Jesus*, p. 56.

[38]Ibid., p. 74.

[39]"A New Sensitivity in Judaism and the Christian Message," *HTR* 61 (1969) 126.

[40]*Brother or Lord? A Jew and a Christian Talk Together* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 13f.

[41]Ibid., p. 25.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid , p. 26. For a fuller discussion of this question, see Lapide's *Er Predigte in ihren Synagogen* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1980), ch. 3. See also his fascinating comparison between the historical Jesus of Nazareth and the historical Rabbi Israel of Mezibezh, the *Baal Shem Tov*, in "Two Famous Rabbis," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 10 (1976) 97-109.

2:11) and three resuscitations of the dead in the Elijah-Elisha cycle which "describe physical resurrections."[44] He adds supporting evidence from rabbinic literature,[45] then sums up his thesis as follows:

> Without the Sinai experience—no Judaism; without the Easter experience—no Christianity. Both were Jewish faith experiences whose radiating power, in a different way, was meant for the world of nations. For inscrutable reasons the resurrection faith of Golgotha was necessary in order to carry the message of Sinai to the world.[46]

Finally, Lapide makes it clear that acceptance of Jesus' resurrection is not acceptance of his messiahship since the two are not linked in Jewish thought.[47]

6. Conclusion to Part I

The foregoing survey is symptomatic of a process of reclaiming Jesus for Judaism which extends beyond the five scholars under discussion to include a significant cadre of Jewish thinkers in North America, Western Europe and Israel.[48] That reclamation, as the survey shows, stresses Jesus' Jewishness. He observes *halakhah* (though Klausner and Sandmel qualify the extent of that observance) and is influenced by various religious viewpoints (prophetic, Essene, Pharisaic). He is considered a loyal Jew even when he provokes controversy. Methodologically, the scholars stress the need for a thorough knowledge of the Jewish literature of the period, if Jesus is to be properly understood. Lastly, all five of these Jewish scholars of the historical Jesus speak in admiration of his greatness as a religious teacher.

II. GEZA VERMES

Along with his research on the historical Jesus, Vermes is known for his pioneering work on the Dead Sea Scrolls. In his widely-used 1962 translation of the Scrolls, he provides a hint of how he would approach the figure of Jesus a decade later in *Jesus the Jew*.[49] After noting that Essenism lacked the "pliant strength" which enabled orthodox Judaism to withstand the catastrophe of Jerusalem's destruction in 70 C.E., and that Qumran's Teacher of Righteousness sensed the deeper obligation implicit in the Mosaic Law, he states that the Teacher "was without the genius of Jesus who laid bare the inner core of spiritual truth and exposed the essence of religion as an existential relationship between man and man and between man and God."[50]

It is these special qualities of Jesus which Vermes seeks to understand and to situate in their first-century Jewish environment in his subsequent investigations. To these we now turn, examining his views on method, and on Jesus' *halakhic* observance, messianic consciousness and place within first-century Judaism.

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[44] *The Resurrection of Jesus* (ET: Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1983), p. 49.

[45] Ibid., pp. 50f.

[46] Ibid., p. 92.

[47] Ibid., pp. 152f. See my review of the German edition of Lapide's book in *Religious Studies Review* 7 (January, 1981) 37f.

[48] See Lapide's *Israelis, Jews and Jesus* (ET: Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979); and Donald Hagner, *The Jewish Reclamation of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984).

[49] Subtitle: *A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (New York: Macmillan, 1973, 1981, 1983).

[50] *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962, 1975), p. 15.

1. Methodology

On the basic question of a scholar's ability to derive reliable information about Jesus from the gospels, Vermes is closer to Flusser's position than, for example, Sandmel's. In his most recent book, *Jesus and the World of Judaism*, he states his position this way: ". . . despite widespread academic skepticism, our considerably increased knowledge of the Palestinian-Jewish realities of the time of Jesus enables us to extract historically reliable information even from non-historical sources such as the gospels."[51] He is convinced that a fresh and productive way to study Jesus and the New Testament is by requires considerable familiarity with Hebrew and Aramaic and with Rabbinic literature —assets which, in Vermes's view are still far from the norm among New Testament spe--assets which, in Vermes's view are still far from the norm among New Testament specialists.[52] If they are possessed, though, one can move inwards from a solid grasp of the surrounding Jewish literature to the New Testament as a sub-set thereof.

Vermes takes the form critics—like Rudolph Bultmann—to task for asserting that the composition of the gospels is due entirely to the didactic-theological requirements of the early Church.[53] If so, he asks, why did they choose "biography" as their medium of expression, especially since it is otherwise not found in Jewish literature? He answers that ". . . whatever else they may have intended, they wished also to recount history, however unprofessionally.[54] He appeals to "doctrinally embarrassing" elements in the gospels, such as Jesus' disparaging remarks about Gentiles, in support of this position.[55]

Vermes's emphasis on the need to place Jesus within his Jewish milieu—if a clearer picture of him is to emerge—is important. Two steps must be taken to make this possible: (1) his natural background, first-century Galilee, has to be reconstructed; (2) to understand Jesus' important work as an exorcist and healer, the roots of his vocation "within the charismatic stream of post-biblical Judaism" must be examined.[56]

Vermes does mention the need for caution in the first step, situating Jesus within Galilean Judaism. Although Galilee from the mid-second century onwards was the center of Jewish rabbinic religion, this tradition was originally Judean and had been transplanted to Galilee in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-35 C.E.). To achieve a proper balance in assessing Galilean Judaism, Vermes draws extensively upon Josephus as well as rabbinic literature. From these sources, he reconstructs in Chapter Two of *Jesus the Jew* the picture of a Jewish district "in the sticks." Galilee was isolated from Judea both geographically and culturally. And it was only in the late second century B.C.E. that northern Galilee was annexed to the Hasmonean dynasty and became Judaized. Galileans had a different accent from Judeans and a different approach to the observance of Torah. A third century rabbinic tradition reports Johanan ben Zakkai as summing up his eighteen years of unsuccessful efforts there by saying: "Galilee, Galilee, you hate the Torah."[57] Irrespective of the historicity of the statement, it sums up the maverick attitude of Galileans in matters *halakhic*. Finally, Jesus' home country was notorious as the birthplace and center of the Zealot movement.

Vermes accepts, with one important *caveat*, Norman Perrin's criteria for determining

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[51] Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, p. 2. The book is a collection of essays which had appeared in various places but have been revised here.

[52] Cf. ibid., pp. 22, 58, 72-73.

[53] Ibid., p. 20.

[54] Ibid., p. 21.

[55] Ibid., pp. 20, 54f.

[56] *Jesus the Jew*, p. 42.

[57] Quoted in *Jesus the Jew*, p. 57, from *y. Shab.* 15d.

an authentic saying of Jesus.[58] Vermes cautions that the criterion of dissimilarity (the absence of parallels to a saying of Jesus in Judaism or primitive Christianity) must not be pressed too far. A complete absence of antecedents is rare, he notes, and discoveries such as the Dead Sea Scrolls show that "today's originality may appear less striking tomorrow."[59] This *caveat* echoes Vermes's earlier point about the lack of expertise in matters rabbinic amongst New Testament scholars, the majority of whom "have no direct access to the vast Hebrew and Aramaic sources of post-Biblical Judaism," and whose dependence on secondary sources "is fraught with hazard."[60] Apropos of lack of expertise, Vermes was himself criticized for failing to provide, in *Jesus the Jew*, a theory of source criticism.[61] He notes in passing that "Mark is more primitive in outlook and thought; Matthew more faithful to the original Aramaic genre of story-telling."[62] In his later work on the subject, he does clarify a bit his source-critical standpoint[63] by noting Markan priority and the use of "Q" by Matthew and Luke.[64] Still, he needs to say more on this subject (as he has promised to do in a planned volume on the *Gospel of Jesus the Jew*) as well as on redaction-criticism about which he is largely silent.[65]

Two final methodological observations of Vermes should be mentioned. (1) He makes an important distinction between the *ipsissima verba Jesu* (Jesus' actual words) which are often impossible to retrieve from the gospels, and the *ipsissimus sensus* (his ideas) which can be perceived through a careful use of the literary-critical tools of biblical scholarship "assisted powerfully by means of appropriate Hebrew/Aramaic parallels."[66]

(2) Like Flusser, he argues that a common source (what he calls "Jewish Tradition") underlies both the New Testament and rabbinic literature. By recognizing this, both Jewish and Christian scholars of the early centuries of the Common Era would have a clearer perspective on the Jewish sub-stratum of the New Testament and the whole sweep of Jewish writings (from Bible to Talmuds and *Midrashim*), which includes the New Testament.[67]

To sum up, Vermes expresses guarded optimism that a thorough knowledge of all the Jewish literature of the period (rabbinic writings, Josephus, Philo, Dead Sea Scrolls and the pseudepigrapha—as well as the New Testament) can expand our knowledge of the Jesus of history.

2. Jesus and Halakhah

From his earlier comments about Galilean Judaism, it is not surprising that Vermes views Jesus as "Galilean" in his observance of *halakhah*.

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[58] In his *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) and *The New Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1974). Perrin's four criteria are: dissimilarity, multiple attestation, coherence, and linguistic and environmental tests.

[59] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, p. 21.

[60] Ibid., p. 22.

[61] Leander Keck, in his review in the *JBL* 95 (1975) 508f.

[62] *Jesus the Jew, p. 128.*

[63] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, p. 17.

[64] Ibid., pp. ix, 13.

[65] Brief mention is made of redaction-criticism on p. 19 of *Jesus . . . Judaism*.

[66] Ibid., p. 81.

[67] Ibid., pp. 84-86. In case it seems that Vermes is critical only of Christian scholars of this era, let it be added that he also notes rabbinic scholars' "unfamiliarity with Greek and with the technical issues raised by the academic study of the New Testament" (ibid., p. 86).

> He accepted the hospitality of people unlikely to have observed all the regulations concerning levitical cleanness and tithing. He took no steps to avoid defilement through contact with a corpse. He was more concerned to keep business dealings out of the precincts of the sanctuary than with the quality of sacrificial victims or the type of currency used for Temple donations.[68]

Clashes between Jesus and the Pharisees were to be expected because matters like those described in the foregoing quote were for the Pharisees, "an essential part of a life of holiness."[69]

Vermes considers the controversy over clean and unclean food (Mark 7:14-23, Matt 15:10-20) as the one case where Jesus *appears* to deviate from customary Judaism but does not. In particular, he considers Mark 7:19 a case of mistaken translation. The New English Bible translates vv. 18b-19 as follows:

> Do you not see that nothing that goes from outside into a man can defile him, because it does not enter into his heart but into his stomach, and so passes out into the drain? Thus he declared all foods clean.

However, the final participial phrase, *katharizōn panta ta brōmata* (lit., "purifying all foods") does not have to be interpreted as an editorial comment by Mark (sc., "Thus he declared all foods clean.") Vermes observes that (1) "food" is employed metaphorically in Aramaic for "excrement;" and (2) the polite Aramaic for "latrine," *dukha* ("the place"), might have invited a pun on the Aramaic verb *dekha*, "to be clean." Thus, the saying originally went as follows:

> . . . it does not enter into his heart but into his stomach, and so passes out into the place (*dukha*) where all excrement [lit., "food"] is purged away (*dekha*).[70]

Jesus' saying thus remains a clear statement of his view that external cleanness is trivial compared with moral uncleanness, but the food laws are not swept away. What Mark has done, according to Vermes, is "deliberately twist" a genuine saying of Jesus so that it becomes a formal ratification of the Church's abandonment of food laws.

As support for his theory, Vermes appeals to the Sinaitic Syriac version of Mark. Here the Semitic translator of Greek Mark seems to sense the underlying play on words in the following rendering:

> it goes into his belly and is cast into the *purge* which *purges away all food*.[71]

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[68] *Jesus the Jew*, pp. 55f.

[69] Ibid., p. 56.

[70] Ibid., p. 29.

[71] Ibid. Cp. Vermes's discussion with that of Charles Carlston, "The Things That Defile (Mark 7:14) and the Law in Matthew and Mark," in *New Testament Studies* 15 (1968), 75-96. Carlston agrees with Vermes when he (Carlston) writes that Jesus "cannot have deliberately urged the abolition of the Law"; but he adds that Jesus "appealed to the divine intention behind the Law in a more radical way than contemporary Judaism could really tolerate" (p. 95). On the basis of his distinction between Galilean and Judean observance of *halakhah*, however, Vermes would probably not accept Carlston's blanket statement that "contemporary Judaism" could not tolerate Jesus' radicalism. Finally, see Hagner (*Jewish Reclamation of Jesus*, pp. 114-18) who goes further than Carlston by

Vermes also cites the controversy between Peter and Paul over eating with Gentiles (Gal 2:11-14) as evidence that Jesus could not have swept aside the food laws.[72]

Nevertheless, Vermes states that—although Jesus was not the only Jewish teacher to insist on "symbolism, inwardness and sincerity"—he did stress "purity of intention" more than others did. This flowed from his stress on "eschatological finality" and "his natural bias towards the individual and personal rather than the collective."[73] Consequently, the ritual impurity resulting from a transgression of dietary law was "insignificant" for him compared with the defilement caused by "the wicked heart with its evil thoughts."[74]

Vermes makes one other important observation about Jesus' observance of *halakhah:* that he actively recommends obedience to "purely ritual and cultic precepts in sayings all the more historically credible in that they are peripheral to the gospel narrative and actually run counter to the essential anti-nomianism of Gentile Christianity."[75]

These include commands to cured lepers to submit to the Mosaic purificatory rite (Mark 1:44 and parallels; Luke 17:14), the sending of gifts to the Temple (Matt 5:23 f.) and tithing laws (Matt 23:23, Luke 11:42).

In short, Vermes thinks Jesus was faithful to *halakhah,* but as a Galilean not a Judean, and was more concerned with purity of intention in his observance than purity of form.

3. Jesus' Messianic Consciousness

Vermes is convincing in his view that "Jews of the intertestamental period, when entreating God to send the Messiah, thought of Him as the son of David," as a future triumphant king, one endowed with military prowess, righteousness and holiness.[76]

His assessment of the Synoptic Gospel evidence is that the figure of the Messiah was not central to Jesus' teaching. He withheld his approval of Peter's confession (Mark 8:30) and in general did not proclaim himself as Messiah. Thus, Vermes concludes, ". . . there is every reason to wonder if he really thought of himself as such."[77] In another of his writings, Vermes states simply that since Jesus did not comply with the main requisites of Judaism's common messianic hope, "he did not feel the title applied to him."[78]

Vermes's views on Jesus' awareness of a messianic role are consistent with his standpoint on that most baffling of gospel problems, Jesus' use of the phrase "son of man." Here he draws a series of conclusions—based on a study of Aramaic usage of the expression—which have prompted a reassessment by New Testament scholars.[79] In summary, his main conclusions are these: (1) "son of man" in the Galilean Aramaic of Jesus' time is used as a circumlocution for "I"; and Jesus himself employed it frequently in that

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seeing Jesus' words in Mk. 7:15-19 as constituting "a break with the dietary regulations of the Torah even apart from Mark's editorial comment, 'Thus he declared all foods clean.'".

[72] *Jesus . . . Judaism,* p. 46.

[73] Ibid., p. 47.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] *Jesus the Jew,* pp. 133f.

[77] Ibid., p. 149.

[78] "The Gospel without Christology," in A. E. Harvey (ed.), *God Incarnate: Story and Belief* (London: SPCK, 1981), p. 67.

[79] No less a scholar than F. F. Bruce comments in a review of *Jesus . . . Judaism:* "As for the 'son of man' debate, no one can now participate in it with any hope of a respectful hearing who does not take full account of Dr. Vermes' contribution to it" (*JJS* 35 [1984] 106).

sense;[80] (2) the "one like a son of man" of Dan 7:13 is not an individual but refers collectively to "the saints of the Most High";[81] (3) even when the son of man of Daniel acquired Messianic associations, as in Ethiopic Enoch, it did not become a title or a form of self designation;[82] (4) there is no evidence that the gospel passages referring directly or indirectly to Dan 7:13 (e.g., Mark 8:38, 13:26, 14:62 and pars.) may be traced back to Jesus. It was his "apocalyptically-minded Galilean disciples" who took this indirect self-designation, "son of man," and eschatologized it through a Midrash on the Daniel passage.[83]

The strongest evidence Vermes presents to support points three and four is a statistical table of son-of-man uses which indicates that most of the Markan instances (10 of 13) are non-Danielic, while those in the later gospels of Matthew and Luke are split fairly evenly.[84]

These conclusions departed from prevailing views. This was especially true of Vermes's idea that "son of man" meant only one thing for the Jesus of history: an individual referring to himself indirectly. Both Bultmann and Günther Bornkamm—while maintaining that Jesus did not identify himself with the eschatological Son of Man—thought Jesus made reference to this figure and linked his work to the Son of Man's eventual appearance.[85] On the Jewish side, Flusser goes even further when he states that Jesus, though at first expecting another, eventually identified himself with the coming Son of Man.[86] Vermes, though, has remained firm in his view that Jesus intended nothing Messianic or apocalyptic in using "son of man."[87] In support, he cites C. H. Dodd "who did not hesitate in 1970 to re-adjust a life-time of exegesis" so that it could be squared with the latest Aramaic data on the subject.[88] Dodd, however, while adopting Vermes's theory up to a point, also thinks Jesus used "son of man" to suggest ". . . , without saying it in so many words, that he was fulfilling a role [that of 'prophetic Servant of the Lord'] which would be recognized by those sensitive to his message."[89]

The key question, though, is this: if Jesus' "apocalyptically-minded Galilean disciples" were capable of interpreting "son of man" in a messianic sense, was not Jesus also?[90] It might be more probable that the disciples created the midrash on Dan 7:13 in light of their Easter faith, but the other alternative cannot be ruled out as easily as Vermes would like.

A second objection raised to his son-of-man position concerns the dating of the Aramaic parallels used to support it. His principal critic, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, has serious problems with Vermes's appeal to "the relics of the Galilean dialect, closest in time to

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[80] *Jesus the Jew*, pp. 168, 182.

[81] Ibid., pp. 169f.

[82] Ibid., p. 176.

[83] Ibid., pp. 185f. See Vermes's parallel conclusions in appendix E of the third edition of Matthew Black's *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 310-28.

[84] *Jesus the Jew*, pp. 178f.

[85] Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (ET: New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 123f.; Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (ET: New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 175-78.

[86] *Jesus*, pp. 103f.

[87] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, pp. 89-99.

[88] *Jesus the Jew*, p. 98.

[89] *The Founder of Christianity* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 111f.

[90] M. Black, "Jesus and the Son of Man," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 1 (1977) 16.

the gospels, the Palestinian Talmud and similar Galilean Rabbinic sources."[91] For it is here that Vermes finds several examples of *bar nash(a)*, "(the) son of man," and a parallel expression *hahu gabra*, "that man," which, he argues, demonstrate their use as circumlocutional refer ences to the self. Fitzmyer raises the following specific objections: (1) how can the Palestinian Talmud and related material be considered closer in time to the Gospels than the corpus of Palestinian Aramaic texts of the first two centuries C.E.?[92] (2) How is it possible to sort out the "relics" of Vermes's presumably first-century Galilean dialect from the actual Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud which dates, at the earliest, from the middle of the fourth century?[93]

Vermes's response to Fitzmyer is twofold: (1) He accepts Fitzmyer's approach in the abstract—it would be preferable to use earlier Aramaic[94] material if it were of the appropriate type and available in sufficient quantity.[95] (2) But the material assembled by Fitzmyer and Harrington in their *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Middle Aramaic) is limited, according to Vermes, in terms of sample size, vocabulary and literary types. Consequently, with the Greek expression *ho huios tou anthrōpou* ("the son of man") the following dilemma arises for someone following Fitzmyer's direction: all agree that the expression is a first-century C.E. Aramaism, but the rabbinic material has been ruled out of bounds, and the earlier (Middle Aramaic) material offers scant comparisons. So "the gospel interpreter is condemned to a stalemate" in terms of shedding light on the son-of-man puzzle.[96]

Much in Vermes's approach depends on the ability to find early material in the rabbinic literature. Jacob Neusner has written wisely that a fourth-century rabbinic source, for example, must be seen primarily as a witness to the prevailing viewpoints of that century and only secondarily as evidence for the ideas of earlier periods.[97] One has to ask—in light of Fitzmyer's comments, and to a lesser degree Neusner's—whether Vermes isn't seeking more from these third- to fifth-century rabbinic texts, especially on the son-of-man issue, than they are able to yield.

Finally, there appears to be a small inconsistency in Vermes's rebuttal of a possible titular use of "son of man" in 4 Ezra 13:3 (which some have used as proof that it was so employed in Jesus' time). He notes correctly that 4 Ezra dates from after the Temple's destruction in 70 C.E. and is conditioned by that event, but then adds: "Its evidence is consequently of more relevance to an understanding of the origins of Christianity than to Jesus and his time."[98] In effect, we are supposed to permit Vermes to use rabbinical evidence written 200 to 400 years after Jesus' time—which is conditioned by numerous

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[91] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, pp. 93f. Vermes claims that the dialectical peculiarities of this material "predate the period of their codification" (ibid) but does not substantiate this.

[92] Fitzmyer, "Another View of the "Son of Man' Debate," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 4 (1979) 61. The "corpus" he refers to is found for the most part in Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts: Second Century B.C.—Second Century A.D.* BibOr 34 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978).

[93] Fitzmyer, "'Son of Man' Debate," 61.

[94] Technically, this is Middle Aramaic (200 B.C.E.—200 C.E.) as opposed to Late Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud and the Midrashic and targumic material (200—700 C.E.).

[95] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, pp. 77f., 93f.

[96] Ibid., p. 93. See Morton Smith's review of Black's *Aramaic Approach to the Gospel and Acts* in which he defends Vermes's approach (*JBL* 90 [1971] 247f.).

[97] "The Use of the Later Rabbinic Evidence for the Study of First-Century Pharisaism," in William S. Green (ed.) *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1978), p. 219.

[98] *Jesus the Jew*, p. 173.

political events, including the Temple's destruction—in support of his reading of the Gospels. But we are to refrain from using a text like 4 Ezra 13, written about 75 years after Jesus to shed light on the historical Jesus.

4. Jesus' Place within Judaism

Vermes calls Jesus a "Galilean Hasid"[99] (devout person) who took his place within the miracle-working tradition of charismatic Judaism. This tradition originated with Elijah and Elisha and derived not from the possession of secret powers but immediate contact with God.[100]

Vermes compares Jesus to two of these charismatics in particular. The first is Honi, a figure of the first century B.C.E., whom both the Mishnah and Josephus describe as successfully beseeching God to send rain during a drought. Josephus reports he was murdered by followers of Hyrcanus II after he refused to place a curse on Aristobulus II, Hyrcanus' brother and rival claimant for the Hasmonean throne.

While Honi may have had Galilean roots, the other figure, Hanina ben Dosa, definitely did. A disciple of Johanan ben Zakkai, his career parallels Jesus' in his working miracles, scorning riches and stressing moral rather than ritual concerns.

These charismatics, according to Vermes, were not liked by the Pharisees because of their relativizing of matters of observance. Since *halakhah* would become the cornerstone of rabbinic Judaism, Jesus, Hanina and the other "Devout" were "slowly but surely squeezed out beyond the pale of true respectability."[101]

Despite Vermes's grouping of Jesus with the "holy miracle-workers of Galilee," he concludes *Jesus the Jew* by declaring that "no objective and enlightened student of the Gospels can help but be struck by the incomparable superiority of Jesus."[102]

The message of Jesus, according to Vermes, flows out of his Galilean Hasidic background. He was motivated by a central vision of God as King and Father and endeavored to live "as a son of God, and to show to the repentant and the receptive how to live similarly."[103] His understanding of his obligations to God and the pressures of the "eschatologico-apocalyptic world-view" he had inherited gave a quality of urgency and complete self-dedication to his religious program. This single-mindedness, in fact, explains "Jesus' total lack of interest in the economic and political realities of his age."[104] It is his "unceasing struggle to reproduce in himself, in his dealings with the world, the attributes of the Heavenly Father" that impresses Vermes as Jesus' unique contribution to the world as a source of inspiration and model of holiness.[105]

5. Vermes: An Assessment

a. The Jewishness of Jesus

Both the title and content of *Jesus the Jew* have caused a renewed awareness among New Testament scholars that Jesus must be viewed in his essential Jewishness to be understood historically. A case in point is Gerard Sloyan in his fine new book, *Jesus in*

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[99] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, p. 11.
[100] *Jesus the Jew*, p. 69.
[101] Ibid., p. 82.
[102] Ibid., p. 224.
[103] "Gospels without Christology," p. 67. Cp. *Jesus . . . Judaism*, pp. 48-54.
[104] *Jesus . . . Judaism*, p. 50.
[105] "Gospels without Christology," p. 67.

Focus[106] He describes Jesus as "a Jew to the core of his being,"[107] as a "Hasid"[108] and as "an itinerant preacher committed to the restoration of Jewish life under the law."[109] He demonstrates, in addition, the sort of familiarity with rabbinic writings Vermes regards as indispensable in Gospel scholars. And his portrait of the Jewish people and their land is very positive.

What a contrast this is from Bornkamm's famous *Jesus of Nazareth* which first appeared in German nearly thirty years ago. He says nothing about Jesus' Jewishness except that he "belongs to this [Jewish] world," but "is of unmistakable otherness."[110] He describes the Judaism of Jesus' time as a "perversion" of the religion of ancient Israel, a "formalistic legalizing of the law, and a corresponding detailed technique of piety" which contrasted sharply with Jesus' message of the divine will.[111] Much has changed in the climate of scholarship since this was written. Vermes cannot, of course, be given all the credit for the change, but students of the historical Jesus will need to take serious account of his insights before proceeding further.

b. The Method of Investigation

Vermes does historical Jesus studies in a new style: with a profound grasp of the Jewish literature of the era, with attention to the common roots of the New Testament and the rabbinic literature, with the fresh idea of seeking the *ipsissimus sensus Jesu* rather than the *ipsissima verba*—Jesus' thought instead of his actual words.

c. The Galilean Milieu

No prior investigation of Jesus in history situates him so clearly as not simply a first-century Jew of the land of Israel, but as a Galilean rather than a Judean. Thus, Jesus' conflicts with the Judean Pharisees, his stress on purity of intention, his unsophisticated approach to theological issues, and his charismatic program of healings and exorcisms make sense in terms of his roots in the *Galil*, the other region.

d. The "Son of Man"

As previously noted, Vermes has forced scholars to rethink the meaning of "son of man" in the Gospels and "consigned' to dust that enormous body of literature which treats Jesus' assumption of the dignity 'son of man' as the key to his understanding of his place and mission."[112]

Sloyan's treatment of "son of man" reflects Vermes's influence where he states that Jesus did not have the book of Daniel in mind when using the expression and was simply saying "this man" or "I."[113]

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[106] Subtitle: *A Life in Its Setting*, (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1983). See also Ian Wilson's popular treatment, *Jesus: The Evidence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984) which quotes Vermes extensively and has a chapter entitled "Jesus the Jew."

[107] Ibid., p. 1.

[108] Ibid., p. 50.

[109] Ibid., p. 19.

[110] *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 56.

[111] Ibid., pp. 37, 40.

[112] David Daube, review of *Jesus the Jew* in *JJS* 25 (1974) 334.

[113] *Jesus in Focus*, p. 75.

e. Jesus the Religious Genius

What shines through all of Vermes's probings of Jesus is an admiration for his religious greatness, his "incomparable superiority" to other Galilean charismatics and his singleminded dedication to the imitation of God. Jesus is "neither the Christ of the Church, nor the apostate and bogey-man of Jewish popular tradition."[114] For Vermes, rather, he is a Jewish religious genius and perhaps, though he never says so as such, the greatest the Jewish people ever produced. Clearly, Vermes has done much to reclaim Jesus for Judaism. Yet, in the process, he has sharpened the vision of Christian scholars to pursue their own studies of the historical Jesus against a fuller background.

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[114] *Jesus the Jew*, p. 17.

Jesus' "Age Thirty Transition": A Psychohistorical Probe

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Introduction

Recent studies have emphasized the importance for a deepened understanding of Jesus' mission, of a correct interpretation of certain prior transitional events which occurred soon after he left his parental home: his baptism, temptations and temporary association with John the Baptist, above all.[1] However, in the investigations to date not much attention has been paid to Luke's suggestion that he might have been "about thirty years old" at the time (Luke 3:23),[2] even though we now realize (thanks to developmental psychology) that abrupt changes of this kind frequently occur in men's lives right at this point, for reasons that are inherent to the process of becoming a mature adult.[3] Might then an inquiry into this facet of Jesus' life, in this light, sharpen our perceptions of what he was contending with at this time and thereby enrich our picture of him at maturity?[4]

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[1]Regarding this see especially Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology, Part One: The Proclamation of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1971), pp. 42-56; Ben Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1979), pp. 115-128 and Paul Hollenbach, "The Conversion of Jesus: From Jesus the Baptizer to Jesus the Healer," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Haase, II, 55 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), pp. 196-219.

[2]On the basis of papyri evidence (where ages are often given in multiples of five) Henry J. Cadbury, "Some Lukan Expressions of Time (Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts VII)," *JBL* 82 (1963) 275-76, suggests that Luke's "about thirty" was meant to convey that Jesus was between 25 and 35 at this time.

[3]For the research on adult transitions generally see especially Erik Erikson's two seminal essays: "Eight Ages of Man," Chapter 7, in *Childhood and Society*, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), pp. 247-274, and "Human Strength and the Cycle of Generations," in *Insight and Responsibility* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), pp. 111-134. For the pioneering account of "the Age Thirty Transition" see Daniel J. Levinson et al., *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978), pp. 71-135. The essays in *The Course of Life: Psychoanalytic Contributions Toward Understanding Personality Development*, III: *Adulthood and the Aging Process*, ed. S. I. Greenspan and G. H. Pollock (Adelphi, Maryland: NIMH, 1980) are also relevant.

[4]The importance of utilizing psychological insights in historical Jesus research is astutely analyzed and defended by John McIntyre, *The Shape of Christology* (London: SCM, 1966), pp. 114-143. For a review of psychohistorical research generally, see William J. Gilmore, *Psychohistorical Inquiry: A Comprehensive Research Bibliography* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984). Among the sporadic attempts at understanding Jesus in this light the following may be mentioned: Georges Berguer, *Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus from the Psychological and Psycho-analytic Point of View*

An answer, I suggest, will depend on our response to three additional questions: (1) What in fact is it that is now known about the developmental issues facing men generally at this stage of their lives? (2) Is what is known generally, based as it is on studies of men in modern societies, at all relevant to an understanding of someone living as long ago in another culture as did Jesus? (3) What can be said about the Jesus of history that might be at all germane to such an inquiry?

In the paragraphs that follow I will try to address each of these questions and conclude with a few comments regarding the contemporary relevance of such a psychohistorical probe.

The "Age Thirty Transition"

What then in general is known about the transitions men often experience at this time of their lives? It was Daniel Levinson's careful study of a cross-section of forty American men that first alerted us to the unique importance of "about thirty" as a specific stage.[5] Building on the life-stage research of Freud, Jung and especially Erikson, Levinson sought through in-depth "biographical interviews" to gain a fuller picture of what these men had experienced during their adult years from 17 to 45. Since he began his study predisposed to the traditional notion that a crucial transition in adult life occurs around 40, the discovery that already earlier equally significant transitions often take place was somewhat surprising. More specifically he observed that already during their twenties and early thirties these men typically approached adulthood in two clearly distinguishable phases: an initial more casual, exploratory mode, during their early and middle twenties, when a first provisional life structure was fashioned, but then a more serious, urgent mode, during their later twenties and early thirties—followed by the making of stronger commitments and the forming of deeper roots and a new life structure.[6] Between the structures of the first provisional phase and those of the "Settling Down" period in the early thirties there occurred, Levinson noted, an often turbulent "Age Thirty Transition." What brought it about, in part at least, it seemed, was a dawning sense of mortality—the now persistent awareness that life is short and that a start will have to be made *soon*, if what one hopes to accomplish in life is going to get done before it is too late. As a consequence, the structures and achievements of the initial phase were tested and often found wanting and in need of radical change.[7]

In his discussion of the tasks or objectives that typically engaged these men during this time of their lives Levinson observed, as had Erikson, the central importance of establishing a truly meaningful *vocational* identity, as well as "forming love relationships, marriage and family."[8] The wider significance of the latter had been especially stressed by Erikson, for it was through this, he had written, that "generativity" emerges, that

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(New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923; Anton Boisen, *The Exploration of the Inner World: A Study of Mental Disorder and Religious Experience* (Willet, Clark & Co., 1936; reprint ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), pp. 125-141; R. S. Lee, *Freud and Christianity* (Hammondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1948); Erik Erikson, "The Galilean Sayings and the Sense of 'I'," *The Yale Review* 70 (Spring 1981): 321-362; Paul C. Vitz and John Gartner, "Christianity and Psychoanalysis, Part 1: Jesus as the Anti-Oedipus," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 12 (1984): 4-14. No one to date, so far as I know, has made use of Levinson's research to this end.

[5]Levinson, *Seasons*, pp. 71-135.

[6]Ibid., p. 84.

[7]Ibid., p. 85.

[8]Ibid., pp. 101-110.

quality of "caring for" or "taking care of" (that which has been generated) which is so essential to the life and well-being of the succeeding generation.[9]

But two additional issues surfaced in Levinson's research as of equal importance. In one way or another, he noted, all the men he had interviewed were preoccupied during their Age Thirty Transitions with what he termed "forming a Dream and giving it a place in the life structure," as well as with "forming mentor relationships" that would assist them in this. This Dream, Levinson wrote, had "the quality of a vision, an imagined possibility that generates excitement and vitality."[10] At the beginning of the Age Thirty Transition it was often still poorly articulated or encased in grandiose aspirations only tenuously connected to reality (as in the myth of the hero). But whatever the form, he observed, the Age Thirty Transition was experienced as a time when it was urgent to define this Dream and live it out quite concretely. Therefore, the extent to which the initial life structure was "consonant with and infused by the Dream, or opposed to it" was a matter of great consequence, for if the Dream had remained unconnected to their lives, Levinson wrote, it might simply die, and with it their sense of "aliveness and purpose."[11]

While mentoring relationships have long been recognized as important to emotional development earlier in life (during adolescence, for example), Levinson's research indicated they were crucial as well during the Age Thirty Transition. Ideally the mentor at this stage in life is neither parent or crypto-parent, he noted, but a slightly older peer who fosters the young adult's development "by believing in him, sharing the youthful Dream and giving it his blessing, helping to define the newly emerging self in its newly discovered world, and creating a space in which the young man can work on a reasonably satisfactory life structure that contains the Dream."[12]

For a few men the Age Thirty Transition went smoothly, writes Levinson (although all of the men he interviewed experienced significant changes), but for the great majority this period was extremely stressful—like a man alone in the water between two islands, unable to move one way or the other and on the verge of drowning.[13] A man's difficulties may be accentuated "by specific aspects of his situation—economic recession, discrimination, the rivalries of a highly competitive world—and by his own emotional problems of committing himself to an occupation, relating to women and separating from parents."[14]

Relevance

To what extent are these observations, based as they are on the experience of men in twentieth century North America, valid for a deepened understanding of a historic figure like Jesus, living as he did in first century Palestine? As noted, a heightened sense of mortality and urgency to do something authentic while there is yet time appears to be a critical factor in the changes that occur in this period. This could be related to the fact that bodily maturation, along with reproductive capacities, reach their peak in humans in their mid-twenties, after which a slow physical decline sets in. If so, this in itself would suggest that a species-wide genetic clock, and not culture alone, may be a triggering factor in the Age Thirty Transition.[15] However, that men in all cultures do in fact expe-

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[9]"Eight Ages," pp. 266-68.
[10]*Seasons*, p. 91.
[11]Ibid., p. 92.
[12]Ibid., p. 99.
[13]Ibid., p. 86.
[14]Ibid., p. 82.
[15]In his analysis of this possibility Levinson (ibid., pp. 326-30) cites the research of

rience this time of their lives in analogous ways is as yet hard to verify, Levinson admits. And yet, he points out, there are a number of texts from a variety of cultures that seem at least to allude to this. In the talmudic "Sayings of the Fathers," for example, the stages of life from 5 to 100 are carefully outlined and thirty is mentioned as the time in life when "full strength" is attained (*Avoth* V, 24). Likewise in a Confucian text (*Analects*, Book II) Confucius himself traces the stages of his life from 15 to 70 and says of his thirtieth year that it was then that he had planted his feet "firm upon the ground." Thirty is also mentioned by Solon of Greece (in a similar sketch of the life-cycle) as "the season for courting and begetting sons who will preserve and continue his line."[16] In Israel thirty was specified as the lower limit for the census of those fit to bear arms who were liable for service in the temple (Num 4). Among the Jewish sectarians at Qumran a man was eligible for communal office at twenty-five, but it was not until thirty that he was deemed ready to render judgments or function as a tribal commissioner (*Manual of Discipline for the Future Congregation of Israel*). A scattering of anecdotal data adds color to these transcultural hints. To the famous incident of Gautama Buddha's life-changing encounter with suffering and death at twenty-nine may be added as examples from biblical tradition alone (apart from Jesus) the allusions to Age Thirty type transitions in the lives of Joseph (Gen 41:46), David (2 Sam 5:4), Ezekiel (1:1) and possibly Moses, Hosea and Isaiah.[17]

This does not mean, obviously, that there are no differences at all in the process of becoming an adult in modern America and the small first-century Galilean village where Jesus grew up. Life, we imagine, was much simpler then than today and the social structures shaping adult transitions firmer and more stable. Were we to imagine, however, that our world and his were too different in this respect, a single story, Jesus' parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32), should remind us that then too becoming an adult was not easy. In any case, neither the rebellious prodigal of this story, who left home, nor his obedient brother, who stayed behind, reached adulthood, it seems, in a single bound. The Prodigal had first to explore being an adult in the wider world, before returning to his father's farm, ostensibly to settle down there; his elder brother, while remaining home, was also not altogether content with his initial choice (as his bitter complaint about his father's treatment of him at the time of his younger brother's return reveals). The relevance of contemporary life-stage research to the experience of a first-century Jew is hardly thereby proven. It does suggest that its heuristic value ought not to be summarily dismissed either.

Jesus' Age Thirty Transition

But granted the *possible* relevance of this data, how much do our sources for the life of Jesus actually tell us that might be germane to this theme? Factual information regarding Jesus' life during his childhood, adolescence and young adulthood is of course notoriously scarce. Indeed, even the few accounts we do have of his birth and adolescence are regarded suspiciously by most historians. However, there is no reason to doubt Luke's reference to him as his parents' firstborn (Luke 2:7), nor that his family eventually

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biologist G. P. Bidder into the growth-limiting mechanism of senescence and its impact on the evolution of the human life cycle.

[16]Regarding these texts, see ibid., pp. 324-26. For the text from Solon Levinson cites as his source A. L. Vischer in *Old Age: Its Compensation and Rewards* (Macmillan, 1947), p. 121.

[17]As the references to marriage and the birth of their first children would suggest, Moses must have been about this same age when he fled Egypt (Exod 2:21-22) and Hosea and Isaiah when they were called to be prophets (Hos 1:2-9; Isa 7:3; 8:3).

included four younger brothers and several sisters (Mark 3:31-35; 6:3).[18] Nor need we question that his father was a carpenter (Matt 13: 55), or that Jesus too worked at that trade (Mark 6:3). This does not mean, however, that he was a simple village carpenter, necessarily, or poor, as often imagined. Buchanan has sought to demonstrate that "carpenter" might also mean "contractor" and that Paul's allusion to his having once been rich (2 Cor 8:9) could be historical.[19] If so, this would be congruent with the preponderance of middle class figures who people his parables: owners of vineyards with managerial worries (Matt 20:1-16); fathers with wealth to be distributed (Luke 15:11-32); traveling merchants (Luke 10:29-37; Matt 13:45-46); farmers with servants (Matt 13:24-30; 24:45-51); rich entrepreneurs (Luke 16:1-9a).[20] It would also help to explain the ease with which he associated with tax collectors and other upper-class types. Perhaps, then, he was not only a craftsman in wood, but built houses (Matt 7:24-27/Luke 6:47-49) and towers (Luke 14:28-30) and had men working under him.

But why, then, by thirty had he not married and founded a family? Some have argued that he had, on the basis that it is inconceivable in an age where marriage by twenty was virtually mandatory that he would not have.[21] Yet the silence of our sources regarding wife and children is deafening and can hardly be construed otherwise than that there were none. However, the possible reasons for this ought to be canvassed more carefully than they generally are. Virtually all discussions of this topic focus on the motives *Jesus* might have had *at thirty* for remaining single.[22] But the Talmud states that it was the *father's* responsibility to see that his son got married and to do this while the son was young and amenable to the father's advice.[23] Were traditions of this kind at all in vogue

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[18]Ian Wilson, *Jesus: The Evidence* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984), p. 71, suggests that the coming of the family to Capernaum to try to compel him to return (Mark 2:19b-21; 3:31-35) may imply a prior leadership role consistent with the point of view that he was the legitimate elder son. As to whether the brothers and sisters mentioned were children of Mary or of Joseph only, see *Mary in the New Testament*, eds. Raymond Brown, Karl Donfried, Joseph Fitzmyer, John Reumann (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), pp. 65-72.

[19]George Wesley Buchanan, "Jesus and the Upper Classes," *Novum Testamentum*, VII (1964/65): 195-209. Buchanan cites two examples from the Iliad where "carpenter" (*tektōn*) means "contractor." Regarding 2 Cor 8:9, he notes (among other things) that, contrary to the traditional interpretation, Paul did not customarily appeal to the incarnation when urging Christians to follow a pattern of ethical behavior, but more than once referred to sharing material goods in exchange for spiritual benefits.

[20]Further to the way the Gospel parables contribute to a portrait of the Jesus of history, see my "Jesus's Personality as Reflected in His Parables," in *The New Way of Jesus*, ed. William Klassen (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life, 1980), pp. 56-72.

[21]For a defense of this thesis see William Phipps, *Was Jesus Married?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), and *The Sexuality of Jesus* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

[22]See for example Gerard Sloyan, *Jesus in Focus: A Life in Its Setting* (Mystic, Connecticut: Twenty-third Publications, 1983), pp. 129-132; Ian Wilson, *Jesus: The Evidence* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson), 1984, pp. 96-97; George Wesley Buchanan, *Jesus the King and His Kingdom* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984), pp. 184-190, all of whom address the issue solely in the light of what Jesus might have thought at the time of his mission.

[23]In *Kiddushin* 29a it is stated that "the father is bound in respect of his son, to circumcise, redeem, teach him Torah, take a wife for him, and teach him a craft. Some say, to teach him to swim too." In *Kiddushin* 30a it is reported that "Raba said to R. Nathan b. Ammi: Whilst your hand is yet upon your son's neck, [marry him], viz., between sixteen and twenty-two. Others state, between eighteen and twenty four."

among the Jews of Jesus' day (and there is no reason to think otherwise), the question would then be not so much why Jesus at thirty had not yet married, but why his father, much earlier, had failed to make arrangements to this end.

A likely answer is that he had died before the time had come when it would have been appropriate to have done so. That Jesus' father died prior to Jesus' mission at thirty is almost certain, for he is missing from all the accounts of this period—even those where members of his family are explicitly identified (Mark 3:31-35; 6:1-6).[24] David Flusser comments that it is his impression that this death took place quite early in Jesus' life, when he was still "quite a child."[25] But that would not have been possible were it true that there were six younger siblings (or more), as Mark 6:3 implies. In that case Jesus might have been a teenager at the time. That Jesus was still unmarried at thirty suggests that this death occurred during his *early* teens, before the time had arrived when a marriage would have certainly been arranged for him, were his father still alive.

According to the traditions of his times, Jesus would have then become, as eldest son, head of his deceased father's family.[26] And with this possibility we arrive at what might well have been the most important factor of all in Jesus' personal development during his growing-up years. The loss of a father by anyone at any time in life is a difficult experience. The loss of a father by an eldest son in a relatively large first-century Jewish family during his early teens must have been traumatic. Can we imagine what some of the more obvious consequences of such a death might have been for such a son under such circumstances? While admittedly conjectural, the attempt to do so may shed light on several otherwise puzzling features of the life of the "about thirty" year old Jesus.

To begin with, if it is true that prior to his father's death Jesus was indeed working with him in carpentry (or contracting), as the Gospels intimate, it would now fall to his lot to shoulder this trade by himself, for he will have become his family's chief means of support. Not just financially, however, but in other ways too the leadership once vested in his father would now gravitate towards him. This could be a stimulus to the development of latent talents. He would have to learn quickly how to care for and manage in an efficient, competent manner.[27]

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[24] It is also for this reason, most likely, that Jesus is referred to as "son of Mary" (Mark 6:3). See Brown, et al., eds., *Mary*, p. 64. For a contrary opinion see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), pp. 26-27.

[25] *Jesus* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 17. He cites no evidence in support of this opinion.

[26] For a similar conclusion, see Milo Connick, *Jesus: The Man, the Mission, and the Message*, 2nd ed. (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 131, and Wilson, *Jesus*, p. 71. On the responsibilities and privileges of first-born sons in Near Eastern culture, ancient and modern, see J. Milgrom, "First-born," in *IDBS*, pp. 337-338.

[27] Parental loss as a factor in high achievement has been carefully investigated by J. Marvin Eisenstadt, "Parental Loss and Genius," *American Psychologist* (1978): 211-223. In a study of 573 "eminent individuals" he discovered that parental loss among this group was at a significantly earlier age than among the general population. Surprisingly, the statistics for this group were similar to the age of parental loss among psychotic, severely depressed, or suicidal patients. The reason, he concluded, is that a child faced by the loss of one or both parents is suddenly compelled to master a new environment. For some this challenge may prove to be overwhelming, leading to mental and emotional breakdown. But others are able to respond by going through what Eisenstadt calls a process of "creative mourning" and "overcompensation." The potential genius, he writes, translates this struggle for mastery, following the death of a parent, into a personal development that leads to a high degree of competency in an occupational field.

On the other hand, such a demanding role may pose certain risks or "temptations" as well. To become suddenly "father" in a world in which it would still be normal to be "son" sets the stage for a reawakening of Oedipal ambivalence. A son might respond with a sense of over-responsibility or grandiosity. In any case, an inner debate is sure to rage over which is to have priority and for how long: remaining as head of his father's family or founding one of his own, concern for his father's wife or finding a wife of his own, care of his father's children or having children of his own? As a result, personal plans for marriage are almost sure to be postponed beyond the time ordinarily set for them (as I have personally observed in the case of several Middle Eastern and North American men in similar circumstances).[28] As time goes on such a son's relation to his mother may prove to be especially problematical, as she, on her part, tries to cope with her own needs and frustrations by leaning more and more on this highly resourceful first-born. This will not only intensify his ambivalence, but acerbate sibling rivalries. A welter of yet other emotions may accompany these developments: anger at the premature loss of his father, guilt at taking his place, fear of going too far or not far enough in this complex new role, idealization of the lost father, anxiety over unknown catastrophes yet to come.[29]

To summarize, the available evidence, while meager, strongly suggests that during his adolescence Jesus, as eldest son, became the head of his father's family, because of his father's death. An especially significant consequence of this would be that, while vocationally successful, he would not be free at the appointed time to marry and found a family of his own. As can be readily gathered from the fact that at "about thirty" he left his parental family, quite abruptly it seems, to join the masses who were going to the Jordan to be baptized there, he would have been, during these years, increasingly uneasy and dissatisfied with the course his life was taking. Clearly, he would not yet have fulfilled *his* "Dream."

Jesus at Maturity

A hypothesis is only as good as its power to illuminate perplexing data. Does the developmental scenario just outlined do this? In this section of the essay I will try to indicate a few of the ways I think it does and conclude with several comments regarding how looking at Jesus in this light may serve to highlight certain otherwise neglected features of his life and mission.

An especially puzzling aspect of the Gospel portraits of Jesus at thirty are references to tensions that seem to have existed at this stage of his life between himself and his mother, brothers and sisters. His brothers did not believe in him, the fourth Gospel reports (John 7:5), and Mark 3:19b-21 states that at one point during the height of his public mission his family thought him "beside himself" and were determined to seize him

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[28]In one instance a son whose father was killed in a farming accident, when he was an adolescent, told me that the dilemma he felt over how long to remain at home was only resolved when his mother remarried. He was already twenty-five at the time, but "it was as though a burden had been lifted from my shoulders," he said, and it was this that gave him the emotional freedom soon thereafter to marry and establish a home of his own.

[29]Concerning these and other "common reactions" to the departure of a father from the home (whether through death or divorce) see William Lammers, Jr., "The Absent Father," in *Fathering, Fact or Fable?*, ed. Edward Stein (Nashville: Abingdon, 1977), pp. 75-76.

and bring him back home.[30] We are then also told, as a sequel, that on their visit to his headquarters at Capernaum, ostensibly to carry out their plan, Jesus would not even see them, but sharply distanced himself from them when he said: "Who are my mother and my brothers? Here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Mark 3:33-35).[31] Additional hints of this estrangement may be found in the report of his abortive visit to Nazareth (Mark 6:1-6a), as well as those sayings that stress the absolute priority of doing God's will over family ties (Matt 10:36; Luke 9:60/Matt 8:22; Luke 11:28; 12:51-52; 14:26; 18:29b-30). The pathos of this unexpected development is summed up in John's Gospel: "He came to his own home, and his own people received him not" (John 1:11).

All this is consistent, I suggest, with the developmental scenario just outlined. Few situations in life are as demanding and emotionally complex as that of a son caught up in the necessity of assuming his father's role with his mother and her family. If his mother, brothers and sisters were mystified, at this time, by his radical shift in loyalty from their family to God's family and thought him "beside himself," then this only means that they (and the mother especially, perhaps), like others in their predicament, were more attuned to their own needs and necessities than to his.

John the Baptist's role in Jesus' life may also come into sharper focus in this light. Of no one else, it would appear, did Jesus speak so exuberantly. John is a prophet, Jesus is quoted as saying, yes, more than a prophet (a superprophet), indeed the greatest man who ever lived (Matt 11:9, 11/Luke 7:26, 28). Yet, after briefly working with John in Judaea, even, perhaps, baptizing as John did (John 3:22), he returns to Galilee (John 4:3) and there continued his mission in a manner increasingly unique to himself. While traditionally regarded as Jesus' forerunner, John's part in Jesus' Age Thirty Transition also corresponds precisely to that of the mentor who helps to awaken and realize the still latent "Dream."[32] John's person and preaching were, our sources suggest, the catalyst Jesus needed to break free of an increasingly sterile role in his deceased father's family so that he could fulfill his own unique destiny and mission.

What Jesus is said to have experienced as a consequence of his association with John, his baptism and temptations especially, may also take on added meaning when looked at more closely in the context of the Age Thirty Transition. Immediately following his

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[30]For a review of the problems involved in translating Mark 3:19b-21 see Brown, et al., *Mary*, pp. 51-58. According to Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981; original ed. 1973), p. 33, "the scandalous incongruity of this statement [that his relatives thought him 'beside himself'] is the best guarantee of its historicity. . . ." Further to its relevance for an understanding of the historical Jesus, see Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* (New York: Crossroad, 1981; first German edition, 1968), p. 64.

[31]According to Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1925), p. 280, instead of responding in this manner, "respect for his mother (a prominent trait among the Jews, ranked in the Ten Commandments on the same level as respect for the father) required that he should go to her at once. . . ."

[32]The mentor at thirty is invariably "a transitional figure," writes Levinson, *Seasons*, p. 99, due to the innate drive of the "age thirty" male to find himself and realize his destiny. This would suggest that there was no one "root cause" of Jesus' eventual independence and differentiation from John, such as the "disconfirmation" of John's eschatological expectations (John Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* [London: Darton, Longmann & Todd, 1980], pp. 165, 180) or his exorcisms (Hollenbach, "Conversion," pp. 209-216) or the audition and vision at the time of his baptism (Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, p. 55). These may well have been factors, but at thirty the mentoring relationship is almost always a temporary one.

baptism, we are told, God became experientially real to Jesus as gracious Father through divine words of acceptance and approval that broke into his consciousness while he prayed (Luke 3:21).[33] During the temptations that followed he wrestled with Satan over whether to turn stones into bread, throw himself from the pinnacle of the temple, or rule the world (Matt 4:1-11/Luke 4:1-13).[34] These were, we may conjecture, thaumaturgical fantasies of a type widely current in his time, for to produce mighty signs and rule the world were the then prevailing expectations of what the Messiah would do when he appeared.[35] Grandiose thoughts such as these on the part of Jesus would accord with the fantasies of greatness which, as we have seen, are endemic to the struggle for self-definition of the Age-Thirty male; in Jesus' case these might have been acerbated by his assumption of his father's role at the time of his death.[36] Nor is it to be doubted that

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[33]The way Matthew's Gospel has changed what was undoubtedly a private audition ("Thou art my beloved son. . ." Mark 1:11/Luke 3:22) into a public event ("*This* is my beloved son. . ." Matt 3:17) has been often observed. For a defense of the historicity and life-changing importance of this experience see especially Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, pp. 51-56; James Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1975), pp. 62-65; *Wilson*, Jesus, p. 87.

[34]While it is difficult to imagine who in the early church might have invented stories of Jesus being tempted *by Satan* in this manner, an analysis of Jesus' mission points to a victorious battle over Satan as one of its presuppositions. See fn. 37 below. In defense of historicity, see also T. W. Manson, *The Servant-Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus* (Cambridge University Press, 1953, reissued by Baker Book House, 1977), p. 55; Vernon McCasland, *The Pioneer of Our Faith: A New Life of Jesus* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 31; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), pp. 165-168.

[35]Josephus writes in *The Jewish War*, Book VI, 312 (see *Josephus: The Jewish War. Newly translated with extensive commentary and archaeological background illustrations*, Gaalya Cornfield, ed. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982]), that the chief inducement for the Jewish rebellion against Rome in the years prior to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., was an "oracle also found in their sacred scriptures, announcing that at that time a man from their country would become ruler of the world." While Josephus is vague regarding the relevance of this oracle for an understanding of the various prophetic-messianic type revolutionaries he describes elsewhere as active during this period (see Book II, 118, 258-265), it is apparent that there must have been some connection. In II, 259, for example, these latter are described as "deceivers and imposters, claiming divine inspiration" and as men who "fostered revolutionary changes by inciting the mob to frenzied enthusiasm and by leading them into the wilderness under the belief that God would show them omens of freedom there." This is as plausible a background for an understanding of Jesus' wilderness temptations as could be hoped for. Seen in this light they would appear to be *not* "temptations of the Messiah" (as traditionally thought), but temptations to messianism. In other words, a spiritual ordeal is alluded to in which Jesus (after his encounter with God as gracious Father at his baptism) came to recognize messianic delusions of grandeur as Satanic and thrust them from him.

[36]It is worth noting that Satan in these narratives represents patricidal ambition. He tempts Jesus to usurp the role of his true Father (God) and rule the world in his stead. This is precisely the dilemma a son would face in taking charge of a deceased father's family (as we conjecture Jesus did). Suddenly powerful in a realm where only a short time before he had been a subordinate, his identity as "son" will inevitably be threatened by the heady "impossible possibility" of actually taking his rightful father's place. Understandably a son in such circumstances will find himself contending with fantasies of greatness which he knows in his more sober moments are illusory. If he should happen to

with the help of his baptism and the disclosure experience he had at that time ("Thou art my beloved son. . .") he was finally able to fight free of these fantasies, reconnect with the "Father," and experience what it meant to be a trusting "son" once again. Viewed in this way, something like the battle with Satan described here would help explain Jesus' unprecedented certainty, during the time of his mission, that Satan was retreating and that God's fatherly care was being revealed to the world through him.[37]

Regarding the mission itself, what Erikson has written of Gandhi's achievement at a similar stage in his life may apply here as well. "The true saints," he writes, in his book about Gandhi, "are those who transfer the state of householdership to the house of God, becoming father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter, to all creation, rather than of their own issue."[38] Erikson was referring to the way Gandhi extended his emerging sense of generative care from his wife and children to the needs of India during a time of crisis. If our conjecture is correct, Jesus too had been a "house-holder" of sorts—not, however, in a family of his own, but in his deceased father's family. As a result both ripe experience and a pent-up generativity were still waiting to be released. John was the catalyst, his years as breadwinner and leader of his father's family were the apprenticeship, his baptism and temptations were the turning point. Through finally taking matters into his own hands, going out to John and being set free thereby of his past, he was poised and ready now to create a family that was *truly* his—one born, however, not of flesh, nor of blood, nor of human will, but of God (John 1:13).

The focus of his mission, initially at least, was "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt 10:6)—the sick, the sinners (Mark 2:16-17), the "little ones" (Mark 9:42), the "simple ones" (Matt 11:25/Luke 10:21), or the "poor" (Luke 6: 20; 7:22/Matt 11:5), as he preferred to call them. Their numbers were large, for the times were out of joint. Gentiles occupied the Israelite homeland and to many God seemed distant. Only a dedicated few could live up to the high standards of God's Torah and find meaning. The rest lived in a religious twilight zone.[39] The result was that they frequently suffered from guilt, sickness, confusion or worse.[40] Obviously Jesus' own life experience had prepared him to understand this condition well. All that we know about him during this phase of his life testifies to his swift, uncanny insight into the inner world of these disaffiliated ones. Often, it appeared, only a word was all that was needed for amazing things to happen (Mark 2:5-12). In fact, his charismatic effectiveness with this sector of the population quickly thrust him into the center of the contemporary Jewish struggle for self-definition where his subjective inward approach to Torah soon rendered him suspect among the

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live in a time when hopes for the coming of a miracle-working saviour are rampant, these may well determine the more precise form that such fantasies might take.

[37]That a Satanic figure was extremely real to the historical Jesus and in fact, in his view, had already in some sense been defeated is evident in the following passages: Matt 12:29/Mark 3:27/Luke 11:21-22; Luke 10:18; Mark 8:33; Luke 22:31-32. Regarding God's fatherly power see Matt 6:10/ Luke 11:2 ("Father . . . thy kingdom come "); Matt 12:28/ Luke 11:20; Luke 17:20-21. For a penetrating discussion of Jesus' "Abba-experience" as "source and secret of his being, message, and manner of life," see Edward Schillebeeckx, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology* (New York: Seabury, 1979; original Dutch version, 1974), pp. 256-271.

[38]Erik Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), p. 399.

[39]Regarding this alienated sector and the reasons for their alienation, see Ahron Oppenheimer, *The 'Am Haaretz: A Study in the Social History of the Jewish People in the Hellenistic Roman Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977).

[40]For a similar analysis see Marcus Borg, *Conflict, Holiness & Politics* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984), pp. 51-72.

Jewish elite (Mark 7:1-23).[41] When this happened, he did not retreat, but defended his insights with boldness and irenic skill (Luke 15:1-32).[42] There are hints that satanic delusions of grandeur continued to haunt him, but he would not succumb (Mark 8:33).[43] He disliked honorific titles (Matt 23 6-12),[44] rebuffed those who called him "good" (Mark 10:18) and warned against emulating "great men" who lord it over others (Mark 10:42-45). His exuberant thanksgiving, at one point in his mission, for the way God's fatherly love was being revealed to the world through him (Matt 11:25-27/Luke 10:21-22) would suggest that he was, in that moment at least, a man at last at peace with himself and his God, doing now what he knows he does best—God's "gracious will' for his life (Matt 11:26/Luke: 10-21b).[45]

Concluding Comments

Already the author of Hebrews sees nobility in Jesus' being tempted as we are (4:15) and maturing through the things that he suffered (5:8). But prior to the advent of developmental psychology our knowledge of *how* we are tested and tempted and grow through the various life stages (from early childhood onward) was limited. As a result biographies tended to be long at the end in their accounts of the culminating achievements of a man's life, but short at the beginning on analysis of the events leading up to those accomplishments.

This is certainly true of the Gospels. They too focus almost exclusively on Jesus' final public mission and the circumstances surrounding his death. And yet even they are insistent that there were developments leading up to these climactic events without which they cannot properly be understood or appreciated. Although Jesus had lived the greater part of his life at Nazareth, they inform us, his mission did not begin there. Prior

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[41] Again Borg's judgment is similar (ibid., p. 238). Whereas, he writes, the other renewal movements of the time "intensified the Torah in the direction of holiness, emphasizing various forms of separation—from society as a whole, from the Gentiles, from impurity within society—Jesus intensified the Torah primarily by applying it to internal dimensions of the human psyche: to dispositions, emotions, thoughts and desires." For a comparable analysis, see also Geza Vermes, *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), p. 47.

[42] For a succinct, moving account of this aspect of Jesus' mission at thirty, see William Farmer, *Jesus and the Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), pp. 32-48.

[43] The emotional dimensions of Jesus' reaction to Peter's insistence on projecting a messianic identity upon him are too seldom noted. It can be argued, I suggest, that Jesus not only did not think of himself as Messiah (as Geza Vermes maintains; see his *Jesus the Jew*, p. 149), but that he was inwardly tormented over this issue, and personally feared succumbing to such an identity. It was, so to speak, the "dark side" of his inner world, one which he thrust from him on this occasion (Mark 8:3) with an outburst of emotion that apparently startled his disciples ("Get behind me Satan! for you are not on the side of God, but of men").

[44] According to Jeremias "the only title used by Jesus of himself whose authenticity is to be taken seriously" is "Son of Man" (*New Testament Theology*, p. 258), but Vermes (*Jesus the Jew*, pp. 160-191; *Jesus and the World of Judaism*, pp. 89-99) has shown that even this (Aramaic: *bar nasha*) was not a title in the world of Jesus, but an idiom meaning "man," "someone," or used occasionally as a self-effacing circumlocution for "I."

[45] Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), p. 45, documents the "turning of the tide" in favor of the historicity of these important texts. See also his *New Testament Theology*, pp. 57-59; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, pp. 27-34; Meyers, *Aims of Jesus*, p. 152.

to his mission at thirty he had left Nazareth and gone out to the Jordan where he was baptized and tempted and associated for a time with one of the great men of his world. And it was then, the Gospels intimate, that something happened without which there might possibly have been no mission. Jesus had to face and surmount certain inner problems: fantasies of power and miracle-working greatness above all. Only after that, and the arrest of his mentor John, did he return to Galilee "in the power of the Spirit" and begin that mission for which he became famous (Luke 4:14-15/Mark 1:14/ Matt 4:12).

A sharper focus on Jesus' Age Thirty Transition could have contemporary relevance, for problems of this nature (pseudo-attachments, misshapen identities, and fantasies of power in men of this age group) remain with us as one of our intransigent problems. The world-famous martyr-theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a recent psycho-biography informs us, was also conflicted in this way at this time of his life. Theology itself was initially embraced by him, we are told, partly as a tactic for surpassing his prestigious father and brothers. In a memoir written when he was twenty-six he refers to the "contemptible vanity" that plagued him in doing so.[46] "How often," he lamented, "he had sought to master it [his vanity]. But it always crept back again and . . . forced an entry into the house of his soul and made him afraid."[47] Only through a deep-going conversion to the God of the Bible and to Jesus was he released from this agonizing state of mind and set free at last to pursue his life's work. Pope John XXIII also tells (in his posthumously published *Journal of a Soul*) of the "fantastic dreams" of "positions and honours" that assailed him all his life. His "enemy within," he called them. "In the end," he says, "I was able to get the better of it. But I was mortified to feel it constantly returning."[48] Hitler may be cited as still another example of someone who, beset by similar problems and grandiose dreams, not only yielded, but in yielding brought the world with him to the brink of destruction.[49] It would appear that the great men who fail in this crucial encounter with hubris (especially at this time of their lives) may descend to the depths and become the tragic anti-Christs of history, while those who instead "come to their senses" (Luke 15:17) are the pillars upon whom whatever sanity the world has is continually being built and rebuilt.

Through the centuries the portraits of Jesus have varied from age to age and place to place: "good shepherd" during the early church persecutions; "cosmic ruler" during the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire; "the crucified" in the late Middle Ages.[50] A psychohistorical probe of the kind undertaken here may help us appropriate still another dimension of Jesus' achievement, one of special importance, perhaps, in an age grasping for ways to check the indulgent and sometimes dangerous ambitions of too many of its Age-Thirty (and over) males: Jesus, "the tempted one," who at the right time finds a wise mentor, humbles himself in baptism, says no to grandiosity, and with God's help goes on to become what he was meant to be: the prototypical caring "generative man."[51]

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[46]Clifford Green, "Bonhoeffer in the Context of Erikson's Luther Study," in *Psychohistory and Religion: The Case of Young Man Luther*, ed. Roger Johnson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), p. 169.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Pope Johannes XXIII, *Journal of a Soul* (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1965), p. xvii.

[49]For an analysis of the developmental dynamics of Hitler see Walter C. Langer, *The Mind of Adolf Hitler* (New York: The New American Library, 1972).

[50]See Roland Bainton, *Behold the Christ: A Portrayal in Words and Pictures* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

[51]For an incisive discussion of this prototype and its contemporary relevance, see Don Browning, *Generative Man: Psychoanalytic Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1973).

Jesus and Agrarian Palestine: The Factor of Debt

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This paper explores, through a variety of evidence and with the help of conceptual models and comparative study, the social dynamics of debt in early Roman Palestine. The paper further attempts to assess whether the ministry of Jesus formulated a response to widespread indebtedness in that environment.

The value of utilizing conceptual models in the study of the past is that of allowing the known to illuminate the unknown, of testing how things were on the basis of how the modern student conceives they might have been. The model makes explicit the assumptions and judgments of the student and helps to trace the connections between bits of evidence in the effort to eliminate unserviceable interpretations. The model also helps to build the big picture, much like a mosaic. The study of history in this way becomes a history of interpretive "successive approximations."[1]

In a similar way, comparative study lends precision and focus to the kinds of questions the historian brings to this task. Employment of social scientific studies in various ways can contribute to a more adequate interpretation of particular aspects of the past.[2]

1. Preliminary Considerations about Debt in Antiquity

Debt was often in antiquity a formal expression of relations of dependency and (perhaps irredeemable) obligation. The ideals of reciprocity and social equality in the Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions encouraged hopes for more "horizontal" relations in society, but more often than not imbalances of power and wealth led in fact to "vertical" relations of dominance and subjection.[3]

For the Greeks, the most fundamental debt was that to one's parents. So Plato writes:

> Next comes the honour of living parents, to whom, as is meet, we have to

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[1]The work of T. F. Carney, *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity* (Coronado Press, 1981) has broadly influenced this paper.

[2]This methodology might be characterized as Weberian, in view of the fact that Max Weber was its greatest practitioner. However, it should be noted that nearly all historical work assumes at some level analogical thinking, as Ernst Troeltsch noted long ago.

[3]For a useful way of looking at these issues, see Alvin Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity," in Steffen Schmidt et al., eds., *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism* (University of California, 1977), pp. 28-43. B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 149-153, 158ff, offers a useful treatment of the law of obligations and debt in Roman legal tradition.

> pay the first and greatest and oldest of all debts, considering that all which a man has belongs to those who gave him birth and brought him up. . . .[4]

Aristotle also speaks of this primal debt:

> This is why it would not seem open to a man to disown his father (though a father may disown his son); being in debt, he should repay, but there is nothing by doing which a son will have done the equivalent of what he has received, so that he is always in debt.[5]

Aristotle further considers in the *Ethics* how essential reciprocity is to friendship, and whether it is better to return a favor (and thus stay out of debt), or to accept such as something which cannot be paid.[6]

The socio-political aspect of debt is expressed well by Thucydides in the mouth of Pericles:

> In generosity we [sc. the Athenians] are equally singular, acquiring our friends by conferring, not by receiving, favours. Yet, of course, the doer of the favour is the firmer friend of the two, in order by continued kindness to keep the recipient in his debt; while the debtor feels less keenly from the very consciousness that the return he makes will be a payment, not a free gift.[7]

On the Roman side, the vertical and political realities of debt were frequently evident. Cicero criticizes Sulla and Caesar for having expropriated property in order to bestow (politically useful) benefits on others. For Cicero, "liberality" in this sense is not just.[8] Plutarch tells how Caesar ran up huge debts for the purpose of sustaining his own political position and agenda.[9]

It is in this context that the whole subject of clientage needs to be mentioned. In the late republic and early empire, political networks were established, maintained, or destroyed by the bestowing of political favors, loans of money, or other social goods. This is well illustrated, for instance, in the affairs of Roman *socii* like the Herods. To give just a few examples, Antipater quickly won Caesar's friendship in Egypt by supplying a small army to support the actions of Mithridates. This gained high honors for Antipater (that is, Caesar cancelled his obligation to Antipater and made him a client).[10] Herod was unable to hide the support he had given to Antony when he presented himself to Octavius at Rhodes.[11] With his usual boldness, Herod made a point of his former loyalty to Antony as a potential asset to the new *princeps*. To this appeal, Octavius was favor-

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[4]Plato, *Laws* 4.717 (Jewett translation). For other Greek material, see F. Hauck, "OPHEILO, KTL," in *TDNT* 5 (1967): 559-566.

[5]*Nic. Eth.* 8.14, $1163^{b}19$ (Ross translation).

[6]Ibid., 8.13, $1162^{a}34$-$1163^{a}23$; 9.2, $1165^{a}3$ respectively.

[7]*Peloponnesian War* 2.40.2 (Crawley-Feethan translation).

[8]Cicero, *De officiis* 1.43; 2.84.

[9]Plutarch, *Caesar* 5. M. Finley discusses this kind of politics in *The Ancient Economy* (Sather Classical Lectures, 43: University of California, 1973), pp. 53f., 143, and 187 nn. 47, 55.

[10]Jos. *BJ* 1.187, 193-194, and cf. 199.

[11]Ibid., 1.386ff.

ably inclined: "So staunch a champion of the claims of friendship deserves to be ruler over many subjects."[12]

If debt was at times the bond of friendship or the cement of political relations in Graeco-Roman antiquity, for "little people" it was more often than not brutal compulsion and oppression. The abolition of debt was frequently encountered as a revolutionary slogan of the disenfranchised, usually accompanied by a demand for the redistribution of land.[13]

In the century and a half immediately preceding the birth of Jesus, the cases of Tiberius Gracchus, Aristonicus, and Lucullus, to name just three, give evidence of attempts to reverse or escape altogether Rome's imperialistic and exploitative agrarian policies, as well as evidence of the socially disruptive effects of debt. Tiberius, witnessing the decline of a Roman peasantry long burdened by the Punic wars and many of whose lands were in the hands of the wealthy, passed an agrarian law designed to restore expropriated lands to their former owners.[14] Tiberius was murdered. His aims were carried forward without ultimate success by his brother Gaius. The social order of Rome became dominated, again as of old, by a landed aristocracy.

Almost contemporaneously with the death of Tiberius (133 B.C.E.), Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. Before a final settlement could take place, a great "slave" revolt erupted under the leadership of Aristonicus (132-129).[15] This revolt, according to Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, had a manifestly utopian aim—the foundation of an egalitarian state. The hellenistic kingdoms of Asia Minor had exploited its agricultural peoples to the hilt. Rome could be expected to follow similar policies, as was evident to the insurgents from events in Greece. The insurgents had nothing to lose and everything to gain by revolt.

Plutarch makes the agrarian aspect of this revolt plain by connecting the aims of both Aristonicus and Tiberius Gracchus with the Stoic philosopher Blossius: Freedom was only guaranteed by equalitarian arrangements in property.[16] A Pergamene inscription (*OGI* 338) indicates that a belated attempt was made to coopt the insurrection by offering elevated status to the slaves involved. Though the insurrection eventually was crushed, the initial success of Aristonicus shows how powerful the hope for freedom

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[12]Ibid., 1.391 (Thackeray translation in LCL).

[13]See M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, (2d ed.: Oxford, 1957), ch. 1. Also, G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Cornell, 1981), pp. 298 and 608-9 n. 55 (citing references to Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, and others). M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece* (University of California, 1977), has a good discussion of Greek developments down to the fourth century and translations of several important passages. P. Brunt, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic* (Norton, 1971), pp. 74ff, treats agrarian problems in the late republic.

[14]Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 13. Cf. Brunt, op. cit., pp. 78-80.

[15]On the social breadth of this revolt, including not only slaves but also bondmen and the urban proletariat, see M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941) 2:757, 807-811.

[16]The revolutionary actions of Mithridates several decades later were apparently modeled after those of Aristonicus, which allows more precise inference about their nature. They included remission of debts and taxes, as well as promises of land redistribution: Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW*, ibid., pp. 938, 943. In addition to Rostovtzeff, S. Dickey, "Some Economic and Social Conditions of Asia Minor Affecting the Expansion of Christianity," in S. Case, *Studies in Early Christianity* (Century, 1928), pp. 396-398. Also, W. Tarn and G. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization*, (3d ed.: Arnold, 1952), pp. 40-41, 125.

could be for enslaved or indebted people. Several decades later, the lower classes of Asia Minor were still ready to risk all by supporting Mithridates.

After the defeat of Mithridates, the Roman general Lucullus found the population of Asia in terrible straits because of debts owed to Roman *publicani*. The fears of the movement associated with the name of Aristonicus were realized! Lucullus opposed the interests of these "capitalists" and implemented measures to alleviate the sufferings of the province: (a) Interest was lowered to 12 percent per year, (b) interest in arrears was remitted, and (c) creditors could take annually no more than one fourth of a debtor's income.[17] Plutarch says that these measures were successful in alleviating the crisis, but within a few short years the *publicani* and the evils associated with them were back.[18]

In the Graeco-Roman world, then, debt and related agrarian problems played a crucial role in historical developments. The same can be said on the Jewish side. A long biblical tradition recognized and attempted to limit, if not completely eradicate, the disruptive socio-economic effects of debt. Prescriptions or problems related to debt are mentioned in all of the major divisions:[19] Legislative (Exod 22:25-27; Lev 25; Deut 15; 23:19-20), prophetic (Isa 5:8; Hab 2:6), historical (1 Sam 22:2; 2 Kgs 4:1; Neh 5:1-5), and wisdom writings (Prov 22:7). The tradition uniformly opposes usury and the permanent transfer of real property (Exod 22:25; Lev 25:13; Deut 15:2).

The basic presupposition for the biblical view of debt was the equality, with various qualifications, of each member of Israel before Yahweh. This meant equality of access to the goods of life as well. Hence, the vociferous opposition in the tradition to disruptions of the social order from economic causes. The emergence of the Monarchy and the concomitant social stratification gave fuel to the tradition of protest and legislation.[20] The interesting post-exilic episode recorded in Neh 5 gives explicit detail about how the tradition might be actualized to counter agrarian problems.

2. Debt and a General Model of Social Stratification in Early Roman Palestine

The early Hasmonean epoch seemed to some like a return to the glorious days of Israel (1 Macc 14:4-15). The internal political struggles and agrarian unrest under Jannaeus effectively destroyed this illusion.[21] The exorbitant exactions and suffering accompanying the Roman civil wars, the fratricidal strife of the factions of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the rise of Antipater and Herod—all confirmed the uncertain political status of the Jewish commonwealth and a new order of economic exploitation. Although peace came with Augustus, Palestine was unquestionably an occupied country. A legacy of social disruption and hardship remained. Was this situation further exacerbated by debt?

In looking at the issue of debt in the first half of the first century C.E., what actual evidence is available for assessing its historical importance? For the purposes of this

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[17] See the discussion of Plutarch, *Lucullus* 20.23 in M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW*, 2:953-955.

[18] Rostovtzeff, ibid., p. 965.

[19] Unless otherwise noted, all biblical citations are according to the text of the Revised Standard Version. Abbreviations of talmudic tractates in this paper follow those in the translation of Herbert Danby.

[20] See the article of W. Brueggemann, "Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel," *JBL* 98 (1979) 161-185.

[21] On the agrarian aspect of this struggle, see the discussion in S. Applebaum, "Economic Life in Palestine," in S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century* (Van Gorcum, 1976), 2:635.

essay, a distinction needs to be kept in mind between the situation in Judaea and that in Galilee. Furthermore, direct and particular evidence concerning debt must be distinguished from indirect general evidence that, though it cannot prove, seems to point to the existence of a debt problem. Students of this period must appeal to both types of evidence.

Two pieces of direct evidence for a debt problem in Judaea are offered here.[22] First, Josephus tells us that one of the initial actions of the Jewish insurgents in the war was the burning of the office where debt records were kept. A quotation of this passage is instructive:

> [The rebels] next carried their combustibles to the public archives, eager to destroy the money-lenders' bonds and to prevent the recovery of debts, in order to win over a host of grateful debtors and to cause a rising of the poor against the rich. . . .[23]

Josephus records another such incident at Antioch, undertaken by people under pressure from debt (*BJ* 7.61).[24] The motive given by Josephus for the action of the Jerusalem insurgents parallels that of Simon ben Giora, who somewhat later offered liberation to slaves so they would support his cause (*BJ* 4.508). These recall similar revolutionary actions taken by Aristonicus in the late second century B.C.E. (see above).

Following the notice just cited, Josephus refers to the archives or record office as the "nerves" or "sinews" (*neura*) of the city. In another place, Josephus uses this same expression to refer to stockpiles of food which the competing factions are burning up to their own destruction in the besieged city (*BJ* 5.24). The record office, then, is seen by this former aristocrat of Jerusalem as necessary for the very sustenance of the city. Debts assure the dominance of the city over the countryside supporting it (cf. *Vita* 38).

The second piece of evidence here offered is the Mishnah's narrative concerning Hillel's "*prozbul*":

> A *prozbul* is not cancelled [sc. in the sabbatical year]. This is one of the things which Hillel the Elder instituted; when he saw that the people refrained from giving loans to one another and trangressed what was written in the Law, "Take heed unto thyself lest there be a base thought in thy heart, etc.," Hillel established the *prozbul*.[25]

According to Gitt 4.3 and b. Gitt. 36a (etc.), Hillel implemented through the "*prozbul*" a humanitarian judicial proceeding to insure the availability of loans at the end of the sabbatical cycle. The talmudic tradition uniformly identifies the *prozbol* (a) as a formu-

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[22]For a slightly different perspective, see the excellent article by M. Goodman, "The First Jewish Revolt: Social Conflict and the Problem of Debt," *JJS* 33 (1982): 417-427. Though I had not seen this article before the first draft of the present paper was finished, I was pleased to note the convergence of our thinking on the direct evidence. Goodman appeals to evidence of (a) the flouting of usury laws, (b) the prozbol, and (c) the burning of the archives. I was also pleased to discover at the end of Goodman's article (p. 427) a different kind of model for the dynamics of debt in Judaea. In subsequent revisions of my paper, Goodman's work has encouraged me to try to distinguish more clearly the debt situation in Galilee.

[23]*BJ* 2.427.

[24]Cf. the discussion in P. Brunt, "Josephus on Social Conflicts in Roman Judaea," *Klio* 59 (1977): 151.

[25]Shebi. 10.3 (Blackman translation). The Scripture quoted is Deut 15:9.

laic statement (Shebi. 10.4), (b) made before a court, that (c) circumvents the usual cancellation of a debt in the sabbatical year.[26]

A number of points need to be discussed with regard to the tradition. To start with, the Hebrew text is not pointed *prozbul*, but rather *p^{e}rôzbôl* (i.e. *ḥōlem*, not *shûreq*). This philological detail does not support the usual interpretation of the word, as meaning "to the council" (i.e. *pros boulē*). Hans Kippenberg, following L. Blau, has argued that behind the Hebrew word lies the Greek *prosbolē*, a word encountered in hellenistic juristic documents. The Greek word refers to the act of distraining on the property of a defaulting debtor and disposing of it through auction.[27] Shebi. 10.6 supports such an interpretation of the *prozbol:* According to this mishnah, a *prozbol* can be written only on immovable property (*qarqa'*).

The Talmud mentions other types of debt documents, and it is useful to try to distinguish them from the *prozbol*. Shebi. 10.1 speaks of loans made with or without a "bond" (*shaṭar*). Both types of loan are cancelled by the sabbatical year. In apparent contradiction to this, Shebi. 10.2 says that loans given on pledge or bonds delivered to the court are not cancelled. In these passages, the bond stands in contradistinction to pledges and perhaps simple verbal agreements. The pledge and the third-party surety were older means of guaranteeing repayment of a loan.[28]

Shebi. 10.5, in which *shaṭar* is qualified by the noun *ḥôb*, suggests that such documents simply record a debt and the terms of repayment. The bond represents perhaps the emergence of an impersonal system of contractual or written guaranties, in place of the traditional securities. Furthermore, the bond, like the *prozbol*, is not necessarily cancelled in the sabbatical year. The reference in Shebi. 10.2 to bonds conveyed to the court suggests delinquent loans that were due prior to the onset of the sabbatical year. The debts are still due.

It has been thought that the *prozbol* was simply a clause added to a debt document, to allow the debt to be collected in the sabbatical year (and perhaps stipulate that it is secured by real estate via a mortgage or lien).[29] Kippenberg thinks that this interpretation is mistaken, because it adopts uncritically the later rabbinic view of the *prozbol*. He points out that a debt contract recovered from Wadi Murabba'at, Mur 18 (54-55 C.E.), does not contain any formula like the *prozbol*.[30] Shebi. 10.4, however, does seem to lend support to the "clause interpretation." It states that the purpose of the *prozbol* is to ensure "that every debt due me I may collect whensoever I desire." This formula (esp.

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[26]The following material in the Mishnah refers to the *prozbol:* Peah 3.6; Shebi. 10.3-7; M. Kat. 3.3; Ket. 9.9; Gitt. 4.3; and the doublet Uktz. 3.10. See also other tannaitic traditions in the Talmuds and Tosephta. The difficulty of interpreting this material is here acknowledged. The traditions were written down in final form long after their origin. The point at issue in many discussions is obscure and at times perhaps idealistic. Furthermore, the Mishnah was not written to give the kind of information we are asking about.

[27]See *prosbolē* in Liddell-Scott-Jones, p. 1504. The meaning of the word is illustrated, for instance, in Ptolemy II's instructions to the *oikonomos* of Syria and Phoenicia, ET in R. Bagnall and P. Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period* (Sources for Biblical Study, 16: Scholars Press, 1981), p. 96.

[28]See A. Barrois, "Debt, Debtor," in *IDB* 1 (1962): 809. Proverbs 6:1; 11:15; 17:18; 20:16; and 22:26 suggest why the wealthy may not have wanted to stand surety for impoverished Jewish peasants.

[29]H. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), p. 139, attributes such a view to D. Correns in the latter's commentary on Shebiith. Cf. b. Gitt. 37b.

[30]Kippenberg, ibid.

"whensoever") could conceivably refer to the waiving of the sabbatical year forgiveness, but it can also be understood to refer to an aspect of the just-mentioned hellenistic procedure of attaching land. The phrase "whensoever I desire" then points to the significant amount of extra-judicial power vested in the creditor. He can move against the debtor's property without further reference to the court.[31] This feature, not to speak of conveyance of land to cover a debt, was foreign to traditional Jewish law. For this reason, the later rabbis had a difficult time assessing the meaning of the innovation attributed to Hillel. Understandably, they made their interpretation along traditional lines.[32] Some authentic memory of the meaning of the *prozbol* is retained nonetheless in the talmudic material.

It is interesting to note what look like post-70 C.E. "codicils" to the *prozbol* regulations—R. Huspith permitted loan arrangements to be made on a wife's or guardian's property (Shebi. 10.6) and R. Eliezer declared a beehive to be immovable property (10.7, against the Sages). These apparently expanded the scope of the law. Are we to infer that lands were mortgaged to the hilt after 70, and new securities needed to be found?

The direct evidence for Galilean debt, as far as I know, is found only in the Gospels. The discussion of that material is logically deferred to the next section.

Turning now to the general, indirect considerations, three will be offered. These are in turn: (1) Fiscal pressure, (2) population pressure, and (3) popular unrest in the pre-70 period.[33]

F. C. Grant over fifty years ago argued that two competing taxation systems—the Jewish and the Roman—placed an almost intolerable burden upon the agriculturalist in the early first century.[34] This has become pretty much the standard view, even though ancient historians have not as yet achieved a comprehensive picture of Roman taxation in Palestine.[35] Gildas Hamel, in a recent dissertation presented to the University of California (Santa Cruz), has questioned this standard view and argued that since the Romans initially depended upon the local aristocracies for tax assessment and collection (cf. Jos. *BJ* 2.405), it is probably better to think that each system of taxation took account of the other.[36]

Against Dr. Hamel's view, however, can be set the evidence in Josephus and Tacitus

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[31]Possible evidence for this is preserved in the Midrash Rabbah, on Num 19.9: A creditor hauls away a debtor's, as well as the neighbor's, granary! Cf. b. Gitt. 37a, which indicates that at a later time only the Beth din could seize property. B. Nicholas, op. cit., pp. 149-153, discusses legal procedures available to Roman creditors.

[32]Kippenberg, ibid., pp. 138f. For evidence of rabbinic debate on the meaning of the *prozbol*, see b. Gitt. 37a. On the Murabba'at material, see note 59.

[33]G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Tr. J. Bowden: Fortress, 1978), p. 40, lists the following "socio-economic factors" as significant in the context of Jesus' ministry: (1) Natural catastrophes, (2) over-population, (3) concentration of possessions, and (4) competing tax systems. Goodman, too, notes high taxation, increasing population, and bad harvests as potential explanations for the debt problem in Judaea: Art. cit., p. 419. He downplays all of these, however, and lays emphasis upon the great influx of wealth into Jerusalem after Pompey.

[34]F. C. Grant, *The Economic Background of the Gospels* (Oxford University, 1926), p. 89.

[35]S. Freyne, *Galilee From Alexander the Great to Hadrian* (University of Notre Dame, 1980), p. 183. G. Theissen, op. cit., p. 44. A. H. M. Jones, "Taxation in Antiquity," in *The Roman Economy* (Ed. P. Brunt: Blackwell, 1974), pp. 151-185.

[36]G. Hamel, *Poverty and Charity in Roman Palestine* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: University of California, Santa Cruz, 1983), p. 281. Compare Theissen, op. cit., pp. 42f.

for repeated requests for relief from tax burdens.[37] Almost in the same breath can be mentioned the message of the embassy to Augustus (*BJ* 2.85-86) and the petitions to Archelaus (Ibid. 2.4). These latter expressly mention reduction of taxes and people imprisoned (for debt?). Tacitus tells us (Annals 2.42) that Tiberius received requests from the provinces of Syria and Judaea for the reduction of tribute (tax on the ground). With this it is to be noted that Tiberius lengthened procuratorial tenure, in order (as Jos. *AJ* 18.172ff, tells us) to reduce extortionate exploitation of the subject peoples.[38]

Population pressure in Roman Palestine at the turn of the eras is easily inferred by looking at the expansion of the number of villages, towns, and cities of that time compared with other periods. One may also consider the archaeological and historical evidence for extensive and intensive farming.[39] Josephus speaks of both aspects—the number of villages and intensive farming—in his description of Galilee (*BJ* 3.42-43).

Along with such physical evidence, one must mention the social evidence for population pressure, namely, the numerous landless who are encountered in the sources. These were excess peasant children without inheritance, expropriated smallholders, and anyone who had been deprived in one way or another of access to the land. Many of these emigrated in search of better economic opportunity.[40] Such elements apparently supplied the labor pool for Herod's building projects, as well as the discontents met in the pages of Josephus as bandits or messianic pretenders.[41] Here too are to be classed beggars, orphans, tax collectors, prostitutes, hired laborers, petty artisans, and the like.[42] Applebaum has called attention to the expropriations of Jewish agriculturalists in the final years of the first century B.C.E. that swelled the ranks of these people.[43] Lack of land led to conflict, especially in Upper Galilee and Peraea, between Jewish and Gentile cultivators. We also remember the hostility exhibited by the Galileans during the War toward Sepphoris and Tiberias—both with pro-Roman sentiments and at one time or

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[37]Cf. Theissen, op. cit., p. 43, who cites Jos. *AJ* 15.365; 16.64; 18.90; 19.299. Goodman, p. 419 n. 15, thinks all such statements are "ideological" and points to the wealth of Judaea. However, one must remember who controlled the wealth and out of whose "pockets" the taxes were paid. Invariably the burden fell upon the lower classes—those who controlled the least amount of wealth. If they were pressed too far, they might "bite back." The aristocracy knew this, hence the petitions for lowering the tax burden.

[38]S. Baron offers further evidence, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2d ed.: Columbia University, 1952), 1:264 and n. 20.

[39]See J. Monson et al., *Student Map Manual* (Zondervan, 1979), comparing Maps 11-1 and 12-1. Cf. the views of M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (Reprint: Baker, [1966] 1977), pp. 219-221, who places the population around 2.5 million. G. Hamel convincingly disputes this number in his dissertation, op. cit., pp. 264-265. By considering the amount of food the country could have produced maximally, Hamel arrives at a figure of around one million people. Numbers should not, however, obscure the fact that the population had probably risen to a level near the maximum that the land would support under ancient technological and social conditions. On intensive and extensive farming, see S. Applebaum, in op. cit., 2.646 and Hamel, op. cit., p. 474 n. 245.

[40]See the material collected by Theissen, op. cit., pp. 34f., 41, on Galilean emigration and Transjordanian resettlement.

[41]Theissen, ibid., pp. 35f.

[42]See the discussions in L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann, *Jesus von Nazareth—Hoffnung der Armen*, (2. Aufl.: Kohlhammer, 1981), pp. 15-28 and W. Stegemann, *The Gospel and the Poor*, (Tr. D. Elliott: Fortress, 1984), pp. 13-21.

[43]Applebaum, in op. cit., 2:660.

another seat of the debt archives.[44] It is highly probable that other social mechanisms, like persistent indebtedness, were systematically adding to this pool of the disenfranchised.[45]

Consider the model sketched in Fig. 1. The model is designed to show, in a general way, the pressures imposed by debt upon the lives of the lower social strata of ancient Palestine. In the lower part of the model, two continua are employed. The dependency scale marks a social continuum from a relatively independent status to a dependent status. The property scale represents an economic continuum from direct control and access to the land ("ownership") to indirect or no access to the land ("expropriation, dispossession"). The scales are oriented so that the greatest condition of dependency or lack of access to land is farthest from the upper part of the model—representing the upper social stratum.[46]

The dotted lines connecting the two major sections of the model display the flow of rents and taxes upward.[47] These place a heavy burden on the peasantry. In addition, "acts of God" contribute to the pressure toward debt and foreclosure. A variety of such factors can be mentioned here, though for lack of space they cannot be indicated in Fig. 1. Insufficient rain or drought, insects, crop diseases, and other pestilences make their contribution. The degree to which the Palestinian economy was monetized would affect the rate of insolvency. Trade and surplus funds to loan are an important ingredient in the rise of indebtedness. Opposed to "acts of God" would be "acts of Men"—greed, speculation, and power struggles all play a role in the concentration of property, which is the reverse of the coin of debt and insolvency.[48]

The top of the model indicates the oligarchic structure of Roman Palestine, as it was also articulated with the centralized state of the empire. The basic "polarity" of the top part of the model is the opposition between decentralized aristocracy and centralized ruler (with bureaucratic apparatus).[49]

The debate surrounding Grant's thesis has already been mentioned. The model suggests that not two, but three contending taxations burdened the producer in this period. In addition to the needs of the state and the old aristocracy (the priests), the needs of the new aristocracy (Herodians) and prebends for the Roman officials (procurators) must be kept in mind.[50] These may at times, as Hamel has suggested, have complemented each other. Yet one suspects that for the most part the old and new aristocracies competed for the same territory.

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[44]Jos. *Vita* 38f, 123ff, 375, 384. See Freyne's discussion of the Galileans in op. cit., p. 166.

[45]Brunt thinks so too, "Josephus," p. 151.

[46]For the notion of dependent labor, see Finley, op. cit., p. 69 and passim. Also, G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Cornell University, 1981), pp. 205ff.

[47]Cf. the diagrams in Kippenberg, op. cit., pp. 92, 114, 127.

[48]Theissen, ibid., p. 41. Cf. *AJ* 17.307, 355; 18.2 on Herod's possessions. Stegemann's comment is instructive in op. cit., p. 19: "Herod the Great's expropriation of enormous stretches of farmland which were then sold to wealthy landowners . . . led to huge concentrations of land in the hands of a few . . . This in turn created great numbers of dependent tenant farmers . . ."

[49]On this polarity, see G. Lenski, *Power and Privilege*, pp. 229ff. For discussions of the notions of "patrimony" and "prebend," see M. Weber, *Economy and Society* (Tr. and edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich: University of California, 1978), 1:222 (prebend = benefice), 231ff. Further, E. Wolf, *Peasants* (Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 50ff.

[50]See Baron in note 38 above.

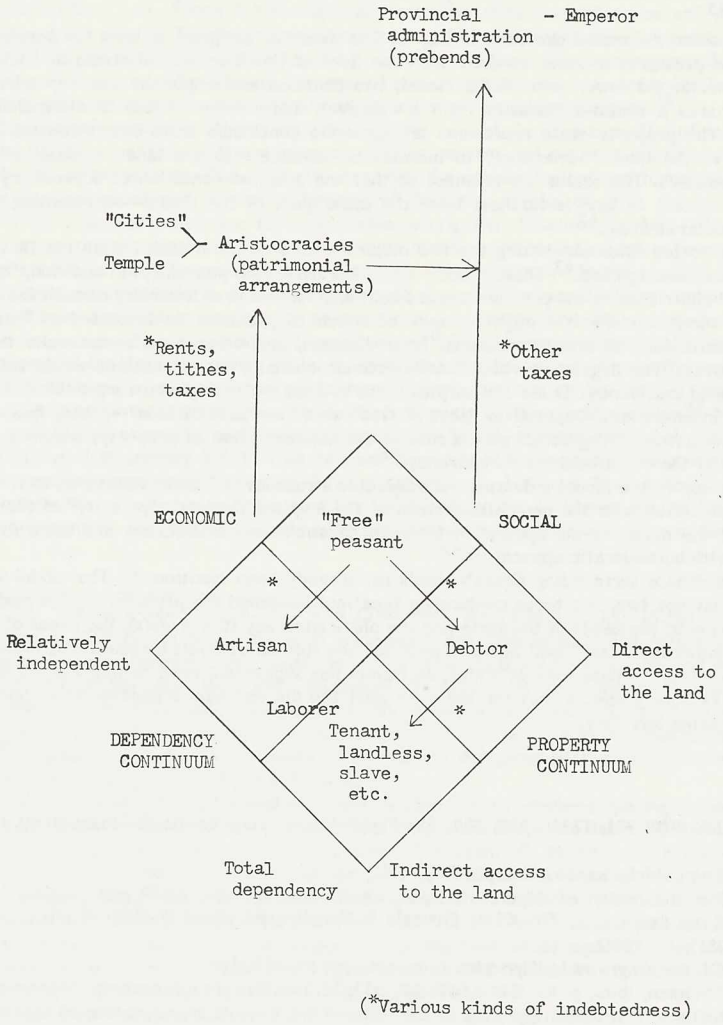

Figure 1: Social Dynamics of Debt in First-Century Palestine

Debt probably was most thoroughly exploited by those aligned with Rome. This is basically a surmise, of course, but the previous discussion of the hellenistic legal basis for expropriation of land would certainly point to such an alignment. It may also point to strong economic reasons for the secularization of the high priestly office and the upper priestly crust. In order for these to effectively compete, they would have had to adopt the methods of the new order.[51]

Bonds and pledges as guaranties for loans have already received some attention. Mishnaic laws, though mostly concerned with movable or immovable securities, speak also about limited periods of debt bondage.[52] Limited debt bondage is very much in the spirit of Old Testament laws forbidding interest, prohibiting the alienation of property, and protecting any necessary of life (Deut 23:19; Exod 23:26). This type of security is to be distinguished from unlimited debt slavery—a possibility under Roman law. In fact, the Roman law of debt was extremely harsh by comparison (see further the next section).[53]

As Fig. 1 shows, "free" peasant smallholders—not, of course, free of taxes and religious dues—could become dependent upon some creditor without initially losing direct access to the land. They would remain on their ancestral plot with the legal status of "debtor," which at some point crossed over into tenancy.[54]

The model suggests the following possible scenario:[55] A bad harvest or excessive taxation, coupled with the need of the Jewish peasant to feed his family and set aside grain for animals or the next crop, led to arrears. When this was compounded with low productivity or successive bad years, default ensued.[56] The tax collector, or a wealthy man advancing credit, might insist on securing a fiscal debt through property. The peasant, obviously, would try to secure it with the labor power of his offspring or something less valuable. Besides "legal processes," there were even dishonest machinations: p. Taan. 69a tells how the people of Beitar rejoiced over the fall of the wealthy in Jerusalem who had defrauded them out of their ancestral lands.[57]

The overall result of escalating debt, whether its nature was private or fiscal, was the growth of tenancy and the landless class.[58] Conversely, more and more land came

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[51]Consider Josephus' remark about slaves of the high priests seizing produce destined for the lower orders of priests in *AJ* 20.181, 206. See J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, (Tr. F. H. and C. H. Cave: Fortress, 1969), p. 181. Consider also the role that lower orders of priests played in the Jewish Revolt.

[52]On this point, Goodman, op. cit., p. 423 n. 40 follows E. Urbach. See Eduy. 8:2. Also, Kippenberg, op. cit., p. 143.

[53]On the Roman law of debt, consult Finley, op. cit., pp. 40, 69, and de Ste. Croix, op. cit., pp. 165ff.

[54]See Freyne, op. cit., p. 195.

[55]See a similar scenario in Freyne, *Galilee*, p. 195: "Indeed many tenants may have originally been owners of their own plots, but in a bad year had had to barter their land in order to pay tribute or buy grain for the following season and even feed their families."

[56]Jos. *AJ* 18.274 is noteworthy in this connection. Applebaum, op. cit., 2:660 n. 3 gives some evidence for how this might have worked: When Jews after the War could not pay their taxes in kind to the imperial granary in Jamnia, they were forced to borrow the next year's food. A comparative instance from modern Puerto Rico shows how debt through the "advance system" contributed there to the concentration of land ownership: See E. Wolf, "The Hacienda System and Agricultural Classes in San Jose, Puerto Rico," in A. Beteille, ed., *Social Inequality* (Penguin, 1969), pp. 175-176.

[57]Applebaum, in op. cit., 2:663 and n. 2.

[58]A general view of the growth of tenancy in this period is given by Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 99f, 291, 344f.

under the control of fewer and fewer landowners. Of both phenomena in first-century Palestinian society, there are numerous indications.[59]

3. Debt in the Gospel Tradition

A number of methodological problems in dealing with the New Testament material must at least be acknowledged before proceeding: Is it appropriate to use the parables, as I am about to do, to consider Jesus in his socio-historical context? Do the parables convey direct or indirect information about social conditions in first-century Galilee? Or was Jesus' speech focused in other directions, on stock images of the oriental world with little connection to actual circumstances? Was the "real world" simply a take-off point for the essential element in the parables, their alternate "narrative world"?

The hermeneutical stance adopted in the present paper has two elements: In the first place, it holds that public speech in an oppressive and conflicted political situation—like that of Jesus in Roman Palestine—cannot address any serious problem in material, social, or power relations without a certain indirection. The parables represent Jesus' attempt to publicly express critical truths in such a repressive political context. For this reason, they can always with probability be made to mean something else. This was the way Jesus protected himself. However, the basic meaning of the parables must always be assessed vis-à-vis their original audience and socio-political context.

Secondly, the hermeneutical stance of this paper stems from the recognition that, if the parables are true parables (accounts of real, one-time events), their narratives will self-evidently provide source material for social history, providing one looks for over-arching themes. If the parables are similitudes (typical occurrences) or even stock images, there is nevertheless an alignment between their subject matter and the interests of Jesus, as well as a convergence with the interests of the social historian. In any case, it is believed, the parables do convey information about first century Galilee.[60]

A further set of questions then arise: What is the nature of the concern with socio-economic realities often evidenced in the parables? Is this concern incidental or essential for understanding the ministry and message of Jesus? These questions are now taken up here in terms of the particular issue of debt.

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[59]In addition to the previous discussion and notes: The wealthy men of the immediate post-70 period—R. Tarfon, R. Eliezer, R. Gamaliel II—did not acquire their possessions overnight. See A. Büchler, "The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple," in I. Brodie and J. Rabbinowitz, eds., *Studies in Jewish History* (Adolph Büchler Memorial Volume: Oxford, 1956), pp. 33, 36, 37. Boethus b. Zonen acquired Jewish property through default on debt: B. M. 5.3. See Büchler, ibid., p. 39. The loan contract from the Wadi Murabba'at, Mur 18, is instructive on pre-70 realities (54-55 C.E.). It attests to a lien on (movable?) property in case of default. Mur 22 (131 C.E.) documents the sale of property to cover a debt. Translations and commentary on these documents in: P. Benoit, J. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 2: Oxford, 1961), pp. 100-104, 118-121. Kippenberg, op. cit., pp. 139ff. E. Koffmahn, *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda* (Brill, 1968), pp. 81-89, 159-162. On the mishnaic evidence for lease of fields, see B. M. 9.

[60]This belief places me generally in the camp of the historical exegetes of the parables—Dodd, Jeremias, Perrin, and most recently K. Bailey. I differ from them in a direct concern with the socio-economic dimension of the parables. For the distinction between "parable" and "similitude," see B. T. D. Smith, *The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 17. All such distinctions, as Jeremias points out in *The Parables of Jesus* (Rev. ed. based upon S. Hooke tr.: Scribner's, 1972), p. 20, are subsumed under the *mashal* speech form.

A comparison of Matt 18:23-35 and Matt 5:25//Luke 12:58 is instructive.[61] Three different situations are envisioned in which a debtor has defaulted. The two images in Matt 18 give dramatic testimony to the realities of one hellenistic-Roman procedure for dealing with insolvency. Both are cases of "execution against the person" of the debtor.[62] In the one instance, however, the debtor and his whole family are going into slavery for fiscal default. In the other, the debtor is simply clapped into prison for a private debt. Sherwin-White has seen here the stock image of a hellenistic king, though he orients his discussion to the "little kings"—including the Herods—who operated as vassals of the Romans under the early empire.[63] G. E. M. de Ste. Croix too sees in the parable something that might happen in the family of Herod.[64] Perhaps we are to think specifically of Herod Antipas, who exemplified such behavior in Jesus' immediate environment.[65]

The picture in Matt 5:25 and par. is somewhat different. Here a judicial proceeding is imminent. "Making friends" with the plaintiff thus means settling the debt out of court. This suggests a private debt is in view. If there is no settlement, the debtor is in danger of imprisonment. What is different here over against Matt 18 is the court proceeding before imprisonment. Jeremias does not believe this is a Jewish court.[66] Sherwin-White as confidently asserts that the "judge" here is a native magistrate.[67] Kippenberg tries to show that imprisonment for insolvency was enforced by Jewish courts, if the debtor had no real property to offset the debt (see below).[68]

Whatever the historical reality, the court of Matt 5:25 and par. had jurisdiction over those Jesus was addressing. The legal basis for its proceedings perhaps lay in part in hellenistic-Roman jurisprudence. While the transactions of the royal house in Matt 18 might have seemed remote, in Matt 5:25f//Luke 12:58f the experience of Jesus' audience was directly engaged.

These three New Testament depictions suggest the model in Figure 2.[69] The plight of the defaulting debtor is contingent upon his landed status. If the debtor has land (assuming it has secured the loan), then property is sold at auction or even transferred to the creditor to settle the debt. If the debtor does not have land, imprisonment or possibly slavery are in store.

Such imprisonment probably had the purpose of forcing the debtor to cough up hidden wealth or compelling his family to redeem him. Might a public auction of a debtor's property (i.e. the *prozbol* institution) have had a similar purpose, since Jewish families

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[61] I am indebted at numerous points in this analysis to Kippenberg, op. cit., pp. 141ff. G. E. M. de Ste. Croix has a similar analysis, op. cit., p. 164.

[62] On this "personal execution," see especially de Ste. Croix, op. cit., pp. 164, 240.

[63] A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Reprint: Baker, [1963] 1978), pp. 134ff.

[64] G. de Ste. Croix, ibid., p. 164.

[65] Cf. the thoughts of Jeremias on Mt. 18, *Parables*, p. 212: "The punishment of torture was not allowed in Israel. It is again evident (see v. 25, 30) that non-Palestinian conditions are described here, unless the parable is referring to Herod the Great, who made abundant use of torture, heedless of Jewish law—but could he have been credited with the generosity of v. 27?"

[66] Jeremias, op. cit., p. 180.

[67] Sherwin-White, op. cit., p. 133.

[68] Kippenberg, op. cit., pp. 142-143. His evidence is Matt 18, Matt 5:25, and Jos. *BJ* 2.273.

[69] Though Kippenberg does not explicitly lay out this model, all of its ingredients are present in his book, pp. 141-142, 143.

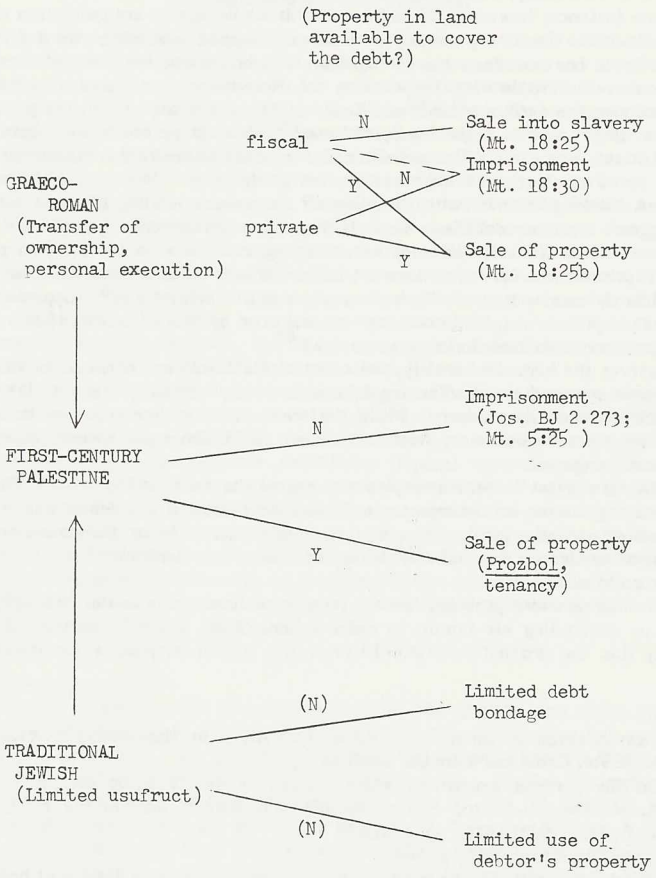

Figure 2: Procedures in Case of Insolvency
(After Kippenberg)

would have been under pressure to "keep land in the family"? Without property, imprisonment of the debtor was more prevalent than debt bondage, both because slaves were readily and cheaply available and because there was a large labor pool of the landless. The worth of labor thereby was debased.[70]

Turning to the much-discussed parable in Luke 16:1-9, a few observations about the transactions there are in order. First of all, the debts are paid in kind. Secondly, the size of the debts is remarkable. One hundred cors of wheat would feed 150 people for a year.[71] Similarly, the 100 *batous* (= "baths," ca. 400 liters each) amounts to a very large quantity of oil.[72] What is the nature of this debt?

Since there is nothing to indicate in the parable that the *plousios anthrōpos* is a royal figure, it is unlikely that such large debts in kind imply arrears in taxes. These were probably paid in money under the early empire.[73] The debtors of Luke 16 may be single tenants far in arrears on their rent.[74] The best assumption, however, would seem to be that the parable envisions a man who owns whole villages. These tenant villages, through representatives, pay a yearly produce rent on their agricultural lands. The rich man, then, sells these goods (oil and wheat would be negotiable) and/or provisions his own household. The debt in any case is a private debt. This interpretation finds support in v. 4: *hotan metastathō . . . dexōntai me eis tous oikous autōn*. By defrauding the master, the steward has made many "friends," whole villages in fact.

Of particular note in Matt 18:23-35, Luke 16:1-9, and also in the brief story of Luke 7:41-42, is the aspect of debt forgiveness or remission. In Matt 18 and Luke 7, a petty king or a (wealthy) money-lender supply the examples. Such things happened in the "real world," according to these similitudes. Yet as we have seen, remission of debts was a revolutionary slogan in agrarian antiquity, and such tales on the lips of a Galilean prophet probably sounded subversive.

The case of Luke 16 is somewhat different. There an underling (cf. the contrary behavior of the underling in Matt 18) reduces the indebtedness, though not entirely. The limited nature of the reduction, nonetheless, points in the same general direction as the other two stories. The betrayal of the master's trust, along with the debt transactions, suggests an abrogation of the then-current social mores of fidelity in such relations and the rigorous exaction of debt.[75]

This point has not gone unnoticed by New Testament commentators, of course, but they have rarely made out of it any social conclusion. One final bit of the tradition will suggest strongly the need to make more out of the concrete social implications in these parables.

The Lord's Prayer has, together with the parables, been considered bedrock of the

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[70]Kippenberg, ibid. Goodman, op. cit., p. 423 n. 40. Cf. M. Finley, op. cit., p. 70 on the worth and supply of labor.

[71]This figure is derived from the following calculation: About 200 kg. of grain will keep one person alive at a subsistence level for a year. On this see, Hamel, op. cit., p. 472 n. 233, based upon the work of C. Clark and M. Haswell, *The Economics of Subsistence Agriculture* (4th ed.: London, 1970), p. 58. If the Talmudic cor was around 400 liters in volume, equivalent to 11 bushels, and an average density of wheat today is around 27 kg./bu., then 100 x 11 x 27/200 = ca. 150.

[72]Variant readings in D, of course, offer the smaller unit "qab," = 1/6 of the bath. Compare the discussion in Jeremias, *Parables*, p. 181: 100 cors = yield of 100 acres. 100 baths = yield of 146 olive trees.

[73]According to Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 208f, and as in Matt 18; but see note 56 above.

[74]Rents were normally about 10 cors a year: B. M. 9.7. Applebaum, ibid., 2:659.

[75]Recall again the passage in Cicero, *De officiis* 2.84.

Jesus tradition.[76] Yet even so, the prayer comes to us in twofold form in the tradition. Which of the two presents the more authentic form? This question is not easy to decide. The Lukan *form* is probably closest in length to the original. However, editorial work of both evangelists can be detected. Therefore, the original form would have to be reconstructed in any case.

Fortunately, a discussion of particular points does not have to await the reconstruction of the whole. Of concern here will be only the petitions for bread and forgiveness (Matt 6:11-12//Luke 11:3-4).

Starting with the forgiveness petition first, how is it to be taken? Underlying the Greek word *aphiēmi* and cognates is the notion of both cancellation of debt and metaphorical forgiveness.[77] Behind *opheilēmata - hamartias* (Matt 6:12 // Luke 11:4 resp.) probably lies the Aramaic *ḥôbāh*. This word had in Galilean Aramaic the meaning of either sin or debt.[78] Matthew's understanding of the petition is indicated by the supplemental condition in v. 15 (*paraptō mata*). Luke has supplied the word "sins" instead of "debts." Yet it is most interesting that Luke continues with a material application —"as we ourselves forgive all in debt to us" (11:4b). The Matthean form of this comparative clause could also formally refer to actual debtors who are "forgiven" (though the above consideration argues against Matthew having so understood the clause).

Admittedly, the metaphorical use of the Aramaic word *ḥôbāh*, "debt," is well attested in the rabbinic material.[79] So also is the petition for release from "debts" owed to ("sins" committed against) God. Here may be recalled the sixth benediction in the Shemoneh "Esreh and especially Akiba's prayer in b. Ta'an. 25b: . . . "according to thy great mercy remit [all] our promissory notes (*kol shiṭ^{e}rê ḥôbôthênû*)."[80] However, it is to be suspected that these references, like those regarding the *prozbol*, reflect concerns and socio-economic conditions quite different from the pre-70 realities of Roman Palestine.

The basic structure of the Synoptic tradition's interpretation of this petition—apparent in both Matthew and Luke—is "forgiveness" requested in the context of a vertical relationship to God (in line with the later rabbinic viewpoint), as compared with "forgiveness" practiced in the context of a horizontal relationship to the neighbor. In this latter practice, Matthew seems to metaphorize debt to cover all kinds of social obligations, while Luke retains the literal meaning. In the former practice, neither Matthew nor Luke reads the petition other than as a request for forgiveness for infractions (debts = trespasses, sins respectively) against God.

Is it possible to see the meaning of the prayer within the context of Jesus' ministry? It is suggested here that that meaning becomes evident in the conjunction of the petition for forgiveness with the petition for daily bread.

What needs to be seen in this conjunction is the *material* link between the two petitions, a synonymous parallelism, if you will. Indebtedness threatens the availability of daily bread. Conversely, the petition for daily bread is at the same time a petition for a social order that will supply such basic human needs in a regular and consistent manner. Thus, the succeeding petition for forgiveness can be seen to address just such a social concern: Indebtedness disrupts the ability of a social order to supply daily bread. Therefore, rather than infractions against God, Jesus primarily asked through this petition for release from the earthly shackles of indebtedness. Even if one adopts an eschatological hermeneutic framework for this prayer, as for instance does Jeremias, one must still see

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[76]N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (Harper & Row, 1967), p. 47.

[77]R. Bultmann, "APHIEMI, KTL.," in *TDNT* 1 (1964): 509f.

[78]G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (2d ed.: Leipzig, 1930), pp. 334f is helpful. Further, cf. Perrin, op. cit., p. 151.

[79]In addition to Dalman, F. Hauck, art. cit., p. 565 n. 1.

[80]Cited from Hauck, ibid., p. 562.

in such an eschatology this material expectation. The material link between lack of bread and debt calls into question, therefore, the "spiritualizing" interpretations of the prayer evident already in the Synoptic tradition.

The suggested interpretation urges itself on the basis of another consideration. Jesus' ministry appealed particularly to the landless, that is, those forced for one reason or another into beggary, prostitution, tax collection, or other occupations not directly linked to working the land.[81] It may be surmised that many of these people knew the reality of indebtedness. Perhaps they had not been able to get out of debt, and so had been driven from "normal" social ties for this reason. Would such people have made no connection between their material need, and the most profound expression of the aims of the Jesus movement—the Lord's Prayer?

In conclusion it must be said that, if the interpretation advanced is sustainable, Jesus' ministry takes on an explicitly revolutionary aspect according to the canons of antiquity. From one side, his ministry can be seen to have advocated the dissolution of the material mechanisms of social stratification and power. From another side, the political authorities undoubtedly would have perceived, even in the hint of a public proclamation of the abolition of debt, a subversive, revolutionary agenda. Jesus did not have to advocate armed insurrection to be branded a revolutionary. In fact, he did not advocate armed insurrection. However, his vision of the liberation coming with the reign of God directly attacked a principal element of the Roman order in Palestine and attracted a following of people victimized by debt.

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[81] The works of Schottroff and Stegemann cited in note 42.

Jesus, Israel and the Cross

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Like naughty children whispering after a command to silence, and then, greatly daring, talking openly and with increasing volume, New Testament scholars, so long forbidden to talk about Jesus of Nazareth, have begun in the last decade to do so with renewed vigour. Twenty or so years ago the late Bishop Stephen Neill could write, "It is just the fact that the *historical* reconstruction of the life and history of Jesus has as yet hardly begun":[1] those words, true at the time, are now quite out of date. Neill went on to say that "The materials for further work are all there. What we need now is historians." They have duly appeared: Caird (1965), Bowker (1973), Vermes (1973, 1984), Meyer (1979), Riches (1980), Hengel (1981: German original, 1968), Harvey (1982) and now Borg (1984[2]) and Sanders (1985), sharing (despite their wide differences of approach and results) the conviction that it is possible to know quite a lot about Jesus of Nazareth and that to discuss him as a figure of history is worthwhile.[3] There is space here neither to review this "third quest" nor to justify it theologically.[4] My intention, in response to the suggestion of the Historical Jesus Consultation in the 1984 SBL meeting, is simply to attempt an answer to the question: if it is true that Jesus' life and ministry are to be understood within the framework of Judaism, and in particular if it is true that his aims and intentions were bound up with the fate of the Jewish nation (this loose way of putting it is designed to cover the positions of most of the above writers: in what follows, however, there will be space only for limited interaction with others, with the exception of Borg and Sanders), what sense can be made of his suffering and death?

A few words about the background and nature of this question will be in order before we can begin to look at it for itself.

I

There is, for a start, the problem of the "if" in the question as formulated. It was axiomatic for some previous generations of scholars that Jesus' life and ministry had to be divorced from their Jewish setting: at best it provided the dark backcloth against which the sparkling jewel could better be seen.[5] Jesus, it was thought, taught a lofty

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[1] Neill 1964, 283.

[2] See too his article "The End-of-the-World Jesus" in the forthcoming Memorial Volume for G. B. Caird.

[3] I use the phrase "Jesus of Nazareth" in preference to "the historical Jesus" because of the overtones of earlier debates, and of unfortunate positions within them, carried by the latter. For other positions of importance within the present stage of debate, see Stanton 1975, Goppelt 1981 vol. 1, Lohfink 1984.

[4] For some reflections on this issue, see Wright 1982.

[5] See Sanders 1977, 1-59, for what must now be regarded as a standard refutation of

message of universal significance: a particular interest in his own Jewish people, their problems and the politics, would distance him awkwardly from virtually all other situations. Worse (for the line of thought we are describing), it would have tied him not just to a particular historical situation but to a *Jewish* frame of thought, which was just the sort of thing that much post-Enlightenment religion regarded with distaste or worse. Thus, in order to make Jesus not only theologically relevant but theologically correct, he must be universalized, and with him his background. Judaism becomes a typical example of the wrong sort of religion: Jesus, the announcer of the right sort.

It is without a doubt the problems that this view poses for anyone wishing to make sense of the history of first-century Palestine that have caused people acting (no doubt) with the highest of motives to argue that the "Jesus of history" is more or less irrelevant for Christian faith, and to retroject that argument, too, into the first century by claiming that the evangelists were no more interested in him than a good neo-Kantian or Heideggerian ought to be. But the historical problems will not go away. As F. C. Burkitt pointed out in his preface to the first edition of Schweitzer's *Quest*, "the true view of the Gospel [by which he meant, of course, the accounts of Jesus' life in the Gospels] will be that which explains the course of events in the first century and the second century, rather than that which seems to have spiritual and imaginative value for the twentieth century."[6] And what is to be explained is just what the view I have criticized cannot explain: why Jesus of Nazareth, who began his ministry in close association with a preacher of repentance to Israel, and whose followers, after his death, still shared in some ways the apocalyptic hope of their Jewish contemporaries, should have met his death on a Roman cross outside the gates of Jerusalem. Just as it makes sense to ask why the Peloponnesian war occurred, and why Athens eventually lost it (not to mention whether Thucydides, the first to raise the questions, got the answers right), it makes sense to ask why Jesus did what he did during his evidently brief ministry, and why he met the death he did—and whether the evangelists, who may have been the first to raise these questions, got the answers (historically) right.

It is, of course, possible to suggest an answer to this question without leaving the usual framework of thought: Jesus offended the religious beliefs and vested interests of his contemporaries, and died (in effect) as a martyr for the right sort of religion. But this view, too, has large problems to surmount. First, the evidence of the gospels themselves does not suggest that the opposition which eventually led to Jesus' death was what (in this view) would usually count as specifically religious, or theologically motivated. The trial narratives do not obviously go back to Jesus' reported attacks on Torah, his Sabbath violations, his rude remarks about the food laws. However the charge of blasphemy is to be interpreted, it is only connected by the occasional and slender thread (e.g. Mark 2:7 and pars.) to the controversies which surrounded Jesus during his ministry. Second, this view has great difficulty in explaining how Jesus' death as a martyr to the cause of universal spiritual religion could be seen, within a decade or two at least, as possessing *atoning* significance: this point could be sharpened by asking how it was that Paul could write, about twenty years later, that "the Son of God loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal 2:20). This second problem, however, is shared by some at least of the works repre-

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this retrojection of the Protestant view of sixteenth-century church history—the dark Middle Ages, the bright jewel of Martin Luther—into the first century of the era. See Sanders' criticism of Käsemann (1985, 331 and elsewhere), and the chapter "The Agonized Attempt to Save Jesus from Apocalyptic: Continental New Testament Scholarship" in Koch 1972, ch. 6.

[6]Burkitt 1910, xix. See Sanders 1985, 333: history and exegesis are to be set free "from being obligated to come to certain conclusions which are pre-determined by theological commitment."

sented in the newest Quest, and it is the task of this paper to show how, within the parameters set by the current discussion, a satisfactory answer may be found.

The alternative approach offered by writers in the Reimarus-Brandon line[7] has of course had its own solution to the problem: Jesus was a Jewish freedom-fighter who suffered, predictably, the punishment which the Romans characteristically meted out to revolutionary leaders. This view, though not (as we will see) without strengths which must be taken into account in any eventual hypothesis, runs into problems of its own. The actual evidence we have makes it extremely unlikely that Jesus was an advocate of revolutionary violence,[8] and this view, too, fails to explain either why Jesus' death was regarded so soon as atoning or, as Sanders has pointed out (1985, 226, 228, 231, 295, 318, 329) why his disciples were not at once rounded up and rooted out.[9] Nevertheless, the reaction to Brandon has too often been of the form: Jesus was not a violent revolutionary, therefore (or is it "because"?) his message is apolitical, spiritual, timeless, universal. I regard it as one of the many great strengths of Borg's book that he attacks this standard view and suggests that there are more than two possible positions here.[10] To split "religion" and "politics" as neatly and apparently self-evidently as post-Enlightenment Western thought does is one thing: to project that view into the first century (or even, for that matter, the sixteenth) is to commit gross anachronism, especially when what is at stake is the historical understanding of a people who were committed, for reasons we would today call "religious," to a particular territory and social lifestyle. There is, then, more than meets the eye to the *titulus* on the cross: Jesus' death may after all have had something to do with the hope of Israel, though not perhaps in the way Brandon thought.[11] But this is to run ahead of the argument.

It is, happily, less incumbent on a writer today than it was ten years ago to write a massive section of his treatment of Jesus explaining and justifying his method.[12] One or two remarks, however, are in order at this stage. Like Sanders (1985, 47), I agree wholeheartedly with Meyer in his argument that, as historians, we must proceed on the assumption that historical knowledge is real knowledge, and that the route by which it is to be reached is that of hypothesis and verification. Insofar as some of the much-vaunted "criteria" for adjudging synoptic authenticity lend themselves to use within this scheme, they are to be valued: but they are not of very much value even there, as will be readily apparent from the constant disagreements even among those who agree in theory on the tools they are using. The much-vaunted "criterion of dissimilarity," in particular, was never really a *critical* tool in the first place, however "objective" it may have appeared to the outsider. It was designed as a blunt instrument for implementing a double theological programme: Jesus is to be divorced from his Jewish context, and the early church

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[7]See Bammel 1984.

[8]Harvey 1982, ch. 1; Bammel and Moule 1984, passim. Sanders 1985, 326 claims that it is "certain or virtually certain" that neither Jesus nor his disciples "thought that the kingdom could be established by force of arms."

[9]The Domitianic persecution of the family of Jesus as though they belonged to a royal house with political aspirations (Eusebius, HE 3:19f., following Hegesippus) does not of course disprove this point, but rather highlights the fact that the earliest disciples did not suffer such persecution.

[10]1984, 1-20; and such summaries as 235: "Jesus' attitude towards Rome was not based on an apolitical stance, but on the conviction that in the political affairs of the world the judging activity of God was at work."

[11]See Meyer 1979, 19f.: Reimarus was right to insist on the Jewish political context (which the nineteenth century promptly forgot), wrong in how he interpreted it. See below for an analogous analysis of Schweitzer.

[12]See Schillebeeckx 1979, 41-102; Meyer 1979, 23-110.

is to have no interest in the historical Jesus. This is actually an odd combination, since if Jesus really was separate from Judaism, the teacher who challenged people to existentialist decision, it should have been quite safe for the early church, or indeed the modern one, to be interested in him: hence Bultmann's *Jesus*. The idea that ancient and modern Christians are better off with the Christ of faith than with the Jesus of history offers tacit recognition that Jesus cannot, after all, be divorced from his Jewish matrix. Hence the need for the other blunt instrument: demythologisation.

In practice, writers of all stripes this century have in fact used the hypothesis-model: sayings and incidents which would be suspect on strict application of the criteria are retained because they are close to the heart of what the writer assumes to be bedrock in our knowledge of Jesus, and the criteria are often wheeled in only as convenient ways of eliminating those bits of evidence which do not fit the hypothesis.[13] This has resulted in the strange situation that one of the age-old criteria for a good *hypothesis*—in any field of enquiry from a police investigation to a metaphysical conundrum—has been quietly set aside: one must "save the appearances," must include as far as possible all the evidence. The "criteria" have provided a convenient waste-basket where "appearances" that the hypothesis cannot "save" may be deposited without anyone feeling guilty about it. The strength of Harvey's argument, and, *mutatis mutandis*, those also of Meyer, Borg and Sanders is that they provide hypotheses in which significantly more of the "appearances" are "saved" than in many previous treatments: and by "appearances" I mean the texts of the synoptic gospels.[14] We need, then, hypotheses, and these recent works suggest some: I shall offer my own, or rather a summary outline of that part of my own which bears on the specific topic in hand. The strength of a hypothesis is its essential simplicity, its "saving" of the "appearances," and its ability to make sense of data not part of the present puzzle. I regard all the works already cited as possessing these strengths in varying degrees over against the main line of writing about Jesus which preceded them in the present (or, for that matter, the last) century: and this paper is an attempt to modify and re-present part, at least, of the overall hypothesis which seems to be emerging.

II

The case I wish to advance has three stages, almost syllogistic in overall form. The first may be stated, in advance, as follows: *Jesus warned his contemporaries of imminent divine judgment*. This is in some ways the required starting-point for this paper, since it was requested as a sequel to a discussion of Borg's book, where the point is made central, and established at some length.[15] But just here there is a conflict with most of the other recent writers about Jesus. Meyer and Sanders, for instance, regard a message of judgment as almost peripheral in Jesus' ministry. The point must therefore be set out in some detail.

We may begin on solid ground.[16] (1) Jesus' ministry took its historical origin from that of John the Baptist, who, as is widely agreed, warned Israel of "the wrath to come" and urged her to tuen while there was time. He can be safely located on the map of

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[13]See the comments of Caird (1965, 5) on Bultmann's actual practice; and of Borg (1984, 22) on Perrin's.

[14]Borg frequently (e.g. 132f., 142, 173) resorts to the argument that, even if a certain passage is not from Jesus, it is from the early Palestinian church which shared his aims and outlook. This seems to me fine as far as it goes, though it is of course, open to the rejoinder that if the continuity is strong enough for the argument to stand it is hard to see why the passage cannot, at least hypothetically, be ascribed to Jesus himself.

[15]Borg 1984, 201-27, 265-76.

[16]See Sanders 1985, passim.

Jewish apocalyptic expectation, as can the early church, whose half-misunderstandings (e.g. Acts 1:6) are still recorded at a time when such issues had lost their immediate relevance. Paul, too, shows constant signs of being grounded in the Jewish apocalyptic expectation, whether we judge such signs to be indications of his major theological emphases or whether, with Käsemann, we place them at the periphery. If Jesus had not shared these expectations, he would have been more than an historical oddity: he would have been incomprehensible and irrelevant in the eyes of his contemporaries. This, which is similar to Harvey's overall thesis (though he does not develop it in relation to the hope of *Israel*), amounts to the simple argument: Jesus must have taught and lived in this context, otherwise he would not have made sense. More: he would not have been crucified. A nineteenth-century moralist or teacher of pure, spiritual religion, or a man who proclaimed that God was "near" as opposed to remote (a fact of which many Jews were already well aware), would not, it is safe to say, have ended up on a cross.[17] Jesus lived, taught and died in a context of what Sanders calls "Jewish restoration eschatology."

(2) But in what did this "apocalyptic hope" consist? Space forbids the detailed discussion this question warrants. Perhaps the best that can be done is to register my agreement with the line taken by Caird (1965, 1976, 1980) and Borg (as above), following the interpretation of apocalyptic given by S. B. Frost in particular: the "apocalyptic" hope of Israel was not an expectation that God would soon end the entire space-time order, but was the hope that he would soon, within the continuing course of history, act to vindicate his own name by delivering his covenant people from their current political and social predicaments. The language used by many writers (though by no means all) as the vehicle of this hope has systematically misled generations of scholars into imagining that the referent is "the end of the world," whereas its purpose is rather to invest the future space-time events which are the actual referents with their true theological significance. The classic example of a scholar thus misled is of course Albert Schweitzer, who was so right in his insistence that Jesus is to be seen in the context of Jewish eschatology and so wrong in his interpretation of it, just as Reimarus and Brandon were right to make politics the setting and wrong to make Jesus an armed revolutionary.[18] *When* God acts in this way, he will be ushering in *haʿolam habaʾ*, the new age. This is akin to Jeremiah's prophecy that "the Day of the Lord" was soon to break on the people of Israel: the Babylonian invasion was to be identified as the coming of that Day. The historical and political events were invested with theological significance. This point is particularly striking in the interpretation of Daniel 7. No one imagines that the beasts are to be taken as actual animals, but many assume that the figure like a son of man is to be taken as just that, a human figure. It is hard to maintain the symbolic interpretation, and the consequent this-worldly reference, of the New Testament apocalyptic language when faced with an overwhelming tradition which insists on taking it literally, but I believe this is the only way forward if justice is to be done to the literature itself, let alone its relevance to the New Testament. Even Borg (e.g. 212) stops short of Caird's position (1965, 18-22) when it comes to the "Son of Man" sayings.

(3) Jesus warned, then, of the approach, not of "the end of the world" in the sense of the cessation of the present space-time continuum, but of *the end of the present socio-political state of affairs.*[19] (I used to use the phrase "the end of the present world order," but in his new book Sanders has used it with a different sense, and I therefore avoid it for the sake of clarity. Sanders, it seems to me, never quite grasps the nettle. He sees that

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[17] So, rightly, Borg 319 n. 115.

[18] See especially Borg 1984, 216ff., and the references there, especially that (367 n. 45) to the work of Amos Wilder; also Caird 1976, and 1980 chs. 12-14.

[19] See Borg 202: "what faced the hearers of Jesus was not the imminent . . . end of the world, but the imminent . . . destruction of Israel."

in some cases the hope must be seen as this-worldly, but persists in maintaining the traditional view that many expressions of it have an other-worldly referent.) Jesus' statements about an imminent "end" are to be read against their characteristic Jewish-apocalyptic background: there will be events in the immediately future history which will constitute God's action in history to fulfill the covenant and bring in at last the new age when God's people will be vindicated after their long desolation. It is this which gives to his preaching its characteristic urgency, so rightly noted and so wrongly interpreted by both Schweitzer and Bultmann. It is this, too, that gave him relevance to his contemporary situation: the smouldering conflicts between Jew and Gentile, and between Jew and Jew, which characterized the outwardly peaceful society of Palestine in the first thirty years of the era,[20] were directly addressed by one who claimed, and put his claim into action, that God was about to act to set things right. Only in this context can we understand how his message—especially his language about the Kingdom—could have been more than the timeless philosophy to which scholarship still so often reduces it.

(4) If Jesus' language about the Kingdom thus resonated with the expectation of his contemporaries that God would act in history to vindicate his name and his people, it is also clear that what he said about the Kingdom challenged and disturbed those current expectations. His message is, to that extent, like that of Amos 5:18: Why do you desire the Day of Yahweh? It is a day of darkness, and not of light. A good many of the parables are devoted to saying: *this*, and not that, is what the Kingdom (for which you have longed) is like. It is like a net full of fish, good and bad together: like wheat mingled with tares: like a man sowing seed in his field. It is a time of judgment for Israel, not deliverance merely. Many will come from East and West, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom, while the children of the Kingdom are cast out. If these statements and others like them are read simply as retrojections of the later church into the ministry of Jesus, it will be impossible (I believe) to understand that ministry in its true colours.

(5) In particular, it will be impossible to understand why Jesus was referred to as a *prophet*. This attribution should be distinguished from the frequently discussed question of whether Jesus was thought of, or thought of himself as, "the eschatological prophet": there is, in fact, comparatively little evidence for that reference to Deut 18:15-22 in the gospels, John 6:14 and one or two other passages being exceptions. There is plenty of evidence that the primary category seized on by Jesus' contemporaries to explain who he was was "prophet" in the sense not of national leader but of national disturber: John the Baptist, Elijah, Jeremiah were the models chosen, according to Matt 16:14 pars. Good evidence, too: the great majority of references come very definitely into the "dissimilarity" test, since Judaism was not noticeably expecting a prophet who, like Elijah and Jeremiah, would warn that the covenant God had a quarrel with his people, and the early church very quickly abandoned the category in favour of others more clearly honorific. Matt 16:14 itself might be held to be an exception, since the passage is clearly leading up to a statement of Jesus Messiahship, and the references to the prophets might be held to be introduced simply for the sake of contrast. But this will not do in the light of the other evidence. Herod apparently put Jesus into the category of "prophet": so did the disciples: and so did Jesus himself—"it is impossible that a prophet should perish outside Jerusalem"; "a prophet is not without honour except in his own country." Even when the context cries out for at least a Messianic statement, Matthew has the crowds at the Entry announce "This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth in Galilee." And the characteristic message of the prophet is to warn the people of God that they are off course, and that God will shortly act to punish them, and to deliver those who (in this sense) mend their ways.

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[20]For this view of the period see Borg 27-72.

(6) Into this developing picture the numerous explicit *warnings* of the synoptic gospels fit comfortably. The fig tree has one more year to bear fruit, and "if not, then you can cut it down": those who perished in one of Pilate's characteristically provocative suppressions of Jewish feeling will set the pattern for all—unless they repent. There will be a separation of righteous and unrighteous, of wheat and chaff. Israel will be like a steward about to be put out of service for mismanagement, and unless she makes alternative provisions quickly her plight will be sorry. If Sanders is right—and I think he is—then the action in the Temple can be seen within exactly the same context: not basically as a cleansing, as though Jesus thought either to make it fit for continuing use or to register a protest against the "materialistic" concerns of Judaism (again, anachronism has made nonsense of the setting), but as a symbolic act of destruction.[21] Here the theme which we are observing in the sayings material finds a grounding in indisputable fact.[22] But, against Sanders' repeated assertions, I believe (a) that there is no good reason to deny that Jesus preached, repeatedly and centrally, the warning of impending judgment which the action in the temple symbolized; and (b) that there is nothing in the synoptic tradition (and only John 2:18-22 outside it) to warrant the assertion that the main thing in Jesus' mind in the temple incident was not judgment but restoration. (It is ironic how one of the few "sayings" attributed to Jesus which Sanders allows to become part of his "bedrock" is that put into his mouth by the false witnesses in the trial—and even they could not agree on it. It could of course be said that the setting reflects the embarrassment of the evangelists, but that is odd, since (a) they happily "report" several other predictions of the temple's destruction and (b) the Johannine explanation of the "rebuilding" idea was ready to hand.) The fig-tree incident, which clearly goes with the Temple incident and interprets it, suggests that Luke 13:35 is closer to the mark: the temple is abandoned by God, as in Ezekiel 10, and is therefore defenceless against the enemy.[23] One of the great advantages—if it is an advantage—of this view is that Mark 13 and pars. no longer stand out like a sore thumb from the rest of the tradition, but fit comfortably within it and indeed draw it to a climax: Jesus' whole ministry is one of apocalyptic warning of the immediately future judgment which will come upon Israel unless she repents.

(7) The warnings appear to have a definite and concrete referent. Just as Babylon, and Assyria before her, were seen by the prophets as God's instruments for purging his sinful people, so Rome will be God's means of bringing judgment on those who refuse to heed the warnings of Jesus (or, for that matter, of John the Baptist). The axe is laid to the roots of the tree: Rome, with her blasphemous standards and coinage, already pollutes the holy land, and the pollution will be complete—"unless you repent." It is at this point that the extraordinariness of Jesus' message becomes fully apparent. The Jewish hope, in a nutshell, was that God would act to save his people *from* Rome (as the concrete historical manifestation of his faithfulness to the covenant). Where Messianic expectations existed, as we shall see, they functioned within that wider, and more widespread, national hope. Jesus, however, while declaring that the Kingdom of God is imminent, stands the concrete form of the hope on its head. Hope lies, not in large-scale

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[21] At the same time, Sanders' view needs to be put together with the brilliant suggestions made by Borg (1984, 170-77). If this is done the incident can be interpreted as an acted parable of judgment, and the saying that accompanies it fits perfectly. The temple, and its concern for "holiness" of the "separation" variety, is the actual centre of that Jewish resistance to Rome which Jesus sees as courting theological/political disaster. See too Meyer 1979, 198, explaining the incident by reference to the prophecy of Zech 14:21 (that there would, in the eschaton, be no traders in the temple).

[22] See Sanders 1985, 61-76.

[23] See Borg 1984, 181ff.

national deliverance from an enemy without, but in a national turning to a new form of aspiration—which is already appearing *entos hymon*, "in your midst," as a grain of mustard seed, small but growing. The paradox of Jesus' ministry is this: that, in claiming to herald the fulfillment of Israel's hope, he radically redefines that hope. Caird and Borg both make the point that, for Jesus, the referent of the warnings is specific and concrete: if you persist in nationalist ambition, sooner or later Rome will crush you. Left in that form, it may be said (and Sanders does say it) that it did not take much political astuteness to make such a prediction. True: but what the synoptic writers assert is that Jesus did not leave it in that form. He warned that the "national hope," followed in the way it was being followed, would lead to the wrath of Rome, *and that in that wrath was to be seen the wrath of God*. That is the point at which the political and historical referent of the warning is invested with theological significance, the insight which went beyond mere political or historical shrewdness.

(8) The (so-called) ethical teaching of Jesus is to be seen, in this light, not in terms of a mere interiorisation of "external" Torah, nor indeed as a new Torah, but as the summons to Israel to *be* Israel—under Jesus' guidance. The Torah means what is says, that the very ideas of murder and adultery are hateful to God. God means what he says, that he is a Father to Israel, but to treat him as such will involve rethinking many practices of current piety. Here Borg makes one of his most important contributions to the discussion: Jesus offers Israel an alternative paradigm, the "mercy code" (Luke 6:36, summarizing 6:27-36 and its Matthaean parallel) instead of the "holiness code." Instead of conceiving her national task as a holiness which involved separation, Jesus invites Israel to find her vocation in a different sort of *imitatio Dei*,[24] which will mean forgiving enemies instead of vengeance against them, going the second mile on behalf of the hated Roman soldier, taking the pain and anger of the present situation and offering love in return. The table-fellowship with sinners is not merely the acting out of grace to sinners: it is an acted parable of what Israel should be like, a welcoming, mercy-offering community, rather than an exclusivist company concerned with separation from defilement and hence always likely to run into conflict with Rome (so Borg, ch. 4 and frequently). This is a revolutionary Jesus of a rather different sort to Brandon's, but, as Borg so clearly shows, one who was making a definite political statement nonetheless. He who is not with the national hope is against it: he who announces that it is fulfilled, and yet systematically undermines it, is a traitor. The parallel with Elijah, and particularly with Jeremiah, could hardly be clearer.[25]

Each of these eight points is of course controversial in its own right in terms of present scholarship, and I do not suppose for a moment that I have here presented a complete, let alone a convincing, case for them. My intention is merely to suggest the outline of what I believe to be a comprehensible and coherent picture, as far as it goes, of Jesus: as "a prophet mighty in word and deed," announcing like John the Baptist a message of imminent judgment upon the people of God. The judgment will be an historical event, a fall of Jerusalem in history like that predicted by Jeremiah, but, also like

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[24]Borg 1984, passim, and especially ch. 5.

[25]From this point it would be possible to suggest a new solution to the problem tackled so interestingly by Sanders on pp. 222ff., that the sayings material seems not to fit the overall "Jewish restoration eschatology" which he finds to be the correct matrix for understanding Jesus. This, of course, is why he spends so much time in the book arguing that the sayings are the wrong place to begin—a point with which, for my own reasons, I am in agreement. I think, in fact, that the sayings, understood as I have suggested, fit very well with the theme of Israel's reconstitution. The further question, whether Jesus thought the judgment inevitable (Schweitzer) or merely contingent (Borg, Caird and most others) is harder, and must be pursued at a later point.

that event, it must be understood as God's judgment on his people and, particularly, on the holy city and the temple.

III

The second point of the syllogism has the effect of restoring the balance that some may feel is lost in the presentation of the first. Jesus did not merely proclaim judgment against the people of God: *he identified himself with Israel*. His summons, his welcome, his offer form the positive side of the ministry which, as we shall see, dovetails exactly into the negative side outlined above. This is, if anything, a more controversial claim than the first, and must likewise be presented step by step.[26]

(1) In a *prima facie* reading of the synoptics, it appears that, when Jesus warned of judgment to come he also invited his hearers to follow him and so become part of the incipient new people of God that he was summoning into being. There is now growing agreement that the category of "the twelve" goes back to Jesus himself, and that it signifies his intention to remake the people of God:[27] this is just one of many symptoms of his underlying aim. Those who followed him were those who had heeded the warning, and who were, in principle at least, prepared to forswear the outlook and aspirations of their contemporaries, though the muddles they retained, preserved against the natural tendency in the synoptic tradition, are evidence that they were still fairly unclear as to precise implications. But the fact of their being *twelve* carries an implicit meaning about the place of Jesus himself in the whole scheme. He is not himself one of the twelve, not even *primus inter pares*. He stands over against them, calling them into being: they are the beginnings of the reconstituted Israel insofar as they are his followers. It is important not to read too much into this, but equally important not to read too little. I suggest that the natural implication is that they are "Israel" *because he is Israel*.[28]

(2) This interpretation is reinforced by a consideration of other actions which are now almost universally acknowledged as historical: Jesus welcomed "sinners" and ate with them, and he healed those afflicted with a variety of physical and mental ailments. Jesus restores to membership in Israel those who had been on the margins of the holy society, whether through physical defects (compare 1QSa 2:4-9) or moral or social blemishes. The healing miracles and the table-fellowship with sinners are, in fact, all of a piece, and very instructive for the hypothesis I am developing. Jesus' physical contact with lepers, with the woman suffering from the haemorrhage, with corpses, and so on, render him unclean just as did his eating with Matthew, or with Zacchaeus. Those two stories, in fact, could be seen as paradigmatic for this aspect of the ministry. Jesus *identifies himself with sinful Israel*, and thus contracts her uncleanness: nevertheless, when he emerges from Zacchaeus' house to face the accusing crowd, it is not he who is unclean but Zacchaeus who is "a son of Abraham." The miracles and the welcome to outcasts thus invite the same interpretation as I have given to the call of the "twelve": they only make sense if Jesus, who eats with the sinners, is himself the centre-point of the reconstituted Israel that is being called into existence. Unless this nexus between Jesus and the people of God is clearly seen, the welcome becomes vacuous: who is he, to "welcome" anyone?[29]

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[26] Among scholars who have pursued this line one thinks particularly of Caird (e.g. 1982), Manson and Moule.

[27] See now Sanders 1985, 95-106.

[28] See the careful, but ultimately inconclusive, discussions in Sanders 1985, 321ff., 333, etc.

[29] We are here at the point argued forcefully by George Caird in some of his last articles (1982, 1983), picking up and developing hints from Moule and others. This para-

(3) Putting this point together with the first part of the syllogism, I therefore prefer to speak not of Israel's "restoration," as does Sanders, but of her "reconstitution." Sanders (it seems to me) is absolutely right to draw attention to the Israel-dimension of the ministry of Jesus, and this marks him out from many other writers even in what I have called the "third Quest."[30] But his suggestion, both explicitly and by implication, is that Jesus' primary aim is to restore Israel, with judgment only as an ancillary warning. My suggestion is that Jesus sees Israel passing into a crisis—her last crisis: this generation will see the end of the present situation of the people of God. Like Jonah at Nineveh, his message could be summarized as "yet forty years, and Jerusalem shall be overthrown." Yet, like Isaiah gathering a remnant around him, his message is also one of salvation through the judgment: and this salvation is already inaugurated in the course of his ministry: "today salvation has come to this house." The announcement of the Kingdom has therefore a present as well as a future sense, which seems to me a better way of putting it than to sit on the fence by calling it "imminent."[31] It is as though the Kingdom—God's sovereign rule put into effect over Israel and, through Israel, over the world[32]—is present where Jesus is, because he is identified with, and indeed identified *as*, God's people. Where he is, God is ruling the world as he always intended. The hope of Israel is fulfilled in the present, in him, and when the future event occur to which his warnings and promises refer they will be seen as the outworking of what has already begun in the course of the ministry.

(4) It is thus that we should, I believe, make sense of the "Son of Man" problem which still causes so much vexation. There is no difficulty in granting that the phrase, whatever its original Aramaic form, could have meant "one" or "someone like me."[33] But there should also be no difficulty in granting that Jesus, in whose ministry the themes that characterize Daniel 1-7 were prominent (the Kingdom of God and its vindication, together with the vindication of the faithful people of God, over all idolatry), should have used the symbol which occurs at the climax of the book (in the canonical form in which it will have been as familiar to him as to us) to express both the hope of Israel and his own identification with that hope. In the chapter as a whole, whatever the original intent of its component parts, the figure of the Son of Man clearly represents those who are vindicated by God after their suffering at the hands of the "beasts": the picture, as has often been pointed out, is drawn from the mythological scheme in which, as in Genesis 1-2, Adam is given dominion over the animals. In the context of the Jewish expectation of the last two centuries B.C.E. and the early years of the common era, the entire first seven chapters of Daniel would have the obvious message: remain true to God, and he will vindicate you over those idolaters who are at present oppressing you. This clarifies still further what is to be understood by "the kingdom of God" at this point in Jewish history: God's rule, and the vindication of his true people, over the pagan nations. Jesus, in using the term "Son of Man" with at least characteristic ambiguity, leaves open the possibility of interpreting his sayings to mean that he identified himself, and his ministry, as the

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graph deliberately leaves on one side the question, raised now sharply by Sanders 1985 ch. 6, as to who precisely the "outcasts" were.

[30]See particularly Harvey, whose argument would be strengthened and clarified at several points by the recognition of the significance of Israel in the ministry of Jesus.

[31]See Sanders 1985, 150ff., quoting Caird.

[32]I take this (which is close to the first meaning of "kingdom of God" listed by Sanders on pp. 141ff., though ironically it is closer to the meaning he identifies as the Rabbinic one than to that which he regards as the New Testament equivalent) to be the primary meaning of the phrase, though of course there is no room to argue the point here.

[33]See Vermes, Lindars, etc.

fulfillment of that national hope. It is through him that God is setting up the Kingdom that cannot be shaken: he is the one in whom Israel is to find her redemption.[34]

(5) It is in this light, too, that some of the other Christological titles may be more clearly understood. Harvey[35] pointed out that Messianic expectations, which were not as widespread as is sometimes thought, were not free-standing, but were a function of the national hope:

> As sociologists would be quick to tell us, it would be rare for beliefs about a coming deliverer to be anything but secondary to a general belief in the coming deliverance. It may of course happen that a particular individual, by the performance of notable exploits, comes to be recognised as a messianic figure. But this will be the case only if there is already a powerful expectation of a new age to come. . . .

He goes on to suggest that Jesus regarded himself as Messiah, and was so regarded by his followers during his lifetime, a conclusion which (due to the anachronistic impression which still persists among scholars that "Christ" is a "divine" title) is resisted by many others. Contrary to much repeated assertion, it is quite comprehensible, historically and psychologically, that a human being growing up in a situation charged with national expectation should come to believe that he or she is the one through whom that expectation is to be realised. The particular features of the situation in first-century Palestine which sharpen this general statement into a specific one result in the suggestion that it is quite comprehensible that Jesus, growing up with the expectation that God would bring in his Kingdom and vindicate Israel over her enemies, should come to believe that God would accomplish this through him: and an individual who believed that he was the Messiah, the representative of Israel as David was the representative of the people of God.[36] The phrase "Son of God" is likewise to be understood, without the anachronism of later Christological terminology, as Messianic and, like "Messiah" and "Son of Man," as capable of carrying the overtones of "Israel's representative"—Israel herself being seen as God's Son in several biblical and post-biblical passages.[37]

It is historically probable, then, that Jesus not only proclaimed the judgment of God against Israel, but also, in summoning men and women to follow him and in his healing miracles and table-fellowship with outcasts, enacted the inauguration of the reconstituted Israel of the new age, an idea and an entity which only attains coherence if he in some sense represents or embodies Israel in himself. This latter point, incidentally, is where I begin to go beyond the argument of Borg's book, which however is (I believe) thereby strengthened.[38] These two basic features of Jesus' ministry, each of which could be set out, established and illustrated at much greater length than is possible here, invite us to complete the syllogism as follows.

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[34]See Caird 1965, 19-22.

[35]1982, 77f.

[36]See Caird 1983, 43-46; Wright 1980, 12f. See too Sanders 234ff. for the reasons why the disciples understood Jesus to be the Messiah.

[37]E.g. Exod 4:22f.; Jer 31:9; Wis 9:7; 18:13; *Sib. Or.* 3:702; 4 Ezra 5:28; Jub. 1:25-28; 4QDibHam 3:4ff.

[38]See e.g. Borg 338 nn. 43, 47, where Borg seems to overlook the point that, precisely because of the David-Israel nexus, the ministry of Jesus as he (Borg) has described it carries implications which make Davidic overtones not "over-subtle" but almost predictable.

IV

The question with which we began, which we saw to be among the most pressing questions facing historians of the ministry of Jesus, was: what was the connection between Jesus' ministry and his death? This is one form of the deceptively ambiguous question, Why did Jesus die? To illustrate the ambiguities, and the nature of the problem that confronts us, I cite the two quite different answers given to the question by a grade 6 Sunday School class: some, reaching for the security of the tradition, said "Jesus died because of our sins," whereas others, attempting to think historically, produced various hypotheses about Jesus' running foul of the Jewish and/or Roman authorities. The division between the two answers is instructive. Both are clearly present in a variety of forms in the New Testament. It would, I think, be claimed by many scholars that they have nothing to do with each other (Lessing's ugly ditch separates them, after all, into the eternal truth of atonement and the contingent historical fact of Jesus' execution). But this is not, I think, the view of the New Testament writers themselves.

My suggestion is that *Jesus, as Israel's representative, took upon himself the judgment which he pronounced against the nation.* This is, obviously, the result of putting together my two earlier suggestions: and I believe that, while each part of the syllogism can be supported individually, the combination of all three produces a coherence which gives it the force of a cumulative case. It must be emphasized that this is, at the moment, an historical hypothesis, not a theological construct. I am suggesting that Jesus saw Israel as courting political and historical disaster by that national ambition which would lead Rome to crush her, as so many other peoples had been crushed: and that he identified himself, as a matter of vocation, with Israel. In that context it would be a matter of logic, not of "supernatural" prophecy (and hence not, either, of a *vaticinium* after the event) that would lead him to say that the Son of man had to be crucified by the Romans. He was to suffer the characteristic fate of those who rebelled against Rome. He was in fact, to die Israel's death.

The central evidence for this suggestion is found in the most controversial section of the synoptic gospels, i.e. the trial narratives. (It is perhaps necessary to say at this stage that, though one cannot ignore questions of modern relevance, not least questions of Jewish-Christian relations, it is quite out of the question to let the historical enquiry be predetermined by such considerations. At the same time it is interesting to note that Sanders, the last person one would accuse of a lack of sympathy towards the Jewish position, is compelled by the evidence to take a different line from that of, say, Winter or Rivkin, and to conclude that the Jewish leaders, representing the interests of mainline Judaism as a whole, acted to have Jesus put to death by the Romans.)

We may begin with the clearest point. Luke leaves us in no doubt that, for him at least, Jesus died because of charges that amounted to *sedition:* he was forbidding people to pay taxes to Caesar, and giving himself out to be King of the Jews. The *titulus* renders the latter part of the charge extremely likely: and whether or not the former admits of an historian's verdict "probable" it is clear that the force of the charge is that Jesus dies as an apparent martyr for the Jewish hope of liberation from the Romans.

This is the point at which the Reimarus-Brandon thesis is both right and wrong. (a) Jesus dies because of the (national, political) hope of Israel. It is nationalist Messiahs who end up getting crucified. Had he given in to pressure (from proto-"zealot" factions—or quite possibly from inside himself, as he identified with his helpless people, overrun by harsh, provocative and pagan Roman rule) and become the sort of Messiah that would fit with the hope for a national political liberation, it is extremely likely that he would have been crucified on the same charge. (b) Luke's readers, however, know that the charge is (in the sense Pilate must have heard it and implemented it) exactly false. Jesus is innocent of the charges laid against him (it is in this precise sense that we should take, for instance, Luke 23:41b). Hence the irony, unperceived in the literalness of the Brandon

thesis: Jesus dies on charges of which, while he is innocent, (many at least of) those with whom he identified himself were guilty. On the cross Jesus "becomes" a zealot, just as he "became" unclean when touching a leper, or "became" a sinner by sitting down to eat with Zacchaeus. At last, when there is no risk of misunderstanding, he can identify himself fully with the national aspirations of his people. He cannot preach Israel's national hope, but he can die for it.

Before taking this line of thought further, we must examine more closely the trial narrative in Mark and Matthew. It is commonly said that it contains inconsistencies both with itself and with historical probability. While it is impossible here to go into the details of the discussion, several important points may be made.

First, it is historically likely that Jesus said, perhaps more than once, things which are more or less reflected in the charge laid by the "false witnesses": "This fellow said, 'I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days'" (Matt 26:61), or "We heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands'" (Mark 14:58). Jesus' prediction of God's judgment against Israel found, as we saw (in agreement with Sanders), a natural centre in the temple. I regard the so-called apocalyptic discourse (Mark 13 and pars.), which is given such prominence in all three synoptics, as of great importance not only as part of the apocalyptic preaching of Jesus but also within the historical explanation offered by the evangelists for Jesus' death. Jesus predicts the destruction of the temple: he warns the disciples about false national leaders ("Messiahs") who will arise: and he predicts, absolutely in line with standard Jewish hope as expressed in, for instance, Daniel 1-7, that God will vindicate "the Son of Man." That, at least, is how I would interpret Mark 13:26—though I am of course aware that most scholars still attempt to take it literally, and either use it as part of the "end-of-the-world Jesus," the Jesus who expected a "heavenly" event, the "coming" from heaven to earth either of himself or of another as "Son of Man," or reject its authenticity because that Jesus is incredible or undesirable. As it stands, read in the way I have suggested, the apocalyptic discourse joins very closely the three themes which often appear so disparate in the trial narrative of the next chapter: the destruction of the temple, the identity of the Messiah, and the vindication of the Son of Man.[38]

They are joined, in any case, by their actual significance. As is clear from the cryptic answer given to the question about authority (Mark 11:27-33 and pars.), that which gives Jesus his authority over the temple is the status he possesses in virtue of his baptism by John—which, as the reader of any one of the synoptics already knows, is the status of "Son of God," i.e. Messiah: the heavenly voice, and the echoes of Davidic theology (cp. 1 Sam 16:13), indicate that the baptism is to be understood as the anointing of Jesus as Messiah, the time when he is identified with the people of God and equipped for the task thereby entailed. As has been recently argued,[39] it is the coming King who has authority over the temple. This reinforces the "Messianic" overtones of the whole Triumphal Entry sequence: to put it negatively, if Jesus did *not* want to be thought of in any way as Messiah, the Entry and the action in the temple were extremely unwise things to undertake. When, therefore, the question about the destruction of the temple (Mark

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[38]It is at least clear that this is how Luke read Mark: Luke 21:7 makes the question of the disciples refer unambiguously to the destruction of the temple, and breaks off the discourse (21:33) at the point where, according to this interpretation, the break occurs (between Mark 13:31 and 32) between apocalyptic sayings about the temple and the vindication of the Son of Man and the warnings about being prepared in view of the disciples' ignorance of the "day." Was Luke reacting, as in 19:11f., to an over-literal reading of Mark in the early church.

[39]Runnalls 1983.

14:57-60 and par.) is at once followed by the question "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" (14:61 and par.), it should not be supposed that the two form a *non sequitur*. To claim that one has the right to overthrow the temple *is* to make a Messianic claim, and if Jesus will not respond to the charge in which this is implicit he must be made to face the question direct.

This is not, as it stands, an argument that the "trial" must have actually happened like this, only that the sequence is natural and comprehensible. But the larger claim, that something like this took place between Jesus' arrest and his death, becomes considerably less difficult to entertain once this point is grasped. And the further question, concerning the relevance of Jesus' reported answer to the High Priest, is also comprehensible. He has acted and spoken in such a way as to claim an identification with the people of God: their destiny in the purposes of God is bound up with his. Now, in response to the question, he replies not with a qualified affirmative (if you must call me "Messiah," I will accept the term, but insist that you understand it in terms of "Son of Man") as much conservative scholarship has thought, but with the double affirmation: yes—and you will see that God will vindicate me as the true representative of his people. The discussion is hereby tied in to the Jewish idea of martyrdom, of God's vindication of the righteous Israelite(s) who maintain(s) fidelity to the covenant in the face of threats, persecution and death.[40] Daniel 7 belongs in the centre of this theme: so, if my argument is correct, does the Trial. Jesus is claiming to be the true Israelite, the nation's representative, and is asserting that God will vindicate him as such.[41] If the referent of Mark 14:62, as of 13:26, is understood not as the parousia, but as the vindication of Israel's representative, then several of the arguments against its authenticity, e.g. those of Vermes, are undermined. It may be that this gives the real reason for the charge of "blasphemy." It is not that Jesus was claiming identity with "the Son of man" as a well-known "heavenly figure" who was to come to earth at the end of time. Two other possibilities are open. Either his identification of his own cause with that of the true people of God was felt to be a direct affront to God's honour, or his combination of Daniel 7 and Psalm 110 came close to the "two powers" heresy.[42]

What is the result of this line of thought for the question: why did Jesus die? The answer is very close to that which was reached more simply through Luke 23:2: he died because he, the one who was reputed to be announcing Israel's imminent overthrow, claimed to be the royal representative of the people of God. There is another irony in the account at this point. It is customarily said that the Jewish "trial" was a religious one, that before Pilate a political one, and that the charges in the former were simply framed in such a way as to be easily translatable into terms of the latter. But such a distinction, as we saw earlier, is totally anachronistic in terms of first-century Palestine. For Jesus to claim the status of Messiah, or to be the representative of the true people of God, or to have authority over the temple, was to make at the same time a statement of the greatest possible political and religious significance. It was to claim that God's plans, and Israel's national destiny, revolved around him and his fate. There were only two courses open to his hearers: either believe him and accept the consequences, or get rid of him—both courses involving, again, theological belief and "political" action. It is therefore possible, taking the accounts of the trial as they stand, to say that, according to the evangelists, *both* the Jewish "court"[43] *and* the Roman one condemned Jesus for claiming

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[40] See Sanders 412 n. 31.

[41] See too Caird 1965, 20-22.

[42] See Segal 1977; and on the Trial in general Meyer 1979, 179f.

[43] Begging, for the purpose of this paper, the question of the composition of the body that interrogated Jesus prior to his handing over to Pilate. That some interrogation by Jewish leaders took place I regard, in terms of historical arguments, as virtually certain.

to be the King of the Jews, in each case for reasons which can be described as "political" without denying the constant theological overtones. The matter is summed up in the parable of the Wicked Tenants: when the son comes to claim the inheritance, the tenants say "come, let us kill him, *and the inheritance will be ours*." Whether this represents Jesus' interpretation of his death or that of Mark and the others, it fits very closely with the rest of the narrative. The role assigned to Jesus is that of Israel: those who themselves claim to represent Israel are naturally offended.

It is Luke, once more, who highlights this interpretation in his account of the Barabbas incident. In 23:25 he writes: "He [Pilate] released the man who had been thrown into prison for insurrection and murder, whom they asked for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will." Jesus dies, quite literally, the death meant for Barabbas (the point is repeated in the narrative of the two thieves, to which we referred earlier); and Barabbas is the one "whom they asked for," the one whose acts of violent rebellion are taken by Luke as expressing the secret desires of the people. Jesus receives the punishment the Romans characteristically meted out to rebels. As if to emphasize the point, Luke follows this with the warning to the daughters of Jerusalem (23:27-31), in which Jesus identifies himself explicitly with the national aspiration: if they do this when the wood is green, what will happen when it is dry? This is what the Romans do even to one not guilty of rebellion; how much more when the sons of the women at present bewailing him take up actual arms and fight for God and country.

Finally, the scene of the cross itself is replete with the same irony. The mocking, both of the crowds and of the rulers, echoes the themes of the trial: if he is the Christ, if he is the one who was going to destroy the temple and rebuild it, he must demonstrate his claim by coming down from the cross. But, in the intention of the evangelists (signalled by the extra incidents, such as the two thieves or the remark of the centurion), this charge rebounds: it is precisely because he is Messiah that he must stay on the cross, must die Israel's death. The *titulus*, intended no doubt insultingly by Pilate and protested, for the same reason, by the Jewish leaders, is used by the evangelists to express their belief that Jesus, having announced the imminent downfall of Israel at the hands of the Romans, was taking Israel's fate upon himself as her representative king.

The train of thought we have been following leads to a conclusion which, though by now it may be obvious, needs nonetheless to be stated. Just as Jesus identified himself with Zacchaeus, becoming a "sinner" by eating with him in order that Zacchaeus might become "a son of Abraham": just as Jesus touched those from whom he ought to have contracted uncleanness, but instead healed them: so now he becomes a zealot, a rebel against Rome, identifying himself with the national disease he himself had diagnosed, in order that it may be healed. In doing so, it was inevitable that he should put himself outside the pale of Judaism, as he had done ritually by touching the leper and socially by eating with Zacchaeus and his like. In each case—and if this is a construction of the evangelists or their sources it is not only a very sophisticated one but one which has found its way into most types and layers of tradition—the drama plays itself out by Jesus apparently contracting the uncleanness (or whatever) and somehow exhausing its power. The stigma leaves the leper or the sinner upon contact with Jesus, though Jesus emerges at the end apparently unscathed. The thieves (or are they freedom-fighters?) on either side of him are thus the last in the long line of outcasts with whom he is associated and who, by this association, are invited into the Kingdom of God. On the cross it becomes clear that Israel's real problem is not external (the Roman occupation) merely, but internal also: he shares the ultimate form of her political and social predicament and hence reveals, in his last great symbolic act, that the nationalist rebellion whose bloody logical outcome he now shared was something for which Israel was being judged by God, and from which she needed to be saved—by him.

Hence, the irony: claiming to represent Israel, he is cast out by those who themselves claim to represent Israel; in urging Israel to forswear rebellion, he is himself executed as

a rebel by the Romans. The death he dies is Israel's death, and the pattern of healings and welcomes which make up so much of the gospel narratives indicates the motive: he dies Israel's death in order that Israel may not die it. He takes the wrath of Rome (which is, like the wrath of Assyria or Babylon, the historical embodiment of the wrath of God) upon himself so that, in his vindication, Israel may find herself brought through the judgment and into the true Kingdom, may see at last the way to life and follow it while there is yet time. This, to my mind, is where the current "Quest," if it is followed to its logical conclusion, ought to lead.

V

The syllogism is complete, within the limits imposed by this paper—though each stage of the argument cries out for the further substantiation which space alone denies. But there are a few points which ought to be noted by way of conclusion.

First, it is high time that scholarship recognised that the theology of the evangelists is not something superimposed on to the history they narrate, but something to be discovered within it. This point applies at both the general and the specific levels. To imagine that, because Mark and the others were interested in theology (the much-vaunted "discovery" of redaction criticism) they were uninterested in history is to allow the anachronistic distinction of fact and value, of event and interpretation, of politics and theology, to determine historical enquiry. More to the point of this paper, it is absurd to imagine that Luke (for instance) has no theology of the cross just because he does not reproduce Mark 10:45 at the expected point. Luke's gospel is full of the *theologia crucis:* at every point Jesus is identified with sinners so that, in the purposes of God which are made explicit after the resurrection, he can open the way for Israel to become a world-wide family.

Second, and closely related, if this integration of theology and history is not taken into account there is a risk that a reaction will set in, which could undo the splendid work presently being done within what I have called the "Third Quest." Ironically, the earlier "quests" allied historical consciousness with idealism: we find out what happened in the past in order to be able properly to distance ourselves from it, retaining only the "real," i.e. the ideal, meaning or "message." I regard the present reaction against idealism, and the return to genuine realism in many matters philosophical, theological and historical, as a very positive development, but I am concerned lest the present swing become excessive, resulting in sheer materialism (which in this context would mean "mere history" without implications or interpretations: this, in fact, is a figment of over-realist imagination). What would be regrettable would be the provocation of another Kähler-like reaction: if this is all that historical study of Jesus can provide, we must get away from history and rediscover the Christ of faith.[44] As I shall make clear below, this is not a plea to let theological interest or "relevance" become the yardstick for historical study, but simply a request that we not put asunder matters which are in fact inseparable.

Third, and again related to this, it should be clear that the hypothesis I have offered has an extra strength in addition to proposing an essentially simple account of the matter which manages to retain a good deal of the data: it provides an explanation, otherwise hard to come by, for why, within twenty years of Jesus' death, Paul could quote statements about "Christ dying for our sins" as already commonplace.[45] The theological

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[44]Not that Kähler himself would have said such a thing: see Meyer 1979, 48f.

[45]This question, though Sanders never raises it in this form, has an analogous importance to those he does raise frequently, the questions of how Jesus' attitude to the Law is

interpretation is to be found within the historical events: it is because he died, quite literally, the death of rebellious Israel that his death could be seen as representative for the whole world. Underneath this sequence of thought, of course, we have to supply the characteristic Jewish presupposition that Israel is somehow paradigmatic or representative of the whole world:[46] Jesus, as Israel's representative, does for Israel and the world what Israel was called to do but could not do. From here there is a straight line into Pauline theology, though that is another story. There is also a comprehensible link with the preaching put into the mouths of the early apostles in Acts: because of the death and resurrection of Jesus, not yet accredited with any sophisticated theological formulae, the people have a chance to "save themselves from this crooked generation," i.e. to take advantage of the breathing space thus offered to join the true family of God before the cataclysm comes in which Israel as then constituted would be swept away.

Fourth, and of considerable importance in the total historical reconstruction of the aims of Jesus, the line of thought I have suggested makes it possible to suggest that Jesus went to Jerusalem with the intention of doing and saying things which he knew were, even humanly speaking, likely to result in his own death. My position has some similarities (but only some) with that of Schweitzer,[47] who (as is well known) saw Jesus as trying to force God's hand, throwing himself onto the wheel of history and, though himself being broken by it, causing it to change direction. He too envisaged Jesus going deliberately to die in Jerusalem,[48] though his scheme rested (as Sanders has shown) on several points which can be quite easily challenged in terms of synoptic studies.

Fifth, and finally, Sanders (1985, 330-34) has criticized fairly devastatingly those who first set up their theology and then suggest that Jesus died for it. This is, of course, a dangerous card to play, and I am not entirely convinced that Sanders, despite his disclaimer, is not open to an analogous charge. In my own defence it should be said that I could not belong to a tradition which believes that Jesus died the death he had predicted for Israel, because as far as I know no such tradition has ever existed. I have come to this vie after a fair amount of genuine puzzlement over the question of the connection between the historical circumstances and meaning of Jesus' ministry on the one hand and his death on the other, during which time I have frequently been asked, sometimes with some suspicion, what relevance this historical picture of Jesus might have for contemporary Christianity. This is the point I made above, that the demand for relevance may produce a Kähler-like reaction among the faithful. The question has not been an easy one to answer, though I think my present position offers at least some starting-points.[49] The clue which pointed me in (what I believe to be) the right direction was the following paragraph, which concludes Caird's brilliant lecture on "Jesus and the Jewish Nation":

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related to that of the early church. Historical explanation requires that some account be given: my suggestion would supplement that given by (for instance) Hengel 1981, giving extra significance in particular to the idea of martyrdom.

[46]See Caird 1965, 22; Meyer 1979, 217.

[47]Especially 1925, 229ff., 234f.

[48]He even suggests that "one might use it as a principle of division by which to classify the lives of Jesus, whether they make Him go to Jerusalem to work or to die": Schweitzer 1954, 389. His use of the "Messianic Woes" idea (1925, 265f.) is not easy to copy owing to the problem of the date of the emergence of this idea.

[49]Schweitzer (1925, 250f.) got around the equivalent problem, quite acute in his case, by making Jesus' "personality" the point of relevance (this, of course, was what Bultmann was reacting to in his polemic against that word. He faced the same problem himself, but found, as is well known, a different way: through demythologisation), though by the third edition of the book Schweitzer was emphasizing "the Spirit of Jesus" as the universalizable factor (1954, xv).

> He goes to his death at the hands of a Roman judge on a charge of which he was innocent and his accusers, as the event proved, were guilty. And so, not only in theological truth but in historic fact, the one bore the sins of the many, confident that in him the whole Jewish nation was being nailed to the cross, only to come to life again in a better resurrection, and that the Day of the Son of Man which would see the end of the old Israel would see also the vindication of the new.[50]

I have indicated that I think this view opens up a way to the more usual "atonement" statements in the New Testament, but it cannot be reduced to "atonement theology" of a sort which would allow for the argument (Sanders 1985, 332) that it must therefore be a creation of the early church. On the contrary. It fits exactly with (my version of) what Sanders calls "Jewish restoration eschatology." It also has the support which Caird claimed for his overall view, i.e. that of the faithful old criterion of dissimilarity, which (like Gollum) may yet after all have its uses. After the very early days of the church the question of Israel was not at issue in the way it clearly was in the ministry of Jesus: nor was the announcement (by a *soi-disant* faithful Jew) of Israel's imminent judgment exactly a commonplace in the last two centuries B.C.E.—until John the Baptist, which is the point at which we, and for that matter Jesus, came in. I am not, then, claiming that Jesus died for an abstract doctrine, whether of atonement, justification or whatever, but for a concrete reality: Israel.[51]

To sum up. The large historical question to be faced by all students of the life of Jesus is: why did Jesus die? My answer is that at the heart of his many controversies with his contemporaries stood his proclamation, and symbolic enactment, of God's imminent judgment against Israel, and that this precipitated his being handed over, by the Jewish leaders, for execution by the Romans. This answer, so far, is similar to, though in one respect more sharply defined than, that of Sanders. Mine, however, opens the way directly, and without a change of gear, to the "other" way of hearing the question "why did Jesus die," i.e. the "theological" way. And my suggestion is that the evangelists, wanting to give the "theological" answer, believed that the best way to do so was simply to tell the story and allow its overtones to ring for themselves.

If this argument is even more or less along the right lines, it suggests that, precisely because Jesus is (as Sanders, Borg and the others have argued so well) to be fitted in to his Jewish milieu and made comprehensible in terms of first-century history, theology and politics, his death, and his attitude to that death as he saw it approaching, can be understood in a way which does not make him "weird,"[52] but historically and theologically comprehensible. He did not have to force the authorities' hands: merely to bring his ministry of warning and invitation to a fitting climax in the Entry and the action against the Temple. If it is asked at this point whether Jesus regarded his death as the proper and intended climax to his ministry, it will now be apparent that this is a very similar question to the one we postponed earlier, whether he believed the judgment on Israel to be

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[50]Caird 1965, 22. This point is not usually picked up by those who have discussed this work: I am not aware that Caird elaborated it anywhere else. I once had a brief exchange of letters with him on the subject, in which he indicated that he agreed entirely with the way I was developing his idea.

[51]There is a brief statement of a similar-sounding point in Lohfink 1984, 25, and indeed Lohfink's book has several analogies to my case. He does not, however, develop this line of thought very far.

[52]So Sanders 333, as his summary of the view which suggests that "Jesus determined in his own mind to be killed and to have his death understood as sacrificial for others, and . . . that he pulled this off by provoking the authorities.

inevitable or merely contingent upon a failure to heed his message. Schweitzer answered both questions in the affirmative, rejecting the ever-popular idea of a "Galilean springtime," an early period when it looked as though Jesus' mission would be a "success," followed by rejection, withdrawal from the crowds, and the embracing of a "plan B," i.e. the cross as a second best. This is certainly not how the evangelists see the matter. To what extent hindsight, and the desire to make it look as though Jesus, and perhaps God, had had the cross in mind all along, have influenced their presentation, it is unfortunately impossible to discuss here.

Jesus, then, believed himself called by God to announce Israel's imminent judgment and to inaugurate in and around himself Israel's reconstitution. He continued to pursue his vocation even when it was more than apparent where it would lead, believing that if Israel's death could be died by her representative she might not need to die it herself. This was not out of line, as we have seen, with the pattern of significant actions which marked his public career as a whole, in which he constantly shared the uncleanness or stigma of the physically or socially handicapped, in order to heal and restore (or, as the evangelists often say, "save") them. Though this view cannot be subsumed within the prepackaged theologies of atonement or justification normally on offer, it can take up their strong points up within itself, giving them back the flesh and blood of which, as abstract ideas, they are all too often bereft. By putting Jesus back into his social and political context we do not capitulate to Brandon's theory, any more than by suggesting that he may have had theological reasons for going to his death we make him historically incomprehensible. History is not the handmaid of theology, nor theology of history. If we understand Jesus in the way I have suggested, history and theology turn out to be mutually interdependent ways of talking about the same thing.

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The Mission and Beelzebul: Pap. Q 10:2-16; 11:14-23

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Now that the Consultations on the Study of Q of 1983 and 1984 have been succeeded by the Q Seminar of 1985-89, Work Sheets similar to those published in the Book of Seminar Papers for Q 6:20-49 (1983) and Q 3 and 4 (1984) are no longer included here in the Book of Seminar Papers. For a mailing of Work Sheets to the Q Seminar membership during the summer provides more time to prepare for the 1985 Q Seminar.

The Work Sheets distributed to the Q Seminar involve a further advance over those I prepared in 1983 and 1984, in that the main scholarly literature has been recorded at each variant by Leif Vaage, Research Associate of the Q Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. This makes it possible for members of the Q Seminar to invest more of the time they can devote to Q in reaching conclusions concerning the reconstruction of the text, rather than becoming submerged in reading secondary literature.

Another advance beyond previous years consists in using the IBYCUS Computer to store the data. This makes it possible to print in Greek, rather than in transliteration. It has the further advantage of important research capabilities, such as searches for clusters of words or letters, thus making possible a major methodological advance beyond previous Q research. The text printed below, upon which the Q Seminar will focus its attention in 1985, illustrates the use of the IBYCUS computer.

The Seminar in 1985 will focus upon the problem of the relation of Mark and Q. Two sections of Q have been chosen where this problem emerges, the Mission (Q 10:2-16), where Luke presents a doublet: the Markan material in Luke 9 (Mission of the Twelve) and the Q material in Luke 10 (Mission of the Seventy-Two), whereas Matthew 10 conflates the two; and Q 11:14-23, the Beelzebul Controversy, where both Luke and Matthew conflate Mark and Q.

The following text presents the "Pap Q" line for these two sections, coded for the critical apparatus. Under "Pap Q" we understand, somewhat with tongue in cheek, the material that remains after letters not shared by Luke and Matthew are removed, leaving as a residue the tattered and worm-eaten papyrus, so to speak, that is to be reconstructed. This printout of Pap Q 10:2-16; 11:14-23 represents an inputting by Jon Daniels of the relevant material from the Work Sheets that had been prepared by Leif Vaage, involving some revision of format policies by the three of us.

The Book of Seminar Papers for 1985 contains, in addition to "Pap Q 10:2-16; 11:14-23," the reconstruction of these sections by Ulrich Luz. John Kloppenborg has provided a "Bibliography on Q" supplementing that of Franz Neirynck (1981); "A Synopsis for Q [11:14-26]"; and a "Q 11:14-20: Work Sheets for Reconstruction." Harry Fleddermann has also provided an essay "The Beginning of Q," complementing his contribution to the 1984 Consultation.

The following *sigla* are used:

[ ] Square brackets are used to indicate that what is contained in square brackets is in Luke but not in Matthew.

( ) Parentheses are used to indicate that what is contained in parentheses is in Matthew but not in Luke.

{ } Braces are used to indicate that what is contained in braces, though there is some reason at least to consider whether it might be in Q, is also in Mark.

/ / Slashes are used to indicate that what is contained between slashes is in the other Gospel in a different position. That diverging position is indicated by double slashes // at the position where the material occurs in the other Gospel.

10:2 ( )[1] [ ]2λεγε[( )]2 [ ]1
[( )]3 αὐτου[ ]3 ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς
οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ
ὅπως 4/ ἐργάτας /4 ἐκβάλῃ //4 εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ

10:3 1/ [ ]2 ἰδοὺ ( )3 ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς
[( )]4 ἐν μέσῳ λύκων ( )5 /1 --//1 *At Matt 10:16 between Luke 9:5 and 6 or between Luke 10:12 and 13.*

10:4 μὴ [( )]1ε [( )]2ον ( )3 μὴ πήραν ( )4 μη ( )5
ὑποδήματα [ ]6 μηδε[( )]6α [( )]6δον [ ]6 --*See also Mark 6:8-9 par. Luke 9:3.*

10:5 εἰς ἣν δ'ἂν 1/ εἰσέλθητε /1 [( )]2ν
//1 [( )]3 τι[( )]3 οἰκι[( )]3 --*See also Mark 6:10 par. Luke 9:4.*

10:6 καὶ ἐὰν [( )]1 ᾖ [( )]2 ει[( )]3
4/ ἐπ' αὐτ[( )]2ν /4 ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν /4
ἐ[( )]5 δὲ μη [( )]6 ὑμᾶς [( )]7

10:7 1/ [ ]2 ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τ[( )]3 αὐτοῦ [ ]2 /1 --//1
At Matt 10:10b between Luke 9:3 and 4 or between Luke 10:4 and 5.

10:9 1/ [ ]2 3.4/ θεραπεύετε /4 [ ]5
ἀσθεν[( )]6ς //4 ( )7 /3
[( )]8 λέγ[( )]8τε [( )]8 ἤγγικεν
[ ]9 ἡ βασιλεία τ[( )]10 //3 /1 --//1 *At Matt 10:7 before Luke 10:4; see also Mark 6:12-13 and Luke 9:2.*

10:10 [( )]1 ἂν [ ]1 μὴ δέ[( )]2ται ὑμᾶς
( )3 ἐξε[( )]4 ε[( )]5 τ[( )]5ς
[( )]5ίας [( )]5ης [ ]6 --*See also Mark 6:11a par. Luke 9:5a.*

10:11 [ ]1 2/ τὸν κονιορτὸν [ ]3
4/ ὑμῶν /4 [ ]5 τ[( )]5 ποδ[( )]5
//4 /2 [( )]6 //2 [ ]7 --*See also Mark 6:11b par. Luke 9:5b.*

10:12 ( )[1] λέγω ὑμῖν [ ][2] [3]/ ( )[4]
Σοδόμ[( )][4] ἐν [ ][5] ἡμέρᾳ [( )][5]
/[3] ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται //[3] ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ *-- See also Matt 11:24.*

10:13 [1]/ οὐαί σοι χοραζίν οὐαί σοι βηθσαιδά ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ
καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγεν[( )][2] αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν
πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ [ ][3] μετενόησαν *-- For /[1] see Q 10:15; see also Matt 11:23b between Luke 10:15 and 16.*

10:14 πλὴν ( )[1] Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν
[( )][2] κρίσε[( )][2] ἢ ὑμῖν

10:15 καὶ σύ Καφαρναούμ μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωσθήσῃ
ἕως [ ][1] ᾅδου καταβήσῃ /[1] (see Q 10:13 for [1]/) //[1] *At Matt 11:21-23a between Luke 7:35 and 36.*

10:16 [1]/ ὁ [( )][2] ὑμ[( )][2] ἐμ[( )][2]ι καὶ ὁ [ ][3]
ἐμὲ [( )][4]ι τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με /[1] --//[1] *At Matt 10:40 between Luke 17:33 and 34.*

11:14 [1]/ καὶ [ ][2] ἐ[( )][2]ν ( )[1] /[1] ( )[1] δαιμονι[( )][3]
( )[4] καὶ [ ][5] κωφό[( )][3] //[1] [( )][6] [7]/ [ ][6]λαλ[( )][6]ν
( )[4] /[7] ( )[6]ο ( )[6] κωφο[( )][6] //[7] καὶ ἐ[( )][8]
οἱ ὄχλοι ( )[9] *-- See also Matt 9:32-33.*

11:15 [( )][1] δὲ [( )][1] εἶπον [2]/ ἐν //[3] {Βεελζεβοὺλ}
[3]/ {τῷ /[3] ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων} /[2] ( )[4]
{ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια} ( )[4] //[2] *-- See also Mark 3:22 par. Matt 9:34.*

11:16 [1]/ [( )][2] [3]/ σημεῖον [( )][4] /[3] [( )][5]ν [( )][6]ου //[3] /[1]
--//[1] At Matt 12:38 just after Luke 6:37b and before Luke 11:29; see also Mark 8:11 par. Matt 16:1.

11:17 [ ][1] [1]/ δὲ /[1] εἰδὼς //[1] [2]/ αὐτῶν /[2]
τὰ [( )][3] //[2] εἶπεν {αὐτοῖς} πᾶσα {βασιλεία}
[4]/ {[( )][5] ἐαυτη[( )]}[5] /[4]
[ ][6]{μερισθ}εῖσα //[4] ἐρημοῦται {καὶ} ( )[7]
{οἰκ}[( )][8]ι

11:18 [1]/ {εἰ} [ ][1] /[1] {καὶ} //[1] {ὁ σατανᾶς}
( )[2] {ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν} [ ][3]{εμερίσθη} πῶς ( )[4]
{στ}αθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ [ ][5]

11:19 ( )[1] εἰ [ ][1] ἐγὼ ἐν βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ
δαιμόνια οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν διὰ τοῦτο
αὐτοὶ [2]/ ὑμῶν /[2] κριταὶ ἔσονται //[2]

11:20 εἰ δὲ ἐν [( )][1] θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ'
ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ

11:23 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ
σκορπίζει

Q 10:2-16; 11:14-23

Ulrich Luz

[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.]

Sigla:

Boldface	Text attested by two Evangelists.
Not boldface	Text attested only by one Evangelist. Probable form of the text.
( )	Text attested only by one Evangelist. Fully hypothetical.
. . .	Omission over against one Evangelist.
[ ]	Word order uncertain.

24. The Mission Discourse Luke 10:2-12 // Matt 9:35ff.; 10:7-15.

1 (Report of the mission, which perhaps among other things contained the authority to heal the sick.)
2 (Λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ)· **ὁ μέν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι· δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως [ἐκβάλῃ] ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.** 3 ὑπάγετε· **ἰδοὺ . . . ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς** (ἄρνας) **ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.** 4 (μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον), **μὴ πήραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα,** (μὴ ῥάβδον, μὴ ἀργύριον), καὶ μηδένα (κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν) ἀσπάσησθε. 5 **εἰς** ἣν (δ') ἂν **εἰσέλθητε [οἰκίαν]**, (πρῶτον) λέγετε· εἰρήνη (τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ). 6 **καὶ ἐὰν** ἐκεῖ **ᾖ** υἱὸς εἰρήνης, (ἀναπαήσεται) **[ἐπ' αὐτὸν] ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν,** (ἐὰν δὲ **μή**), ἐφ' **ὑμᾶς** ἀνακάμψει. 7 (ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν)· **ἄξιος** γὰρ **ὁ ἐργάτης** (τοῦ μισθοῦ) **αὐτοῦ.** (μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν). 8 καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε καὶ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, (ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν, 9 καὶ) **θεραπεύετε** τοὺς (. . .) **ἀσθενεῖς,** καὶ **λέγετε** αὐτοῖς· **ἤγγικεν** (ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) **ἡ βασιλεία** τοῦ θεοῦ. 10 εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθητε καὶ **μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς,** (**ἐξερχόμενοι** ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης 11 ἐκτινάξατε) **τὸν κονιορτὸν** τῶν **ποδῶν** ὑμῶν. 12 **λέγω ὑμῖν** (ὅτι) (**Σοδόμοις . . . [ἐν** τῇ **ἡμέρᾳ** ἐκείνῃ]) **ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ.**

25. Woes upon Chorazin and Bethsaida Luke 10:13-15; Matt 11:20-24

13 **Οὐαὶ σοι, Χοραζίν, οὐαὶ σοι, Βηθσαιδά· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγέν**(οντο) **αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενομένοι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ** (. . .) **μετενόησαν.** 14 **πλὴν** (λέγω ὑμῖν), **Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἢ ὑμῖν.** 15 **καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως** (τοῦ) **ᾅδου κατα**(βιβασθήσῃ).

26. Mission Saying Luke 10:16; cf. Matt 10:40

16 (**Ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ·**
ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.)

31. The League with Beelzebul Luke 11:14-23; cf. Matt 12:22-30

14 (**Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν κωφόν· ἐγένετο δὲ** τοῦ **δαιμονίου ἐξελθόντες ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός.** καὶ **ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι,** 15 τινὲς δὲ **ἐξ** αὐτῶν **εἶπαν· . . . [ἐν** (. . .) **Βεελζεβοὺλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια·]** . . . 17 **εἰδὼς δὲ [αὐτῶν]** (τὰ διανοήματα) **εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα** καθ' **ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται,** (καὶ πᾶσα . . . οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται). 18 **[και] εἰ . . . ὁ σατανᾶς** (τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει), **ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη, πῶς . . . σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; . . .** 19 (καὶ) **εἰ . . . ἐγὼ ἐν βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται [ὑμῶν].** 20 **εἰ δὲ ἐν** δακτύλῳ **θεοῦ** (ἐγὼ) **ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.**
21 (**Ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος φυλάσσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν,** ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ· 22 ἐπὰν δὲ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἴρει ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπεποίθει, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν). 23 **ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.**

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A Synopsis for Q [11:14-26]

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What follows is part of a preliminary draft of a specialized synopsis for the reconstruction of the Synoptic Sayings source (Q). Normally, the Matthaean and Lucan texts appear on the left hand page, and Mark, John, Thomas, the LXX and other relevant parallel texts on the right. Boldface print is used for the verbatim agreements of Matthew and Luke which, presumably, also represent the wording of Q.

Following the convention of the SBL Q-Consultation, Q texts are designated by their *Lucan* location: e.g., Q 11:19 = that Q text which is the source of Luke 11:19 | Matt 12:27. This designation, however, does not necessarily imply that Luke's *wording* is that of Q. Since it is the *opinio communis* that Luke (with minor qualifications) represents the order of Q, the synopsis has been arranged in Lucan order, except where there are strong grounds for suspecting Lucan dislocations.

There are two types of apparatus: (1) an outlie of critical opinion in regard to the inclusion of non-inclusion of various disputed texts (e.g., Q 11:21-22) and (2) a brief (though hardly exhaustive) listing of some of the important textual variants of the Matthaean and Lucan texts. The sigla employed are those of Aland's synopsis.

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(Reference list is continued on p. 132.)

Matt 12:22-30, 43-45	Luke 11:14-26
22Τότε προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ **κωφὸς**, **καὶ** ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τὸν **κωφὸν** λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν.	14Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν **κωφόν**· ἐγένετο δὲ **τοῦ δαιμονίου** ἐξελθόντος **ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός,**
23**καὶ** ἐξίσταντο πάντες **οἱ ὄχλοι** καὶ ἔλεγον· μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ;	**καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι,**
24οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες **εἶπον**·	15τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν **εἶπον**·
οὗτος οὐκ **ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια** εἰ μὴ	
ἐν τῷ **Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων.** (cf. Matt 12:38 → Q 11:29-32)	**ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ** τῷ **ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια**· 16ἕτεροι δὲ πειράζοντες σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ. (→ Q 11:29-32)
25 **εἰδὼς δὲ** τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις **αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς**·	17**αὐτὸς δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν** τὰ διανοήματα **εἶπεν αὐτοῖς**·
πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς **ἐρημοῦται καὶ** πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται.	**πᾶσα βασιλεία ἐφ'** ἑαυτὴν διαμερισθεῖσα **ἐρημοῦται καὶ** οἶκος ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει.
26καὶ **εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς** τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει **ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη**· **πῶς** οὖν **σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;**	18**εἰ** δὲ καὶ **ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν** διεμερίσθη, **πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;** ὅτι λέγετε ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια.

Q 11:14-15: not in Q: O. Holtzmann (25-26). Harnack (19, 95) expresses uncertainty regarding the opening, and reconstructs it (largely following Matthew) with Matt 12:22b, 23a, 25b, 27-28. Hawkins (109) includes only Luke 11:14, 19-20. || **In Q:** most authors. The agreements between Matt 12:22-23, 9:32-33 and Luke 11:14 against Mark in relating an exorcism of a dumb demoniac, with mention of his speaking and the astonishment of the crowd indicate that 11:14 is indeed from Q. Agreements between Matt and Luke against Mark in 11:15 and 17 likewise justify their ascription to Q.

Q 11:16 → Q 11:29-32.

Mark 3:22-26	Matt 9:32-34
	32Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων ἰδοὺ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον **κωφὸν** δαιμονιζόμενον. 33 **καὶ** ἐκβληθέντος **τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός.** **καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι** λέγοντες· οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.
22Καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει καὶ ὅτι	34οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον·
ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.	**ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν** **δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.**
23 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐβάλλειν; 24καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη· 25 καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι. 26καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στῆναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει.	

Matt: 22 προσηνεγκαν . . . δαιμονιον τυφλον και κωφον: B *pc* sy; (Or) Chr || 25 ιδων δε: p^{21} $\aleph^{b}$ D 33 892* φ *pc* ff^{1} k $sy^{c.p}$ bo Chr | ειδως δε ο Ιησ. C Koine L W X Δ Θ Π 0106 φ λ 28 565 700 + *pl* lat sy arm eth geo | txt: $\aleph^{*.c}$ B sa.

Luke: **14** ταυτα δε ειποντος αυτου προσφερεται αυτῳ δαιμονιζομενος κωφος και εκβαλοντος αυτου παντες εθαυμαζον D (c f) || 14 και αυτο ην: A^{c} C Koine W X Δ Θ Π Ψ φ *pm* latt $sy^{p.h}$ geo | omit: p^{45} p^{75} ℵ A* B L λ 33 892 1241 $sy^{c.s}$ sa bo arm eth || **14** εκβληθεντος: A C φ *al* lat bo || **15** δαιμονια + ο δε αποκριθεις ειπεν· πως δυναται σατανας σαταναν εκβαλλειν (εκβαλειν D) A D W *pm* sy eth | txt: p^{45} p^{75} ℵ B C Koine W Θ λ φ *al* lat sy sa bo || 17 τα διαν. αυτων: p^{45} A K *al* || 17 διαμερ. εφ' εαυ.: p^{45} ℵA D L W a sy | txt: p^{75} B C Koine WΘ λ φ *pl* || 17 μερισθ.: p^{45} C W XΘ *pm*.

27καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ
ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ
ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐβάλλουσιν; διὰ
τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται
ὑμῶν.

28εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ
ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα
ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμὰς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
θεοῦ.

29ἢ πῶς δύναταί τις εἰσελθεῖν
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ
καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἁρπάσαι,

ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον
δήσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν;

καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.

30ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ'
ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ'
ἐμου σκορπίζει.

43Ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα
ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν
ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκει.
44τότε λεγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκον
μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον·
καὶ ἐλθὸν εὑρίσκει σχολάζοντα
σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. 45τότε
πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ'
ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα
πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα
κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ
ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου
χείρονα τῶν πρώτων. οὕτως
ἔσται καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ
τῇ πονηρᾷ.

19εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ
ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ
ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ
τοῦτο αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν κριταὶ
ἔσονται.

20εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ
ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα
ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμὰς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
θεοῦ.

21ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος
φυλάσσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν, ἐν
εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ.

22ἐπὰν δὲ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὼν
νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ
αἴρει ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπεποίθει,

καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν.

23ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ
ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ
σκορπίζει.

24Ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα
ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν
ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκον
τότε λέγει· ὑποστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν
μου ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον· 25καὶ
ἐλθὸν εὑρίσκει
σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. 26τότε
πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει
ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ
ἑπτὰ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ·
καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.

Q 11:21-22: not in Q: Crossan 189; Jacobson 158; Legasse 5-9; Lührmann 33; Meyer 71; Schenk 136; Schulz 203 (Matt-Luke agreements are too slight to posit Q; Matt depends on Mark, and Luke rewrites Mark) || **In Q:** Bultmann 13-14; Manson 84; Marshall 476-77; Polag 52; Schmid 292; Zeller 59 (the fact that Matt and Luke independently place this parable between Q 11:20 and 11:23 is not coincidental; Matt prefers Mark to Q at this point.)

Mark 3:27	Thomas 35
27ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι,	ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲛⲁ
ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσῃ,	ⲉⲓ ⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲭⲁⲓⲥ'
καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.	ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲭⲛⲁⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭⲏⲓ
Mark 9:40; cf. Luke 9:50	P. Oxy 1224 (fol. 2r., col. 1)
ὃς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν.	ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὢν [κατ' ὑμ]ῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν. [ὁ σή]μερον ὢ]ν μακρὰν αὔριον [ἐγγὺς ὑμῶν γ]ενήται.

Q 11:24–26: After Q 11:23: Harnack 95; Kloppenborg 94; Polag 52; Schenk 68; Streeter Original Order 153; Strecker 103; Taylor Original Order 115; Zeller 59 || **Between Q 11:29–32 and Q 11:33:** Crossan 344; Jacobson 160; Vassiliadis Original Order 384.

Matt 27 αυ. κριτ. εσοντ. υμων: *1 2 4 3:* Θ λ *pc* c g vg | *1 4 3 2:* C 0233 Koine φ *pm* | 2 3 1 4: W | txt: B ℵ D 892 1424 latt eth || 29 διαρπασαι: ℵ C^{2} Koine D Θ φ 118 209 *pm* | txt: B C* N W λ 892 1424 *al* || 30 σκορπιζει με: ℵ 33 *pc* sy bo eth; Or Ath || 44 σχολ. και: ℵ C* 565 1424 it sy | txt: B C^{2} Koine D L W Z Θ λ φ *pm* lat; Cyr.

Luke 19 υμων κριτ. εσοντ. *2 1 3:* ℵ it vg | *3 1 2:* p^{45} 1194 | *2 1 3:* C Koine A W Θ λ φ *al* | txt: p^{75} B D 700 *pc* || 20 εγω: p^{75} ℵ^{1} B C D L R φ 33 579 892 1071 *al* it sy co | omit: p^{45} ℵ* A W Koine Θ Ψ λ*pm* lat || 23 σκορπιζει με: ℵ*.^{2} C^{2} L Θ Ψ 33 892 *pc* sy bo eth | txt: p^{45} p^{75} ℵ^{1} A B C* D R W Koine λ φ lat sy sa bo^{mss} || 24 οταν δε: p^{45} p^{75} D W *al* aur b sy sa bo || 24 τοτε: p^{75} Bℵ^{c} L X Θ Ξ 0124 33 892 1241 *pc* it sy^{h} sa bo | omit: p^{45} ℵ* C Koine A D W λ φ lat sy || 25 σκολαζοντα: ℵ^{c} B C L R Γ Ξ Ψ λ φ 33 565 579 892 sy bo eth | txt: p^{75} ℵ*A D W Koine Θ 0124 lat sy sa.

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Q 11:14-20: Work Sheets for Reconstruction

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The following are work sheets for the reconstruction of Q 11:14-26, the Beelzebul Accusation. In general, the format of the work sheets follows that used in the reconstruction of Q3 and Q4 (see *SBLASP* [1984] 305-46, 347-73).

Sigla

red	redactional
S(ond)	Sondergut
Pro:	arguments in favour of the variant in question representing the text of Q.
Con:	arguments against the variant in question representing the text of Q.

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Texts:

PapQ 11:14-26

(14) ([ ])[1] ([ ])[2] ([. . . κωφο-])[3] ([ ])[4] τοῦ δαιμονίου ([ ])[5] ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός,[6] καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι,[7] ( )[8]

(15) ([ ])[9] //[11] ἐν ( )[10] Βεελζεβοὺλ [ ][10] ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων /ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια·/[11]

(16) [ ][12]

(17) [ ][13] εἰδὼς ( )[13] /αὐτῶν/ ([ ])//[14] εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία /([ ])/[16] [ ]μερισθεῖσα[15] //[16] ἐρημοῦται καὶ ([ ]).[17]

(18))[18] εἰ [ ][18] ὁ σατανᾶς ( )[19] ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν [ ]μερίσθη·[20] πῶς ( )[21] σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; [ ][22]

(19) ( )[23] εἰ [ ][23] ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ /ὑμῶν/[24] κριταὶ ἔσονται//.[24]

(20) εἰ δὲ ἐν ([ ])[25] θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμὰς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

(22-23) ([. . .])[26]

(23) ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.

(24) Ὅταν ( )[27] τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ([ ])[28] ( )[29] λέγει· //[30] ([ ])[31] /εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου/[30] ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον·

(25) καὶ ἐλθὸν εὑρίσκει ( )[32] σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον.

(26) τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει ( )[33] //[34] ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ /ἑπτὰ/[34] καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων. (. . .)[35]

Q 11:14-26: Reconstruction

(14) Καὶ (ἐξέβαλεν?) δαιμόνιον κωφόν· καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι,

(15) τινὲς δὲ εἶπον· ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια· . . .

(17) εἰδὼς δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία (ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν?) μερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται καὶ (. . . ?)

(18) καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς (ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν?) ἐμερίσθη· πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;

(19) καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν κριταὶ ἔσονται.

(20) εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ [ἐγὼ] ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμὰς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

(21) (? ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος φυλάσσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ.)

(22) (? ἐπὰν δὲ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ αὐτὸν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἴρει ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπεποίθει, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν.)

(23) ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.

(24) Ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐκ εὑρίσκει. (καὶ ?) λέγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον·

(25) καὶ ἐλθὸν εὑρίσκει (σχολάζοντα ?) σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον.

(26) τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.

Variants:

1 (τοτε)

Matt = Q:
Matt red: Schenk 66-67; Zeller 59; Schulz 204 n 203; Fuchs 125.

Con: Since τοτε is a favourite Matthaeanism (Matt 90x | Mark 6x | Luke 14x | Acts 21x) it is difficult to avoid attributing it to Matthaean redaction here.

1 [και]

Luke = Q: Polag 50; Schulz 304; Lührmann 32 n. 3; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag Christologie 35 n. 149; Jeremias 89, 199; Zeller 59;
Luke red:

Pro: Luke takes over a Marcan και introducing a pericope only at Luke 4:31; 5:27; 18:18; 19:47; 21:5; he adds εγενετο to Mark's και 4x; substitutes δε for και 18x. (See Cadbury 142-43; Jeremias 89) Since Luke otherwise displays a strong tendency to avoid paratactic introductions, it is probably traditional here.

2 (προσηνεχθη αυτῳ δαιμονιζομενος) (cf. 9:32)

Matt = Q: Harnack 95 (δαιμονιζομενος)
Matt red: Fuchs 123-24; Meyer 71 n 1; Schulz 204 n. 203

Con: The use of δαιμονιζομενος with προσφερειν αυτω is redactional also in 4:24 and 8:16 (cf. also 9:32; 14:35; 17:16) but encountered nowhere else in the NT. It is probably redactional here.

2 [ην εκβαλλων δαιμονιον]

Luke = Q: Jülicher 2.215; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50
Luke red: Fuchs 127; Haenchen 150; Jeremias 199; Laufen 127; Schmid 40—all with regard to the periphrastic construction.

Con: Periphrastic constructions with ειναι and a participle (see BDF 353.1) are frequent in Lucan red [cf. 4:31, 38, 44; 5:16, 16 (bis), 29; 6:12; 8:40; 9:18; 19:47; 21:24; 22:69] and Sondergut. (Matt 5 | Mark 5 | Luke 39 | Acts 25); see Fuchs 126-27; Jeremias 42 n 9. Thus at least the construction is secondary.

Pro: On the other hand, while Luke shows a tendency to replace Mark's πνευμα ακαθαρτα with δαιμονια (Luke 4:33, 35; 8:27, 33; 9:1, 42) and on two occasions (Luke 8:35, 38) rephrases Mark's ο δαιμονιζομενος, -σθεις using δαιμονια, here the phrase εκβαλλω + δαιμονια is presupposed by Q 11:15, 19, 20.

3(τυφλος και κωφος)

Matt = **Q:**
Matt red: Fuchs 133-40; Käsemann 242; Laufen 127; Meyer 71 n 1

Con: Fuchs suggests that the addition of "blind" strengthens the connections with the Isaian "deeds of the Messiah" listed in Matt 11:5. There are also similarities with Matt's redaction of Mark 7:31-37 (healing of a dumb man) which for Matt becomes the healing of many lame, maimed, blind and dumb, followed by an acclamation of the God of Israel by the crowd. The addition of the crowd's question (12:23) concerning of Son of David (whom Matthew represents as a healer) should be seen in this context too.

3[και αυτο ην κωφον]

Luke = **Q:** Lührmann 32 n. 3; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schulz 204 n 203
Luke red: Busse 280 n 4; Fuchs 131-32 (και αυτο)

Pro: Matt 9:32 mentions only a dumb demoniac, thus agreeing with Luke.

Con: However Fuchs points out that και αυτος is rare in Matt and Mark but frequent in Luke-Acts: Luke 1:17, 22; 2:28; 3:23; 4:15; 5:1, 14, 17, 37; 6:20; 8:1, 22, 41; 9:51; 15:14; 16:24; 17:11, 16; 19:2 (bis), 9; 24:15, 25, 28, 31; Acts 8:13; 10:26; 21:24; 22:20; 24:16; 25:22. Thus it seems best to ascribe only κωφος to Q, and the construction to Luke.

4(και) = [Matt 9:32]

Matt = **Q:** Polag 50
Matt red:

Pro: Since the Lucan introduction (below) is probably redactional, and since Matt elsewhere tends to avoid parataxis, Matt may reflect Q's paratactic linking of clauses.

4[εγενετο δε]

Luke = **Q:** Jülicher 2.215
Luke red: Busse 280 n 4; Fuchs 130; Jeremias 199; Laufen 127; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50

Con: Luke's εγενετο δε is redactional, occurring only in Luke-Acts: (17x + 21x). Red at 6:1, 6, 12; 8:22; 9:28, 37, 51; diff Matt at 3:21; 11:14; Sond: 1:8; 2:1, 6; 5:1; 11:27; 16:22; 18:35. See Hawkins 37-38; Jeremias 199

5 (εθεραπευσεν αυτον)

Matt = **Q:** Harnack 95 (- αυτον)
Matt red: Fuchs 149; Laufen 127; Schulz 204 n 203

Con: Matt frequently either adds θεραπευω to a Marcan reference to exorcism (Matt 8:16; 10:1) or changes εκβαλλω δαιμονια to θεραπευω or ιαθη (4:23; 15:18). Θεραπευω is used redactionally 12x in Matt (Laufen 428 n 18)

5[του δαιμονιου εξελθοντος] Matt 9:33 (εκβληθεντος του δαιμονιου)

Luke = Q: Jülicher 2.215; Laufen 127; Polag 50
Luke red: Fuchs 127-31; Meyer 71 n 1

Pro: Since both Luke 11:14b and Matt 9:33 use a genitive absolute to describe the exit of the demon, it is reasonable to assume that they are following Q.

Con: However, Fuchs observes that Luke has a preference for εξερχομαι + δαιμονια: 4:41 (red); 8:2 (S); 8:33 (red), 35 (red), 38 (red). If Luke has assimilated 14b to his own style, then Q may be represented by Matt 9:33a: και εκβληθεντος του δαιμονιου.

6 (ωστε τον κωφον λαλειν και βλεπειν)

Matt = Q: Harnack 95 (- και βλεπειν)
Matt red: Fuchs 149; Schulz 204 n. 203

Con: The mention of "seeing again" is obviously dependent upon the redactional addition of "blind" in 12:22a. Matthew agrees with Luke and Matt 9:33b in the choice of a verb of speaking (λαλεω) but differs in form. Since constructions with ωστε + inf. are frequently red in Matthew (8:24, 28; 10:1; 12:12; 13:54; 15:31, 33; 23:31 [diff Luke]; 24:24; 27:1) it should be considered Matthaean here.

6[ελαλησεν ο κωφος]

Luke = Q: Laufen 126; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schulz 204; Zeller 59;
Luke red:

Pro: Since Matt 9:33b agrees verbatim with Luke, the probability is that both are reproducing Q here.

7(και εξισταντο παντες οι οχλοι)

Matt = Q: Harnack 95
Matt red: Fuchs 143-47; Schulz 204 n 204

Con: Klostermann Mt 107 and Strecker 168 n 6 suggest that εξισταντο is a reminiscence of Mark 3:21 (thus Schulz)

7[και εθαυμασαν οι οχλοι] (= Matt 9:33 και εθαυμασαν οι οχλοι)

Luke = Q: Albertz 166; Fuchs 143; Laufen 126; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schulz 204

Luke red:
Pro: Luke agrees verbatim with Matt 9:33; this is undoubtedly the reading of Q.

8 (και ελεγον· μητι ουτος εστιν ο υιος Δαυιδ;)

Matt = Q:
Matt red: Fuchs 132-40, 141-43; Laufen 126 + 427 n 10; Schulz 204 n. 203; Strecker 118;

Con: The "Son of David" title appears much more frequently in Matt than in Mark or Luke: Matt 1:1, 20; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:9, 15 and only 20:30, 31 from Mark. Fuchs 141 observes that ουτος εστιν + o with substantive occurs 15x in Matt (3:3, 17; 7:12; 12:23; 13:19, 20, 22, 23, 55; 14:2; 17:5; 18:4; 21:11, 38; 27:37) but only three times each in Mark and Luke.
Acclamations following miracles are frequent (and often redactional) in Matt: 8:27 (= Mark); 9:8 (red); 9:26 (red); 9:33; 12:23; 14:33 (red); 15:31 (red).

9 (οι δε Φαρισαιοι ακουσαντες ειπον·)

Matt = Q: Zeller 59 (?)
Matt red: Albertz 48; Fuchs 158; Laufen 127; Polag 50; Schulz 204 n. 206

Con: Matt may be influenced by Mark 3:22 (Polag). There is strong likelihood that "Pharisee" is redactional, since it occurs redactionally at Matt 9:34; (12:24); 15:12; 16:11, 12; 21:45; 22:34, 41; 23:14 | from Mark: 9:11, 14; 12:2, 14, 38; 15:1; 16:1, 6; 19:3; 22:15 | from Q: 23:23, 25 | Q or red: 3:7; 23:13, 26, 27, 29 | Sond: 5:20; 23:2, 15; 27:62.
The aorist participle of ακουω is common in Matt: 2:2, 9, 22; 4:12; 8:10; 9:12; 11:2; 12:24; 14:13 (bis); 15:12; 17:6; 19:22, 25; 20:24, 30; 21:45; 22:22, 33, 34; 27:47, but only 7 of these instances derive from Matthew's sources (Fuchs).

9[τινες δε εξ αυτων ειπον·]

Luke = Q: Bultmann 12, 54; Käsemann 242-43; Klostermann Mt 108; Laufen 127; Lührmann 32; Manson 83; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schulz 204 n 206
Luke red: Busse 280 n 4; Fuchs 164-69.

Pro: The tendency is probably to make identifications more, not less, definite (Manson).

Con: However, Fuchs points out that τις with partitive genitive is frequent in Luke-Acts: Luke: 18x | Acts 17x (Mark 9x | Matt 5x). The formula τινες . . . εξ αυτων occurs only in Luke-Acts (4x) Busse calls attention to the similarities with 12:13; 24:22; Acts 11:20; 15:2, 24; 17:4

10(εν τω Βεελζεβουλ αρχοντι των δαιμονιων) cf. Matt 9:34

Matt = Q:
Matt red:

Con: Matthew's article may be anaphoric (with reference to 10:25) and hence redactional.

[10][εν Βεελζεβουλ τω αρχοντι των δαιμονιων]

Luke = Q: Hahn 292; Polag 50;
Luke red:

Pro: The use of the article with "ruler" rather than the proper name is supported by Matt 9:34, but may, on the other hand be an assimilation to Mark 3:22.

Con: Hirsch (Frühgeschichte 1.24) and Meyer (71 n 1) argue that "Beelzebul" (which does not appear in 9:34) was added in both Matt and Luke from Mark. However, the reply in Q 11:19 (Matt = Luke) clearly presupposes the presence of the name in the accusation and hence the name should be preserved in Q 11:15.

[11] (ουτος ουκ εκβαλλει τα δαιμονια ει μη)

Matt = Q: Lührmann 32.
Matt red: Hummel 123; Laufen 128; Schulz 204 n 206

Pro: Lührmann: Luke has assimilated the accusation to Mark 3:22; therefore Matt may represent Q better.

Con: However, Matt uses the aramaizing construction ουκ . . . ει μη redactionally at 14:17 and 15:24 (Laufen) (but takes it over from Q at 10:22 and 11:29!) Matt heightens the conflict by framing the Pharisees' response (ουτος ουκ . . . ει μη as a deliberate reaction to the crowd's μητι ουτος εστιν ο υιος Δαυιδ; (Hummel)

[11][εκβαλλει τα δαιμονια] = Matt 9:34: (εκβαλλει τα δαιμονια)

Luke = Q: Hahn 292; Laufen 128; Meyer 71; Polag 50; Schulz 204 n 206
Luke red: Lührmann 32.

Pro: The agreement between Luke and Matt 9:34 as well as the probability of Matthaean redaction of Matt 12:24a makes it more likely that Luke 11:15 represents Q.

[12][ετεροι δε πειραζοντες σημειον εξ ουρανου εζητουν παρ' αυτου] Cf. Matt 12:38

Luke = Q: Manson 83;
Luke red: Bultmann 62; Busse 280 n 4; Hummel 123; Jülicher 2.217; Klostermann Lk 127; Knox 64; Laufen 429 n 30; Lührmann 32 n 8; Polag 51; Schmid 291; Schulz 203-4; Steinhauser 130.

Pro: Manson: the position of v. 16 is original: Luke would not have "inserted introductory matter to something that he was not going to deal with until 13 verses later."

Con: Lührmann: v. 16 is a Luke's editorial connection of the request for a sign and the Beelzebul accusation. At least the use of ετεροι to establish a contrast with v. 15 may be Lucan: ετερος: Matt 9 | Mark 0 | Luke 32 | Acts 17, and frequently to signal contrasts (see Jeremias 110-111.)

13(ειδως δε)

Matt = Q: Polag 50
Matt red:

13[αυτος δε ειδως]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Busse 280 n 4; Fuchs 61; Jeremias 200; Laufen 128; Marshall 473; Schulz 205

Con: αυτος δε is a Lucanism: it occurs in Mark twice (1:9; 5:40), and is taken over by Luke at 8:54, but added 5 x to Marcan material (5:16; 6:8, 11; 8:37; 18:39) and occurs in Sondergut at 4:30; 11:28; 23:9.
Additionally, it is probably "aufgrund des Einschubs von V. 16 gesetzt." (Schulz)

14(τας ενθυμησεις αυτων)

Matt = Q:
Matt red: Fuchs 62-63; Laufen 128; Meyer 71 n 1, Schmid 292; Schulz 205; Steinhauser 131.

Con: At 9:4 Matt has introduced ιδων . . . τας ενθυμησεις αυτων redactionally.

14[αυτων τα διανοηματα]

Luke = Q: Easton 58; Fuchs 62-63 (choice of nouns); Manson 85; Marshall 473; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schmid 292; Schulz 205
Luke red: Fuchs 62 (placement of pronoun)

Pro: Schmid notes that διανοηματα is hapax (so Laufen Schulz) and infers from this that it is original.
Fuchs argues that the placing of the pronoun before the substantive is "literary" and therefore Lucan. However, Cadbury (153) points out that Luke prefers a postpositive position for possessive pronouns.

15(μερισθεισα)

Matt = Q: Laufen 128; Polag 50; Schulz 205
Matt red:

15[διαμερισθεισα]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Fuchs 70; Jeremias 200; Laufen 128; Marshall 473; Schulz 205; Steinhauser 131.

Con: Luke's preference for compound verbs is well known: see Cadbury 166; Jeremias 200; Schmid 49;

16(μ. καθ' εαυτης)

Matt = Q: Laufen 128; Meyer 71 n 1; Schulz 205
Matt red: Fuchs 72; Steinhauser 131

16[εφ' εαυτην δ.]

Luke = Q: Marshall 473; Polag 50; Steinhauser 131
Luke red: Schulz 205

Pro: Steinhauser adduces Matt 10:35 (κατα | Luke επι); and Matt 12:32a, b (κατα | Luke εις) to suggest that Matthew prefers κατα but the opposite is possible (Cadbury 204 Schulz). Marshall: Luke may follow Mark 3:24 but could be original in view of Matthew's liking for κατα with the genitive.

17(πασα πολις η οικια μερισθεισα καθ' εαυτης ου σταθησεται.)

Matt = Q: Grundmann Mt 329 (- η πολις); Käsemann 243; Klostermann (as Grundmann); Laufen 128-29 (as Grundmann); Polag 50 (- η πολις and with εφ'); Schulz 205 (as Grundmann); Steinhauser 137 (as Polag)
Matt red: Linton 53; Meyer 71 n 1; Schmid 292

Pro: Grundmann: Matt adds only "city" to produce a continuum from large to small communities (kingdom - city - house) (thus Laufen Linton). Matt adds "city" under the influence of ερημοω which often occur together in the LXX and Josephus (B.J. 2.279; Ant. 11:24) (Steinhauser) Matt adds "city" at 9:1, 35; 21:10, 18.

Con: However, Matt may have been influenced by Mark 3:25 (Meyer; Schmid)

17[οικος επι οικον πιπτει]

Luke = Q: Albertz 49, Easton 61-62; Linton 52-54; Jacobson 198 n 19; Manson 86; Marshall 473; Meyer 71 n 1; Pesch Mk 215; Schmid 292;
Luke red: Bultmann 93; Fuchs 70-71; Jülicher 221-22; Käsemann 243; Laufen 128; Schulz 205; Schürmann Paschamahl 2; Taylor Mk 240

Con: Luke abbreviates Q to eliminate parallelism (Bultmann Fuchs Schulz Taylor); besides, πιπτω is frequent in Luke (17x | Acts 9x) (Fuchs Schulz).
Luke uses οικος frequently (33x | Acts 25x | Matt 10 | Mark 12), but οικια much

less so. Moreover, he has misunderstood the original sense of οικια ("family") and interpreted it as a building (οικος) (Schulz)

Pro: The image of ruined houses cannot be the original one; yet such an alteration is contrary to Luke's usual methods, so this may have already been the wording of Q. (Easton) However, even Q may not have intended the meaning which is now required by the syntax, but may have presupposed "divided" in the second clause and οικος meaning "household."

18(και ει)

Matt = Q: Polag 50; Schulz 205
Matt red: Laufen 129

18[ει δε και]

Luke = Q: Katz 196-97; Laufen 129 (?)
Luke red: Fuchs 73; Jeremias 200; Marshall 473;

Con: Laufen argues that Matt 12:26 is assimilated to Mark 3:26 and therefore Luke's formulation ("which has a true concessive meaning" 430 n 41) is original. However δε και is typically Lucan appearing ca. 30x in comparison with twice in Mark and 3x in Matt. See Cadbury 146; Schürmann Abschiedsrede 65-66.

19(τον σαταναν εκβαλλει)

Matt = Q: Meyer 71 n 1
Matt red: Laufen 129; Polag 50; Schenk 67; Schmid 292; Schulz 205

Con: influenced by Mark 3:23 (Laufen Polag Schmid Schulz)

Pro: Meyer, however, argues that εφ' εαυτον (δι)εμερισθη derives in both Matt and Luke from Mark, and that Q read: και ει ο σατανας τον σαταναν εκβαλλει, πως. . . .

19[omit]

Luke = Q: Klostermann Mt 108; Laufen 129; Polag 50; Schenk 67; Schmid 292; Schulz 205; Zeller 59
Luke red:

20(εμερισθη)

Matt = Q: Laufen 129; Polag 50; Schulz 205;
Matt red:

20 [διεμερισθη]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Fuchs 74; Jeremias 200; Laufen 129; Schulz 205

Con: See comments on var. 15 (above)

21 (ουν)

Matt = Q:
Matt red: Fuchs 74; Laufen 129; Polag 51; Schmid 292; Schulz 205

Con: ουν: Matt 57x | Mark 5x | Luke 31x. There is no reason for Luke to have omitted it.

Pro: However, it occurs at least 5x in Q: 3:8, 9; 10:2; 11:13, 35.

21 [omit]

Luke = Q: Laufen 129; Polag 50; Schmid 292; Schulz 205
Luke red:

21 (omit)

Matt = Q: Laufen 129; Lührmann 33; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schenk 67; Schmid 292; Schulz 205; Zeller 59
Matt red:

22 [ὅτι λεγετε εν Βεελζεβουλ εκβαλλειν με τα δαιμονια]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Bultmann 90, 327; Creed 160; Klostermann Mt 108; Laufen 129; Lührmann 33; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 51; Schmid 292; Schulz 205

Con: Influence of Mark 3:30?

23 (και ει εγω)

Matt = Q: Harnack 95; Laufen 129; Meyer 71 n 1; Polag 50; Schulz 205
Matt red:

23 [ει δε εγω]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Fuchs 88-89; Laufen 129; Schulz 205

Con: Since both Matt and Luke tend to avoid, not create paratactic constructions, Luke 11:19 is best seen as an improvement, and Matt as original.

24(κριται εσονται υμων)

Matt = Q: Harnack 95
Matt red:

Comment: Polag 50 reconstructs κριται υμων εσονται.

24[υμων κριται εσονται]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Fuchs 90; Laufen 129; Polag Christologie 40 n 113

Con: Polag asserts that a prepositive position of the pronoun is Lucan.

Pro: However, Cadbury (153) points out that Luke's preference is for a post-positive position. Moreover, there are at least 4 clear examples of Q using the prepositive position: Q 6:47; 9:60; 14:26, 27 and several other possible instances: Q 6:29; 11:17, 19; 12:30; 13:34 (in the Lucan parallel); 6:48; 7:6 (in the Matthaean parallel).
Jeremias (142-43) observes that Luke prefers the post-positive position (272x to 22x). All 4 Marcan occurrences are reversed (Luke 5:20, 23, 31; 8:46) as is 1 LXX quotation (Luke 1:25). All 22 Lucan occurrences are in non-Marcan material.
Since there is no clear evidence that Luke ever introduces a prepositive pronoun, it seems best to ascribe the formulation to Q.

25(εν πνευματι θεου)

Matt = Q: Crossan 188; George 462; Hamerton-Kelly 168; Harnack 20, 95; Käsemann 244; Meyer 71 n 1; Rodd 158; Schlatter Lk 511; Van Cangh 337-42.
Matt red: Fuchs 89 n 156; Grundmann Mt 329; Haenchen 147 n 13; Laufen 128-29, 130; Schulz 205;

Con: Avoidance of anthropomorphism, and especially in the need to relate Matt 12:28 to the Isaian quotation in 12:18 and to prepare for the blasphemy of the Spirit saying in 12:31-32 supply good reasons for a Matthaean alteration.

Pro: However, Rodd concluded that Matt never adds references to the Spirit.

Comment: Strecker 168 posits variant forms of Q while Leisegang Pneuma Hagion 105 suggests εν ονοματι θεου as original.

25[εν δακτυλω θεου]

Luke = Q: Barrett 63; Easton 58; Grundmann Mt 329; Haenchen 147 n 13; Hahn 292; Kümmel 106 n 3; Jeremias 201; Laufen 128-29, 130; Lührmann 33; Manson 86;

Marshall 476; Percy 179; Polag 50; Schmid 292; Schulz 205; Zeller 59
Luke red: George 461-66; Hamerton-Kelly 168; Meyer 71 n 1; Rodd 158; Van Cangh 337-42.

Pro: Given Luke's tendency to introduce spirit, "finger" is probably original (Kümmel).

Comment: Klostermann Mt 109: Luke is "echt alttestamentlich . . . aber darum doch nicht notwendig ursprünglicher."

Con: Meyer argues that Luke altered πνευματι to avoid any impression that Jesus was subordinate to the Spirit, and has in the process introduced an allusion to Exod 8:19 (thus Harnack). For Luke, exorcism is by Jesus' name, not possession of the Spirit (Luke 10:17).
George and Van Cangh argue that "finger" serves Luke's Moses-typology, and that Luke's restriction of the role of the Spirit to contexts involving inspired speech provides good reason for the change to "finger."

26 (η πως δυναται τις εισελθειν εις την οικιαν του ισχυρου και τα σκευη αυτου αρπασαι, εαν μη πρωτον δηση τον ισχυρον; και τοτε την οικιαν αυτου διαρπασει] Cf. Mark 3:27

Matt = Q: Zeller 59
Matt red (of Mark 3:27): Laufen 130; Lührmann 33; Polag Christologie 42 n 123; Schulz 203 n 200

Con: The strong agreements between Matt and Mark (21 exact agreements out of 26 Marcan words), the minimal agreements of Matt and Luke, and the absence of Matt-Luke agreements against Mark make it most likely that Matt is simply following Mark.

26 [οταν ο ισχυρος καθωπλισμενος φυλασση την εαυτου αυλην, εν ειρηνη εστιν τα υπαρχοντα αυτου. επαν δε ισχυροτερος αυτου επελθων νικηση αυτον, την πανοπλιαν αυτου αιρει εφ' η επεποιθει, και τα σκυλα αυτου διαδιδωσιν]

Q Vorlage exists: Bultmann 13-14 (?); Easton 60; Grundmann Lk 237; Hunter 137; Jülicher 2.232-33; Käsemann 245; Kloppenborg 153; Laufen 84, 130; Manson 85; Marshall 476-77; Percy 181-87; Pesch Mk 1.215; Polag 52 (- καθωπλισμενος and εισελθων for επελθων; Polag Christologie 42 n 123; Schmid 292-93; Schweizer Mt 185; Steinhauser 143; Taylor Mk 240-42; Weiss 117.
Luke = Q (at least in part): Easton 60; Grundmann Lk 237; Hunter 137; Käsemann 245; Polag 52 (- καθωπλισμενος and εισελθων for επελθων; Polag Christologie 42 n 123; Schmid 292-93; Weiss 117.
Luke red (of Mark 3:27): Jacobson 158, 163; Lührmann 33; Meyer 71; Schulz 203 n 200

Con: 11:21-22 in Q: Some of the vocabulary appears to be Lucan: φυλασσω: Matt ix | Mark ix | Luke 6x (1 red; 3 Sond) | Acts 8x; τα υπαρχοντα: Matt 3x | Mark - | Luke 8x (1 = Q; 4 Sond); επερχομαι: Matt - | Mark - | Luke-Acts 7x; πειθω: Matt 3x | Mark - | Luke 4x (1 red; 2 Sond) | Acts 17x; διαδιδωμι: Matt - | Mark - | Luke 2x (1 red) | Acts 2x.

Légasse argues that Luke has been influenced by the LXX in his reformulation of the passage, and lists as LXXisms: εν ειρηνῃ, σκυλα, καθωπλισμενοσ, πανοπλιαν, and πειθω.

Pro: Luke 11:21-22 diverges so strongly from Mark 3:27 that Mark cannot be Luke's source. But if Luke 11:21-22 is from L, it is strangely coincidental that Luke agrees exactly in the relative placing of the parable after 11:20 | Matt 12:28. It is easier to suppose that 11:21-22 comes from Q. (Laufen Manson) Moreover, apart from Lucanisms such as επερχομαι and διαδιδωμι, there is no compelling evidence of Lucan redaction. Υπαρχοντα is a Q word (12:44) (Easton) and Jeremias (201) argues that the use of the genitive with the substantive (11:21; 12:33, 44; 14:33; 16:1; 19:8) is traditional, whereas Luke uses the dative when composing feely (8:3 and Acts).

^{27}Οταν (δε)

Matt = Q:
Matt red: Polag 53; Schulz 476

^{27}Οταν [ ]

Luke = Q: Polag 52; Schulz 476
Luke red:

Pro: Assuming that this is the original reading of Luke (see mss!) it seems unlikely that δε would be deleted by Luke, especially since Luke otherwise tends to avoid asyndeton.

^{28}(ουχ ευρισκει)

Matt = Q: Harnack 22; Jülicher 2.234; Polag 52; Schulz 476
Matt red: Bussmann 68.

Pro: The likelihood of Lucan redaction (see below) makes it probable that Matt here reproduces Q.

Con: Bussmann: Matt uses the indicative so that he can add τοτε.

^{28}[μη ευρισκον]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Jülicher 2.234; Schmid 295; Schulz 476

Con: Luke in general substitutes participles for finite verbs (Cadbury 133-37), and in particular, uses και (μη) ευροντες / - ουσαι at 2:45 (S); 5:19 (red); 15:5 (S), 9 (S); 24:23 (S).

29 (τοτε)

29[τοτε/omit]

Comment: If τοτε is not original in Luke (see mss!), then it is conceivable that Matt has added the word and that Lucan mss show parallel influence from Matt. Marshall (479) holds that the omission is original, while Bussmann (68), Polag (53) and Schulz (477) conjecture an original και.

30/εις τον οικον μου/ επι.

Matt = **Q:** Harnack 22; Polag 52; Schulz 476
Matt red:

30υπο. /εις τον οικον μου/

Luke = **Q:**
Luke red: Harnack 22; Schulz 476

Con: Luke shows a slight preference for prepositional phrases following the verb, inverting the relative positions of verb and prepositional phrase at Mark 1:21, 23, 45; 3:7; 4:6, 21; 5:18; 9:2; etc.

31(επιστρεψω)

Matt = **Q:** Harnack 22; Schulz 476
Matt red:

31[υποστρεψω]

Luke = **Q:**
Luke red: Bussmann 69; Harnack 22; Jeremias 202; Marshall 479; Schmid 295

Con: Cadbury 175; υποστρεφω Matt - | Mark - | Luke 21x | Acts 11x

32(σχολαζοντα)

Matt = **Q:** Harnack 22; Jülicher 2.234; Schmid 295; Weiss 76.
Matt red: Bussmann 68; Jacobson 172

Pro: The omission of the word is more easily explained than its addition (Harnack)

32[omit]

Luke = **Q:** Jacobson 172
Luke red: Jülicher 2.234; Schmid 295

Con: Luke omitted the word because it is normally used only of persons (Jülicher)

33(μεθ' εαυτου)

Matt = Q: Harnack 22; Polag 52; Schulz 477
Matt red: Bussmann 68; Jülicher 2.235; Marshall 480; Schmid 295

Con: Schmid cites 15:30; 26:38, 40 where Matt adds μετ' + pronouns (also 26:36); but none of these involve a verb such as παραλαμ.

Pro: Matt omits μετ' αυτου after παραλαμ. at Mark 14:33, presumably as redundant but uses it at 18:15 (Sond). However he never adds it to a Marcan Vorlage. This suggests that it is original here, and that Luke has omitted it as redundant.

33[omit]

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Schulz 477

Con: The omission of μεθ' εαυτου is a stylistic improvement (Schulz)

34 / επτα/ ετερα πνευματα πονηροτερα εαυτου //

Matt = Q: Jülicher 2.235; Schulz 477
Matt red:

34 // ετερα πνευματα πονηροτερα εαυτου /επτα/

Luke = Q:
Luke red: Jeremias 202; Jülicher 2.235; Schulz477

Con: Luke wishes to avoid the juxtaposition of επτα and ετερα and to emphasize the number (Jülicher). Luke shows a preference for post-positive cardinal numbers: Luke 8:42; 9:28; 21:2 (all from Mark); 8:43; 9:13, 14, 17, 30, 33 (all red); in Acts post-positive numbers outnumber prepositive 44 to 11. (Cadbury 153-54; Jeremias 107)

35(ουτως και τη γενεα ταυτη τη πονηρα)

Matt = Q: Bultmann 164.
Matt red: Bussmann 68; Grundmann Mt 334-35; Hummel 126-27; Polag 52; Schmid 295; Schulz 477; Strecker 103.

Con: Matt also adds summarizing phrases with ουτως at 5:16; 13:49; 18:35; 20:16; 23:28; 26:54.

35 [omit]

Luke = Q: Bussmann 68; Polag 52; Schmid 295; Schulz 477;
Luke red:

Pro: There is little reason for Luke to have omitted the phrase if it were in Q.

The Beginning of Q

Harry Fleddermann

We often probe the beginning and end of a literary work for clues to its meaning, but Q presents special problems because we must find the beginning and end before we can investigate them. Q probably ended with Jesus' promise that the disciples would sit on twelve thrones judging Israel (Q 22:30).[1] Where Q began is disputed. According to Heinz Schürmann Q began with a "Bericht vom Anfang" that lies behind Luke 3:3-22; 4:1-44.[2] For Schürmann Q opened with a description of John's ministry that can be recovered from Luke 3:3-6 and its Matthean parallel.[3] Michel Devisch has shown, however, that the linguistic evidence does not support a Q text behind Luke 3:3-6.[4] To find the beginning of Q we must look for the first place where Matthew and Luke agree extensively. This occurs in John's Preaching (Q 3:7-9, 16-17). Last year I reconstructed the end of this section, the saying on John and the Coming One.[5] In this paper I will reconstruct the first part of John's Preaching (Q 3:7-9) and offer a literary analysis of the whole section. I will follow Michel Devisch's reconstruction of Q 3:7-9.[6] First, the introduction:

Matt 3:7a	Luke 3:7a
ἰδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς	ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῖς ἐκπορευ- ομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

[1] E. Bammel, "Das Ende von Q," *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag (ed. O. Böcher and K. Haacker; Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1970) 39-50.*

[2] H. Schürmann, "Der 'Bericht vom Anfang': Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch auf Grund von Lk 4, 14-16," *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptische Evangelien* (Düsseldorf: Patmos=Verlag, 1968) 69-80; idem, "Zur Traditionsgeschichte der Nazareth-Perikope Lk 4, 16-30," *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R. P. Béda Rigaux* (ed. A. Descamps and A. de Halleux; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970) 187-205.

[3] H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium: Erster Teil: Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1-9,50* (HTKNT 3; Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder, 1969) 161.

[4] M. Devisch, *De geschiedenis van de Quelle-hypothese: 1. Van J. G. Eichhorn tot B. H. Streeter; 2. De recente exegese* (2 vols.; Louvain: Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, 1975) 2. 402-421. I am grateful to Professor James M. Robinson for obtaining a copy of Devisch's dissertation for me.

[5] H. Fleddermann, "John and the Coming One (Matt 3:11-12//Luke 3:16-17)," *Society of Biblical Literature 1984 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984) 377-84.

[6] M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 489-515.

Matthew and Luke agree that John spoke (Matt: εἶπεν/Luke: ἔλεγεν) to large numbers (πολλους/ὄχλοις) coming (ἐρχόμενους/ἐκπορευομένοις) to be baptized (ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα/βαπτισθῆναι). Neither Matthew nor Luke mentions John by name because they have both fitted the Q section into a Marcan context which already identified John (Mark 1:2-6). The Q introduction, though, had to show that John was speaking with something like "John said." Whether it contained more than this depends on a closer analysis of Matthew and Luke.

John addresses different audiences in the two gospels. In Matthew he attacks the Pharisees and Sadducees, in Luke the crowds. Matthew uses the combination "Pharisees and Sadducees" six times,[7] and in 16:1 he introduces the Sadducees into a Marcan context that mentions only the Pharisees (Mark 8:11).[8] So it is possible that Q referred only to the Pharisees and that Matthew added the Sadducees. The Pharisees are the only adversaries named in Q (Q 11:39-52), but they are also Jesus' chief enemies in Matthew. Matthew introduces them into his Marcan source in several places,[9] so he could have introduced the Pharisees as well as the Sadducees into this text. Since Luke does not mention either group, we must consider this likely.[10] But Luke's "crowds" is also redactional. Luke frequently replaces a large group in Mark (πάντες, πολλοί) with the crowds.[11] Here he substitutes ὄχλοι for πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται πάντες (Mark 1:5). So both Matthew's "Pharisees and Sadducees" and Luke's "crowds" are redactional. Q did not identify John's audience.

Once we see that Q left the audience open, then the redaction of the two evangelists becomes clearer. Luke basically rewrites Mark 1:5. We have seen that his ὄχλοι replaces Mark's πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται πάντες. He takes over Mark's verb ἐξεπορεύετο and subordinates it by turning it into a participle (ἐκπορευομένοις). He converts Mark's second clause (καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ) into an infinitive of purpose,[12] and he links the verse to the preceding with οὖν.[13]

Matthew's verse is also redactional. Matthew uses the construction ἰδών/ἰδόντες + an object + a finite verb sixteen times.[14] Although he uses πολλοί with the genitive only here, he frequently introduces πολύς or πολλοί into his Marcan source and he uses the partitive genitive freely.[15] He also uses the participle ἐρχομένος often, at times intro-

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[7]Matt 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11, 12 *bis*.

[8]Compare also Matt 16:6 where Matthew replaces Mark's ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῆς ζύμης Ἡρῴδου (Mark 8:15) with ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων.

[9]Matt 12:24; 22:34, 41. Compare also Matt 9:34; 15:12.

[10]M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 493-96.

[11]Compare Luke 4:42 with Mark 1:37; Luke 5:15 with Mark 1:45; Luke 5:29 with Mark 2:15; Luke 6:19 with Mark 3:10; Luke 9:11 with Mark 6:33; Luke 9:18 with Mark 8:27. See M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 507.

[12]The infinitive of purpose is common in Luke, especially with verbs of motion. See Luke 1:17, 19, 59; 2:1, 3, 5, 22; 3:7, 12; 4:16, 18, 19, 34; 5:15, 32; 6:12, 18; 8:35; 9:1, 28; 11:31, 54; 12:49, 51; 14:1, 17, 19; 15:1, 15; 18:10; 19:7, 10, 12; 21:38; 22:47; 23:32; 24:1. See M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 505.

[13]Luke uses οὖν on two other occasions to introduce speeches (13:18; 19:12). M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 500-501.

[14]Matt 2:10; 3:7; 5:1; 8:18, 34; 9:2, 22, 23, 36; 14:26; 18:31; 21:15, 19, 38; 27:54; 28:17. The combination ἰδών/ἰδόντες with δέ occurs in Matt 2:10; 3:7; 5:1; 8:18; 9:36; 21:15. M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 491-2.

[15]For πολύς/πολλοί compare Matt 8:16, 30; 13:2, 58; 14:24; 20:29; 26:9, 47; 27:55. For the partitive genitive see Matt 5:19, 29, 30; 10:42; 12:38; 18:10, 14, 28; 20:13; 25:40, 45; 28:11. See further M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 492-3.

ducing it into a Marcan context.[16] With the participle Matthew picks up again ἐξεπορεύ-ετο from Mark 1:5 which he had taken over in v. 5. He substitutes the simple form for the compound as he does in 19:15 (compare Mark 10:17), and he prefers ἔρχομαι to πορεύομαι as he does in 10:14; 15:11, 19; 24:1. The rest of Matthew's verse, while not pointing unequivocally to Matthean redaction, is not incompatible with it. We rarely find ἐπί with an accusative to indicate a goal or purpose (Luke 4:43; 23:48; Heb 6:1; 12:10), but it occurs in two other places in Matthew (22:5; 26:50). The noun βάπτισμα is not common in Matthew, but he does take it over in 21:25 from Mark. The prepositional phrase, like the participle, echoes Mark 1:5.[17]

If we eliminate the editorial work of Matthew and Luke, all that is left for the Q introduction is the phrase "John spoke." One problem remains—the tense of the verb. Matthew frequently changes Mark's imperfects to aorists,[18] but Luke has a strong preference for the imperfect,[19] and he uses it often to introduce a discourse.[20] Q probably had the aorist. So the Q introduction was: εἶπεν Ἰωάννης.

We can now summarize the evangelists' redaction of the introduction. Since Q left the audience open, Matthew and Luke were free to apply John's Preaching to whichever group suited them. Luke directs the words to the crowds to prepare for vv. 10-14 (note ὄχλοι in v. 10), and he combines the Q introduction with Mark 1:5. John's speech was so severe that Matthew directed it against Jesus' enemies, the Pharisees and Sadducees. He also combines the Q introduction with Mark 1:5 even though he had previously redacted the Marcan verse in Matt 3:5-6. Except for εἶπεν/ἔλεγεν, the agreements of Matthew and Luke come from their independent editing of Mark.

So far the results have been meager. We have only salvaged the short phrase, "John said." The situation changes dramatically when we turn to the first three sayings of John. Matthew and Luke agree closely in these sayings, and the Q reconstruction is relatively easy.

	Matt 3:7b-10	Luke 3:7b-9	
7b	γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;	γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;	7b
8	ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας·	ποιήσατε οὖν καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας·	8a
9a	καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· πατέρα ἔχομεν	καὶ μὴ ἄρξησθε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· πατέρα ἔχομεν	b
b	τὸν Ἀβραάμ· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων	τὸν Ἀβραάμ· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων	c

[16]Compare Matt 3:16 with Mark 1:10; Matt 16:28 with Mark 9:9.

[17]M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2.496-7.

[18]W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (ICC; 3rd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912) xx-xxi.

[19]Statistics: Matt 94, Mark 228, Luke 259, John 163, Acts 329. See J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1909) 51. Luke replaces a Marcan aorist with an imperfect in 4:37, 40, 41, 42; 5:28; 6:18; 9:6; 18:15; 19:36; 20:14; 22:54; 23:21, 23, 47. See M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 499.

[20]Luke 3:7, 11; 5:36; 6:20; 9:23; 10:2; 12:54; 13:6, 18; 14:7, 12; 16:1; 18:1; 21:10. See M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 498-500.

	ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ	ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.	
10a	ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνα πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·	ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀξίνα πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·	9a
b	πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται	πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται	b
c	καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	c

The passage contains sixty-three words in Matthew, sixty-four in Luke. Sixty are identical. Matthew and Luke differ in just three places. Matthew has the singular "fruit worthy (καρπὸν ἄξιον) of repentance" while Luke uses the plural (καρποὺς ἀξίους); Matthew writes "presume (δόξητε) to say" while Luke has "begin (ἄρξησθε) to say"; and Luke begins the third sentence with the words ἤδη δὲ καὶ whereas Matthew has simply ἤδη δέ.

Matthew's καρπὸν ἄξιον reproduces the Q wording, for the singular appears in the immediate context (Q 3:9). Luke switches to the plural to prepare for vv. 10-14 where he offers three examples of ethical conduct. He writes a similar plural expression in Acts 26:20: "deeds worthy of repentance" (ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα).[21]

The second difference is more difficult to resolve. Both Matthew and Luke use δοκέω, and it is attested elsewhere in Q (Q 17:40). The set phrase τί σοι/ὑμῖν δοκεῖ occurs six times in Matthew (17:25; 18:12; 21:28; 22:17, 42; 26:66), and Matthew uses the verb three other times, once in the Q passage (24:44) and twice in special Matthean material (6:7; 26:53). Matthew, however, does not take over Mark's two uses of the verb (Mark 6:49; 10:42), and the passage we are considering is the only place in Matthew where the verb appears with the infinitive. Luke uses δοκέω ten times in his gospel and nine times in Acts, and he commonly uses it with the infinitive.[22] Mark uses ἄρχομαι with an infinitive twenty-six times, and the idiom occurs twice in Q[23] Matthew takes it over six times from Mark[24] and twice from Q (Matt 11:7; 24:49), and he uses it another four times, twice redactionally.[25] The verb is joined with λέγειν only twice in Matthew (11:7 = Q and 26:22 = Mark). Luke uses the idiom twenty-seven times, taking it over twice from Mark (Luke 19:45; 20:9) and twice from Q (Luke 7:24; 12:45). He frequently has ἄρχομαι with λέγειν.[26] So a decision is difficult. Both verbs appear in Q, and Matthew and Luke each uses his verb redactionally. Matthew, though, probably reflects the Q text because his expression, δόξητε λέγειν, is unusual, appearing nowhere else in the NT or the LXX. Luke found it difficult and substituted a more common expression. The opposite change is not very likely. It is hard to imagine Matthew changing Luke's expression if he had read it in Q because he has taken over similar expressions from Mark. When Matthew does alter Mark's ἄρχομαι with the infinitive, he always drops ἄρχομαι and substitutes a finite verb rather than replace ἄρχομαι with another word.[27]

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[21] M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 509.

[22] For the use with the infinitive, see Luke 1:3; 8:18; 10:36; 22:24; 24:37; Acts 12:9; 17:18; 27:13.

[23] Mark 1:45; 2:23; 4:1; 5:17, 20; 6:2, 7, 34, 55; 8:11, 31, 32; 10:28, 32, 41, 47; 11:15; 12:1; 13:5; 14:19, 33, 65, 69, 71; 15:8, 18. Q 19:45; 20:9.

[24] Matt 12:1; 16:21, 22; 26:22, 37, 74.

[25] Matt 4:17; 11:20; 14:30; 18:24. At least 4:17 and 11:20 are redactional.

[26] Luke 3:8; 4:21; 7:24 = Q; 7:49; 11:29; 12:1; 13:26; 20:9; 23:30.

[27] Matt 8:34; 10:5; 13:1, 54; 14:35; 19:27; 20:17, 24, 30; 21:12; 24:4; 26:67, 71, 75. See M. Devisch, *Geschiedenis*, 2. 510-14.

The third difference is easy to resolve. The καί is a Lucan addition to the text as Luke uses δὲ καί so often that it is a characteristic of his style.[28]

Up to this point I have been following Devisch. See my article for the reconstruction of the final saying.[29] The text of John's Preaching would look like this:

Q 3:7-9, 16-17

7a εἶπεν Ἰωάννης·
b γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν,
τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπο τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;
8a ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας,
b καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς·
πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ.
c λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς
ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.
9a ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥιζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·
b πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται
c καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.
16a ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι,
b ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερος μού ἐστιν,
c οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ·
d αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί·
17a οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
b καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ
c καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ,
d τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

We turn now to a literary analysis of the passage. John's speech contains four units. The first is a rhetorical question, "Brood of vipers, who has shown you to flee from the coming wrath?" (Q 3:7b). Questions appear frequently at the beginning of a discussion or argument in the Bible. The serpent confronts Eve with a question (Gen 3:1); Samuel opens his attack on Saul with a question (1 Sam 15:14); and God tells Elijah to begin his message to Ahab with a question (1 Kings 21:19).[30] A rhetorical question often introduces an argument in the speeches of Job and his friends.[31] Questions that begin with "Who . . ." are common. Besides their primary use to identify a person or group, these questions have a wide range of rhetorical uses. They can be self-effacing—"Who am I?" (Exod 3:11; 1 Sam 18:18; 2 Sam 7:18)—or contemptuous—"Who is the Lord, that I should heed his voice and let Israel go?" (Exod 5:2; compare Judg 9:28, 38; 1 Sam 17:26). They can also accuse: "Who told you that you were naked?" (Gen 3:11); "Who requires of you this tram-

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[28]The statistics for δὲ καί are: Matt 3; Mark 2; Luke 25; John 8; Acts 7. See J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 17, 37; H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1920) 146.

[29]H. Fleddermann, "John and the Coming One," 377-80.

[30]R. N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah xl 13-14: A Study of the Sources of the Theology of Deutero-Isaiah* (SOTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1971) 19.

[31]See, for example, Job 4:2, 17; 5:1; 6:11-12; 8:2-3; 11:2-3; 15:7-9, 11, 12-14; 19:2; 22:2-5.

pling of my courts?" (Isa 1:12).[32] The question that opens John's Preaching is contemptuous. It ridicules those who think that they can flee the judgment. The flight motif reflects the prophetic genre called the "summons to flee."[33] But John's question is a parody of the genre because flight from the coming wrath is impossible. We are not told immediately how John's hearers propose to flee.

The second unit is quite complex. It begins with a command, "Produce fruit worthy of repentance" (Q 3:8a), followed by a prohibition "and do not presume to say to yourselves, 'We have Abraham as a father'" (Q 3:8b) to which a motive clause is joined, "for I say to you, 'God is able to raise up children to Abraham from these stones'" (Q 3:8c). Commands and prohibitions are common in the OT, and they are frequently followed by motive clauses.[34] We also find the complex form of command and prohibition with a motive clause.[35] The saying's prohibition and motive clause reflect another prophetic form, the disputation speech. In the disputation speech the prophet quotes a saying of the people and then refutes it.[36] In the prohibition John quotes the people's claim, "We have Abraham as a father," and then he rejects it with the argument that "God is able to raise up children to Abraham from these stones." It is now clear how John's hearers propose to escape the judgment. They rely on Israel's election. John sweeps away Israel's privilege in a way worthy of a prophet (compare Amos 3:1-2).

The third unit is a threat, "But already the ax is laid at the root of the trees; therefore, every tree that does not produce good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire" (Q 3:9). The threat is a basic prophetic form that announces judgment in the future.[37] John threatens imminent destruction—"already the ax is laid at the root of the trees." But his threat is also conditional. The ax threatens only the trees that do not produce fruit. John develops the command of the preceding saying by setting an alternative before his audience—either produce fruit or be thrown into the fire. The threat also touches on the rhetorical question that opened the speech. John shows his hearers that they can flee the coming wrath, but only by producing fruit, not by relying on Israel's election.

The fourth unit is a salvation-judgment oracle. In the postexilic period the announcement of judgment and the announcement of salvation were combined in the salvation-judgment oracle which promised salvation to one group and threatened a second

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[32]R. N. Whybray, *Heavenly Counsellor*, 21-26.

[33]Jer 4:5-6; 6:1; 48:6-8, 28; 49:8, 30; 50:8-10; 15:6, 45; Zech 2:10-13. Compare 1 Sam 15:6; 22:5. See R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch* (WMANT 9; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962) 15-50. There is a summons to flee in Mark 13:14-20 (compare also Matt 2:13). See D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 130, 311-12, 323.

[34]For a command with a motive clause, see Prov 4:1-2; for a prohibition with a motive clause, see Prov 22:22-23, 24-25.

[35]See Prov 24:21-22; Amos 5:4-5; Jer 25:5-6. See R. E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther* (The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 13; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 6.

[36]There are sixteen examples of the disputation speech in the prophetic corpus: Isa 28:14-19; Jer 8:8-9; 31:29-30; 33:23-26; Ezek 11:2-12; 11:14-17; 12:21-25; 12:26-28; 18:1-20; 20:32-44; 33:10-20; 33:23-29; 37:11b-13; Isa 40:27-31; 49:14-25; Hag 1:2, 4-11. See A. Graffy, *A Prophet Confronts His People: The Disputation Speech in the Prophets* (AnBib 104; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984).

[37]Amos 3:12; 8:9-10, 11-14; Isa 7:18-19. See G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968) 353-4.

group with judgment. This form becomes characteristic of apocalyptic literature.[38] In this complex oracle John describes his own baptism (Q 3:16a); he then introduces the Coming One who is stronger than John (Q 3:16bc) and whose baptism is more powerful than John's (Q 3:16d). The Coming One is the judge who will gather the wheat into his barn but burn the chaff with fire (Q 3:17). This develops under a different image the conditional threat of the preceding saying. The "Who . . ." of the rhetorical question now takes on new meaning. Escape is possible, but only through John and the Coming One, and only for those who produce fruit.

Several devices lock the four units into a tight literary whole. Two catchwords link the sayings together—"produce fruit" (ποιεῖν καρπόν, vv. 8a, 9b) and "fire" (πῦρ, vv. 9c, 16d, 17d). The fruit is further described as "worthy of repentance" (v. 8a) or "good" (v. 9b). The catchwords are not arbitrarily chosen. Together they enunciate a major theme of the section—either produce fruit or be thrown into the fire. This theme is stated figuratively in v. 9bc which stands at the center of the sayings complex and which contains both catchwords: "every tree that does not produce good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire." Besides the two catchwords there are two linking concepts. "Coming" appears twice, although two different Greek words are used (μελλούσος, v. 7b; ἐρχόμενος, v. 16a). The concept of judgment appears at the beginning, middle, and end of the passage, although two different words are used here also (ὀργή, v. 7b; πῦρ, vv. 9c, 16d, 17d). These catchwords and linking concepts show that John's Preaching is a literary unit.

Q opens with John's Preaching. It is hard to imagine a more effective beginning. John delivers a withering attack on Israel's attempt to escape judgment by relying on religious privilege. He calls his hearers to repentance and points to the Coming One, stronger than John, who will save and judge. Q begins with a thunderbolt.

[38] Isa 57:13bc; 65:13-14. See D. E. Aune, *Prophecy*, 93, 131-32.

Philosophies, Theories, and Methods in Bible Translation

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While there has been much discussion of modern translations of the Bible, comparatively little attention has been paid to the theories that underlie those translations. There is somewhat more talk of the philosophy of translation, but even there we generally find long enumerations of examples which either pleased or displeased a particular critic. A notable exception has been the work of Eugene A. Nida. His seminal work is *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964). This highly technical work sought to place Bible translation on a firm base in modern linguistics, so that it could maintain the same high standards that are expected in both literary and technical translations (*see* Güttinger, 1963; Brower, 1959). The key to Nida's success is that his theory, though drawing on models from transformational linguistics, also uses the insights of semantics, relating meaning to language structure (cf. Chafe, 1970), and, most specifically, develops methods based on the theory. These methods have been set forth in numerous publications of the United Bible Societies (e.g. Nida and Tabor, 1969) and have been tested in widely differing languages, many of which display grammatical features that are unknown in the Indo-European and Semitic languages long familiar to biblical scholars. That is, the theory generates a methodology that yields consistent results when applied to languages in every part of the globe and in every human culture.

Certain assumptions are made. First and foremost is the assumption that Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek are ordinary human languages, subject to scholarly study and scientific analysis. Messages transmitted in these languages are sacred to many people, but it does not follow that the languages themselves are sacred. Second, it is assumed that languages serve primarily as means of communication between individuals and groups of individuals. A solipsist might argue that no one can truly communicate with anyone else, but most humans go on living as if they are able to communicate. They do it within language communities and across the barriers between such communities. And they generally find that anything that can be said in any language can be said in any other language, if the speaker is willing to learn how to do so.

A third assumption is that meaning and form interact at every level, from that of the lexeme to that of discourse structure. In each language the relationships between message and form are specific to that language. Between languages that belong to the same family and/or share a common culture, the differences in these relationships are less than they are between languages that are widely separated in time and space, and that belong to radically different language families, but they are nonetheless highly significant, and to ignore these differences is to produce bizarre examples of "translationese" and to risk a break down of communication.

In his article "Theories of Modern Bible Translation" (*Prooftexts* vol. 3, pp. 9-39), Edward L. Greenstein gives a spirited defense of the Buber-Rosenzweig principles of translation. Along the way he disagrees with Marcia Falk for her freedom with the poetry of the Song of Songs (p. 15F) but surprisingly does not mention her appreciative essay on

Buber and Rosenzweig. He is somewhat critical (p. 15) of Jack Sasson's *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-Folklorist Interpretation,* but fails to take issue with Harry M. Orlinsky, whose well-known writings on translation (1969) are far removed from his own. He mentions Orlinsky only in passing (p. 9F). Greenstein's sharpest barbs are reserved for *Today's English Version,* popularly known as the *Good News Bible.* The TEV is widely used as a guide for United Bible Society translators in putting the scriptures into hundreds of languages around the world. In general, the principles used by the UBS are also followed by the Wycliffe Bible Translators. Differences between the two do not bear on the issues raised in this paper. For two Wycliffe guides to translation, see Beekman and J. Callow, 1974 and K. Callow, 1974.

As one of the translators of the TEV Old Testament I cannot help being disappointed by Greenstein's failure to study in more detail the writings of Nida and others which set forth the theoretical basis of our work. My entering into debate with Greenstein is designed to encourage serious scholarly consideration of modern translation theory. Nida's work has been widely appreciated in linguistic circles but attracts much less attention among biblical scholars. Greenstein quotes *The Theory and Practice of Translation* by Nida and Charles R. Taber, (1969), but fails to understand the theory that underlies the book. Several points raised by Greenstein need to be answered.

1. The theological orientation of translation. Greenstein unnecessarily, to my way of thinking, seeks to label linguistically based translation as "Christian," and literal translation as "Jewish." To be sure, the U.B.S. is a Christian organization, and one of its aims is evangelization around the world. But in UBS translation theory theology is much less important than linguistics. Christians have put more emphasis on vernacular languages and have not used Hebrew in worship (though Orthodox Churches use Greek). Thus translation has been vital throughout Christian history and has become even more so in the present century, especially since Vatican II. Still, the New Jewish Version has essentially the same approach to linguistics as does the TEV. Moreover there are numerous examples of literal Christian translations. Two of the most wooden of modern translations, the Revised Version of 1881 and its sister translation, the American Standard Version of 1901, were produced by Protestants. The New American Standard Bible (1963; 1971) follows that tradition, but with a little more freedom. In addition there are fundamentalist Protestants who count the number of words and letters in the English Bible and seek for arcane mysteries in scripture. The differences in translation theory and its application cannot be defined as Jewish or Christian.

One advantage enjoyed by Christian translators is that they render the Bible into the major languages of the world—Chinese, Russian, and Arabic, not to mention Spanish, English, and Swahili. And even languages spoken by only a few people teach us about the nature of language. Greenstein's example of the North Canadian Indian language (p. 18) spoken by only 2,500 people is really less relevant to issues of translation theory than Chinese and the one billion people who speak it. But the whole world of linguistics and translation theory, secular and religious, is open to anyone. Translators can treat religious documents with respect and render them with due reverence without regarding them as the primordial words of God, as Greenstein appears to do (p. 30).

2. Contrasting types of translation. Greenstein contrasts "philological" translation with "literal" (p. 15), but then claims the label "literary" for the "literal." He admits that the literal is not literary in the sense of being good literature. This is not the clearest part of his paper.

He is more helpful when he seeks to contrast literal and idiomatic (16-20). While his preference is clearly for literal translation, he does attempt to describe the features of idiomatic translation. Greenstein points out that an idiomatic version is directed to the

reader so that the reader can readily understand and appreciate the meaning. A literal translation by contrast, constitutes a challenge. In order to understand it the reader has to study hard, learn about the literary features of biblical Hebrew, come to appreciate the forms of Hebrew syntax and vocabulary. The reader becomes a member of an elite class, an initiate, but unless he or she masters Hebrew, can never know the very word of God. This is true of course of Islam, where a believer is expected to learn Arabic, and any translation of the Quran is not the Holy Quran but only expresses the meaning of the Quran. Greenstein's theory seems very close to the Islamic view, though still occupying a middle ground between the linguistic beliefs of Christianity and those of Islam. Views of this sort, Jewish, Christian, or Muslim are not subject to empirical verification.

3. The example of poetry. An idiomatic translation seeks to render poetry as poetry, that is, poetry that is recognized as such by poets in the target language. Marcia Falk has demonstrably done this (pp. 15f). So, I would contend, has TEV in books such as Ecclesiastes, Job, and Song of Songs. This has often been done at the sacrifice of the Hebrew form. *Parallelismus membrorum* is a beautiful device in Hebrew, but it is language specific and can become deadly dull in English. Especially in Job, TEV has restructured the parallelism to produce a more natural and pleasing English style that presents the meaning with more impact than literal rendering can do.

Poetry, much more than prose, is language specific. Biblical poetry has usually been translated into prose, although translators insist that the resultant text is poetry. Often the only poetic feature is the arrangement of the translation on the page as if it were poetry, a device that fools the eye but not the ear. If meaning and form are interdependent, an essential feature of a song is that it be singable, and a poem must be recognizable as poetry. James Holmes (1969) speaks of the translation of a poem into a poetic form in the target language as a "metapoem" One way to create a metapoem Holmes terms "mimetic" (p. 197). The translator imitates the form of the original as closely as possible, thus emphasizing the strangeness of the message. Since, however, forms are language specific, the result is only an approximation. German hexameters differ from Greek hexameters, and *terza rima* in English is far from identical with Italian *terza rima*.

A second possibility, the analogical method, centers on the function of the poetic form used in the source language and then to find a form in the target language that has the same function. An example is the translation of the *Iliad* into English form appropriate to an epic, such as Alexander Pope's choice of rhymed couplets. These first two methods are "form-derivative."

A content derived approach starts with the semantic content of the poem and allows the content to give the translation its own unique shape. Essentially this is the method used by TEV, and often to be found in translations made by Ezra Pound. Finally there is "extraneous" form, which allows the poet to translate the poem with greater freedom and variety than possible with the mimetic or analogical approach.

Whatever approach is chosen, the metapoem must be recognizable as a poem. It must have form (in the broadest sense of that term) which falls within the boundaries of poetry in the target language. This is the task of the translator, not the typesetter.

4. Language specific features. Rather than going directly to Nida's work Greenstein (p. 11) quotes a secondary source for Nida's statement "the meaning must have priority over the stylistic forms." To understand what this means, we must look at the UBS theory of translation in some detail. The most concise statement of the goal toward which a translator should strive is "the closest natural equivalent," (Nida & Taber, 12-13). The term "equivalent" reflects the belief that translation attempts to communicate the meaning and the impact (spirit) of a given text. In this view the message is not to be confined to an elite group of specialists in ancient languages, but to be made accessible

to ordinary people living today. Moreover the text is not a mere means of self-expression, as if God were talking only to himself (masculine in Hebrew grammar), or a cryptogram for the elect. Therefore it is necessary to restructure the form in order to preserve the meaning. More about this later. The term "natural" stresses the importance of the target language. Bible Society lore tells of a "little old woman" in a tribal society who on hearing the Bible read for the first time in her language exclaimed, "I didn't know God spoke my language!" One form of the story has her add, "But I'm surprised he speaks it so poorly." UBS translators make no apologies for striving to make a translation sound "natural" to a native speaker of the target language. The third term, "closest" demands that the translation avoid, as far as is humanly possible, any change in the meaning—adding nothing not there in the meaning of the original and taking nothing away. The cultural and historical setting must be respected, a point which Greenstein (pp. 13-14) stresses.

Much debate centers around the question of form and much confusion exists in attempts to explain what UBS translations seek to do. To the statement cited above "the meaning must have priority over the stylistic forms" must be added the words "of the original." I have never known a UBS translator who thought form had no relation to meaning. Form is a vital component of the meaning of any message. But all forms are language-specific: Poetry, word order, sentence structure, parts of speech, gender, number, person, case, discourse structure, metaphor, vocabulary. That is to say, a form used in any given language has a meaning in that language; the burden of proof rests on anyone who maintains that that particular form can have the same significance when transferred to another language. Hebrew poetry is a good example. The solemn warnings of Israel 1:2-31 are magnificent Hebrew poetry, but no one issues that type of warning in poetry today. In modern English warnings are delivered in prose. Warnings or ultimata in poetic form would never be taken seriously. The same holds for Amos 1:3, where Greenstein (p. 13) likes the form:

> "for three transgressions of Damascus,
> and for four, I will not turn it back"

and comments, "We wouldn't say it that way, but Amos more or less did." Less, rather than more. Our contemporaries think God rather quick-tempered to mete out such terrible punishment for so few transgressions. What Amos might well have said if he had been speaking English is:

> The people of Damascus have sinned again and again. (TEV)

Word order and sentence structure also are language specific. Instead of forcing the reader to go back to the original as Greenstein hopes, a clumsy, literal style merely leaves the reader dismayed. To follow Hebrew word order or Greek sentence structure is not to give the reader a feeling for the original. At best it will convey the impression that the ancients had awkward ways of talking. If the point of a translation is to provide a "pony" to help beginning students of a language decipher a text, there are plenty of literal translations available. The ASV of 1901 is a notable example. In every language form and meaning interact at every level, and word order is a clear demonstration of how a word for word translation obscures and distorts meaning. All too many English translations of German theological works could be cited here as examples.

Greenstein (15-16) reprimands Marcia Falk's translation of the Song of Songs for taking liberties with Hebrew grammar, for instance, for changing third person to second person. Such grammatical features as person, gender, number, case are language specific. Many languages have inflectional forms or markers that build redundency into the text to

the point of overwhelming the beginning student (e.g. German, Spanish, Ancient Greek, Latin) while others get along with few or none (Korean, and Papiamento, the language of the Netherlands Antilles). Throughout the Hebrew Psalms there are sudden changes from third person to second person in speaking to God. Too great reliance on analogies drawn from European languages leads scholars to regard such variation as marking a change from speaking to a human audience in the third person to speaking directly to God in the second person. The question is open as to whether this does not indicate instead a change in the Psalmist's mood, an increased boldness or intimacy in addressing God, or in the Song of Songs, another person.

Or consider grammatical number. *Elohim* is plural in form but governs a verb in the singular. Scholars explain this phenomenon by giving it a Latin name. Others have speculated—against all the evidence—that the plural indicates traces of polytheism. The list of grammatical features could be extended indefinitely. All of them are language specific.

In recent discussions of translation theory attention has been directed to discourse structure, an area where languages differ greatly from one another. Nida and Taber (152) list the following universals of discourse:

A. The marking of the beginning and end of the discourse
B. The marking of the major internal transitions
C. The marking of temporal relations between events
D. The marking of spatial relationships between events and objects
E. The marking of logical relationships between events
F. The identification of participants
G. Highlighting, focus, emphasis, etc.
H. Author involvement

Any translator must understand how both the source language and the target language structure larger and smaller units of a text and they move from one unit to another. This involves at the simplest levels such matters as the reference of pronouns. The RSV translators ignored again and again that helpful rule taught to every high school student, that every pronoun must have an antecedent. Judges 3:6 is a good example: "and they took their daughters to themselves for wives, and their own daughters they gave to their sons; and they served their gods." NJV and NAB are similar. Jerusalem Bible begins to unravel the confusion by saying, "they married the daughters of these peoples." English has a word that biblical Hebrew lacked: "intermarry." It would have been simple, clear, and correct to say, "They intermarried with these people and worshipped their gods."

Discourse structure involves many other features taught in basic composition courses. Hebrew anaphoric devices and discourse markers are admirably suited to Hebrew, poorly suited to other languages. The reader should not have to stop to wonder who is doing what to whom.

5. Vocabulary. This is a large issue and one that on the whole is handled better than discourse structure. But even here writers such as Greenstein tend to stumble. He cites Buber and Rosenzweig's emphasis on word stems and on the principle of concordant translation (p. 24). Concordant translation means that each occurrence of a lexeme in the source language is translated by the same lexeme in the target language, regardless of the context. Rosenzweig did so because "To connect distant verses by means of concordant translation presupposes the unity of the text." There is an old homiletical axiom that "a text without its context is a pretext."

Concordant translation regards the lexeme as an inert unit that does not interact with other lexemes. UBS theory contends that our thoughts are expressed, not in isolated

words, but in "meaningful mouthfulls," that is, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs. What precedes and what follows a lexeme modifies its meaning. Two simple principles are at work here: (1) polysemy—most words have multiple meanings and function in varying semantic contexts; (2) adding words does not add meaning, it subtracts meaning.

Greenstein (p. 11) cites the use of *bayit* in 2 Sam. 7, where the lexeme serves first in the sense of an unspecified dwelling (7:1). Then it is specifically identified as "a house of cedar" (v. 2). The word is contrasted with "tent" in v. 6, where it refers to a temple for God. In v. 11 it means a dynasty, and in verse 18, "What is my house, that thou hast brought me thus far?," it is simply David's extended family as it then existed, not the future dynasty. Thus there are at least five meanings that can be distinguished: A building for human habitation (v. 1), a palace (v. 2), a temple (v. 5, 13), a dynasty (v. 11), and an extended family (v. 18). The first three refer to physical structures, and the last two to kinship structures. The first usage is familiar in English, but it is unlikely that a palace would be referred to as a "house." House suggests a smaller, simpler building. In the third usage, there would have to be a marker such as "house of God," but that would be unusual. A marker would also be needed for the meaning "dynasty," e.g. House of Hapsburg. A phrase like "me and my house" would be taken to mean "me and my nuclear family." Simply to translate all five senses as house is possible in English, but pedantic. Carried beyond this passage, the idea of concordant translation runs into increasing difficulty because of polysemy. An analytical concordance shows the variety of English words used to translate any given Hebrew lexeme. Context is the determinant of meaning.

Like all the positions presented in this book, polysemy and the question of referential meaning is discussed at length by Nida and Taber (56-90). For the New Testament use of "house" see their example of Matt 2:11, Luke 1:27; and Acts 16:31 (p. 85). They also have an example of "many-to-many relationships, in almost endless chains of related meanings" (p. 21).

English:	faucet	key	key (solution)	code (Morse)	code (legal)
Spanish:	llave	llave	clave	clave	código

Etymology is another factor in Greenstein's approach to translation. "Buber and Rosenzweig acknowledged that a word rarely makes a clean break with its past, and for a number of reasons they sought to translate words according to their etymological or root meaning" (p. 24). This was also a concern of Mitchell Dahood in his indefatigable studies of Ugaritic roots. One would think that there is ample evidence in modern European languages to convince anyone that words of common origin go different ways in different languages. The so-called "false friends" that a speaker of English finds in French are well-known pitfalls. When the RSV was first published, long essays were written on how words common in the KJV had changed beyond recognition since 1611. How many men who give orchids to ladies know the etymology of the flower's name? The word has made a "clean break with its past," as have the vast majority of words in general usage. It is unlikely, however, that such words as "hendiadys" and "polysemy" ever will. Hebrew would indeed have to be a sacred language to have escaped the historical forces that constantly shape all living languages. Greenstein's statement, "But religion requires a shedding of the sandals—of contemporary idiom—to experience the sacred—the Hebraic" (p. 30) is a theological dictum that is not really subject to debate. Other religions have other ideas about sacred language—Sanscrit for Hindus, Pali or Sanscrit for Buddhists, Elizabethan English for some Protestants, classical Arabic for Muslims.

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Aspects of *Heros-Iatros* in Myth and Cult

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In myth and cult healing is one of the actions symbolizing the salvific function of heroes as protectors of their people. Greek epic records numerous instances of heroes tending the wounds of stricken companions, while heroes of cult were often credited with miracles of healing. Specifically, however, one type of cult hero, the *heros-iatros*, "hero-physician," seems more appropriately to represent the attribute of healing by virtue of the title of physician. A specific group of literary figures, including Asclepius, Machaon, Podaleirius, Amphiaraus, Jason and Achilles, are also prominent for their healing capacities, because they acquired medical skills from Chiron the centaur.[1] A combination of destructive and beneficial powers is sometimes evident in the actions of such heroes. Recently R. P. Martin has examined Machaon, the fighting physician of the *Iliad*, in light of the semantic field of terms for remedy (*mechos*) and fighting (*machesthai*); according to Martin, both actions are phases of Machaon's heroic ability to solve problems in varying circumstances.[2]

Achilles' attribute of healing is, however, less obvious than that of Machaon and other Asclepiadae. True, occasional comments by the ancients reveal a picture of the hero as healer. For instance, according to Heracleitus, *Homeric Problems* 15.1-2, Achilles was λυτὴρ τῆς νόσου, "destroyer of disease," and his role at *Iliad* 1.53-57 as convener of the Achaeans during the plague is allegorically interpreted as that of healer. *Iliad* 11.830-32 also attests that Achilles learned medicine from Chiron, but this view of a sanguine Achilles—indeed it is only a passing glimpse—is inconsistent with the Homeric picture of his destructive wrath. In the present paper I shall consider aspects of cult ideology and literary typology that may clarify this passage as evidence. My approach will differ at times from K. Kerényi's discussion of Achilles as healer in his study of *heros-iatros*.[3] Nevertheless, I hope that my narrow focus will suggest lines of inquiry for larger questions of healing in myth and cult.

The various cults of hero-physicians at Eleusis, Marathon, Rhamnus and Athens parallel the better known cults of Asclepius.[4] Affilations with Asclepius and his mythical pedigree are sometimes evident. For example, the Attic hero-physician Amynus, whose cult dates from the time of Peisistratus, was accorded the honor of being reared with Asclepius by Chiron (*Soph. vita* 11). This credential, generally reserved for heroes of myth, represents here a tendency to impart a mythical tradition to a cult figure. In some

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[1] A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci* (Rome 1958), 113-18; C. Robert, "Chiron," *RE* 3.2305-06.

[2] R. P. Martin, *Healing, Sacrifice and Battle: Amechania and Related Concepts in Early Greek Poetry* (Innsbruck 1983), esp. 60-62.

[3] K. Kerényi, "*Heros-iatros*. Über Wandlungen und Symbole des ärztlichen Genius in Griechenland," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 12 (1945), 33-54.

[4] F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* (Giessen 1913), 7-16.

ways Toxaris, the Scythian "Foreign Physician" (*Zenos iatros*), also resembles the hero-physicians; he was reported to be among the sons of Asclepius, according to Lucian, *The Scythian* 1-2, and his cult was credited with a miraculous intervention in the plague of 430-29 B.C. Although the origins and identities of the individual hero-physicians remain obscure, their prominence in Greece is relevant for mythical heroes with the capacity to heal. We would expect to find a greater emphasis placed upon the beneficial qualities of the hero in cult than is present in the literary representation, though in some instances names such as Aristomachus, honored at Marathon and Rhamnus, may evoke the hero-physician's fighting ability. The local cults of hero-physicians, which predate the emergence of Asclepius as a more uniform god, draw our attention to those sanguine qualities of a physician as hero-god and to healing as a prominent aspect of the heroic tradition. Thus these cults provide an ideological framework for a consideration of Achilles' role in myth and cult.

H. Hommel has reexamined the evidence of the cult of Achilles Pontarches, a role in which Achilles served as protector of the Pontus region, Scythia and the Island of Leuce.[5] The earliest evidence for the hero as cult god of the Scythians is a fragment of Alcaeus that describes Achilles, ὁ γᾶς Σκυθίκας μέδεις, he "who governs the Scythian land." Since *medeis* is a common description of the care of a hero or god as beneficent guardian of a region, it is not unusual that the inscriptions of the cult depict Achilles Pontarches as caretaker of Leuce in similar terminology (Ἀχιλλεῖ Λευκῆς μεδέοντι . . . νήσου μεδέοντι).[6] The traditional language thus is present in the cult of Achilles that spread to the Pontus with the hellenization of the area. Yet the language here is meaningful in light of medical imagery. E. Beneviste has argued that the Greek terms μήδειν, μέδειν, and μεδέων, which parallel Latin *mederi* and *medicus*, reflect Indo-European notions of healing and the medical knowledge of physicians.[7] This observation is further supported by *vi-mad* in Avestan which describes persons skilled in the art of healing and by Greek names evocative of healing and caring for wounds or of the esoteric knowledge of pharmacy. For instance, Aga-mede is appropriately described as knowing many drugs (*Il.* 11.740) and Heca-mede, maidservant of Nestor, excels in all counsel and tends Machaon when he is wounded (11.624-27, 14.6-7).

The linguistic evidence thus indicates that medical imagery was inherent in the ideology of the hero or divine figure as guardian of his subjects. Indeed, additional evidence from cult suggests that Achilles Pontarches was kindly disposed toward his people. The inscriptions of the cult record an odd assortment of benefits provided by the hero-god. These illustrate his broad concerns as protector, though some blessings strike modern students as unusual. For instance, Achilles appears as caretaker of the public water works or drinking water (*euposia*).[8] It is also evident that he was associated with the benefit of health. The phrase ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὑγείας, "on behalf of their health," appears often in the inscriptions and has been interpreted as the hero-god's protection of the health of the priests of the cult.[9] This formula is sometimes coupled with another, ὑπερ τῆς πόλεως εὐσταθίας, which is taken to mean the welfare of the city.[10] Yet it is possible to see these benefits as consistent with the medical imagery that symbolizes Achilles' concern for his subjects. *Hygeia* is naturally obvious, although the inscriptions

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[5]H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (Heidelbert 1980), esp. 8-18.

[6]B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* (Hildesheim 1965), 362, 672.

[7]E. Beneviste, "La doctrine médicale des Indo-Européens," *Revue de l'histoire de religions* 130 (1945), 5-12.

[8]Latyschev, 140, 141, 142, 144-46.

[9]Latyschev, 130, 132, 137, 138, 140, 142, 144-46.

[10]Latyschev, 132, 137, 138, 141, 146; see also Hommel.

are quite clear that this blessing is limited to the health of the priests. On the other hand, *eustathia* extends concern to the entire city and is intelligible as medical imagery for the tranquillity and stability of the body politic. While such evidence is not sufficiently compelling to suggest that the cult of Achilles Pontarches was actually a "healing cult," these concrete blessings do indicate that Achilles as benevolent hero of cult was identified with the health and welfare of the locality.

The picture of Achilles as benign figure is further elucidated by an important example from iconography. The Sosias cup of the late sixth century illustrates Achilles' healing capacities and the concern for his friends. The scene depicts the hero tenderly binding the wounded arm of his friend Patroclus. According to G. F. Pinney, the scene is striking evidence of Achilles as lord of Scythia: Patroclus, who is represented as Scythian in dress and battle equipment, is the recipient of Achilles' love, and the picture suggests an intimate relationship between Achilles and Scythian.[11] We must not, however, allow the medical imagery to escape our notice, for Achilles clearly serves as physician in the scene. By Pinney's interpretation, Achilles' act of healing a friend becomes a precise symbol of his role in cult. This symbol, moreover, has an impressive parallel in Scythian art. A gold bottle of the fourth century from the Crimea represents two scenes of a warrior attending the toothache of a companion and binding the wounded leg of another.[12] The figure of the Scythian warrior with a wounded leg is remarkably similar to Patroclus on the Sosias cup. The parallel suggests the generalization of healing as a symbol of the governance of subjects and provides another possible connection to the region Scythia.

When we consider the evidence of myth, we must carefully evaluate Achilles' healing activity. His most prominent role as healer is in the Telephus episode of the *Cypria*, where during the course of the battle at Teuthrania Telephus receives a wound from Achilles that will not heal. Telephus is later cured by the rust of Achilles' spear that wounded him. This mythical instance of healing contains elements of sympathetic magic by which the harmful object or person eventually provides a cure. Thus the story gave rise to the popular paradox, ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται, "the one who wounded shall heal."[13] While the myth illustrates the double nature of Achilles' destructive and beneficial tendencies, or at least the dual powers of the Melian ash, it is not always as helpful as one would wish in emphasizing the attribute of Achilles' healing. Surprisingly, the literary tradition, especially as it is repeated in later versions, fails to emphasize the actual healing powers of the hero. For instance, it is not always clear that Achilles heals Telephus through a knowledge of medicine. Rather, the healing of Telephus is instigated by Odysseus or is undertaken in conjunction with Machaon and Podaleirius so that Achilles is depicted as ignorant of medicine and his role is not central to the event.[14]

Instead, we must look for a tradition that emphasizes the medical knowledge of the hero. This is provided by *Iliad* 11.830-32, which attests that Achilles learned medicine from Chiron. The information concerning Achilles' medical instruction involves herbal medicine. Beneviste has noted that heroic medicine included surgery (*tome*), charm (*epaoide*) and healing (*pharmaka*).[15] The last type was peculiarly associated with Achilles. Thessaly, mythical homeland of the hero, was viewed in antiquity as the source

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[11]G. F. Pinney, "Achilles Lord of Scythia," *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Ed. W. G. Moon (Madison, Wis. 1983), 134-36.

[12]See S. Laser, *Medizin und Körperpflege. Archaeologia Homerica*, Kapitel S (Göttingen 1983), 115, fig. b.

[13]See C. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*. Beiträger zur Archäologie 3 (Würzburg 1971), 1-13.

[14]Hyginus, *Fab.* 101; Dictys of Crete 2.6, 10.

[15]Beneviste, 9.

of strange and miraculous plants. Achilles himself was reported to be the discoverer of the Achilleia, a woundwort allegedly used to assuage the pain of wounds.[16] The attribution of medical discoveries doubtless represents a later intellectualization of traditions of Achilles and others such as Chiron and Asclepius, who also appear as discoverers of beneficial plants. Nonetheless, this development underscores the view of Achilles as benefactor of mankind and again is consistent with his role in cult.

Our clearest source for understanding the medical knowledge of Achilles is thus *Iliad* 11.830-32. I wish to argue, moreover, that the passage affords an opportunity to view in epic the typology of Achilles as healer. In the context, Eurypylus, just wounded in the crucial battle of Book 11, appeals to Patroclus to heal him on the basis of a report that Patroclus learned medicine from Achilles "whom Chiron, most just of centaurs, taught." Accordingly, Patroclus removes the arrow with a knife (844: μαχαίρῃ), cleans the wound and applies a bitter root (846: ῥίζαν . . . πικρήν) to alleviate the pain. The technical terminology here is significant. According to Martin, the *machaire* provides a connection with cult, for it is the instrument used to slay victims of sacrifice; associated linguistically with the name Machaon and the verb *machesthai*, the instrument also evokes the ambivalent qualities of destruction and healing.[17] Furthermore, some ancient commentators on the passage identified the *rhiza pikre*, which Patroclus has at hand, as the Achilleia, the woundwort discovered by Achilles.[18] Such an identification is understandable in light of the close affinity of Patroclus to Achilles.

In *Iliad* 11 Patroclus begins to assume heroic qualities which eventually lead to his assumption of Achilles' role in Book 16. There, Patroclus requests to don the armor of Achilles, which closely identifies him with the greater hero, and imagines his role as a "light for the Danaans" (16.39: φόως Δαναοῖσι), e.g., as savior of the Greeks. Scholars who have taken divergent approaches to the Homeric poems and its problems have nevertheless agreed that Patroclus serves as surrogate of Achilles in the poem and that his aristeia of Book 16 parallels the events surrounding the death of his friend. Patroclus' great deeds, his suffering and death, vicariously fulfill Achilles' destiny. As "servant of Achilles," *therapon Achilleos*, moreover, Patroclus' role of substitute of the greater warrior acquires significance by its association with *therapon* as ritual substitute in cult.[19] We thus expect to find in this context that typological patterns, originally part of Achilles' nature and function, are transferred to Patroclus.

One such pattern is heroic healing. Eurypylus' report at *Iliad* 11.830-32 is an explicit comment that Achilles has conveyed to his servant an attribute that both strengthens the identity of Patroclus with himself and raises Patroclus' status as heroic healer. The *Iliad* pays careful attention to the medical arts and the care of wounds.[20] Dione, Paeion, Apollo and other gods perform acts of healing, at times revealing a technical knowledge of herbs (5.416-17, 5.899-905, 5.401-402, 5.445-48, 16.527-29); such heroes as Sthenelus, Odysseys, Nestor and Agenor also aid their comrades (6.109, 11.396-98, 14.1-8, 13.593-600). These examples of heroes, however, largely represent incidental aid provided in time of need and do not necessarily reflect the credential of heroic medicine derived from Chiron. We generally view Machaon and Podaleirius, sons of Asclepius, as true

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[16]Athenaeus, 3.114f; Hippocrates, *Morb.* 3.17; Pliny, *NH* 25.19.42, appears to combine Achilles' medical discovery with the Telephus myth. See further below n. 18.

[17]Martin, 86-93.

[18]*Scholia ad Il.* 11.846.

[19]See for instance, G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore and London 1979), 199-203; W. Schadewaldt, "Einblick in die Erfindung der Ilias. Ilias und Memnonis," *Von Homers Welt und Werk*[3] (Stuttgart 1965), 155-202.

[20]Laser, 88-135, who offers a survey of healing and medicine in the *Iliad*.

physicians. At 4.217-20 where Machaon heals Menelaus, the physician applies soothing medicine that his father received from Chiron. For the framework of the *Iliad* the association with the centaur sets apart Machaon, Podaleirius, Achilles and now Patroclus himself. The Homeric pattern of medical knowledge passed from Chiron to Achilles and eventually to Patroclus creates a parallel to Chiron's relationship to Asclepius' sons who in the Homeric version were not directly associated with the centaur, though in other traditions they are. Likewise Achilles' instruction of Patroclus differs from an alternate version in which Patroclus is the direct beneficiary of Chiron's teaching.[21]

From this perspective Patroclus' healing of Eurypylus has significance for Achilles. The attention paid to the episode is in fact striking. The scene of Eurypylus and Patroclus is the most extensive portrayal of healing in the poem: three passages, 11.828-48, 12.1-3 and 15.390-95, draw our attention to the protracted motif. As the plot thus moves forward to the destructive climax of the Patrocleia, the sanguinity of Patroclus is emphasized. He is torn between pity for Eurypylus and concern for the Achaeans at large who are suffering defeat. Homer, moreover, creates an intimate relationship between patient and physician when Patroclus sits and delights Eurypylus with words (15.393: ἧστό τε καὶ τὸν ἔτερπε λόγοις). Other physicians are mentioned in the context, but they remain either anonymous or in the background when Patroclus emerges as replacement for Machaon, Podaleirius and Achilles (11.833-36, 16.27-28). According to Martin, through the assumption of a healing role by Patroclus the poet achieves an indirect characterization of Achilles who in contrast becomes cruel and "without a cure" (16.29: ἀμήχανος).[22] If we accept the typological exchange of Patroclus for Achilles, however, we find a model of Achilles himself. Patroclus fulfills a dual role. By healing Eurypylus he expresses the benign side of concern for his comrades, while in the Patrocleia itself he will attempt to become "a light for the Danaans," thereby fulfilling the destructive function of a saving his people.

Iliad 11.830-33 suggests, then, a tradition in which Achilles' healing capacities could be more pronounced than in the circumstances of the Homeric plot. This possibility is strengthened indirectly by his healing of Telephus in myth and by his role in culture as discoverer of beneficial medicine. The glimpse of Achilles as benign figure in myth affords a connection with cult in which the hero's powers are symbolized by medical imagery. In the cult at Leuce the hero-god's kind disposition is realized in his specific concerns for the health of the priests and the welfare of the region. We shall miss these features in the Homeric representation of the hero unless we find them transferred to Patroclus. In Patroclus' intimate relationship with his patient Eurypylus we also discover a conceptual parallel to the iconographical evidence of cult, e.g., Achilles' medical treatment of his friend, represented as Scythian, on the Sosias cup. As for Patroclus himself the complete picture that emerges is of a hero whose dual capacity to heal and destroy involves the salvation of his people.

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[21] See Philostephanus of Cyrene, *Frag.* 35 (*FHG*, vol. 3, p. 33) and Statius, *Ach.* 1.176.
[22] Martin, 87.

Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe:* Religions and Politics Do Mix

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Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe,*[1] probably the earliest of the complete Greek Romances,[2] incorporates certain social and cultural assumptions prevalent at Aphrodisias of Caria,[3] a small but significant Greek city during the first two centuries of this era.[4] While the intended function of Chariton's text is debated,[5] Arthur Darby Nock is surely correct when he maintains "the importance of the explicit religious element in the plot

[1]Chariton identifies himself as a secretary to the rhetor Athenagoras in the city of Aphrodisias (I.1.1.). For a discussion of the author as well as the title of the work see B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of Their Origins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967) pp. 96ff., 343ff. Karl Plepelits suggests an alternate title based on recent papyrological finds in his *Chariton von Aphrodisias: Kallirhoe* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967) pp. 28-29.

[2]Most scholars date his work between 50 and 150 C.E. For a general discussion of the date and provenance of Chariton's text, relation to other ancient Romances and basic bibliography see Tomas Haegg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983) and G. N. Sandy, "Recent Scholarship on the Prose Fiction of Classical Antiquity," *The Classical World* 67 (April-May, 1974) pp. 321-59.

[3]E. L. Bowie suggests that Chariton and some of the other writers of ancient Romances aim at a realistic portrayal of the contemporary world and offer important information for societal attitudes. Such information, he believes, "should also be pertinent to literary evaluation of the characters in the novels as points of reference for significant aspects of the *Zeitgeist.*" "The novels and the real world," in *Erotica Antiqua: Acta of the International Conference on the Ancient Novel,* edited by B. P. Reardon (Bangor, Wales, 1971) p. 96.

[4]That Aphrodisias of Caria in southwest Turkey represents the locality of Chariton has the approval of most scholars today; see T. Haegg, *The Novel in Antiquity,* p. 5; Gareth Schmeling, *Chariton* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974) pp. 17-18; K. Plepelits, *Kallirhoe,* pp. 1-3; Erwin Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und Seine Vorläufer,* Anhang von Wilhelm Schmid (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), pp. 520ff.

[5]Proposals include entertainment (B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances,* pp. 44f.); New Comic melodrama (Graham Anderson, *Eros Sophistes: Ancient Novelists at Play* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982] pp. 13-22); a myth which reflects the isolated person of the hellenistic Age who wanders in search of meaning (B. P. Reardon, "The Greek Novel" *Phoenix* 23 [1969] , pp. 291-309); the work of an inept writer who fails to understand the proper function of the ancient Romances as reflections of mystery cults (R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* [München und Berlin: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962] , pp. 338ff.).

of Chariton . . ."[6] This study will explore the interplay of this religious element with political and social features in Chariton's text with special emphasis on the role of Aphrodite. Literary, archaeological, epigraphical, and numismatic data concerning the religious and civic role of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias will be used to highlight Chariton's portrayal.[7] The study suggests that Chariton's text in part expresses the civic and religious pride that Aphrodisians felt for their cult of Aphrodite.[8]

Text and Context

Often commentators interpret Chariton's work based on a particular model of the "intellectual and spiritual" forces[9] at work on members of society during the imperial period. B. E. Perry, for example, places Chariton's text in the context of a society which had moved from the self-contained Greek city-state to the vast boundless landscape of the Graeco-Roman empire. With the subsequent loss of spiritual satisfaction and sense of meaning all feeling came down to private concern and personal hopes. Persons saw few opportunities for advancement in society and thus sought the new and sensational; a desire which Perry believes the ancient writers of Romance, including Chariton, sought to meet.[10]

B. P. Reardon echoes Perry's view and adds that the Greek world virtually ignored the advent of Roman power.[11] Reardon, however, would see the Romances as providing a form of myth which portrays the isolated individual in Hellenistic society. Readers are not merely entertained (Perry) but identify with the struggles and turmoils of the hero and heroine since they too are on a quest, the quest for their identity. Indeed, according to Reardon, the Romances addressed the same population that sought out new salvationistic religions such as the Isis cult or Christianity.[12]

In contrast, S. R. F. Price has persuasively argued that individuals during the early

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[6]A. D. Nock, "Greek Novels and Egyptian Religion," in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, volume I, edited by Zeph Stewart (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 173.

[7]Of course, parallels to social situations do not determine the function of what an author writes or intends. Nor does the literature which an author employs dictate his meaning. The social and cultural climate can, however, provide valuable information for the spoken and unspoken assumptions of the author. See the useful discussion by Alexander Kern, "The Sociology of Knowledge in the Study of Literature," in *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader*, edited by Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett, Mason Griff (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970) pp. 553-561.

[8]For a more detailed discussion of the features presented in this article see D. Edwards, "Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and The Acts of the Apostles: A Literary and Sociohistorical Study," Ph.D. dissertation at Boston University.

[9]An important statement on the nature of literary relationship of texts in B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances*, p. 10. "Literature itself can influence literature only through the medium of human thought. Once it has entered into that medium, which is the mind of the prospective writer, its values are mingled with those of many other intellectual and spiritual forces, and it is these in their aggregate that determine the nature of what will be written—not the mere substance of what has been written before."

[10]*The Ancient Romances*, pp. 7ff.

[11]B. P. Reardon, "The Greek Novel," *Phoenix* 23 (1969) p. 293.

[12]See his discussion in "The Greek Novel," *Phoenix* 23 (1969) pp. 291-309 and "Aspects of the Greek Novel," *Greece and Rome* 23 (1976) pp. 118-131.

Imperial period did not feel "adrift in a world they could not comprehend or control."[13] In fact, Greek cities in Asia Minor provided an important locus of political, social and religious identity for their inhabitants, a process which continued through the end of the third century C.E.[14] In addition, Greek cities sought to interpret Roman power in the context of their own systems of meaning.[15] Price's analysis of the socio-cultural world of the early Imperial period in Asia Minor carries particular importance for this study of *Chaereas and Callirhoe*. Placing Chariton's text in the context of Aphrodisias should help to better understand some of the "intellectual and spiritual" as well as social and political concerns which mix in the person of Chariton and take form in his work.

The Role of Religion and Politics in Chariton's Text

Chariton demonstrates the prominence of Aphrodite through numerous means;[16] perhaps the most notable being his portrayal of the heroine, Callirhoe, who exhibits through her appearance and presence civic and religious dimensions of Aphrodite.[17] This section presents a few of these dimensions by addressing Callirhoe's relation to crowds, to political figures, and to cities and nations. The confluence and function of these features occurs most explicitly with Callirhoe's appearance at Syracuse, Miletus, and Babylon.

Chariton calls Callirhoe the *agalma* or "cult statue"[18] of all Sicily whose beauty

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[13] *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 15.

[14] Ibid. Aphrodisias provides abundant evidence to support this claim. Sacrifices offered to Aphrodite Epiphaneia Ouranos Pandemos indicate her political and heavenly aspects; see *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (MAMA)*, vol VIII. ed. by William Calder and J. M. R. Cormack, #413d, p. 80 (cf. #413e). A number of inscriptions on sarcophagi warn away tomb robbers and *asebeiai* who might disturb the tomb with warnings of fines payable to the temple of Aphrodite; an indication of the important social role that Aphrodite plays in regards to burial (e.g. *MAMA* #547, 555, 565, 573). Kenan Erim has shown that the cult of Aphrodite retained its civic importance into the early period of the Christian empire; see his summary in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) p. 68f.

[15] Price, *Rituals and Power*, pp 225ff., 233f.

[16] E.g., the activity of Eros, Aphrodite's representative; Aphrodite's personal intervention to reunite the separated hero and heroine (VIII.1.1ff.); the repeated references to Aphrodite's cult at every step of the journey. For development of these features see Edwards, "Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and The Acts of the Apostles," esp. chapter two.

[17] Although Nock has rightly noted that the association of a hero or heroine's beauty with that of a deity does not necessarily prove association with a sacred story or myth (in "Greek Novels and Egyptian Religion," *Essays* I, p. 171), Chariton seeks to show the power of Aphrodite through Callirhoe's beauty and through allusions to Aphrodite's role as goddess of the sea, goddess of marriage, goddess of love, and goddess of harmony and political unity. For summary discussions of these roles of Aphrodite see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. Aphrodite; *Lexicon Iconigraphicum Classicorum Mythologicae (LIMC)* II.2, pp. 1ff.; Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, volume II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), esp. pp. 618-760.

[18] Kenneth Scott's translation of *agalma* as "cult image" is perhaps too extreme but events throughout the narrative render it more plausible than "admiration" in Warren Blake, *Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939), "trésor" in Georges Molinié, *Chariton: Le roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé* (Paris:

equals Aphrodite Parthenos herself.[19] The daughter of Hermocrates, the leading political and military figure of Syracuse,[20] she meets her first husband Chaereas[21] while en route to a festival at the temple of Aphrodite; a meeting contrived by Eros to counteract the political rivalry between the two leading families (I.1.3-4).[22] The marriage of Chaereas and Callirhoe occurs at the insistence of the *demos* in a public assembly before Hermocrates (I.1.11). A city celebration follows the marriage which outshines even that which followed the defeat of the Athenians (I.1.12). The marriage of Callirhoe and Chaereas is a public event with political and civic significance.[23]

The power of Aphrodite also appears in the alteration of Callirhoe's deathlike appearance when she believes she is to marry someone other than Chaereas. After recognizing Chaereas, Callirhoe's beauty increases even more. She astonishes the crowd at Syracuse with her divine appearance to the extent that many (*polloi*) worship her (*proskuneo*). Callirhoe's beauty displays Aphrodite's power; a feature that continues throughout the narrative as it astonishes crowds and completely undoes the fortitude of political leaders.[24]

Chaereas represents the first heroic and political figure whose *psyche* is overpowered by this beauty and sets the pattern for what becomes a recurrent theme throughout the

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Budé, 1979), or "Entzücken" in K. Plepelits, *Kallirhoe*. See Scott's discussion in "Ruler Cult and Related Problems in the Greek Romances," *Classical Philology* 33 (1938) p. 380-389.

[19]Marcel LaPlace plausibly suggests an allusion here to Athena Parthenos; in "Les Légendes Troyennes dans le 'Roman' de Chariton *Chairéas et Callirhoé*," *Revue des Etudes Grecques* XCIII (January-June, 1980) pp. 124-125.

[20]For a discussion of Hermocrates, the Syracusan general known from the writings of Thucydides, as well as an analysis of other historiographical features of Chariton's text see C. W. Müller, "Chariton von Aphrodisias und die Theorie des Romans in der Antike," *Antike und Abendland* 22 (1976) pp. 115-36 and W. Bartsch, "Der Chariton-Roman und die Historiographie," (Diss. Leipzig, 1934).

[21]The attributes of Chaereas as well as other characters in the work are schematically presented by Johannes Helms, *Character Portrayal in the Romance of Chariton* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton & Co., 1966).

[22]Aphrodite works behind the scenes through her divine agent Eros. Aphrodite arranges the marriages (II.2.8; II.3.5; V.1.1), Eros carries them out (cf. III.2.5).

[23]Cf. how their *homonoia* pleased their parents (I.3.7). In addition, Callirhoe's apparent death at the hands of Chaereas elicits the same reaction from the citizenry as the capture of their city (I.5.1); Chaereas condemns himself for robbing the *demos* of their crown (I.5.5); on Callirhoe's appearance before the citizens in Syracuse, "the people lifted their eyes to heaven, and praised the gods, feeling an even greater sense of gratitude for this day than for that of their victory" (VIII.7.2).

[24]For example, in Miletus, the pirate Theron uncovers Callirhoe's head and loosens her hair causing those who see to be struck with amazement; some believe they have seen a goddess (I.14.1). On another occasion Callirhoe is followed around by a crowd at Dionysius' estate like bees following the queen bee (II.3.10). G. Anderson would make this a deception since the crowd pretends to come to worship Aphrodite (*Eros Sophistes*, p. 19). Yet that is exactly what the crowd does as they are haplessly overpowered by her human representative. The allusion to bees who signify signs of fertility also suggests one of the aspects of Aphrodite; that is as goddess of fertility. Indeed, on one of the cult statues of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias near the bottom zone is an image of a large bee; in *LIMC* II.2, p. 155, Plate #24.

narrative.[25] Totally incapacitated after his encounter with Callirhoe, only the intervention of his compatriots at the gymnasium and the *demos* of Syracuse save him from death (I.1.10). Popular Stoic virtues such as self-control, proper observance of the law, proper education and the power of reason,[26] stand little chance against Aphrodite's agent, Eros who overcomes the *psyche* of the most powerful political figures.[27]

The political and social component of Aphrodite's power extends beyond the confines of Sicily. Callirhoe's second marriage to Dionysius, a Milesian aristocrat, represents no ordinary nuptial event. Before the wedding, Callirhoe's close association with Aphrodite as goddess of the sea is made clear for the reader.[28] Chariton next has a crowd gather at the temple of Homonoia[29] in Miletus prepared for a sacred festival. Callirhoe's divine beauty (*kallos*) transcends the confines of homeland (*patridos*) and race (*genos*) and she elects to wear the Milesian dress and bridal wreath. The effect is not lost on those gathered. When she turns and looks (*apoblepo*) at the crowd, they shout "*he Aphrodite gamei*," "Aphrodite marries!" and give her the attention of a deity; spreading purple cloth, roses and violets before her as well as sprinkling her with perfume (III.2.15-17). Callirhoe inaugurates the link between the East (Asia Minor/Miletus) and the west (Syracuse).[30]

Chariton's text turns on the forced travel of Callirhoe from Syracuse in Sicily as far east as Babylon.[31] This feature offers more than an opportunity for wondrous adventures and hair-breadth escapes.[32] At major junctures the power of Aphrodite is made

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[25]Even before this encounter potentates and royal princes throughout Sicily, Italy and Asia were drawn to Syracuse on account of Callirhoe's beauty (I.1.2).

[26]For a brief overview of popular Stoic features in the ancient Romance see Klaus Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 25.2, esp. 1264-1268, 1278-1281.

[27]First the *psyche* of Chaereas, then Dionysius, the most powerful man in Miletus (II.4.1ff.), then Mithridates, the governor of Caria (IV.1.9), and finally Artaxerxes, the King of Persia himself (VI.1.8f.) succumb to the powers of Aphrodite through her agent Eros and her human representative Callirhoe. Each becomes incapable of fulfilling his political and social obligations (e.g. III.1.1f.; IV.2.4).

[28]III.2.14.

[29]According to Chariton, the temple of Homonoia served as the traditional site for bridegrooms to receive their brides (III.2.16). As Joyce Reynolds indicates, *homonoia* had another important function, as "a personification of harmony within and between cities . . ." *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) p. 7. At Aphrodisias, Aphrodite played an important role in this regard as evidenced in several coin issues which stress the *homonoia* between Aphrodisias and Ephesus (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins (BMC) Caria*, vol. 18, #161, p. 53), Antiochia (*BMC Caria*, vol. 18 #162, p. 53), Hierapolis, (*BMC Phrygia*, vol. 25 #166, p. 257) and Neapolis (Dennis J. MacDonald, "Greek and Roman Coins from Aphrodisias," *British Archaeological Reports Supplementary Series* 9 [1976] p. 31).

[30]The link is strengthened when Callirhoe leaves her son under the care of Dionysius (VIII.4.5-6). LaPlace suggests that the child will come to Syracuse as a founder who like Aeneas will inaugurate a golden age ("Les Legendes Troyennes . . .," p. 124-25). The political significance of Callirhoe extends to Babylon itself when she insists on the return of the Persian queen Stateira to Artaxerxes; an act which secures the king's friendship with Syracuse (VIII.8.10).

[31]Travel as Tomas Haegg has noted serves primarily as a transition to the places of action; in *The Ancient Novel*, p. 118.

[32]Note, for example, G. Giangrande's definition of the Greek novel in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 739.

manifest.[33] The clearest example comes in Callirhoe's travel to Babylon. At each stage of the journey crowds turn out to see this "masterpiece of Nature, 'like unto Artemis or golden Aphrodite'" (IV.7.5). She surpasses reports. The trip reaches a climax with her entrance into the city of Babylon. Dionysius' attempt to keep her hidden under a *skene* meets little success as word of Callirhoe's beauty goes before her causing "all of Babylon" to pour out to see the sight. Realizing the inevitable Dionysius asks Callirhoe to come out. All in the crowd strain their eyes and their very souls (*psychai*) setting the stage for a result that could fit a description of the Eleusinian mysteries.[34] Overcome with astonishment the Persians worship her (*proskuneo*) (V.3.9). Callirhoe *qua* Aphrodite had conquered Babylon.[35]

Chariton and His World

Chariton wrote during the golden age of Aphrodisias, a city whose fortunes paralleled the prosperity of Rome. The center of Aphrodisian political and religious identity was the cult of Aphrodite.[36] In particular, Aphrodite was central to the early and strong connection which Aphrodisias had with Rome, especially the Julio-Claudian line.[37] Religion and politics overlap as Aphrodite symbolizes the *homonoia* with surrounding cities,[38] the prosperity of the city[39] and the protection for sarcophagi.[40] Indeed for Aphrodisias her power was seen as universal. This is particularly evident in the cult statue of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias. Modelled with similar features as the Ephesian Artemis, the statue's various zones portray Aphrodite's power over the underworld, sea, sky and earth.[41]

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[33]E.g. Callirhoe's journeys highlight the antiquity of Aphrodite's cults (VII.5.1; VIII.2.7), display the universal nature of Aphrodite's power, and offer opportunities for prayers to be offered and answered (I.1.7; II.2.12; et al.).

[34]"Callirhoe's face gleamed with a radiance which held the eyes of all, just as when a great light is suddenly seen on a dark night" (V.3.9). For useful surveys of the literary references to the Eleusinian cult see George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) and G. D'Alviella, *The Mysteries of Eleusis: The Secret Rites and Rituals of the Classical Greek Mystery Tradition* (Wellingborough, UK: Aquarian Press, 1981). Chariton's frequent allusions to the mysteries need not refer to actual mystery practices at Aphrodisias. Rather, it is one more way to display the power of Aphrodite over cities, nations and individuals (cf. I.1.15; IV.1.9; VIII.1.10).

[35]Callirhoe's association with Aphrodite is confirmed by Stateira, the Persian queen who held Aphrodite in special honor (V.9.1).

[36]For example, Kenan Erim has found a votive offering or some sort of dedication consisting of a terra-cotta medallion that showed part of a bust of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias (*Türk Arkeoloji Dergesi* 22.2 [1975] p. 77).

[37]Joyce Reynolds provides epigraphical evidence in her *Aphrodisias and Rome*. Kenan Erim concludes from his recent excavations that "the Aphrodisias *Sebasteion* betrays a tradition of its own, proclaiming the close affiliations of the city's goddess with the Julio-Claudian house, as well as with Rome. There can be no doubt that the cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias was intimately connected with the development of the Imperial cult." *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983), p. 234.

[38]See n. 29.

[39]E.g. *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, p. 472; *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981), p. 178.

[40]See n. 14.

[41]See discussion by G. Karl Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) esp. 216ff.

Chariton taps the civic and religious pride of Aphrodisians in their goddess as he shows an Aphrodite who transcends political and social boundaries, overpowers crowds and high political authorities and unites cities and nations from the west to the east. *Chaereas and Callirhoe* does not simply portray a symbolic human quest for meaning or represent a piece of entertaining reading. By drawing on images from literary sources and contemporary society, Chariton has skillfully crafted a testimony to the power and universal significance of the goddess Aphrodite.[42] The implications would not be lost on a Greek city like Aphrodisias in the process of self-identification with Roman power. In Chariton's work as at Aphrodisias itself religion and politics do mix. The central ingredient in both is the figure of Aphrodite.

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[42]Cf. Gareth Schmeling, *Chariton* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974).

"Origins" and Roman Religion

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Why does the doctrine of origins/survivals still dominate the study of ancient Roman religion?[1] The doctrine enjoys little contemporary favor elsewhere in the academic study of religion: castigated, categorized and consigned to histories of scholarship as a quaint interpretative strategy of yesteryear. This paper seeks to answer that question through placing the work of two influential investigators of Roman religion, Kurt Latte and Georges Dumézil in the context of the Western intellectual tradition's preoccupation with origins/survivals.

The ancient Mediterranean civilizations teem with examples of interest in origins/survivals or, put generally, beginnings, both sacred and secular. As for the former, the creation epics of the ancient Near East, Greek theogonies and aitiologies; for the latter, Greek traditions of the *prōtos heuretēs*, the Platonic and Aristotelian interest in first causes, the Greco-Roman concern with secular aitiologies.[2] Likewise the Judaeo-Christian tradition: the biblical account of creation, the covenant with Abraham, the Gospel traditions of Christian beginnings. Indeed, one may plausibly assign the West's interest in origins to the use of Platonic and Aristotelian logico-philosophical parameters for elaboration of early Christian theology, a construct which entered the educational system in the Middle Ages through cathedral schools' interest in classical logic as a means to pursue the *summa* of theology.

Intellectual developments since the Middle Ages furthered the interest. The Enlightenment's boundless faith in human reason attempted to explain the sorry state of contemporary civilization by induction to the time of the "noble savage." The correctness of this strategy seemed assured both by time-honored explorers' reports of such "savages" and also by new reports from the nascent colonial empires. The simplicity of allegedly "primitive" civilizations, for both literary and theoretical reasons, captivated the Romantic movement. The compilation of German folk poetry, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, by Arnim and Brentano (1806-1808) provided artistic stimulus to an entire literary generation, while folklorists such as the brothers Grimm and Wilhelm Mannhardt felt that they

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[1]Given this paper's scope, and length limits, I omit documentation of the obvious, confining the notes either to general works or references to obscure points. In general, M. Hodgen, *The Doctrine of Survivals* (London, 1936). On the interpretative traditions, Eric Sharpe, *Comparative Religion* (New York, 1975), although unreliably documented, and Jacques Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion* (The Hague, 1973-1974) 2 vols. I discuss some of this material at greater length in my "The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire to A.D. 284," *ANRW* 2.16.3, forthcoming.

[2]Theogonies: M. L. West, *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), 1-16. *Prōtos heuretēs: RAC*, s.v. Erfinder II.

could recover traces of earlier, better religions through sifting European folk traditions for traces of survivals from the times of the "noble savage."[3]

Nineteenth century offered additional dimensions. Darwinian evolutionary models, apparently scientifically proven, seemed to demonstrate via biological and geological evidence that everything had a beginning from which it had evolved. Thus a natural manifestation, animate or inanimate, could both be traced backwards to its origins and forwards to what it would become. Human secular reason seemed at last able to counter the hitherto-dominant, allegedly mendacious theological explanations.[4] Soon societal phenomena underwent the same scrutiny. The new discipline of anthropology became a focal point, especially in England, a country awash with reports of "primitive" cultures in its colonial empire. Students of comparative religion made common cause with the anthropologists; some saw a chance to pillory Christianity as degenerate from the earlier religions of the "noble savages" while others used the opportunity further to exalt Christianity triumphally as the logical culmination of religious evolution.[5] Whatever the theological agenda, no longer did an investigator have to be content with grubbing survivals from literary texts, now that one could both scientifically work backwards from the traditional European materials, and also test those conclusions against the wealth of contemporary ethnographic material. At last the secret of origins would be revealed!

Enter Sanskrit, a language and literature known to previous centuries, but not a practical object of study until the East India Company's operations brought significant numbers of Europeans into contact with Indian civilization. Some dabbled with the Indian material as a means to while away the enforced tedium of life in a strange, physically inhospitable clime; not surprisingly they usually drew scornful conclusions akin to Macauley's famous *Minute* (1835).[6] Others, often of the academic persuasion, noted the materials' great antiquity and found grist ready-bagged for their interpretative mills of evolutionary doctrine, especially given the clear linguistic connections with both classical and European languages. Lack of pre-Homeric linguistic and cultural material had long frustrated classicists; now they could leap several thousand years to apparently actual origins of the languages, cultures, and, especially, religions, through completion of such publications as Max Müller's edition of the *Rig Veda* (1873). Thus linguistic evolution and cultural evolution became part of the same study. Classicists were alert to the implications. Jacob Wackernagel wrote a grammar of Sanskrit, did important work on classical linguistics and wrote *Über den Ursprung der Brahamanismus* (Basel, 1877); Wilhelm Schulze not only produced *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904) but also edited *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*.[7] Moreover, Müller's presence at Oxford, a hotbed of evolutionary theory, assured the Sanskrit connection high visibility, the more so since he also wrote voluminously on comparative religion. The classical and anthropological connections remained strong; Tylor lectured under the auspices of the classics (Literae Humaniores)

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[3]In general, Burton Feldman & Robert Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology 1680-1860* (Bloomington, 1972), 165-295 and Sharpe (above, n. 1), 49-51.

[4]Sharpe (above, n. 1), 47-71; selected documents in Tess Cosslett, ed., *Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1984).

[5]E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Religion and the Anthropologists," in idem, *Essays in Social Anthropology* (New York, 1962), 29-45; texts and discussion in David Palin, *Attitudes to Other Religions* (Manchester, 1984).

[6]Christopher Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny* (Harmondsworth, 1980), 23-39 and Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India* (New York, 1954), 1.147-62, 239-40, 248-65.

[7]Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, trans. G. Patterson-Black & V. Reinking (New York, 1984). Wackernagel: G. Pasquali, *Pagine stravaganti* ii (1968), 216ff. Schulze: E. Fraenkel, *CP* 49 (1935), 217-19.

faculty and likewise R. R. Marett, a trained classicist turned anthropologist, lectured on e.g., "Magico-Religious Origins" (1909). Marett's connections with L. R. Farnell and W. Warde Fowler ensured a steady percolation of anthropological ideas into their respective works on Greek and Roman religion. Likewise Cambridge: Sir James Frazer and Jane Harrison bestrode both anthropology and classics. One has only to look at Frazer's correspondence with the great Latin textual critic A. E. Housman to appreciate the connection; both would have thought they were each getting the "truth" out of antiquity through scientific studies.[8]

Evolutionary theory influenced comparative religion, anthropology, and Sanskrit; all set the stage for the study of ancient religion. Polytheism puzzled an era either monotheistic or atheistic—how to understand the implied religious experience? The aforementioned disciplines seemed jointly capable of providing the answers. Greek religion appeared logically to have evolved into Greek philosophy, the glories of which formed the intellectual equipment of the nineteenth-century educated Englishman. Moreover, the Greek mythic tradition was taken seriously, since the century recognized kindred spirits in the civilization which produced those tales; the renewed interest in Greek art and the religious themes it often depicted fostered further interest in the artistic community. The Greeks had supposedly evolved out of the darkness of primeval cults into mythic and philosophic and artistic systems uncommonly congenial to the European literate elite.[9] Evolution "worked" to perfection.

Things went differently for the Romans. Since they had no mythology of the recognizable Greek type, they were deemed never to have evolved any real religion or intellectual life at all. This opinion received further support from studies of Roman poetry and philosophy which depicted the Roman authors to be witless trolls, slavish imitators of the Greeks. Ancient historians entered the fray with tales of how Roman politicians manipulated religion, furthering the idea that the Romans had no real religion; similar manipulations in Greek religion went unnoticed. Finally, students of the Roman empire, often in Holy Orders, noted the deficiencies of Roman paganism in contrast with Christianity, deficiencies which not only made it impossible to "evolve" to monotheism but, also, ruled it out of the divine plan for Christian superiority. Thus the study of Greek religion rapidly outgrew the evolutionary and erstwhile antiquarian concerns which were first trained on it. The Romans remained mired in their non-religion; their sole use to the nineteenth century was as a model of empire-building, an important, though hardly edifying consideration.

Certain conceptual problems exist with origins. It constitutes naive reductionism, at best, to attempt to trace a societal phenomenon like religion back to an intellectual point in time. The linguistic evidence probably provides more data for the concerns of a particular linguistic stratum than necessarily offers fossilized early material. Moreover, the whole concept of origins appears dubious. One has only to look at the diversity of creation accounts in the "late" parts of the *Rig Veda* (10.81, 82, 90, 121, 129) to appreciate the fact that one intellectual tradition can have several different accounts of origins, the more so when one contrasts classical Hinduism's denial of origins altogether through the doctrine of *karma* (BU 3.2.13, ChU 8.12, MbH 12.281.31). Likewise the material from the ancient Mediterranean area. What of the Judaeo-Christian tradition? Genesis pro-

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[8]Robert Ackerman, "Sir James G. Frazer and A. E. Housman: A Relationship in Letters," *GRBS* 15 (1974), 239-64; idem, "From Philology to Anthropology: The Case of J. G. Frazer," in M. Bollack et al., eds., *Philologie und Hermeneutik im 19.Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1983), 2.423-47.

[9]Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (London, 1925); Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980) and Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 1981).

vides anything but origins, since it has generated an extraordinary amount of scholarship about the Ur-origins. Likewise for Christianity: the role of the holy man, the impact of the Qumran documents all demonstrate that even if apparent origins exist, the question then becomes origins of origins.

Where does this place Roman religion? Kurt Latte's *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960) devotes chapters four through six to origins which, according to Latte, produced classical Roman religion: Die Anfänge, Die Religion des Bauern, Die Religion der Gemeinde. Latte takes these parameters as those of "original" Roman religion; the problem, for him, lies with their coalescence to produce classical Roman religion which he, like many feels had no real belief system but only a series of mindless "cult acts."[10] Such formulations are patently absurd. Moreover, Latte's attempts to recover origins in the aforementioned chapters rest on shaky evidential grounds. Latin literature does not begin until the late third century B.C., and offers no appreciable bulk for the next hundred years; add ambiguous epigraphic materials (Tor Tignosa, Lapis Niger) and controversies over material remains (Gjerstad). Latte combines these materials with an enormous dose of later authors; virtually every page had evidence from Cicero, Festus, Macrobius and Varro, with no real attempt to correct for their living much later. Correction is surely in order; classical antiquity relied upon anecdotal knowledge systems, powerfully formed by elite family traditions, sporadic literacy and the dynamics of rumor transmission. Of course, one has to use the information to hand, but it makes little sense naively to juxtapose Cicero, Macrobius and early inscriptions. Not even Latte can recover origins, but only posits hypothesis based on empirico-positivist models. He will have nothing of interpretation, and still takes animism as a theory which requires conceptual liquidation (pp. 94.1, 100.2). In all this he belongs to the empirico-positivist tradition of classical studies, a product of German hostility to anthropology along with its relentlessly productive nineteenth-century research machine.

At first glance Dumézil appears different.[11] He has used profound knowledge of IE material along with structuralist anthropology to assert most usefully the integrity of Roman religion qua religion. Alas, he does this through his notion of triads as part of a common IE conceptual experience, a dubious case at best. Like Latte, he does not correct for his sources; he takes Livy as literally written, without reference to the classical scholarship on Livy which now shows that authors has more to do with family traditions and Augustan politics than with the preservation of any original data.[12] He remains one of the previous century's students of origins in modern garb.

As for Latte and Dumézil, so for much work on Roman religion. Some few do take it seriously as a religion (Beard, North, Price), but most work still treats origins or politics in empirico-positivist ways. It is a pity that origins continue to obscure that urgent task of showing how Roman religion was a religion.[13]

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[10]For examples of "mere cult acts" assertions, see my *ANRW* article (above, n. 1) at n. 56 together with my "Did the Romans Have a Religion?" in K. H. Richards, ed., *Society of Biblical Literature, 1984 Seminar Papers* (Chico, Calif., 1984), 289-294. Full discussion of the problems with Latte in A. Brelich's review (*SMSR* 32 [1961], 324-9) which should be compared with the entirely different conceptual world of Weinstock's review (*JRS* 51 [1961], 206-15).

[11]C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, 1982).

[12]A Momigliano, "Georges Dumézil and the Trifunctional Approach to Roman Civilization," *History and Theory* 23 (1984), 312-30.

[13]In contrast, consider L. R. Lind, "Primitivity and Roman Ideas: The Survivals," *Latomus* 35 (1976), 245-68.

A Petrine Source in Second Peter

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That the author of Second Peter used sources in the composition of his document is widely and correctly assumed. Thus, for instance, Ralph Martin[1] indicates that 19 out of 25 verses in Jude are included in 2 Peter in some form, as the following chart indicates:

Jude	*2 Peter*	*Jude*	*2 Peter*
4	2:1-3	11-12a	2:15, 13
5	2:5	12b-13	2:17
6-7	2:4, 6	16	2:18
8-9	2:10, 11	17	3:2
10	2:12	18	3:3

Though this list is overly inclusive, it seems clear that the dependency is literary, flowing from Jude (the earlier document) to 2 Peter. The following considerations make this likely. First, the alternation of Jude's "rocks" to "blots and blemishes," and Jude's "love feast" to "deceit" (cf. Jude 12, 2 Pet 2:13) is understandable if Jude is a source for 2 Peter. It is a less obvious alteration if Jude is using 2 Peter. Secondly, it is easier to explain 2 Peter's omission of Jude's use of apocryphal material from the Testament of Moses and 1 Enoch in Jude, than it is to explain Jude's addition of it if he is using 2 Peter. Thirdly, it is very difficult to explain why, if Jude used 2 Peter, he omitted 2 Peter's positive examples (2 Pet 2:7ff.), and also failed to follow the chronological order in which 2 Peter puts his negative examples.[2]

From the above arguments we can only conclude that the author of 2 Peter is heavily dependent on Jude, and there is nothing preventing his use of other sources as well. Indeed, 2 Peter seems to be an attempt to rely on or cite almost exclusively a collection of earlier and possibly "apostolic" materials and authorities (cf. 3:15ff. on Paul) to exhort his own audience.[3]

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[1]R. P. Martin, *New Testament Foundations. A Guide for Christian Students* Vol. II (Grand Rapids, 1978) 385.

[2]R. J. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (Waco, 1983) 141-43.

[3]We cannot stop to rehearse Bauckham's fine case for seeing 2 Pet 1:3-11 as a summary of "apostolic" preaching in bombastic Asiatic Greek. Cf. Bauckham, *Jude*, 172ff. If this is correct, then the author of 2 Peter is even less of a substantive author than he has been sometimes thought to be.

In 1959 G. H. Boobyer stated, and in some regards overstated, the case for seeing 2 Peter as dependent on 1 Peter.[4] He correctly pointed out various similarities of thought and diction, but failed to carry the day precisely because there are so many notable differences (e.g., the use of different terms for the Second Coming) and because it is hard to see why 2 Peter failed to use some of the material in 1 Peter most germaine to the points it wanted to make. The alternative, that the author of 2 Peter need not have used 1 Peter but had access to another source by the same person who was responsible for 1 Peter, was not seriously discussed by Boobyer, nor indeed in any literature since 1959. In the balance of this paper I would like to discuss this possibility.

J. B. Mayor has noted certain striking similarities between some phrases in 2 Pet 1:16-21 and 1 Pet 2:12-15.[5] In particular his case is strong for parallels between 2 Pet 1:21 and 1 Pet 2:15, and also between 2 Pet 1:16 and 1 Pet 2:12. What is even more striking is the amount of Petrine vocabulary (and corresponding lack of Asiatic Greek) in the whole section 1:12-2:3a. Consider this list:

(1) ἀγαπητός
(2) ἀεί
(3) ἀπόθεσις
(4) ἀσέλγεια
(5) βλασφημέω
(6) γράγη
(7) δεσπότης--
though of different
objects
(8) διό
(9) θέλημα
(10) ἴδιος
(11) λαλέω
(12) λαμβάνω
(13) οἶδα
(14) ποτέ
(15) πρῶτον
(16) στηρίζω
(17) φαίνω
(18) φέρομαι

In so short a segment of text, so many common words cannot be ignored—they are not accidental. Some of these words are very common; however, various of the terms are not. For instance, ἀπόθεσις is found *only* in 1 and 2 Peter (and nowhere else in the NT). In addition, N. Turner notes a similar use of καθὼς in 2 Pet 1:14 and 1 Peter.[6] He also gives evidence that an earlier Jewish Greek original has been revised and redacted,[7] and we do find certain Hebraisms in our section (1:12-2:3a) such as οὐ ποτέ at 1:21 to which we may compare the use of 1 Pet 2:10; 3:5, 20. Perhaps another Hebraism is the use of πᾶς . . . οὐ for οὐδεις at 1:20, as well as the avoidance of the divine name at 1:17. Nor can it be said that the section 1:12-2:3a exhibits especially grandiose Asiatic Greek or any significant number of Hellenisms. Perhaps also we should note the fine rhythm at 1:16-17, and the alliteration at 1:19-21. In general our section does not have the heavy or cumbersome sentences we find at 1:3-4; 3:5-6; 2:4-10. Taken together the above information suggests that: (1) the person who wrote or dictated 1 Peter could have also written or dictated 2 Pet 1:12-2:3a; (2) the Greek is not particularly Hellenized but is more like the Semitic Greek of 1 Peter in this section; (3) there is some evidence of an editor who may have touched-up this section or even put it into some of his own words later.

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[4]G. H. Boobyer, "The Indebtedness of 2 Peter to 1 Peter," *New Testament Essays* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester, 1959) 34-53.

[5]J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. Jude and the Epistle of St. Peter* (Minneapolis, 1978 repr.) lxix-lxx.

[6]N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1976) 181.

[7]Turner, *Grammar*, IV:143.

Evidence that our author is including a Petrine source at 1:16-2:3a becomes even more plausible when, with R. Bauckham, we note the following chiastic structure.[8]

a apostles (1:16-18)
b OT prophets (1:19-21)
b' OT false prophets (2:1a)
a' false teachers (2:1b-3)

Now it may be argued that 1:12-15 is a preface to what follows, though in its present form it is also a transition from 1:3-11. Essentially it goes with what follows because the reminder involved in the apostolic message (as summarized in vv. 3-11) is facing serious challenge from false teachers (vv. 16ff.). The chiastic structure suggests not only that 2:3a indicates a break in the argument, but also that 1:16-2:3a was originally an independent unit. If so, this supports our case for a Petrine source. At this point our present writer has touched-up our source, using a few of his own favorite terms (ἀπωλείας, ἀπωλείαν). But even the terms ἀσελγείας and δεσπότην,, which Bauckham thinks are borrowed from Jude here, are found in 1 Pet 4:3 (ἐν ἀσελγείας) and 1 Pet 2:18 respectively (though there it is used of human masters, here of Christ or God). The image of being bought or being Christ's slave is also found in 1 Pet 1:18-19. It should not be forgotten that 1 Peter reflects an interest in OT and Messianic prophecy (1:10-12), an intent reflected in our section. Further, the word λαός used of God's people is found in both 2 Pet 2:1 and 1 Pet 2:9-10. All in all, the parallels in 2:1-3a are much closer to 1 Peter than to Jude, unlike what follows in 2:3bff.

Another point in favor of seeing the use of a source in 2 Pet 1:16-2:3a is the ἐπόπται at 1:16. This is a hapax legomena not only for 2 Peter but also for the rest of the NT. It means literally "observers" or "spectators," probably with an emphasis on being eyewitnesses. M. Green points out, however, that the verbal form of this word is found at 1 Pet 2:12; 3:2, and notably at 1 Pet 2:12 it refers to being witnesses/spectators of believers' good deeds, which is linked to glorifying God at Christ's parousia, a clear connection to our present text.[9] The use of ἐπόπται and its variants is only in these two contexts in the NT and thus the connection is not likely accidental. We must take this as strong evidence that 2 Pet 1:16ff. and 1 Peter are from the same hand.

Integral to our discussion of a Petrine source is how we should evaluate the claim that 2 Peter includes a fictional testament composed by the author of 2 Peter himself. It is somewhat of a problem for Bauckham that 2 Peter often shifts out of the genre of a testament. The second chapter does not really fit as a testament since it is dealing with present problems, not future ones. Further, there is no hint in 2:3b-22 of any personal reflections or even indication of coming death, etc. Nor is the transition as smooth between sections, because we have no narrative framework as in Acts 20 or elsewhere to introduce the great man's testament. Here we simply shift sometimes abruptly from past to future (2:3a-2:3b). This suggests our author is not trying to compose a testament but rather include one in his work, and sometimes the transition is a bit awkward. The differ-

[8]Bauckham, *Jude*, 236-37.

[9]M. Green, *The Second Epistle General of Peter and the General Epistle of Jude* (London, 1968) 77-98, 123-28; W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1957) 305; J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1974 repr.) 252-53; G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1937) 177.

ences in grammatical style and word choice are very apparent if one looks at 1:3-11 versus 1:12-2:3a, or 2:3b versus 3:1-4. Even Bauckham is forced to admit:[10]

> Verses 1-2, which mention 1 Peter and echo 1:12-15, are doubtless intended to reestablish in the readers' minds the fact that it is Peter's testament they are reading, after a long section in which this has not been evident. In 2:10b-22 the author has been writing about the false teachers in the present tense, as his own contemporaries, but he now wishes to return to the conventions of the testament genre, in order to provide a second prophecy. . . .

When we look further at 3:1-3 we will discover even more reason to think we have a Petrine source here, and this is especially likely if it be allowed that at least 2 Pet 1:15-2:3a is Petrine.

We note that Mayor, whose list is incomplete, shows that over half of the nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs (i.e., significant units in 2 Pet 3:1-3), are also found in 1 Peter. For instance, the use of ἀγαπητοί can as easily be reminiscent of 1 Peter as of Jude 17. Much of the common vocabulary contains simple words (unlike 2 Peter 2 or 2 Pet 1:3-11) —γράφω, ἡμέρα, ῥῆμα, πρῶτον, πορεύομαι, προφήτης, ἔσχατος, ἀπόστολος, ἅγιος. Bauckham has already admitted, as quoted above, that vv. 1-2 are an echo of 1:12-15, and even a key phrase is duplicated at 3:3 from 1:20—τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες— so that the parallels go further than vv. 12-15. If 1:20 is part of a Petrine source, then 3:3 may be as well. An obstacle in the way of this view, however, is the parallels Bauckham thinks he finds between 2 Pet 3:1-3 and Jude 17-18. Jude's use of the prophecy and its use here may go back to a common source. If so, then 2 Pet 3:3 and Jude 18 need not show a literary relationship.

This leaves vv. 1-2. We have already noted that ἀγαπητοί is a word that the author of 1 Peter is fond of, so it shows no dependence of 2 Peter on Jude here. This leaves 2 Pet 3:2 and Jude 17b. Here again the parallels at first appear striking, but are not necessarily compelling. Christians were always being told to remember or heed apostolic words, exhortations, or commandments. The one word which is not common in Christian parlance is "said beforehand." It is precisely this word, however, which we find in Mark 13:23/Matt 24:25 in the very verse that adjoins Christ's prediction of mis-leaders who will come. Our author may have passed on Christ's words and predictions of coming false ones in one form, Jude in another. The call to remember the things said beforehand corresponds to the Gospel message—"Behold I have told you beforehand." The prophecy of the coming false ones is reiterated as a word of the apostles, who in turn had gotten it from Jesus. We conclude that the parallels between 2 Pet 3:1-3 and Jude 17-18, though certainly possible, are not compelling. Both probably rely on a common source going back to Jesus' saying in Mark 13:23. There is nothing that we have in 3:1-3 that could not have been part of an original Petrine source. So far as percentages tell us anything in so small a sample, 50% of the vocabulary in 2 Pet 3:1-3 is Petrine—a significant crossover. It seems plausible that the letter referred to in 2 Pet 3:1 is 1 Peter because the two letters do share similarity of themes at certain points. J. N. D. Kelly argues:[11]

> What he has in mind, we may be sure . . . , are not so much slabs of identical material as, in more general terms, 1 Peter's pervasive concern with the

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[10] Bauckham, *Jude*, 282.

[11] J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude* (London, 1969) 353.

> avoidance of immorality and with living blameless, holy lives, and with the blessed inheritance for the righteous and the condemnation of the wicked which Christ's revelation in glory will bring (all themes close to his heart), as also the appeal the earlier letter makes to Christ as an example . . . to the OT as inculcating the good life . . . and prophesying doom to evil-doers, and . . . to the combined authority of the OT prophets, the Spirit of Christ, and apostolic teachers.

Also, the troublesome reference to "your apostles" becomes less troublesome if the author of 2 Peter is including, not composing, a testament fragment. If the original author of this fragment is addressing an area or church he himself did not evangelize, then the reference to "your apostles" is explicable.

An even more plausible explanation can be based on a grammatical observation by Zerwick and Grosvenor.[12] They suggest we translate the phrase in question, "the apostolic command to you of our Lord" or possibly, "the commandment of the Lord and Savior transmitted by the apostles to you."[13] If either of these translations is correct, then the whole problem is solved. There is no reference to "your apostles" as distinguished from the author of this material. We may add at this point that this phrase could be an indication that the words in Mark 13:22-23, which record Jesus' words about such future trouble-makers coupled with a commandment, "Be on guard!", is referred to here.

If the above conclusions are correct, then there is nothing preventing us from seeing a Petrine source in 2 Peter. Whether or not this goes back to Peter himself will depend on one's view of the authorship of 1 Peter, a matter we cannot address here. When one considers all the above arguments and reads 3:1-3 and 1:12-2:3a in sequence, one cannot help but be impressed with the plausibility that here we have found a fragment of the now lost second Petrine letter, a letter which included a Petrine testament as follows:

> Beloved this is already the second letter I write to you, in which I arouse your pure mind with a reminder. Remember the things that were said beforehand by the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Savior transmitted by the apostles to you. Therefore I mean to always remind you about these things, although you know [them] and have been confirmed (established) in the truth that is present with you (has come to you). But I think it right as long as I am in this tent, to wake you up by a reminder, knowing that it will soon be time to divest myself of my tent, just as also (even) our Lord, Jesus Christ shows me. But I will make every effort that after my death (departure) you may bear in mind these things on each occasion [necessary]. For we have not followed cleverly concocted myths [when] we made known to you the power and parousia of our Lord, Jesus Christ, but we have been made eyewitnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honor and glory when a voice came to him in such as that from the majestic glory [God]: "This is my son, my beloved, in whom I am well pleased . . ." And we ourselves were hearing this voice which came from heaven, being with him on the holy mountains. And we have with very

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[12]M. Zerwick and M. Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, Vol. II (Rome, 1979) 723.

[13]So Turner, *Grammar*, III (1963) 218; F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. Robert W. Funk; Chicago, 1961) sec. 168.1, p. 93.

great certainty (reliance), the prophetic word, which you do well to heed as a light shining in a dark place until the day dawns and the day star rises in your hearts. Understand this first (above all), that all prophecy of Scripture is not a matter of one's own interpretation, for it was not brought about by the will of man ever, but by being carried by holy spirit men spoke from God.

But there were even false prophets amongst the people [of Israel] just as there will be false teachers among you who will struggle in destructive heresies, disowning the Master who bought them, bringing upon themselves swift (sudden?) destruction. And many will follow their debaucheries, because of them the way of truth will be blasphemed. And prompted by greed they will exploit you [using] phony (fabricated) words (arguments).

The Date of Jubilees and of the Temple Scroll

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A fruitful comparison of two documents presupposes a firm and clear perception of the chronological relationship between them. At times the relationship is obvious and non-controversial, as when comparing the Qumran Scrolls and the Gospel of John; at other times the relationship is obscure and debated, as when comparing Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. The purpose of this paper is to assess the probable dates of these two works, in their present form, so as to facilitate a comparsion between them.

Jubilees

Ever since the recovery of Ethiopic manuscripts of Jubilees scholars have had widely divergent opinions on the document. Specialists have attributed it to a devout member of the Leontopolis temple (Frankel in 1856), a Samaritan (Beer in 1856), a Pharisee (Dillmann, Rönsch, Bousset, Bertholet, Schürer, Charles, and others), and—especially recently—an Essene (Jellinek in 1855, Testuz in 1960, Hengel in 1973, and Sacchi et al. in 1981).

The document has been dated over a period of five or even six centuries, from the fifth or fourth century B.C.E. (Zeitlin) to the first century C.E. (Dillmann). Today there is a consensus that Jubilees was composed in the second century B.C.E. There are four possibilities: the time of John Hyrcanus (135-105; Charles, Testuz, Eissfeldt, Jaubert, Milik, Hengel); the middle of the second century (Bohn, Frey, Russell; 145-140, Berger); a decade or so prior to the exodus to Qumran (i.e. c. 167 [or 161]-152 [or 140]; Charlesworth, VanderKam, Wintermute); and prior to the Maccabean revolts (175-167; Finkelstein, Wacholder, Nickelsburg). Davenport argues that Jubilees is composite; the stages in composition are circa 200, 166-160 and 140-104. The evidence is somewhat ambiguous but tends to indicate that 135 to 105 is possible, but 168 to 152 is probable.

Terminus ad quem.

In *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, Montana, 1977) James C. VanderKam drew attention to numerous manuscripts of Jubliees found in Qumran Caves 1, 2, 3, 4 and 11; according to paleographical analysis most of them are Herodian, but 1Q18 and two fragments not yet published by Milik are Hasmonean and indicate that Jubilees must antedate 125-75 B.C.E., or circa 100. In DJD 7 (Oxford, 1982) Maurice Baillet published an additional fragment of Jubilees from Cave 4, but in his opinion "elle est vraisemblablement hérodienne" (p. 1). Many scholars in the United States, Europe and Israel do not accept the science of paleography and are not persuaded by the claim that because of the Qumran fragments Jubilees must predate 100; obviously, therefore, additional insights must be marshalled.

Jubilees must antedate the Cairo Damascus Document because, as is now widely recognized, CD alludes to Jubilees in numerous passages and clearly cites the prologue of

Jubilees. It is difficult to learn much from this insight because the date of CD is unknown. All that can be discerned is that CD, like Jubilees, probably predates 100 B.C.E. since the fragments found in the Qumran caves date from circa 100.

The cursing of Esau, Edom, in the "Damn-Edom" passages of Jubilees are impressive. Note, 38:10-14:

> And Jacob's sons besieged the children of Esau. . . . And they continued paying tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down to Egypt. And the children of Edom have not ceased from the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob ordered upon them until today. (trans. O. Wintermute in *OTP*, vol. 2)

R. H. Charles was so impressed with the last quoted verse, 38:14, that he contended it referred to John Hyrcanus' conquest of Edom around 109 (*APOT*, vol. 2, p. 6), but surely the verse is far too ambiguous to support the weight of this interpretation, which can only linger on as a vague possibility that dims in comparison with the probabilities about to be presented. The same judgment applies to Charles' suggestion that Jubilees 30:4-6 must refer to John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria around 109. Scholars today, therefore, rightly reject Charles' opinion that circa 109 is "the true *terminus a quo*" (*APOT*, vol. 2, p. 6). The date 109 may in fact be the *terminus ad quem* of Jubilees, if, as I tend to understand it, verse 14 means that Edom is *still* a problem for the Jews and not yet controlled. In any case, scholars rightly concur that the *terminus ad quem* of Jubilees is shortly before 100.

Terminus a quo.

A few years ago almost all scholars agreed that Jubilees must postdate the beginning of the Maccabean crisis, because while it is a kind of Midrash on Genesis 1:1 through Exodus 12:50 chapters 35 through 38:14 are independent of the narrative in the Tanak and are redactional. These chapters reveal that Jubilees' retelling of Jacob and his sons' wars against the Canaanites mirrors the Maccabean battles. Judah, the head of Jacob's sons, is portrayed through the refraction caused by the traditions associated with Judas Maccabeus' exploits. Recently, however, two excellent scholars have rejected the conclusion that Jubilees presupposes the Maccabean wars.

The date for Jubilees has been moved by scholars in two different directions. Many critics claim that Jubilees was written decades after the wars of Judas Maccabeus. For example, K. Berger concludes his study with the contention that 145 to 140 is "der annehmbarste für die Entstehung des Jub" (JSHRZ II.3, p. 300). For him the *terminus post quem* is 145 since Jubilees 46:6-11, which depicts the conflicts between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies in the second century, must predate the death of Ptolemaios IV in 145. Decisive for him is 46:11, "And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt and he closed the gates of Egypt" (Wintermute in *OTP*, vol. 2). For Berger the *terminus ante quem* is 140; he is influenced by Hengel's arguments (*Judaism*, vol. 1, p. 226) that Jubilees 23:21ff. (". . . they shall all exalt themselves . . . they shall defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness . . .") depict the *failure* of the Maccabees which must postdate Jonathan's elevation to the high priesthood and predate the conquest of the Acra by him in 141.

Two scholars recently argued against a date for Jubilees after 167. In *The Dawn of Qumran* B. Z. Wacholder rejects the arguments (especially by VanderKam) that "the account of patriarchal warfare in Jubilees was influenced by the Maccabean wars" (p. 41). Second, he stresses that the denunciation of nakedness in Jubilees need not postdate the Maccabean revolt because both 1 Maccabees 1:14-15 and 2 Maccabees 4:9-15 "records the establishment of this institution at the beginning of Antiochus IV's reign

prior to the Maccabean revolt . . ." (p. 42). Third, he argues that Jubilees must predate the persecution of Antiochus IV, because—unlike Daniel—Jubilees does not mention this catastrophic event. Fourth, Jubilees 23:16-31 "has no allusion to events of the second century B.C.E." (p. 244). Fifth, Jubilees does not refer to or postdate Daniel, because Jubilees 4:20 (Enoch took a wife and her name was Edni, the daughter of Daniel) refers "to the figure of the righteous pagan Daniel, who is listed together with Noah and Job in Ezekiel" (p. 42).

Wacholder concludes that Jubilees antedates the Maccabean crisis. He argues that Jubilees depends on the Temple Scroll, renamed by him "the Qumranic Torah," which is "the precursor of other Qumranic literature" (p. 203) and predates 196.

To me, Wacholder's study is erudite, often brilliant, but too ingenious and idiosyncratic. In assessing the social setting and historical events that may be reflected in Jubilees we are working with subtleties and ambiguities; it simply will not do to use positivistic methodologies. It is necessary and pertinent to ask if the requisite sensitivity to Jubilees and the cognizance of a wide range of probabilities is reflected in such words as "necessitating the assumption" that the Maccabean wars are mirrored in Jubilees. All "mirror" images are distorted and Jubilees is *pseudepigraphically* bound to a recital of the patriarchal wars as described in Genesis and Exodus. Likewise, I am not convinced that the present state of scholarly work on the literature of second-century "Judaism" permits us to state that the author of Jubilees "could be expected" to refer to Antiochus IV's persecution. With Wacholder I would agree that there are "no compelling reasons" for dating Jubilees after the Maccabean revolt of 167; but to me there are suggestive innuendoes for doing so.

In "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded" (*Compendia* 2.2) G. W. E. Nickelsburg explains why he is not convinced that Jubilees 34:2-9 and 37-38 depict the Maccabean wars. He correctly states that "the identification is far from certain and depends on a number of textual emendations" (p. 102). He rightly points out the stark and distinguishing anti-gentile tendencies of Jubilees (e.g. marriage to a gentile is forbidden, Jub 20:4, 22:20, 25:1, 27:10, 30:1-15; nudity, especially in the gymnasium, as the gentiles is strictly proscribed, 3:31; circumcision is a requisite of the covenant, Jews must not treat their bodily members like the gentiles, 15:34). These injunctions fit impressively the crisis brought to Judea by Antiochus IV, but they may just as well have begun with the first crisis encounters with the Greeks and continued as problems for religious Jews long after the period assigned to the composition of Jubilees.

Another more formidable argument is brought forward by Nickelsburg. He claims that Jubilees "was written during the time of the Hellenistic reform close to 168" (p. 103) primarily because of the "most unusual" omission of any mention of Antiochus IV and his desecration of the Temple in "the apocalypse in 23:16ff." Here is that section of Jubilees:

> And in this generation children will reproach their parents and their elders on account of sin, and on account of injustice, and on account of the words of their mouth, and on account of great evil which they will do, and on account of their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and himself so that they might be careful and observe all of his commandments and his ordinances and all of his law without turning aside to the right or left. For they all did evil and every mouth speaks of sin and all of their deeds (are) polluted and abominable. And all of their ways (are) contamination and pollution and corruption. (Jub 23:16-17; Wintermute in *OTP*, vol. 2)

An examination of this passage raises several questions, notably two: are these verses adequately judged to be an "apocalypse," is it necessary to argue with Nickelsburg that if Jubilees postdates 167 we "must admit the strange omission in chapter 23" (p. 103)? I do not think that we can speak so confidently about what a second-century Jew must include

in his review of "history," which is at best obliquely related to historical events by pseudonymity. Likewise, if Jubilees dates from around 161 or even 153 then the actions of Antiochus IV may not be expected to be so presssing in the eyes of a Jewish author.

Furthermore, it is quite conceivable to me that Antiochus IV's horrifying actions may be reflected in the verses that immediately follow the so-called apocalypse of 23:16ff. Note especially the following verses:

> Behold, the land will be corrupted on account of all their deeds, . . . And all of them will be destroyed together. . . . And they will pollute the holy of holies with their pollution and with the corruption of their contamination. (Jub 23:18-21; Wintermute in *OTP*, vol. 2)

Is it possible to decide on a *terminus a quo*? We are confronted with a virtual scholarly chaos and not a consensus. C. Rabin's report that "most (scholars) prefer" a date about 100 B.C." ("Jubilees," in *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks [Oxford, 1984] p. 5) is both misinformed and misleading. According to Wacholder and Nickelsburg the *latest possible* date is 168; according to most scholars the *earliest possible* date is 167. The dilemma and debate cannot be solved by counting scholars or juxtaposing methodologies; the only way to a solution (which may be improbable due to the ambiguity of the data) is to examine the major controversial text.

In my judgment it is Jubilees 34:2-9. According to VanderKam this passage is the latest datable reference to the exploits of Judas Maccabeus; it refers to his defeat of Nicanor in 161. Wintermute, in *OTP*, vol. 2, translates the passage as follows:

> And while hiding themselves under the trees, seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves to fight against them and to plunder their animals. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were at home with Isaac, their father, because his soul grieved him, and they were unable to leave him. And Benjamin was the youngest and therefore he dwelt with his father.
>
> And the kings . . . came. And they reported it to Jacob, saying that, "Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded your sons and they have plundered their herds." And he and his three sons and all of his father's servants and his servants arose from his house and went against them with six thousand men who carried swords. And he killed them in the field of Shechem and he pursued those who fled and killed them with the edge of the sword. . . . And he returned peacefully and he made peace with them and they became servants to him until the day he and his sons went down into Egypt.

According to VanderKam "Amorites" is "a cipher for the Seleucids" (p. 228). He correctly notes that this section of Jubilees is not derived from the Tanak and is, therefore, redactional. Also, he points out that like the battles against Nicanor the places named, when identifiable, are in the northern country, in which indeed Judas Maccabeus battled Nicanor and finally defeated him in 161 (cf. 1 Mac 7:26-50 and Ant. 12.10,4-5). But, one must also admit that the author of Jubilees is certainly using "cryptic language" (p. 228) and that "only a *possible* case can be made for a Maccabean background to Jub. 34:2-9; the available information is simply not adequate for establishing the position with certainty" (p. 229). We are left finally with only a tantalizing possibility.

Summary

Jubilees 35:1 through 38:14 are not paralleled in the Tanak, they are redactional additions by the author of Jubilees. Any attempt to date or understand Jubilees must

wrestle with an attempt to explain them. If these chapters were composed with some knowledge of the Maccabean wars, then Jubilees must postdate at least those known to the author. Jubilees would then postdate at least 167.

As all critics emphasize there is a remarkable similarity between Jubilees and the Qumran Scrolls. Qumran theology is not monolithic, as many scholars once assumed, but it developed over and reflected the life of the Qumran community, as many scholars, notably J. Murphy-O'Connor and H. Lichtenberger, have demonstrated. Without any doubt, Jubilees, also a priestly document, lies at the beginning of this development. It was certainly known at Qumran, was quoted by CD, a Qumran document, and shares with the Qumran covenanters the solar calendar, an exegetical methodology, eschatology, predestination (Jub 1:4-2:16; 1QS 3.13-17), and a cosmic and anthropological dualism (Jub 1-2, 10-11; 1QS 3.13-21 and 1QM).

Most important, however, are the differences between Jubilees and the Qumran Scrolls. In contrast to 1QS Jubilees has no messianism. In major contrast to the Qumran documents Jubilees, except for 23:21, has a very high regard for the high priests, and is still part of Israel and supportive and involved in the cultus. Jubilees contrasts markedly with the intent of 1QS, which contains rules for an exodus community, and with the polemics of 1QpHab, which is directed against a wicked high priest.

Clearly Jubilees was composed sometime between 168 or 167 and 100. The real debate centers on the upper level; is the *terminus a quo* circa 168 (with Nickelsburg and others) or 161 (with VanderKam and others)?

Berger may be correct that Jubilees predates 141 because 23:2ff. reflect the failure of the Maccabees, since in 141 Simon finally cleared Jerusalem of the Syrians. VanderKam may also astutely discern that 23:21 indicates a pre-152 date for Jubilees, since Jonathan became high priest in that year. Certainly there is much room for discussion on these possibilities.

Personally, I see no reason to be more precise than I was in writing *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research:* "Parallels with some thoughts in the Dead Sea Scrolls indicate that Jubilees represents the type of Judaism out of which Essenism evolved" (p. 143). If this is too ambiguous, then so is the data. When pushed to make a scholarly guess I would opt for 168/7 to 152.

11Q Temple

Since 1977, when Y. Yadin published *MGYLT HMQDSh*, numerous distinguished scholars have attempted to date the Temple Scroll. Three of these attempts are singularly significant and deserve our assessment; the arguments presented by Yadin, Wacholder and Hengel-Betz-Lichtenberger-Mendels-Charlesworth.

Terminus ad quem

The dates assigned to the Temple Scroll range from the fourth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. If paleographical dating of the Qumran fragments is accepted, then the oldest published fragment, Rockefeller 43.366, must date, at the latest from the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76). The *terminus ad quem* is circa 76.

J. Strugnell claims to know about a fragment of the Temple Scroll, that he thinks is not much later than 150 (see Wacholder's quotation from a letter in *The Dawn of Qumran*, pp. 205-6); but since the Temple Scroll is composite and the fragment is not yet available for examination it must only be mentioned now, with the lament that it is not available. Moreover, Wacholder's quotation from a Strugnell letter does little honor to the latter unusually gifted philologist, who is reputed to claim that Rockefeller 43.366 may not be a copy of the Temple Scroll, dates from "roughly ca. 75 B.C.," and may be portions of a source used "by 11QT." Strugnell is not closed minded; he emphasizes

(according to the portions of his letter quoted) that the precise explanation of this fragment "remains to be seen" (p. 206). Scholars are rightly disturbed that someone, obviously not Strugnell, would construct an entirely new picture of second-century Judaism and its literature on the basis of one unexamined—and unpublished—fragment that has been described only in a personal letter.

Terminus a quo

H. Stegemann contends that philologically the Temple Scroll indicates a very early date, perhaps in the late third or even fourth century. Although he has intimated his opinion in three articles, none of these is devoted to an attempt to date the document. Until he has adequately defended or developed his position it is impractical to evaluate it.

B. Z. Wacholder has devoted his attention to this issue; it is the subject of his *The Dawn of Qumran*. He contends that the original work dates from around 200 B.C.E. As with Jubilees the earliest possible date for the Temple Scroll is not yet ascertained.

Yadin

Y. Yadin contended that the *terminus ante quem* is 76 and the *terminus post quem* is the Hasmonean period. The former date is because of the paleographical date of the Rockefeller fragment; the latter period is because of multiple deductions, for example, the document often contains the linguistic features of Mishnaic Hebrew, and these philological characteristics "present obvious evidence that the scroll could not have been composed before the Hasmonean period" (vol. 1, p. 387). The Temple Scroll was, therefore, clearly composed between 167 and 76.

In his popular, posthumous work, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, Yadin succinctly summarizes many of his insights:

> In my view, the very preoccupation with such subjects as the plan of the Temple, the obsession with problems of impurity, the festivals, the Statutes of the King, the composition of the army and the royal guard, and treasonable activities and defection to the enemy, all fit very well into the pattern of the second half of the second century BC. These were the very formative decades of the Hasmonean period, when the Temple was being reconstructed, giving rise to renewed concern with questions involving its plan and the mode of worship; and this was also the period when the princes of the Hasmonean dynasty, holding the position of high priest at first, were gradually assuming the title and status of king as well. These factors, and others, seem to me to point to this period—roughly from the middle to the end of the second century BC. This, too, roughly matches the paleographic findings. (pp. 220-21)

Yadin suggested that the Righteous Teacher may conceivably be the author of the Temple Scroll (vol. 1, p. 397), and that it was "the Torah" for the Essenes. He stressed that the author was a gifted editor and also an *author*, and that "the most distinctive charactersitics of the scroll" are contained in the supplements to the traditions in the Tanak (vol. 1, pp. 81-82). Yadin rightly stressed that "the author—or authors—of the supplementary sections was convinced that the readers were being presented with authentic laws of God which had been revealed to him" (vol. 1, p. 82).

Yadin's dating of the Temple Scroll is based on numerous observations, among which five are most significant. First, he contends that a date in the Restoration period is unlikely because of the "blatantly Qumran-sectarian nature of several laws" and the linguistic features of the scroll. Second, the Statutes of the King, the second major

feature of the scroll, probably dates from the Hasmonean period: "especially from the reign of John Hyrcanus I, the Statutes of the King unquestionably became a central issue in the political life of Jewry, and consequently in its laws" (vol. 1, p. 387). Third, some laws, "such as the death penalty for treason," are best explained by a Hasmonean date. Fourth, in column 34 the author refers at length to a system of rings and wheels for fastening animals during slaughter. According to the Talmud (*p. Sotah* 9:11, 24a; cf. *m. Maʿaser Sheni* 5:15, *m. Sotah* 9:10), the installation of such rings is ascribed to John Hyrcanus. The scroll either presupposes these customs, or (better according to Yadin) the author was arguing for the installation of the rings. This information indicates that the scroll postdates the time of John Hyrcanus or (preferably) is contemporaneous with him. Fifth, (he astutely observed that) the *obvious polemical* strain of the scroll's Statutes of the King fit only the Hasmonean kings, especially (for him) John Hyrcanus. The author stresses that the royal guard "must be entirely Jewish," this rule is significant and must postdate or be contemporaneous with the first "king" to hire mercenaries: John Hyrcanus. While admitting "that certain sections of the scroll were composed previously and that some of the traditions embedded in it originated in an earlier period," Yadin concluded "that we may affirm with a considerable degree of probability that the scroll was composed in the days of John Hyrcanus or shortly earlier" (vol. 1, p. 390).

Wacholder

It is difficult to assess objectively and appreciatively Wacholder's claim that the Temple Scroll dates from around 200. He seems to misunderstand paleography (see p. 205), failing to observe that the paleographical dating of a scroll, especially in the second century B.C.E., ranges over numerous decades and is accurate not as an artistic science but as a scientific art. This methodology can indicate a date only within the limits of plus or minus at least 25 years. Furthermore, he overlooks and tends to denigrate the magnificient advances presented by Yadin, and he has not always read him carefully. For example, Yadin concludes that the Temple Scroll dates from the time of John Hyrcanus "or shortly earlier"; Wacholder reports "Yadin's conclusion, the case for dating this work during the rule of John Hyrcanus or soon thereafter is rather unconvincing" (p. 208). It is also difficult to ignore the misrepresentations of Early Judaism as if it was monolithic and orthodox, allowing such misleading terms as "the Essene heresy" (p. 203).

Yet, putting these unfortunate blemishes aside, Wacholder's hypothesis regarding the date of the Temple Scroll deserves our careful scrutiny. Wacholder is a brilliant person and impressively erudite; his originality and arguments are to be taken seriously.

Wacholder claims—or tries to show—that "all the Qumran sect's literature is dependent upon the Qumranic Torah" (pp. 202-3). It must, therefore, antedate all of them; and —with Yadin but against L. H. Schiffman—he claims that the Temple Scroll "cannot be divorced from the Qumran tradition" (p. 205). Second, he contends, on the basis of conversations with paleographers, Avigad and Strugnell, that the earliest fragments of the Temple Scroll date from 150 so that the *terminus ad quem* is 150; "the Qumranic Torah dates from sometime before the middle of the second century B.C.E." (p. 206).

One of Wacholder's arguments that deserves serious discussion is his assessment of the language of the Temple Scroll. He argues, against Yadin, that "the language of the Qumranic Torah . . . seems nearest to that of the Hebrew of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah" (p. 207). He points out that the scroll "contains few Aramaisms and no words of Greek origin" (p. 207), and the few features of Mishnaic Hebrew in it can possibly "go back to the third century B.C.E." (p. 207).

For me, these elements are not easy to date. We simply cannot yet put a firm date on the appearance of Mishnaic Hebrew. Even so, the probability for the appearance of these features in the history of the Hebrew language lies not in the third but in the

second century B.C.E. I am in full agreement with Andre Caquot, who contends that the "données linguistiques rendent invraisemblable un opinion qui fixerait la rédaction du *Rouleau du Temple* avant l'époque hasmonéenne" ("Le rouleau du temple de Qoumrân," *Etudes théologiques et religieuses* [53rd year] 4 [1978] 446). Moreover, the appearance of ancient linguistic features in a scroll do not necessarily date it; they may be remnants of ancient linguistic forms or archaisms employed by conservative scribes, such as those at Qumran. Quite surprisingly this precise insight was articulated by Wacholder: "The spelling of 11Q Torah reflects an attempt to mimic forms which its author considered archaic, thus strengthening the important claim for 'Mosaic' authorship" (p. 207). It follows necessarily that linguistic forms must be more carefully scrutinized before they are presented as the keys for unlocking the mystery of the date of the Temple Scroll.

A caveat is now uppermost in my mind. Examinations of the date of the Temple Scroll have been marred by the unexamined presupposition that it is a literary unity. As I read the text it is certainly a composite document brought together by a gifted editor and author. Hence, Wacholder may be pointing astutely to sections of the scroll that are from about 200, but they may be sources—or earlier redactions—of the document we recognize by examining 11Q Temple. One must not assume, as some "scholars" have done, that 11Q Temple is an autograph, or that it is identical with "the Temple Scroll." The latter term has been used illegitimately as representing both the extant scroll and the documents(s) from which it has evolved. 11Q Temple is the *final redaction* of the Temple Scroll.

Wacholder argues that Yadin's dating of the Temple Scroll to the time of John Hyrcanus "is rather unconvincing" (p. 208). He dismisses Yadin's arguments that the ordinances in the scroll fit best with the Hasmonean reforms, categorizing these parallels as "too remote" (p. 208). A significant and telling insight by Wacholder is the argument that the restrictions put on the king and linked by Yadin with John Hyrcanus are unconvincing: "After all, John Hyrcanus never wore the crown and as high priest was ineligible for Israel's kingship" (p. 209).

Who was the first Hasmonean to assume the title "king"? Our only source is Josephus: "For when their father (John Hyrcanus) died, the eldest son, Aristobulus, intended to transform the government into a kingdom (*tēn archēn eis basileian*), . . . and (he was the) first to put a diadem (*diadēma*) (on his head) . . ." (*Ant.* 13,300; cf. *War* 1, 70). Aristobulus I was, therefore, not only the first Hasmonean to claim officially the title "king," he also transformed the government into a "kingdom," similar to the Greek form of government, thus deserving the cognomen "Philhellene" (Greek-lover). The alteration of government and self-elevation to a king must have been widely resisted (and perhaps reflected in the Temple Scroll). It resulted in Aristobulus killing his brother and starving his mother in prison, because she "disputed his authority" (*peri tēs exousias; War* 1, 70).

If the proscriptions put on the king in the Temple Scroll reflect an actual king in Jewish history (as I am thoroughly convinced), then the *present form* of the Temple Scroll *must postdate* Aristobulus I (105/4-103). Wacholder's criticism of Yadin on this point moves the date for the Temple Scroll away from the direction he desires.

Wacholder rightly perceives that the "section of 11Q Torah on the constitution of the king is extraordinary in any period of Jewish history" (p. 209). This admission is highly significant, as I shall attempt to demonstrate. The prescriptions clearly subordinate the king to the high priest and are either intended for contemporary events and crises, or were, as Wacholder claims, "prescriptions for the *aḥaryt hayyamym*, the messianic age" (p. 209). It is a credit to Wacholder's skill and insight that he discerns this important option. His interpretation is entirely possible—at least prima facie—but my own reading of the Temple Scroll leads without reservation to the first of these alternatives. Differences of opinions among scholars are acceptable and desirable; through dialogue we are each drawn to a better appreciation of the complexities in our sources.

One final critique of Wacholder's position is necessary. He incorrectly *assumes* that

the date of a document is probably at least 50 years earlier than "the earliest surviving remnants" (p. 206) Hence, since Strugnell thinks the 4Q fragments he has seen are not "much later than 150" (according to Wacholder's quotation from Strugnell's letter, p. 206), then "the date of the composition of the Qumranic Torah appears to be circa 200 B.C.E." (pp. 206-7).

Applying this *assumption* he claims that the Habakkuk Pesher dates from 170 B.C.E. (p. 193), and that the *môrēh haṣ-ṣédeq* lived at the beginning of the second century, and not in the second half as almost all specialists have concluded for over twenty years. He contends that "the events described in Pesher Habakkuk, such as the wicked priest's assault on the Teacher of Righteousness on the Day of Atonement, according to sectarian chronology, took place between 175 and 170 B.C.E." (p. 193) According to my own understanding of the Temple Scroll, the Habakkuk Pesher, 1QS, CD, 1QH and other scrolls, this interpretation is not only unpersuasive, it is impossible. After decades of research, I must confess full agreement with the scholarly consensus that the wicked priest is either Jonathan or Simon. Moreover, with many scholars (especially F. M. Cross in *JBL* 75 [1956] 123-24; and in *The Ancient Library*, pp. 113-15 [revised edition]) I am convinced that the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab) dates from the late first century B.C.E. and may be an *autograph*. Furthermore, Wacholder's methodology would demand that P. 52 would antedate its archetype, the Gospel of John, by at least 25 years.)

Hengel-Betz-Lichtenberger-Mendels-Charlesworth

Hengel's 1984 Oberseminar was devoted to an attempt to understand and date the Temple Scroll. Several specialists in attendance had already directed one or more doctoral seminars on the Temple Scroll. It was impressive to observe that all of us tended to agree with Yadin's insight about a Hasmonean date (composition in Hasmonean times is wisely affirmed by most scholars, namely J. Milgrom, A. Caquot, J. Maier, E. M. Laperrousaz). We concluded, however, that he erred in not placing the date of the final version, representing by 11Q Temple and the ordinances concerning the king, late enough in the "evolution" of the Hasmoneans. After months of research and debate Martin Hengel, Otto Betz, Hermann Lichtenberger, Doron Mendels and I concurred on the probable date of the final redaction of the Temple Scroll. The deliberations and conclusion of the Oberseminar will be published in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*. Here I may only present some insights and my own position, with deep appreciations and indebtedness to my distinguished Tübingen colleagues and as an assistance to the deliberations of the 1985 SBL Pseudepigrapha Group's seminar, which is focused on a discussion of the relation between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. For the full report of the Oberseminar the reader is encouraged to study the article itself.

The oldest published fragment of the Temple Scroll is Rockefeller 43.366, which must antedate 76. The major source for dating the final redaction of the Temple Scroll is the section "The Statutes of the King" (cols. 56.12-59.21), which Yadin (vol. 1, pp. 344-62) and Wacholder rightly stress is outstanding and unusual. The restrictions put on the king are not messianic ideals (*pace* Wacholder); they are attempts to correct real excesses committed by Hasmoneans who are officially *kings*. From numerous passages that indicate this rather impressively, only four will be listed now.

(1) King is Chosen by God Alone. The author of the Temple Scroll argues that *the king* (*MLK*, col. 56.13, 14 [*bis*]) of the Jews is one "whom I (= *ʾL*, God) shall choose" (*ʾŠR ʾBḤR BW*, 56.14 [in supralinear script]). The following restriction is unnecessary and seems to mirror the need to abolish the possibility of a king who was not a Jew: "A king (*MLK*) from among your brothers you shall set over you; you must not place over you a foreigner, one who is not (from among) your brothers" (56.14-15). This would endorse the right of Jews to have a king provided he is clearly a Jew. A setting in the second half of

the second century B.C. is appropriate for the need of such a rule, since laws almost always follow upon a crisis that demands legislation.

(2) No Mercenaries. The king shall select Jews alone to be in his army (57.2-9); his body guard shall be *ʾNShY ʾMT, YRʾY ʾLWHYM*, "men of truth, fearers of God"; moreover, these *GBWRY ḤYL* must hate unjust reward, and guard the king, day and night, not only from every sinful thing but also from a foreign people (57.8-11). This restriction should probably—some scholars would claim must—be dated to or better after the time of John Hyrcanus, the first Hasmonean to hire mercenaries: John Hyrcanus opened King David's tomb and with the wealth "became the first of the Jews (not Jewish king as translated by R. Marcus in LCL) to maintain mercenary troups (*prōtos Ioudaiōn zenotrophein ērzato, Ant.* 13,249). The Temple Scroll refers to a "*king*," if that noun is to be taken seriously then the prohibition, if proscribed against actual abuses, must postdate Aristobulus I, to whom it may refer, or better to Alexander Jannaeus (103-76), who was rejected by his fellow Jews, pelted by them with citrons while he was in the Temple, and was thus forced to maintain mercenary soldiers from Pisidia and Cilicia (*zenous Pisidas kai Kilikas, Ant.* 13,374).

(3) No Polygamy, No Divorce. The law is presented that the king must have only one wife, and that "she, herself alone, shall be with him all the days of her life" (57.18; cf. also 56.18-19). This injunction conceivably may have been directed against Alexander Jannaeus, who was the most notorious polygamist in the history of the Hasmoneans.

(4) Subordination of the MLK to the HKWHN HGDWL. The restrictions put upon the king and his activities culminate in his clear and utter subordination to the high priest. At the command and permission of the high priest the king "shall go out, and at his word he shall come in; he and all the children of Israel who are with him. He must not go out according to the counsel of his heart (mind) until he inquires into the judgment of the Urim and Thummim" (58.19-21). According to my interpretation of the Temple Scroll this regulation denotes a rift between the priests and a certain king, and the desire of the priests to regain control from the king, who must read this law (*HTWRH HZWʾT*, 57.21) written by the priests (*HKWHNYM*, 57.21) "when he sits upon the throne of his kingdom" (*BShBTW ʿL KSʾ MMLKTW*, 57.20). These brief comments reveal why I am convinced that the present form of the Temple Scroll, namely that represented by 11Q Temple, dates from around 100 B.C.E., and perhaps in the period of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76).

Conclusion

In comparing Jubilees and the Temple Scroll we have no consensus for dating either of these documents. The only consensus appears to be that the abundant and significant parallels between them indicate that one of the documents is *literarily* dependent on the other. We are confronted with three main and very different options for comparing these two documents.

First, if Wacholder is correct the Temple Scroll predates Jubilees. The influence would then be as he states: the Temple Scroll influenced Jubilees. He concludes, "The Book of Jubilees can only be understood as an attempt to propagate the sanctity of the newly discovered Law (= 11Q Torah)" (p. 211).

Second, it is possible that Charles correctly dated Jubilees to the time of John Hyrcanus, and that Yadin wisely assigned the Temple Scroll to the period of the same Hasmonean. Hence, both Jubilees and the Temple Scroll were written sometime between 135 and 105/4. This option opens up not only the possibility of contemporaneousness, but also that any relation is conceivable, since we have 30 years in which the documents could be written and redacted. For example, Jubilees may be have been written in the

early phases of the reign of John Hyrcanus and the Temple Scroll some twenty years later. The reverse is also conceivable; and one must allow for the possibility that portions of the Temple Scroll antedate 135 and were being redacted and expanded during the last decades of the second century.

Third, Jubilees may date sometime between 168/7 and the late 150s (encompassing the conclusions by VanderKam, Nickelsburg and Charlesworth), and the Temple Scroll may have reached its present from somewhere between 135 and 76 (incorporating the conclusions by Yadin, Hengel, Betz, Lichtenberger, Mendels, Charlesworth and many others). The influence would then be clear: Jubilees and its traditions influenced the author of the final form of the Temple Scroll.

With this option, which I obviously endorse, we must be sensitive to the heterogenous nature of the Temple Scroll (I do not think Jubilees is composite). Some traditions in the Temple Scroll clearly antedate Jubilees; these may have influenced that document, either through other sources (written or oral) or from an early version of the Temple Scroll. Subsequently, Jubilees, in its original Hebrew version—which must not be cavalierly equated with the extant Ethiopic version (which itself is now represented by many manuscripts and variants)—may have influenced the final draft of the Temple Scroll. Again when comparing any two documents we must frequently obtain a wider perspective, lost by focusing upon two documents on our desks. Traditions similar to those in our two documents are preserved in other documents on our shelves (or floors), others were recorded in writings no longer extant, and some were lost in unrecorded, but once influential, oral tradition.

Yadin wisely exhorted us not to "overlook the parallels—at times even *in ipsissima verba*—between the text of the scroll (= 11Q Temple) and the laws in the Book of Jubilees (compare especially Col. XLIII:4-10 and the Book of Jubilees xxxiii:10f. . . .)" (vol. I, p. 398). Our steering committee has perceptively chosen to concentrate our 1985 deliberations on a search for better explanations of the relationship between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. If we knew the chronological relation between them we would be in an improved position from which to date each of them and even CD.

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The Relationship between 11Q Torah (The Temple Scroll) and the Book of Jubilees: One Single or Two Independent Compositions

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In his introduction and commentary to the *editio princeps* of 11Q Torah (= the Temple Scroll), Yadin cites the Book of Jubilees three times more than any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work. Yadin has demonstrated that Jubilees often resolves problematic passages in 11Q Torah. Yadin, however, regarded both Jubilees and 11Q Torah as separate Essene compositions, the relationship between the two being based on their sectarian roots.

In *The Dawn of Qumran* we have argued that the author of Jubilees emulated and propagated the Torah inscribed by Moses himself (Deut. 31:24ff.) and discovered by Zadok (the Teacher of Righteousness) (CD 5:1-5). We stated that Jubilees stood in the same relationship to Genesis that 11Q Torah did to the remainder of the Pentateuch. Since Jubilees and 11Q Torah are more similar to each other than to other representative documents, we proposed to date them sequentially: 11Q Torah in 200 B.C.E.; Jubilees in 190 B.C.E. Radical as some of our views were, we did not there argue that the two works, one of which survives completely only in an Ethiopic version and the other from Hebrew manuscripts discovered in caves 4 and 11 of Qumran, may have originated as a single composition. Yet this is precisely what we wish to propose in this essay.

To begin the debate let me introduce the two competing propositions:

1. Although closely related, the Book of Jubilees and 11Q Torah are two independent works;

2. These two works were originally two halves of a single sectarian *Sefer Torah*.

Which of these two propositions is more plausible?

Arguments in Favor of Proposition 1

1. The archaeological evidence tends to support proposition 1. The Ethiopic version of the Old Testament contains the Book of Jubilees but has nothing which corresponds to 11Q Torah. The scroll of 11Q Torah published by Yadin contains some 67 columns of text but lacks both the beginning and the ending of the document. Yet no indications remain that point to 11Q Torah's having been preceded by a copy of the Book of Jubilees.

2. Some features of these works are inconsistent with proposition 2, but support proposition 1; namely, that the Book of Jubilees and 11Q Torah originated as two independent works.

    a. The text of the Book of Jubilees, according to its own assertion, was dictated from heavenly tablets, the contents of which were transmitted by the

Angel of the Presence and recorded in writing by Moses. Throughout Jubilees the dictating angel addresses Moses. Unfortunately, the missing lines of the introductory column of 11Q Torah prevent us from knowing whether these lines contained such a similar assertion about the source of dictation. Yet the overwhelming use of the first person and the addressing of certain messages to Moses seem to reflect a composition dictated by the Deity himself to Moses. If Jubilees and 11Q Torah are but two parts of a single work, where in the newly discovered manuscript are its references to the Angel of the Presence?

b. Jubilees is unique in that it alone among the writings of the Second Temple period fuses legal teachings into the re-telling of a narrative text. These insertions (such as the rules of the sabbath in Jub 2:26-33 and 50:6-13) make more sense if the Book of Jubilees was planned as an independent work than if Jubilees was constructed to be but a part of a new Pentateuch. Why did the author of Jubilees not leave such legal passages to those parts of the Torah where they naturally belonged?

c. The author of Jubilees frequently interrupts his narrative to launch polemical attacks against certain prevailing practices of his day. The calendrical passage in Jub 6:32-38 and the theological excursus of chapter 23 are notable examples of such polemic. Nothing corresponding to this tone of argument occurs in the extant sections of 11Q Torah.

d. Terminology and Vocabulary

While one grants that similar or even identical vocabulary may be cited from both works, there are also instances of divergent terminology:

i. Jub 1:28-29 refers directly to Zion and Jerusalem, designations apparently lacking in 11Q Torah.

ii. The extant remnants of 11Q Torah contain no direct allusion to the sabbath of years or to the jubilee, terms central to the ideology of the Book of Jubilees.

iii. The method used for the rewriting of select portions of the Pentateuch differs in the two works. To be sure, both documents employ various techniques of quoting, paraphrasing, or even altering the Mosaic books. Yet 11Q Torah appears to contain many more direct citations from the Biblical *Vorlage* than does the Book of Jubilees. Such an observation may be biased by Yadin's standard reconstructions of missing lines by supplying material straight from the Masoretic text. But even if one ignores Yadin's reconstructions altogether, it would it seems remain accurate to say that Jubilees contains fewer direct citations from Genesis than does 11Q Torah from the other Mosaic books.

3. 1Q Genesis Apocryphon

Much of the argument of this study rests upon the premise that Jubilees and 11Q Torah are uniquely distinct from any other ancient text in that they alone "rewrote" their respective counterparts within the Pentateuch. But this is

perhaps not quite accurate inasmuch as 1Q Genesis Apocryphon, a work written in Aramaic, re-tells the accounts of the Book of Genesis in a manner reminiscent of the Book of Jubilees. In fact, some of the chronology, geography, and other elemental features of 1Q Genesis Apocryphon frequently recall similar or congruent material in Jubilees. 1Q Genesis Apocryphon is thus another example of that genre of writing typified by its revision of the Mosaic books. This evidence would tend to negate the supposition that close resemblance necessarily argues for a single composition. For all we know, the paraphrasing of the Mosaic books *a la* Genesis Apocryphon-11Q Torah might have been more common than we presume.

The Arguments in Favor of Proposition 2: Jubilees-11Q Torah were originally a single Sefer Torah

Let us now turn 180 degrees to search for indications which support the proposition that not only do the Book of Jubilees and 11Q Torah share a number of features but that they seem to be two halves of a single sectarian *Sefer Torah* which due to its immense length was divided into two scrolls.

Ever since their respective publications—the Book of Jubilees in 1850-2 and the Temple Scroll in 1977—these two compositions have aroused great interest. A century and a half of Jubilean scholarship has yet to resolve questions relating to the nature and purpose of the Book of Jubilees. Neither has Yadin's magnificent and monumental commentary alleviated similar concerns with regard to 11Q Torah. The Zadokite Fragments, first published by Schechter in 1910 from manuscripts recovered from the Cairo Geniza, cite the Book of Jubilees (16:2-3) and apparently 11Q Torah (5:1-5) as well, increasing the difficulties involved in attempting to reconstruct the literary and ideological development of both pre-Qumranic and post-Qumranic thought. One might for example ask what was so unique about the *Yaḥad* that separated this commune from mainstream Judaism. The supposition that Jubilees and 11Q Torah constituted two parts of a single *Sefer Torah* delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai relating an eschatological covenant for the End of Days may serve to explain certain enigmas which continue to plague Qumranic studies.

Jubilees' Prologue and Chapter 1

Many ancient writings remain obscure as to their nature and purpose because their authors felt no need to state in explicit terms their primary intention. This problem does not hold true for the Book of Jubilees since this work contains both a prologue and an introductory chapter which clearly state the book's origin, themes, and purpose. Modern scholarship, however, has either ignored chapter one of Jubilees (there remains no detailed study), misinterpreted its contents (Charles), or dismissed much of its content as secondary or tertiary expansion. When retroverted into a hypothetical Hebrew original, the prologue begins: *ʾeleh dibrey maḥleqoth haʿittim hattorah weha-ʿeduth*. . . . The last two words are particularly puzzling: "the Law and the Testimony." The prologue draws attention to a claim reiterated throughout the entire document that this Book of Jubilees was given to Moses during his forty-day heavenly sojourn. No other known pseudepigraph from either Jewish tradition or Qumran makes such a brazen claim. That is to say, until now, for we find similar wording in 11Q Torah: *hattorah hazzʾoth* (56:21, 59:10); *ketorath hammishpaṭ hazzeh* (29:4), *lemishpaṭ weletorah* (57:13-14).

Further in the prologue we encounter the phrase "Throughout all the years of the world." (*lekhol sheney haʿolam*). Charles perceived some difficulty with this phrase since the extant Book of Jubilees does not fulfill the promise of its prologue. Its narrative breaks off at the time of the exodus, whereas "all the years of the world" implies the composition of an eschatological work as well. In view of this contradiction Charles

thought that the intention of the author was to write a history which would culminate with the establishment of the messianic kingdom. In other words, according to Charles (citing 1:26), Jubilees was only a portion of the work originally planned. If, however, one assumes that 11Q Torah is the missing latter portion of an originally unified work, then the author's promise in the prologue and in vv. 4, 26 of chapter 1 would have been fulfilled.

Jub 1:4: *wayehi mosheh behar ʾarbʿaim yom weʾarbʿaim layelah wayorehu ʾadonai ʾet dibrey maḥleqoth haʿittim hattorah wehaʿeduth ʾasher hayu weʾasher yihyu.*

"Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights, and the Lord taught him the Words on the division of the epochs of the Law and the Testimony, what was and what will be." This repeats what was stated in the prologue, adding that Moses received the "earlier and later . . . law and testimony" during his 40-day stay upon Sinai. Charles' commentary in citing b. Megillah 19b (God taught Moses the minutiae of the law) makes the Jubilean author a Pharisee, a believer in the Oral Torah. According to our proposition, however, "the earlier" law refers to the Book of Jubilees, since it informs Moses of what happened in the past; and "the later" refers to 11Q Torah. Or it is possible that 1:4 invidiously compares the traditional Pentateuch with its eschatological counterpart. The former relates only the law of the past; the latter expounds the real meaning of Genesis as well as what shall be the law at the end of time.

Jub 1:5-26

No exegete has yet to give a satisfactory explanation of 1:5-26. If, however, these verses are viewed as explanatory of Jub 1:4 (which mentions the revelation of an eschatological Torah consisting of Jubilees-11Q Torah) the text becomes intelligible. The following outline may prove helpful:

1:5-18	God's first discourse: 5-14 Israel's backsliding; 15-18 eschatological redemption
1:19-21	Moses' plea on behalf of historical Israel
1:22-26	God's second discourse:
1:22-25	reiterates Israel's sinfulness and eventual redemption
1:26	God promises his eternal Presence with Israel

The history of Israel is depicted harshly in this passage. Such a total condemnation has no parallel or source in Hebrew Scriptures, except for Deut 31:27-30. Our passage makes Israel absolutely sinful from the day after receiving the Decalogue until the very end of days. The tabernacle of the wilderness and the Solomonic sanctuary played integral parts in Israel's violation of the covenant. There was apparently no hope of repentance from the time of the golden calf until the period of God's remorse in remembering the covenant of the patriarchs at the very end of days; that is to say, in the days of the author of Jubilees. This Jubilean diatribe would seem to be based upon Deut 31:26-30, wherein it is stated that the era of condemnation had begun during Moses' lifetime and would continue until the *aḥarith hayyamim* (v. 29).

God's discourse illumines and is in turn illumined by the proposition that Jubilees and 11Q Torah were the "Law and Testimony" which God entrusted to Moses during his stay on Mount Sinai. Jub 1:5-14 implicitly replies to the question: Why after concluding with the promised crossing of the Jordan in Jub 50:3-5 does its author immediately proceed to describe the eschatological sanctuary in 11Q Torah (if indeed he does)? The answer is

simple. The period from the death of Moses until God's recollection of scattered Israel (Jub 1:15) was to be the era of sin, a memory to be obliterated from the annals. In other words, our author refuses to recognize the historical recitals of the former Prophets as legitimate records of Israel's response to God: it was vitiated by the total corruption of the people.

It is no mere coincidence that the second half of the divine discourse which predicts to Moses the eventual redemption of Israel at the end of time (Jub 1:15-18) echoes the introductory lines of the Damascus Document (CD 1:1-10). Neither is it coincidental that 11Q Torah contains several of the clauses found in Jubilees 1:15-18: "and they will be My people and I shall be theirs forever" (29:7); "and I shall dwell with them forever" (29:7-8); "when I shall create My sanctuary to establish it for Myself" (29:9-10); "and I shall be their God and they will be My people" (59:13).

Particularly significant is Jub 1:17-18, which is worth quoting in full: "I shall build My sanctuary in their midst and I shall dwell with them, I shall be their God and they will be My people in truth and righteousness. I shall not forsake them nor fail them, for I am the Lord, their God." In accord with our supposition, it makes sense to assume that the sanctuary mentioned in 1:17-18 and elsewhere in the Book of Jubilees refers to the sanctuary of 11Q Torah.

God's condemnation of historical Israel horrified Moses, and he was not mollified by the promise of an eschatological redemption. Jub 1:19-22 presents the Lawgiver's plea. Why wait until the end of time, Moses prays, why not create repentant hearts now, and let the redemption begin sooner? God responds to this plea in a negative fashion. Verse 22 repeats almost verbatim the words of Moses in Deut 31:27: "For I know your rebelliousness and your stubborn stiffneckedness . . ."; note Jub 1:22, "And the Lord said to Moses, 'I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness; they will not be obedient till they confess their sin and the sin of their fathers." In Jub 1:23, however, God quotes his own words of 11Q Torah 59:9-10: . . . *ʾaḥar yashuvu ʾelay bekol lebabemah ubekol naphshemah* . . . .

A close reading of the prologue and chapter 1 of Jubilees shows that the clauses which refer to the eschatological aeon are equivalent or closely related to the phrases which mention the building of the sanctuary and God's dwelling therein forever (1:17, 27-29). It is therefore not wrong to say that the construction of the sanctuary in Jerusalem is the main theme of the introductory chapter of Jubilees. In other words, according to the prologue and chapter 1 of the Book of Jubilees, the recounting of the past in Jubilees forms a prelude to the author's real intent; namely, to record the eschatolgoical age when God would dwell in the sanctuary forever. The Book of Jubilees as a whole serves as prologue to 11Q Torah.

One might argue that the sanctuary of Jubilees' introductory chapter does not necessarily refer to that one which is prescribed in 11Q Torah. Dillmann and Charles inferred that our author was referring (usually) to the sanctuary of the Second Temple. The close correspondence between 1:17, 25-27 and 11Q Torah 29 and 59 in addition to Deut 31:26-30 renders it likely that the sanctuary described is identical to the one portrayed in 11Q Torah. Yadin's argument that the sanctuary of the "Temple Scroll" was to be an ephemeral one that would be replaced by an eschatological sanctuary built by God himself is erroneous. It rests upon a misunderstanding of the *ʿad* contained in 11Q Torah 29:9 which means not "until" but "when." In short, the prologue and first chapter of Jubilees are an introduction to 11Q Torah.

The Sacrificial Rites in Jubilees

If our hypothesis is correct, the purpose of the Book of Jubilees was to establish a proper understanding of the "historical" events related in Genesis. Such a correct appreciation was not based only upon the aesthetic principles of embellishment or amplifica-

tion, but required close attention to the events themselves, for they were often replete with eschatological significance. A fresh reading of the Jubilean passages related to sacrificial and festive offerings will show once again that Jubilees-11Q Torah may have been intended as a single eschatological *Sefer Torah*.

Genesis 2:2-3 records that due to his resting on the seventh day, God blessed and sanctified the sabbath. What do the words *wayebarekh ʾelohim ʾet* . . . really mean? Jub 2:21-22 provides an answer: "And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days . . ." (Charles). That is to say, God blessed and sanctified the sabbath by introducing the sacrificial rites. This may have served to explain why sacrifices were permitted on a day otherwise set apart from other types of labor. The offerings serve to effect communion with God.

Jub 2:21-22 presents then, it seems, the respective roles of the sanctuary and its rites. The sanctuary's architecture is important because God dwells therein; the sacrificial meat, cereal and drink offerings are even more significant because they symbolize the celebratory eating and drinking together by God, the angels, and human beings. Thus Jub 2:21-22 presents us with an insight into 11Q Torah's lengthy accounts of the minutiae of the eschatological sanctuary and its cultus.

The Book of Jubilees goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the forefathers and patriarchs from Adam to Levi were not deprived of sacrificial rites. These ancestral altars and rituals serve as a kind of early model for the eschatological Temple. In the Book of Genesis only chapter 15 (which contains an account of the Abrahamic covenant) presents some insight into the nature of patriarchal sacrifice. By the time of the composition of Jubilees, however, Enoch had already assumed the role of a prototype of Elijah and Noah that of mankind's eschatological savior.

Chapter 6 of Jubilees presents two themes, both of which are polemical. The second theme (6:23-38) presents the Jubilean calendar, a subject that was clarified only with the discovery of the Qumran archives. The first theme combines a number of sub-topics—covenant at Mount Sinai, the prohibition of shedding blood, the disposal of blood, and God's covenant with Noah not to bring the Flood again—which all feature the importance of sacrifice. Jub 6:1-22 would seem central for the understanding of the Jubilean concept of sacrifice, and it is equally crucial for the understanding of sacrifice in 11Q Torah.

Jub 6:1-10 relates that Noah made sacrifice immediately upon exiting from the ark on the new moon of the third month. He first offered a *ḥaṭṭʾath* (sin offering) which consisted of a kid (*śaʿir*) to atone (*lekhapper*) for the guilt of the world (v. 2a). Next he brought an ox, a goat, a sheep, kids, salt, a turtledove and the young of a dove and made an *ʿolah* (burnt offering), mingling an offering with oil (*minḥah*) and sprinkling wine and incense over the whole. If the purpose of the sin offering was to atone for the guilt of the destroyed world, that of the burnt offering served to make a covenant with God. God promised not to destroy the world again, and that he would renew the seasons and grant man dominion over the animals of the world.

The acceptance of these offerings obligates Noah and his descendants to abstain from the shedding or consumption of blood. The sprinkling of the victim's blood upon the altar, therefore, is the only manipulation of blood that was acceptable to God; any other use of blood is an abomination. Indeed, the spilling of blood as the author of the Enochian Book of the Watchers tells us was responsible for the Flood and a repetition of such lawless behavior invites similar retribution.

To underscore this point Jub 6:11 links this covenant with the covenant at Sinai. The Israelites approached Mount Sinai in the third month after the exodus from Egypt. Noah emerged from the ark on the first day of the third month and built the altar on that same

day (Jub 6:1). The covenant at Sinai, also solemnized by a sacrifice, is thus connected with the eternal covenant against the shedding of human blood and the eating of flesh whose "life" remained therein (vv. 10-14). The Book of Jubilees presupposes and 11Q Torah alludes to Sinai, but nowhere save in this passage do these works explicate the meaning of the Sinaitic covenant. The daily offering, i.e., the *Tamid,* serves as a reminder against the consumption of blood (6:14). The sacrificial rites, according to Jub 6:15-16, serve as a sign that a destruction like that of the Flood would never occur again, thus connecting the rainbow with the altar.

The correspondence between the Noachitic and Sinaitic covenants leads to the Jubilean author's polemic against the Pharisees. Jub 6:17-22 introduces a discussion of the calendrical fallacies of "mainstream" Judaism. The Festival of Weeks had been observed in the heavenly realm since creation. Noah and the patriarchs (excepting the generations between Noah and Abraham) celebrated its proper date, but "in thy [i.e. Moses'] days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain." (Jub 6:19). These last words are apparently an indirect critique of Moses. Moses is faulted for not clarifying sufficiently to Israel the proper date for the Festival of Shabuoth. This criticism probably refers to the ambiguous phrasing of Lev. 23:15 (*mimmoḥorath haššabbath*) (on the morrow of the sabbath) and the calendrical disputes that this terminology engendered. In Jub 6:20-22, God commands Moses to instruct the people once again and to correct the previous interpretation by specifying "one day" (= day one = Sunday?), or that in other words, Shabuoth was to be celebrated on Sunday every year. These verses can only refer to the 11Q Torah, wherein the Festival of First Fruits occupies more lines than the remaining festivals put together. In fact, if Yadin is correct in his reconstruction, part of the designation provided by Jub 6:21 "for it is the feast of weeks (Shabuoth) and the feast of first-fruits (*ḥag habikkurim*)" is replicated in 11Q Torah 19:9: [*ḥag sha*]*vuʿoth hu' weḥag bikkurim lezikkaron leʿola*[*m*]. Verse 22 "for I have written in the book of the *first* law, in that which I have written for thee" must refer to the Pentateuchal passage already cited, and thus implies that Jubilees-11Q Torah constituted a *second* Torah. In brief, Jub 6:1-22, like the prologue and first chapter of Jubilees, presupposes that the Book of Jubilees served as an introduction to the eschatological Torah. Furthermore, the following polemical verses 23-38 which present the solar year of 364 days are thus intimately linked to the Noachitic and the Sinaitic covenants, establishing their centrality for sectarian doctrine.

The Jubilean writer next introduces a second Noachic sacrifice into the account of the cultivation of Noah's vineyard. Gen 9:20 reports no dates for the time of the planting and the ingathering of the wine, but this omission is supplied by the Aramaic fragments of the Genesis Apocryphon. Jub 7:1-6 expands this story further by presenting a linkage between the New Year's festival and a festival of new wine. Noah gathered the grapes during the seventh month of the fourth year after having planted them, but preserved the wine until the new moon of the first month of the fifth year. We are informed that on this date Noah celebrated the festival "with joy" (v. 3), and that he prepared an elaborate burnt offering plus a goat-kid for a sin offering. The Mosaic books mention no such festival day for new wine, but such a holiday is intricately described in 11Q Torah 19:11-21:10. The Jubilean author stresses that Noah prepared the sin offering prior to sacrificing the burnt offering. This is an enlightening comment. Both 11Q Torah and Nu 28-29 insist upon the offering of a goat-kid as a *ḥaṭṭ'ath*. Our author apparently reasoned that the atonement symbolized by the sin offering must precede the covenantal confirmation represented by the burnt offering. In contrast to Nu 28-29, wherein the sin offering, unlike the burnt offering, contained no cereal, oil, wine, or spice complements, Jub 7:4-5 stresses that *both* sacrifices alike receive the identical *minḥah*. The point that the sin offering receives the same accompanying *minḥah* as the burnt offering is not an incidental remark for it is repeated in other Jubilean sacrificial enumerations. 11Q Torah is the only other source that constantly reiterates the same point. Both Jubilees and 11Q Torah

thus implicitly critique the Pentateuchal ordinances relating to the sacrificial calendar. These two books seem to have been composed in such a way as to be mutually enlightening.

In the testament of Noah as recorded in Jub 7:20-39, Noah reviews his life, admonishing his children not to repeat the deeds of the Watchers and their progeny who had brought about the destruction of the earth. By and large these lines transform into moral teachings the events and regulations recorded in preceding chapters, giving special emphasis to the prohibitions against the shedding and consumption of blood. The writer also found space here to present additional details regarding the *ʿorlah*, or the status of the produce of fruit-bearing trees during their first five years. Although connected with the ambiguous words of Lev 19:23-24, Jub 7:35-37 seem to link up particularly well with 11Q Torah. In recounting its importance, the author mentions the first-fruits of both the wine and oil, a theme which assumes signal importance in 11Q Torah.

The preceding treatment of the Jubilean accounts of the sacrifices of Noah demonstrates how these passages illumine and are in turn illumined by 11Q Torah. Significant for our discussion is the discovery that these sacrificial passages were not mere incidental remarks about a subject that was dear to the author's heart. In fact, these scattered allusions to sectarian Torah within a narrative context suggest a more systematic purpose to the Book of Jubilees. The Book of Jubilees, it may be said with only minor hesitation, is a carefully planned, step-by-step treatise that foreshadows the major themes of 11Q Torah. These themes include the erection of an eschatological sanctuary, detailed accounts of the minutiae related to the altar and its offerings, priestly perquisites, tithings, and the rules of purity and sanctification. The author of Jubilees furthermore uses his amplification of Genesis to present rationalizations for the festive calendar, especially those features of the calendar that clash or diverge with the pattern of observance current in his time. For example, the Day of Atonement originated from the sexual aberrations of the fallen angels and the mourning exhibited by Jacob for the supposedly dead Joseph (Jub 5:17-18; 34:18-19). The festival for the new moon of the first month had begun as a thanksgiving offering for the new wine from Noah's vineyard. The celebration of the Feast of Weeks went back to Noah's covenant on Mount Lubar and to the Mosaic covenant of Mount Sinai. Abraham initiated the Feast of Tabernacles, a festival of joy celebrating the sanctification of Israel and its priestly officers. There are special attestations for feasts of first fruits, new wine, and new oil, and a possible allusion to a festival of wood for the altar, events which receive unparalleled attention in 11Q Torah. Perhaps the entire Book of Jubilees may be read as a rationalization for the existence of 11Q Torah.

This discussion by no means exhausts the correlative features of the two works. I should mention however one additional point; namely, the use of heptadal congruence in both the Book of Jubilees and in 11Q Torah. Septimal numerology is fundamental to virtually the whole of biblical tradition. But nowhere, save in the Aramaic New Jerusalem, is heptadal congruence as prominent as it is in these two writings. This applies in the Book of Jubilees not only to temporal reckonings, but to such matters as the listing of the number of sacrificial victims and even to the number of books that Jacob reportedly handed over to his son Levi. In 11Q Torah, the spatial dimensions of the eschatological sanctuary rest upon the principle of septimal congruence. Taken together, Jubilees and 11Q Torah create a symmetry between time and space.

Are Jub 46-50 and 11Q Torah a Contiguous Text?

The prologue and chapter 1 of Jubilees make sense as demonstrated above if these introductory sections had been intended to introduce 11Q Torah in addition to the Book of Jubilees. The question arises then as to how the ending of the Book of Jubilees relates to the beginning of 11Q Torah. I propose therefore to analyze the concluding chapters of

Jubilees in order to determine whether they shed light on the initial section of 11Q Torah.

The author of Jubilees begins his narration of the Exodus story in chapter 46. An analysis of the structure and content of the final five chapters of Jubilees reveals a key stylistic departure from the preceding narrative. Normally whenever special emphasis is intended the narrative is composed in the third person. Yet beginning in Jub 46:10, the narrator consistently utilizes the first person, addressing Moses directly. This mode of discourse continues both in the historical and the legal passages to the very end of Jubilees. This change of perspective cannot be explained solely by Moses' personal involvement in the recounted episodes. What explains this change of person?

The paraphrase of Exod 1-11 concluded in Jub 46-48 introduces another significant literary feature by assigning a prominent role to the machinations of the evil "prince Mastema." This figure does appear earlier in Jubilees in connection with the Noah and the Abraham stories, but he assumes a more active role in the Exodus narrative. He is the demonic figure who waylays Moses at the inn in an attempt to save Egypt from God's judgement and vengeance. He assists the Egyptian magicians in their confrontation with Moses, paradoxically executes the will of God by carrying out the tenth plague, and seeks to prevent the mighty act of God at the *Yam Suph*.

A third departure from earlier practice is the author's truncation or even omission of important narrative events, as for example the lack of any reference to the event of the burning bush. The author of Jubilees never missed an opportunity to record or even enlarge upon similar incidents encountered in the Book of Genesis.

A legal section begins with Jub 49:7: "And remember thou (Moses) this day all the days of thy life. . . ." Here the narrative begins to acquire a polemical cast. God warns Moses against altering the day or the month of Passover (7c-8), which is apparently a depreciation of the intercalation in the Judean calendar by which the month of Adar was inserted. Jub 49:14 repeats this admonition against the lunisolar calendar.

In fact, if I am not mistaken, it may be argued that the beginning of the legal section at 49:7 marks the proper beginning of 11Q Torah, since the preceding lines are concerned with historical recital, but verse 7 begins *torah* for the future. This recounting of the paschal ordinances serves to bridge the Book of Jubilees with the Torah for the End of Days. Jub 49:16 introduces prescriptions for the eschatological sanctuary: "And they shall not eat it (paschal lamb) outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord. . . ." The section Jub 49:16-21 provides the first direct reference to the sanctuary whose dimensions are given in 11Q Torah Columns 3 and following.

Between the passage which deals with the celebration of Passover in the eschatological sanctuary and the concluding pericope of Sabbath laws (50:6-13) occurs an interesting interlude that bridges these two subjects (49:22-50:5). In a detailed commentary on this passage that is to appear in a forthcoming volume of *HUCA* I argue that in these lines the Jubilean author revealed the chronomessianic date of the eschaton. If my interpretation is correct, the Jubilean datum of 2410 + 40 years for a total of 2450 years from creation until the first entry into Canaan was to be paralleled by an equivalent aeon of 2410 + 40 years from the tainted conquest of Joshua until the second entry into the land at the end of time.

The rules of the Sabbath provided by Jub 50:6-13 are inserted to replace similar ordinances of Exod 16:23ff. and 20:8-11 as is alluded to in 50:1 and 6. One must note that Jub 49:23-50:13 presents seven heptads, the most important of which is the Sabbath, since it is the numerical key to creation as well as to the eschatological aeon. The present conclusion of Jubilees with the laws for the Sabbath (50:6-13) makes little sense for a work so tightly organized. The author might better have concluded with Jub 50:5, which caps the revelation of the eschaton. As it is, this work seems to stop in mid-sentence. The supposition, however, that Jubilees and 11Q Torah originated as a single work resolves the enigma of the conclusion of the Book of Jubilees. The work did not end at

50:13, and its truncation resulted possibly from the enormous size of the entire scroll. The present division is scribal, not actual.

The scroll of 11Q Torah published by Yadin unfortunately does not contain the beginning of the composition. It might be hoped that the initial lines of the work will be recovered among the fragmentary remains of the still unpublished Qumranic archives. Meanwhile we have no recourse but to speculate how the Book of Jubilees and 11Q Torah were literarily connected, if indeed they were.

A primary problem with the beginning of 11Q Torah is archaeological. Yadin could not decide whether what he eventually labelled as column 2 was not in fact column 1. Until this problem is resolved it is impossible to estimate how much indeed has perished from the text. Yadin estimated that not more than one column was lost.

How do columns 2-3 of 11Q Torah relate (if they do) to Jub 49-50? As we have seen Jub 49:1-6 recounts how the Israelites celebrated Passover in Egypt; 49:7-21 lists the ordinances for Passover to be observed in the tabernacle and sanctuary of the Lord; and 49:22-50:5 provides an eschatological interlude which is capped by a recitation of Sabbath laws, among which is contained the observation that the Sabbath sacrificial offerings do not fall under the prohibited activities. Labor on the sabbath other than what is associated with the sanctuary is punishable by death. There follows an extensive lacuna.

Column 2 of 11Q Torah, as reconstructed and translated by Yadin, reads as follows: "[for it is a terrible thing that I] will do [with you]. [Behold, I will drive out before you] the A[morites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Girgashite]s, the Pe[rizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. Take] heed to yourself, lest you make a cove[nant with the inhabitants of the land whither you] go, lest they become a sn[are in the midst of you.] You shall tear down their [alta]rs, [and break their] pillars, [and] cut down their [Asherim, and burn] the graven images of [their] go[ds with fire.] You shall [n]ot covet silver and gold, le[st you be ensnared by it; for it is an abomination to me.] You shall [not] take of it, and you shall not bri[ng an abominable thing into your house and become] accursed like it; you shall utterly dete[st and abhor it; for] it is an accursed thing. And you shall worship no [other] go[d, for the Lord , whose name is Jealous], is a jealous God. Take heed, lest you make [a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and when they play the harlot] after [their go]ds [and] sacrifice to [their gods and invite you, you eat of their sacrifices, and] you t[ake of their daughters for your sons, and your daughters play the harlot after] their [gods] and ma[ke your sons play the harlot after] . . .". Exod 34:10-16 is the Biblical passage that records the renewal of the covenant with Israel and a condemnation of idolatry. The context of the passage as it appears in 11Q Torah links this covenant with the anticipated entry into Canaan. The thrust of this text is its prohibition against following the way of life attributed to the Canaanite peoples by advocating measures which our author adds from Deut 7:5, 25.

To better understand the meaning of column 2, one must consult Jub 1:5-14 where in a long discourse God condemns Israel's future (in fact *past*) abandonment of His covenant. After this uncompromising denunciation of Israel, God promises to make a new covenant with Israel in a renewed Zion and to erect a new sanctuary (1:15-18, 23-29). Column 2 of 11Q Torah hearkens back to this introduction: Israel shall not at the End of Days repeat the backsliding behavior of the earlier aeon. The covenant begins: [*hinneh anokhi koreth berith*] . . . Exod 34:10 [11Q Torah 2:1].

Following the eschatological covenant, 11Q Torah 3:3-4 resumes the main theme: . . . *mikko*]*l ʾoyebeykhah missi*[*ḥon melekh haʾemori umeʿog melekh habashan . . . weaśitah liy bayyi*]*th leśum shemi ʿalaw k*[. Line 4 reiterates wording familiar from both Jubilees and 11Q Torah: God promises to dwell in the newly erected sanctuary *k*[*ol hayamim*], whereupon the ordinances regarding the construction of the eschatological sanctuary follow.

The question remains the same whether one supposes that 11Q Torah originated as an independent work or that it formed a continuum with the Book of Jubilees: What preceded line 1 of column 2 of 11Q Torah? Yadin's conjecture that there existed a column

before column 2 is probably erroneous. By Yadin's own testimony no other sheet contained as many as five columns: seven had three, and ten had four columns. If there existed an actual column 1, it must have been either a very small sheet, or what is more likely, itself made up of 3 to 4 columns. It must therefore be supposed that there is no archaeological evidence for the existence of column 1. What Yadin labeled as column 2 ought to have been numbered as the first one of the scroll.

Nevertheless, it must be assumed that several lines (a maximum of about six or seven) are missing from the top of what Yadin numbered column 2. What was the content of these lines?

In *The Dawn of Qumran* it was conjectured that the perished column 1 plus the top of column 2 consisted of a recitation similar to that found in Jub 1 where God denies Moses' attempt to plead on behalf of the historical Israel. Jub 1:1 begins with God's command to Moses to ascend Mount Sinai, a line based upon Exod 34:2. It was assumed, therefore, that the missing portion of the beginning of 11Q Torah contained a paraphrase of Exod 34:2-10. This view no longer seems plausible. The archaeological evidence runs counter to the conjecture of a missing column at the beginning of the 11Q Torah. Two possible solutions exist as to the content of the top of column 2. Either the missing lines recount something about the covenant discussed in lines 1-15, or in fact, little or nothing is missing. If we assume the latter case, 11Q Torah actually started with the covenant recorded in Exod 34:10ff. Such a beginning fits well with the supposition of a literary continuum from the entry into Canaan promised in Jub 49:22-50:5. Jub 49:18-19 make it clear that upon Israel's entrance into the land the new sanctuary would be established, and 50:5 describes this event in metaphorical eschatological language. Column 3:3ff of 11Q Torah harmonizes with this agenda by beginning an account of this eschatological temple.

The supposition that Jubilees-11Q Torah constitute a single work also suggests a plausible reconstruction of 11Q Torah's conclusion. As it stands, 11Q Torah ends with a paraphrase of the incestual rules found in Deut 23. The last provision in 66:14-15 makes the marriage of one's niece an abomination. Column 66 ends in the middle of another prohibition and the same subject matter must have continued onto column 67. The scribe had ruled this column for transcription but left it blank. Yadin therefore supposes that column 67 was the final column of the work, and conjectured that approximately eight lines were missing from its top margin. In these lines the author would have continued the injunctions of the preceding section, and probably concluded with a peroration.

I am somewhat sceptical of Yadin's presumption that the ruled column 67 was the last of the manuscript. Since column 67 is part of a new sheet, it remains possible that 11Q Torah continued through this entire sheet, but that the scribe had ruled only the first column before he could complete his work.

The lost ending of 11Q Torah deprives us of the sectarian interpretation of important segments of Deuteronomic law. Following the prohibited marriages which form the last subject of column 66, there could have occurred other regulations stemming from Deut 23-26, such as the laws concerning nocturnal emission, the purity of the camp, prohibitions against usury, and agricultural considerations. One might also expect to find discussions of the rules for marriage and divorce and the levirate institution. It may be that some of these regulations had already been treated in this work among the relevant rules of purity. Other cases such as divorce and perhaps the levirate run contrary to the writer's ideology. Even if it be presumed that 11Q Torah treated only some of these subjects in column 67, it supports the contention that additional columns were required to present even some of the material in the same style exhibited by this work.

CD 5:1-5 seems to provide a clue as to how the sectarian Torah may have ended. "But David had not read in the book of the Torah that had been sealed, since it had not been unsealed since the days of Eleazer, Joshua, and the elders who had worshiped the idols. And he (Eleazer) hid the revealed (*'niglah*, i.e. *galuy*; cf. *hehathum*, *galuy* in Jer

32:11, 14) until the rise of Zakok." As I have shown elsewhere, this enigmatic passage is a periphrastic summary of Deut 31:26-30 wherein it is reported that Moses had placed a newly inscribed Torah on the side of the ark. According to CD 5:1-5, Moses sealed the Second Torah destined for the end of days into the ark so that it would remain there for "many days" (*yamim rabbim*, Jer 32:14). It seems unthinkable that the author of the Damascus Document would have invented such a tale of Moses hiding the Second Torah within the ark as a witness for the eschaton without having some support from 11Q Torah itself. If the author of 11Q Torah indeed did put forward such a claim, it seems possible, if not likely, that he did so at the very end of the work. In other words 11Q Torah, perhaps borrowing some of Jeremiah's terminology, concluded with God commanding Moses to transcribe a copy of this eschatological text embracing both the Book of Jubilees and 11Q Torah, and to place it into storage for the end of time.

I began this paper with two propositions: (1) 11Q Torah and Jubilees are similar but independent works; and (2) the two constitute a single composition of the sectarian *Sefer Torah* given to Moses for the end of days. Most of the paper deals with arguments in favor of the second proposition since the burden of proof rests with those who would argue that the Book of Jubilees, a paraphrase and amplification of the Book of Genesis, was in fact the first part of an eschatological Torah embracing the entire Pentateuch. I believe that a partial presentation of the evidence for this, also independently noted by Morton Smith, is probably valid. It would be difficult to deny that Jubilees and 11Q Torah resemble each other more closely than they resemble other known works, with the exception of the Mosaic Pentateuch. If further studies uphold the hypothesis for a single sectarian Torah stretching from Creation to the ending of Deuteronomy, the customary tendency to separate pseudepigraphical texts from the works found in the wilderness of Judaea is absolutely unsupportable.

The Sacrificial System of the *Temple Scroll* and the Book of Jubilees

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The Jewish legal materials in the Book of Jubilees, usually anachronistically termed *halakhah* for want of a better sobriquet, have long been the subject of scientific study. Attention was drawn to the problems raised by this material for the study of the history of Jewish law already in the early days of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Studies by such leading scholars as Z. Frankel,[1] A. Buechler,[2] Ch. Albeck[3] and L. Finkelstein[4] were devoted to this issue. With the discovery and publication of the *Zadokite Fragments* by S. Schechter[5] and their detailed analysis by L. Ginzberg,[6] even greater importance was accrued to the Book of Jubilees since it was explicitly mentioned in the new manuscript (CDC 16:3-4). The discovery of the Qumran scrolls, among them numerous fragments of Jubilees,[7] further heightened the need to place this pseudepigraphal text within the matrix of the sectarian trends of Second Commonwealth Judaism.

The recent publication of the *Temple Scroll*[8] has again raised significant questions regarding the place of the Book of Jubilees in the history of Jewish law. The provenance of this new scroll itself is a matter of debate, centering around the question of whether it is actually to be considered a part of the corpus of compositions of the sectarians of Qumran, identified by most scholars as the Essenes, or not.[9] If not, it is certainly to be seen as a text stemming from a group which the Qumran sect saw as related to itself in some way and perhaps as their spiritual ancestors. At any rate, the new scroll has in many places been found by its editor, the late Professor Yigael Yadin, to parallel the

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[1] "Wissenschaftliche Aussätze, Das Buch der Jubiläen," *MGWJ* (1856), pp. 311-16, 380-400.

[2] "Studies in the Book of Jubilees," *REJ* 82 (1926) 253-74; "Trace des idees des coutumes Hellenistiques," *REJ* 89 (1930) 321-48.

[3] *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (1930).

[4] "The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halaka," *HTR* 16 (1923) 39-61.

[5] *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. I, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: University Press, 1910).

[6] *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922); English translation, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976).

[7] See J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 18-101 for a detailed discussion of the published material.

[8] *Megillat Ha-Miqdash*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977); *The Temple Scroll*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983).

[9] See L. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 13-17, and my forthcoming review article on the Temple Scroll in Qumran research to appear in *BA*.

Book of Jubilees.[10] B. Z. Wacholder has gone so far as to suggest that the *Temple Scroll* was actually one of the sources which the author of Jubilees used as a "pillar" of his work. In order to support this claim, Wacholder surveys various parallels between the texts, some of which are in the realm of the Jewish legal tradition.[11]

Comparisons between the *Temple Scroll* and the book of Jubilees have thus far tended to episodic, with scholars noting some similarities here or there, but without a complete study of one topic as presented in both documents. Such a study, to be undertaken here for the festival sacrificial law of the two documents, would allow us to note not only places of agreement, but also those of disagreement. It must be stressed that the method of legal derivation is as important as the result. We shall have to look at how each document interpreted Scripture. We will want to know if a common exegetical tradition or method can be found in these works. Otherwise, we cannot be certain of their relationship. Our study will proceed in the order of the sacrificial calendar as outlined in the *Temple Scroll*. Finally, we shall attempt to reach general conclusions as to the relationship of the two texts at least as regards this one aspect of their legal material.

The festival sacrificial calendar of the *Temple Scroll* constitutes a distinct literary unit. TS 13:9 begins the section with the discussion of the daily sacrifice and it concludes with TS 29:2-10. The unitary structure of this sacrificial festival code has led A. Wilson and L. Wills to propose that this calendar existed even before the composition of the *Temple Scroll* and that it, like the collection of purity laws (TS 48:1-51:10) and the Torah of the king (TS 57-59) served as sources for the author of the Temple Scroll.[12]

To clarify matters, a table follows in which the widely scattered material in the Book of Jubilees[13] is correlated with the relevant passages from the *Temple Scroll:*

Daily Offering	TS 13:10-16	Jub 6:14
Sabbath Sacrifices	TS 13:17-14:02	Jub 50:10-11
New Month Sacrifice	TS 14:2-8	Jub 31:1-3
First Day of First Month	TS 14:9-15:2	Jub 6:23-29 Jub 7:2-5
Days of Ordination	TS 15:3-17:4	Jub 13:8-9 Jub 30:18 Jub 31:13-15 Jub 32:1-9
Passover Sacrifices	TS 17:6-16	Jub 49:1-23
Sacrifices on Bringing Omer	TS 18:1-10	

[10] Cf. the index of citations in *Temple Scroll* II, 478.

[11] *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 41-62.

[12] A. Wilson, L. Wills, "Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*, *HTR* 75 (1982) 275-88.

[13] Numeration and translation are according to R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), which is based on his edition, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Jubilees* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895).

First Fruits of Wheat	TS 18:10-19:9	Jub 6:17-22 Jub 15:1-2 Jub 16:13 Jub 14:19-20 Jub 22:1-6 Jub 32:12-14 Jub 44:4
New Wine	TS 19:11-21:10	Jub 7:36 Jub 32:12-14
New Oil	TS 21:12-23:2	Jub 7:36 Jub 32:12-14
Wood Offering	TS 23:1-25:1	Jub 21:12-14
Day of Remembrance	TS 25:2-10	Jub 6:23-29 Jub 12:16 Jub 31:3
Day of Atonement	TS 27:10-29:1	Jub 16:19-31 Jub 18:18
Sukkot and Shemini Atzeret		Jub 32:27-29

I. The Daily Offering

Jub 6:14 refers to the daily sacrifice, morning and evening, in connection with the covenant God made with Noah after the flood. The text is not explicit as to whether the offering is to be provided by the priests or paid for out of public funds, a matter of great controversy in Rabbinic accounts of the Boethusians (or Sadducees in some texts).[14] Nonetheless, verse 13 indicates that the commandment of daily sacrifice has been given to the Children of Israel. According to verse 14, "They shall observe it . . . that they may continue supplicating . . . that they may keep it." This emphasis on the collective obligation of Israel can only indicate that the author of Jubilees, like the Pharisees, required that the daily offerings be a communally discharged obligation provided by the people as a whole. No details of the sacrifice are given. Jubilees indicates that the sacrifices serve to "seek forgiveness on your (Noah's) behalf perpetually before the Lord," an idea for which no parallel can be found in the Bible.

TS 13:10-16 presents the laws of the daily sacrifice, based on Exod 29:38-42 and Num 28:3-8. It is impossible to tell because of a break in the text whether the author used the plural formulation of Numbers or the singular of Exodus. Some support for the notion that the author was of the opinion that the offerings could be contributed from private

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[14] B. Menaḥot 65a, Megillat Taʿanit 1:1 (ed. H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *HUCA* 8-9 [1931-32], 323). Cf. L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1966), I, 282-3; II, 710-16. The phrase "on your behalf" which appears twice in Jub 6:14 is a reflex of *ʿal nafshotekhem* in Lev 17:11, as noticed by Charles. In this case, it refers to Noah whose transgression (which takes place in Jub 7:6-9) is to be expiated eternally by Israel's daily sacrifice.

funds comes from the provision that the hide of the burnt offering may be kept by the priest who offers it. This prescription is based on Lev 7:8 which refers to a private burnt offering (*ʿolat ʾish*). If the priest is to keep the hide, then the animal must have been his personal contribution. If so, the author of the *Temple Scroll* agreed with the Boethusians (or Sadducees) on this question.[15] Jubilees, as was shown above, took the opposite position, that of the Pharisees, requiring that the offering come from public funds. Our two sources, then, are in fundamental disagreement regarding the nature of the daily sacrifice.

II. Sabbath Sacrifices

Jub 50:10-11, part of a passage dealing extensively with the laws of Sabbath observance, indicates that the only labor permitted on the Sabbath is the burning of frankincense, bringing oblations and sacrifices "for days and for Sabbaths."[16] Only this work, says the author, may be done in the sanctuary on the Sabbath, "that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day. . . ." Here again he emphasizes that the daily offering is for atonement and that it must be offered each and every day, including on the Sabbath. His repetitive tone seems to argue for a polemic with some other view to the effect that the daily offering was to be set aside in favor of the Sabbath sacrifice. Indeed, we have shown that such may be the view of the *Zadokite Fragments* (CDC 11:17-18).[17] No specifics regarding the offerings are mentioned. It can be assumed that the details of the offering are those of Num 28:9-10, the only prescription regarding the Sabbath offerings found in Scripture.

TS 13:17-14:02 is a paraphrase of Num 28:9-10. It seems to offer no clue as to the author's views on the problem of Sabbath sacrifices. Nevertheless, Yadin has suggested that the *Temple Scroll* assumes that no sacrifices other than those designated for the Sabbath may be offered on Saturday. For this reason, he concludes that the scroll does not count the Sabbath as part of the festival days. This principle is embodied as well in his reconstruction of the calendar of the scroll. He suggests that CDC 11:17-18 should be explained accordingly.[18] In his view, both daily sacrifices and the additional Sabbath offering would be permitted by both the *Zadokite Fragments* and by the *Temple Scroll*. Wacholder has suggested that the author of the *Temple Scroll* would have allowed festival offerings on the Sabbath and disputes Yadin's reconstruction of the calendar. In Wacholder's opinion, the *Temple Scroll* would have prohibited only the voluntary festival offerings of the type called by the tannaim *ḥagigah* and *shelamim*. Other festival offerings would have been permitted. Wacholder therefore concludes that all three texts, Jubilees, the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Temple Scroll* are in complete agreement.[19]

There can be no question that Jubilees permitted only *tamid* and Sabbath sacrifices. It seems that Yadin is correct in suggesting that the offering of the Sabbath was to be brought in addition to the daily sacrifices according to the *Temple Scroll*. On the other hand, Yadin and Wacholder have both harmonized the views of the *Zadokite Fragments*

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[15] Note, however, the use of the plural *taqrivu* in TS 13:17 which, as noted by Yadin, *Temple Scroll* II, ad loc., is the reading of the LXX.

[16] Referring to the daily *tamid* sacrifice and the Sabbath offering.

[17] L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 128-31. Matt 12:5 says that it is in the Law that the Sabbath may be profaned by the priests in the Temple.

[18] *Temple Scroll* I, 130-1.

[19] *Dawn*, 49f. Wacholder has completely misconstrued the view of Yadin who never maintained that the author of the *Temple Scroll* prohibited the *tamid* sacrifice on the Sabbath.

and the *Temple Scroll* where there is no evidence to require it. In fact, the *Temple Scroll* provides no information on the disposition of offerings other than to repeat the biblical material which itself gave rise to the problem in the first place. The most that can be said on this issue is that the *Temple Scroll* seems to agree here with the view of Jubilees, although definitive evidence is lacking.

III. The New Month Sacrifice

Jub 31:1, 3 mentions the new moon in the context of Jacob's sacrifice at Beth El on the new moon of the seventh month. Here, Jacob is depicted telling the members of his household to purify themselves and get ready to travel to Bethel where he will repay his debt to God (cf. Gen 35:2-4). This occurs on the new moon of the seventh month which is one of the four "new years" enumerated by the author of Jubilees. It is therefore impossible to know if the purification ritual described in verse 1 is intended for the new moons or if it is connected with the New Year festival of the seventh month.

For Jubilees, with its calendar of solar months, it is clear that the phrase "new moon" must be understood as the start of the new month. For those who accept Yadin's view that the *Temple Scroll* follows the same calendar,[20] a similar interpretation is necessary there as well.

TS 14:2-8 details the offerings for the new moon. Here the author has altered the language of the Pentateuch, rephrasing extensively the commands of Num 28:11-15 and Num 15:1-13. Yadin[21] explains that the author used Num 15 to allow him to enumerate the cereal and drink offering for each animal in turn, as opposed to mentioning all the cereal offerings first and then all the drink offerings, as is done in Num 28.

Actually, the author was attracted to Num 15 for much more important reasons. The amount of oil for the offerings is nowhere specified in Num 28, only that for the libation of wine. The author used Num 15 in which the very same animals appear with the same allocations of flour and wine to determine the amounts of oil since these are explicitly stated there. It was not the desire to reorder the material that directed the author of the *Temple Scroll* to this passage but rather the specification of the exact recipe for the oil of the cereal offering. When he shifted to this passage, the author ended up with its formulation and organization as well.

In any case, there is insufficient evidence on which to base any comparison of the texts. Jubilees may refer to purification for the new moon and the offering of sacrifices. The *Temple Scroll* presents a completely worked out ritual based on Pentateuchal sources.

IV. First Day of the First Month

As part of God's covenant with Noah, Noah is commanded in Jub 6:23-24 to observe days of remembrance on the new moons of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months. These days are the equinoxes and solstices on which the four quarters of the year begin, and, for the author of Jubilees, they memorialize important biblical events. The first of the first month is the day on which Noah was told to make the ark, and on which the earth became dry (verse 25). Jub 13:8-9 tells us that on this day Abraham built an altar and sacrificed a burnt offering.

Yadin has noted that according to Jub 7:2-3 Noah celebrated this day with joy,

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[20] *Temple Scroll* I, 116-119.

[21] I, 89. Yadin observes that the *Temple Scroll* took Num 28:11-15 as specifying the sacrifices for all new moons, not only for that of the first of Nisan (cf. Moses Gikatilla [11th century], quoted by Ibn Ezra to Num 28:11 and Exod 12:2).

making a burnt offering of a young ox and a ram, seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid to make atonement for himself and his sons. The kid was to be prepared first.[22] This, as shown by Yadin, conforms to the view held by both Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* that the sin offering must be offered and its blood sprinkled before the burnt offering takes place. Indeed, the *Temple Scroll* requires this order consistently in its sacrificial code. Yadin suggests that the author of the scroll learned from Lev 14-18 that all rites associated with the sin offering of the male goat must be completed before the rites of the burnt offering.[23] The number of animals to be sacrificed is the same as that listed in Num 29:1-7 for the first of the seventh month, known from later sources as Rosh Ha-Shanah. Jubilees assumed that the same offering would apply on the first of the first month as applied on the first of the seventh month, an analogy also made by the *Temple Scroll*, as we shall see below. It cannot be argued that this is a new moon offering, as Noah offers only one ox, and two are required in Num 28:11 for new moons. Basing himself on Numbers, the author of Jubilees lists the male goat for a sin offering last, but nevertheless, like our author, he specifies that Noah offered this animal first. From the description, it seems that he slaughtered it first, but then slaughtered and offered the other offerings on the altar before this one. The text states that he put some of the blood of this male goat on the flesh (of the other offerings?) which he had put upon the altar.[24] The fat of this sin offering he laid on the altar where he had already made the burnt offering. Oil was mingled with all the offerings and wine was poured out over the fire. Then incense was offered.

We cannot determine if Jubilees intended the same sacrifices to be made on the first of the fourth and tenth months as well. The sacrificial calendar of the *Temple Scroll* did not expect such sacrifices. Jub 27:19 relates that Jacob arrived at Bethel on this day, and Jub 28:14 identifies it as the birthday of Levi. According to an excerpt from the Testament of Levi, Kohath was also born on this day. Most importantly, as Yadin notes, this was the day on which the Tabernacle was to be erected (Exod 40:2, cf. Ezek 45:18, Ezra 7:9, 10:17, B. Shabbat 87b).[25]

TS 14:9-15:2 contains prescriptions regarding a sacrifice for the first day of the first month on which work is prohibited. The prohibition of labor is derived by analogy from Num 29:1 regarding the first day of the seventh month (Rosh Ha-Shanah). After an introduction based on Exod 12:2, the author uses the laws of the Day of Remembrance (Num 29:1-6), the first of the seventh month, to create the sacrificial ritual for this holiday.[26] He omits mention of *yom teruʿah*. This day of remembrance (Rosh Ha-Shanah) is itself mentioned in TS 25:2-10 (see below). The special reites for the first day of the first month are in addition to the regular sacrifices for the New Moon.

The author has filled in the amounts of oil, mentioned but not specified in Num 29, and wine, not mentioned at all, from Num 15 exactly as he had done for the new moon offerings. He obviously viewed that passage as one providing general instructions for the sacrificial offerings.

Jub 7:2-5 describes the sacrifices which Noah offered on the first day of the first month, after emerging from the ark. The most peculiar aspect of this day in Jubilees is that it serves for Noah as the start of the fifth year on which the newly harvested grapes were no longer to be forbidden as what the Rabbis termed *ʿorlah* and *kerem revaʿi*. To the tannaim, the cutoff date for this prohibition was earlier, in Shevat, either on the first

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[22] *Temple Scroll* I, 90.
[23] *Temple Scroll* I, 146-8.
[24] Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 21.
[25] *Temple Scroll* I, 90-91.
[26] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, I, 91.

or fifteenth.[27] For the author of Jubilees one had to wait until the first of Nisan. In the case of the fruit of the vine, the *Temple Scroll* established its own cutoff date, the feast of new wine. This festival, in the reconstructed calendar of Yadin, would have occurred on the third day of the fifth month. Only from then on would the drinking of that year's harvest of wine be permitted. This same date must have marked the end of the year for purposes of the laws of *ʿorlah* and *neṭaʿ revaʿi* as well.

It seems that Jubilees is not in agreement here in all respects with the *Temple Scroll*. Jubilees expects a series of four new years, while the *Temple Scroll* envisages only two. The date on which crops enter into the fifth year for secular use is not determined in the same way by both texts. There is agreement in using the sacrifices described by the Pentateuch for the first of the seventh month as a basis from which to derive those of the first of the first month by analogy. While these two texts share the notion that the he-goat must be slaughtered first, they differ in the procedure to be followed thereafter. The *Temple Scroll* requires that all rites associated with the goat be completed first, before slaughtering the other offerings. The Book of Jubilees requires only that slaughtering of the he-goat come first. Then the other offerings are slaughtered and offered on the altar. Only at the end of the ritual are the parts of the he-goat, the sin offering, actually offered on the altar.

V. Days of Ordination

The days of ordination, *milu'im* (Lev 8:33), are alluded to several times in Jubilees. Jub 30:18 mentions God's eternal covenant with the sons of Levi who have been chosen for the priesthood and Levitical service. Jub 31:13-15 again emphasizes the covenant of the Lord with the children of Levi. Jub 32:1-9 describes how Levi dreamt at Bethel that he was appointed as priest and that his sons would follow him. As Levi was the tenth son, and Jacob had vowed to give a tithe to God of all that he had (Gen 2:22), Jacob "clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands." Accordingly, on the fifteenth of this month, apparently the seventh month, on the festival of Sukkot (on which see below) Jacob (?) offered sacrifices, including "fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God." The strange numbers of offerings which in no way agree with Num 29:12-16, the offering for the holiday of Sukkot,[28] suggest that this represents some kind of a *millu'im* tradition. At the same time, this *millu'im* does not take place in Nisan as does that of the *Temple Scroll* but rather occurs in the month of Tishre.

TS 15:3-17:4 describes an annual ceremony for the investiture of the priests, patterned on the biblical *millu'im* ceremony. This observance is to occur in the first week of the first month. As an annual observance, such a rite is unparalleled in Jubilees.[29] The ceremony is intended to formalize the reappointment of all priests for the coming year. Added sacrifices must be offered if a new high priest (*ha-kohen ha-gadol*) has taken office. A special eighth day celebration concludes the ordination process. This portion of the scroll represents a harmonization of Exod 29 where the original ordination is com-

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[27] M. Rosh Ha-Shanah 1:1, T. Rosh Ha-Shanah 1:8, T. Sheviʿit 2:3.

[28] Cf. Charles, ad loc.

[29] It cannot be argued that the Jubilees ceremony is expected to be observed annually, since this book emphasizes the eternal, annual character of holiday after holiday. The omission of the requirement that this rite be repeated can only indicate that Jubilees saw this as an event in the life of Levi, repeated once by Moses when he invested the priests after erecting the Tabernacle.

manded and Lev 8 in which it is executed. Yadin suggests that the author derived the annual character of the ceremony from Lev 7:37 and Ezek 43:26.[30]

Rabbinic tradition provides two views on the dating of the investiture. The sages took the view that the eighth day of the investiture occurred on the first of Nisan (the first month),[31] although Rabbi Akiva dated it as in our scroll.[32] Ibn Ezra admitted that the literal meaning of the text would suggest that the ordination began on the first of Nisan.[33]

According to Exod 29:1, one bull and two rams are to be offered each day. In addition, a second bull should be offered daily as a sin offering. Lev 8:2 mentions the bull and two rams, and verse 14 discusses the second bull, the sin offering. The eighth day is described only in Lev 9 where the offering is a calf as a sin offering and a ram as a burnt offering. The offerings in Jubilees in no way accord with these biblical passages, although this exact scheme seems to be reflected in the *Temple Scroll*. Apparently, the scroll ruled that only one bull was to be offered if only regular priests were involved. If there was a new high priest, then two bulls were to be offered.[34]

The Book of Jubilees presents no evidence for a recurrent, regular ordination occasion, and Jubilees sees the original investiture as occurring in the fall, not the spring. Further, the number of animals offered in Jubilees does not accord with either the Pentateuch or its interpretation in the *Temple Scroll*. It must be concluded that there is simply no agreement at all between the Book of Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* regarding this particular set of sacrifices.

VI. Passover Sacrifices

Jub 49:1-23 contains a long discussion of the celebration of the festival of Passover.[35] Most of the material is a simple retelling of the contents of Exod 12. Jub 49:6 describes the observance of the first Passover, including the eating of the paschal lamb, drinking of wine, praising and blessing God, and giving thanks. This description certainly recalls a Passover celebration similar to that envisaged in Rabbinic literature, including the paschal sacrifice, the four cups of wine, the commandment to retell the story of the Exodus and the recitation of the Hallel Psalms.[36] Verse 10 explains the difficult *ben ha-arbayim*, literally, "between the evenings," of Exod 12:6:[37] The sacrifice is to be observed "from the third part of the day to the third part of the night" (cf. Jub 49:19). This ruling is explained in verses 11-12 as follows: The paschal sacrifice should be slaughtered in the last third of the fourteenth of Nisan and it is to be eaten in the first third of the night of the fifteenth. Since the festival occurs fairly close to the equinox, it would be fairly accurate to say that the sacrifice must take place between two o'clock

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[30] *Temple Scroll* I, 94-5, following J. Milgrom. On these rituals, cf. also J. Milgrom, "Further Studies in the Temple Scroll," *JQR* N.S. 71 (1980-1), 5-6.

[31] *Sifra'* Millu'im 1:36 (p. 42d). Cf. Palestinian Targum to Lev 9:1.

[32] *Sifre Be-Midbar* 68, p. 63. Cf. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 94 and n. 5.

[33] Commentary to Lev 9:1. The translation of Ibn Ezra's words in Yadin, 94 must be corrected. *Ha-ma'atiqim* in Ibn Ezra is not "the 'copyists'" but designates those who handed on the tradition, the Talmudic sages.

[34] Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 95-6.

[35] Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 12-15; Wacholder, 50-51, and J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover* (Oxford: University Press, 1963), 231-37. Segal argues that Jub 49 was not composed by the author of the rest of Jubilees.

[36] Cf. B. M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984), 19-20.

[37] New JPS translates: "at twilight."

and sunset (at six)[38] and the paschal lamb must be eaten between sunset (six) and ten o'clock in the evening. Thereafter it is considered *notar*, that which has been left over beyond the time in which it must be eaten, and must be burned.[39]

According to Jubilees, the Passover sacrifice must be eaten in the sanctuary, in the "court of the house which has been sanctified" (verses 16-20). Only those over the age of twenty are to eat the paschal lamb, and it may be limited to males (verse 17). This sacrifice may not be made in any other cities, only at the tabernacle or at the Temple. In verse 22 there begins the command of the festival of unleavened bread (cf. Lev 23:6). It is to be a seven day festival. Each day an "oblation" is to be brought (verse 22).

TS 17:6-16 describes the Passover celebrations. The *Temple Scroll* requires that the paschal offering be sacrificed before the evening sacrifice (*minḥat ha-ʿerev*). This is in opposition to tannaitic *halakhah* which requires that the *minḥah* be offered before the paschal lamb.[40] On this matter, the *Temple Scroll* and Jubilees may agree since Jubilees requires the offering in the last third of the day, i.e. after 2:00 P.M., and we know that the *minḥah* was normally offered at about 3:30. On the other hand, it is possible that Jubilees, like the tannaitic tradition, expected that in order to accommodate the paschal offering, the daily *tamid* sacrifice was offered early on the fourteenth of Nisan.

Like the Book of Jubilees, the *Temple Scroll* requires that the lamb be eaten only by those above twenty. Yadin suggests that this ruling is based on the interpretation of Exod 30:14, and Num 1:2-3, as well as Exod 12:6.[41]

There is a major difference in regard to the time of eating of the paschal lamb. Jubilees requires that the offering be eaten by 10:00 P.M., the end of a third of the night. Although the Torah allowed the paschal sacrifice to be eaten until the morning, the tannaim required that it be eaten before midnight,[42] "in order to separate man from the possibility of transgression."[43] The *Temple Scroll* allows it to be eaten all night, or at least, no mention is made of any other ruling.

The *Temple Scroll* and the Book of Jubilees agree that the paschal lamb must be eaten within the Temple precincts. Yadin suggests Deut 16:7 as the source of this law and notes that the Karaites agree. The tannaim, on the other hand, allow it to be eaten anywhere in Jerusalem.[44] Both texts echo Lev 23:6-8 in describing the ensuing festival as a seven day feast of unleavened bread. Sacrifices are to be offered on each day according

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[38]Cf. Deut 16:6 according to which the sacrifice is to take place "at sundown" (New JPS). Josephus, *War* VI, ix, 3 (423) and *Ant.* XIV, iv, 3 (65) says that the sacrifice was offered between the ninth and eleventh hours, from 3:00 to 6:00 P.M.

[39]Cf. Exod 12:10.

[40]M. Pesaḥim 5:1, cf. Ch. Albeck, *Mishnah. Seder Moʿed* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1954), 138f. (Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 97 and n. 7).

[41]Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 97. Cf. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 55-60, 63-65.

[42]M. Zevaḥim 5:8, M. Pesaḥim 10:9, cited by Yadin, 98.

[43]M. Berakhot 1:1. This Mishnah also includes the view of Rabbi Eliezer that the evening *Shemaʿ* may be read up to the end of the first watch. T. Berakhot 1:1 cites the view of Rabbi [Judah the Prince] that there are four watches in the night, and that of Rabbi Nathan that there are three. L. Ginzberg, *Perushim We-Ḥiddushim Bi-Yerushalmi* I (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1941), 57-8 has proven unquestionably that Rabbi Nathan's view is historically correct. If so, the end of the time for reading the evening *Shemaʿ* according to Rabbi Eliezer is ten o'clock, the very same time cited by Jubilees as the end of the period for eating the paschal lamb. Apparently, both Jubilees and Rabbi Eliezer shared the view that commandments to be done at night were to be completed by ten o'clock.

[44]M. Zevaḥim 5:8; Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 98.

to both works. The extensive ceremony for the Omer festival mentioned in TS 18:1-10 has no equivalent whatsoever in the Book of Jubilees.

The case of the Passover celebration affords an example of an area in which some significant prescriptions of Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* are in complete agreement. Nevertheless, there are still some matters upon which they offer different opinions.

VII. The Festivals of First Fruits

The observance of the festival of weeks and first fruits, termed *Shavuot* in the Rabbinic tradition, is mentioned as part of the covenant of God with Noah in Jub 6:17-22. Verse 22 explicitly mentions sacrifices although no details are given.[45] Jub 15:1-2 describes Abraham as having celebrated the festival of the first fruits of the grain, "in the third month in the middle of the month."[46] He is described as bringing "new offerings . . . the first-fruits of the produce" to the altar, as well as a heifer, a goat and a sheep as burnt offerings, "fruit-offerings," and drink offerings, which he offered with frankincense. These, as noted by Charles, are not the offerings prescribed in Lev 23:18-20.[47] Jub 16:13 dates the birth of Isaac to this same festival. The celebration of this festival by Abraham, together with Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob at Beersheva is the subject of Jub 22:1-6. Isaac offered a burnt offering which he "presented" on the altar (verse 3). He offered a thank-offering (a Todah sacrifice) as well as a "feast of joy."[48] Rebecca made "new cakes from the new grain" from the first fruits of the land. Isaac also offered a thank-offering and Abraham ate and drank, presumably in celebration of the festival. Indeed, he entered into a covenant with God on this very day according to Jub 14:19-20.[49]

Jub 32 describes Levi's dream of ordination at the hands of his father Jacob. It is followed by a survey of the obligation of tithing.[50] In addition to the grain ("seed" in Charles' translation), this passage mentions the season of the wine and the season of the oil (verse 12). It is tempting to see in these occasions the festivals of new wine and oil mentioned in the *Temple Scroll*. Yet Jubilees, like the tannaim, may have mentioned these seasons as cutoff dates for tithing purposes, rather than as festivals to be celebrated. After these dates, this produce was considered as belonging to the last year and could not be utilized to tithe this year's produce.[51] Jubilees prohibits tithes from being eaten that are not brought in the appropriate year. During the famine in Canaan, Jacob, according to Jub 44:4, had to celebrate the harvest festival of the "the first-fruits with old grain."[52] This account clearly refers to Shavuot.

The festival calendar of the *Temple Scroll* includes a series of four festivals of first fruits, to be held at fifty day intervals.[53] The first is that of barley (TS 18:1-10), imme-

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[45]Jub 6:1-4 describes a sacrifice which Noah made on the first of the third month after emerging from the ark to "make atonement for the earth." Since this does not agree with Jubilees date for the festival in the middle of the month, we assume that the author does not intend this as a reference to the festival of Shavuot.

[46]Cf. M. Weinfeld, "Pentecost as a Festival of the Giving of the Law," *Immanuel* 8 (1978), 11-12.

[47]Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 21.

[48]This is probably what the Rabbis termed *shaleme simḥah* (B. Ḥagigah 7b).

[49]Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 15-16.

[50]On the second tithe, cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 30-32; Finkelstein, "Book of Jubilees," 52-53.

[51]See above, n. 27.

[52]Cf. Finkelstein, 51.

[53]On the details of these festivals, cf. Milgrom, 6-17.

diately after Passover. Then come the festivals of wheat (TS 18:10-19:9), wine (TS 19:11-21:10) and oil (TS 21:12-23:2). Yadin has argued that this scheme fits the calendar known from the Dead Sea Sect,[54] while B. A. Levine has maintained that the festival cycle of the *Temple Scroll* need not presume the sectarian calendar.[55] The scroll presents detailed sacrificial rites for each of these festivals of first fruits while at the same time mentioning various general prescriptions regarding sacrifice which must have been applicable to other sacrifices as well.

The offering of the first fruits of wine and oil on the altar is mentioned in Jub 7:36 in the context of the laws of Lev 16:23-25 prohibiting the consumption of the harvest of the first three years of fruit trees (*ʿorlah*) and its offering in the fourth (termed by the Rabbis *neṭaʿ revaʿi*).[56] No mention is made of any festivals, although the offerings may have been at the times designated in the *Temple Scroll*. No allusion to such a sequence of fifty day intervals is found in Jubilees, either. Unlike tannaitic tradition, there is no special new year period for the trees to provide cutoff dates for the application of this law. The laws of *ʿorlah* are applied here to the olive tree and grape vine. They are to end their third year and enter the fourth according to their harvest seasons.[57]

Comparison of the material in Jubilees with that of the *Temple Scroll* regarding this series of harvest festivals leaves one greatly in doubt as to any relationship. The Book of Jubilees mentions the festival of Shavuot, the season of the first fruits of grain (wheat), several times. This festival is emphasized over and over, and the author makes it very clear that this festival, in his view, is to occur in the middle of the month. He clearly starts the count of fifty days after the completion of the entire festival of Passover.[58] Whereas there is some mention of the harvest seasons of wine and oil, it comes only in the context of the laws of tithing, *ʿorlah* and *neṭaʿ revaʿi*. No festivals or attendant sacrificial offerings are mentioned. There is, therefore, no real similarity between the laws of Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* in regard to the sequence of festivals of first fruits.

On the other hand, analysis of the description of what the Rabbis termed the second tithe in the *Temple Scroll* does indicate close parallels with the Book of Jubilees. TS 43:1-17 provides that the festivals of first fruits of wheat, wine and oil serve as cutoff dates for the second tithe, that which was to be eaten in Jerusalem. Yadin has therefore suggested that the Book of Jubilees assumes the same system of festivals mentioned in the *Temple Scroll*.[59] An alternative explanation is also possible. It may be that for Jubilees the harvest times served merely as cutoff dates, and the author of the *Temple Scroll*, or the traditions from which he drew, concocted the festivals and their offerings himself, basing them on earlier sources such as Jubilees which had already made the association of the tithes and the harvest seasons.

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[54] *Temple Scroll* I, 116-119, supported by J. Milgrom, "'Sabbath' and 'Temple City' in the Temple Scroll," *BASOR* 232 (1978), 25-26.

[55] "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978), 7-11, followed by Wacholder, *Dawn*, 53-5.

[56] Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 32-33.

[57] The law of *neṭaʿ revaʿi* is found in TS 60:3-4. There it is ruled that it is to be allotted to the priests, whereas in tannaitic law it is to be eaten by the owners in Jerusalem like the second tithe (Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 162-3, cf. Wacholder, 52).

[58] Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 16-17. Cf. B. Noach, "The Day of Pentecost in Jubilees, Qumran, and Acts," *ASTI* 1 (1962), 73-95.

[59] Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 114-15.

VIII. The Wood Offering

Jub 21 contains various regulations regarding the sacrificial system. Among them is a discussion of the wood for the sacrifices. Verse 12 specifies the types of wood which may be placed on the altar. Further, split or dark wood, wood that is not clean, and old wood (which has lost its fragrance) may not be used in the sacrificial offerings.

It is difficult to compare this material with the laws in TS 23:1-25:1 dealing with the wood offering festival since the two texts seem to be dealing with totally different matters. This complex six-day festival involved multiple offerings, two tribes offering their sacrifices each day. Each tribe brought a male goat for a sin offering, one bull, one ram and one sheep.[60] No mention is made here of the requirements of the specific types of wood or any other regulations. Instead we have a picture of a festival, to be contrasted with the tannaitic references to such wood offerings which occurred at various times throughout the year.[61] Yadin suggests that according to the *Temple Scroll* this festival was to occur between the 23rd and 31st of the sixth month, for six days, skipping the Sabbath.

IX. The Day of Remembrance

The festival called Rosh Ha-Shanah in the Rabbinic tradition is mentioned several times in the Book of Jubilees. The new moons of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months are described by Jubilees as days of remembrance. These are "the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year," the solstices and equinoxes according to the solar calendar propounded by Jubilees. In the days of Noah, the abysses of the depths were opened, and the rain began to fall on the new moon of the seventh month (Jub 6:26).[62]

Jub 12:16 states that on the night of the new moon of the seventh month Abraham received a vision in which he was shown the stars (cf. Gen 15:5) and in which he entered into a covenant with God. No mention of days of remembrance appears here. On this same day, Jub 31:3 informs us, Jacob went to Bethel where he built an altar. No details of the offering are given, nor are the days of remembrance mentioned.

The picture is very different in the *Temple Scroll*. TS 25:2-10 describes this holiday on the first of the seventh month. The day is referred to by the biblical phrase *zikhron teruʿah*, "commemorated with loud blasts,"[63] not as a day of remembrance. This passage is based on Lev 23:23-25 and Num 29:1-6, except that the author of the *Temple Scroll* made clear that the morning *tamid* would precede the offering of the new moon (cf. Num 29:6). The sacrifices to be offered on this holiday are: the morning *tamid* offering, the additional offering for the new month, the additional offering for this festival, and the evening *tamid* offering.[64] The special offering for this holy day is to be brought at a third of the day, at 9:00 A.M. As in the Bible, this is to be a day of abstention from labor. Extremely interesting is the emphasis on the commandment, not found in the biblical passages which the author took as his basis, to rejoice on this day. Rejoicing was not characteristic ofthis holy day in the Rabbinc tradition.

There are significant differences between this festival as outlined in Jubilees and the

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[60]Cf. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 127. The assumptions of agreement between Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* made by Wacholder, 53, are unsupported by the evidence.

[61]M. Taʿanit 4:4-5, T. Bikkurim 2:9, cf. Neh 10:35, 13:31.

[62]Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 19.

[63]So new JPS to Lev 23:24. Yadin translates, "proclaimed with blast of trumpets" in TS 25:3.

[64]Yadin to TS 25:7.

Temple Scroll. For Jubilees, it is one of four equally important days. The *Temple Scroll* only knows of two such days, the other being the first day of the first month which was discussed above. This day is not termed a day of remembrance or anything similar in the *Temple Scroll*. It is designated as *rosh ḥodashim*, the beginning of months," in TS 14:9, following Exod 12:2. Further, in regard to the first of the seventh month, the *Temple Scroll* follows the biblical precedent exactly, adding only the specific order of offerings and the requirement to rejoice. The Jubilees account ties the series of days of remembrance to the solar calendar, a matter not raised at all in the *Temple Scroll*. Again, while some similarity exists, it is apparent that the author of Jubilees and that of the *Temple Scroll* diverge in important details on this festival.

X. Day of Atonement

Jub. 34:12-19 deals with the Day of Atonement and associates it with the day on which the brothers of Joseph killed a kid and dipped the coat of many colors into its blood. Jacob and the members of his household mourned all that might and the following day. This clearly represents an exegesis of the biblical phrase *me-ᶜerev ᶜad ᶜerev*, "from evening to evening" (Lev 23:32). Jubilees says that for this reason it was decreed that on the tenth day of the seventh month the children of Israel would make atonement for their sins with a young goat, that they "should grieve thereon for their sins," transgressions and errors, "so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year."[65]

A long passage in TS 25:10-27:10 spells out the ritual for the Day of Atonement. The biblical sources are drawn from Lev 23:26-32, Num 29:7-11 and Lev 16. The *Temple Scroll* emphasizes that this is a day of abstention from labor and that "you shall afflict yourselves." Further, it is a remembrance (*zikkaron*, 27:5). The biblical passages do not explain in what manner the affliction is to take place. Tannaitic tradition decided that the Torah had explicitly referred to eating and drinking, and, therefore, these were punishable by excision (*karet*). The restrictions on sexual intercourse, anointing, wearing leather shoes, and bathing were not referred to explicitly and, therefore, did not result in this severe penalty.[66] Our text from the *Temple Scroll* gives no specifics, nor does Jubilees. At the same time, texts from the sectarian corpus at Qumran and other contemporary materials make clear that the Day of Atonement was a day of fasting.[67] It is most logical, in light of this evidence and the tannaitic views, to take the *Temple Scroll* as requiring abstention from eating and drinking on this day.

The detailed description of the rituals of the day in the scroll included the various special offerings, a bull, a ram, and seven male lambs, as well as a male goat for a sin offering. Two rams are to be offered as burnt offerings, one for the high priest and "his

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[65]Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 18-19.

[66]B. Yomaᵓ 74a-b (and D. Halivni, *Meqorot U-Mesorot, Seder Moᶜed* Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1974/5 , ad loc.), P. Yomaᵓ 8:1 (44b). Contrast the formulation in M. Yomaᵓ 8:1 and T. Kippurim 4(5):1 which does not seem to know of this distinction.

[67]In DSH 11:4-8 *qeṣ moᶜed menuḥat yom ha-kippurim* is paralleled by *yom ṣom shabbat menuḥatam*, both designating the Day of Atonement. CDC 6:19 *yom ha-taᶜanit* must be taken as referring to this holy day as well. Josephus (*Ant.* XVII, vi, 4 [165-166]) and Philo (*Special Laws* II, 193) identify this day as a fast and Acts 27:9 calls it "the fast." Cf. W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habbakuk* (Scholars Press: Missoula, Montana, 1979), 188-89, and N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962), 163-97. The *Temple Scroll*'s use of the *hitpaᶜel* of ᶜnh where the Bible uses the *puᶜal* requires explanation. Can it be that this usage itself indicates the meaning "fast?"

father's house," and one for the people. The text also describes the drawing of lots, the sacrificing of the goat whose lot fell to God, the sending of the goat to Azazel, the recitation of the confession, and the offering of the bull, ram and seven male lambs.[68] This detailed ritual contrasts sharply with the Jubilees account which alludes only to the slaughter of a kid (goat) which is described only because of its relevance to the Joseph story. Jubilees emphasizes grieving, whereas to the *Temple Scroll* this is a day of remembrance and self-affliction. Nonetheless, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from the different portrayals of this day in these two sources. The narrative of the Book of Jubilees, a partial account, did not spell out all the details which were appropriate in the context of the *Temple Scroll*.

XI. Sukkot and Shemimi Atzeret

The festival of Sukkot (Tabernacles) is observed by Abraham in Jub 16:19-31 for seven days near an altar. Abraham built booths for himself and his servants to celebrate the festival. Each day he brought a burnt offering of two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, and one he-goat for a sin offering, "that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed." Further, he brought a thank offering, consisting of seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, seven he-goats, and their cereal and drink offerings. The fat was burned on the altar, and incense composed of seven specific spices was burned morning and evening. He rejoiced, along with his household, and blessed God. No non-Jew or uncircumcised person was allowed to participate. It was therefore ordained that this festival be observed and that Israel dwell in booths, "set wreaths upon their heads," and take leafy boughs and willows of the brook. Indeed, Abraham took palm branches, and "the fruit of goodly trees" and every day circled the altar seven times in the morning, praising and giving thanks to God. Jub 18:18 probably refers to Abraham's annual celebration of this festival.

Several aspects of this detailed description need to be examined. The author of Jubilees derived a number of laws by analogy from the Passover sacrifice as described in Exod 12:43-44: Abraham's servants must dwell in the booths since they have been circumcised and are what the tannaim called the "Canaanite slave," the servant in the process of conversion.[69] Non-Jews or uncircumcised Jews, by the same analogy, are forbidden from partaking in this ritual.

The offerings enumerated here do not accord with the Pentateuchal commands. Each day Abraham sacrificed two bulls as part of the burnt offering. Num 29:13-33 commanded that thirteen bulls be offered the first day, twelve the second, and so on, with seven being offered on the seventh and final day of the sequence. The two rams are in accord with Num 29:13-33, although this passage commands the offering of fourteen sheep daily, not the seven of Jubilees. The one he-goat as a sin offering is prescribed as well in Num 29:13-33. The thank-offering which Abraham made is equivalent in number and variety of animals to a sacrifice of Hezekiah in 2 Chron 29:21 although there it is described as a sin offering.[70]

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[68]Cf. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 134. Tannaitic sources refer to a dispute among the tannaim as to whether a total of two or three rams are to be offered (*Sifra*ʾ ʾAḥare Mot, Parashah 2:2 [ed. I. H. Weiss, Vienna: J. Schlossberg, 1861/2, p. 80d], B. Yomaʾ 3a and 70b). Rabbinic *halakhah* decided that two would be offered. The *Temple Scroll*, like Philo and Josephus and one of the tannaitic views, declared that three rams were to be offered, seeing that of Num 29 as a separate ram. For detailed discussion, see Yadin, 132-34.

[69]Cf. L. H. Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish Christian Schism* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1985), 36-37.

[70]Charles to Jub 16:22-23. Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 21. Albeck notes the absence from

The wreaths which Israel is commanded to set upon their heads are clearly an anomaly.[71] The Book of Jubilees clearly expects the taking of the Lulav (palm branch) and Etrog (citron), as well as the willow. The "leafy boughs" are probably the myrtle which was also required according to the traditional Jewish understanding of Lev 23:40 reflected in tannaitic sources.[72] The ceremony of encircling the altar on each day of the festival known from tannaitic tradition is also mentioned here.[73]

Jub 32:27-29 deals with the added eighth day, known in Rabbinic terminology as Shemini Atzeret, the eighth day of solemn assembly.[74] Jubilees says that this day was first celebrated by Jacob. "He sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days," i.e. on Sukkot. This is not in agreement with Num 29:35-30:1 which prescribes for this festival a burnt offering of one bull, one ram, seven lambs and a goat for a sin offering. Jub 32:27 refers to Sukkot as "the feast" just as the tannaim referred to it as *he-ḥag*, "the festival" par excellence.[75]

The festival of Sukkot appears several times in the *Temple Scroll*. It is mentioned as part of the sacrificial calendar of the holidays in TS 27:10-29:1. This passage lists the sacrifices for each day, following Num 29:13-33. After enumerating the sacrifices of the seven days of the festival, the scroll turns to the added day, Shemini Atzeret. Here again, the biblical requirements of Num 29:35-30:1 are followed exactly. It should be noted that the formulation of TS 27:10 has been influenced by some Pentateuchal passages dealing with Passover.[76] Here, as elsewhere, the *Temple Scroll* changes the order of the verses to indicate the requirement that cereal and drink offerings accompany the goat offered as a sin offering.[77]

In the case of the holiday of Sukkot, there are significant differences between the two sources in regard to the number and kinds of animals to be sacrificed. Whereas the *Temple Scroll* carefully follows Scriptural legislation, Jubilees has diverged greatly. Also, the *Temple Scroll* makes no mention of the use of the Lulav, Etrog, willow and myrtle. In fact, it is even possible that such rituals were not followed by the author of the *Temple Scroll*, just as the early Karaites rejected them and interpreted the biblical references as dealing with the Sukkah ("booth").

The festival of Sukkot is mentioned elsewhere in the *Temple Scroll*. TS 11:13, an extremely fragmentary passage which enumerates the festivals, mentions Sukkot. There it is termed *ḥag* (partly restored). As Yadin noter,[78] the use of Atzeret as a term for the eighth day in the same line is significant, since this designation usually signifies Shavuot in Talmudic usage. More important is the intimate connection which the scroll assumes between the extra eighth day and the seven days of Sukkot. TS 42:10-17 provides that structures to support the Sukkot be erected in the Temple. These Sukkot are to be used by the elders, princes, heads of households of Israel, and the captains of thousands and hundreds who are to sit there until the burnt offering of the festival has been offered.

Jubilees of the water drawing ceremony described in tannaitic sources (M. Sukkah 4:9-10, T. Sukkah 4:1-5, 7-10; cf. *Ant.* XIII, xiii, 5 [372]). No mention of it appears in the *Temple Scroll*. Indeed, it has no biblical basis. Cf. Finkelstein, *Pharisees* I, 102-115; II, 700-708.

[71] Charles to Jub 16:30 cites various mentions of wreaths in Jewish sources, but none of these is sufficient to explain our passage. The most likely solution is that this is a reflection of the Hellenistic environment in which Jubilees was composed.

[72] M. Sukkah 3:4.

[73] M. Sukkah 4:5-6. Cf. Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 17-18.

[74] This name is adapted from Num 29:35, *ba-yom ha-shemini ʿaṣeret tehiyeh lakhem*.

[75] M. Sukkah 4:2, 4, etc.

[76] Yadin, *Temple Scroll* II, ad loc.

[77] Yadin I, 135.

[78] *Temple Scroll*, I, 135.

These officials would fulfill the commandment of sitting in the Sukkah in the Temple precincts during the sacrifices. According to Neh 8:16 (cf. Ezra 3:4) Sukkot were built in the Temple. What is new in the *Temple Scroll* is the idea that the representatives of the people are to fulfill this commandment in the Temple, serving as agents of the people. TS 44:6-7 mentions these booths in passing.

This area of ritual again leaves us wondering about the relationship of these documents. The sacrificial scheme of Jubilees is anomalous and certainly does not agree with that of the *Temple Scroll* which seeks to follow the Torah as we know it. The *Temple Scroll* makes no mention of the Lulav, Etrog, willow and myrtle so prominent in Jubilees. This leaves us uncertain about whether these rituals were envisaged by the author of the *Temple Scroll*. Like the later karaites, and perhaps the author of Ezra and Nehemiah, he may have seen the biblical allusion to these branches as referring to the Sukkah. After all, he gives great prominence to the requirement of booths. The provision of the *Temple Scroll* that booths must be built in the Temple itself has no parallel in the book of Jubilees. On the other hand, Jubilees only, apparently by analogy to Passover, requires servants to sit in the Sukkah, and prohibits non-Jews and uncircumcised Jews from participating in the festival and from sitting in the Sukkah. Both texts do share the accent on Atzeret as the last day, and a similar view about the connection of the eighth day to the first seven, an idea apparently derived from the interpretation of Scripture. While we could harmonize the views of these texts, the truth is that we have no way of knowing if the omissions were purposeful, even polemical, or only the result of the differing emphases of the texts. It should be noted that the *Temple Scroll* requires that the booths be built each year anew, a ruling even stricter than that of the tannaim.[79]

TS 29:2-10 constitutes a conclusion to the entire ritual calendar section. This passage has been the subject of much debate. Suffice it to say here that it explicitly indicates that the laws reviewed in this study constitute a pre-Messianic ritual to be enacted in the Temple until such time as the Messianic era brings a new, divinely created Temple. The laws of the *Temple Scroll* are not Messianic.[80] The claim that the *Temple Scroll* presents a Messianic code of sacrificial law cannot provide an explanation for the divergences between Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll*. Both legislate for the present age. Disagreements between these two texts cannot be thus written off.

Conclusion

This study has investigated the festival sacrificial laws of the Book of Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* in an attempt to compare the two closely. We have found some cases of agreement, and some of absolute disagreement. In many areas, there is substantial incongruity between these two sources; that which is important to one source is simply not treated in the other. Some of these cases no doubt result from the differing emphases of the two documents. Jubilees is rewritten Torah, attempting to retell the patriarchal narratives so as to attribute to them adherence to the author's particular views on questions of Jewish law and a particular calendric system. The *Temple Scroll* presents a code of practice for a pre-Messianic Temple which its author hoped to see built and which he expected would function according to his code. At the same time, many of these incongruities probably represent differences in opinion or at least in emphasis. The cases of complete agreement testify to common traditions in some areas, and in others result from common exegetical techniques applied to the very same biblical texts.

Indeed, the Judaism of the Second Commonwealth period was one of variegated sects

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[79]See Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I, 135.

[80]Contrast Wacholder, *Dawn*, 21-30. We cannot accept his translation of *ʿad* as "during."

and ideologies. That there was some relationship between these two texts is apparent from their inclusion in the library of the Qumran community. We see these two texts as derived from outside the community, perhaps from its antecedents. The sect would have read and studied these materials precisely because of the affinities they shared with its own beliefs and principles. The Book of Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* constitute part of the world from which the Qumran sect emerged and in which it strove to attain its own spiritual ideals. Each of these texts represents an independent view of the festival sacrificial cycle, based on exegesis of the Scriptural texts and a certain shared common heritage. There can be no possibility, however, of seeing the sacrificial codes of Jubilees as based on those of the *Temple Scroll*.

Lexicographic Hazards, Pitfalls and Challenges, with Special Reference to the Contributions of John Edward Gates

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Among the principal contributions in the last two decades to the study of lexicography is John Gates's dissertation, *An Analysis of the Lexicographic Resources Used by American Biblical Scholars Today*, published in 1972.[1] The primary feature of this work is its summary of findings based on a questionnaire in which a number of biblical scholars expressed themselves relative to needs for lexicographic information and gave their evaluations of the way in which such information is handled in existing lexicons.

The most frequently used lexicon for NT study, Gates found, was Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich (BAG, 1957, followed by Kittel-Friedrich (TWNT), Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie (LSJM),[2] and Moulton-Milligan (MM). Sixty-four respondents reported regular use of BAG, and 26 occasional use, as opposed to 13 and 57 respectively for use of MM. In this paper references to BAGD (Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, 1979) will outnumber those made to BAG, since the revised edition includes, along with numerous corrections and modifications, approximately 20% more detail, with much of it relating to hellenistic usage.

My own experience in the course of preparing copy for BAGD and the abridgement entitled *Shorter Lexicon* confirms, at least for me, the importance of Gates's inquiry.[3] In this paper I limit myself to presentation of a few points at which his study and my experience converge and to a few related matters that appear to be important in connection with the undertaking of a revision of the Moulton-Milligan *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. For obvious reasons, citations from the lexica do not necessarily adhere to their editorial type-form, especially in the matter of abbreviations.

1

Lexicographers are obligated to provide information about the different forms and functions that are attested in their corpora for a given lexical item, but users of such

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[1]John Gates, *An Analysis of the Lexicographical Resources Used by American Scholars Today* (SBL Dissertation Series 8. Missoula: SBL, 1972). The questionnaire was sent to users of Hebrew and Greek.

[2]Roderick McKenzie made such substantial contributions to the revision of the Liddell-Scott lexicon that the omission of M in the acronym of reference to the 9th edition constitutes a major bibliographical indignity. The same applies to the omission of Arndt's name in numerous bibliographical descriptions of the revised edition of the English translation and adaptation of Bauer's work.

[3]F. Wilbur Gingrich, *Shorter Lexicon of the Greek New Testament*, 2d ed. rev. by Frederick W. Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). See the verso of the title page in this publication for the form to be used in bibliographical citation of BAGD.

lexica are interested also in the actual distribution, beyond the limited help that concordances can offer, of lexical items in various classes and contexts.

Eighty-five percent of Gates's respondents welcomed exegetical exposition of words in problem passages,[4] some of which pose special difficulty in connection with grammatical distribution of function words.

Especially notorious is the use of the preposition *eis* in 1 Pet 1:11. Lexicographers can of course pass the buck to grammarians, or they can accept the challenge of here establishing lexical meaning in connection with structural meaning. A standard method for establishing meaning is the use of auxiliary information, such as papyrological and inscriptional evidence or formal literary works. But the citation in BAG (4h) of examples of alleged conformity in usage illustrates the hazard in forgetting that parallel lines never merge. BAG states that *eis* "can also be used for the genitive" and cites UPZ 180aII.2 (= PPar 5.ii.2, as in MM), *chōris tou eis autēn oikou* (apart from her house), with a reference to PTebt. 16.9. Users of the lexicon are then told: "cf. Polybios 1,7,12 *tēs eis ekeinous timōrias*. . . ." The term "cf." is a warning light, suggesting that matters are more complicated than they seem. The fact is that the biblical passage, the papyrological exhibit, and the historian's statement suggest linguistic similarity; that is, all three can be understood possessively: "Christ's sufferings," "her house," and "their vengeance." Nevertheless, they diverge semantically. The papyrus states: "the house that is for her." Polybios observed that the Romans "inflicted punishment on them." Grammatically, the noun *timōria* in the last statement functions as an active verb, with the Romans as subject. The *timōria* is not theirs, but belongs to the recipients. In 1 Peter 1:11 the noun *pathēmata* functions grammatically as a passive verb. Sufferings are undergone. But by whom? A normal Greek pattern for expressing "the sufferings of Christ," that is, "the sufferings experienced by Christ," would be *ta tou Christou pathēmata* or *ta pathēmata tou Christou;* and 1 Peter exhibits these patterns in quantity. Departures from normal patterns ordinarily signal specialized communication. Therefore the most probable subject of the sufferings is to be sought elsewhere in the context, and it is quite probable that Peter has in mind the suffering Christians. The phrase then means: "the sufferings undergone for Christ, in view of Christ, or in honor of Christ (Messiah)," and the preposition *eis* functions in the manner of *eis* in Philemon 6 (see BAG and BAGD, s.v. *eis* 4g). Peter's Christians will experience "glory" after the sufferings. BAGD attempts some clarification (s.v. *eis,* 4h), but the cross reference to paragraph 4cβ ought to include 4g.

Related to the problem in 1 Pet 1:11 is the interpretation of the preposition *syn* in 1 Cor 15:10. BAG (parag. 3) cited the phrase *syn theǭ* in PGrenf. 2.73.16 and POxy. 1220.23 as parallel to *syn* with the personal pronoun in Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 5.4.37 and in St. Paul's passage. But the expression *syn theǭ* is an idiom with the meaning *deo volente*. BAGD revises and states that the extra-biblical passages are "not semantically parallel."

2

Numerous problem passages invite lexicographers to enter into the type of discussion that is ordinarily reserved for commentaries, bible dictionaries, and encyclopedias. Of Gates's respondents, 55% welcomed inclusion of encyclopedia-type information.[5] But the hazard of tendentious interpretation is ever present.

In their discussion of *euergetēs* MM cite Deissmann for the view that in Luke 22:25 the term is mentioned "not without contempt," and that Jesus "forbade His disciples to allow themselves to be so called." What Deissmann and MM fail to perceive is the ironical flavor of the admonition. Jesus is alluding to the long established custom of provin-

[4]Gates, 85. Percentages relate to respondents on NT Greek lexicons.
[5]Gates, 82.

cial currying of Roman administrative favor by heaping fulsome praises on officials. Some officials merited the adulation, others did not deliver on their promises but loved to hear the title. Jesus does not say that the disciples are to dismiss the word *euergetēs* from their vocabulary, but that they are to perform with genuine beneficent concern and not seek adulation for its own sake. That they later digested the lesson is clear from Acts 4:9 where the cognate *euergesia* is used. Through a benefaction communicated by Peter and John, a lame man has been restored. But the two apostles forthwith assert in effect that Jesus is the benefactor. At Acts 10:38 Jesus is described as performing benefactions (the verb *euergeteō*). That the word-group was not in itself in disfavor in the Christian community is further clear from 1 Tim 6:2, where Christian slaves are described as benefactors (the verb *euergeteō*) when they perform their duties to masters who share the faith. For patristic usage of the word-group see *1 Clem.* 19:2; 21:1; 38:3; 59:3; *Diogn.* 8:11; 9:3.

No documentary material is available in MM for interpretation of the word *kathexēs* in Luke 1:3. The editors of BAG altered Bauer's "in richtiger Reihenfolge" (in correct sequence) by adding the word "chronological" in the definition: "in correct chronological order." To eliminate the tendentious rendering, BAGD traded the term "correct" for "orderly" and rendered: "in orderly sequence." Similarly Ovid assures readers of his *Metamorphoses* (7.520) that he will not ramble. The kind of order that Luke had in mind is left to the interpreter of the Gospel. Just what BAG's and BAGD's alterations mean for the relevance of the reference to P. Scheller's dissertation, as cited originally by Bauer, remains for the curious to discover.

All information ought to be accurately cited and interpreted, but at times the ancients are misread, and some misinformation becomes a genetic trait. Bauer declares under *paliggenesia* that the word was first used, according to Plutarch, by Demokritos. But, as William Mounce points out, Plutarch does not in fact assign the word to this philosopher.[6] BAGD's error remains as a warning that in specialized inquiry all illustrations from ancient documents need to be checked for linguistic and semantic relevance.

Occasionally irrelevant information distracts the user. MM contribute little to the understanding of *nēphalios* in 1 Tim 3:2, 11; Titus 2:2. In the case of this word literary sources are more helpful than documentary types. Sobriety in the use of wine results in one being clear-headed; in a transferred sense the word applies to anyone who is self-controlled, including teetotalers. Specific reference to use of wine is made in vs. 3 (*mē paroinon*).

3

Various queries directed by Gates related to the advisability of including translation equivalents. Some of the pitfalls attending such a procedure are illustrated by the renderings in BAGD following the entry *zēlōtēs:* "zealot, enthusiast, fanatic." The rendering "zealot" is a transliteration and is inadequate as a translation equivalent. It can indeed be misleading in association with the third term, for a "fanatic" is an extreme enthusiast, and it is impossible to determine to what lengths an alleged "zealot" would push partisanship. Was Simon the Zealot a freedom fighter? The problem is that those on "our" side are freedom fighters and those on the "other" side are terrorists. A lexicographer may show his or her zealotry in the choice that is made. Perhaps a better set of equivalents out of which a rendering can be chosen for each occurrence in the passages cited is "adherent, partisan, one fervently committed to something, one who displays an extraordinary interest in (something)." Context is helpful in determing the precise denotation. For example, to be "zealous for God" is to be fervently committed to God and

[6]William Mounce, *The Origin of the New Testament Metaphor of Rebirth* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, 1981).

God's interests. (Acts 22:3). Out of concern for logical progression the contents of the concluding sentence to section 1 under the entry *zēlōtēs* should be integrated with the material that precedes; for the passages cited in the sentence are from Greco-Roman sources and illustrate well what is being expressed in the biblical passages that are cited earlier. As it stands, the sentence appears to be an alternate route of understanding. In general, consideration of the term *zēlōtēs* demonstrates that a lexicon must at times engage in actual definition besides lexical equivalency.

Under the term *rabbi* BAG stated in connection with John 1:38: "With the translation *didaskale* which, though not literal, is true to the sense." Here the term "literal" is opposed to "transliteration" and obscures the fact that John's rendering is indeed a literal rendering. BAGD therefore altered the statement to read: "With the translation *didaskale*, which paraphrases the sense."

Linguistic gnosticism, that is, the use of technical terms in the receptor's language to interpret less technical terms in the source, is a constant temptation. Such is the case with the term "blaspheme." Because it is a transliteration of a Greek term (*blasphēmeō*), and in English usage is generally used in connection with reference to deity, it now suggests a technical limitation that is not present in Greek usage. "Revile," "slander," or "speak evil of" are preferable translation equivalents.

4

It is desirable that a specialized lexicon indicate typical attestation of an item in texts that deal with a particular subject field, that relate to a particular activity, or that have a definable literary or linguistic structure.[7] Few Greek terms, though, are confined within such narrow semantic boundaries in Greek literature as are Greek loan words in the English language. But a lexicon of encyclopedic nature ought to document any indications of restrictive usage.

BAGD endeavored to call attention to "prefect" as the correct rendering of Pilate's title. It did so under *hēgemōn*, but not under *Pilatos* or *hēgemoneuō*. And the "chief magistrates" of Roman colonies, such as Philippi, are more correctly termed *duoviri* (BAGD), rather than *duumviri* (BAG). The observation in MM concerning the reading *epitropeuontos* in MS D requires further explanation.

Nautical expressions require renewed scrutiny to determine accurate approximate technical equivalents in English. For example, the *zeuktēria* in Acts 27:40 are described in BAGD with the additional parenthetical observation: "the nautical technical term is 'pendant' or 'pennant.'"

More attention needs to be paid to the range of legal connotation in the NT. The verb *tithēmi* is used of legal matters according to BAGD (I 1b ζ), and non-biblical parallels for both active and middle are cited. But some indication should be given that the expression *kairous hous ho pater etheto*, in Acts 1:7 (cited in II.1.a) is part of the same semantic domain.

By separating the information on *tithēmi* in I 2 along grammatical lines, the linguistic equivalence of Acts 13:47 (*tetheika se eis phōs ethnōn*) and 1 Tim 2:7 (*etethēn egō kēryx*) is obscured, and with it the bureaucratic connotation.

MM's discussion of *katakrima* is confusing, and remarks in BAGD under the same term about "punishment following sentence" in Rom 5:16 conflict with the discussion under *krima* (4a), which correctly understands *krima* as "judicial verdict."[8] In vv. 16-18

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[7]Gates, 66.

[8]Details in Frederick W. Danker, "'Under Contract': A Form-Critical Study of Linguistic Adaptation in Romans," in *Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich*, ed. Eugene H. Barth and Ronald E. Cocroft (Leiden: Brill, 1972) 105-6.

katakrima is therefore best understood as pronouncement of sentence. Execution of the sentence is still another phase.

Neither BAGD nor MM provide adequate information on the term *dietia* in Acts 24:27 and 28:30, where we may have references to a specific period of time determined by law, namely a biennium. The term *plēroō* in Acts 24:27 suggests a fixed period of time, not a random two years, as suggested by these lexica.[9]

The advantage of taking account of documentary sources is especially apparent in MM's alertness to the socio-cultural implications of the term *martyreō*, as used in reference to attestation of character and performance. BAGD is not too helpful in the matter.

Commercial terminology enjoys an important role in St. Paul's writing. The Apostle is fond of playing on such terms as *logos* and *plēroō*. The inclusion of Gal 5:14 under *logos* (BAGD, 1bα), without any indication of its probable commercial association, obscures the paranomasia. The word *logos* is frequently used in the Greco-Roman world as an accounting term. Paul declares that the entire law is summed up under one "account," whose heading is taken from Lev 19:18: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." Pointing in this direction is the verb *plēroō*, which is part of the commercial semantic domain, as is *analiskō*, whose commercial association is not noted by BAGD. Without love one ends with red ink. MM have much to offer, especially under *logos* and *plēroō*, in support of the interpretation here suggested.

Lexicographers might well begin their assignments with a list of interpretive problems or *cruces interpretum* and then be on the alert for illumination from ancient documents. Since idiomatic usage is at the root of a number of such exegetical difficulties, colloquialisms ought to be a prime target for investigation.

The phrase *eph ho* in Matt 26:50 is one of these. BAG (s.v. *hos* I 2a, bβ, and 9b) offers a variety of renderings, all of which assume that the neuter accusative *ho* is to be read. BAGD (9b) questions the use of the relative pronoun *hos* in direct questions and queries Goodspeed's rendering, "Friend, what are you here for?" But if the aforesaid doctrine is fallible, nothing stands in the way of reading the expression *eph ho* in Matthew 26:50 as *eph hō* for the iota subscript would not necessarily appear in early uncials. In such case, as BAGD (I2bβ suggests, the phrase *eph ho parei* is to be understood as incorporating the commercial idiom *eph hō*, and Jesus' question would mean: "How much did they pay you?" A revised MM may shed confirming light.

Because of linguistic interchange, Latin literature, especially satire and drama, needs to be combed for colloquialisms that either derive from the Greek or have helped to shape it in the Koine period. I suspect that Agrippa's reply to Paul in Acts 26:28 means: "In a word, you're trying to make a Christian out of me." BAGD has added such items as *quid vis faciam* in illustration of *thelō* in Matt 20:32, and *vis tu cogitare* under the same word for interpretation of Jas 2:20; *hospitium parare* for explanation of Phlm 22 (s.v. *xenia*); and in illustration of Rev 7:3 (s.v. *metopon*), *fronte notata* (Martial 3.21).

Other restrictive usage includes euphemism and Semitism. The term *pragma* in 1 Thess 4:6 may be a euphemism (see BAGD, s.v., *parag.* 6) as in "have an affair" (cf. Aischines 1:132, the love affair of Hermodios and Aristogeiton). The expression *kitharas tou theou* in Rev 15:2 probably means "great harps," and is so noted in BAGD (s.v. *kitharos*), with a reference to Ps 35:7 LXX (*orē theou*) and a crossreference to Acts 7:20, s.v. *theos* (3gβ).

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[9] *Sammelbuch* 4639.5 (3 C.E.) has the phrase *p. ton tēs katadikēs chronon* (to carry out a full term of the sentence); cf. POxy 491.6 (2 C.E.), in a testamentary deposition, cited in LSJM, s.v. *plēroō*.

5

Inappropriate descriptive terminology may distort a lexicographer's semantic efforts. For example, BAGD frequently follows BAG in using the term "supernatural" instead of the more satisfactory "extraordinary," "supramundane," or "non-earthly," as the case might require. Similarly "religious" appears where one would expect "sacral." Under the word *pistis* reference is made to "true religion, Christianity", in connection with Acts 14:27. But practice of a new religion by the Gentiles is not at all the point here. The rendering should read: God has "opened the way for them to a new relationship with God."

Insensitivity, displayed especially in non-inclusive or demeaning terminology, is a disturbing element, and most lexicographers, including the writer of this paper, must plead guilty. I was appalled to find about half-way through my participation in the production of BAGD that I had paid little or no attention to such factors. It was too late to change much of the text, but discerning users will note sporadic differences between some of the wording in the second part of the book and choice of terms in earlier portions. A few such lapses into *humanitas* are cited in the following paragraphs, but only in my revision of the *Shorter Lexicon* was I able to do real penance.

Females of ancient times were special targets of discrimination in Bauer's work. In BAG and in BAGD (except for a few corrections) recognition of identities, equalities, and types of service is ordinarily tipped, even when the bulk of prosopographical information is equal, in favor of males. Thus in BAG Lydia is defined as "a woman from Thyatira . . . who dealt in purple cloth." In BAGD she regains some prestige: "a merchant from Thyatira . . . who dealt in purple cloth," a revision made in keeping with BAGD's description of Tertyllos: an "attorney for those who accused Paul before Felix the procurator."

Males are rarely defined in BAG or BAGD with specification of sex. Zechariah is identified as "a priest, father of John the Baptist." But Elizabeth's patronized treatment was missed: "wife of Zacharias (sic) the priest." Abel is "son of Adam." Aaron is "brother of Moses," with no mention of Miriam; but Miriam is the "sister of Aaron and Moses." Tryphaina, and Tryphosa (Romans 16) are each minimally defined as a "Christian woman, recipient of a greeting," but without the further identification given by Paul. Urbanus, Ampliatus, and other males, who are mentioned in the same chapter, received more courteous treatment, being identified with the additional designation that is assigned them in Paul's text. Despite the fact that Paul calls both Euodia and Syntyche his "colleagues," BAG and BAGD define each only as "a Christian woman," with the phrase "in Philippi" added for Syntyche (Phil 4:2). Male names are not given the specification "a man," but it is standard practice in BAGD to define evident female names with the component "a woman." Further deadwood includes the -ess affix. Despite the fact that the terms "prophet" and "patron" have in English no sexual restriction, in these lexica they are reserved for males; hence, Miriam is "a prophetess" and Phoebe is a "patroness." A proper definition for *hē prostatis* would be: The feminine term for "protector, patron, helper," etc.

Repeatedly, and where the context suggests otherwise, "men" appears instead of "people," "mankind" instead of "humanity," "forefathers" instead of "ancestors," "brothers" instead of "brothers and sisters."

Under *alalos, aphōnos,* and *kōphos* one reads in BAGD the word "dumb," which is offensive to the impaired of hearing. English contains more than a half-million words, and "mute" is one of them.

The term "pagan" and its synonym "heathen," which are both offensive to all who are outside Jewish-Christian-Islamic traditions, stains MM and made its way, I regret to say, into BAGD. See, for one out of many, the entry *kosmos*,[10] in which "unbelievers" is preferable to "pagan world."

BAGD unfortunately reads "full of idols" in connection with the interpretation of Acts 17:16. What this really means is: "full of images of the many deities that citizens of Athens worship." Greco-Romans did not actually think that their images or *simulacra* of deities were the deities themselves. In this respect they shared the view of Christians who also have simulacra of God, Jesus, and saints. But Christians refer to their own simulacra as "images." The pejorative term is reserved for Greco-Romans.

6

Revisers of MM can profit from other considerations suggested by Gates's study. Neither BAGD nor MM display much effort in relating semantic sets. A number of Gates's respondents found useful the discussion of synonymous usage, as exhibited by Abbott-Smith and Thayer.[11]. Related to this interest is awareness of semantic fields, including those in associational fields.[12]

References to secondary sources (bibliographical information) are generally favored.[13] A revised MM must certainly take account of the many specialized studies that have been made in the six decades since its publication.

A fair number of Gates's respondents showed interest in lexical usage of the Greek OT. BAGD increased references to this version. If we had entered in detail the additional words that are used in the LXX—about 15%, or approximately 6300 tokens—BAGD would have grown in bulk by about 135 pages. A comparable increase for the present MM would be approximately 100 pages. In view of the fact that there is no adequate lexicon of the LXX, the advantage for users of a revised MM that included the non-NT tokens would be considerable. If necessary, entries of non-New Testament words found in the LXX could be issued in a separate volume.

Finally, it is my judgment that simultaneous publication of a German translation be made of a revised MM.

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[10]BAGD, s.v. *kosmos*, col. 1, 4a, 3d last line.
[11]Gates, 86.
[12]Gates, 86.
[13]Gates, 104-6.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the Gospel of Matthew

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To reconstruct the life-setting of the evangelists who wrote our Gospels is among the most challenging tasks that face the New Testament interpreter. The slight evidence external to the Gospels is late and relatively untrustworthy, and therefore one is left with the particularly difficult job of proceeding inductively, inferring the life-situation from the internal evidence, attempting to ascertain which clues in the text actually point to an author's specific situation as opposed to "innocent" elements of the common tradition, and trying to understand what and how much significance to give to these clues. Redaction criticism is of course the most important aid in discovering the *Sitz im Leben* of an evangelist. By seeing how Matthew and Luke have altered the passages they borrowed from Mark and Q—what is added, omitted, or changed—we may carefully infer some of their special concerns. I say "carefully" because not every such alteration points to a significant difference in perspective. Moreover, given the ferment in synoptic criticism these days, an unquestioning acceptance of Marcan priority may not be safe. A second, important aid in determing the life-situation of an evangelist is to be found in his "special" material, i.e., material drawn from special sources and unique to the particular gospel. The results of these two aids, mutually informing each other, should enable the scholar—albeit tentatively—to come to a knowledge of an evangelist's special interests and concerns, which in turn may be taken to reflect the life-situation in which he and his intended readers found themselves. It should be obvious, however, that the reconstruction of the life-situation of an evangelist is necessarily a speculative enterprise. It is a kind of educated (we hope) guesswork, and the results of such an undertaking can hardly, in the nature of the matter, ever be considered as final.

The final test of a reconstructed *Sitz im Leben* is how well it enables us to understand the varied contents of a Gospel as a whole. It is the Gospel as it stands that must finally be explained, for it is this that the author put into the hands of his readers. The better sense we can make of the particular emphases and distinctives of the Gospel, its content and organization, the more satisfactory will be the hypothetical *Sitz im Leben*.[1] It is in this regard—discerning the coherence of the totality—that the Gospel of Matthew presents scholars with a serious challenge. What *Sitz im Leben*, if any, is capable of

[1] A salutary trend is currently underway wherein attention is increasingly being directed to the study of the Gospels as self-contained entities, each of which must be understood holistically and on its own terms. For Matthew, the following studies may be noted: R. A. Edwards, *Matthew's Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), who approaches Matthew through narrative analysis; W. G. Thompson, *Matthew's Advice to a Divided Community* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), who proposes "vertical analysis"; O. L. Cope, *Matthew. A Scribe Trained for the Kingdom of Heaven* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1976), who advocates "linear reading."

explaining the divergent emphases and remarkable polarities of this Gospel? Can the apparently disparate elements in Matthew be brought under a common denominator?

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the question of particularism and universalism in the Gospel of Matthew, together with the closely related question of Israel and the Church. These are universally regarded as issues of central importance in Matthew and have been given much attention by Matthean scholars. We shall look in turn at the following: (I) Tensions in Matthew; (II) The Relation of Matthew to Contemporary Judaism; (III) The *Sitz im Leben* of Matthew's Community; (IV) Distinctive Emphases in Matthew; (V) The Date and Provenance of the Gospel; and (VI) Matthew in the Context of First Century Christianity.

I. Tensions in Matthew

Matthew is the only Gospel that records Jesus' startling words that restrict his and his disciples' immediate ministry to Israel. According to 10:5f. (cf. 10:23, "all the towns of Israel"), when he sends the Twelve out on their mission he begins with a stern prohibition: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Later in the narrative (15:24), when Jesus himself is entreated by a gentile woman he not only ignores her request (initially), but responds by saying, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." So contradictory is this attitude to that of the evangelist's day, when the gentile mission was an undeniable reality, that these passages excellently satisfy the criterion of dissimilarity (so far as the early church is concerned, but not of course so far as Judaism is concerned), and hence most scholars accept these sayings as authentic. We may note here simply that this particularist emphasis in Matthew is in harmony with the thoroughly Jewish orientation of this Gospel.

On the other hand, and seemingly against this particularism, there is an implicit universalism (i.e., that the good news of the gospel is for gentiles too) throughout the Gospel. Thus, e.g., the genealogy of Christ which contains gentile names (Ruth and Rahab; 1:5); the magi from the East (2:1-12); the Roman centurion ("Truly, I say to you, not even in Israel have I found such faith"; 8:5-13; cf. Luke 7:1-10)[2]; "in his name will the Gentiles hope" (12:21; cf. Isa. 42:4); "the field is the world" (13:38); the Canannite woman (15:21-28; Mark 7:24-30)[3]; the parable of the tenants (21:33-43; Mark 12:1-12; Luke 20:9-19)[4]; the parable of the marriage feast (22:1-10; Luke 14:15-24)[5]; and the Roman soldiers' confession in 27:54.[6] What is implicit earlier, becomes explicit in 24:14 (Mark 13:10) where Jesus says, "And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached throughout the whole world,[7] as a testimony to all nations; and then the end will come"; and, of course, most impressively in the commission of 28:19 (Luke 24:47 [cf. Mark 16:15], "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."

It seems clear that this tension between particularism and universalism in Matthew is closely related to another polarity of the Gospel, that involving Israel and the Church. In

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[2]Matthew's redaction of Q intensifies this logion by the addition of *amēn* at the beginning and the phrase *par' oudeni* after *legō hymin*.

[3]Only Matthew has the emphatic logion "O women, great is your faith."

[4]The verse of key importance, 21:43, is found only in Matthew.

[5]Matthew heightens the implied universalism with *hosous* (22:9) and *pantas* (22:10).

[6]Only Matthew has those on watch with the centurion join in the confession.

[7]Only Matthew has the phrase "in all the world."

Matthew we encounter an apparent polemic against the Jews that is all the more striking because of the favored position of the Jews already noted and because of the generally Jewish tone of the Gospel. Probably most conspicuous here are the passages referring to a transference of the Kingdom from Israel to those who believe (the church). Thus in 8:11 (Luke 13:28f.), just following the compliment of the Roman centurion for his faith, we read, "I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and gnash their teeth."[8] And in 21:41 (Mark 12:9; Luke 20:16), at the end of the parable of the tenants, the tenants pronounce their own judgment: "He will put those wretches to a miserable death, and let out the vineyard to other tenants who will give him the fruits of their seasons."[9] This is followed by Jesus' words (21:43), "Therefore I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation (*ethnei*) producing the fruits of it." Agreeing with this emphasis is the parable of the marriage feast, where those invited "would not come" (22:3) and thus the invitation is extended to all: "Go therefore to the thoroughfares, and invite to the marriage feast as many as you find" (22:9).

To these passages may be added others that speak of the judgment of unbelieving Israel. Upbraiding the cities of Galilee where his miracles had been done (11:20-24; Luke 10:12-15), Jesus concludes, "But I tell you, it shall be more tolerable on the day of judgment for Tyre and Sidon . . . [and] for the land of Sodom . . . than for you." In 12:45 he refers to "this evil generation";[10] in 13:10-15 (cf. 13:13 with Mark 4:12; Luke 8:10) Matthew alone describes the unbelieving with the full quotation of the judgment oracle of Isa 6:9f.: "With them indeed is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah which says: 'You shall indeed hear but never understand, and you shall indeed see but never perceive. For this people's heart has grown dull, and their ears are heavy of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest they should perceive with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn for me to heal them'" (cf. Acts 28:26f.). In the parable of the marriage feast, it is noted (22:8; omitted in Luke 14:21) that "those invited were not worthy." In 23:38 (Luke 13:35) Jesus, lamenting over Jerusalem, states, "Behold, your house is forsaken and desolate." And finally we may note the bitter and fateful words of 27:25, unique to Matthew: "His blood be upon us and on our children," words that have tragically and unjustifiably been used to promote anti-semitism.

On the other side of the transference passages are those who believe, a "nation" (*ethnos*) producing the fruit of the kingdom (righteousness), those who repent, those whose eyes are blessed and whose ears hear what "many prophets and righteous men longed to see and hear" (13:16f.). In view, of course, is the new community, called in chapters 16 and 18, with deliberate anachronism, the *ekklēsia*, the church.

The church and Israel, thus stand in obviously painful tension in Matthew. Reflecting this tension are the references to "their synagogues" (4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54),[11] "your synagogues" (23:34), "their scribes" (7:29), and "the Jews to this day" (28:15)—most references unique to Matthew, and the last reminiscent of the well-known derogatory use of "the Jews" in the Fourth Gospel. Throughout the book, moreover, it is the Pharisees,

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[8]Luke has added "north and south" to emphasize the theme of universality, while Matthew is content with the Old Testament language of "east and west" (Isa 59:19; Mal 11:1). Matthew as usual retains the Jewish terminology "kingdom of heaven," and he alone has the comparable phrase "sons of the kindgom."

[9]Matthew intensifies the judgment motif with *kakous kakōs*.

[10]Words added by Matthew to the Q material reflected also in Luke 11:24-26.

[11]This expression may of course be innocuous, as for example in 4:23 (paralleled in Mark 1:39 and Luke 4:15) and 9:35. But this is probably not the case in 10:17. The only other synoptic reference is Mark 1:29.

those whose viewpoint dominates Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, that are the main antagonists of Jesus, and who are repeatedly shown to be inferior to Jesus in their understanding of Torah. Thus "when Jesus finished these sayings, the crowds were astonished at his teaching for he taught them as one who had authority, and not as their scribes" (7:28f.). And at the end of the bitter denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees in chapter 23, Jesus can say, "Fill up, then, the measure of your fathers. You serpents, you brood of vipers, how are you to escape being sentenced to hell?" (23:32f.). Finally, the evangelist speaks explicitly of Jewish persecution of the church: "Beware of men; for they will deliver you up to councils, and flog you in their synagogues" (10:17); and "Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from town to town" (23:34).

Redaction-critical study of these passages shows that Matthew has given these motifs much greater emphasis than the other synoptic writers. Much of the material is unique to this Gospel; and where Matthew depends upon Mark or Q, Matthew usually intensifies the hostility. Matthew indeed is only second to the Fourth Gospel in apparent animosity against the Jews.

Here, then, we have what is probably the major puzzle in the Gospel of Matthew. On the one hand we have the particularism that limits Jesus' and his disciples' ministry to Israel. Together with this exclusivism—the normal Jewish viewpoint—is the generally Jewish tone of the Gospel with, among other things, its stress on the abiding validity of the Law, the necessity of righteousness, and the fulfillment of messianic prophecy. On the other hand, however, standing in rather sharp contrast to the preceding, is the universalism of the Gospel, its striking transference of the Kingdom motif and the particularly harsh sayings against the Jews.

II. The Relation to Contemporary Judaism

How is this state of affairs in the Gospel to be explained? Most redactional-critical analysis of Matthew has centered on this problem in one way or another. In my opinion, however, most Matthean scholarship has too quickly opted for dichotomistic solutions that have necessitated regarding certain important threads of the Gospel as being irrelevant to his readers and their *Sitz im Leben*. In what follows I hope to explain the divergent emphases of the Gospel through the positing of a plausible and realistic life setting for Matthew's community.

In his excellent overview of the study of Matthew from 1945 to 1980, Graham Stanton discusses four main views that have been held concerning the relationship between Matthew's Christian community and contemporary Judaism:[12] (1) the "traditional" view, i.e., that Matthew is the earliest Gospel, written by the apostle in Aramaic, for a Jewish Christian community; (2) that the Gospel was written to a Jewish-Christian community after A.D. 70 but prior to 85, a community "closely related to Judaism" (*intra-muros*); (3) that the Jewish-Christian recipients of the Gospel had already experienced a definite break with the synagogue (thus after A.D. 85), yet remained in debate with Judaism (*extra-muros*); and (4) that the evangelist was a gentile, and perhaps his readers too, and that discussion with Judaism had long since come to an end. It is readily apparent that the first two views put greatest weight on the Jewish character of the Gospel, whereas the third and fourth views find the motifs of hostility toward the Jews and the transference of the Kingdom to the gentiles to be of determinative importance.

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[12]"The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel. Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase, II (Principat), 25.3 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), pp. 1910-1921.

Stanton's analysis shows clearly that a key issue in these discussions is the question whether the phenomena described above reflect a situation in which a clear break between the church and synagogue has taken place. In view here is the decision, which may have been made at Yavneh (Jamnia) around A.D. 85, to force Jewish-Christians out of the synagogue by an addition to the liturgy of the synagogue cursing the *minim* or "heretics" (the *Birkhat ha-Minim*, twelfth of the Eighteen Benedictions, the *Shemoneh Esreh*). This event, it is commonly argued,[13] accounts for such distinctive elements in the Gospel as the hostility toward the Jews in Matthew, the transference of the Kingdom sayings, Matthew's interest in *panta ta ethnē*, and the (alleged) cessation of the mission to the Jews. On this hypothesis, accordingly, the pro-Jewish elements in the Gospel, the stress on Law and fulfillment of prophecy, and especially the exclusivistic or particularistic sayings, are understood as remnants of earlier tradition which the evangelist did not assimilate to his own viewpoint. But this is to relegate important emphases in the Gospel to the status of archaisms irrelevant to the life-situation of the readers. With some justification Kümmel describes this as "a completely untenable position."[14]

We may point out here that those who offer this analysis of the data often argue further for gentile readers and perhaps even a gentile author.[15] That is, the strongly

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[13]E.g., G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit. Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 3rd ed., 1971) who argues that the Gospel is directed toward gentile Christians and that "die Judenchristen eine ältere Entwicklungsstufe des Gemein-delebens repräsentieren" (35); W. Trilling, *Das wahre Israel. Studien zur Theologie des Matthäus Evangeliums* (München: Kösel, 3rd ed., 1964) 214ff.; R. Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967) 128; G. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946) 111; other names that can be mentioned here are Haenchen, Stendahl, Schweizer, Sand, Frankemölle, Hare and Meier. See especially Meier's discussion in *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976) 12f. Meier agrees about the separation of synagogue and church, but with Schweizer holds that this does not entail an end of discussion between the two.

[14]*Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. H. C. Kee from 17th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975) 116.

[15]Here we must include not only Strecker (*op. cit.*, 15-35) and Trilling (*op. cit.*, 215), but also K. W. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *JBL* 66 (1947) 165-72, now also available in *The Gentile Bias and Other Essays* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) 1-8; the Danish scholar, P. Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium. Ein judenchristliches Evangelium?* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958); R. Walker, *op. cit.*; and J. P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel*, 14-21; *The Vision of Matthew* (New York: Ramsey/Toronto: Paulist, 1979) 17-25. D. R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972) 171; H. Frankemölle, *Jahwebund und Kirche Christi* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1974) 200; and L. Gaston, "The Messiah of Israel As Teacher of the Gentiles. The Setting of Matthew's Christology," *Interp* 21 (1975) 24-40. See, too, S. Sandmel, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (1956). The Gospel "was composed not by a Jewish Christian, but by a Gentile, out of the awareness that law and regulation are inescapably necessary for religious discipline" (p. 167) . . . "Matthew has little regard or respect for the Jewish Law; it is a new Christian law which he is introducing;" and D. Flusser, "Two Anti-Jewish Montages in Matthew," *Immanuel* 5 (1975) 37-45.

negative attitude toward Israel, it is said, must be the result of the dominance and bias of a gentile church. Clark writes, "a Jewish-Christian of about 90 A.D. would hardly be found writing a gospel whose theme is the definite and final rejection of Israel by her God."[16] Advocates of gentile authorship can point to some minor difficulties in the view that the author was a Jew (e.g., putting the Pharisees and Sadducees together; the possible misunderstanding of Zech 9:9 in 21:1-9 to involve two animals rather than one),[17] but their hypothesis flies in the face of the overwhelming Jewish character of the Gospel of Matthew. It does not suffice simply to say that these Jewish elements, so fundamental to Matthew, are simply anachronisms carried over from an earlier period and that they have no special relevance to the evangelist or his readers.

On the other hand, other influential Matthean scholars are convinced, that the Gospel of Matthew reflects the time *prior* to the separation of church and synagogue (i.e., the Yavneh decision of c. 85).[18] They point to the Gospel's argument concerning Jesus as Messiah as evidence that the mission to the Jews has not ceased. They note marks of a Jewish-Christianity in such things as the positive note about the Pharisees in 23:2, the avoidance of offense by the payment of the Temple tax (17:24ff.), and especially Matthew's view of the Law (5:17ff.). These data, together with much else that could be mentioned,[19] point to the continuing relationship between Jewish-Christians and their non-Christian Jewish brethren. But in this perspective, as Rohde has rightly pointed

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[16]Clark, "Gentile Bias," p. 2. So too in a similar vein, S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew*, 171; the response of D. R. A. Hare to such a conclusion is appropriate: "The bitterness of the persecution and the frustration of a fruitless mission are sufficient, however, to account for so pessimistic a view of Israel on the part of a Jewish Christian author." *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 170.

[17]See Meier, *Vision*, 19ff. On this point, however, Stanton's cautionary note seems wise: "There are simply too many gaps in our knowledge of Judaism in the period 70-100 A.D. to enable us to pronounce a confident verdict on the extent and accuracy of the evangelist's knowledge of Judaism." "Origin and Purpose," p. 1919.

[18]G. Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew," in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (Philadephia: Westminster, 1963 translation of German article of 1956) 15-51 (But Meier calls attention to a shift of emphasis in Bornkamm's later articles. See especially Bornkamm's 1970 article "The Authority to 'Bind' and 'Loose' in the Church in Matthew's Gospel," now available in *The Interpretation of Matthew*, ed. G. Stanton [Philadelphia/London: Fortress/SPCK, 1983] 85-97. On p. 88 Bornkamm argues that the break has already taken place. See Meier, *Law and History*, 9ff. and Stanton, "Origin and Purpose," p. 1913f.); G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," in *Tradition and Interpretation* (1963 translation of German original of 1955) 58-164; R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 2nd ed., 1966); W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974); S. Brown, "The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission," *NovT* 23 (1980) 216.

[19]E.g., failure to explain Jewish customs and practices (as in the omission of Mark's detailed explanation of the practices of the Pharisees (cf. Mark 7:1-4 with Matt 15:1-2); retention of untranslated Hebrew vocabulary; the omission of Mark 10:12 about a wife divorcing her husband; the addition of the exception clause (*porneia*) in 5:32 and 19:9; the derogatory references to gentiles (6:7; 18:17). For details, see A. Wikenhauser and J. Schmid, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg: Herder, 6th new ed., 1973) 245.

out,[20] insufficient attention has been paid to the other side of the tension, i.e., to the universality of the Gospel and the transference of the Kingdom motif.

Matthean scholarship thus finds itself in the strange circumstance of having been forced into two camps by emphasizing one side of the data in the Gospel to the neglect, if not the exclusion, of data on the other side. In the instance of Strecker and Trilling, certain Jewish motifs are pronounced anachronistic and hence essentially irrelevant to the life-setting of the evangelist. In the case of Bornkamm, Barth, and Hummel, such things as the hostility toward the Jews and the transference of the Kingdom motif find no convincing place in the life-setting of the Jewish-Christianity represented by the evangelist and his community.

It is not surprising that in recent years a number of scholars have tried to find a mediating position between these two poles, one that would do more justice to the various perspectives contained in the Gospel. Indeed, to some extent, the third view in Stanton's analysis, viz. that "Matthew's [Jewish-Christian] community is extra-muros yet still defining itself over against Judaism,"[21] is exactly such an attempt in that although it affirms the c. 85 break with Judaism, it also finds ongoing significant concern with Judaism.[22]

Obviously what is required is a hypothesis that treats the tensions in the Gospel with all seriousness, as truly reflecting the life-situation of the readers.[23] A number of writers have thus begun to address these tensions very directly. A somewhat older article by K. Tagawa remains one of the most effective statements of the problem.[24] Tagawa rightly emphasizes how important it was for Matthew's Jewish-Christian community with its continuing national consciousness to understand itself as the true Israel. Furthermore, and again rightly in my opinion, the evangelist is not alleging that the gentiles have

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[20] *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists* (E.T.: Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968). Bornkamm "is not really able to explain" the theme of universality (54).

[21] Stanton designates this view as "a 'mediating' position" between the second and fourth views in his analysis. "Origin and Purpose," p. 1915.

[22] In this category Stanton includes K. Stendahl (*The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 2nd ed. 1968]); C. F. D. Moule ("St. Matthew's Gospel: Some Neglected Features," in *Studia Evangelica* II, [*TU* 87 (1964)] 91-99, now available in his collected *Essays in New Testament Interpretation* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982] 67-74); E. Schweizer (Matthäus und seine Gemeinde [Stuttgart: KBW Verlag, 1974]); and W. G. Kümmel (*Introduction to the New Testament*). Stanton includes himself as holding to this view, referring to his article "5 Ezra and Matthean Christianity in the Second Century," *JTS* 28 (1977) 67-83. See too now his "The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism," *BJRUL*66.2 (1984) 264-84.

[23] Mention must be made here of a recent essay by M. J. Cook which attempts to obviate the whole discussion. "Interpreting 'Pro-Jewish' Passages in Matthew," *HUCA* 54 (1983) 135-46. Cook who leans to gentile authorship denies that Matthew contains any "pro-Jewish" passages. Hence the various attempts that have been made to solve the dilemma are quite unnecessary. "I find no inconsistency in Matthew between anti-Jewish and pro-Jewish elements because the latter are not really pro-Jewish but only a function of and entirely consistent with Matthew's overall anti-Jewish stance" (140). Pro-Jewish passages thus become "merely a literary device by which Matthew is setting up the Jews for eventual vilification" (142). But the passages in question seem too natural and matter-of-fact to be explained in this way, and Cook underestimates the Jewish tone of the Gospel.

[24] "People and Community in the Gospel of Matthew," *NTS* 16 (1969-70) 149-62.

replaced Israel, argues Tagawa, or that the mission to Israel is ended. Tagawa nevertheless leaves his readers finally with a confused picture wherein Matthew can speak of both a limited and a universal mission depending on whether he is conceiving the church as a "national community" or "a chosen community of faith distinguished from the Jewish nation."[25] Adding further to the confusion, these communities overlapped in Matthew's mind, according to Tagawa, and for Matthew "there can be no Gentile church" since gentiles become a part of "Israel" when they become Christians.[26]

A very creative and interesting approach to the tensions of the Gospel is to be found in several articles by S. Brown.[27] The evangelist, according to Brown, finds himself in a Jewish Christian community with a strong particularist strain, for whom the limitation of the mission to Israel remains a present reality, and not simply something of the past. The evangelist could not ignore this and yet he espouses and desires to promote the gentile mission. Although the mission is implied earlier in the Gospel, and in Matthew's central section (10:18), the evangelist's advocacy of the gentile mission can only be accomplished by a "deus ex machina," as Brown designates the final scene (28:16-20). The strength of Brown's proposal is that it takes the particularist passages with all seriousness, and does not relegate them to the category of historical relics. Yet is seems to me that when Brown argues that the limitation to Israel is still in effect among Jewish Christians living in the Diaspora (even if, as he speculates, they had moved from Palestine to Syria) he requires too much of us. Further, Brown's hypothesis requires that Matthew's community was seriously divided over an issue of greatest significance. Would not that degree of tension have been unbearable? And would not the evangelist have addressed it more directly? Finally, Brown does not relate his hypothesis directly to much else within the Gospel that demands explanation. Suggestive as this argument is, then, it remains unconvincing.

Also stimulating is the recent article by B. T. Viviano who accounts for the tension in the Gospel by pointing to the evangelist as a "master of ecumenical healing."[28] Viviano regards Matthew's Jewish-Christian community as in a transition caused by a "flood of Gentile converts" at around 85 when the Gospel was written. He rightly indicates on the one hand that "Matthew is locked in an internecine struggle to the death with these nearby [non-Christian rabbinic] opponents and gives them no quarter. They are outside

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[25]Ibid., 161.

[26]Ibid., 162. Tagawa's entire discussion is carried on without any reference to the date of the Gospel or the location of the readers.

[27]"The Two-fold Representation of the Mission in Matthew's Gospel," *Studia Theologica* 31 (1977) 21-32; "The Mission to Israel in Matthew's Central Section (Mt. 9:35-11:1)" *ZNW* 69 (1978) 73-90; and "The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission," *NovT* 22 (1980) 193-221. Cf. too J. Jervell, "The Mighty Minority," *Studia Theologica* 34 (1980) 13-38, now available also in *The Unknown Paul. Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), for the argument that the gentile mission must be defended to Matthew's community (47).

[28]"Matthew, Master of Ecumenical Healing," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 10 (1983) 325-32. Along a similar line, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Good News/Bad News: The Messiah and God's Fractured Community," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 4 (1977). Yet he does not attempt to explain the tension, but focuses more on the hostility to the Jews, a theme downplayed by Tagawa and Brown, and thence to the question of the role played by Matthew in later anti-semitism. For Nickelsbury the tension reflected in the Gospel points to a post 70 date "very close" to the time of the schism between the church and synagogue.

the pale of the messianic community."[29] On the other side of the tension, according to Viviano, Matthew faces Paulinist Christians who for the most part do not follow Torah. Matthew gratefully seizes the tradition about Peter reflected in 16:18ff. as the one who could mediate between the perspectives represented by James on the one hand, and by Paul on the other. These verses writes Viviano, show "Matthew at his ecumenical best, working out a symbolic figure who could hold the broad center of early Christians together."[30] The particularist traditions in the evangelist's community lose out in the end to the universal perspective reflected at the end of the Gospel.

By focusing on the tension in which the readers of Matthew found themselves, these essays, especially that of Viviano, seem to be basically on the right track. To my mind, the key to understanding the contents of the Gospel lies in understanding the difficult circumstances of Matthew's community. But before we attempt to reconstruct a *Sitz im Leben* for Matthew that we believe does better justice to the disparate data of the Gospel, we must clear the way by calling attention to two false presuppositions that have often dominated recent discussion and are frequently apparent in the major attempts to explain the Gospel. These grow out of an over-stress on the importance of the date of A.D. 85, or thereabouts, and the decisions taken by the rabbis at Yavneh (Jamnia).

It is especially important to note how much weight has been put on Yavneh by Matthean scholars in their attempt to understand Matthew and its life-setting. This is all the more remarkable given how little we actually know about what transpired there, for our knowledge of what took place at Yavneh is tenuous at best.[31]

The view that has been held by the majority of Matthean scholars is that at some time in the ninth decade of the first century the rabbinic leadership took steps to expel Christian Jews from the synagogues as a way of stopping the insidious evangelism that was undoubtedly going on. Thus the *Birkhat ha-Minim*, the "blessing" of the heretics,[32] very probably originated in this decade (possibly, however as the modification of previously existing material) and was initially, if not exclusively, intended against Jewish-Christians. It is difficult to doubt, according to this view, that some such formal action against Jewish-Christians in the synagogue was taken at this specific time.[33]

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[29]Ibid., 330.

[30]Ibid., 331. Somewhat similar is the view of W. R. Farmer, who describes the Gospel of Matthew as ecumenical, inclusive, and non-sectarian. "The Post-Sectarian Character of Matthew and Its Post-War Setting in Antioch of Syria." *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 3 (1976) 235-47.

[31]Cf. P. Schäfer, "Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne. Zur Trennung von Juden und Christen im ersten/zweiten Jh. n. Chr." *Judaica* 31 (1975) 54-64; 116-24; G. Sternberger, "Die sogenannte 'Synode von Jabne' und das frühe Christentum," *Kairos* 19 (1977) 14-21. Along a similar line, D. Flusser, "The Jewish-Christian Schism," *Emmanuel* 17 (1983-84) 32ff.

[32]In the so-called Geniza version (from the Cairo Geniza), it reads: "For the renegades let there be no hope, and may the arrogant kingdom soon be rooted out in our days, and the Nazarenes and the *minim* (heretics) perish as in a moment and be blotted out from the book of life and with the righteous may they not be inscribed. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant." The translation is from J. Jocz, *The Jewish People and Jesus Christ* (London: SPCK, 1949) 53, but many scholars have pointed out that the actual wording varies considerably and that explicit reference to *ha nozrim* ("Nazarenes") could well be a later insertion. See the scholars referred to in footnote 34.

[33]For the best recent defense of this view, see W. Horbury, "The Benediction of the *Minim* and Early Jewish-Christian Controversy," *JTS* 33 (1982) 19-61. Horbury rightly notes, however, that the benediction "was not decisive on its own for the separation of church and synagogue, but it gave solemn liturgical expression to a separation effected in

Now, however, this conclusion is being increasingly challenged, particularly by Jewish scholars,[34] who find no significance in Yavneh for the relationship between Jews and Jewish-Christians. It is at least clear that Matthean scholarship must reconsider the large role that a particular, and possibly incorrect, understanding of Yavneh has played in its analysis of the Gospel. But I want to point out that even if we grant the correctness of the traditional understanding of Yavneh, the conclusions usually drawn, which then are allowed to function as false presuppositions, are incorrect.

Thus Yavneh has commonly—and mistakenly, in my view—been taken to indicate a fundamental change of attitude and as inaugurating a *new* climate in Jewish and Christian relationships, quite unlike that which preceded. The *first* false presupposition deriving from this view is that there was no exclusion of Jewish Christians from the synagogue before this date. Indeed, one has the feeling from some writers that before this date there was no hostility between Jewish-Christians and non-Christian Jews at all, and that the former were universally accepted and made comfortable in the synagogues.[35] In fact, however, there is sufficient evidence of an early and continuing hostility between Jews who accepted the Gospel and those who did not,[36] including forceful exclusion from the

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the second half of the first century through the larger group of measures to which it belongs" (61).

[34]See especially R. Kimelman, "*Birkat Ha-Minim* and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, eds. E. P. Sanders, A. I. Baumgarten, and A. Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 226-44. Kimelman's final two conclusions are worth quoting: "5. Thus *birkat haminim* does not reflect a watershed in the history of the relationship between Jews and Christians in the first centuries of our era. 6. Apparently, there never was a single edict which caused the so-called irreparable separation between Judaism and Christianity. The separation was rather the result of a long process dependent upon local situations and ultimately upon the political power of the church" (244). See too, S. T. Katz, "Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity After 70 C.E.: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 103.1 (1984) 43-76. Katz denies that the *Birkat ha-Minim* was directed specifically against Jewish Christians, concluding that "there was no anti-Christian policy at Yavneh or elsewhere before (if immediately after?) the Bar Kochba revolt" (76). The same conclusion can be found in A. Finkel, "Yavneh's Liturgy and Early Christianity," *JEcSt* 18.2 (1981) 231-50. "At Yavneh, no act of excommunication was employed against these Jewish Christians" (243). Cf. D. Flusser, "The Jewish-Christian Schism," *Immanuel* 17 (1983-84) 37f. But for a Jewish defense of the traditional view, see L. H. Schiffman, "At the Crossroads: Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism," *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, eds. E. P. Sanders, A. I. Baumgarten, and A. Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 149ff.

[35]The question, of course, cannot be resolved by speaking generally about "Jewish Christianity" since unquestionably there were several varieties of Jewish Christians, not to mention variations dependent upon time and place. See below.

[36]According to Acts (apart from 4:1-3, 18, 21) hostility erupts for the first time with Stephen (6:12ff.; 7:57-8:1), but occurs frequently in Paul's experiences. Cf. 13:45-50; 14:2-6, 19; 17:5-9, 13; 18:6f., 12-17. Paul's bitter words in 1 Thess 2:14f. indicate the intensity of hostility at a relatively early date: "For you brethren, became imitators of the churches of God which are in Judea; for you suffered the same things from your own countrymen as they did from the Jews, who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out . . . ." Cf. A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. by J. Moffatt from 1908 German original (New York: Harper, 1962): "it seems untenable to hold with some Jewish scholars that originally, and indeed for whole decades, peace reigned between the Christians and the Jews" (46).

synagogue.[37] If any specific date is to be mentioned as a clear turning for the worse in the relationship between Jews and Jewish Christians, it would have to be A.D. 70, but even this date does not mark the beginning of hostility between the two groups. Thus the *Birkhat ha-Minim* even on the traditional understanding, amounts only to a formalizing and standardizing of practice, perhaps indeed as the result of mounting hostility, but it should by no means be thought of as an absolute beginning of hostility or of the practice of exclusion.[38]

The *second* false presupposition drawn from an exaggeration of the significance of Yavneh and the date of A.D. 85 is that after this date the mission to the Jews ceased. To be sure, once Christians were more consistently driven out of the synagogues, evangelism of the Jews became more difficult and its form was necessarily altered. But that it ceased altogether is an unwarranted conclusion. D. R. A. Hare, nevertheless, has argued that the strong judgment passages in Matthew together with the transference of the Kingdom motif point to a situation in which the mission to Israel has been abandoned. Now that Israel has refused the invitation, Hare concludes, "Henceforward the mission is not to Israel and the Gentiles but only to the Gentiles!"[39] More recently, Hare has been joined by D. J. Harrington in this argument that the *panta ta ethnē* of 28:19 excludes the Jews.[40] But because a mission to the Jews *within* the synagogue must have been aban-

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[37]In addition to the references in the preceding note, consider also the explicit *aposynagōgos* references in the Fourth Gospel (9:22; 12:42; 16:2). Without accepting J. A. T. Robinson's dating of the Gospel, I too find no reason to deny the use of this term before A.D. 70. *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976) 272f. An important distinction made by D. R. A. Hare is pertinent. He distinguishes between social ostracism and informal exclusion on the one hand, from the formal exclusion of the later *Birkhat ha-Minim. The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 56. Hare finds contemporary parallels (i.e., pre-A.D. 70) in the Phariasaic ban, and exclusion practiced at Qumran (51).

[38]Davies aptly remarks: "Moreover, Paul's letters, like Acts, attest violence on the part of the Synagogue, and that frequent, so that there is no reason to connect the passages referred to [5:11; 23:34; 10:17, 23] in any way specifically with Jamnian affairs, unless other factors point to this," *Setting*, 297.

[39]D. R. A. Hare, *Jewish Persecution*, 148. Hare's insistence that *ta ethne* in 28:19f. must mean individuals because *baptizontes* is followed by *autous*, is not convincing. The *autous* need only be the members of *panta ta ethnē*, which can clearly include the Jews. Others who argue that the mission to Israel has come to an end are Trilling, Strecker, Walker, and Gaston.

[40]"'Making Disciples of All the Gentiles' (Mt. 28:19)," *CBQ* 37 (1975) 359-69. Even if Hare and Harrington were correct about 28:19, their conclusion need not follow. That is, even if the point of 28:19 was the evangelization of the gentiles, does that in itself exclude a Jewish mission? Does the transference of the Kingdom motif, used in its strongest form, rule out a continuing effort in Jewish evangelism? J. P. Meier, however, has effectively shown that the use of *ethnos/ethnē* in Matthew cannot in every instance be limited to gentiles, but that in several instances, including 28:19, Israel is to be included. "Nations or Gentiles in Matthew 28:19?" *CBQ* 39 (1977) 94-102.

doned after 85, the end of the Jewish mission itself is hardly necessitated. Christian Jews would have continued to meet their unbelieving brethren in the community where discussions, however tense, undoubtedly continued. It is in the final analysis unthinkable both psychologically and theologically that the Jewish-Christian community addressed by the evangelist could have altogether abandoned the mission to their Jewish brethren. The Apostle Paul can speak in no uncertain terms about the judgment of unbelieving Israel and the new reality of the Church that now stands in the place of national Israel, just as he can wrestle with the actual shift from Jews to gentiles in the church, without for a moment losing his zeal for the conversion of his people.

It seems unlikely, then, that the year 85 (or 90) should be thought of as a watershed providing a radically altered situation that can be used to explain the complex and apparently contradictory data of the Gospel of Matthew. Indeed, there is no solid reason why the phenomena assigned so confidently to the post-85 era by some scholars, cannot equally find a place before that time. Thus universalism, the transference of the Kingdom sayings, and the hard sayings against Israel are hardly impossible in the earlier decades. Jesus can have spoken about the future (i.e., post-resurrection period), envisioning a mission to the gentiles, and thus justifying the transference sayings. All of this would have been quite meaningful in a context where the gentile mission was thriving, as would the harsh sayings against the Jews, which would have reflected the unbelief of the Jews as well as the continuing and probably growing hostility between the church and synagogue.[41]

Conversely, the items often confidently restricted to a pre-85 setting can have had significance even in the post-85 era. Thus, a Jewish-Christian community would naturally find the stress on the fulfillment of prophecy and the messiahship of Jesus meaningful, as well as even the particularist sayings. This we will try to demonstrate in the *Sitz im Leben* we are about to propose.

But the point to be emphasized here is that the measures taken at Yavneh between 85 and 90 serve as no actual and revolutionary turning point in the relation between church and synagogue. They provide no justification for the common allegation that Yavneh constituted a first "break" between synagogue and church. Instead, Yavneh served merely as the formalizing of a hostility that had in fact existed for a long time. Jewish-Christian relationships (i.e., between Christian and non-Christian Jews) in the first century, from the time of Stephen onwards, certainly varied according to time and place, but tension, animosity and hatred seem to have been the rule more often than not. In the course of the first century we can see, if we are to generalize, a more-or-less steady crescendo of bitterness and hostility (and of course especially after A.D. 70), rather than a sudden turning for the worse after Yavneh.

III. The Sitz im Leben of Matthew's Community

As we have already said, the merit of a proposed *Sitz im Leben* of any document depends upon the extent to which it can satisfactorily account for the contents of the document, and, we may add, particularly for those elements that appear to be difficult or contradictory. Indeed, the latter may be especially revealing in that they may point to

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[41] Thus J. A. T. Robinson, who dates the Gospel before 70, is at least correct when he writes: "These problems reflect a period when the needs of co-existence force a clarification of what is the distinctively Christian line on a number of practical issues which previously could be taken for granted . . . But uneasy co-existence does not necessarily imply an irrevocable break." *Redating the New Testament*, 103.

important tensions or commitments in the community which, it was felt, must be preserved. Thus the reconstruction of a *Sitz im Leben* should keep just these disparate elements to the fore, rather than paring away one side or the other, and so making certain data irrelevant to the evangelist's community.

1. We must begin with the strong probability that the readers were Jewish-Christians, as was probably the author, too. The data of the Gospel are again and again explained most satisfactorily on the hypothesis that the first readers were Jewish-Christians. Among various key items to be mentioned here are the following: the stress throughout the Gospel on fulfillment and especially the distinctive formula quotations ("this happened in order to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet") which point to Jesus as the Messiah and his ministry as the dawning of the messianic age; the importance of Jesus' fidelity to the Law (not only Matt 5:17-20, but cf. Matthew's redactional changes of Mark 7 in chap. 15) and his call to righteousness; Matthew's omission of Mark's explanation of Jewish customs (cf. Mark 7:3-4 with Matt 15:2); and his formulation of several discussions in typical rabbinic patterns (e.g., Matt 19:1ff. on divorce). Also worth noting are the apologetic motifs of the infancy narrative (against Jewish claims of the illegitimacy of Jesus' birth) and the resurrection narrative (explicitly against the Jewish claim that the body was stolen; 28:12-15).

It is, of course, not impossible that Matthew was written to a mixed community or even to gentiles by a gentile author. Gentile Christians, after all, were also interested in the fulfillment of the Old Testament and in Jesus as Messiah; they may, furthermore, have been in need of the emphasis on Law to counter antinomian tendencies perhaps stemming from a Pauline enthusiasm. But these explanations seem less natural and, hence, less probable. There is in fact little in the Gospel that is effectively explained as finding its *raison d'être* in a supposed gentile readership. Moreover, the hypothesis of a gentile life-setting leaves other aspects of the Gospel, and especially the particularist sayings, unaccounted for.

A further probability is that both the original readers and the final redactor were Hellenistic Jews, and Jews of the Diaspora rather than Palestinian Jews. This follows not only from the fact that the Gospel was written in Greek, but from the apparent proximity of the readers to a gentile Christianity. From these data Kümmel concludes, "It is certain that the author of Matthew lived in a Greek-speaking area and wrote for Greek-speaking Christians, most of whom were of Jewish origin."[42]

2. At this point, in preparation for what follows, it is worth noting generally the difficult situation in which Jewish-Christians have always found themselves, and not least in the later first century. When Jews become Christians they are forced to cope, on the one hand, with their non-Christian Jewish brethren, from whom they have separated themselves, and, on the other hand, with a largely gentile Christianity among whom they now exist as a minority, but as brethren nonetheless. To their Jewish brethren, Jewish-Christians have always had to answer such charges as disloyalty to the religion of Israel, disloyalty to the Mosaic Law (or at least of association with others who fail to observe it), and of joining an alien, if not pagan, religion, the large majority of whose adherents are gentiles. In short, Jews are naturally put on the defensive by their non-Christian brethren, and probably more so if they have insisted on preservation of their Jewishness and have resisted assimilation, thus making at least the implicit claim of being the true Israel. And it is obvious how such Jewish concerns as these would have been aggravated in the time of crisis that faced Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem. Christian-Jews must have been seen then more than ever as traitors. So far as their gentile brethren are concerned, Jewish-Christians are always under a subtle pressure to minimize the significance of their Jewishness; their continued observance of Jewish law and customs

[42] *Introduction*, 119.

can easily become a theological problem for gentile Christians and a hindrance to fellowship and a sense of unity. The gentile Christians in Matthew's day may have rejoiced in (and may have insisted upon) discontinuity between the old and new covenants much more readily than many Jewish-Christians would have. Jewish-Christians were thus forced to work out their relationships with gentile Christianity and their understanding of the newness contained in and implied by the reality of Christ.

These Jewish-Christians were accordingly in an unenviable position—almost a kind of "no man's land"—between their Jewish brethren on the one hand and gentile Christians on the other, wanting to reach back for continuity with the old and at the same time to reach forward to the new work God was doing in the largely gentile church—simultaneously answerable, so to speak, to both Jews and gentiles. This, as I say, is a situation with which every Jewish-Christian has had some acquaintance. But the resultant tensions must have been particularly trying to Jewish-Christian communities of the late first century.

3. And so we come to the original readers of the Gospel of Matthew. As Jewish-Christians they undoubtedly found themselves in the dilemma we have portrayed. Matthew's community was desperately in need of an account of the story of Jesus that would enable them to relate both to unbelieving Jews and to gentile Christians. In particular, the increasing success of the gentile mission and the overall failure of the mission to Israel raised questions not only in the readers' minds, but also among their Jewish opponents. Thus the Gospel was almost certainly written to confirm Jewish believers in the truth of Christianity as the fulfillment of the promises to Israel, which entails the argument that Jesus is the Messiah, that he was loyal to the Law, and that he came to the Jews. Through this material, the readers could gain confidence in the correctness of their faith as something standing in true succession to the scriptures, and at the same time be in a better position to answer their unbelieving brethren in the synagogues.

If this is true, we may well also find here the reason for the preservation of the particularist sayings in Matthew. It was important for the author to be able to stress that Jesus came specifically—indeed, exclusively—to the Jews, in order to underline God's faithfulness to His covenant people, i.e., to stress the continuity of God's salvific promises and the actuality of their fulfillment in the first instance to Israel. In the face of an increasingly gentile church, which must have given its Jewish opponents the embarrassing ability to argue that Christianity was an alien religion, the readers were thus able to realize that they, unlike the gentiles, had a place in the ministry of Jesus from the beginning. They, as Jewish-Christians, were important in the fulfillment of God's plan as a righteous remnant attesting the faithfulness of God to His covenant promises. Matthew thus affirms the rightful place of a Jewish-Christianity as the true Israel. Far from renouncing Judaism, as K. W. Clark maintains,[43] Matthew finds in Christianity a perfected or fulfilled Judaism, brought to its goal by the long-awaited Christ.

The particularist sayings, then, are not simply relics of the historical tradition without relevance for the readers of the Gospel, but neither do they indicate a contemporary limitation upon the mission of Matthew's community. They refer historically to what was once the case, during the pre-resurrection ministry of Jesus and his disciples, but have special relevance to the readers as a theological justification of the faithfulness of God to his people Israel, and thus of the propriety of Jewish-Christian faith.

If Jesus was sent "only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," it remains true, however, that Israel largely failed to respond. The Jewish-Christian readers of this Gospel would have been painfully aware of the lack of response among their Jewish brethren. What had happened already in the time of Jesus was happening in their time. Inevitably and by reason of their unbelieving and hostile brethren, Jewish congregations must early have begun to think of themselves as separate from and even as over against,

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[43] *The Gentile Bias*, 2.

unbelieving Judaism—as a righteous remnant against the rabbinic Judaism represented in the Gospel by the Pharisees. It is not at all unthinkable that Jewish-Christians could have appreciated the harsh sayings in the Gospel against the Jews, the judgment against unbelieving Israel, and could have referred, for example, to "their synagogues" (9:35) or "their scribes" (7:29). The familiar biblical pattern, enounced so frequently by the prophets, would have been seen in Israel's rejection of God, followed by God's rejection of Israel. And from the latter it is only a step to the transference of the Kingdom sayings. In the case of the transference sayings, however, our Jewish-Christian readers of course identified themselves as among those nations (*ethnē*, gentiles, largely but not exclusively), the new people of God to whom the Kingdom was being transferred. Similarly, the record of Jesus' words about the Jewish persecution of Christians (23:34; 10:23) would have been especially relevant to the readers. The considerable polemics against the Jews—and distance from the Jews—in Matthew are thus by no means unimaginable within a Jewish-Christian context. The Jewish scholar D. Flusser (although attributing the hostility in Matthew to a gentile perspective) has correctly called attention to this phenomenon: "Because the majority of Jews did not accept the new message, there is a very high probability that tension with and even hatred of the Synagogue existed among some Jewish Christians."[44] These polemics are thus naturally to be expected under the circumstances, and are quite similar in many ways to the intramural criticism of Israel in the prophetic tradition. The key difference is, of course, that the dispute here is no longer truly intra-muros, but between brethren separated by faith in the risen Christ. Christian-Jews had become a part of the new community, the Church, which by the time of the readers was composed mainly of gentiles, this being no doubt perceived by our readers as the result of the universalism implicit in the messianic prophecies.

This, then, is my hypothesis: the evangelist's community partook of two worlds, the Jewish and the Christian. Although they saw their Christianity as the true fulfillment of Judaism, they also were very conscious that they had broken with their unbelieving brethren. They were struggling to define and defend a Jewish-Christianity to the Jews on the one hand and to realize their identity with gentile Christians on the other. This twofold challenge explains some of the basic tensions encountered in the Gospel.

It is important at this point to relate this hypothesis to recent work by R. E. Brown, J. P. Meier, and G. Stanton. In a most interesting proposal, R. E. Brown has persuasively argued for the need of much more precision in references to Jewish Christianity and gentile Christianity.[45] According to Brown, "during most of the first century a theological distinction signaled by 'Jewish Christianity' and 'Gentile Christianity' is imprecise and poorly designated."[46] Brown proceeds to describe four types of Jewish Christianity, each of which had gentile converts who shared that perspective: (1) those "who insisted on *full observance of the Mosaic Law, including circumcision*"; (2) those who did not require circumcision, but required "converted Gentiles to keep *some Jewish observances*";

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[44]"The Jewish-Christian Schism," *Immanuel* 16 (1983) 40. Sandmel makes the following point in a somewhat broader application, but it is also appropriate here: "Early Christianity could conceivably have felt a positive relationship to the ancient Judaism, and yet have an entirely different feeling towards contemporaneous Judaism and Jews." *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity: Certainties and Uncertainties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) 158.

[45]"Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but Types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 74-79; "Introduction," in R. E. Brown and J. P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York/Ramsey: Paulist, 1983) 1-9.

[46]"Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity," 75.

(3) those who insisted neither on circumcision nor observance of the food laws; and (4) those who furthermore "*saw no abiding significance in Jewish cult and feasts.*"[47] Although we cannot here enter into a discussion of this proposal, at least the following must be said. Strictly speaking Brown is correct, and yet I do not think his argument abolishes the usefulness of a general distinction between Jewish and gentile Christianity in the first century. The great majority of Christians would easily have fallen into groups two or three, with a preponderance of Jews in group two and of gentiles in group three. Group one would have had only a small minority of gentile proselytes, and although we must grant the trouble the Jewish-Christian extremists in this group caused for Paul, this group of Jewish-Christians must nevertheless have been small compared to those in group two. On the other hand, probably only a very few Jewish-Christians belonged to group four.[48] Thus despite the exceptions, at the extremes of Brown's four categories, it does seem possible to speak generally of gentile and Jewish Christianity in the first century. So far as Jewish Christianity is concerned, it is probably safe to say that Palestinian Jews were mainly to be found in groups one and two, while Hellenistic Jews were mainly in groups two and three.

Can we speculate as to which of Brown's four groups Matthew's community may have belonged? If we are right that this community is a Hellenistic Jewish-Christian community, then they are probably to be put either in group two or three. Although the community finds it necessary to sound conservative for the sake of the argument with the synagogue,[49] yet so far as their attitude to the gentile congregations was concerned they can easily be thought of as belonging to group three.[50]

J. P. Meier, in his stimulating discussion of Antioch, treats Matthew as evidence of the "second Christian generation" in that city. Although he bases much of his argument on a specific date and locale for the Gospel, Meier has presented one of the most satisfactory analyses of the life-setting of Matthew's community. It is a community facing an identity-crisis because of the tension between its conservative Jewish-Christian members, on the one hand, and its gentile Christian members, on the other hand. The former is particularly seen "in a unique plight . . . They were too Christian to go back to the synagogue and too much in the mainstream of Christianity to follow the extreme right-wing [Brown's group one] out of the church."[51] The evangelist, a "liberal conservative," takes the matter into his hands by synthesizing the varied traditions at his disposal into a work of "inclusive synthesis."[52]

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[47] *Antioch and Rome*, 2-6; italics are Brown's. Cf. Sandmel, *The First Christian Century*, 173.

[48] The distinction between groups three and four is difficult to see. Brown puts Paul in group three, but not in group four (with John and Hebrews) among those who "saw no abiding significance in Jewish cult and feasts." But was Paul really as conservative as Brown argues, allowing only freedom from circumcision and food laws? Did he really continue to hold to the abiding significance of the cult and feasts, or does the evidence cited by Brown simply point to Paul's ready expedience (cf. 1 Cor. 9:19-23)?

[49] Thus it is easily possible to think of them as corresponding to group two, as does Viviano, "Master of Ecumenical Healing," 329.

[50] L. Goppelt is probably correct in saying that Jewish Christians of the Diaspora adopted increasingly the freedom from Mosaic ordinances practiced by the growing gentile Christian communities. *Jesus, Paul and Judaism*, trans. by E. Schroeder from 1954 German original (New York: Nelson, 1964) 124, 129.

[51] *Antioch and Rome*, 50f.

[52] Ibid., 51; 57.

But what Meier describes as being true of the church of Antioch in the 80's must have been true in many places and much earlier too. Jewish-Christians did not have to wait until the 80's, or even until 70, to face the kind of pressures described by Meier. Meier unnecessarily restricts his argument to a later date and a single locale. Among the "external factors" affecting the Antioch situation, Meier mentions the Jewish war, the failure of the Jewish mission, and Yavneh. But the War and Yavneh may only have aggravated circumstances that existed earlier, and the relative failure of the Jewish mission was certainly a reality long before 70.

In a recent, insightful essay, G. N. Stanton has focused on Matthew's anti-Jewish polemics, and among recent writers, has come the closest, in my opinion, to a satisfactory explanation of the *Sitz im Leben* of Matthew's community.[53] According to Stanton,

> The evangelist is, as it were, coming to terms with the trauma of separation from Judaism and with the continuing threat of hostility and persecution. Matthew's anti-Jewish polemic should be seen as part of the self-definition of the Christian minority which is acutely aware of the rejection and hostility of its "mother" Judaism.[54]

Thus the anti-Jewish polemic is given a real life-setting in Matthew's community. Stanton refers to four pillars that support his hypothesis: (1) the continuity and serious threat of Jewish opposition to the community; (2) the tension between the community and the gentile world; (3) the evangelist's increased use of apocalyptic themes; and (4) parallel themes in other early Christian writings.[55]

To my mind, Stanton's description is basically correct. Although he does not refer to Yavneh—nor does he depend upon the universally accepted Antiochene provenance—he does write that "Matthew's community has recently parted company with Judaism after a period of prolonged hostility,"[56] and suggests a date of about 90 for the Gospel. This, as I have already argued, is an unnecessary conclusion. Secondly, Stanton pays no heed to what must also have been a matter of importance to Matthew's community—its relationship to gentile Christianity.

IV. Distinctive Emphases in Matthew

We may now note the way in which some of the recognized distinctives of the Gospel of Matthew are readily explained by the reconstructed life-setting we have proposed. In these distinctives what is particularly striking, with our hypothesis in mind, is that continuity with the past (i.e., with the concerns of Judaism) is stressed, but always at the same time with the transposing of the elements of the past to a new, undeniably higher level, congruent with the fulfillment into which the readers have entered through Christ. The evangelist thus underlines the faithfulness of Jesus to Moses and the prophets that is so important to the Jewish-Christian community, but without sacrificing the inevitable newness brought by Jesus, seen most vividly in the existence of gentile Christians, with whom Matthew's readers exist as members of the same family of faith. But for the evangelist, this is not a balancing-act in which two irreconcilable perspectives are held in

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[53]"The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism," *BJRUL* 66 (1984) 264-84.

[54]Ibid., 274.

[55]Mentioned here are 1 Thessalonians, the Fourth Gospel, the Didache, and 5 Ezra. On the rest, see Stanton's "5 Ezra and Matthean Christianity in the Second Century," *JTS* 28 (1977) 67-83.

[56]"The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism," 273.

tension; instead, the newness itself is seen by its very nature to capture the true significance of the old.

1. Matthew's teaching about the Law and righteousness. Obviously 5:17f. is in accord with the Jewish view of the Torah: "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them. For truly I say to you, till heaven and earth pass away, not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law until all is accomplished." The teaching of Jesus is consistently understood throughout Matthew as nothing other than the explication of the true meaning of the Law. Jesus brings this uniquely and finally authoritative interpretation of the Law because of who he is, the Messiah, and what he has brought, the Kingdom. Since Jesus alone is the true interpreter of the Law, to obey his teachings is in effect to obey the totality of the Law, that is down even to the slightest detail of the Law. This is the meaning of 5:19 which, using rabbinic language, refers to the commandments of Torah. Thus Christian discipleship amounts to the faithful upholding of the Torah to the end of the age. But always for Matthew the meaning of the commandments of Torah is to be found only in the teaching of Jesus.[57]

The evangelist has thus done his utmost to express the meaning of Jesus in the most effective way possible for his Jewish-Christian community, using even the language of Pharisaic Judaism. For the sake of his community, he furthermore portrays Jesus as less radical toward the Law than does Mark.[58] All of this effectively enabled Matthew's community to respond to the charges of the synagogue. It is in the community of Jesus and not in the synagogue that true faithfulness to the Torah is found.[59]

At the same time, Matthew does not forego the newness that comes with the presence of the messianic King. Consonant with Matthew's stress on the messianic authority of Jesus, Jesus can paradoxically transcend the letter of the Law while penetrating to its inner spirit.[60] Newness is also already apparent from 5:20, "For I tell you, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." This righteousness comes not from a more punctilious observance of the Law than that of the Pharisees, but from participation in the new reality of the Kingdom and faithfulness to the teaching of Jesus.[61]

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[57] Although I differ from J. P. Meier in the exegesis of 5:17-20, I find myself mainly in agreement with his excellent study, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel*. To my mind, however, the evangelist desires to comprehend discontinuity between Torah and Jesus' interpretation of it within a more basic and larger sense of continuity, i.e., fulfillment.

[58] Against Mark 7:1-23, compare Matthew 15:1-20, where Mark's editorial conclusion that Jesus "declared all foods clean," is omitted. Matthew focuses on the less problematic issue of hand-washing. Yet it should be noted that Matthew does not obliterate the difficult material from the tradition (15:11); he simply downplays it for the sake of his Jewish-Christian readers. But he knows well how important this tradition is for gentile-Christian congregations.

[59] For the importance of the Law in the whole matter, see L. H. Schiffman, "At the Crossroads," 117.

[60] See 5:32-42 and 19:3-9, denying the possibility of divorce and the application of *lex talionis*; 12:1-14, plucking grain on the sabbath; and 15:11, denying that what one eats can cause defilement.

[61] Jesus' teaching is not to be understood as a "new" Law (building on the possible Moses typology where Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount delivers a new Law comparable to that of Sinai). Jesus instead brings the true or intended meaning of the Mosaic Law. It is important to note also that the stress on Law in Matthew occurs in the context of the good news of the presence of the Kingdom. As in the Old Testament, the announcement

The emphasis on the Law and the importance of righteousness[62] in Matthew is more probably to be explained as the result of the situation of the Jewish-Christian readers vis-à-vis the synagogue than to any direct attempt to counteract a "Pauline" antinomianism, although if such existed in the environs of Matthew's community, this emphasis would have proved to be a handy antidote.[63]

2. Jesus and the Pharisees. The infamous material in Matthew concerning the Pharisees is also explainable by our hypothesis. It is the Pharisees who are the great opponents of Jesus in the Gospel, since they also claim to be the faithful interpreters of the Law of Moses. Exactly the same tension existed between Matthew's community and the synagogue. The difficult words of Jesus in 23:2f. ("The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; so practice and observe whatever they tell you, but not what they do; for they preach, but do not practice") make sense only if they are taken to indicate that Jesus agrees *in principle* with the Pharisees—i.e., insofar as they *truly* expound the meaning of the Mosaic Law. This must be the meaning of "practice and observe whatever they tell you," since in the verses that follow (4, 16, 18) Jesus several times finds fault with their teaching. Elsewhere in the Gospel the teaching of Jesus is of course shown to transcend the tradition of the Pharisees (9:10-17, on fasting; 15:1-20, outer hand-washing/inner defilement). But Jesus has no quarrel with the intent of the Pharisees. In principle they are correct; their goal of attempting to observe the Torah cannot be faulted.

But most characteristic of Matthew is Jesus' intense hostility to the Pharisees, seen especially in Matthew 23, and caused by the fact that the Pharisees claimed to be interpreters of Torah whereas actually they cancelled it (cf. 15:3, 6, 8-9). This would have had special meaning for Matthew's community given their own situation. The wrath of Jesus comes upon the Pharisees for having betrayed what had been entrusted to them, and hence for misleading the people. Throughout the Gospel it is Jesus who truly interprets Torah, and not the Pharisees. The evangelist's Jewish-Christian community saw themselves as faithful followers of Torah, as expounded in the teaching of Jesus, and they justified their position from this clash between Jesus and the Pharisees with the argument that they themselves and not the synagogue were in true succession to Moses. And, of course, for these Jewish Christians it was not simply a matter of one rabbinic tradition winning out over another but of the teaching of the Messiah over that of men.

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of grace is antecedent to the call to live out the righteousness of the Law (e.g., the Beatitudes precede the exposition of the Law in the Sermon on the Mount). In this case, however, it is the grace of the Kingdom, of eschatological fulfillment, and not simply covenant, that stands in a dynamic tension with the demands of the Law as interpreted by the messianic King.

[62]On the Jewishness of "righteousness" in Matthew, see B. Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[63]R. Mohrlang's assessment of Matthew's position regarding the Law is correct: "It is Matthew's dual citizenship in two communities that makes such a combination possible: as a Jew, he cannot conceive of denying either the validity of the law or the basic authority and need of scribal interpretation; but as a Christian, he recognizes that it is Jesus' interpretation of the law that is supremely authoritative, and that sits in judgment upon all others." *Matthew and Paul. A Comparison of Ethical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 22.

3. Hostility toward the Jews. We have commented above on how our hypothesis explains the particularly strong anti-Jewish hostility of Matthew. Contrary to the common claim that this shows the un-Jewish character of the evangelist and his community, the strength of this hostility finds a natural explanation in the alienation from the Jews felt by Matthew's Jewish-Christian community. Such hostility is readily explainable psychologically. It is a well-known fact that those who leave one religious group to join another[64] are always the severest critics of the group they have left. And in the present instance, where we must deal with very special factors—e.g., the racial and national aspects of Judaism, Christianity as the fulfillment of Jewish hopes (the true Israel), the bitter rivalry concerning the true interpretation of the same scriptures—it is only to be expected that feelings would run strong and lead to the language of alienation and frustration we encounter in the Gospel of Matthew. This hostility, of course, is to be sharply distinguished from anti-semitism, with which it has nothing to do, in spite of the later abuse of these motifs.

4. Fulfillment of the Old Testament. Matthew's stress on the fulfillment of the scriptures, as exemplified especially in the *Reflexion-szitate*, is especially understandable given the on-going dispute between Matthew's Jewish-Christian community and the synagogue. For the evangelist the congruence between the ministry of Jesus and the scriptures is set forth as a confirmation to his community and a challenge to the synagogue.[65] The inclusion of the gentiles in the new people of God—undoubtedly a stumbling block to the Jews—is substantiated by the appeal to scripture (e.g., 4:14ff.; 12:17ff.), as is the failure of Israel (e.g., 13:14ff.; 15:7ff.). But the main point of the fulfillment quotations is the evidence they afford concerning the continuity of the faith of these Jewish-Christians with the past. And if the hermeneutic underlying the understanding of the citations fails to meet modern, grammatico-historical standards, we must remember that it reflected Jewish practices of that era which were both familiar and widespread.

5. Fulfillment: the Kingdom of Heaven. It is obvious that this would be important for Jewish-Christians, who out of habit would prefer the circumlocution for "the Kingdom of God." This Kingdom terminology is more frequent in Matthew's teaching than any of the other Gospels, occurring nearly three times as often as in Mark. Although the Kingdom has come as a mystery—in an unexpected way—in Jesus it has indeed come: "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear. Truly I say to you, many prophets and righteous men longed to see what you see, and to hear what you hear, and did not hear it" (13:16f.). The words and deeds of Jesus point unmistakably to the reality of the present kingdom. It is a Jewish hope that is thus fulfilled, and in Matthew it is set forth in Jewish terms.

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[64]It is not, however, proper to speak of Jews as "converts" to Christianity. Matthew's Jewish-Christians would never have thought of themselves as changing religions. They saw themselves as more faithful to the faith and scriptures of Israel—in short, as "fulfilled" Jews. But the social dynamics would have been similar to what is involved in conversion to a new religion.

[65]O. L. Cope's study of the evangelist's use of the Old Testament, *Matthew. A Scribe Trained for the Kingdom of Heaven*, comes to conclusions consistent with the present hypothesis. Cope argues for a Jewish-Christian redaction and that "Matthew must have been written in a time and for a church which was involved in a severe struggle with Pharisaic Judaism" (126; cf. 130).

6. The Christology of the Gospel. As is well known, only in Matthew among the Gospels is Jesus described as the Son of Abraham (1:1), and in Matthew the Jewish titles Son of David and Messiah occur more often than in any other of the Gospels. All of this is especially significant for Matthew's Jewish-Christian readers. Other titles of course have obvious significance to Matthew's readership, such as Rabbi, King of the Jews, and Emmanuel, not to mention the wisdom motifs in Matthew's christology. But even the key christological titles in Matthew, Son of God, Son of Man and Kyrios, are full of meaning for Jewish-Christians in their debate with the synagogue.[66] Also to be noted is the fact that the confession of Jesus as Son of God is made only by believers (except where it is blasphemy), and only by revelation (16:17; 11:27; cf. 13:11). This distinction would have meant much to Matthew's Jewish-Christian readers confronted with the continuing unbelief of the majority of Jews.

7. The Church. The concept of the new community would also have had special significance to Matthew's readers. The emphasis that it was upon Kepha that Jesus said he would build his church underlined the significance of Jewish Christianity, and the importance of original Jewish believers. To them, in the first instance, fulfillment has come. They constitute the original core of God's new people and as such are of continuing importance. But when the evangelist speaks of the *ekklēsia*, he knows well that it is a new Israel encompassing gentiles in increasing numbers.[67] Hence, when he addressed certain urgent matters as division, false prophecy, and lawlessness, and stresses that the church is a mixed community of true and false disciples, he may have an eye on the gentile congregations as well as troubles within his own community or environs.

8. Eschatology. The sheer amount of space given to eschatology in the Gospel indicates the importance it has to the evangelist and his readers. These Jewish-Christians in particular, given their end-expectations, would have been especially sensitive to the reality of living "between the times," of living in a situation that remained on the way to, rather than having arrived at, the apocalyptic fulfillment described by the prophets. It would have been difficult for them, as it always has been for the church vis-à-vis the synagogue, to make a convincing case for the truth of realized eschatology. Future eschatology was thus vitally important to the evangelist's theology, and especially to his stress on discipleship. It was the crisis of imminent judgment that should motivate the community to proper conduct, the righteousness of the Kingdom.

9. Heilsgeschichte. Having touched on some major themes of the Gospel, however inadequately, we may finally point out that Matthew presupposes a *Heilsgeschichte* framework as the transference of the Kingdom motif alone indicates.[68] Whether this framework is thought of as comprising three epochs (Israel, Jesus, and the church) or two, as Kingsbury argues (Israel and Jesus, with the church an extension of the latter),[69] is essentially unimportant. What is significant is that the evangelist sees the work of Jesus the Messiah as constituting a turning point wherein fulfillment has come, involving judgment for unbelieving Israel, but blessing to a remnant of Israel which has now come together with the gentiles into a new eschatological reality, a new Israel, the church. It

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[66]See R. N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (London: SCM, 1970).

[67]See J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 78-106.

[68]On the importance of *Heilsgeschichte* for Matthew, see esp. R. Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium*.

[69]J. D. Kingbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 31ff.

is in the church that Israel finds a true continuity with the past; but this continuity at the same time involves a dramatic newness that is centrally important and the cause of no small degree of tension for Jewish-Christians, who themselves are the unique bridge between the promises of God and the realities of the new age.

It is clear then that much of the distinctive content of Matthew is readily explainable on the hypothesis we have set forth. We have looked primarily at theological issues, but the same may be said of many of the formal aspects of the Gospel.

V. The Date and Provenance of the Gospel

It would appear to be very difficult to become much more specific within the general situation we have proposed. The Gospel is capable of a wide variety of specific explanations that concern its character and the *Sitz im Leben* of its readers.[70] Is it possible, however, to narrow down the actual life-setting of the Gospel even so far as date and place are concerned? This I suggest is a much more difficult task than it is often understood to be.

The *Sitz im Leben* portrayed above can easily have existed for a Jewish-Christian community before 70. Naturally some degree of hostility existed between Jewish-Christians and the unbelieving Jews from the beginning, even before Stephen and the Hellenistic Jewish-Christians began to infer elements of discontinuity with the faith of the past. With Stephen, however, there was a dramatic escalation of hostility, directed mainly against the Hellenistic Jewish-Christians, with whom *ex hypothesi* Matthew's community had special affinity, albeit from a certainly later time. But not even the so-called Hebraic Jewish-Christians, although they probably continued to observe the Law and the temple ritual, were able to exist amicably among the Jews of the synagogue. When James the son of Zebedee was murdered by Herod Agrippa I in A.D. 44, "it pleased the Jews" (Acts 12:3) and he turned his hostility to Peter. And although James the Just was admittedly zealous for the Law, he too was nevertheless martyred in 62 (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX.9.1; Hegesippus in Eusebius, *HE* II.23).[71] Although Hare's analysis shows that these events were atypical in pre-war Palestine and that there was no systematic persecution of Christians by the Pharisees, it is nevertheless clear that high levels of tension and hostility existed—and especially in the case of attempted proselytizing.[72] The situation in the Diaspora where Jewish-Christians lived alongside and in fellowship with gentile Christians, and probably in the kind of context Matthew's community was located, was considerably worse prior to the war of 66-70 than that in Palestine according to Hare.[73] It is important to note Hare's conclusion that "although it is probable that the role of the Pharisees and their rabbis in this conflict increased after A.D. 70, it cannot be insisted that they played an insignificant role before that time."[74] Further and

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[70]Cf. A. Sand, *Das Gesetz und die Propheten, Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Evangeliums nach Matthäus* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1974) 220f. Sand is probably correct when he writes in his review of the possibilities: "Aufgrund der genannten Faktoren ist es wohl kaum möglich, das Matthäusevangelium seinen theologischen Inhalt nach auf einen 'kurzen Nenner' zu bringen" (221). Cf. Trilling, *Das wahre Israel*, 220.

[71]Goppelt refers to this event as "a sign of the first break." *Jesus, Paul and Judaism*, 130.

[72]*Jewish Persecution of Christians*, 78, 126, 168.

[73]Ibid., 78. Hare notes that things turned for the worse for the Judean Jewish-Christians after the war.

[74]Ibid., 126f.

directly to the point, referring to the floggings of Christians in the synagogue, Hare writes: "There was probably little change in this situation in the period A.D. 50-85."[75]

At the beginning of his study, Hare correctly indicates the "attitude toward the Gentiles" as one of the main challenges to Judaism. The "acceptance of Gentiles as equals without prior naturalization into the Jewish nation undoubtedly aroused a great deal of hostility among those who were diligently seeking full converts to the religion of Torah."[76] From the context of the Gospel it is apparent that this is exactly the situation faced by Matthew's community. But this is a problem that clearly existed long before 70.

One of the pillars of the argument for a late date of Matthew is the possible reference in 22:7 to the destruction of Jerusalem. Yet we can hardly be certain about this interpretation of this verse, which is hardly a necessary one.[77] But even if it is most likely that 22:7 does refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, that only necessitates a post 70 date, not a post 85 date. There are furthermore a number of references which on a late dating must be treated as archaisms, which on a pre-70 dating take on new dimensions of meaning (e.g. references to the Temple, 5:23-24; 12:5-7; 21:13; 23:16-22; to the Temple tax, 17:24-27; and to the Sadducees eight references compared to one each in Mark and Luke). Other arguments used to favor a late date for the Gospel also fall short of being able to convince beyond any doubt.[78] The traditionally late date assigned the Gospel thus seems to me to be only possible, not necessarily probable.

From our argument about the constant presence of at least some degree of alienation and hostility from the beginning, and its escalation as the synagogue took measure of its dangerous, upstart opponent, it should be apparent how difficult it becomes to speak of any single, clear "break" between the Jewish-Christians and the synagogue, especially one so late as 85-90. Jewish-Christians had to some degree broken with the synagogue as soon as they came into existence. And although hostilities were not as overt or disastrous in the earlier years, compared to what they would later become, there was never a time when the two groups found mutual acceptance and friendliness possible. But with the passing of time, the hostility became greater, and of course particularly after the

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[75]Ibid., 168.

[76]Ibid., 11f. The "*a priori* case for friction between Jews and Christians" sketched by Hare seems valid for the pre-70 period, as well as the post-70 period (18). Hare's dating of the Gospel just prior to Yavneh relegates the reality of persecution to the past and thus renders anachronistic the significant material on this theme in Matthew (127).

[77]K. H. Rengstorf argues for the formulaic character of the verse as a common motif in narratives concerning expeditions of punishment. "Die Stadt der Mörder," *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche* Festschrift for J. Jeremias, ed. W. Eltester (Berlin: A Topelmann, 1960). See too, B. Reicke, "Synoptic Prophecies of the Destruction of Jerusalem," in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, ed. D. E. Aune (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972) 121-34, who traces the content of the verse to Old Testament judgment oracles. One may wonder, if the Gospel was written with a knowledge of the destruction of Jerusalem, why the Olivet Discourse was not edited more helpfully, as it is in Luke 21.

Even if 22:7 refers to the destruction of Jerusalem, it could be a prophecy (cf. Matt 24) unless, of course, such a possibility is ruled out *a priori*.

[78]E.g., the references to the "church" and to "church discipline" need not be post-70, nor the so-called trinitarian formula of 28:19. For the best, recent defense of an early date for Matthew, see R. H. Gundry, *Matthew. A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 599-609. Although I am not convinced concerning the pre-63 date for the Gospel argued by Gundry, I do think that he has shown how tenuous the evidence is for a date later in the 80's.

destruction of Jerusalem. It is this post-70 escalation of bitterness more than anything that may favor a post-70 date for the Gospel.[79]

When we turn to the provenance of the Gospel, we find that the evidence for Antioch, the majority opinion, is also surprisingly tenuous. Although nothing argues against Antioch, it seems at best to be only a good guess. What is basically required—a Hellenistic Jewish-Christian community in close proximity to Jewish synagogues and gentile-Christian congregations—can be met by a number of Diaspora cities of the first century.[80]

The all-important tension and consequent existential realities that are so central to my hypothesis concerning the plight of Matthew's Jewish-Christian community would unquestionably have been found in any place that the antagonists were both present. Indeed, the problems would have been ubiquitous in the early church. And the issues at stake involved theological questions of the greatest importance—questions such as the meaning of the OT, the person of Christ, the nature of salvation, the identity of the church, the purposes of God. Stanton has also put his finger upon the importance of the issue I am speaking of: "for much of early Christianity, and for Matthew in particular, the relationship between Christianity and Judaism was the central problem for Christian theology."[81] The Gospel of Matthew, it seems to me, is a direct attempt to address this very question. And although initially it undoubtedly did grow out of a quite specific historical situation, knowledge of which is no longer available to us, there is also a magisterial and universal character to Matthew that transcends every specific time and place. The evangelist may well have meant his Gospel to speak authoritatively to a widespread and notorious problem in the important urban churches of the Roman Empire. We may have in Matthew a Gospel to the Jewish-Christians, a universal "Gospel according to the Hebrews" of the kind that the early fathers speak, and which some were quite ready to identify with Matthew.[82]

VI. Matthew in the Context of First Century Christianity

The problems faced by the first readers of Matthew were, as we have argued, by no means unique in first century Christianity. Jewish-Christians everywhere found themselves in basically the same plight, with perhaps only minor, local variations.[83] Signs of

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[79]"It was the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple which seems to have provoked the final crisis, and led to a complete breach between the two parties." A. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, 63.

[80]Cf. G. N. Stanton, who after surveying a variety of options, concludes: "there is no shortage of possible cities from which the gospel may have originated" ("Origin and Purpose," p. 1942).

[81]"The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism," 284. Speaking of "Christianity's understanding of its relationship to ancient Judaism," Sandmel writes: "It often seems to me that Christian commentators give far too little attention to this recurrent problem." *The First Christian Century*, 173.

[82]E.g., Epiphanius who tells us that the Ebionites used the Gospel of Matthew, or a falsified and abridged version thereof, but called it "the Gospel of the Hebrews" (*Haer.* 30.3.7). Irenaeus and Jerome also connect some such document with Matthew. See P. Vielhauer in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* I:117-165.

[83]"Wherever this new Jewish sect's belief or practice was perceived to be a threat to Jewish institutions and traditions its members would almost certainly come under pressure from their fellow Jews to remain loyal to their unique Jewish heritage." J. D. G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-18)," *JSNT* 18 (1983) 10; cf. 24.

the great importance of the relationships between Christianity and Judaism, and the implied existential dilemma faced by those making the transition from the latter to the former, are found fairly commonly in other New Testament writings.[84] Although the answers or solutions suggested are by no means the same from writer to writer, nevertheless they point to a widely shared complex of problems, familiar to us already from Matthew. Only a few conspicuous examples can be mentioned here.

The initial readers of the Epistle to the Hebrews were very probably in a situation more traumatic than, but similar to, what we have proposed as the life-setting of Matthew. They apparently experienced considerable distress from charges by the Jewish community that they were being disloyal to Judaism in having become Christians. They needed to be assured of the truth that Christianity fulfills the Old Testament and is faithful to the revelation of the past. This the author brilliantly accomplishes. Yet, at the same time, they had to learn that the truth of Christianity involves movement in the process of salvation-history which involves an inevitable degree of newness. Thus, for all the continuity with the past through the fulfillment stressed by the author, there is also in Hebrews an assertion of discontinuity (e.g. 8:6-13) much stronger than anything in Matthew. Without question Hebrews shows a more advanced attitude than Matthew at key points. This may also be seen in the attitude toward the Law reflected in 7:12, 19 and 10:1. These references, however, deal with the sacrificial cult and not with the righteousness that concerns Matthew. On the question of righteousness, Hebrews (cf. 8:10; 10:16) may not be altogether different from Matthew. Moreover even the discontinuity so apparent in Hebrews is to be understood as part of a greater, overarching continuity. The Hellenistic Jewish-Christian community addressed by Hebrews faced the same kind of painful questions as did Matthew's community. It is clear that they were put under great pressure from their non-Christian Jewish brethren and hence were sorely tempted to apostatize from their Christianity back into Judaism.

Paul himself is a Jewish-Christian, like the author and community of Matthew's Gospel, with loyalties reaching both ways. But as the apostle to the gentiles, Paul has clearly worked out a more radical stance on key issues than did Matthew. There is, nevertheless, a similarity not only in the questions faced by the evangelist and Paul, but also in what may be described as basic Christian and Jewish loyalties shared by the two writers.[85] Paul too, for all his emphasis on the discontinuity caused by the newness of the gospel, is impelled to argue in his own way for the sense in which the Christian faith is true to the past work of God in Israel. He too is, so to speak, reaching in two directions.[86] Most interesting in this connection, of course, is his sensitive, accommodating relationship to the Jerusalem church.

Also revealing is Paul's sensitivity to the tension between Jewish and gentile Christians in the church at Rome. Thus, when Paul writes to the Romans, a mixed church, he cautions the gentiles not to boast over the Jews, reminding them that Israel is the holy root and they are like wild branches grafted onto the original olive tree by the grace of God. Undoubtedly the sensitivity Paul asks his gentile readers to manifest was for the

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[84]Speaking of several N.T. writings, Jervell writes: "I can only see the *Sitz im Leben* for this lively discussion in what happened to the Jewish Christians after they had to live in Gentile surroundings, separated and isolated from their own people, still claiming to be Israel." *The Unknown Paul*, 39. Sandmel's study is valuable: *The First Christian Century*, 143-96.

[85]The important and interesting work of Mohrlang has shown this. *Matthew and Paul*, esp. 42, 67f., 89f., 106f., 123f.

[86]Cf. Sandmel, *The First Christian Century*, 187.

sake of the Jewish-Christians in the Roman churches. They needed to hear that Israel continues to have special significance and that God has not only been faithful to his promises in the existence of a remnant (the Jewish believers), but that God in the future would not forget his people: "as regards election they are beloved for the sake of their forefathers. For the gifts and the call of God are irrevocable" (Rom 11:28f.). Throughout Romans 9-11 Paul indicates his anguish for his Jewish brethren who have not received the gospel. Paul, or at least a disciple of Paul, reminds the Ephesians that they as gentiles, once separated from the nation of Israel, have now been made fellow citizens, fellow heirs with the saints and members of the household of God (Eph 2:19).

In a strikingly different way, the Epistle of James addresses Jewish-Christians with concerns similar to those of Matthew. Continuity with Jewish tradition is clear both in the form and content of the ethical exhortation that forms the major part of James. In this connection, it is interesting to note the possible dependence upon the teachings of Jesus as found in the tradition underlying Matthew, if not upon the Gospel itself. Perhaps most significant for our consideration, however, is the insistence upon faith *and* works in obvious opposition to the Pauline extremists (probably gentiles for the most part), and the author's use of the Pauline prooftext (Gen 15:6) in his own way to counter any antinomian tendencies. The Jewish-Christian readers are thus taught the continuing importance of righteousness and the Law—which, however, can now be described paradoxically as the "law of liberty" (1:25). The author writes probably with the synagogue and the gentile church both in mind.

We have considerable evidence in the New Testament then that, as to be expected, there was considerable animosity between Jews and Christian-Jews with an ever-present need for the latter to defend their new faith as the legitimate fulfillment of the faith of Abraham, Moses, and the prophets. On the other hand, and perhaps less expected, we have evidence of tension between Jewish and gentile Christians. Here the Jewish-Christians had to learn to balance the specialness of Israel with the universality of the church which was, perhaps alarmingly, becoming increasingly composed of gentiles.[87]

Thus the New Testament provides sufficient evidence of the difficult and trying social context in which Jewish-Christians found themselves. We have furthermore seen that the puzzling data in the Gospel of Matthew can be explained if we assume that the evangelist and his readers were Jewish-Christians who faced the kind of circumstances we have described. Reconstruction of a *Sitz im Leben* for any document from the remote past is necessarily speculative. In the present instance, however, we have been able to point to a variety of elements both in the contemporary context and within Matthew itself that support the present hypothesis. These elements not only include theological and historical factors, but social and psychological realities that were also undeniably a part of the total picture.

I would like to note, finally, two often-cited passages in the Gospel of Matthew that point to the correctness of my hypothesis. In the first passage (9:16f.), which Matthew takes up from Mark (2:21f.), the evangelist affirms unhesitatingly the newness entailed by the Gospel: "No one puts a piece of unshrunk cloth on an old garment, for the patch tears away from the garment, and a worse tear is made. Neither is new wine put into old wineskins; if it is, the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins are destroyed; but new wine is put into fresh wineskins and so both are preserved." Matthew's redactional addition of the last words "and so both are preserved," found neither in Mark nor Luke, is

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[87] Much more evidence it seems to me, could be adduced from the New Testament along these lines. Hostility toward the Jews, for example, in many Jewish documents like the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse probably finds an explanation in life-situations similar to that faced by Matthew's community.

congruent with his emphasis in the abiding validity of the Law. For Matthew, what is important is not only the new wine of the gospel, but the wineskins too, by which we are meant to understand forms of conduct leading to righteousness. The difference is that the wineskins are themselves necessarily new, i.e., the Law as definitively interpreted by Jesus the Messiah. So for Matthew is it important that both the new wine of the gospel *and* the new skins, the correctly understood meaning of Torah (against the mistaken Pharisees), be preserved. Here we see the evangelist reaching in both directions to stress continuity with Moses and Torah and yet at the same time to affirm the radical newness of the gospel.[88]

The second passage is an important one for Matthew's perspective and has been taken by many as having as special applicability to the evangelist himself. After introducing the disciples to the mystery of the Kingdom through a series of parables, Jesus says, "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" (13:52).

The evangelist and his readers must have rejoiced to have this saying from Jesus. They saw themselves in this reference: *sopharim* (scholars of the Law) having been discipled in the Kingdom. But this entailed bridging between the old and the new—precisely what they as Jewish-Christians recognized themselves to be doing. If they were caught in the pain of the transition they had a high responsibility both to their unbelieving Jewish brethren and their newly found gentile Christian brethren. It was to this sort of community, living at the turning point of the aeons, that the Gospel of Matthew was addressed.

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[88] We might note that Matthew—even if he had known the saying—would hardly have taken up the words of Luke (found only there) at the end of the same pericope (5:39): "And no one after drinking old wine desires new; for he says, 'The old is good.'" This is more suitable in a gentile accounting of Jewish unbelief in the gospel. For Matthew the new is better because it effectively preserves the old within it.

Hagar: A Throw-Away Character Among the Matriarchs?[1]

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Recent focus on the female characters in *Bereshit* has generally explored the active roles, complex personalities, and spiritual strengths of the matriarchs. Writers have stressed the gross inadequacy of the notion that these were powerless women who played passive-supportive roles. Indeed, strength, autonomy, and control of events seem to have become essential if a character is to be interesting and significant. It is not surprising, therefore, that one individual has received little attention and that the special significance of her story has tended to get lost in the shuffle. This character is Hagar, mother of Ishmael and Abraham's rejected concubine. She is one of several persons in *Sefer Bereshit* whose loss, misfortune, or injury occurs in the unfolding of the destiny of the Hebrew People. On the surface, they tend to appear as "throw-away" characters whose histories have little or no intrinsic significance. They appear briefly to provide confict, present a negative model, or simply to move the narrative forward.

The career of Hagar is told in two installments, each of which compresses a good deal of conflict, emotion, and divine-human encounter into a brief space. Chapter XVI, verses 1 through 15 recount childless Sarah's plan to use Hagar as a surrogate mother, the tension between the two women when Hagar conceives, and the latter's flight and return following an encounter with G-d's messengers. Chapter 21, verses 9 through 21 describe Sarah's insistence that Hagar and her son be driven away and Abraham's reluctant compliance. Again, the episode ends with divine consolation and prophecy far from human observers.

Hagar's story is one of those that sound a disconcerting note in the history of the people that are to be a moral and spiritual "light unto the nations." Truly a disenfranchised party, she is used as a means to an end until a superior solution appears; then she is discarded, never to reappear. At least in her human interactions, there is scant compensation or even recognition of her injury. And most of the traditional commentary does little to alter this impression. These episodes introduce some troubling facets of the personalities of Abraham and Sarah. They also reveal a harsh aspect to the covenant between G-d and the Hebrew patriarchs. Few commentators have acknowledged these impressions or attempted to see in Hagar's experience a distinct positive significance, moral or spiritual. In general, the rabbis have rushed to "blame the victim." As with other such Biblical characters, there are attempts to present Hagar as fully deserving her outcast status and outside the purview of moral concern. Down to the present, the extraordinary lapses in justice, humanity, and trustworthiness are minimized or explained away.

Suppose, however, that the reader accepts these impressions—the distressing view of Abraham and Sarah, the disparity between the divine and human point of view, and the

[1]Sincere thanks are due to Rabbi Joseph Feinstein for his encouragement and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

sense of a great wrong done to the most vulnerable and powerless of individuals. Suppose that the Hagar story—precisely in its disturbing elements—embodies important ethical and spiritual issues. It is more than a collection of details in the central narrative. At the same time, the fortunes of the Egyptian slave seem to echo faintly values in the life of Abraham. Consider, for example, the theme of faith that is central to the patriarch's career. Rabbinic tradition identifies ten occasions on which his heroic faith and trust are displayed, the culminating trial being the *Akedah* or binding of Isaac. Several of these trials involve the uncertain future of descendants—the destiny of Abraham's offspring while he still has no sons—or the imminent death of a child—the demanded sacrifice of Isaac. Hagar's experience seems to parallel Abraham's in several ways.

First, Hagar, too, is assured of her descendants' survival and prosperity in moments when this seems least likely. Fled into the desert from Sarah's abuse, she learns from a divine messenger that she will give birth to Ishmael, the "wild ass of a man." Specifically, she is told, "you will conceive—הִנָּךְ הָרָה (16:11).[2] Why the future tense if her actual pregnancy has been the cause of Sarah's anger? Rashi, among others, explains that the matriarch's harsh treatment or perhaps her "evil eye" had caused Hagar to miscarry. Ishmael will result from a second conception. Even without this conjecture, however, the fugitive existence in the wilderness would seem an unlikely setting for a safe delivery and survival of infancy. Much later Ishmael's survival and establishment of "a great nation" is foretold when the youth is at the brink of death. As in the case of Isaac, the son is saved and the future reaffirmed at the moment when all hope seems lost. Another interesting parallel in these extreme situations is each parent's sudden perception of a happy resolution to the drama. Abraham, having been told not to harm his son, "lifted up his eyes and saw—behold a ram!—caught in the thicket" (22:13). After the divine voice assures Hagar that Ishmael will not die, "G-d opened her eyes and she perceived a well of water" (21:19).

The Abraham-Hagar parallel can also be detected in their resolute confrontation of adversity, having received both command and reassurance. Both display unhesitating confidence in G-d's presence in their adventures and in themselves as objects of providential concern—though both can express bewilderment and despair. When commanded to "return to your mistress and submit to her domination" (16:7) and expect the birth of a son, the Egyptian woman does not mention the obvious—that the situation is bound to be worse following her flight and Abraham has shown no inclination to interfere. The only explicit speech by Hagar, apart from the statement "I am running away from my mistress," is a spontaneous outpouring of faith. From one outside the tight circle of the people of the covenant, such unhesitating assurance of G-d's imminent care is striking. "She called the name of the lord who spoke to her, 'You are the G-d of seeing,' for: she said, 'Could I have seen even here having seen?' Therefore, the well was called Be'er hachai Ro'i" (16:13-14). Thus Hagar expresses the universal nature of G-d's vision and compassion. This discovery transforms her state of mind and her intentions. It is worth considering that, although *Bereshit* from *lech lecha* (12:1) on narrows its focus to the divine covenant with the Hebrew people, such episodes as this one reaffirm G-d's infinite regard for all humankind and the universality of divine justice and compassion. This same moment by the well in the wilderness brings into sharp focus a continuing problem of balance in *Bereshit:* 'the unconditional and deontological nature of Torah ethics versus the centrality and urgency of Israel's particular destiny. Are actions intended to preserve and protect the covenant, to insure the worth of its inheritors always correct? Is there a double standard that disenfranchises outsiders when necessary? Or can covenant-

[2]All English quotations from *Bereshit* are according to the translation found in *Bereshis, Volume II* of the Art Scroll Tanach Series produced by Mesorah Publications, Ltd., Brooklyn, N.Y., 1980.

motivated behavior sometimes be ethically unacceptable? Is it possible that the moral status of such actions may vary with one's point of view while remaining consistent with the Scriptural view of ethical principles in general? To put the issue in more concrete, human terms, can the patriarchs and matriarchs wrong their fellow beings without loss of spiritual status?

The notion of universal laws applicable to all humanity is established early in *Bereshit*. And it seems to echo uncomfortably in the backs of our minds at various points in the later narrative. The provisions of the all-encompassing covenant which G-d establishes with Noah affirms the absolute worth of the human individual and its right against injury, for "in G-d's image created He man" (9:6). Here is a primitive, but clear formulation of the ethical principle of "respect for persons" derived from an inalienable worth intrinsic to the individual *in se*. Beyond the explicit prohibition of murder and violence, it seems to imply also a proscription against the hurtful exploitation or reification of human beings. The stress on the *imago dei* seems to lead naturally to the later precept of Leviticus 14:34 that "the stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." How, then, to regard covenant-moral law tension in the Hagar story? What complex, yet positive account emerges of divine and human, universal and particular, eternal and historical approaches to ethical assessment?

Hagar enters the story as a striking example of the "innocent victim." Her role is one of passivity, disenfranchisement, and vulnerability. She is a bondswoman and an alien, living far from her own people. In two respects she is distinctly worse off than another injured party in *Bereshit*, Esau. First, she has virtually no means of retaliation or redress if wronged; and second, there seems to be no assumption that she *has* rights or legitimate claims that can be violated. Hagar's lack of sexual autonomy is not in and of itself unusual or disturbing given the cultural context. Sarah herself is appropriated by two different rulers while her husband protects his life by feigning to be her brother. The relative passivity of women in connubial matters generally as well as the existence of polygamy and concubinage in the Biblical world render Sarah's decision to give Hagar to Abraham neither strange nor cruel. And although the strategy of the surrogate mother occurs only twice in all of the TaNaCH, the virtually intolerable situation of the childless wife and the practice of producing heirs through female servants found in societies of the Ancient Near East tend to legitimatize the plan. However, it is instructive to compare the treatment of Hagar with the other biblical instance of surrogate motherhood—the handmaids of Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives. Zilpah and Bilhah are given to the sisters by their father, apparently from out of his own household. They are not aliens, but "almost family" to begin with. It is for Rachel that the servant-surrogate provides the children that the wife has failed to produce. And, as in Sarah's case, the barren mother gives birth after her handmaiden's successful pregnancies. Leah's use of a surrogate is less urgently motivated. Significantly, no hostility is expressed by either wife toward either concubine. The various procreative relationships are apparently stable and generally noncontroversial. Nor do we see any tension over the status of the various children and the order of inheritance, whether material or spiritual. Indeed, except for Jacob's special fondness for the sons of Rachel, there is no real distinction of any sort drawn among Jacob's sons. It is not slave status, not lack of sexual self-determination, nor the surrogate role that make Hagar a tragic figure. Rather, it is her position as an uprooted alien and the object of a powerful individual's hatred. As Sarah's will brings her into Abraham's tent and makes her the mother of the Patriarch's son, so a dramatic change of that will subjects her to abuse and ultimately forces her expulsion from all resources and security. Once Hagar and her son have left the patriarch's household, she disappears completely from all human consideration. Only G-d lends dimension and significance to her plight. This is not true of Ishmael. First, the boy interacts with his father in significant ways, being circumcised along with Abraham. We are aware of him in the life of the household. After Abraham's

death, Ishmael reappears to help Isaac bury their father at Machpelah (25:9). Thus he is in a sense reunited with his roots; his status is restored, and his significance affirmed with a brief account of his descendants and his mature years.

Hagar, in contrast, seems to hold no intrinsic interest for anyone. For Sarah, she is strictly a means to acquire children, to achieve the full status of a wife. Abraham, while consenting to Sarah's plan, remains, passive. He does not seek out Hagar; she is brought to him. No emotional reactions are described. He "consorts with her," and she conceives. When the surrogate startles everyone by taking pride in her pregnancy and Sarah's attitude turns swiftly to jealous resentment, Abraham remains utterly detached. Confronted by his vindictive spouse, who complains that the mouse has roared, he does not refer to Hagar as wife, concubine, mother of his child, or in any terms referring to his own involvement. He says only, "Your maidservant is in your hand; deal with her as you see fit" (16:6). Years later, Hagar remains a nonperson in Abraham's ethical and emotional life. Following Sarah's demand that mother and son be driven out, we learn that "the matter greatly distressed Abraham *regarding his son*" (21:11). His subsequent behavior toward Hagar shows a decent concern for her survival needs, but only her son is personally significant. Only G-d directly addresses Hagar or hears her utterances. Only in the divine scheme of things does she achieve significance.

The moral complexity of Hagar's fate unfolds as, following the weaning of Isaac, the Biblical narrative moves from one human point of view to another and then to the divine perspective. Sarah's pledge to achieve maternity via her servant's children is long forgotten. Hagar and Ishmael—especially the bumptious, half-alien Ishmael—are unnecessary, irritating complications once Isaac is born. Sarah now views the older child as a threat to the status of her own, the "real" son. She demands the removal of the offending mother and boy. Her choice of language is emphatic and relentless. In her injunction to Abraham, Ishmael is not described as "your son by your concubine" or "your son by my servant," but "the son of that slavewoman" (21:10). She seeks to nullify any claim of Ishmael on his father, to eliminate this shadow family from Abraham's destiny. The verb used in her demand is גָּרַשׁ, to drive out, an act of uncompromising rejection and denial.

The traditional rabbinic commentators tend to justify Sarah's apparently spiteful, pitiless behavior on the basis of a sort of "moral self defense" or of the preservation of the integrity of the covenant. Rashi,[3] drawing on Midrash, identifies Ishmael's "mocking" or "making sport" (21:9) as obscene or grossly immoral behaviors. Sarah sees that this reveals Ishmael as being utterly unfit to receive Abraham's spiritual legacy. Further, his immorality poisons the environment in which Isaac will grow up. Both Sforno and Hirsch attribute Ishmael's behavior and his contempt for his social and spiritual superiors to Hagar's influence. Indeed, his attitude recalls the galling air of self-satisfaction adopted by Hagar when first she became pregnant.

A different line of justification for Sarah's actions is taken by such contemporary commentators as Nahum Sarna. As in the case of the servant as involuntary surrogate mother, Sarna points to contemporary custom. More than one legal code in the Ancient Near East gave sons of slave-wives inheritance rights equal to those of the sons of free-women. These rights were relinquished if the servant-family members were given their freedom. Thus Sarah demands that the two be dismissed in order to eliminate any claim of inheritance by Ishmael. The episode, says Sarna, "can be seen as having taken place

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[3]The various medieval commentators are referred to by their acronyms or last names as follows: Abarbanel = Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel (1427-1508); Ibn Ezra = Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089-1164); Radak = Rabbi David Kimchi (1160-1235); Rambam = Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204); Ramban = Rabbi Moses ben Nachman (1194-1270); Rashi = Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (1040-1105); Sforno = Rabbi Ovadish Sforno (1470-1550). "Hirsh" refers to the eminent nineteenth-century commentator Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888).

according to the social custom and legal procedure of the times."[4] But putting aside the various justifications, a fierce image remains. Sarah's point of view focuses exclusively upon the preeminence and sole heir status of her son. Questions of rightness rest entirely on this issue. She demands that all competition (including any who would compete for the position of mother of Abraham's children) be eliminated. She exhibits no concern for Hagar's or Ishmael's future; one rather suspects she would prefer that they not have one. Like the elements of a contingency plan that proved unsatisfactory and unnecessary, they are to be discarded.

Abraham's response and subsequent actions represent a more complex point of view. He is subject to both emotional ambivalence and conflicting moral claims. Significantly, Hagar figures not at all in his dilemma. She does not enter into his struggle to come to a decision. The arguments against honoring Sarah's wishes are those of paternal feeling toward Ishmael and the rights of the latter as Abraham's son. The patriarch does not accept the implications of Sarah's phrase "the son of that slavewoman," for 21:11 states that "the matter distressed Abraham regarding *his* son." Ramban sees this statement as underscoring Hagar's lack of personal significance; she is unworthy of Abraham's interest except as the instrument in Sarah's original plan. The absence of concern for Hagar is certainly not surprising since Abraham had permitted his wife to "deal harshly with her" (16:6) when she was first pregnant with his child. Thus on the one hand Abraham's moral view of the proposed action is more complex and more broadly based than Sarah's, involving a conflict of duties. On the other hand, his reaction underscores the dehumanization of Hagar. If nothing else had occurred, it seems likely that the expulsion would not have happened. But something else *does* occur. The point of view shifts to that of the divine will. A superficial and somewhat misleading summary might say that G-d intervenes endorsing Sarah's demand, reassures Abraham regarding the fate of his first son, and affirms that the covenant will be passed on through Isaac alone. Abraham quickly follows his wife's instructions. Mother and son are soon out of sight and out of mind, observed only by G-d who enables them to survive in the wilderness. However, several aspects of these events need to be examined more closely. Both G-d's intervention and Abraham's response are much more complicated.

First, the divine message controverts both Sarah's contempt and Abraham's regardlessness concerning Hagar. G-d affirms her significance as a human individual worthy of concern and recalls her status as mother of this controversial son for whom Abraham cares deeply. "G-d said to Abraham, 'Be not distressed over the youth or your slavewoman . . . the son of the slavewoman as well will I make into a nation for he is your offspring'" (21:12-13). The reference to Hagar as "*your* slavewoman" (even when Ishmael is referred to as "*the* youth") implies that she ought to be a personal concern to Abraham as well as having a person's inalienable worth in the order of things.

It is also interesting to consider more closely the notion that G-d endorses Sarah's demand. Abraham hesitates until assured that the expulsion is not at odds with the divine will and that justice will be done, a future will be assured, to Ishmael. On both points he is reassured. But the specifics of Sarah's instruction are not morally validated, nor does Abraham adhere to them literally. G-d does not say that the tigress-mother is right, that she voices the higher moral imperative. Rather, her will in her fierce desire to protect her child's interests coincides with one aspect of the divine plan of history. "Whatever Sarah tells you, heed her voice, for in Isaac shall seed be called to you" (21:12).

The mother's concern is the material patrimony. But the important thing to which Isaac is to be sole heir is the spiritual covenant sealed with Abraham. Thus, the patriarch's next action is not a validation of Sarah's moral judgment, but an affirmation of faith in G-d's design of history. It is significant that Abraham provides Hagar and Ishmael

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[4]Nahum Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966) 156.

with provisions—not part of Sarah's instructions. Further, the verb describing his action is וַיְשַׁלְּחֶהָ, "sent her off," a much milder term than the גָּרֵשׁ of Sarah's demand. Thus Hagar departs with her son, gently dismissed, perhaps, and provided for, but nonetheless excluded from further human consideration.

The point of view finally shifts to that of G-d. And the uniqueness of the divine-human encounter described here underscores its significance. In all of *Bereshit* G-d initiates a dialogue with only one woman; and this woman is not one of the matriarchs, but Hagar, the Expendable. In the famous scene at Abraham's tent near Mamre (18:1-16), G-d questions Sarah by addressing Abraham. When Sarah insists that she did not laugh, the text reads, "And he said, 'No, you did laugh'" (18:15). Though some translations interpret the "he" to refer to G-d, at least two of the great medieval commentators, Ramban and Sforno, believe that "he" is Abraham. If such is the case, Sarah is not directly addressed by G-d at all. And in the case of Rebekah, who "inquired of the Lord" regarding her difficult pregnancy (25:22) the virtually unanimous view of the commentators is that this communication was indirect. Rashi and Ibn Ezra, as well as many Midrashic sources, base their opinion on the phrase "she went to inquire," which suggests recourse to an intermediary. In this history of Hebrew people, then, only an Egyptian slave participates in an unmistakable dialogue between G-d and a female character—not once, but twice. Further, on each occasion, this intimate communication takes place away from the encampment of the Chosen People, when Hagar has experienced the harshness, the pettiness of human society and the inconsistency of human notions of right and wrong.

The first exchange takes place after Sarah has "dealt harshly" with Hagar, causing her to flee Abraham's camp. Rashi and Radak are among the commentators who conclude that Hagar had flaunted her pregnancy and behaved intolerably, thus inviting hostility. Sforno and Abarbanel interpret Sarah's behaviors as well-intentioned and non-malicious. Rabbinic opinion generally portrays Hagar's flight as unnecessary, as a foolish rejection of the superior moral environment of the patriarch's household. Ramban, however, differs with the majority view. He holds that Sarah sinned in venting her resentment toward Hagar, and so did Abraham in allowing it. For this reason, G-d speaks directly to Hagar to console her and to prophesy the birth of a fierce, free-ranging son who will afflict the descendants of Abraham and Sarah. The text seems to substantiate this minority opinion. Instructing Hagar to return confidently to Abraham's household, the divine messenger acknowledges the concubine's ordeal: "for G-d has heard your cries of affliction or suffering " (16:11). The subsequent prophecies concerning Ishmael thus seem to describe compensation, justice for wrongs endured. And Hagar's confident, even joyful response suggests her realization of an all-seeing moral order in which the suffering of the helpless and insignificant do not go unnoticed.

The second encounter between G-d and Hagar occurs after her final departure into the wilderness with her son. We have seen some of the commentators' justifications of Sarah's demand for her expulsion. We have seen that Abraham cooperates only when assured by G-d that it is congruent with the divine plan. Yet again some of the commentaries seem determined to reduce the pathos of her situation by suggesting her spiritual inferiority. Rashi interprets the words "She departed and strayed in the desert Bur Sheba" (21:14) to mean that once away from Abraham's direct influence, she reverted to idolatry. Hirsch castigates her for moving away from her apparently dying son, saying that this action revealed her flawed Hamitic character." G-d responds only to the distress of Ishmael, declares Hirsch, because her own tears "were worthless in G-d's eyes." And yet it is Hagar whom G-d addresses comfortingly for the second time, reaffirming the omnipresent and unfailing quality of divine compassion. Once again G-d hears the distress of the disenfranchised outcast. Again compensation is promised. The imbalance of finite human moral judgment is corrected.

A progressive ascent in point of view on the Hagar story satisfies on at least two counts. First, our dismay at the inconsistency and vindictiveness of Sarah's behavior and the callousness of Abraham's is somewhat eased if their actions are viewed as very limited and particular, shaped by stressful human relations and family mores of the time. Sarah's course is not depicted as wrong, since her demands coincide with G-d's long-range plan. Yet neither must we wonder how such action can be morally right. That claim is not made. Abraham only accedes to Sarah's demands and complaints when assured of their place in the divine scenario. The patriarch acts from a broader, more ethically infused point of view, agonizing over conflicting moral claims and complex human sympathies. But still his is a finite, particular perspective. His ultimate basis for decision is the future of the covenant, the ordained inheritance of Israel's unique mission. It is only when we—and Hagar—are alone with the divine perspective, that every moral level of the situation falls into place. It is here that righteousness *sub specie aeternitatis* is articulated.

The second satisfaction is the reaffirmation of the absolute and unconditional nature of justice and compassion. The encounter with G-d that concludes Hagar's brief presence in Scripture depicts the real foundation of Torah ethics—the inalienable worth of the human individual. For this reason especially, we lose a significant message if Hagar is viewed merely as a "throw-away" character. And in the trend toward understanding Biblical women as moving forces rather than passive endurers, it is regrettably easy to dismiss powerless, disenfranchised Hagar as being unworthy of attention. In our fascination with forceful, influential personalities, what could be our thematic interests in this peripheral nonentity? The central issue is precisely that G-d's interest in Hagar is profound and unwaivering. Conflicting motives, powerful personalities and historical destinies do not eclipse her intrinsic significance as a human individual. Whatever the justification of the actions of Abraham and Sarah, Hagar and Ishmael remain innocent sufferers with an undeniable claim within the moral universe. The epilogue to the story of the Egyptian slave could well be the statement of another little-known, yet significant woman. Ima Sholom lived during the first century of the Common Era as is twice mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. Following a period of personal grief and conflict, she said (*Baba Metzia* 59b), "All gates are locked except the gate of wounded feeling." When G-d hears nothing else, G-d hears the cry of the injured.

The Widows as the "Altar of God"

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I. Biblical Background

Early Christianity inherited from the Hebrew Bible many of its attitudes toward widows.[1] There, the widow stands with the stranger, the orphan, and the poor as a special object of God's concern.

> You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt. You shall not afflict any widow or orphan. If you do afflict them, and they cry out to me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath will burn . . . (Exod 22:21-24. See also Deut 10:18; 27:19 and Ps 146:9)

In the widow's case, this concern for abuse of power and for protection of the poor and oppressed was especially crucial. The community considered a man's death before old age a judgment against his sin; his wife was included in his guilt. Thus, to be a widow was a disgrace. Since the widow could not inherit independently from her husband, the inheritor of his estate assumed responsibility for her care. A childless widow returned to her father's house (Gen 38:11; Lev 22:13; Ruth 1:8) only if her purchase price was paid back to her husband's heirs. Otherwise, she remained in her husband's family in a low position, was subject to Levirate marriage (Deut 25:5-10), or could be sold into slavery for debt. Remarriage was not forbidden, but is mentioned only four times in the Old Testament (Lev 21:14; Ruth 1:9, 13; Ezra 44:22).

Admonitions to treat widows well were because God was their special helper and refuge. Job could maintain his innocence, in part, with respect to his good treatment of widows (22:5ff.; 29:13; 31:16). A widow was allowed to glean in the fields (Deut 24:19-21; Ruth), was to share in the tithe (Deut 14:28; 26:12), and was to be invited to meals at public festivals (Deut 16:11, 14). Although in a sense protected and offered these courtesies, the plight of the widow was a serious one. The stories of the widow of Zarephath in 1 Kings 17:9ff. and of the prophet's widow in 2 Kings 4:11ff. show how bad things must often have been.

The prophets upheld the cause of the widows (Isa 1:17; Jer 7:6; 22:3; 49:11; Zech 7:10; Mal 3:5) and used the figure of the widow as a metaphor for the lost state of Israel

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[1]The term "widow" comes from the Indo-European root, *ghe*, "forsaken" or "left empty." The Greek words χῆρα, χῆρος, mean "empty space." "The term . . . has a strong social and financial overtone more appropriate to a widow than a widower" (James B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981], pp. 137-138.) The term can mean not only a woman whose husband is dead, but also a woman living without a husband. See TDNT, Vol. IX, p. 440ff.; F. C. Synge, "Studies in Texts: I Timothy 5.3-16," *Theology* 68 (1965), 200-201.

without God (Isa 47:9; Lam 1:1ff.; 5:3). The general concern for their condition stands as evidence for how poor it must have been.[2] In short, the "Hebraic widow was an image of that poor, desolate 'remnant' of Israel destined to receive the promise."[3] Her spiritual task was to wait and pray for the fulfillment.

Anna, the first widow we meet in the New Testament, is the paradigm for this activity and for the role of the widows in the early church generally.

> And there was a prophetess, Anna, . . . and she was of a great age, having lived with her husband seven years from her virginity, and as a widow till she was eighty-four. She did not depart from the temple, worshiping with fasting and prayer night and day. (Luke 2:36-37)

In the ministry of Jesus, widows are prominent, especially in the gospel of Luke. Jesus raises the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:11-15), and uplifts the widows themselves when he uses them as object lessons in the Kingdom in the incident of the widow's mite (Mark 12:41-44; Luke 21:1-4) and in the parable of the unjust judge (Luke 18:1-8).[4] In the manner of the prophets, Jesus attacks those who oppress widows: "Beware of the scribes . . . who devour widows houses" (Luke 20:46-47).

If we take the general sense of the term χήρα as anyone who lived alone, or as a woman living without a husband (see note 1), then at least some of the Galilean women who accompanied Jesus and the disciples, "who provided for them out of their own means," (Luke 8:1-3) were widows. These "widows" were present at the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus (Luke 23:49, 55; 24:1-9), and remained in Jerusalem serving with the original eleven disciples and participating in the election of Judas' replacement. (Acts 1:14; 2:4)[5]

The Acts of the Apostles corroborates the suggestion that, from the church's inception, the widows were a recognized group within the community. Acts 6:1ff. describes the care of widows. When Hebrew widows joined the Christian community, they lost claim to support from the Temple. To maintain the claim that "there was not a needy person among them," (Acts 4:34) these Hebrew widows were included with Hellenistic widows, and presumably other persons, in the general distribution which characterized the church in its early stages in Jerusalem (Acts 2:44-45, 4:32-37)[6]

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[2]For further discussion see George Buttrick (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV (New York: Abingdon, 1962); F. C. Fensham, "Widows, Orphans, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 21 (1962), 129-139; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Appendix I. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969); J. Leipholdt, *Die Frau in der antiken Welt und Urchristentum* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1955); H. J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1960); T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960); G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. II (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); Ruether & McLaughlin (eds), *Women of Spirit* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979); Singer, et al. (eds.) *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 12 (New York: Ktav, n.d.).

[3]Mary Lawrence McKenna, *Women of the Church: Role and Renewal* (New York: Kenedy, 1967), p. 36.

[4]For a fascinating exposition of the image of the widow see G. Stählin, "Das Bild der Witwe," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 17 (1974), 5-20.*

[5]McKenna, pp. 37-38. See also inscriptional evidence in Dorothy Irvin, "The Ministry of Women in the Early Chruch: The Archaeological Evidence," *Duke Divinity School Review* 45 (2, 1980), 76-86.

[6]McKenna argues this group was already an official *diakonia* which had developed around the women who followed Jesus and which now included Hellenic widows. The par-

The incident at Joppa in which Peter raises Tabitha from the dead provides several clues about the widows. Since no husband is mentioned, it is conjectured that Tabitha was, herself, a widow,[7] although, like her sisters in Luke 8:1-3, one with independent means. St. Basil interpreted Acts to mean that Tabitha was a widow in a special sense.[8] Used only here, and not again in the Acts or the epistles of Paul, μαθήτρια, the feminine form of "disciple," is used to describe Tabitha. In his article on the widows in TDNT, Stählin suggests the widows mentioned collectively in 9:39, 41 were already a special class. When Peter revives Tabitha, he calls in the saints and widows (τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τὰς χήρας) to witness that she is alive. The saints would certainly be the Christians in Joppa, and the widows appear to be a recognizable group among them.

Tabitha had obviously taken on special responsibility for this group. There is inscriptional evidence from Egypt in the 4th century that women in the church took on such duties.[9] If this is the case in Acts, and if Tabitha were herself a widow, then she was actively engaged in work on behalf of the community and not just a recipient of its benevolence. (I shall return to this presently.) She was practicing what James called "true religion."[10] In any case, evidence is provided for a society of widows outside Jerusalem as early as 43 A.D.[11]

Clearly, the widows have an acknowledged claim to benevolence from and recognized status and privileges in the early church. It is not within the scope of this essay to discuss the social setting of the Pastorals, the position of the widows in those churches,[12] or the question of whether or not an "order" is established[13] in the crucial New Testament text,

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tiality in the distribution was due, therefore, to the fact that the Jewish women had served the Lord. McKenna, pp. 39-41.

[7]See TDNT, Vol. XI, p. 451, note 107. If this is so, Mary in Acts 12:12, Lydia in Acts 16:14, Phoebe in Romans 16:1, Mary in Romans 16:6, and Chloe in 1 Cor 1:11, as well as the daughters of Philip may all be forerunners of the congregation of widows.

[8]"Note to the Ascetical Life," St. Basil, *Morals*, Rule 74.

[9]Ewa Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Egypt* (Bruxelles: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elsabeth, 1972), pp. 114-115.

[10]"Religion that is pure and undefiled before God the Father is this: to visit widows and orphans in their affliction, and to keep oneself unstained from the world." James 1.27.

[11]It has also been suggested that Paul's first European convert, Lydia, who was a businesswoman and head of a household (Acts 16:14-15), was also a widow. Constance Parvey, "The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament," in R. Ruether (ed.), *Religion and Sexism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), p. 142ff and Charles C. Ryrie, *The Role of Women in the Church* (Chicago: Moody, 1958), p. 54.

[12]See Jouette Bassler, "The Widow's Tale: A Fresh Look at I Tim. 5.3-16," *JBL* 103 (1, 1984) 23-41; Stevan Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980); J. La porte, "The Elderly in the Life and Thought of the Early Church," in W. M. Clements (ed.), *Ministry and Aging* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981); D. MacDonald, "Virgins, Widows, and Paul in 2nd Century Asia Minor," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1979, Vol. I; David C. Verner, *The Household of God* (Chico, CA.: Scholar's Press, 1983).

[13]See H. W. Bartsch, "Die Witwenregel," *Studies zu den Pastoralbriefen* (Hamburg, 1965); L. Bopp, *Das Witwentum* (Mannheim, 1950); J. Danielou, "Le Ministrè des Femmes dans l'Église Ancienne," *La Maison-Dieu* 61 (1960); J. Ernst, "Die Witwenregel des ersten Timotheusbriefs . . .", *Theologie und Glaube* 59 (1969); A. Sand, "Witwenstand und Ämterstructuren in den urchristlichen Gemeinden," *Bibel und Leben*, 12 (1971); C. H. Turner, "Ministries of Women in the Primitive Church," *The Constructive Quarterly*, 7 (1919); J. Viteau, "L'Institution des diacres et des veuves," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 22 (1926).

1 Timothy 5:3-16. The text has been interpreted along two general lines. One suggests we are dealing with two sections: vv. 3-8 on the care of widows and vv. 9-16 which form a separate set of instructions on requirements for an office (Bartsch, G. Delling, Dornier, Jeremias). The other interpretation argues vv. 3-16 are a unit which addresses the question of who are "real" widows (Dibelius/Conzelmann, Müller-Bardorff, A. Sand).[14] The key terms are τίμα (τιμή, τιμάω) variously rendered "pay" or "honor,"[15] and καταλεγέσθω, "enroll."[16]

In the discussion which follows, I assume along with classical scholars like Danielou,[17] Döllinger,[18] and Schweizer,[19] that the widows are a special group with assigned duties or functions in the community. (I agree with Jouette Bassler that many of the textual difficulties arise because the author of 1 Timothy is not initiating a new work, but limiting an existing one.[20]) Admission to this group, then, required that a woman have no other means of support (v. 5), that she be 60 or older[21] and the wife of one husband[22] (v. 9), that there be witnesses to her good works, and that she has raised children, been hospitable, and given aid to the afflicted (v. 10). Once enrolled, she is to remain in the order unmarried (vv. 5, 11-12); to avoid unseemly behavior (vv. 6, 13); and to be constantly engaged in prayer and supplication (v. 5).

II. Patristic Background

Although they evaluate their status differently, there is almost universal agreement among early historians that the widows were the outstanding group of women in the first three centuries. There is no period during that era when literary or inscriptional evidence for their existence is lacking. Throughout the second century, they were the special concern of the bishop; Ignatius enjoins Polycarp to see that they are not neglected (Poly. 4.1) and speaks of "the virgins who are called widows" (Smyrnaeans 13.1). The widows

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[14]For a concise summary of the various positions see Verner, pp. 161-166.

[15]See B. S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), p. 151; Walter Lock, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1924), p. 57; Verner, pp. 162-163.

[16]M. Dibelius & H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), p. 75; Lock, p. 58.

[17]" . . . it is not a question of all the widows, but of certain among them who make up a group in the community." Danielou & Marrou, *The First 600 Years* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 118.

[18]" . . . a peculiar kind of widows, who had a special relation to the Church. Their names were to be marked in a catalogue, and they were to have a special ministry assigned to them." John Döllinger, *The First Age of Christianity and the Church* (London: Gibbings, 1906), p. 312.

[19]"The widows too are now a special group clearly defined by being listed separately. . . . The only thing we hear about their service is that it is one of intercession. . . . We hear almost as much about it as about that of the bishops." E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 86.

[20]Bassler, p. 34.

[21]If what is discussed in 1 Tim 5:3ff. is merely a "dole," is it reasonable to assume widows under 60 (and their children) would be left to starve?

[22]For further discussion see J. B. Frey, "La Signification des Termes Univira . . . ," *Recherche de science religieuse* 20 (1930); Lightman & Zeisel, "Univira . . .," *Church History* 46 (1977).

also figure in several works by Tertullian.[23] In the third century, instructions to the widows are found in the *Didascalia Apostolorum* and mention is made of them in Cyprian.[24] A letter of Cornelius (Bishop of Rome, d. 253) which lists church officials enumerates 1 bishop, 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 sub-deacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers and door keepers, and "above 1500 widows and persons in distress, all of whom are supported by the grace and loving kindness of the Master."[25]

Although the widows as a distinct group declined in the fourth century as virgins took prominence in the West and deaconesses in the East, and they practically disappeared by the year 400 as monastic orders arose,[26] material on widows occurs in Methodius, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Ordinances of Hippolytus*, and the *Testamentum Domini* (which includes descriptions of a service and prayers for their "ordination").

A great many issues both for church history and feminist theology are raised by the history of the widows, and we are just beginning to see sustained work in the field. For the moment, let us confine our attention to one image which appears throughout the early literature: the widow as the altar of God. It occurs first in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians.

> Let us teach the widows to be discreet in the faith of the Lord, praying ceaselessly for all men, being far from all slander, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and all evil, knowing they are an altar of God, and that all offerings are tested, and that nothing escapes him of reasonings or thoughts, or of "the secret things of the heart."[27] (4.3)

The passage assumes the widows to be a recognizeable group whose primary function is intercession. The metaphor, "an altar of God," and the suggestion that the offering is tested are noteworthy since they suggest, in addition to Biblical allusions to the altar of sacrifice and to 1 Tim 5:5, the necessity for multiple functions within the church.

A generation or so later, the image turns up again in the instructions Tertullian wrote to his wife. In a discussion of second marriages we read

> How detrimental to faith, how obstructive to holiness, second marriages are, the discipline of the church and the prescription of the apostle declare, when he suffers not men twice married to preside /over a church/, when he would not grant a widow admittance into the order unless she had been the wife of one man; for it behooves God's altar to be set forth pure.[28]

Again, the metaphor refers to 1 Timothy 5:9-10 and suggests the need for purity.

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[23]To His Wife, Exhortation to Chastity, On the Veiling of Virgins.

[24]On Works and Alms, Third Book of Treatises.

[25]Lawlor & Oulton (trans.), *Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History and The Martyrs of Palestine*, Vol. I (London: Macmillan, 1927), pp. 211-212.

[26]George H. Tavard, *Women in Christian Tradition* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973), p. 94.

[27]Kirsopp Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 289. Hereafter in text *AF*.

[28]Roberts & Donaldson (eds.), *The Writings of Tertullian*, Vol. I (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1869), p. 289: "Quantum fidei detrahant, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiae secundae, disciplinae Ecclesiae, praescriptio Apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit praesidere, cum viduam allegi in ordinem nisi univiram non concedit: aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet. Tota illa Ecclesia candida de sanctitate describitur. Sacerdotium viduitatis, et celebratum est apud nationes . . ." (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Tertuliani*, Tomus Primus, [Paris, 1844], p. 1286).

In the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (written in the third century in Greek, but surviving only in a Syriac version), and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (also Syrian of the mid-to-late fourth century) which parallels and expands the *Didascalia*, the widows appear with the metaphor of the altar. Early on in the *DA*, in a list of correspondences (God = the bishop, the Holy Spirit = the deaconess, the presbyters = the apostles) we find ". . . and the orphans and widows shall be reckoned by you in the likeness of the altar."[29] In the chapter on the deportment of widows, the author instructs, "But let a widow know that she is the altar of God; and let her sit ever at home, and not stray or run about among the houses of the faithful to receive. For the altar of God never strays or runs about anywhere, but is fixed in one place" (*DA*, 133). The widow who is a "gadabout" does not conform to the altar of Christ" (*DA*, 134).[30]

The widows are to pray for their benefactors, but not to reveal their names. "But do thou in praying for him suppress his name; and so shalt thou fulfil that which is written, thou and the widows who are such (as thou): for you are the holy altar of God, (even of) Jesus Christ" (*DA*, 143). Bishops are to be careful that the benefactors are worthy persons so that the widows' intercessions for them will be heard. If she prays for persons in sin, she will draw the Lord's attention to them!

> Wherefore, O bishops, fly and avoid such ministrations; for it is written: *There shall not go up upon the altar of the Lord (that which cometh) of the price of a dog, or of the hire of a. . . .* Take good heed therefore that you minister not to the altar of God out of the ministrations of transgressions. (*DA*, 159)

The references to widows in the *Apostolic Constitutions* largely follow those in the *Didascalia*,[31] although in the *AC* in the list of correspondences, the widows and orphans are "esteemed as representing the altar of burnt offering" and the virgins are "honored as representing the altar of incense, and the incense itself."[32]

Perhaps the *AC* have borrowed this metaphorical usage of the fixtures of the temple from Methodius' *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins*. (See also note 38.) In Discourse V ("Thallousa"), chapter 8, the writer speaks of the double altar of widows and virgins. If the Tabernacle is taken for a type of the church, he reasons, "it is fitting that the altars should signify some of the things in the church." He then compares the brazen altar to the company and circuit of widows: " . . . for they are a living altar of God, to which they bring calves and tithes, and free-will offerings, as a sacrifice to the Lord. . . ."[33] The virgins represent the golden altar, so in both *AC* and Methodius the beginnings of a shift

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[29]Hugh R. Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 88. Hereafter in the text *DA*.

". . . uiduae et orfani in typum altaris putentur autem a uobis."

[30]"Quae talis ergo est uidua non est conlegata altario Christi . . ." (*DA*, 135).

[31]Books 1 to 6 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* are from the *Didascalia*, and, in fact, retain the only vestiges we have of its original Greek form.

[32]Roberts & Donaldson (eds.), *Ante-Nicene Library*, Vol. XVII, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1870), p. 59. Hereafter in text *AC*.

[33]Roberts & Donaldson (eds.), *The Writings of Methodius* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1869), p. 51. (The brazen altar was the large, stationary altar in front of the temple in Jerusalem. The golden altar or incense altar was much smaller and was originally in the wilderness sanctuary.)

of focus away from the widows to other groups of women, or perhaps to a general restriction of women's roles in the church, is evident.[34]

There are clearly a variety of texts in which the widow is described as an altar. The general interpretation of the image has run as follows: " . . . the widows are called the 'altar of God' because they were supported out of the gifts brought to the church at the assembly for worship . . .";[35] they were the altar on which the offerings of the church were piled.[36] In these interpretations, the role of the widow is passive; she receives the gifts of the community. This was, in fact, the case; all the literature on the widows deals with their reception of alms. However, even if we omit later sources like the *AC* which clearly list the duties performed by the widows,[37] this understanding of the altar is too narrow.

It is clear that the metaphor functions differently in different texts. In all the sources, the reference is to the altar as the place of sacrifice. Thus, it can be used to discourage "gadding about" in the later sources. In the *DA, AC,* and Methodius, it is used to suggest a correspondence between church officials and either elements in temple worship, or the Trinity and the apostles.[38] Both Polycarp and Tertullian use it to insist on the widows' purity (seen in terms of sexual continence).

But even the reference to the altar itself changes. In Polycarp, the widows are "an altar," in Tertullian "God's altar." The *DA* refers to "the altar," "the altar of Christ," and "the holy altar of God." In Methodius the widows are a "living altar." It would seem that the widow is not only the place of sacrifice, but that she, herself, performs some active role. If this is true, then historians who argue that the widows were merely "on the dole" must re-think their position.

When the image of the altar is properly understood, the widow emerges as a figure with a positive contribution, indeed, with spiritual power within the community.

III. The Altar and the Sacrifice

Behind the image of the altar in early Christian literature stood the literal altars in the temple. Following the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D., prayer became a legitimate substitute for sacrifice. The precentor in the synagogue was the substitute for the sacrificing priest in the temple.[39] Not surprisingly, prayer in place of sacrifice became normative for Christianity. The Epistle to the Hebrews enjoins ". . . let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name" (Hebrews 13:15; see also *Didache* 14).

Those who lifted up their voices in prayer were referred to as "altars." Clement of Alexandria writes, "The altar . . . is the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayers."[40] When he attacks Celsus' remark that Christians "shrink from raising altars,

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[34]See Carolyn Osiek, "The Widows as Altar: Rise and Fall of a Symbol," *Second Century* 3 (3, 1983), 159-169.

[35]Everett Ferguson, *Early Christians Speak* (Austin, Texas: Sweet Publishing Co., 1971), p. 122.

[36]McKenna, p. 51.

[37]See Book III, chapters 6 & 7 both of which contain the altar image.

[38]This latter correspondence goes back to the letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians, VI (AF, 200-203) and suggests a first-century origin for metaphorical thinking about church officials.

[39]T. H. Gaster, "Sacrifices and Offerings," in G. A. Buttrick (ed.), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* Vol. 4 (New York: Abingdon, 1962), pp. 147-159.

[40]Roberts & Donaldson (eds.), *Clement of Alexandria,* Vol. II (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1869), p. 428.

statues, and temples," Origin responds "we regard the spirit of every good man as an altar from which arises an incense . . . the prayers arising from a good conscience."[41]

By analogy, then, the widow in her work of intercession[42] was an active, "living altar" in this sense. She was to continue "in supplications and prayers night and day" (1 Tim 5:5) and to pray ceaselessly for all (πάντων Poly. *Phil.* 4.3). Her prayers for the community were especially powerful, for God had promised to hear the cries of the widows (Exod 22:23; Deut 10:18).

But there is yet another way in which the widow as altar reflects an active role in the community. We can discern it by working back to the New Testament from Polycarp's letter to the Philippians. There, the image occurs in a section Kirsopp Lake entitled "Exhortations to Virtue."

Polycarp encourages the Philippian Christian men to arm themselves with righteousness and to teach themselves the commandments of the Lord. The Christian wives are to be faithful, to love their husbands, and to educate their children in the fear of God (AF, 286-289). Next come the instructions about the widows which were quoted in full above. The order "husbands, wives, children, widows" suggests that perhaps there is a "haustafel" schema at work here.

It has been suggested that the image of the altar here is a reference to 1 Clement 41:2:[43]

> Not in every place . . . are the daily sacrifices offered or the free-will offerings . . . but before the shrine, at the altar, and the offering is first inspected by the High Priest and the ministers . . . (AF, 78-79)

Clement's reference is clearly to the altar in the temple. This is the passage later writers may have had in mind when they use the image to argue widows should stay at home. Perhaps Polycarp was using it in reference to the "testing" of the offerings. I do not think he had the temple altar in mind. Clement refers to the altar (τὸ θυσιαστήριον), Polycarp to an altar; the Greek has no definite article.

Commenting on the letter, Jean La Porte suggests that the "comparison of widows to the altar of God reflects their dedication to God, their mission of prayer for all, and the necessity for them to avoid defilement."[44] In an essay on the place of women in the Philippian church W. E. Thomas notes that the widows were marked by the qualities of moral and personal integrity and had responsibility for intercessory prayer. The importance of the "altar of God," however, was its focal point in public worship.[45] Thomas points beyond the "living altar" of intercessory prayer to a more crucial significance. What might that be?

Not surprisingly, the majority of the allusions in Polycarp are to the New Testament.

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[41]Roberts & Donaldson (eds.), *Origin*, Vol. II (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910), p. 505.

[42]Lk. 2.36-38; I. Tim. 5.5; Polycarp to *Phil.* 4.3; *DA* 143.

[43]Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, Vol. I (London: SCM Press, 1953), p. 133. Tradition identifies the author of the letter with the Clement mentioned in Philippians 4:3. The letter dates between 75 and 110 A.D. and the letter of Clement reached Corinth 20 years before Ignatius wrote his 7 letters. Since the early church took communication among the brethren much more seriously than we do, the possibility of a connection between Polycarp and Clement is reasonable.

[44]Jean La Porte, *The Role of Women in Early Christianity* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), p. 60.

[45]W. E. Thomas, "The Place of Women in the Church at Philippi," *Expository Times*, 83 (1972), p. 120.

Certainly in the widows passage it is evoked in the instruction that widows pray ceaselessly (1 Thess 5:17; 1 Tim 5:5) and in the knowledge that God knows the secrets of the heart (1 Cor 14:25). When we look at the use of "altar" (θυσιαστήριον) in the New Testament, we find it refers most frequently to the physical altar before the temple.[46]

One of those usages raises an interesting question for our consideration. In the midst of the "Woes" in Matthew 23, Jesus asks, "For which is greater, the gift, or the altar that makes the gift sacred?" (Matt 23:19). Jesus is not making direct reference to cult, but has chosen a neat illustration to expose shallow, scribal teaching.[47] And yet, the statement implies that the altar is in some way active.

The link connecting the "activity" of the altar which is implied in Matthew 23:19 and the widows can be deduced from Hebrews 13:10: "We have an altar from which those who serve the tent have no right to eat." It is suggested that the Hebrew Christians to whom the letter is addressed may have been reproached for having no altar. The reply is that the Christian altar is more adequate than that of burnt offering.

> Earlier in the letter the sacrifice of Jesus has been portrayed in terms of the sin offering of the Day of Atonement: his offering, by contrast with that earlier one, is permanently efficacious. There was no literal altar in his case; the term "altar" is used here by metonymy for his self-oblation and the benefits which it secures to believers.[48]

I believe that F. F. Bruce is correct in his interpretation of Hebrews 13:10 and that "altar" is used for "sacrifice."

In any case, we are not "gadding about" when we associate the altar with sacrifice; linguistically, the former (θυσιαστήριον) derives from the latter (θυσία).[49] Jesus introduces a new way of thinking about sacrifice. He quotes Hosea 6:6, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice." The scribe who understands Jesus' teaching admits " . . . to love [God] with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love one's neighbor as oneself, is much more than whole burnt offerings and sacrifices" (Mark 12:33). When Paul pleads with the Ephesians " . . . be imitators of God as beloved children. And walk in love as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and a sacrifice to God" (Eph 5:1-2) he has in mind sacrifice as active love of God manifested in self-giving love of neighbor. The sacrifice is no longer a pidgeon or a bull, but one's self, all of life. " . . . present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship" (Romans 12:1; see also Psalm 40:6-8). An individual's obedience to God is a form of sacrifice offered to God in imitation of Christ's sacrifice.

It is in this sense that the widow as altar becomes an effective agent. She, too, is a living sacrifice. The key New Testament texts on widows (Mark 12:41-44; Luke 2:36-38; 4:25-26; 7:11-17; 18:1-8; Acts 6:1ff.; 16:14ff; 1 Tim 5:3-16) do not explicitly, linguistically connect widows with sacrifice. However, if love of God, love of neighbor more

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[46]See Matt 5:23; 23:35; Luke 1:11; Rom 11:3; 1 Cor 9:13; 10:18; Heb 7:13; 13:10; Jas 2:21; Rev 6:9; 8:3.

[47]David E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 132-136.

[48]F. F. Bruce, "Altar, N.T.," in Keith Crim (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Supplementary Volume (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), p. 19.

[49]Campenhausen, et al. (eds.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bund 1. (Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1957), p. 255. "Im Griechischen erscheint als entsprechender Ausdruck θυσιαστήριον von θυσία = Opfer."

than self, and prayer are Christian sacrifices, the widows embody them. Anna worships "with fasting and prayer night and day" (Luke 2:37). The widow who makes an offering at the treasury exhibits love of God and care for neighbor above self, especially as the offering is her "whole living"[50] (Matt 12:41-44).

To summarize for a moment, the widow was an effective agent in a spiritual transaction within the Christian community. First, as was noted earlier, she interceded for the community. Perhaps we can say her prayers sanctified the gifts brought to her. Second, the example of her sacrificial living provided the community with a living reminder of their Lord's. To explain this last remark, later in the church's history, St. Basil gives a Christian explanation of the altar: it is for the purpose of the holy remembrance of Christ in which Christ comes near himself as a sacrifice.[51] Christ provides the atonement through His sacrifice. The altar is to remind Christians of His sacrifice (Hebrews 13:10). The widow, by her living, is to be an example of Christ's "one full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice."

Both 1 Timothy and Polycarp enumerate specific aspects of this example. To be enrolled, a widow must have well attested good deeds of hospitality, service to the afflicted, and have raised children (1 Tim 5:10). After she is enrolled, she presumably continues such a lifestyle, "being far from all slander, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and all evil" (Polycarp, *Phil.* 4.3). Here is the practical application of the theoretical injunction in 1 Peter 2:5 " . . . like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, . . . to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." The widows' way of life puts flesh on an exhortation like "Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God" (Hebrews 13:16).

The widow must have been the wife of one husband (1 Tim 5:9), must be "left alone" (1 Tim 5:5), and must remain continent after she is enrolled. Younger widows were not to be enrolled because they "grow wanton against Christ" and "desire to marry" (1 Tim 5:11) In this decision, a widow literally presents her body as a living sacrifice!

If we glance back at the widows in the gospels and Acts, we find that Anna had lived alone without a husband for a number of years.[52] She remained in the temple (like the altar, not running about?) and prayed and worshipped constantly (Luke 2:36-38). The women who accompanied Jesus and the Twelve, some of whom we suggested were widows, provided for the men from their own resources (Luke 8:1-3); they did good deeds by sharing what they had (Heb 13:16). Tabitha, probably herself a widow, "was full of good works and acts of charity" and made coats (ἱμάτια) and other garments for the less fortunate widows (Acts 9:36-41).[53] Again, her sacrifice was to live unselfishly and to share what she had. She was fulfilling the requirements which were set down by the

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[50]Note both these women are within the environs of the temple, near the altar.

[51]St. Basil (h. myst. 5). See Lampe, p. 660:

ἐστι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον μνῆμα τοῦ χριστοῦ

ἐν ᾧ θυσίαν ἑαυτόν ὁ χριστὸς Προσήγαγε

[52]While the Greek text is unclear, it could mean Anna had been a widow for 84 years.

[53]It is interesting that Tabitha made coats, outer garments, for they were not only used as clothing, but the poor slept in them at night. Thus, Deut 24:17 commands "You shall not pervert justice due to the sojourner or to the fatherless, or take a widow's garment (ἱματίον, LXX) in pledge."

This is one of the tasks later suggested for widows. The *AC*, III, vii reads "And let her take wool, and rather assist others than herself want from them; being mindful of that widow who is honored in the Gospel with the Lord's testimony, who, coming into the temple . . .". (The author finishes with a quotation from Mark 12:43.)

writer of the Pastorals. "Honor widows who are real widows." "If any believing woman has relatives who are widows, let her assist them; let the church not be burdened, so that it may assist those who are real widows" (1 Tim 5:3, 16).

The stories of these widows were preserved by the early church (which seems to have left out so much about the lives and witness of women) at least in part because they were the "living sacrifices"; they were doing what Jesus had set as the example and what the epistles had stressed as fundamental to Christian living. The widows were "doers of the word, and not hearers only."

Expositors who deal with the sociology of the Pastoral Epistles stress that the concern of the writer was for what those outside the Christian community might think of it.[54] The writer's concern was that women and slaves not give outsiders the opportunity to blaspheme Christianity.[55] And this pressure from outside, it is argued, led to a change in the structure of the Christian community. Social pressure "caused the church to move from a *communitas* structure challenging society's norms to a patriarchal structure embracing them."[56] Unfortunately for the church, these analyses are accurate, I think. But there is an even darker dimension at work in the constriction of the role the widows (and other women) played in the developing church.[57]

If I have read the Biblical and early literary witnesses accurately, the widows were providing a positive, spiritual example.[58] How embarrassing for the leaders of the Christian communities when those who had the least were doing the most.

> And he sat down opposite the treasury, and watched the multitude putting money into the treasury. Many rich people put in large sums. And a poor widow came, and put in two copper coins, which make a penny. And he called his disciples to him, and said to them, "Truly, I say to you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury. For they all contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, her whole living" (Mark 12:41-44).

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[54]See Bassler; Robert Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," *JBL* 92 (1973) 549-564; David M. Scholer, "I Timothy 2.9-15 and the Place of Women in the Church's Ministry," ms. forthcoming; Verner, especially pp. 81 and 145-146.

[55]Verner, p. 182.

[56]Bassler, p. 39.

[57]Many later writers (taking their cue from 1 Tim 5:11-15 which discusses the shortcomings of those not to be enrolled) dwell upon the unbecoming behaviour of the widows. One cannot help but raise the question whether their desire for a more active life in the community was really misbehaviour or an assertive reaction to the constriction of roles. Beginning in the *DA* there is marked distrust of widows, evidently because the old, charismatic spirit of ministry has survived in them and the writer wishes to eliminate this factor from the community. See James Mackinnon, *From Christ to Constantine* (London: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1936), p. 315. Also see Osiek, note 34.

[58]For an interesting study of how women have turned the negative aspects of institutional Christianity to positive spiritual results see Sandra M. Schneider, "The Effects of Women's Experience on Their Spirituality," *Spirituality Today* 35 (2, 1983) 100-116.

History as Hologram: Integrating Literary, Archaeological and Comparative Sociological Evidence[1]

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0.1 Introduction

During the past three decades it has become commonplace to decry the crises besetting social scientific and humanities disciplines. As a result, biblical studies, especially biblical history, have been made the hostage and victim of a long-standing and continuing pessimism. Derivative and dependent by nature, historical studies on the Bible and ancient Israel have been affected by tremors in the epistemological and factual certainties within contiguous disciplines. Each new doubt has sent historians running in several directions. Some checked the seismographs buried beneath the Pentateuch and fled to the higher ground of Israelite monarchy where they sought safety against further quakes; some searched the rubble for more archaeological and inscriptional "facts" to shore up their weakened historical, textual foundations; others stood firm and denied the validity or relevance of the changes occurring in the ancillary disciplines.

It would serve little purpose here to recite and analyze in detail the developments of the past thirty years. The turmoil and vibrance they have unleashed is already captured in the abundant literature on the history of biblical scholarship (e.g., Hahn, 1954; Mendenhall, 1961; Childs, 1970; Clements, 1976; Rogerson, 1978). Several recent surveys directly address the specific problems discussed in this essay and may be used to set the stage for our discussion (Leach, 1983; Barton, 1984a; Knight and Tucker, 1985a).

0.2 The Demise of History

The onslaught against biblical history, that is, history that relies on the Bible as a primary source or history that heretofore provided a background for reading the Bible, emerged on several fronts successively. The bond between archaeology and literary evidence, particularly biblical literature, was the first to feel the assault. Next was a set of assumptions about the Bible (and again literature generally) as a referent for historical occurrences. Finally, the early confidence biblical scholars (and social scientists) placed in their ability to draw valid cross-cultural comparisons and to use them to illumine the Bible and the biblical world began to erode. Over time, the doubts that originated else-

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where came to rest cumulatively on biblical studies. As a result Knight and Tucker have suggested that we "may be on the way toward a paradigm shift—from the historical to the linguistic" (Knight and Tucker, 1985b) while Miller has asserted that "scholarly research and discussion pertaining to Israelite history seem to have entered a new phase beginning in the late 1960s . . . and it is not at all clear where the discussion will move next" (Miller, 1985). Culley and others have voiced similar opinions (cf. Culley, 1985: 191; Barton, 1984a: passim).

0.2.1 Changes within Archaeology

The "new" archaeology of the 1960s credited to David Clarke in Britain and Lewis Binford in America met with resistance among historians during the 1970s. Classical historian M. I. Finley, for example, tried to quiet the "Young Turks" who followed Clarke and Binford by reminding them that material remains by themselves are culturally silent, although he admitted at the same time that "The problem . . . is not simply one of correlating archaeological and literary evidence but of using archaeology to assess whether, and how far, the literature has any worth at all" (1971: 174-75).

Within the field of biblical archaeology, George Ernest Wright wrestled with similar concerns. Towards the end of his life, Wright tried to discern "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do" (1971 [1983a]) and cautioned against "The 'New' Archaeology" (1975 [1983b]). He accepted Albright's view that archaeology provides "a physical context in time and place" for the people of the Bible, and "is used along with other critically assessed data, where it exists, in order to form hypotheses about the how, why, what and when of cultural, socio-political and economic affairs . . ." (1983a: 69).

> These [texts] must be interpreted by all the means of literary analysis available to us. Then we must reconstruct the archaeological and ecological context as best we can both in the given area and in the widest possible context. Only then can we examine the question as to whether the one illumines the other, or whether a reasonable hypothesis can be reconstructed which best explains what we know at this time. . . . Conversely, archaeology, dealing with the wreckage of antiquity, proves nothing in itself. It must be analyzed in a variety of ways, and then with all other data available, not in a pure vacuum mistakenly called by some "science." Its meaning in the overall picture of a cultural continuum is expressed by interpretation (Wright, 1983a: 71-72.

But Wright like Finley grew increasingly wary of new archaeology. "Testable propositions" and "valid scientific criteria" seemed to him either inappropriate for archaeology or naive applications of scientific method, or both (1983b: 80-83). He saw the approach as an attack on the humanities and history:

> For myself, I remain unabashedly a humanist. I was trained in the humanities, and only humanists in the true sense can in the end make any sense out of the seeming chaos of human cultural systems, synchronically or diachronically. I believe archaeology is far too restricted when treated as a discipline in and of itself, whether by those who presume to be pure scientists, or by those who belong to other wings of anthropology or fine arts. In my opinion, archaeology must use all of the science that it can, but in the final analysis it is dealing with human beings, and therefore it can never be anything other than one among the several branches of cultural and humanistic history (1983b: 85-86).

"New" archaeology had run its course by the early 1970s when it was replaced by developments such as theoretical, processual, and social archaeology which grew out of it. But in spite of opposition from historians, it had inspired theories and methods that in some ways lessened interest in accumulating similar data from more and more sites and had enabled the discipline to throw off the shackles of evolutionism and diffusionism which had tied it to the histories of Egypt and Mesopotamia where ancient chronologies were initially established. In addition, the transformation had abetted an escape from the idealistic and impressionistic views of the past that had fueled and funded many early archaeological expeditions in Syro-Palestine. As Wright feared, however, archaeologists were turning away from their humanists' interests in history and literature and toward the "certainties" of the sciences and social sciences.

The role of the Bible in Middle Eastern archaeology has emerged as a different issue in the so-called biblical archaeology debate. It is beyond our interests to enter into either the intellectual or the political discussions with the American scholars of the Albright School who engage in these arguments. It is important to note, however, that the substantive issue is not the Bible per se as the debate often implies. Rather, it is on the one hand the historical reliability of ancient literary sources generally and, on the other, the place of analogical reasoning, ethnoarchaeology, and religious history in the forming and testing of archaeological hypotheses, the issues that comprise two of the assault fronts mentioned above (see Wylie, 1981; 1983; Klejn, 1977; Hodder, 1982: 17-23; Salmon, 1982; Salmon and Salmon, 1979).

0.2.2 Recent Moves Away from Excavative Literary Studies

In his recent treatment of method in biblical study, Barton has demonstrated the trend away from source and historical methods and toward others that derive meaning from a text by reading it solely as text or by viewing it in relation to its readers (Barton, 1984a; 1984b). The direction is the same as noted by Knight and Tucker and Culley (cf., above) and is represented in its full sweep by Michalowski's study on the Sumerian King List where he insisted that the list depicts an idea of reality—not historical reality itself—and should be banished from reconstructions of history (Michalowski, 1983: 243).

Although movement in biblical as in secular critical theory has been toward studying texts as literature rather than as ciphers for events, Barton made two additional observations that must not be forgotten. He stressed first that the theories behind biblical criticism pertain to literary competence, not to a critic's certainty or scepticism about historical realities, that is, the literary critic aims to elucidate a text instead of history. Second, he reminded readers that divergent approaches do not all seek the same goal. Thus, following Culley he noted that critical methods are theories about the ways texts are capable of having meaning rather than techniques for producing fresh interpretations, and methods are codified theories and therefore logically subsequent to the intuitions about meaning:

> Texts are perceived as having certain sorts of meaning—or, just as interestingly, as failing to convey meaning—by reading them with certain vague expectations about genre, coherence and consistency, which are either confirmed and clarified, or disappointed and frustrated. Then reading begins again, this time with a sharper focus; and at the end of the process there emerges a distinct impression of what the text means, together with an explanatory theory as to how it comes to mean it. But the theory—which, when codified, will become source analysis or redaction criticism or whatever—is logically subsequent to the intuition about meaning. It may lead to useful insights into other texts, when they are approached with a similar frame of mind, and so may greatly shorten the quest to understand them; but

> it can never be a technique which can always be used with the assurance that it will yield correct results (Barton, 1984a: 205).

The issue, therefore, is not whether insights behind earlier criticisms were wrong and should be abandoned or whether studying the Bible as literature precludes using it for historical studies, but whether obsession with the approaches has turned them into "pedestrian methods" (Barton, 1984a: 206). Where this happens, the epistemological gap between literary and historical criticism becomes a wilderness infested with "hornets' nests," as David Gunn has observed (1984: 113). Then the zone between text and event is forgotten by source critics who become confused and disoriented, losing sight of their subject matter, their goals, and the means to achieve them. Safe passage from text to history or vice versa, it has long been held, depends on critics' ability to distinguish between the history of a text and the history behind it, especially when one is not certain that the author intended to record real events or shared our concept of history. The jump from text to event requires a leap of history comparable to the long-sought leap of faith discussed by theologians.

A clear example of the call to mark the boundaries is found in the writings of Sir Edmund Leach, an anthropologist who is a structuralist rather than a literary critic. Leach argued that to raise specific detailed historical questions about the Bible is to persist in misunderstanding the nature and purpose of biblical literature and therefore to risk distorting the book's meaning (1983a: 8-12). For him the Bible was not quite fantasy, but certainly no more than a sacred tale whose meaning lay in the use religious groups have made of it rather than in the history it may or may not have recorded. He was not concerned with authors' intentions nor with correct interpretation because with literature there can be no single correct interpretation. Because texts' meanings are encoded in the whole and because "text is text," the Bible must be read in its entirety to discover the meanings that a piecemeal approach misses. Thus, even dividing the text according to genres is misleading, and the text can be understood only if individual sections are seen as structural transformations of others. However, as conveyers of stories (Leach's real interest), texts' patterns and structures reveal something about story-tellers and their worlds.

Leach was consistent and unrelenting. In edited texts, only the final story-teller can be known. Although the texts were encoded with many patterns during transmission, those that survive are from the final editor's mind. Knowledge of people who thought or told the story before is irretrievably lost, buried beneath the structures imposed by their successor. Trying to recover earlier meanings would be like trying to unscramble an omelet (1983a:23)! He believed as well that myth and history serve mythical functions in the Bible because both must justify the doctrines of a religious community. For this reason and because he believed mythical structure extended even to the chronological sequences in the Bible, "historical" texts should be read as myths. The biblical writers, he suggested, did not view the past as a sequential chronology (1983a: 23).

Later it will be helpful to recall how Leach envisaged meaning in texts. Meaning is spread like a wave front across and throughout texts. With the gospels as an example, he argued that the stories have no beginning, middle, or end.

> . . . it all exists in synchrony as in a dream. The beginning refers to the end, the end refers to the beginning. The total structure is metaphoric. The sequences in the story are simply a by-product of the nature of narrative. The text can only say one thing at a time but what it says next is very likely just the same as what it has said before but with the imagery twisted around (1983b: 98).

It was this view that led Leach to suggest the structure of van Gennep's rites of passage as a heuristic device for understanding texts (1983b).

Discussions initiated in ahistorical and non-excavative literary studies on the Bible deserve historians' attention both as admonitions and as bases for fruitful dialogue. Rather than destroying the historical value of religious texts, literary studies warn that historicity and historical intention cannot be presumed. They insist that a biblical text can have more than one meaning and that history in some cases is irrelevant. Finally, they question historians' ability to employ detailed excavative methods without seriously damaging some texts' meanings, or more exactly, some of a text's meanings (cf., Alter, 1981: 13).

Although none of these is a reason for precluding the Bible from studies on the history of Israel, several challenge the assumptions of many critical biblical historians. Literary criticism threatens again the presumed relationship between historical biblical texts and archaeology; the ability to determine details in the past on the basis of finely nuanced readings of isolated texts is challenged; and the distinction between history and myth is blurred. In the last two, the relationship between the parts and the whole in both history and literature is pressed to the fore.

0.2.3 Cross-cultural Comparisons

While archaeologists and literary critics were agonizing over their relationship to the Bible, anthropologists and other comparative sociologists were engaged in self-criticisms of their own. Worried that ever more detailed descriptions of single societies were producing a generation of reductionists, positivists, and empiricists who were concerned with little more than recording their observations, anthropologists raised questions about their disciplines' ability to compare and generalize.

Leach's 1961 rethinking of anthropology represents an early attempt to come to grips with the problems (Leach, 1961 [1977]). When the patterns and cultural worlds established first by the work of A. M. Hocart and then by the Myth and Ritual School began to be challenged by comparativists in social science as in biblical studies, a number of new perspectives began to emerge (cf., Leach, 1983a: 16). The variety and uniqueness of societies took on new worth, the distance between ancient and modern became increasingly difficult to bridge, and scholars' ability to retrace the steps in cultural borrowing solely on the basis of philological and linguistic sharing waned. Typology, analogy, and homology became issues again. The worth of much comparative scholarly detective work was challenged by its own conclusions because it revealed that cultural forms and cultural functions do not always travel in tandem and vocabulary alone cannot guarantee the meaning of either (cf., Mendenhall, 1973: 6).

0.3 Summary

The evolutionist and diffusionist schemas that had dominated biblical history during the first half of the twentieth century have collapsed under the weight of theories and data developed during the past three decades. At stake has been the issue of "the same and the other" described by Auge (1982: 14). Were Israel and the Bible the same as other cultures and literature and therefore only delayed replicas, or were they unique and therefore truly incomparable? Or again, did the forms from each compared society relate to an underlying common pattern, single experience, or unconscious structure so that Israel's religion was only a cultural mutation of others found before or beside it in history?

The standard way of approaching these questions had been to assemble historical evidence drawn from archaeology, literature, and comparative studies. But unspoken assumptions were revealed in the language historians used. They described the evidence

with adjectives like "preponderate," "overwhelming," "certain," and "conclusive," and the historians' task as a "discovery," "piecing together," "transposing," "interchanging," and "paralleling." I do not mean to imply that uncertainty went unrecognized, anguish of conflicting evidence was unfelt, or differences unsensed. Rather I suggest three things: 1) that the distinction between historical sources and (ancient and modern) interpretations of history was sometimes ignored; 2) that evidence was understood as cumulative and of a single ontological kind (historical); and 3) that historical understanding was built up either by piling historical pictures from one culture in the Near East on top of those from other societies in transparency overlay-fashion or by setting pieces of historical information beside other pieces mosaic-fashion until a reasonable reproduction of the past emerged. It is these fundamental epistemological assumptions more than specific historical details that have been challenged and are causing the would-be crises among biblical historians. Therefore, a paradigm shift, if it is to come, must address the way we categorize and integrate the various types of evidence used for writing history.

0.4 Roots of the Problem and Bases for a Solution

The existing paradigm for biblical history studies built up gradually since the late nineteenth century as new critical methods and archaeological information became available. Again, it is not possible in this essay to trace the developments other than to cite the place of W. F. Albright whose name seems to enter all discussions of American biblical scholarship. He had predecessors, peers, and successors who made substantial independent advances, some quite contrary to his approach, but the timing of his contributions and the dominance of his "school" justify singling out his work in order to show its paradoxical effect on present studies.

The paradox resides in the inspiration and control Albright's spirit exercises in American studies on the history of ancient Israel. For nearly thirty years, integrating and sorting of the vast amounts of information he deemed essential for sound biblical research has been the goal of all critical scholars. And yet few have been able to handle the diversity as well as the Old Man, and fewer have remembered that he called for more than literary, textual, and archaeological evidence. As a result, much of the work, with notable exceptions, has been mere tinkering with hypotheses, models, and analyses he set in place decades ago or, again with exceptions, many scholars have been unable to criticize his assumptions openly in a way that would allow new paradigms to develop.

Because Albright was best known for his mastery and nurturing of philological and archaeological specialties, his insatiable appetite for the methodological questions raised by comparative studies is often forgotten. For him the question was not how to correlate history and archaeology with the Bible's views, but how to reconstruct a history, using evidence which included the Bible, in order to establish a basis for reading the book against its full cultural background. He retained his confidence in the biblical writer's views on the past, but the relationship between these views and others was recognized as problematical. This is the point which Bright made explicit when he chose the patriarchal traditions as the testing ground for biblical methodology, and it is the issue which remains central to our discussions (cf., Bright, 1956; 1980).

Albright's interest in the philosophy of history and his attempt to formulate his own surfaced repeatedly. Others have commented that when he was not adding to the repertoire of archaeological evidence, he was wrestling with the meaning his discoveries were forcing upon the interpretation of history. Biblical history was central to his interests, but he stretched the biblical world to include the entire Mediterranean Basin and Near East, regions matching the horizons of his own competence (Albright 1966: 13; 1969 [1966]).

Archaeology was for Albright what evolutionist philosophy had been for the nineteenth century critics. It was the whole cloth behind the quilt, the organizing principle external to the Bible whose typologies revealed the continuities and discontinuities in history. Archaeology was the integrating discipline to be used primarily to construct a history that in turn could serve as a backdrop for sound interpretation of the Bible, the topic central to his interest and, in his judgment, to the history of the world (Albright, 1964 [1948]: 291). Archaeology was really a number of disciplines encompassing the study of language and literature as well as artifacts. Interpreting data uncovered in excavations necessitated drawing comparisons between time periods and across cultural boundaries. These could be placed, as it were, on a grid where space and time lines intersected to give a context for interpreting the find.

The methodological problems raised by such comparisons inspired Albright to propose a philosophy of history that in his judgment was neither instrumentalist nor functionalist, at least not in the same manner as for others who wore the labels in his day (Albright, 1964: 178-79). He rejected the instrumentalism influenced by John Dewey that treated individual social concepts and forces as independent factors. To ignore the possibility of relationships among them defied Albright's experience. But neither did he subscribe to the rigid Malinowski-type functionalism that claimed social phenomena to be so closely entwined that tampering with one was risking the survival of the whole. Although this view of human life was useful for explaining a phenomenon by determining its function, it could neither explain social change nor offer a basis on which to propose improvements in society, both topics that Albright considered important.

He described his position as intermediate, but the claim was clearer than his description. He taught that all social structures were organismic rather than organic in nature, and that each had its own distinct characteristics and definite life cycle (1964: 179). He called himself a resolute "positivist," but he justified the claim by insisting that he suited the description "only in so far as positivism is the expression of the modern rational-scientific approach to physical and historical reality" (1964: 140). He accepted the label "evolutionist" as well, but again with qualification: his organismic evolution was neither mechanical nor melioristic as the a priori evolutionary schemes of Hegel and Comte had been. Negatively described, organismic evolution was not unilineal progress, nor a series of abrupt mutations, nor an organic development. But it had more or less definite configurations and patterns. The historian's task was to find, describe, and interpret their definite, purposeful, structural relationships in societies by comparing successive organismic phenomena.

By rejecting functionalism, Albright was left to explain the proper use of analogy for reconstructing history (1964: 47-49; 73-75). For him, anthropology provided more useful integrating paradigms for history than did mathematics or biology as long as the anthropological principles were correct (1957: 119). Bowing to the latent evolutionism in his work, he asserted that historians of antiquity would find anthropology helpful because of the similarities between "primitive" peoples who were the subject of both disciplines. Yet, in spite of his positive attitude toward anthropology, Albright appears to have been little influenced by and little interested in exploiting it. The reasons for this probably reside in the fact that the discipline was itself only beginning to make an impact upon American scholarship when Albright was at the height of his career and the fact that he spent most of his professional life in Jerusalem and at Johns Hopkins University where anthropology as a discipline held little force.

Albright's views on analogy are interesting in light of what has followed in social world studies. He demonstrated that analogy had been used throughout what he called the proto-logical, empirico-logical, and logical stages of civilization (1964: 74-75). This he thought proved that using known human models for interpreting lesser-known phenomena was legitimate at each stage in history as long as the analogies were based on truly comparable realities (1966: 5-13). The persistence of human nature guaranteed an anal-

ogy's validity provided the function as well as the form of the two phenomena compared positively. This could be checked by requiring that the analogies pointed to a stochastic model.

Interestingly, Albright believed that analogy was required to achieve a historical understanding of the Bible because the book was not primarily a historical record and because archaeology was a means of establishing the matrix for biblical events. Since a single analogy could not solve a historical problem, the comparison of artifacts and language traditions made possible by archaeology provided the basis for historical analogy.

0.5 Sifting and Sorting

It is his interest in combining the dual literary and archaeological inquiry with a continuing curiosity about analogies and methodologies drawn from the social sciences that leads directly from Albright to current social world studies. But even here we must sort what is of lasting value from that that has been superseded by more recent discoveries. What do we find in past scholarship that we can keep and build upon, and what required revision or rejection? Here our considerations should not be limited to Albright, but should include his contemporaries' work and developments since his day.

0.5.1 Research Design

In addition to integrating information from three sources—literary and textual studies, archaeology, and comparative sociology—earlier studies were correct in insisting that there be two phases in the research process. Gathering, sorting and interpreting information within each discipline according to the specific questions being raised should precede attempts to integrate the separate conclusions in a portrayal of history. Here it should be clear that I accept a disciplinary, pre-interdisciplinary, phase in a research design such as recent proponents of disciplinary integrity have called for. On this the elders and their heirs agree in principle.

It is equally important to recognize and maintain the distance that separates antiquity from the modern era and to resist the temptation to find modern "cases" in the ancient world, or vice versa. Efforts to establish criteria external to the Bible that can be used to check historians' reconstructions of Israel's past are hindered when the world view of one age is imposed on another. The same can be said for carrying forms and ideologies across cultural boundaries in the ancient contemporary world. The "ideal model" approach has failed too often to be repeated. Hence I cannot agree completely with Mendenhall, for example, when he urges that the best historical, comparative analogies are necessarily drawn from the ancient Near East rather than from modern or post-biblical societies (Mendenhall, 1973: 6-7). What is important, it seems to me, is that historians identify clearly what is found in ancient Israel and what evidence there is from its past to support their claims, and to distinguish those from their own claims about the evidence. Insights, models, and analogues based on modern or other ancient societies may inform their views, but they are brought to the ancient material as hypotheses and heuristic aids, not as "evidence" found in ancient Israel.

A third lesson learned from the forefathers is found in the way Albright used the Bible (as one source) to discover its historical background which was then used to read the Bible. This was more than the inescapable dialectic between theory and data. It was not merely the chicken and egg dilemma that forces the inevitable question, "Where do we begin?" In fact, Wright as quoted above took up the issue and described the three-step process as 1) interpreting texts, 2) reconstructing archaeological and ecological contexts, and 3) determining relationships and hypotheses.

More recently Norman K. Gottwald and Robert R. Wilson have individually addressed this central question of research design. Although they have proposed varying approaches, they share the Albrightian view that historical studies on the Bible require a structured plan for integrating the several disciplines used and that the design must tolerate some repetitious reading and rereading of materials.

Gottwald began with the standard criticisms of the biblical text which he used to assemble reliable information about Israel. Next he applied social scientific methods to the body of data derived from the text in order to delineate and conceptualize Israel's total social system. Third, specific aspects of the social system were identified for further examination. Finally, an "explanatory social theory" was introduced to examine change. In the last, Gottwald proceeded in two phases, first using a structural-functional model in order to demonstrate the relationships among elements in Israel's social structure, and then using a historical-cultural-material model to explain the changes that accompanied Israel's emergence (Gottwald, 1979a: xxii-xxiii and passim; 1979b).

Wilson's approach seems particularly close to Albright and Wright in its attempt to resolve the question/evidence dialectic. He began with questions of interpretation or problems raised by the biblical text and proceeded to define the problem before looking at ancient and modern comparative data that spoke to the problem. There, he searched for patterns and formulated the hypothesis that similar patterns might have existed in Israelite society. The hypothesis was then tested against the text to see if it conformed and to see if the hypothesis shed light on additional obscurities in the text (Wilson, 1977; 1980; 1984; personal communication).

0.5.2 Refining the Proposals: Analytic and Systemic Models

The research design I propose here derives from these studies and from approaches developed for anthropological field work and analysis. It calls for several discrete stages which can be repeated as often as is profitable until researchers are satisfied that their questions have been answered or clarified.

To begin, I agree with Wilson who implies that Albright's hermeneutical circle needs to be made more explicit and applied more broadly. As Albright used the Bible to construct a history in order to read the Bible, we may use ethnography and other bodies of information found in the Bible to illumine history and the Bible. Whether an individual thinks first of the Bible or of extra-biblical ethnographic evidence is difficult to determine in practice and probably does not matter. Either beginning can raise an opening question. In either case, the researcher wants to use the ethnography encoded in the Bible to formulate hypotheses about the ethnography of ancient Israel which will be used for reading the Bible, and so on.

I propose structuring the research procedure in two stages that will help prevent confusion. At the outset I note, however, that these and the other models that will be proposed below offer no escape from the hermeneutical circle. In most cases, they are substitute descriptions, albeit at times better descriptions, of what researchers are doing. However, scientists and social scientists are convinced that there is value in making their subject matter and their approaches explicit in an effort to avoid subjectivity, and the same can be argued for biblical studies.

Following Rappaport (1979: 52, 87), the two stages in the research design can be labelled "analytical" and "systemic" models. In the first, model cases are presented for analysis, and the analytical categories of evidence in each are separated and described. This is to say that for the purposes of analysis artificial boundaries are drawn around a test case separating it from otherwise contiguous subject matter, topics, or subjects, and the types of evidence within the test case are distinguished and identified. In Israelite history, for example, a slice of time and patch of territory are lifted out of a larger context, but with the explicit knowledge that the investigator is dissecting and compart-

mentalizing life for purposes of analysis. The goal is not to isolate a frozen, motionless segment of humanity, but to establish an analytical model which can be used for collecting data and organizing evidence according to categories. At the same time, evidence is sorted according to its ontological types. More will be said on this shortly, but for now it is important to discard a historical/unhistorical distinction. These categories do not pertain to this stage in our model.

Following the sorting, a second stage of research examines how the categories relate and interact. Thus, in the systemic model the relationships that presumably operated in the society presented by the analytical model are studied. The analytic/systemic process may continue cyclically, but investigators must be conscious of the two steps and not rush ahead, confusing the functions of the second stage with those of the first.

Does the two-stage research process help bridge the chasm separating biblical specialists who practice newer forms of ahistorical literary criticism from those who sustain interest in history? I believe that it does. Recalling that scholarship as varied as that of G. E. Wright's and John Barton's shared concern for reading and rereading the biblical text with different interests each round, we may suggest that the non-excavative and excavative approaches need not be used in isolation. Instead, one application of the analytic/systemic distinction—and I stress that it is only one—is to reverse the sequence most source critics want to follow. For the biblical historian holistic literary studies pertain to the analytical model. They offer the first reading of the entire Bible, of individual books, or of identifiable themes which can be excavated later in the systemic model.

It will become more clear when we discuss variant and invariant aspects of mapmaking and tradition, but I shall jump ahead to say that at the analytical stage in research, the biblical text may be considered developmentally "static." In a sense it stands as a whole and timeless artifact, not as a representative of anything before or after it. It stands beside but is different from other ontological categories of evidence but must not be fused (or confused) with them at this stage. In the next stage, the systemic model, it can be analyzed according to the methods of source and historical criticism and compared with other types of evidence. There questions regarding its origin and development are properly reviewed and interpreted in light of other information.

It would be wrong to think of the first stage as pre-critical and the second as critical. Criticism pertains to both and therefore the distinction is invalid. In the systemic model, processes, trajectories, and movement become central. Source critical methods can aid in detecting these. Moreover, reading the whole text before determining its parts is the common practice among scholars. This design merely structures that practice and requires one form of criticism to be accomplished before others are tried.

0.6 Models within the Models

The analytical and systemic models comprise the entire sequence within a social world studies research design, but they do not elucidate all the distinctions that must be made. Hence, other models must be constructed that will allow investigators to work within the two phases. In short, what follows are distinctions that must be maintained in both the analytical and systemic models.

0.6.1 Actors and Observers

The difficulties investigators have in keeping their own world views separate from their subjects' and in isolating categories of evidence according to their differing ontological statuses have been noted. Again it is anthropologists who have devoted the most attention to the problems, and it is from them that we derive our guidance.

Besides warning social scientists to distinguish theirs from their subjects' world views, Leach stressed the differences between what people say and what they do:

> This distinction between the roles in a drama and the actors who play the roles corresponds to the fact that the date of field research must always be looked at in two dimensions. The observer must distinguish between what people actually do and what people say that they do; that is between normal custom as individually interpreted on the one and normative rules on the other.
>
> When they come to write up the results of their research different anthropologists will, for doctrinal reasons, give very different weight to these two major aspects of the data, but, in the field, the anthropologist must always pay attention to both sides. He must not only distinguish behavior from ideology, he must also take careful note of just how they are interrelated (Leach, 1982: 130).

Hence the sorting must occur on several levels simultaneously:

Ideology:				:Behavior
	Norms:		:Custom	
	Statements:		:Actions	
	Roles	::	Individual Actors	

Marvin Harris proposed analogous categories in his popular "emic" and "etic" (actor and observer) and behavioral and mental distinctions. Research in the emic mode "attempts to acquire knowledge of the categories and rules one must know in order to think and act as a native . . .," while ". . . etic operations involve the measurement and juxtaposition of activities and events that native informants may find inappropriate or meaningless . . . because they are derived from science" (Harris, 1979: 32). Both, we should note, are views held by the observer; in the emic, it is the investigator who tries to reconstitute the views of the subject. For Harris, the behavioral field represented all the activities that constituted the behavioral stream, the domain of operations, while the mental field were the thoughts and feelings individuals felt in their minds.

Rappaport offered cognized and operational models to parallel Harris' emic and etic domains respectively (Rappaport, 1979: 97-98). Cognized models were descriptions of peoples' knowledge of their environment and their beliefs concerning it, while operational models were descriptions of the same ecological system but expressed in accordance with the assumptions and methods of the objective sciences. Field anthropologists must record both, he argued, keeping several notebooks for describing each separately. Hence as with Harris, both models were constructed in the mind of the observer-scientist.

Rappaport stressed that the models did not differ in accuracy even though they might differ substantially. The cognized models were valid and represented "parts of a populations' distinctive means for maintaining themselves in their environments" (1979: 98).

Rappaport abandoned Harris' behavioral/mental distinction, but the absence did not affect his work as much as it might seem. One reason was because when he described his models' content as they applied to specific societies, the content fell out according to a nature/culture distinction. In some cognized models, it would seem, distinctions between nature and culture were lacking where they were present in the scientists' operational models. This was indication that many peoples relate to their world in a closer, more integral, and personal way than do social scientists and that that way does not acknowledge separate, isolated components of life.

Ladislav Holy and the late Milan Stuchlik took up the same problems in a monograph that called for ontological and epistemological clarity among the statuses of phenomena studied by anthropologists (1983). Like others, they complained that by regarding folk models as poor or false, scholarly explanations often substituted anthropologists' derived models without weighing their dubious validity. The problem, according to them, arose from failure to distinguish the categories of evidence in a folk model and an unwillingness to consider the relationship among the categories as problematical.

Holy and Stuchlik insisted that anthropologists confront two qualitatively different kinds of data, namely, things that exist "on the ground" and things that exist "in peoples' heads." The former are observable; the latter unobservable. The former constitute the domain of action and are identified with social structure; the latter belong to the domain of notions and are assigned to an ideational system, i.e., to a culture. The two differ not in degree of "facticity," but in the mode of the domains' existence and in the quality of their manifestation in social life (1983: 21). Data from them cannot be considered as a unitary concept but must be discriminated according to kind and, they insisted, the relationship between the two domains must always be considered problematical even where the evidence appears to concur.

0.6.2 Analytical Categories and Disciplinary Assignments

The distinctions and analytical categories identified in these studies provide guidelines for pursuing social world studies. In its initial stage, as we have stated, model building must pay attention to collecting data according to discrete ontological categories while maintaining distinctions among their statuses. Integrating or relating the different types must wait until each discipline has individually interpreted the data it is best equipped to collect and analyze. Hence, the model must provide not only for that delay, but also for illustrating that the systemic phase integrates disciplinary interpretations rather than raw data. Again, dividing analytic from systemic models marks the beginning of an approach to these concerns.

To construct a full analytical model, we must proceed by borrowing and extending three distinctions outlined above. First, actors' models must be distinguished from observers'. The difference corresponds generally to the distinction between subjects' and investigators' views (Leach), emic and etic fields (Harris), cognized and operational models (Rappaport), and folk and investigators' models (Holy and Stuchlik). In our case, the actors are the people of ancient Israel, the observers present-day historians, although the same distinction could be used to capture the relationship between the ancient Israelites and their scribes.

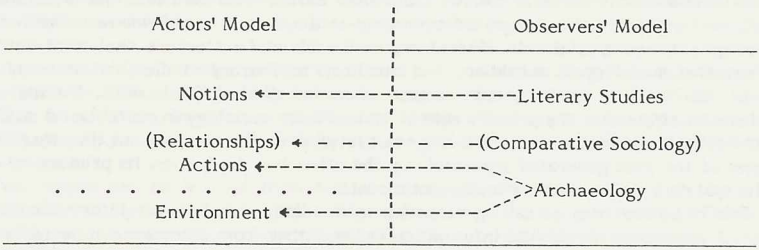
Second, allowance must be made for distinctions among the components in the actors' model, that is, among the factors that on one hand, shape, and on the other, reflect their world views. The ancient physical and material environment may be separated from cultural forces acting on it, and culture in turn may be subdivided according to domains of actions and notions with the relationship between them set apart as problematical. Here we combine several comparative sociologists' categories and use them to identify and sort the different categories of information available to us from antiquity. We must remember, however, that the data is ancient in the sense that it was encoded according to the actors' model, but it is modern in the sense that it is decoded according to the observers' model.

This leads to a third important distinction. We must assign single disciplines primary custody over each of the specific categories of ancient data and explicitly assign all the disciplines to the observers' model. Placing the disciplines there is not only faithful to the real situation, it also emphasizes the difference between actors' and observers' models. A modern disciplinary reading of the past must not be confused with an ancient's understanding of the same period. This is a truism, but one that has apparently been

neglected. Modelling the distinction, I believe, satisfies some of the concerns currently afflicting biblical literary studies, archaeology, and comparative sociology. It responds to the betwixt and between problem raised, for instance, by Binford's claim that all archaeology is a study of the present because the evidence collected and reviewed is modern evidence (Binford, 1983: 19).

The three distinctions we have outlined can be diagrammed as follows:

ANALYTICAL MODEL USED DURING "FIELD WORK"



The diagram requires a little explaining. Textual and literary studies are understood as primarily responsible for ancient evidence from the domain of notions, archaeology for evidence from the material, physical world (Rappaport's nature) and the domain of actions, and comparative sociology for evidence regarding the relationship between domains. The reasons are obvious. Literature reflects the notions and ideas, what people in the past were thinking and saying or what others claimed they were thinking and saying. These claims and how the oral traditions and texts were transmitted are appropriately examined within the field of literary studies. Archaeology customarily exposes and examines material evidence as well as human actions on the physical environment; and comparative sociology illuminates relationships between the two domains which several of our authors warned are always problematical.

Two cautionary notes must be added. First, the boundaries separating the disciplines must not be drawn too sharply. They are not barriers excluding one discipline from another's territory. On the contrary, information about one type of data can depend on information from another, and the disciplines mentioned share some data in common. For example, actions reflect notions, or again, archaeology produces information about notions, ideologies, and symbols in addition to examining the ancient material world. Under careful literary analysis, texts may reveal distinctions among actions and their relationship to notions which would not be otherwise noticed. And anthropology studies notions and actions as directly as it does their relationship. Hence no wooden, inflexible categories are proposed.

What then is recommended? That the phenomena in ancient Near Eastern societies can be separated and sorted for analytical purposes, and disciplines' priorities can be identified according to the phenomena, the subject matter, the data they focus on most directly. Recognizing this, I believe, realigns many important issues. For instance, the old worry which makes biblical literature the interpreter of Syro-Palestinian archaeology can be discarded without discarding either the Bible or the archaeology.

The divisions are also practical. They allow researchers to proceed without compelling them to force their views into a common mold. Applied to history, the distinctions absolve the historian of responsibility for making all the evidence coincide and interlock in an artificial, mechanistic spatial-temporal matrix of analysis. Differences, say between archaeological and literary evidence, are not immediately unsettling if the

relationships between the domains (and disciplines) are always considered problematical. Conversely, apparent concatenations and convergences of evidence deserve just as much scrutiny in light of general patterns of social behavior as do instances where evidence initially appears contradictory. Every relationship must be examined before it can be assumed to be understood.

Although an interdisciplinary approach does not impose a disciplinary straitjacket, it does require special disciplinary integrity. The consumptive intellectual greed that tempts disciplines to turn themselves into pseudo-interdisciplinary fields must be controlled.

A second cautionary note follows from this. Earlier we noted that the disciplinary interpretations are to be integrated according to a systemic model where comparative sociology plays a special role. Therefore, in the biblical historian's analytical model, comparative sociology is subsidiary and ancillary to literary studies and archaeology which individually may draw comparisons when interpreting their data. We may go farther and stress that the primary role of comparative sociology in social world studies on antiquity is not at the analytical stage but later when the comparisons illuminate the images of the past generated separately by the other two disciplines. Its primary role is in the systemic rather than the analytical model.

This is another way of calling attention to the distinction between information that comes from ancient Israel and information drawn either from other ancient societies or from modern ethnographies. For biblical historians, the former is data wanting to be interpreted; the latter are heuristic devices aiding interpretation. It is in this sense that literary studies on the Bible and archaeological studies on Syro-Palestine differ from comparative sociology. Forgetting the difference leads to anachronism, confusion, filling the gaps, mosaic building and, in my judgment, self-deceiving by interpreters who think a single, valid history can be written.

0.7 Certainty in Social World Studies

Until this point, we have concentrated on the distinctions that social world studies bring to history writing. But how are the discrete categories of information, the separate disciplinary interpretations, to be integrated for adequate interpretations of the past? Holograms and holography offer the metaphors, paradigms, and models, but first we may consider several scientific breakthroughs that allowed the technology to develop. Particularly important for humanists are scientists' certainty about their scientific hypotheses and scientists' concepts of space and time.

0.7.1 Certainty in Historical Hypotheses

Many lighthearted comments have been made about the contrast between American and German scholarship represented in the differing title of Bright's and Noth's monumental histories, *A History of Israel* and *The History of Israel*, respectively. If there is any substance in the humor, increasingly we must appreciate Bright's caution. There can be no definitive "History of Israel" because there is no definitive history to be written. History writing is not that sort. There may be adequate (and inadequate) interpretations, but none that can be assuredly correct. To press the obvious, this is so because each interpretation is only a hypothesis that offers a plausible explanation of the past and guides further reflection on it.

The comments of physicist and sociologist of science, John Ziman, on the uncertainty in scientific knowledge are relevant. While we cannot apply his insights immediately to historical studies, the requirements he sets down for scientific knowledge must restrain historians from naive quests for scientific/historical certainty.

Ziman proposed that scientific discovery requires consensibility and consensuality, in short, agreement and acceptance. Scientific knowledge must be known and accepted by scientific experts before it can be called "scientific." Knowledge that remains buried in an individual scholar's file or is rejected is not scientific (Ziman, 1968: 28).

Ziman was writing about the way scientists work and not, as with many philosophers of science, about how they should work. His remarks pointed to the unknowns in the physical world and to the epistemological distance between it and the models scientists create to represent it. He insisted, therefore, that the scientific community is profoundly aware of the tenuous nature of its assertions.

Not surprisingly, Ziman had words of caution for social and behavioral scientists who are torn between science- and humanities-based models for understanding humans. He admonished them to choose the humanities and arts where novels and plays stand ready to deepen empathies, broaden perspectives, and refine insights and understandings of human behavior (Ziman, 1978: 185). Scientific research designs, he insisted, must allow room for imagination, intuition, empathy, and chance. Few systematic approaches to scientific inquiry have succeeded, he felt, without a healthy dose of feeling, wisdom, and good fortune.

Two lessons can be learned from this excursion into the obvious. First, historians must also be willing to live with uncertainty and to let go. In their effort to be "scientific," they must not be unduly constrained by hypotheses, methods, and interpretations. It is, I believe, biblical historians' willingness to devote so much time to rearranging the deck chairs of history according to their forerunners' assumptions that has caused literary colleagues to lose interest in biblical history. More room should be allowed for imagination, intuition, empathy and chance. Less time should be spent honoring the memories of the past.

Second and as a corollary, biblical historians must be prepared to admit that in some ways they know less about the past now than they once thought. I do not believe that Kuhnian-type, scientific paradigm shifts occur in the social sciences and humanities (our changes are more gradual and the paradigms less consensual), but when a major change in methodology takes place, many previously adequate explanations for the past become inadequate. This is the reality, I believe, that stands behind the suspicions of Knight, Tucker, Miller, and Culley quoted above. With the development of social world studies, it is no longer possible to patch over the differences either by making former interpretations fit the new hypotheses or by deriving new interpretations from old hypotheses that have exhausted their potential. Some of the old pictures will have to be discarded or temporarily consigned to the nether world of the unknown.

0.7.2 Concepts of Space and Time

The ultimate forces of change within biblical studies are all around us. This is the age of lasers and laders, of four-dimensional computer graphics, of subterranean exploration by remote-sensing from satellites, of everyday exposure to holograms and holography. Each is causing us to rethink the meaning of reality; each offers new information about, but more importantly new perspectives on, the universe; each invites new looks at the past, present, and future, in sum, new self-understanding.

Behind these inventions are several paradigm shifts in science and mathematics which have altered fundamental concepts of space and time. Although the intricacies of the revolutions must be left to specialists in physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, and neurophysiology, and the effects they cause where science, psychology, and religion meet can be left to the likes of Weber, Wilber, and *ReVision Journal*, the *Brain/Mind Bulletin*, we cannot ignore the significance of the transformations (e.g., see Briggs and Peat, 1984; Wilber, 1982). Three major shifts occupy us here: 1) the move away from the Cartesian grid of space and time (which has controlled biblical studies this century;

2) implicate order and its effects on the recent behavioral and social sciences; and 3) the technical aspects of holography and their use as paradigms, metaphors, and models.

0.7.2.1 Replacing the Cartesian Grid

With the development of quantum and relativity theories, wave theory has superseded particle theory in explanations of physical reality. With the change, the classical idea of physical order, that is, the Cartesian grid with time on one axis and space on the other, gave way to holistic descriptions of the universe. In the old scheme, space and time were essentially fragmentary and linear. Events and particles were plotted according to the distance they had traveled in a certain time (Briggs and Peat, 1984: 107). Positions were established by measuring the distances between points, and wholeness was achieved by assembling or summing up parts. History, according to the model, was also linear and fragmentary. Events and persons could be situated on the geo-temporal grid, and the relationships among them were perceived as contacts between parts.

After Albert Einstein, post-Newtonian scientists began to abandon the Cartesian order as an appropriate paradigm for physics and other sciences. Werner Heisenberg, for example, established the uncertainty principle which showed that the properties of objects could not be separated from the act of measurement and thus from the individual doing the measuring. For him, scientists were no longer innocent, detached observers. Predictability and probability, it seemed, were lost or radically transformed, and separate entities—the things that had composed the world since the Greeks—ceased to exist.

Soon the implications of these assertions brought reactions and dialogue. Scientists such as Niels Bohr joined Heisenberg to set in place a world that has no independent, separate parts exerting cause and effect relationships on one another. Instead, everything has become an indissoluble whole (cf., Briggs and Peat, 984: 53-55).

Into this holistic world stepped David Bohm who recognized that traditional notions of causality were too restrictive. He alleged that no single effect has a single cause. Instead, the world is a causal network in which every effect is caused by everything else (Bohm, 1957). Although he was misunderstood as reintroducing classical determinism, it was Bohm's intention to show that quantum theory was not the complete explanation for motion.

Several of Bohm's other assertions are relevant to our interests as well. He went on to discuss the role of perception in science and used as an example the way we abstract relatively "invariant" features from an environment in order to create maps (1965). In our memories as on road maps we pick out and store invariables to be used later to condition further perceptions. Thus, a cartographer records a bend in a road, but not variables such as a tree near the corner or a crack in the pavement. These are apt to change and will be of no use for further perceptions. Likewise, when we see a person we have not seen in years, we recall first the "face," that is, the person, before noticing specific variable features such as the graying hair, thickened waist, or wrinkled skin. If we fail to recognize the person, Bohm argued, it is not because the individual is an illusion or because of anything "out there." It is because of some relationship between the old "map" in our memory and the present appearance of the person.

Bohm concluded from reflections such as these that scientific research works the same way. The purpose of scientific research is not the accumulation of knowledge—which probably will eventually be falsified—but to gain perceptions. Its maps become dated and must be changed when they no longer adequately depict reality. For that reason, scientific research must be understood as an act of angle of perception, an insight, which is a continual process of relating consciousness and nature. Bohm's interests, therefore, were in creating a new understanding of the relationship between maps and terrains, not simply in drawing new maps according to old relationships. He felt that

the one-to-one relation good map-making requires was too particularized for modern science where holistic approaches are required.

It is clear that the notion of parts and scientists' attempts to understand nature by analyzing its parts troubled Bohm, but he also knew it is necessary to differentiate and make distinctions in order to avoid hopeless confusion. Real differences and similarities must not be mixed, even in the name of holism. He argued that the way out of the part-whole dilemma for scientists was to recognize that their theories which make sense out of facts are not really separate from the facts themselves. Facts are abstractions imposed on the continuous flow of reality by scientific theories. Theories merely lift certain abstractions out of a continuous, unbroken flow. In a sense, theories create their own facts.

0.7.2.2 Implicate Order

Bohm aimed directly at the Cartesian problem by relating what he called implicate and explicate orders. We may approach the concepts by way of several analogies he used as examples.

In order to illustrate that wholeness is flowing movement, Bohm described an experiment. A drop of insoluble dye is placed in a viscous liquid encased between two glass cylinders. When the outer cylinder is rotated slowly, the dye becomes first a streak and then disappears within the liquid. A second droplet is added, the process continued, and the result repeated.

Bohm asked what would happen if the cylinder were now rotated the same number of turns in the opposite direction? Interestingly, the droplets, first the second and then the first, are reconstituted. What has apparently been a random state of diffusion or mixture is actually a hidden implicit or "implicate" order. The dye maintains its integrity within the body of fluid even though it appears to mix in.

Bohm believed the same kind of order pervades the universe. When the order evolves into a form that can be seen as with the drop of dye, the order becomes explicate. Thus, implicate and explicate orders are different expressions of the same order. Implicate orders are not made up of parts but are orders in which things "enfold" one another. The unmanifest, implicate orders provide the ground for the manifest, explicate orders we see and identify. One might ask whether Bohm had not unscrambled Leach's omelet?

0.7.2.3 Holograms and Holomovements

A second of Bohm's analogies was borrowed from holography. He believed that a camera lens offered a good analogy for the relationship between instruments and theory. In photography, a lens transfers a three-dimensional image onto a two-dimensional place in a flat one-to-one relationship. The result is a partial map of the original object in which any given point of light reflected off the object corresponds to a single point on the photograph. Transformation from object to image occurs with no phase information recorded. When a portion of the photographic plate is destroyed or a part of the photo torn away, a corresponding portion of the image is lost. A partial image of the whole remains.

Bohm found the photographic analogy limited by its emphasis to part-to-part relationships. In the same way, he felt, thinking of science as "photographing" has exaggerated the impression that scientists gain knowledge by acquiring more and more details. This had led researchers to seek figurative lenses that would allow them to observe smaller and smaller parts so they could gain greater and greater knowledge of a whole phenomenon.

Bohm insisted this was the wrong approach and searched for an analogy that would offer insights into the whole the same way lens-photography encourages analysis of parts. The technology of holograms and holography served his need.

Today holograms are nearly ubiquitous, appearing on the covers of trade magazines and the surfaces of credit cards. The public knows holography as a technique of lenseless photography which uses the regulated light waves of a laser to reproduce a three-dimensional image. The laser is projected through a half-silvered mirror which splits the beam so that part of it, the illuminating beam, strikes the object being reproduced while the other part, the reference beam, falls immediately on the photographic plate or glass. The two parts interfere in a wave front that is encoded on the plate. Because the illuminating beam has been partially thrown out of phase by the object, the peaks and troughs in its wave pattern no longer correspond exactly with those of the uninterrupted reference beam. Thus, the two waves reunite in a pattern which mixes coherence (where peaks and trough coincide) with incoherence (where they cancel or interfere with each other). The constructive and destructive coherence causes a pattern of bright and dark spots. The result is a hologram encoded on the plate that unless illuminated is invisible to the naked eye. If seen, however, the pattern would appear as a meaningless, modulated sea of light and dark waves spread across the plate.

For the encoded image to be reconstituted, the plate must be illumined by a second beam in phase with the original. Several types of holograms are possible but the one that interests us requires the illuminating beam to be projected from behind the plate so that the image will appear in front, as if suspended in empty space. Viewers see a three-dimensional representation of the object which, interestingly, some have difficulty focusing on because of an inability to focus on empty space (Saxbe, 1980: 36). Viewers' perspectives change as they move around the hologram so that the left side is seen from the left, the right from the right, etc.

Unlike a photograph, points of light diffracted [sic!] from the object are spread across the entire holographic plate, in ways, it seems, analogous to what Leach claimed for texts. Hence, when the holographic plate is broken and individual pieces illuminated, viewers see the entire image in each piece, but the image is more fuzzy than previously. In other words, the whole is encoded in each part, but to gain detail (a clearer, less fuzzy image) the whole hologram must be present. To retain the whole only a part is needed, the reverse of photography. It was this aspect of holography that offered Bohm the basis for arguing that it could model the relationship between implicate and explicate orders.

Before leaving Bohm's work, we may observe that he attempted to expand the imagery of holograms, which are essentially static, by speaking of holomovements and later of holofluxes, photographs of movements. According to wave theory, waves carry enfolded in their implicate order the various orders that are unfolded in the explicate order. Thus, he thought, in a similar way the whole movement of the universe carries the implicate order which when made explicate finally allows us to see the world as we do. Even history and events are merely ripples whose meaning depends on what lies below (Weber, 1982: 97).

Bohm's work was picked up by many including Stanford neurosurgeon Karl Pribram, who applied the hologram paradigm to the workings of the human mind. Also fascinated with implicate order, Pribram pondered why, when portions of the brain are damaged or removed, other portions appear to take over the functions previously handled by the lost sections? Could it be because information is not stored in regions but is spread holographically across the entire brain? He answered in the affirmative. He wondered as well about the paradoxical relationship between brain and mind, or again, between the brain and the universe. Does the brain, by organizing input from the physical world, construct mental properties, or is the brain which is part of the universe organized by the mental properties, the pervasive organizing principles of the universe? Pribram who had turned to holograms for a theory that could account for the brain's distributed memory store

eventually came to believe not only that the brain functions holographically, but that the universe is also a hologram.

0.8 Holograms in Social World Studies

There is no need to wander farther into the labyrinthine worlds of physics and neurology. This brief, generalized description of developments there serves our purpose by illustrating that the paradigm shift toward holistic approaches and analogies results from fundamental changes in scientists' understanding of the universe. Reality can no longer be viewed as individualized, self-contained parts which exist outside each other. Moreover, the brief survey demonstrated that a broad range of disciplines is seeking new models that emphasize the holistic aspects of their subject matter. Finally, it suggests that the paradigm shift confronting biblical historians is ultimately rooted far beyond the discipline in the implicate order of the universe and that historical events and personalities can be conceived as explicate manifestations of the continuous implicate order.

Most who have been drawn to holographic imagery as a paradigm have been attracted by its usefulness for modeling holistic approaches that relieve whole/part dilemma. Although this aspect is valuable for social world studies, I also appeal to holograms and the technology of holography for metaphors and models for integrating the domains of evidence required for interpreting biblical history. Literary, archaeological, and comparative sociological interpretations interact in ways similar to the three laser beams used to create a holographic image. Additionally, a holographic image is analogous to the interpretations offered as hypotheses by biblical historians.

In our research design, the hologram belongs in the observer's model and can be used in the analytical and systemic phases. Once ancient evidence has been gathered and sorted, archaeology and literary and textual studies "beam" the evidence onto the historian's "plate" where it stands as data to be interpreted. This is evidence from antiquity, the actors' world, and the interference pattern caused by the two types can be expected to be a mixture of coherence and incoherence as in a hologram.

The pattern must be illuminated by the historian in order for history to be written. The historian searches for comparative material which is "in phase" with the evidence from antiquity. It is used as the illuminating beam that allows the relationships encoded on the plate to take on meaning.

The historian then offers a holographic image, an interpretation of the past. The image is a hypothesis—one of many possible interpretations. Other historians drawing on different evidence, asking different questions, and choosing different illuminating materials will arrive at different interpretations. Thus, there can be no single, definitive history written, and not everyone will see the image as the historian does. Some will see empty space while others may see the "history" but from different perspectives.

0.8.1 Example: A Hologram of David

The research design's value will depend on whether it assists, like scientists' theories, in establishing "facts." An application using materials from the early Iron Age is presented elsewhere (Flanagan, forthcoming). Here, I may illustrate how a history of David's era could be aided by the design and model.

Syro-Palestinian archaeology from the beginning of the tenth century B.C.E. has produced little evidence to confirm older historical hypotheses regarding the kingship of David. Recent studies have discovered a few ripples in the explicate order that apparently indicate some centralizing movements beneath. Frank S. Frick's recent study on state formation in Israel has collected must of the relevant data (Frick, 1985).

Literature pertaining explicitly to David is found only in the Bible. Presently, the Davidic corpus is being scrutinized from a number of methodological perspectives. In my

own approach, I suggested that in spite of biblical claims for kingly status, reports about David indicate that chieftaincy would be a better heuristic model (Flanagan, 1981; 1983a; 1983b).

Examples of societies where leaders and their entourages claim sophistications and powers that exceed the realities or where centralizing and non-centralizing claims compete simultaneously are easily found. To illuminate and make sense out of the discrepancies in the Davidic archaeological and literary records, I appealed to nation-building in modern Saudi Arabia (Flanagan, 1982). There Ibn Saudi rose quickly but steadfastly resisted the titles of kingship while his courtiers hastened to bestow the labels he shunned.

All of this has been stated before, but now, although my general impressions of David and his chiefly role remain unchanged, I would approach the evidence differently. The differences can be suggested by citing several advantages that the history-as-hologram model has over history-as-mosaic and history-as-transparency overlay, the paradigms that influenced my earlier studies.

0.8.2 Advantages of Holographic Models

1) Holographic imagery enables historians to model the distinction between historical evidence and historical interpretations. As Albright, Wright, Finley, and all other serious historians have insisted, archaeology and biblical literature contain evidence that can be used for history; they are not history in themselves. History-as-hologram makes this explicit: the evidence, the historian, the comparisons used as heuristic devices, and the historical hypothesis are valued as discrete entities. History is recognized for what it is: images of the past, not images from the past.

2) Holographic imagery enables historians to use evidence that on the surface appears conflicting, and it frees evidence and disciplines from servitude to presumptions about coherence. Archaeological and textual research do not have to reach identical conclusions for both to be used by historians. In fact one might ask whether the art of historical interpretation, like holographic images, could survive if all the evidence were clear and cohesive. With holography, disciplinary integrity need not be sacrificed at the expense of interdisciplinary inquiry.

3) Partial evidence can be used without apologies because the whole is contained in parts. Historical studies can be recognized as the art (or science) of telling the story without all the pieces. As new pieces become available, the story will become less fuzzy, but the overall story is not apt to change. Holograms offer a model for understanding the limitations that constrain most historians.

4) The boundary between excavative and non-excavative biblical studies is honored. The hornets' nests between text-as-text and text-as-referent for history are avoided. Dialogue between literary and source critics can be re-established.

0.9 Conclusion

The arrival of critical biblical studies more than a century ago was announced by attacks on biblical holographs. By giving new meaning for the old term, we admit the paradox of continuity and discontinuity which in other fashions permeates modern biblical scholarship. The transformation should also make us recognize that holographic metaphors and models are apt to endure no longer than the paradigms of our predecessors. Hence, by suggesting holograms as models for social world studies, I am offering nothing more than another hypothesis to be evaluated and tested before it is discarded or superseded. If useful, the imagery may survive for a short time. If not, it will be forgotten or replaced by others. Hence, I stress the tentative nature of these proposals and recall with Ricoeur that metaphors belong to the order of discovery not to the order of

logic. If this one invites reflection on the nature of social world studies, it will have achieved its purpose.

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The Doctrine of Salvation in the Hermetic Writings

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The invocation of Hermes Trismegistos corresponds to an appeal to "Thoth the Very Great." Thoth was considered the Egyptian equivalent of Hermes, and this Greco-Egyptian deity was supposed to have inspired a number of treatises known as *Hermetica*, "Hermetic Writings"; they are collected in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Most of them are philosophical and theological in nature, but there are also works on magic, astrology, alchemy ascribed to Hermes.

No one knows where and when these texts were composed. St. Augustine was aware of them. Since they represent a form of Gnosticism, they probably were contemporary with this movement, and since both Philo of Alexandria and Clement of Alexandria can be associated with Gnosticism, their Egyptian origin is not implausible.

During the later Hellenistic period Alexandria had become an intellectual center comparable to the Athens of Plato and Aristotle. It attracted scholars, scientists, philosophers, poets from the whole Greek world, yet in the temples of Egypt ancient mysteries were still being taught; at the same time there was a large modern library and other facilities for research. Even though the message of Hermes is essentially a blend of Platonism, Stoicism, Judaism and Gnosticism, it is declared as the revelation of a Greco-Egyptian god, and this added a certain amount of prestige for those who wanted to believe in it.

Philo who was both a Jew and a Platonist may very well have founded a school in Alexandria along the lines of the Platonic Academy and the Aristotelian Peripatos. Nothing is known of such a school, but if it existed, the author (or authors) of the Hermetic Writings might best be described as members of it who had already heard of the new doctrine of Jesus and St. Paul and borrowed from it but tried, on the whole, to salvage their own pagan syncretism and astral mysticism. Nowhere else but in Alexandria, that great intellectual melting-pot of late Antiquity, does such a blend of ideas seem possible. But though it pretends to be a revelation, it is a popularizing version of older philosophies, much easier to read than Philo.

It has been said that the Hermetic Writings preserve very little of Egyptian culture. They are written in Greek and Latin. No Egyptian texts are known, but some Coptic versions have recently been published. The main documents we have are in Greek and Latin, but Greek was then an international language, used by Egyptians, Syrians, Jews. The one Latin text, *Asclepius*, is the translation of a Greek treatise.[1] Curiously, one of the Hermetic authors (assuming that there were several) pretends (*Corp. Herm.* XIV 2) that he writes in Egyptian. He says: "The Greeks have only empty words, good enough for

[1]The Greek original was entitled *teleios logos*, either "accomplished discourse" or "discourse for the initiate." The title suggests, perhaps, the idea of healing, an aspect of salvation; Asclepius, the god of healing, was considered a saving deity, like Hygieia. Cf. A. D. Nock, *Essays* I 78; II 723.

demonstrations, and that is exactly what Greek philosophy is like—a verbal noise (*logōn psophos*). But we (i.e. the Egyptians) do not use mere words: we use sounds that are full of action." Does this mean that all Hermetic treatises were originally written in Egyptian, or is it just a pose, a pretense?

It seemed useful to approach the doctrine of salvation in the theology of the Great Hermes from a linguistic point of view. Thanks to the *Index Verborum* compiled by L. Delatte, S. Govaerts and J. Denooz,[2] the use of *sōzō, sōstikos, sōtēr, soterios, sōtēria* in the Greek treatises and the occurrence of *salvo, servo, conservo* in the Latin Asclepius can now be studied conveniently.

The results are not very significant.[3] The word *sōtēr* "savior" appears only once, in XVI 12, connected with *tropheus* "nourisher," and both are applied to the Sun. *Sōtēria* "salvation" appears twice in VII at the beginning.[4] The neuter plural of the adjective *sōtērios*, used as a noun, may be translated as "means of salvation" (II 12; VI 11; X 15).[5] The verb *sōzō* appears nine times and means either "to save" (through the intervention of a divine being) or "to endow with everlasting life." The verbal adjective *sōstikos* appears once, in Fragm. XX 1.

The Latin vocabulary is even more limited than the Greek: *salvo* appears only once in the *Asclepius* (XLI 25,5), *servo* nine times (IV 23,1; VIII 35, 6; XI 17,2; 32,3; 36,4; XXIV 16,4; XXX 18,4; XL 11,2; XLI 36,3), *conservo* twice (XXI 9,5; XXXVII 38,3). There is no evidence for *salvatio, salvator, servator* or *conservator*.[6]

The *Index Verborum*, valuable as it is, does not give an adequate idea of the importance of the doctrine of salvation in the Hermetic texts. This should serve as a lesson. The linguistic approach, by means of computers or otherwise, is insufficient; a close reading of the texts is still necessary.

Having read the texts and consulted the secondary literature, I would suggest, following Festugière,[7] two main aspects of salvation in the *Corpus Hermeticum:* (1) the spiritual life (I 20-23; IV; VII; XII 1-14) and (2) "becoming like God" (*homoiōsis tō theō*, XIII).

For the person who believes in the revelation of Hermes, salvation does not come about as the result, at a given point in time, of the sudden arrival of a divine being who lives for a while among men, teaches and institutes certain sacraments, then dies and returns to heaven. Salvation essentially consists in knowing oneself, in recognizing in one's self the share of the Light, the Divine Intellect (*nous*) which one possesses as a natural gift. To recognize this gift means to love it and, at the same time, to hate the material, earthly part of one's nature.

Salvation through *gnōsis* "knowledge" or "understanding," therefore, has a double purpose: To know oneself and to know God (I 18f). Self-knowledge can only be one form of *gnōsis;*[8] the contemplation of the universe and the vision of God represent the other form.[9] Since salvation comes through *gnōsis*, it follows that "ignorance," *agnoia*, is the

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[2]Rome, 1977.

[3]Cf. van Moorsel, p. 23.

[4]There are parallels to this use in the Septuagint, Aelius Aristides, Apuleius and Firmicus Maternus.

[5]This meaning is also attested in classical and neo-classical Greek, the Septuagint, Philo, Josephus and the New Testament.

[6]Apuleius seems to have avoided *salvator* and *servator;* he uses *sospitator* and *sospitatrix*, nouns not found before his time.

[7]A.-J. Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne* (Paris, 1967), pp. 58ff.

[8]See van Moorsel, p. 25.

[9]On the power of seeing God (*theoptikē dynamis*) see Fragm. VI 18 and VII 3 with Festugière's note. One would not expect to find a term like this in the New Testament,

worst sin. It also follows that there are two categories of human beings: those who are in the knowing and those who live in ignorance. The latter deserve nothing better than to die; in fact, they are already dead (I 20). Only he who has recognized himself as what he is, makes progress towards his real self (I 21). God knows us and wants us to know him: this is the path to salvation (X 15).

All of this sounds fairly simple, but it involves a serious problem (I 21; IV 3-5; XII 6f; 12f; 22): Do not all human beings share the intellect thanks to their common ancestor, Divine Man? Do they differ from one another in this respect? Can it be true that only some achieve salvation through *gnōsis* while others never will?

The Hermetic theologians worked out an answer to this problem: all men have potentially received the *nous* ("intellect"), but they do not use it in the same way; in fact, every individual uses it according to his own character, his way of life. Those who are good, holy, compassionate not only have the *nous* as a potential, they fully realize it, and it becomes for them their guardian angel.[10] All men share the *nous*, but it is not the same for all men (*Asclepius* VII). If someone is senseless, evil, vicious, greedy and commits crimes, the divine *nous* withdraws from him and yields its place to an avenging daemon that tortures the sick soul by the very appetites and urges which haunt it and cause the sickness from which it suffers.

In treatise IV the image of the "Mixing Bowl" is introduced to offer a different solution to the same basic problem. The interlocutor asks (para. 3): "Why has God not given an (equal) share of *nous* to all people?" And Great Hermes answers: "Because he wanted to give away the *nous* to the souls like a prize to be won (by them)." Therefore God filled a huge mixing bowl full of *nous* and sent it down to earth with a herald who proclaimed this message: "Every soul that is able, every soul that believes it can ascend to him who sent the bowl, every soul that knows why it has come into existence, ought to plunge into the bowl."

This implies again that the soul has part of the *nous* already—or else it could not realize the importance of the gift—but it ought to acquire as much extra *nous*, so to speak, as possible from the supply that God has made available. The soul has a choice: it may choose the life of the nous, or it may reject it (XII 5-9).

If the soul makes the right decision, it will avoid the evil influences of the body, of the passions and—most importantly—of Fate. Through our bodies all of us are subject to Fate, but the soul has a choice. The problems of Evil, Guilt and Fate are closely connected.

At this point a curious piece of reasoning enters, the idea of voluntary suffering. It may have been explained in more detail in a treatise which is no longer preserved. What we have is only a selection from a much larger body of Hermetic writings; the number of fragments and the recent discoveries of new texts establish this beyond a doubt.

The true Hermetic believer should remain guiltless, but he should suffer as if he were guilty of a crime, for instance adultery, and it is this suffering which frees him from Evil and from Fate. The key phrase is: "Not having committed adultery, one will suffer (in this world) the punishment for adultery." One can only guess that this involved a kind of spiritual exercise or ascetic discipline. Let us say, I pretend to myself in silence or aloud to my fellow Hermetics that I have committed adultery. I am just pretending; I have not committed any sin. But I force myself to imagine the circumstances and the details of the act of adultery. I would then be caught in the act—always in my imagination—and punished to the full extent of the law. This imaginary punishment, painful and humiliat-

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and, indeed, it does not occur there. But the noun *theoptēs* is attested in Philo, and the Neoplatonists were familiar with the idea.

[10] A concept that seems to combine the Socratic *daimonion*, the Roman *genius* and the Gnostic *nous*.

ing, if dramatized properly, will cause me real suffering, like some horrible nightmare, and I will, henceforth, never be tempted to commit the crime for which I have already been punished in my mind. And since I have not committed a crime, Fate will not catch up with me, either—in case I have escaped human justice. In other words, I am saved (XII 7).[11]

As I have said, this is just a hypothesis. These texts are often tantalizing: they offer clues that were probably explained or developed by oral teaching. One might explain the treatises that we have as a kind of religious propaganda, designed to attract people who were looking for a new creed, a new path to salvation. Once they had joined the school or the sect or whatever one may call it, they were probably initiated into the higher mysteries. But the texts themselves often break off at the crucial point. The outsider only learns part of the truth; the whole truth is reserved for those who have committed themselves, who have joined.

To call these writings "religious propaganda" may sound like an overstatement, but that is, in a sense, what they are. We know a good deal about the aggressive propaganda pursued by the priests of Isis at that time. And even the Platonic dialogues, the literary and spiritual models of the Hermetic dialogues, can be described as propaganda. They are often so frustrating for us to read, because they define problems and offer no real solutions. To find out the whole truth you had to join Plato's Academy and study for a number of years, before you were taught the "unwritten doctrine." But the published dialogues served to attract serious students.

To commit a crime and suffer for it in one's imagination may seem bizarre to us, but as a kind of psychotherapy it might have worked for many. After all, ancient tragedy had a similar effect: the spectator identified himself with the mythical characters on the stage who suffered, sometimes horribly, for a major or minor crime that they had committed, and, ideally, the spectator felt their pain, as if it were his own and went home, purged, as Aristotle says, and, hopefully, a better human being. We should not forget that Attic drama, too, was part of a religious ritual.

By saving himself, the disciple of Hermes also acquires the authority and inherits the necessity, as it were, of saving others (Fragm. VIII 5). Thus, salvation is progressive and collective, and its final goal must be the redemption of all mankind. The true Hermetic had to be a preacher, a missionary and a converter, to save as many souls as possible.

Another way of salvation is outlined in XIII, the "most original treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, "as Festugière has called it. Salvation is possible through a sudden inner regeneration, a spiritual rebirth in God (*palingenesia*). "Nobody can be saved before his rebirth." This is the opening statement of the treatise.[12] The rebirth comes after the death of the former self.[13] "Having had a spiritual vision inside myself, thanks to the compassion of God, I have left myself and entered an immortal body, and I am no longer what I was before" (XIII 3).[14]

The *Poimandres*, another important treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, stresses the necessity of rebirth. The human body is composed of the four elements—earth, water, air and fire—and therefore it is evil. The human body also contains the astral substances which we have inherited from First Man. He received them as he descended through the planetary spheres, because the evil powers of the planets somehow rubbed off on him, as he passed through their spheres, and this bad admixture we have inherited. Now it is up

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[11] See Festugière's note on *Corp. Herm.* vol. I, p. 194. The tentative reconstruction of the spiritual exercise is my own.

[12] Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, pp. 262ff.; id., *Poimandres*, pp. 231, 386ff.; E. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, p. 240.

[13] Cf. Paul, *Romans* 6:6; Festugière's note on *Corp. Herm.* vol. II, p. 210.

[14] Cf. XIII 7ff.

to us to replace the evil powers by the ten good powers that come from God, e.g. joy, truthfulness, self-discipline. In modern terms we would say that the disciple of Hermes is invited to enter a program of self-renewal by resisting all his bad tendencies and habits and acquiring certain well-defined virtues and qualities.

The two main paths to salvation, *gnōsis* "knowledge" and *homoiōsis tō theō* "becoming like God" are two aspects of one and the same experience, as XI 20 shows: "If you do not make yourself like God, you cannot know God, for like can only be known by like." In other words: since we can only know God through the *nous*, and since the *nous* is divine, to use its full power in order to know God is becoming like God.

There is evidence of a Hermetic doctrine that man is, in fact, greater than the gods, at least potentially, but there seems to be a distinction between the gods and the one God. According to *Asclepius* XXII, man has been created good and potentially immortal (*qui posset immortalis esse*), and the one God wanted him to be better than the gods (*esse meliorem diis*). This may be a Stoic idea based on a philosophical interpretation of the myth of Heracles, the Stoic patron saint, who, being only semi-divine, showed himself in many ways greater than his divine enemy, Hera, and was rewarded by fully divine status after his life on earth had ended.[15]

From what we have considered, it would not seem that salvation, according to Great Hermes, enters human life at any given point. It could rather be compared to a gradual awakening of the divine soul which is in all of us, more or less dormant. Or it could be compared to the rekindling of a divine flame which is in danger of being extinguished within us through our neglect.

There is, however, as Bousset[16] has been able to show, another aspect. *Gnōsis* is not just a rediscovery of the divine *nous;* it is a mystic experience as well, an ecstatic vision, a revelation, a consecration. But even the most willing, the most advanced disciple of the Great Hermes needs some help from outside. He needs a teacher, a mystagogue and, above all, he needs a redeemer.

The redeemer has not entered this world at a given point in history. He represents a struggle that has been going on in this world ever since light and darkness were blended in the soul, with just enough light to feed the soul's longing for the eternal home, the source of the light. This longing for salvation is explained in mythological terms. Several gnostic salvation myths are known, but I shall limit myself to the one told in the *Poimandres*, as interpreted by Bousset:[17] At the beginning of the world, the "Urmensch" descends through the planetary spheres whose evil powers rub off on him, if I may use the expression, as he passes through one after another. But why does he leave heaven? He is either cast out or leaves of his own will, because he is attracted, seduced by the beauty of the world as we know it.[18] At any rate, he immerses himself in matter and can free himself only with great difficulty from matter; in the end he succeeds and ascends to heaven, giving back, as he passes through them on his way back their evil powers to the planetary spheres. Then he takes his rightful place in the heavenly realm.

Through this action the "Urmensch" whose descendants we are becomes our redeemer, and he shares with all those who are of good will his knowledge of human nature, so that they, after their physical death, will also be able to pass through the planetary spheres, as they ascend to heaven to enter the world of eternal light.

The only passage in which the word *sōtēr* "savior" or "preserver" occurs deserves a brief comment (XVI 12). Here, the Sun is called "savior" (or "preserver") and "nourisher"

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[15]Cf. *Asclepius* IX; *Corp. Herm.* X 24; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942), p. 507.

[16]W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen, 1921), pp. 201ff.

[17]Bousset, pp. 203ff.

[18]On this concept cf. Fr. XXIII 3.

(or "feeder"), *sōtēr kai tropheus,* of all forms of life in the universe. The Sun is then compared to the "intelligible world" (*noētos kosmos*) which saves (or preserves) the visible world, because it embraces it and fills and loads it with an infinite diversity of forms and shapes. The first part, the embracing, obviously corresponds to the saving or preserving function of the sun; the second corresponds to its feeding function. In Greek "to embrace" is *periecho*. How can the Sun be said to embrace the world, being at its center? By enveloping the world with its light and its creative power. He who embraces is a savior, and the act of embracing is, indeed, an act of salvation. This interpretation is confirmed, it seems to me, by VIII 5 "God causes and embraces all things and keeps them together" and II 12 "The *nous* saves because it wholly embraces itself and contains all things."

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Salvation, Celibacy, and Power: "Divine Women" in Late Antiquity

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In *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, Peter Brown points out an essential difference between the *theios anēr*, the charismatic miracle-worker of late classical times, and the ascetic "holy man" of the late-Roman period (post fourth century): while both performed miracles, the power of the *theios anēr* is derived from society and its "occult wisdom," while that of the ascetic comes from "outside the human race."[1] We would first contend, against this distinction, that the *theios anēr*, because of his charismatic nature, also stands outside the structures of society. Secondly, the attitude of both societies, the late classical (the milieu of the *theios anēr*) and the late Roman (the milieu of the holy man), towards these figures, is conditioned by like attitudes towards divine and human power. The *dynamis* (or, to use the Latin term, *potentia*) of the miracles of the Christian saints of the late Roman period is, in Brown's view, a demonstration of "the virtues which late-Roman man lacked and wished for most: concord and the unrivalled exercise of power."[2] The late classical period also experienced an anxiety over security as *sōteria* or *salus* (safety and salvation) and a corresponding desire for power itself (*dynamis, potentia*). Thus, in both the divine man and the holy man, the power of God is present and accessible in an authoritative human form.

Having established the continuity between these two types of miracle-worker, we must nevertheless observe an essential difference. Although many of the divine men of the late classical period and earlier *may* have been ascetic (e.g., Pythagoras), asceticism was neither a necessary part of their way of life, nor was it the source of their power. Yet there is a body of literature which is based on the assumption that the charismatic miracle-worker derives his very power from asceticism. This literature, dating from the second to fourth centuries C.E., is known collectively as the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*.[3] Noting both their extreme emphasis on the miraculous, together with their stress upon asceticism, if not encratism (e.g., *Acts of Thomas*), Stevan Davies has stated that these collections of edifying wonder-tales "may . . . have been partly intended for missionary use within the Christian community—perhaps written by Christians who valued sexual continence for other Christians who did not."[4]

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[1]Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 131-132.

[2]Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Haskell Lectures, 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 93.

[3]Stevan Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), p. 50; his dating is much earlier, in some cases, that that given by various authors in the *New Testament Apocrypha*, Edgar Hennecke, edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963).

[4]Davies, *Revolt*, p. 50.

The function of miracle-stories as a form of popular religious propaganda is well-known.[5] Such tales were used as propaganda for conversion from one religion to another, or from one mode of life (*bios*) to another. The miracle was the obvious way of showing that divine approval had been bestowed upon the person of power. Thus, the miracle in antiquity first functioned, in Brown's phrase, as "a drama of authority."[6] The collection and dissemination of these miracle-stories was, moreover, a way of demonstrating the approval of a certain type of behavior on the part of the community which preserved them. Thus, miracles functioned first for conversion; second, to furnish edifying examples for converts of the sanctioned way to salvation. In the case of the apocryphal *Acts*, the apostles' thaumaturgy demonstrates both the power of Christ and the power of their ascetic life-style.

It is a further striking feature of these apocrypha that the apostles' chief converts are women, and that the primary result of their conversion to Christianity is the adoption of celibacy as a sign of their new Christian life. This prominence of female conversion to celibacy led Davies to claim that the apocryphal *Acts* may actually have been written by communities of celibate women, the "widows" mentioned in Acts 6:1, and later, as a quasi-official group, in 1 Timothy 5:3-16.[7] While we need not accept Davies' conclusion *in toto*, it is clear that the female converts in the apocryphal *Acts, to a woman*, become celibate after their conversion, even if they are married at the time.[8] Further, after their adoption of the celibate life, many of them have the power to perform the miracles which demonstrate divine approval of their choice. Finally, their receipt of power from God also gives them charismatic power within their communities, demonstrated by their authority to preach, teach, baptize, exorcize demons, and to convert others, "apostolic" duties which, in the more institutionalized church groups, were increasingly forbidden them. In short, these are "divine women," the equals of the *theios anēr* apostles.

One might object that the ideal of the ascetic life was by no means limited to those communities represented by the apocryphal *Acts*, that chastity as part of religion was not unknown in antiquity, and that there were virgins with some authority in the classical religions. Yet celibacy as a form of power and authority for women, together with their authority from God to perform miracles, is unique. Celibacy as a form of power for women, moreover, was first advocated by groups outside of, or at the fringes of the developing Christian church, particularly the church in the West. Celibate women were shown to be acceptable to God and examples for these communities, in their ability to perform miracles. When the formative church began to advocate asceticism, it too disseminated stories of miracle-working celibates, but it took pains to stress that their miracles were the result of obedience to church order and doctrine, rather than a mandate for apostolic status (e.g., *Life of St. Melania the Younger;* Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of St. Macrina*).

In the ancient world, celibacy as an element of religiosity took the form of chastity in marriage, or a temporary period of abstinence from intercourse because of devotion to a deity. In classical Greece, there were religious festivals solely for women (e.g., the *Thesmophoria*), women who were priestesses of various cults, and virgin prophetesses like

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[5]Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Miracles, Mission, and Apologetics," *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), p. 7.

[6]Brown, *Cult*, p. 112.

[7]Davies, *Revolt*, pp. 50-51.

[8]Mygdonia and Tertia (*Acts of Thomas*), Xanthippe (*Acts of Peter*), Drusiana (*Acts of John*), and Maximilla (*Acts of Andrew*), abandon their husbands after the latter will not live in celibate marriage. Mnesara (*Acts of Thomas*) is able to persuade her husband to live with her in continent marriage.

the Pythia at Delphi. Yet there is little evidence to show that celibacy was a particular requirement for women's participation in classical religion. Even the Roman Vestal Virgins could marry, after their term of service was over, and they had been ceremonially "deconsecrated."[9] Several powerful priestesses are mentioned, along with the public honors given them, in the inscriptional evidence of this period and later,[10] but their power was due rather to their wealth and social standing than to their religious functions, and nothing suggests that they were necessarily celibate. In fact, their chastity was, as a Pythagorean treatise of the third-second century B.C.E. has it, "the sanctity of the marriage-bed."[11] The Isis-cult, which included men as well as women among its devotees, enjoined upon them a period of abstinence but this applied to both sexes, regardless of marital status, and was only temporary.[12] Until the Theodosian Codex of 320 removed them (*Codex* VIII.xvi.1), there were also civil penalties for the unmarried and childless.

The early Christian communities appear at first to reflect their pagan contemporaries' attitude towards celibacy. Among the female converts mentioned by name in the canonical NT, Lydia (Acts 16-14), Prisca (Rom 16:3; 2 Tim 4:1), Chloe (1 Cor 1:11), Dorcas (Acts 9:36), and Phoebe (Rom 16:1-2), the marital status of Chloe and the deaconess Phoebe is unknown, Prisca certainly was married, and only Dorcas is a "widow." Thus, chastity apparently meant the same thing to Christians as it did to adherents of other religions. Yet there are hints of what would later become a heavy emphasis on celibacy. In his concern for the impending *eschaton*, Paul urges the unmarried and widows to remain as they are (1 Cor 7:8-9, 39-40), although he seems to be concerned more for male, than for female, celibacy (1 Cor 7:1, 20-27). By the time of the writing of 1 Timothy (ca. 125 C.E.), when women are no longer able to "teach or hold authority" (2:12) in the churches, their way to salvation lies in "good deeds" (2:10) and the "bearing of children" (2:15).

There was, however, a group of women who did have some institutional status: the "widows," whose "enrollment" was carefully delineated (1 Tim 5:3-16). Tertullian, who shares 1 Timothy's views on authority for women, also mentions "widows" as having a specific office, with their privileges (a special bench in the congregation) as well as their duties (consolation and advice to other women, *De Virginibus Velandis*, 9). Like the writer of 1 Tim, Tertullian appears to have faced the problem of "virgins," unmarried women, seeking enrollment as "widows" (1 Tim 5:3-16; *De Virg. Vel.*, 9). This problem may have resulted from the desire to have the support to which official widows were entitled (cf. Acts 6:1), but it may also have arisen because "widowhood" *qua* celibacy was becoming a means of gaining some status, albeit restricted, within the church. "Virgins," however, were gaining status of their own. Although Ignatius of Antioch, writing in the second century, classes the "virgins" as "widows" (*Ad Smyrnaeos*, 13.1), inscriptions from the third and fourth centuries clearly differentiate "*virgines Dei*" from "viduae,"[13] and both groups are mentioned, along with the more institutional (though well-regulated) class of "deaconess" in the third-century *Didaskalia Apostolorum*.

While Canons XIII and XIV of the fourth-century Synod of Gangra acknowledge all three "classes," in the process of restricting their behavior, the same Council roundly

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[9]Mary Beard, "Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 70 (1980), pp. 12ff. (The author thanks Dr. Paul Harvey, Jr., for pointing out this reference.)

[10]Cf. Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, eds., *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 250-251.

[11]Ibid., pp. 104-105.

[12]Sharon Kelly Heyob, *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 110, 113-117.

[13]Orazio Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy*, translated by J. Armine Willis (Chicago: Ares, 1974, unchanged repr. of the 1911 ed.), pp. 90, 215-219.

denounces those who, like the apocryphal heroine Thecla, renounce marriage to "live the ascetic life."[14] This denunciation parallels the growth of a tradition in which women were doing just that: a tradition which found its way into the non-canonical Christian literature. By the fourth century, groups of women, both within the church (Marcella and her community) and outside of the church (Thecla, Mygdonia, and other "ascetic champions" of the apocryphal *Acts*), were renouncing marriage, either as a second marriage after widowhood (Marcella), sexual relations within a current marriage (Mygdonia, Melania Junior), or marriage altogether (Thecla, Eustochium). How could the church promote asceticism as being "next to God" (*partheia*, Methodius, *Symposium*, 8.1), an example of the "angelic life" on earth (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*, IV.24), while at the same time denouncing it for women? In the first place, the church was faced, precisely during the period in which it was itself promoting asceticism, with a similar interest on the part of such movements as gnosticism and encratism, which regarded the material world and the flesh itself as evil, created by an evil god. While Christianity could not be true to its own traditions and denounce as evil creation, procreation, or the flesh, it could assert that, while one's fleshly nature did not deny one closeness to God, the "Fall" from such intimacy could be attributed to the weakness of that flesh. Denial of the fleshly nature could, in some fashion, reverse the Fall and restore that former intimacy (cf. Methodius, *Symposium*, 8.1), bringing one closer to the first-created, "spiritual" being, as Augustine asserted (*De Continentia*, 1.1). This denial was particularly necessary for women, since Eve's contribution to the Fall was considered to be greater than that of Adam. In Jerome's letter on virginity to Eustochium, he stresses the fact that virginity was prior to the Fall, and therefore better than marriage (*Ep.* XXII.19). Thus, as Rosemary Ruether has pointed out, the ascetic, or "spiritual" woman who denies her fleshly nature and therefore the "Eve" who caused the Fall, can retrieve her original, non-sexual, "spiritual" status, and thus achieve salvation.[15] As Ruether also notes, moreover, such women "belonged to the new class of heroes of the time."[16]

Yet this very idealization presented problems: women were choosing the celibate life as a form of power which was denied them by the more traditional roles offered them by society and by the church. The late second-century *Acts of Paul and Thecla* provides us with the best example of the role such celibate women might play in communities which were less concerned with institutional than charismatic authority.[17] Paul's role as the male "apostle" seems merely to provide the means by which Thecla is converted by "the word of the life of purity (7)."[18] She breaks off her betrothal to one Thamyris, in order to "follow" Paul as his disciple, thus setting in motion a pattern typical of the apocryphal *Acts:* the anger of the convert's family. Thecla's mother tries to have her burned, but the "un-bride (*anymphon*, 20)" is miraculously rescued, while the governor of Iconium "mar-

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[14] *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church*, edited by Patricia Wilson-Kastner, *et al.* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), p. xxii.

[15] Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church," *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, edited by Ruether (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), p. 160.

[16] Ruether, "Mothers of the Church: Ascetic Women in the Late Patristic Age," *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, edited by Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), p. 93.

[17] There are numerous other examples from the apocryphal *Acts:* e.g., the un-named "great ascetic and champion" of the *Acts of Andrew*, Mygdonia of the *Acts of Thomas*, who baptizes her "sisters," and Drusiana from the *Acts of John*.

[18] Translations are the author's, from *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha I*, edited by Richard Lipsius and Maximilian Bonnet (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1972).

velled at the power in her (20)."[19] At Antioch, Thecla is again miraculously rescued, this time from wild beasts (27), and her words convert the queen, Tryphaena, who "follows" Thecla as *her* disciple (27-28). Finally, Thecla leaps into a "pit of water" prepared for her drowning, and gives herself the baptism first refused her by Paul (34).[20] Thereafter, she dresses as a man, thus further "casting off" her female nature, and travels to find Paul, who finally accepts her apostolic role, and commissions her to preach (42).

While Thecla was a powerful example within the church as well as outside it,[21] a major objection to using Thecla as an example for other celibate women to follow is voiced by Tertullian in *De baptismo*. He objects to Thecla's assuming the right to teach and to baptize, offices which are both reserved for men, and doubts the authenticity of the Thecla legend altogether, since he believes the apostle Paul would not have permitted a woman apostolic authority, "when he did not allow a woman even to learn by her own right."[22] Ambrose stressed the fact that, while Thecla's virginity protected her from the wild beasts of the Antioch arena, it did not allow her to teach (*De Virginibus*, II.19). Thus, while holding Thecla up as an example of the divine power of celibacy, the church fathers did not wish her, or her apocryphal apostolic sisters, to be examples for women who thereby wished to claim institutional authority.

This transformation of the powerful celibate, from authoritative to obedient, may be briefly illustrated with a fifth-century example, the Empress Eudokia's *Martyrdom of St. Cyprian*, the first chapter of which describes the former *magus'* conversion by the powerful feats of the virgin Justa. When the devil he sends to tempt her away from the celibate life is defeated by her "powerful" signs, Cyprian becomes a priest, while Justa must remain a deaconess, in charge of other "virgins," and appears no more in the story. Just so with the celibate miracle-workers of the apocrypha: when their miracles are taken over by the church, they appear no more in the story.

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[19]Only later, and perhaps apologetically, is her rescue attributed to Paul's prayer from afar.

[20]In the *Acts of Thomas*, for example, Mygdonia flees her husband naked (IX.98), while her converts (all women) are "unclothed" at their baptism (XIII.158).

[21]Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of St. Macrina*; Jerome, *Ep.* XXII. 41; Methodius, *Symposium*, 8.1; Rufinus, *Apology* II.26, on Melania as "the new Thecla."

[22]English translation of *De baptismo* from Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1976), p. 18.

Let No One Deceive You in Any Way: 2 Thessalonians as a Reformulation of the Apocalyptic Tradition

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2 Thessalonians has been of interest to modern scholars primarily because of its eschatological content. If one accepts Paul as the author, the letter demonstrates a willingness to employ the traditional imagery and terminology of Jewish apocalypticism to an extent not evident elsewhere in his surviving letters. If one postulates an author other than Paul, as we shall in this paper, the letter represents a reformulation of Paul's eschatology precisely by the use of these traditional terms and images to address the theological needs of a new generation. What is of greatest interest to the modern scholar, however, is not necessarily what was of primary concern to the author. The apocalyptic material in 2 Thessalonians was included by the author for a specific purpose, and the function of the material within the letter will have some bearing on its significance as part of a particular strain of theological development. Only by examining the apocalyptic material within the specific context of 2 Thessalonians can we find the theological message its author wished to impart.

In order to carry out this investigation, we must first analyze the rhetorical structure of the letter to determine what part the apocalyptic material plays in its argument. Second, we shall examine the "apocalyptic scenario" of 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 to discover its most significant features in regard to its theological message. Finally, we shall examine other eschatological material in the New Testament that appears to convey this same theological message, and see what conclusions may be drawn for the place of 2 Thessalonians in the mosaic of early Christian literature.

2 Thessalonians is an example of deliberative rhetoric, that is, it is intended to persuade its readers to choose a particular future course of action.[1] In this case, the action the author wishes his readers to take is to "stand firm and hold to the traditions which you were taught" (2 Thess 2:15a; cp. 3:14-16). The elements of deliberative rhetoric are exhortation and dissuasion, "since the exhorter advises a thing as being better, and the dissuader opposes it as being worse."[2] In 2 Thessalonians the author exhorts the readers to obey the Pauline tradition so that there may be "peace" (ibid.), and dissuades them from heeding the false proclamation that "the Day of the Lord is here" (2 Thess 2:2b).

The rhetorical structure of 2 Thessalonians is as follows:

I. Epistolary Prescript, 1:1-2

II. Exordium, 1:3-4

A. Description of an act of thanksgiving, 1:3

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[1]Aristotle, *Ars Rhetorica*, 1358b, I.iii.4; cf. also Jonathan A. Goldstein, *The Letters of Demosthenes*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1968, pp. 100-107.

[2]Aristotle, op. cit., I.iii.3, 5.

B. Description of an act of boasting, 1:4

III. Narratio, 1:5-12

A. Ἔνδειγμα: A Scene from the Last Judgment, 1:5-10

B. Report of a prayer of intercession, 1:11-12

IV. Probatio, 2:1-17

A. Topic in the form of a doctrinal exhortation, 2:1-3a

B. Proof of the falsehood of the disturbing message, 2:3b-12

1. first proof: necessary order of events, 2:3b-5

2. second proof: restraint of the Antagonist, 2:6-8

3. third proof: manifest character of the coming of the Antagonist 2:9-12

C. Description of an act of thanksgiving, 2:13-14

D. Conclusion, 2:15-17

V. Exhortatio, 3:1-13

A. Request for prayer, 3:1-5

B. Exhortation against the ἄτακτοι, 3:6-13

VI. Peroratio, 3:14-16

VII. Epistolary Postscript, 3:17-18

As may be seen from the above analysis, the apocalyptic material of the letter appears exclusively in the *narratio* (the statement of facts) and the *probatio* (the proof). The beginning of the *narratio* (2 Thess 1:5-12) is signalled by the technical term ἔνδειγμα, "example," which serves almost as a title for the section thus introduced. Ἔνδειγμα stands in accusative apposition to the whole preceding phrase (2 Thess 1:4).[3] The eschatological orientation of both the thanksgiving and the "boast" is demonstrated through the development of the ἔνδειγμα into an "episode in the Last Judgment," which portrays the ultimate outcome of the present sufferings of the congregation.[4] The "episode in the Last Judgment" has been isolated as a particular literary genre by H. D.

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[3]Jouette Bassler has argued that God's "righteous judgment" is demonstrated specifically by the experience of persecution, and links this idea with rabbinic *Leidenstheologie* (Jouette M. Bassler, "The Enigmatic Sign: 2 Thessalonians 1:5," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46, 1984, pp. 496-510). Unfortunately, Bassler fails to differentiate between the idea of suffering as a means of punishing the sins of the good so that they may enjoy unalloyed reward in the future life (*Leidenstheologie* proper, ibid., p. 502) and the idea of suffering as discipline or "chastening" (as in Bassler's examples from Ps. Sol. 13:9-10; 2 Macc 6:12-16; 2 Bar 13:3-10; 78:5, ibid., pp. 503-505). This latter, of course is a common idea in the Old Testament (cf. Isa 40:1-2, Job 33:19-30, Prov 3:11-12) and the Apocrypha (cf. Wis 11:9-10; Bar 4:5-29). As a result, Bassler has no witness for the development of the *Leidenstheologie* before the rabbinic era, and we must therefore strongly doubt its appearance in 2 Thessalonians.

[4]Cf. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 105: "Whatever extensive narrative may be present in *demegoriae* [i.e., deliberative rhetoric] is organized not [to] show that some particular action took place, but to remind the hearers of facts that will help them make a good decision."

Betz.[5] One of the features of this genre is that it is composed of and supposes knowledge of traditional material about the judgment; its function within a particular composition depends upon the readers' understanding of the process of judgment as an event.[6] In 2 Thessalonians, the *narratio* reminds the readers of the true situation which lies behind their present persecution (2 Thess 1:4), that is, the future reversal of fortunes which will vindicate the faithful and punish the wicked (2 Thess 1:6-7, 8-10). However, this scene of judgment also provides the eschatological background to the rest of the letter: it describes the parousia of Jesus Christ (2 Thess 1:7b-8a), which is the culminating act of the apocalyptic scenario (2:8), and characterizes the wicked as οἱ μὴ ὑπακούοντες τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ (1:8b), a reminder of the eschatological consequences of disobedience (3:14; cp. 2:15). Thus, although the ἔνδειγμα initially performs a consolatory function (2 Thess 1:6-7a), it also serves as the eschatological basis of the paraenesis if 3:6-13 and the summation of 3:14-16. It reminds the readers that their actions will be judged, in what we may style a *momento iudicari*.

The apocalyptic scenario of 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 is composed of three proofs, intended to demonstrate the falsity of the proclamation, "the Day of the Lord is here" (2:2). This section begins with an exhortation formula (ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί), but the behavior called for is not to be achieved by moral choice, but through a proper doctrinal understanding. If one is not to become upset, or shaken from one's convictions,[7] this is necessarily the result of a proper understanding of the point under dispute. It is doctrinal instruction which strengthens convictions and prevents deception (2 Thess 2:3a). This is why this exhortation is part of the *probatio*, in which the author offers proof of his counter-assertion that the Day of the Lord has not yet come (2 Thess 2:3b). The apparent topic of the *probatio*, ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγὴ ἐπ' αὐτόν (2 Thess 2:1b), is not referred to in the scenario, except in the most general sense. Ἡ παρουσία appears only in 2:8a as the event which ends the career of the apocalyptic Antagonist, and the ἐπισυναγωγή does not appear at all. It would appear that these two events had become associated through the influence of 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18 (cp. Mark 13:27, Matt 24:31) and in the present case are a means of referring to the apocalyptic events in general, the part for the whole. The specific concern of the apocalyptic scenario is to disprove the false proclamation (2 Thess 2:2b-3). Its function is to prevent the readers from being shaken from their convictions, specifically their understanding of the progression of the apocalyptic events, so that they will not become prey to those who are spreading deception through false teaching (2 Thess 2:3a). The author hopes to vindicate his own (i.e., the "correct") understanding of Paul's eschatological teaching, and so prepare the readers to receive his exhortation even as they reject the claims of the deceivers.

One of the major differences between 1 and 2 Thessalonians, then, is the presence of "opponents" whom the author believes are a threat to his readers' fidelity to the Pauline tradition. His exhortation (2 Thess 3:1-3) also concerns fidelity to the tradition, in this case the ethical tradition composed of the apostle's words and example (2 Thess 3:6-10). Those who are to be shunned by the congregation are those ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντες καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρελάβοσαν παρ' ἡμῶν (2 Thess 3:6b). Spicq has

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[5]H. D. Betz, "An Episode in the Last Judgment (Matt. 7:21-23)," *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount*, L. L. Welborn, trans., Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985, pp. 125-157.

[6]Ibid., p. 127; Betz cites P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der judischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934, pp. 272ff.

[7]Taking νοῦς as "mind, attitude, way of thinking, as the sum total of the whole mental and moral state of being," Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 544, cp. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 1181.*

demonstrated that ἄτακτειν is to be translated "to be disorderly," with the further idea of insubordination.[8] This term is appropriate for those who do not acknowledge a common rule of life in a community, or those who are not willing to obey a particular authority. These people are those who μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενοι ἀλλὰ περιεργαζόμενοι (2 Thess 3:11b). Περιεργάζομαι, "to be a busybody," refers to those who meddle in matters which are none of their concern. But it can also carry political or religious overtones as an indictment of those who over-reach themselves. For example, the charge against Socrates was Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ περιεργάζεται ζητῶν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνια (Plato, Apol. 19b). "Pointlessly busy" is a charge made against the religious when religion is dismissed as superstition.[9] A similar charge appears to have been made in the political sphere against Demosthenes: εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, . . . περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργασται δ'ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσ' ἐμοί (Demosthenes, De Corona, 18:72). We would argue that the ἄτακτοι who have not obeyed the tradition as our author understands it are the same people who were responsible for the false proclamation, "the Day of the Lord is here" (2 Thess 2:2). The refusal to work appears to be directly related to their position as self-proclaimed prophets. We know from other sources that such prophets or other "spiritual" authorities often claimed the support of the congregation (cf. 2 Cor 12:11-18; cp. 1 Thess 2:5-6, 9; 1 Cor 9:3-18). The Didache gives instruction for examining prophets and gives the warning "But whosoever shall say in a spirit, 'Give me money, or something else,' you shall not listen to him" (Did. xi.12). Travellers likewise are not to impose simply because they are Christian (Did. xii). The Christians were apparently well known for being generous to those they felt possessed some spiritual gift.[10]

The author of 2 Thessalonians, then, is not simply denying a particular proclamation and correcting idleness; he is attacking a group of opponents on two fronts, on the basis of both their doctrine and their behavior, which is out of keeping with that of the venerated apostle, Paul. Once their distinctive doctrine has been proven wrong, and the basis of their claims to spiritual authority thereby destroyed, the author is free to upbraid them for their behavior (2 Thess 3:12). They are not to claim special privileges, and the congregation is not to grant them any (2 Thess 3:6, 10, 14-15).

The message of the ἄτακτοι was "the Day of the Lord is here." This is an example of what David Aune styles the "salvation-judgment oracle,"[11] insofar as it announces the arrival of a particular stage in the apocalyptic drama. The very act of proclamation assumes that some sort of human response is necessary; the presence of the Day of the Lord is a "crisis" to which the congregation is called to react. What this reaction should be is determined by one's understanding of "the Day of the Lord," but it appears that "the Day" was an "historical" event rather than an "ahistorical" one, since it required some sort of human response.

Therefore we should not assume that the message of the "disorderly" was "the parousia of Jesus Christ is here," since the parousia is an "ahistorical" event which renders all further action superfluous.[12] Although 2 Thessalonians 2:2b is almost invariably

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[8]C. Spicq. "Les Thessaloniciens 'inquiets' étaient-ils des paresseux?," *Studia Theologica* 10, 1950, pp. 1-13.

[9]Cf. Theophrastus, *Characters* xvi, the charges of Celsus, Origen, *Contra Celsum* III.55.

[10]Cf. Lucian, *Peregrinus* 11-13, 16.

[11]David Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983, pp. 93, 118-121, 322-323.

[12]Cf. Matthew 7:21-23; 11:20-24 (par. Luke 10:13-15); 13:24-30, 36-43; 24:29-31, 45-51 (par. Luke 12:42-48); 25:1-13, 31-46; Mark 13:24-27, 32-37; Luke 13:22-30; Romans 2:6-11; Philippians 1:3-6; 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18.

interpreted as referring to the parousia,[13] we must not impose such an understanding on the text, especially since this is apparently not how the false proclamation was understood by our author. As noted above, the traditional material he used in "the scene from the Last Judgment" in 1:5-10 represents a common ground for himself and his readers. He expected it to be accepted by all concerned, including his opponents. The advent of Christ, according to this description, would be manifest and unmistakable (2 Thess 1:7b-8a); we may compare Mark 13:24-27, Matthew 24:27-28 and Luke 17:24. If the author had believed that the false proclamation concerned the parousia, he would not have assumed this was an undisputed fact, but quite properly would have made the manifest appearance of Christ at the parousia a part of his argument. Instead, one of his arguments is the manifest nature of the coming of the Antagonist (2:8-9). This suggests that it is the appearance of the Antagonist, not of Christ, that the ἄτακτοι proclaimed as "the Day of the Lord." Again, the author shares his readers' disquiet over the prospect of the presence of the Day of the Lord. He does not offer them παράκλησις as Paul did in 1 Thessalonians 5:1-11, to the effect that its advent is of concern only for the wicked. Rather, he denies the Day is here. He would thus appear to understand the proclamation as a message of a present historical crisis which, as part of the eschatological process, demanded a response from those who heard the message; this is consistent with the intention of the ἄτακτοι as we understand it. Neither they nor the author equated the Day of the Lord with the parousia.

What then is the meaning of ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου? Paul uses a series of related phrases which all speak of a "day" of the Lord Jesus Christ. Since Paul often refers to Jesus simply as "the Lord,"[14] it might seem reasonable to equate "the Day of the Lord" with "the Day of the Lord Jesus" or its equivalent. But "the Day of the Lord" is a technical term in the Old Testament for an historical day of wrath. It appears to have originally referred to the day when God would shower his wrath upon the enemies of his people, but Amos already inverts that expectation by foretelling the day as one of wrath against Israel and Judah as well (Amos 2:4-5, 6-8, 9-16; 5:18-27). The Day of the Lord was also a theme of the prophets both before and during the exile.[15] However, we also find that the Day of the Lord provided an occasion for repentance (Zeph 2:1-3, Joel 2:15-29). The faithful who endured the day of the Lord's wrath would find a blessing afterward (cf. Joel 2:30-32).

The various phrases Paul employs to refer to a "day" of Jesus Christ are variants of ἡ ἡμέρα (τοῦ) (κυρίου) (ἡμῶν) (Ἰησοῦ) (Χριστοῦ) (1 Cor 1:8, 2 Cor 1:14, Phil 1:6, 10; 2:16). However, this series of phrases has a very specific place in Paul's thought; it refers to the "day" when his congregation will be presented before Jesus, the eschatological judge, as the fruits of Paul's labor and, implicitly, accepted into the kingdom. This same idea is found in 2 Thessalonians, in reference to the "day" when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven as eschatological judge, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (2 Thess 1:7, 10). The

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[13]Cf. E. von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicher-Briefe* (Meyer, 7th ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909, pp. 267-268; G. Milligan, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*, London: Macmillan, 1908, p. 97; B. Rigaux, *Saint Paul: Les Épitres aux Thessaloniciens* (Études Bibliques), Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1956, p. 645; W. Trilling, *Der Zweite Brief an die Thessalonicher* (EKK), Zurich/Neukirchen: Benziger/Neukirchener Verlag, 1980, pp. 77-79.

[14]Cf. Romans 14:6, 8-9; 16:3-13; 1 Corinthians 2:8; 4:4-5; 6:13-14, 15-17; 2 Corinthians 10:7-8; 12:8-9; Galatians 1:19; Philippians 2:29; 3:1; 4:4-5, 10; 1 Thessalonians 1:6; 4:15-17; Philemon 20.

[15]Cf. Isaiah 2:12-17; 22:1-14; 34:1-17; 61:1-3; 63:1-6; Ezekiel 7:1-27; 30:1-9; Lamentations 1:12; 2:1, 21-22.

use of the term in 1 Corinthians 5:5 is uncertain, because of the major variant.[16] However, the addition of the proper name Ἰησοῦς is in keeping with Paul's use of the term elsewhere; the assumption appears to be that the man will be presented together with the whole congregation on the day of judgment. The whole church is to be presented, and the whole church is to be accepted (cf. 2 Cor 11:2, Phil 1:9-11; cp. Rom 8:14-17).

The only clear reference in Paul to ἡμέρα κυρίου appears in 1 Thessalonians 5:2, αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς οἴδατε ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης ἐν νυκτι οὕτως ἔρχεται. Paul makes no explicit connection between ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου in 1 Thessalonians 4:15b and ἡμέρα κυρίου in 5:2. There appears, however, to be some sort of "temporal" connection between them, since the progression of the exposition is from the parousia and the "gathering together" in 1 Thessalonians 4:15-18 to the idea of "times and seasons" in 5:1 to the unpredictable arrival of the Day of the Lord in 5:2. Paul gives several details about this "day." First, it will come "like a thief in the night" when all is declared to be well (1 Thess 5:2b-3a). In view of the use of this same phrase elsewhere (Luke 12:39-40; Rev 3:3; 16:15), we may say that the metaphor of "the thief in the night" is used primarily to express the way the Day of the Lord will overtake the unwary (Luke 12:29-40; Rev 3:3). The elect, on the other hand, know that they don't know when the Day of the Lord will come, and so are prepared at all times for its coming.

The second characteristic of the Day of the Lord in 1 Thessalonians is that the "wrath" of the Day is intended for the wicked and not the faithful (1 Thess 5:4-7). This leads to the third point, that the faithful can best prepare for the Day of the Lord, whenever it may come, by being wakeful and sober; in other words, it will be a crisis which will demand a human response (cp. Rom 13:11-14).

A similar idea in Paul is ἡμέρα ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ, which appears in Romans 2:5. This phrase introduces a long description of how God "will render to every man according to his works," reward to the good, but "wrath and fury" to the wicked (Rom 2:7-8). The description culminates with another time reference, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρίνει ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Rom 2:16). The description emphasizes the "wrath and fury" attendant on God's judgment. This "day of wrath" is essentially a theocentric vision of the eschatological process; this description is similar to some of the descriptions of the Day of the Lord in the Old Testament (cf. Joel 2:1-2, 30-32; Zeph 1:15-18; 2:1-3).

We may now make the following observations about Paul's use of ἡμέρα κυρίου and related phrases: (1) Paul spoke of the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ, when believers would be presented by Paul before the eschatological judge, Christ. (2) Paul writes in Romans 2:5-16 of a "day of wrath" when God's righteous judgment will be revealed. It is conceived of primarily in terms of punishment for the wicked. (3) "The Day of the Lord" appears only in 1 Thessalonians 5:2. It, too, is a day of wrath for the wicked and will come suddenly, just when all appears to be peace and security (1 Thess 5:3). It is no threat to the good, provided they are watchful and don "spiritual armor" (1 Thess 5:4-8).

The three "days," then, really represent two "days," one the "day" of the Lord Jesus,

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[16]Most of the texts have some identification of κύριος with Jesus. The reading κυρίου alone appears in Codex B and the Chester Beatty Papyrus (P^{46}), and is the reading in both the Nestle-Aland (26th ed.) and the United Bible Society texts. Metzger writes, "The reading that best explains the origin of the other readings is κυρίου, well attested by early and important manuscripts and Fathers" (B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, New York: United Bible Societies, 1971, p. 550). We would argue, however, that both ἡμέρα κυρίου and ἡμέρα κυρίου Ἰησοῦ and its variants are technical terms in Paul, and some thought should be given to the meaning of the term in context.

the parousia, and the other "day" of wrath against the wicked, which the good, with proper spiritual armament, will survive, to find a blessing afterward. These two different "days" represent Paul's failure to integrate fully the idea of "the Day of YHWH" and of God as eschatological judge in the Old Testament with the Christian idea of the collective acceptance of the congregation on "the Day of Jesus Christ," when Christ appears as judge at the parousia. It would be improper to force a false harmony upon these two different concepts by arguing, for example, that the faithful perceive "the Day" as salvation and reward, while the wicked perceive it as wrath and punishment. The only concession Paul himself made to such a harmonization was that "God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess 5:9, cp. 1:10). But this is not to say that the process of "wrath" and the process of "salvation" are one and the same. The fact that Paul uses "the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ" in its various forms in one particular way and "the Day of the Lord" and "the day of wrath" in another particular way should dissuade us from confusing the two. The independent development of "the Day of the Lord" in the Old Testament on the one hand and that of Jesus as the eschatological judge and savior on the other demonstrates the integrity of each concept; indeed, in 1 Thessalonians 1:10 Jesus is specifically the one who saves the faithful from the coming wrath.

The members of Paul's congregations, then, were familiar with these two ideas, an "historical" crisis of the day of wrath, which called for preparedness on the part of the faithful, and the "ahistorical" event of the parousia, at which time human response becomes unnecessary, since all human fates have already been decided.[17] If both events were part of the eschatological process, the historical crisis would of necessity come first, since the faithful survive the wrath to receive a later eschatological blessing (1 Thess 5:9; cp. Joel 3:14-21). It is the preliminary, historical crisis which is the Day of the Lord of which the author speaks in 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12. His apocalyptic scenario is intended not only to prove that this crisis has not yet arrived, but also to provide a sequence of events in the eschatological process which includes the present, the future crisis, and the final resolution of all things at the parousia.

This scenario is presented in a tightly-woven series of events in 2 Thessalonians 2:3-10. The first two of these events are ἡ ἀποστασία and the revelation of ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας. Since we are dealing with a "chronological" series of events, at least insofar as these events must proceed in a certain order before the process culminates in the parousia, we may properly ask what the "temporal" relationship is between these two events. Since in 2:3b the adverb πρῶτον modifies the verb ἔλθῃ, and the second verb, ἀποκαλυφθῇ, is separated from the first verb and the adverb by the conjunctive καὶ, grammatically the adverb modifies only ἔλθῃ. The sense of πρῶτον, "first," is such that it appears to mean that ἡ ἀποστασία must precede the revelation of the apocalyptic Antagonist, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας. Indeed, ἡ ἀποστασία is presented as a parallel phenomenon to the operation of τὸ κατέχον and τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας, both of which are active in the present (2:6-7). In the same way, the revelation of ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας is temporally parallel to the removal of ὁ κατέχων and the appearance of ὁ ἄνομος, with which it is identified (2:7-8). Ἡ ἀποστασία in the sense of both political and religious rebellion is already at work in the congregations the author addresses, in the work of the false prophets, the ἄτακτοι, who spread a false doctrine and do not recognize the authority of the Pauline tradition as interpreted by our author.

Several problems, both grammatical and exegetical, arise from verse 2.6, including the most notorious puzzle of the letter. The introductory conjunction, καὶ νῦν is consecutive rather than temporal, assuming some sort of logical connection between the

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[17] See references note 12.

previous (fictitious)[18] instruction of the congregation and their knowledge of what τὸ κατέχον represents. This connection appears to require that there was in fact some previous instruction, since this would presumably be the only way the readers could know what τὸ κατέχον represents. But the readers might very well be expected to know what power regulated the development of the eschatological drama: the will of God, and that alone (cf. Rom 1:18, 24, 26, 28; 2:4-5). There can be no doubt that, ultimately, the power that prevents the Antagonist from appearing before the appointed time is the will of God. He is in control of the fate of both the good (2 Thess 1:11-12; 2:13b-14) and the evil (2 Thess 2:11-12), and of the events which mete out those fates (cp. Jer 23:18, 22; Zech 3:1-10; Rev 4:1-6; 5:1-7). God's will is thus the final arbiter of all the events of the apocalyptic drama. However, it remains to explain how God's will may properly lie behind both τὸ κατέχον and its personification as ὁ κατέχων. We must recognize that the personification of τὸ κατέχον is a function not of its meaning, but of the nature of the apocalyptic crisis as understood by the author. The description of the career of τὸ κατέχον/ὁ κατέχων is one of three such descriptions. In the first, ἡ ἀποστασία is at work in the present, but at the future point of crisis, it will be manifested in the person of ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, who is described in terms of political and religious rebellion of (2 Thess 2:3-4). In other words, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας is a personification of ἡ ἀποστασία which is at work in the present. τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας is also at work in the present, but at the time of apocalyptic crisis, it will be personified in ὁ ἄνομος (2 Thess 2:7-8). By the same token, then, τὸ κατέχον is at work in the present, and will be personified as ὁ κατέχων at the point of apocalyptic crisis, i.e., on the Day of the Lord (cp. Daniel 10:18-11:1; Rev 12:7-9). Thus the use of neuter and masculine participles in verses 2:6-7 is dictated not by the nature of that to which the two terms refer (i.e., the will of God), but to the apocalyptic pattern itself. The role of the personal agent of God's will is traditionally filled by "the angel of YHWH,"[19] and that may be the personal agent the author has in mind here. This agent will be removed at the point of apocalyptic crisis because at that point his work of "restraining" will be done, when the "time" (καιρός) of the Antagonist arrives. The agent must always be subject to God's will (cp. Rev 20:1-3, 7-10).

The apocalyptic scenario offered by our author presents the eschatological process as occurring in three stages. The first stage is the present, the time of the operation of ἡ ἀποστασία (2 Thess 2:3b), τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας (2:7a) and τὸ κατέχον (2:6a). At some future point of crisis, these forces will be personified as the apocalyptic Antagonist (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας and ὁ ἄνομος, 2:3b, 8a) and the one who restrains him (ὁ κατέχων, 2:7b). This point of crisis is the day of God's wrath, the Day of the Lord, and this wrath is manifested preeminently as deception (2 Thess 2:9-12). The readers will survive only if they are faithful, remain sober, and are not deceived (1 Thess 5:4-6, 9-10; 2 Thess 2:3a, cp. 2:10-12). This working of the deception of the Antagonist is characteristic of the second stage. The third stage is the parousia of the Lord Jesus Christ, which will bring an end to the power of the Antagonist and usher in the Last Judgment (2 Thess 2:8; 1:7b-10). For a similar three-part apocalyptic scenario in the Old Testament, we may compare Zechariah 14:1-9.[20]

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[18]Since we have assumed the author was not Paul, this verse recalling previous instruction is a rhetorical device, tying the doctrine of the letter to the teaching of Paul. It is an appeal to the teaching of a venerated authority, cp. Matthew 24:25; Mark 13:23.

[19]Cf. Genesis 16:9-11; 22:11-12; Exodus 14:19-20; Numbers 22:34; Judges 6:19-20; Matthew 1:20-21; 2:19-20; Luke 1:11-13, 19-20, 26-37.

[20]In Zechariah 14 we have: (1) the attack of the nations against Jerusalem, 14:2; (2) the Lord joins the battle, 14:3-5ab, "a day of the Lord," 14:1; (3) the coming of the Lord with his holy ones, 14:5c, ushering in an age of blessing, 14:6-9, 10-21.

In 2 Thessalonians, then, we have evidence of two different understandings of the same basic apocalyptic scenario, based on the teaching of Paul. The ἄτακτοι believed the apocalyptic crisis of the Day of the Lord was already present, presumably in the sufferings of the congregations (cf. 2 Thess 1:4, 6); this was the time when the believers had to remain faithful in the face of persecution. But this is not how the situation appeared to the author of 2 Thessalonians. He believed that this teaching would disarm the believers in the face of the real apocalyptic crisis, which would be characterized by deception. The author considered the false preaching of the ἄτακτοι to be deception as well, the same deception which would be the stock in trade of the apocalyptic Antagonist (2 Thess 3:9-10). Therefore he warned his readers, μή τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον (2 Thess 2:3a). Indeed, deception is the manifestation of God's wrath; he "sends a powerful delusion upon them so that they will believe what is false, so that all those who are not faithful to the truth but who delighted in unrighteousness may be condemned" (2 Thess 2:11-12).

We find a similar train of thought in Romans 1:18-32. Paul describes the working of God's wrath in history as deception, but introduces the idea in what we may call "apocalyptic" terms: Ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρωπον (Rom 1:18a; cp. 2 Thess 1:7b-8a). God's wrath is revealed because, although he is clearly manifest through his works, men prefer to suppress (κατεχεῖν) this truth; they deceive themselves. This leads to a fundamental religious error, and men turn to idolatry (Rom 1:21-23). Thus God's wrath arises in reaction to a religious error, that of not acknowledging God as God (Rom 1:21). His wrath is manifested by his "handing over" (παραδοῦναι) humanity to the consequences of its errors. These consequences are moral: religious deception leads to moral deception (Rom 1:24-25). God "gave them up" to impurity (Rom 1:24), to "dishonorable passions," which deceive the mind as to what is the "natural" object of sexual desire (Rom 1:26-27), and to "a base mind and improper conduct" (Rom 1:28), giving rise to all the vices with which humanity is plagued (Rom 1:20-32). Humanity's turning from God could only result in its being deceived: φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοι ἐμωράνθησαν (Rom 1:22). God's wrath is expressed by his allowing men and women to be foolish, to choose what is wrong despite their knowledge of what is right (Rom 1:32).[21]

The author of 2 Thessalonians has appropriated this Pauline idea of the working out of God's wrath through deception, but he has restricted its scope to the eschatological process, which includes his own time (2 Thess 2:6-7a). The deception spread by those who proclaim the presence of the Day of the Lord is eschatological deception, a symptom of the presence of ἡ ἀποστασία and τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας (2 Thess 2:3b, 7a). But because of the close association of religious and moral error, those who are deceived about the eschatological events are also likely to be deceived about moral behavior. For the author of 2 Thessalonians, the infallible guide for morality is the word and example of the apostle Paul (2 Thess 2:15; 3:6-10). It is obedience to this tradition that he is seeking to enforce, and his clarification of ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντες is μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρελαβοσαν παρ' ἡμῶν (2 Thess 3:6b). Disobedience to this tradition is a sign of the presence of eschatological rebellion: εἰ δὲ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε (2 Thess 3:14a). We should take σημειόω in the middle as "regard it as an omen for yourselves."[22] Immoral behavior is not only to be

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[21]Cf. the interpretation of this passage in E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, G. W. Bromiley, trans., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1978, pp. 37-52.

[22]Cf. Liddell and Scott, op. cit., p. 1594: "to interpret anything as a sign or portent." In this particular case, we have seen that disobedience is symptomatic of the presence of eschatological deception. Any instance of disobedience, then, is a "portent" or "omen" of the presence of that deception at work in the community.

shunned for its own sake, but also because it is a symptom of the eschatological evil which will later be manifested in the apocalyptic Antagonist. It is a symptom of the deception of humanity which is the manifestation of God's eschatological wrath (2 Thess 2:11-12; cp. Rom 1:18-32). The one who does not obey the Pauline tradition has already chosen sides in the final division of good and evil, and, deceived as a result of God's wrath, is among the lost.

As we have seen, 2 Thessalonians is witness to two understandings of the apocalyptic "wrath" of God. The author of the letter understood it in the light of Paul's description of fallen humanity as recorded in Romans 1:18-32, that is, as God allowing the wicked to be deceived so that they might be judged (cp. 2 Thess 2:9-12). The ἄτακτοι, on the other hand, understood it as overt action against the wicked, as a crisis which required human response. Their respective points of view both appear to have grown out of Paul's eschatological teaching, but more specifically, from that teaching as it was reinterpreted to meet the needs of the second Christian generation (A.D. 70-100).

The literary output of this generation of Christians was to some extent determined by its historical situation. A series of historical and theological crises faced the believing community after A.D. 70. There was, for example, the Jewish War, which had its climactic event in the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple.[23] The hostility of the empire towards the Christians, manifested both as popular scorn[24] and as a local persecution under Nero,[25] would appear unlikely to be modified under Vespasian or Titus, both of whom directed the action against the Jews in Judaea.[26] There was also the problem of the passing of the first generation, the "eye-witnesses" to the ministry of Jesus. By A.D. 70, the majority of the apostles and the rest of the first generation of believers were dead.[27] These factors, as well as the time which had elapsed since the ministry and death of Jesus, raised the major theological problem of the delay of the parousia beyond the expectations of the believing community. Paul himself appears to have originally preached the return of Jesus Christ before any of his followers could die of natural causes, but he was later forced by events to modify this position (1 Thess 4:13-18; 1 Cor 15:12-19). He later appears to have accepted the idea that he himself would not live to see the parousia (cf. 2 Cor 5:1-10). But there remain traces of a tradition that the parousia would occur before the last of Jesus' original followers would die (cf. Mark 9:1; 13:30; Matt 16:28; 24:34; John 21:20-23; cp. Luke 9:27; 21:32). The delay of the parousia therefore created a major theological problem for the believers of the second Christian generation.

As we have seen, 2 Thessalonians represents two different interpretations of the eschatological process, but they both reflect a common response to the problem of the delay of the parousia. Their common solution to the problem is to reaffirm the imminence of the parousia, but now as part of an eschatological process of several stages, including the present. The present is thus infused with eschatological significance. In the case of the opponents, the present is the time to stand fast in the face of the "wrath" of the Day of the Lord; in the case of the author, the present doctrinal and ethical position

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[23]Josephus, *B.J.*, vi. 236-66, 392-408.

[24]Tacitus, *Annals*, xv.44.3-4, Suetonius, *Vit. Nero*, xvi.2.

[25]Tacitus, op. cit., xv.44.2-8.

[26]Josephus, *B.J.*, iii.3-8, iv.486-490, 657f.

[27]Papias (c. 60-130), bishop of Hierapolis, himself learned not from the original disciples or the apostles, but from "those who were their pupils" (Eusebius, H. E. III.39.2-4). Since Papias was a young man during the period A.D. 70-100, it is reasonable to assume that the original disciples were dead, and "those who were their pupils" were the ones who were producing the literature of that period.

of his readers will determine their susceptibility to the deception of the Antagonist and, as a result, their ultimate fate at the Last Judgment.

We have already found a three-part apocalyptic schema similar to that of 2 Thessalonians in Zechariah 14:1-9, but a more significant parallel may be found in the "synoptic apocalypse," as presented in Mark 13 and Matthew 24. As in the case of 2 Thessalonians, it represents the evangelists' attempt to account both for the delay of the parousia and for the place of the present in the eschatological process.

Both 2 Thessalonians 2 and the synoptic apocalypse represent a three-part apocalyptic scenario. In 2 Thessalonians 2, as we have seen, this scenario is composed of the present, the Day of the Lord, and the parousia. The author presents the drama as being in its earliest stage, when the apocalyptic forces are present only in impersonal forms. We shall not venture at this point to determine where either Mark or Matthew felt their own time to lie within the eschatological process, but both make use of a three-part scenario. In Mark 13, the first stage is labelled ἡ ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, 13:6-13. This stage is distinguished by the usual tragedies of history, wars, rumors of wars, famines, and earthquakes (13:7-8). Messianic pretenders will appear during this time (13:6). The believers will be persecuted by both Jews and Gentiles (13:9) and families will be divided (13:12-13). καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (13.10).

The second stage of the schema is ἡ θλῖψις, Mark 13:14-23. The initiatory event is τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἑστήκοτα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ (13:14a). This event signals the arrival of the apocalyptic crisis, and is followed by a series of consequent actions. These include the flight of those living in Judaea (13:14b-18) in the face of unparalleled tribulation (13:19). However, the tribulation will be cut short for the sake of God's elect (13:20). As a result of the tribulation, false Christs and false prophets will appear and will deceive many people, possibly including some of the faithful (13:21-22). It is a time that will require extra vigilance from believers (13:23).

Finally the parousia comes as the end, Mark 13:24-26. Its coming does not follow immediately upon the end of the tribulation, but occurs at some indefinite time ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην (13:24a). The arrival of the parousia is heralded by astronomical phenomena familiar from the Old Testament (cf. Isa 13:10; 34:4; Ezek 32:7-8; Joel 2:10, 31; 3:15). The parousia itself is described in terms taken from Daniel 7:13-14: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἐν νεφέλαις (Mark 13:26). Mark 13:27 refers to the ingathering of the faithful, an idea apparently represented also by 1 Thessalonians 4:17. The three parts of the apocalyptic schema in Mark 13, then, are ἡ ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, ἡ θλῖψις, and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος.

We find a very similar division in Matthew 24. The first stage is ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, described in terms very similar to those in Mark 13:6-8, 9, 10, 13 (Matt 24:5-9, 13; cp. Matt 10:17-22a). The second stage is again initiated by the appearance of τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (Matt 24:15a; cp. Mark 13:14a), and again the description is very similar (Matt 24:15-24; cp. Mark 13:14-23). Matthew refers to this stage as ἡ θλῖψις τῶν ἡμέρων ἐκείνων (Matt 24:29a). The final stage follows immediately upon "the tribulation of those days" (ibid.), and again is described in terms very like those of Mark 13:24-27 (Matt 24:29-31). Matthew thus retains Mark's three-part division of the apocalyptic scenario, designating the three parts ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, θλῖψις μεγάλη (Matt 24:21), and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος (Matt 24:30).

Where within the eschatological process did Mark and Matthew believe their own time to lie? Mark 13 includes two chronological notes, 13:10 and 13:14. The first appears to consign Mark's own era to ἀρχη ὠδινων, since it says that in that stage, εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. However, it is entirely possible that Mark believed that this process of evangelization had been completed in the first Christian

generation; we may compare Paul's attitude towards his ministry in Romans 15:17-29.[28] The second chronological note involves the prediction of the desecration of the Temple, derived from Daniel 11:31b; 12:11 (cp. 9:27). Such a "desolating sacrilege" did in fact stand in the Temple when Titus' soldiers erected their battle standards in the courtyard of the Temple in A.D. 70.[29] We may reasonably say, then, that Mark wrote either during the Jewish War, when the fall of Jerusalem seemed certain, or, more probably, after the fall of the city and the various unhappy events which followed.[30] It is significant that there is no event between the end of the tribulation (Mark 13:14-23) and the astronomical signs which will appear ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην (Mark 13:24a). This means there is a "breathing space" of indeterminate length between the end of the tribulation and the advent of Jesus Christ. This is a time when the faithful are in danger of being misled (Mark 13:21-22) and so also the point at which Mark adds the dominical admonition, ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε· προείρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα (Mark 13:23). We would argue that Mark wrote his gospel within this "breathing space" after the tribulation following the fall of Jerusalem and before the arrival of the parousia. Mark describes this as the time of greatest spiritual danger, and depicts Jesus confirming that this, as well as the whole eschatological scenario, has been "foretold" (Mark 13:23).

Matthew, although he shares the tripartite apocalyptic scenario with Mark, perceives his own time as falling elsewhere within the eschatological process than the "breathing space" Mark places between the great tribulation and the parousia. Matthew vitiates the three-part structure somewhat by the close association between the second and third stages. The parousia follows "immediately" after the tribulation (εὐθέως δὲ μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν τῶν ἡμέρων ἐκείνων, Matt 24:29a), and "the end" is to come after the world-wide evangelization, which is part of the first stage (Matt 24:14b: καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος). This first stage is also a time of great spiritual danger of deception. Matthew mentions false Christs (Matt 24:5) and false prophets (Matt 24:11), noting that both will lead many astray (πλανήσουσιν πολλούς). This is the time when many will fall away, betray and hate their fellows (Matt 24:10). Therefore it appears that this is the stage of the eschatological process wherein Matthew locates his own time. Like the author of 2 Thessalonians, he expects a future apocalyptic crisis involving a blasphemy in the Temple (2 Thess 2:4, Matt 24:15),[31] which will immediately be followed by the parousia (2 Thess 2:4, Matt 24:29a). All three authors, Mark, Matthew, and the author of 2 Thessalonians, agree that their own era, whatever its place in the apocalyptic scenario, is a time of great spiritual danger, when the threat of deception is ever present (Mark 13:21-23; Matt 24:4-6, 10-13; 2 Thess 2:2-3a).

Indeed, deception is the major threat to the community in each of these apocalyptic scenarios, specifically deception as to the progress of the eschatological process. The author of 2 Thessalonians writes to discredit the ἄτακτοι who are prematurely announcing the presence of the Day of the Lord (2 Thess 2:2-3). By so doing, they render their hearers susceptible to the deceptions of the apocalyptic Antagonist who, appearing after what the ἄτακτοι believe is the Day of the Lord, will mislead them through his false signs and wonders into believing he is the returned Christ (2 Thess 2:9-12). The faithful, however, will know when the Day of the Lord arrives (2 Thess 2:3-4, 6-8) and will thus be

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[28]Clement of Rome wrote in this regard, "He (Paul) taught righteousness to all the world (ὅλον τὸν κόσμον), and when he had reached the limits of the West he gave his testimony before the rulers . . ." (1 Clem. v.7).

[29]Josephus, *B.J.* vi.316, cp. *B.J.* ii.169-174, *Ant.* xviii.55-59.

[30]See references note 24.

[31]The fact that this belief is maintained in spite of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple testifies to the strength of this particular apocalyptic motif; ultimate vindication of God's power follows the ultimate abuse of his sanctity.

prepared for the deceptions of the Antagonist. In the same way, the synoptic apocalypse warns its readers of various "false" signs of the parousia, most significantly the advent of false prophets (Mark 13:21-22; Matt 24:11, 23, 26-28; cp. 2 Thess 2:2-3) and false Christs (Mark 13:5-6, 22; Matt 24:5, 24; cp. 2 Thess 2:9). The faithful are not to mistake the various tribulations of history with those unparalleled woes of the "great tribulation" (Mark 13:7-8, 19; Matt 24:7-8, 21). The parousia itself will be unmistakable (Mark 13:24-27; Matt 24:26-31), and the faithful must remain steadfast to the end (Mark 13:13b; Matt 24:13). The idea of avoiding deception and remaining steadfast recurs in each of these apocalyptic scenarios. They reaffirm the imminence of the parousia while accounting for its delay and yet also depict those who announce the approach of the end before the time as perpetrators of deception. The only sure guide for the faithful for the development of the eschatological process is the prophetic scenario of a venerated teacher of the first Christian generation, either Jesus (as in Mark 13 and Matthew 24) or Paul (as in 2 Thessalonians 2). This is of course consistent with the pseudepigraphic nature of Jewish apocalyptic literature,[32] and with the description of the content of the book of Revelation as ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός (Rev 1:1a). In this way the various authors emphasized the continuity of their eschatological instruction with the inherited traditions upon which it was based and which it reinterpreted.

We find a striking instance of the problem of the delay of the parousia, reinterpretation, and warning of deception in the last chapter of the gospel according to John.[33] It is generally agreed among scholars that this chapter (John 21) is the work of the redactor of John 1-20.[34] Our concern is with John 21:20-23, the conversation of Jesus and Peter about the beloved disciple. In John 21:23, the redactor reports the existence of a λόγος in the Johannine congregations: ἐξῆλθεν οὖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει (John 21:23a). This appears to be a tradition similar to that of Mark 9:1, 13:30; Matthew 16:28; 24:34, to the effect that some of those who heard Jesus would live to see the parousia. In this case, the report is tied to a specific individual (i.e., the beloved disciple). This λογος must have been used as a justification for the delay of the parousia which maintained the idea of imminence; as long as the beloved disciple was alive, the parousia was not "delayed," but could still be expected before he died. The redactor of John considers this opinion to be wrong; presumably the beloved disciple had died by the time the redactor wrote John 21 (cf. John 19:35; 21:24). The redactor combats this false interpretation of Jesus' oracle by first writing it down within its "historical" context, i.e., the conversation with Peter, and then by giving a "literal" interpretation of the Lord's words (John 21:23b).[35]

This means that the redactor of John, like the author of 2 Thessalonians, is combatting an incorrect interpretation of an inherited eschatological tradition. Just as the

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[32]Cf. D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964, pp. 127-139.

[33]I am indebted to Prof. H. D. Betz for this exposition of John 21:20-23.

[34]Cf. R. Bultmann *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, G. R. Beaseley-Murray, trans., Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, pp. 700-706, R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John XIII-XXI* (Anchor Bible), Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 1077-82.

[35]Cp. the theory of Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 715-716. Bultmann assumes the work of two redactors in this brief section, the second correcting the impression that the beloved disciple would not die. However, this theory is based on the assumption that the one discrediting that impression would rework Jesus' saying to make its meaning clear. But if indeed ἐξῆλθεν οὖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, the redactor would have to correct the saying as it was known, by offering the correct, "literal" meaning. We may compare the task of the author of 2 Thessalonians in correcting "misinterpretations" of 1 Thessalonians.

author of 2 Thessalonians offers a "correct" interpretation of the disputed meaning of Paul's teaching in 1 Thessalonians, so the redactor of John presents the "correct" meaning of a dominical oracle which was misunderstood in the Johannine congregations. The redactor claims authority for his interpretation of Jesus' λόγος by including it within the scope of the writing which is verified by the witness of the beloved disciple (John 21:24); "these things" includes not only the "original" gospel of John 1-20, but also the redactor's addition, John 21, and, by position, preeminently the reinterpretation of the Lord's saying in John 21:22-23. We find a similar verification in 2 Thessalonians 3:17, which validates the entire letter as a Pauline product.

The presence of "error" in the Johannine congregations is refuted by the redactor of John only by the appeal to the reliability of the true witness, the beloved disciple (cf. John 19:35; 21:24). However, in 1 John we discover a situation that is more serious. There doctrinal error is explicitly tied to moral error (1 Jn 1:6, 10; 2:3-6, 9-11; 3:6-10, 17; 4:8; 5:2-3); one's immoral behavior is a sure sign of one's doctrinal error. We may compare 2 Thessalonians 2:15; 3:6, 14. Moreover, the "opposition" perceived by the author of 1 John is not to be corrected by an appeal to a reliable witness, as in John 19:34; 21:24; rather, it is an indication not only of a corrupt doctrine and impure morals, but of the presence of eschatological evil. The author admits that those who are in error are (or were) members of the Johannine congregations (1 Jn 1:19), but their doctrinal and moral error has revealed that they are the forces of antichrist, and that the end is therefore near (1 Jn 1:18). The one who denies the correct doctrine is antichrist (1 Jn 2:22), the one who sins is of the devil (1 Jn 3:8-10). The apocalyptic powers of evil are already at work in the congregation; we may compare 2 Thessalonians 2:3, 7; 3:6-13. Because of this apocalyptic presence in the congregations, the author of 1 John warns his readers against deception (1 Jn 1:8; 2:26; 3:7; cp. 4:6). This deception is specifically in regard to what is good and what is evil, but is eschatological insofar as the author makes such a close connection between belief and behavior. He believes the world is already divided into the two lots of judgment: the saved and the lost (1 Jn 1:5-7; 2:9-11, 15-17, 18-25; 3:4-10, etc.). This is because the end is near, and the lost are already the hordes of antichrist (1 Jn 1:18). As in 2 Thessalonians and the synoptic apocalypse, those who disagree with the interpretation of the tradition offered by the author are not simply wrong, but are the representatives of eschatological evil, aiders and abetters of the deceptions of the apocalyptic Antagonist, allies of the devil. The congregations already face the great Adversary, and only by adherence to the instruction of the venerated teachers, as interpreted by the various authors, can the faithful hope to escape the scourge of apocalyptic deception. This threat of deception appears also in the last, eschatological chapter of the Didache, which has affinities with passages from several Christian apocalyptic works.[36]

We may see, then, that 2 Thessalonians is representative of several currents in the stream of thought of the second Christian generation. It offers a definitive reinterpretation of an earlier, misunderstood eschatological tradition, and uses traditional elements of Jewish apocalyptic to achieve this end, a process we also find at work in the synoptic apocalypse (Mark 13, Matthew 24). It was written to refute the erroneous interpretation of the eschatological tradition which had arisen in part from the delay of the parousia (cp. John 21:20-23). Following the lead of Paul in Romans 1:18-32, the author makes a close connection between doctrinal error and "deception" in regard to morality, attacking his opponents both on the grounds of their false proclamation and on that of their "disorderly" behavior (2 Thess 3:6-12; cp. 1 John). More specifically, the presence of these opponents is identified with the deception which is indicative of the presence of eschatological evil, the forces which will be personified in the apocalyptic Antagonist on "the

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[36]Cf. J. S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16.6-8 and Special Matthean Tradition," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 70, 1979, pp. 54-67.

Day of the Lord." The letter serves an eschatological function because it serves as a shield against the deceptions of eschatological evil, both by offering the "correct" apocalyptic scenario and by insisting upon obedience to the inherited Pauline tradition of doctrinal and moral instruction (cf. 2 Thess 2:15). 1 John serves a similar function by informing its readers of the division that already exists between the saved and the lost, those in light and those in darkness (cf. 1 Jn 2:8-11, 18-25).

We said at the outset that the rhetorical structure of 2 Thessalonians would provide information about the function of the apocalyptic material it includes. It is now clear that this material is the specific basis on which a battle between contending interpretations of the Pauline tradition is being fought. That is, the letter represents one side in an argument over the "correct" interpretation of the Pauline tradition between rival Pauline "schools," both of which claimed to be faithful interpreters of the apostle's teaching. Just as history is written by the victors, so the New Testament is for the most part composed of the texts written by the "winners" in various doctrinal disputes, even if their victory was not always an easy one.[37] As a result, the texts bear witness to a broad "orthodoxy" which has been defined by the outcome of the various disputes the texts represent. But this should not blind us to the fact that such disputes existed, and apparently existed in abundance. They were carried on by means of doctrinal argument, polemic, and bitter invective. 2 Thessalonians stands as a reminder of the absolutist, "dualistic" state of mind which is often considered typical of apocalypticism, but appears to have been endemic in early Christian literature. For its author, the only alternative to his understanding of Pauline tradition was deception, and deception was God's instrument of wrath against the wicked. It was the part of the faithful to "stand firm and hold to the traditions which you were taught by us, either by word or by letter" (2 Thess 2:15). Only if the faithful did so could their salvation be assured.

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[37] Cf. 3 John, which was apparently written by one of the members of the "losing" side in the congregation addressed, 3 John 9-10.

Eschatology in the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain

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This paper is intended to make a limited contribution to the ongoing SBL Seminar on Early Christian Apocalypticism and should be understood within this framework. It addresses the question of whether apocalypticism is represented in two texts of the synoptic tradition, the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3-7:27) and the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:20b-49)—hereafter abbreviated SM and SP—and if it is, to what extent and in what form. It is my hypothesis that both texts represent presynoptic textual compositions which are characterized by specific features and which originated in the earliest stages of the development of the Christian traditon.[1] It is presupposed that SM originally addressed Jewish Christians and that SP was originally written for gentile Christians. The textual relationship between the two texts at the presynoptic level, their relationship to the Sayings Source Q, and their history of transmission prior to their inclusion into the gospels of Matthew and Luke constitute problems at present unresolved by scholarship; and it is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt such resolutions.

Terminology, we shall be distinguishing between the more general notion of eschatology—which refers to all forms of afterlife—and the term "apocalyptic," which refers in a more specialized way to the literary genre of apocalypse and its thought world.[2] Since neither SM nor SP are by genre apocalypses, we can question only whether they refer, implicitly or explicitly, to that genre and whether apocalyptic thought has influenced them.

I. Eschatology in SM

The eschatology of SM can only be understood through an analysis of the work's general world-view and conceptual language; once these are clear, we shall turn to the eschatology itself.

1. The General World-View of SM

The world-view of SM is traditionally Jewish, although less so than one might assume at first reading: a skillful use of terminology makes careful distinctions and establishes a

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[1] See Hans Dieter Betz, *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount*. Translation by Laurence Welborn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

[2] See John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Semeia 14 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979); David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983), esp. pp. 2, 772-82.

hierarchy. "The heavenly Father" (ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος)[3] resides in his realm, "the kingdom of the heavens" (ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν).[4] He is "the Father in the heavens" (ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς),[5] the use of the plural "heavens" is clearly limited to the sphere of God—a traditionally Jewish concept; but SM seems to have taken seriously the reference from the Lord's Prayer (6:9) in order to interpret the plural as indicating that a multiplicity of heavens is essential to express the absolute transcendence of God. The realm of God cannot simply be understood as a place juxtaposed to earth, as suggested by 1the phrase "heaven and earth" (οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ).[6] The Christians' reward, of course, is also with "the Father in the heavens."[7] In contrast, human activities can reach only "the sky" (ὁ οὐρανός sing.),[8] the home of the birds (5:26). Below is "the earth" (ἡ γῆ)[9] which supports the human world (ὁ κόσμος).[10] The center is the city of Jerusalem.[11] Underneath the earth is the Gehennah.[12]

It is assumed that God has created the world. In time-present, the creator God rules over his creation as a Father.[13] The quality of his rule is made quite vivid through reference to the archaic mythology that describes God's fatherhood as raining down on the earth, thereby generating fertility (5:45). God is named "the great king" (5:35), and his kingdom, traditionally named "the kingdom of the heavens," is identical with his creation, in which he rules as an absolute fatherly monarch whose will is law (6:10; 7:21).

Problems exist, however, because life on earth is threatened and God's will is opposed by evil. In SM, evil is taken as a very serious matter.[14] It is described both in powerful imagery and in factual statements.

Mankind must choose between God and evil. Most of mankind, especially the "heathen," have already made their choice and are on the way to eternal destruction. Only a small minority of the faithful—that is, the disciples of Jesus for whom the SM was written—are promised salvation, if they obey Jesus' interpretation of the Torah (7:13-14).[15]

The manifestations of this very traditional notion of evil are named throughout SM. In the exordium—the Beatitudes (Matt 5:3-12)—the evils are named through contrasts: poverty, death, cruelty, injustice, mercilessness, impurity, war, suppression of the righteous ones, harassment of the disciples of Jesus, persecution, and martyrdom. In the peroration (Matt 7:24-27), the imagery of rain, flood, and winds evokes the vicissitudes of nature and history. Evil is found within people themselves (6:22-23):[16] their impurity of heart,[17] their hypocrisy,[18] lusts, and improper desires,[19] their greed,[20] and, especially,

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[3] 5:48; 6:14, 26, 32.

[4] 5:3, 10, 19, 20; 7:21.

[5] 5:16, 45; 6:1, 9; 7:11, 21.

[6] 5:18; 6:10.

[7] 5:12; 6:1.

[8] 5:20, 34.

[9] 5:5, 13, 18, 35; 6:10, 19. See *Essays*, 93 n. 25; 96 n. 35.

[10] The term κόσμος appears only in the phrase τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου (5:14).

[11] 5:14, 35; 7:14. See *Essays* 3 n. 7.

[12] 5:22, 29, 30.

[13] See *Essays* 111, 120-23.

[14] See κακία 6:34; πονηρός κτλ. 5:11, 37, 39, 45; 6:13, 23; 7:11, 17, 18.

[15] See *Essays* 95, 114, 127, 155.

[16] See *Essays* 71-87.

[17] καρδία 5:8, 28; 6:21; cf. ψυχή 6:25 and *Essays* 96 n. 32; 104 n. 51; τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοί 6:23 and *Essays* 74, 86.

[18] For ὑποκριτής see 6:1-18, especially 6:2, 5, 16; 7:5 and *Essays* 92 n. 15.

[19] See 5:21-48, especially 5:22, 28.

[20] See 6:19-21; 7:7-11.

their stupidity,[21] are manifestations of evil. The most demonic form of evil is money, named Mammon (6:24). All people, including the faithful of SM, have been infected by evil: in fact, they are evil (7:11) and require redemption from evil (6:13). Such redemption comes from God through the forgiveness of sins (6:12, 14-15).

2. Time

SM distinguishes between past, present, and future time. The attitude toward the past is largely negative. There is no interest in the creation stories of the Old Testament or in the great tales of Israelite history. What was allegedly spoken to the "men of old" in the antitheses (5:21-48) is rejected as inadequate. The present is of great concern, however, because the text of SM functions in the present; and of primary concern is the future, both the immanent and the eschatological, because the present received its significance and purpose from the eschatological future. In turn, the future of the individual is determined by his life in the present.[22]

The temporal world is finite and will end, that is, it will be taken up into the eternal kingdom of God.[23] Thus the temporal world is but an enclave surrounded by the eternal kingdom of God. The end of history is marked by the Day of the Lord (7:22), followed by either eternal life for the saved or eternal destruction for the condemned (7:13-14).

3. Duality

Life in this world is characterized by duality. A full catalogue of all dualities is prohibitive here; only the main pairs will be mentioned:

good—evil: 5:11, 37, 39, 45; 6:13, 23; 7:11, 17, 18
truth—untruth: 5:11; 7:15
light—darkness: 5:14-16; 6:22-23
great—small: 5:19, 35; 7:27
righteous—unrighteous: 5:6, 10, 20, 45; 6:1, 33; 7:23
brother—enemy: 5:22-26, 43-48; 7:1-5
life—death: 5:21; 7:14
yes—no: 5:37
give—receive: 5:31; 6:11; 7:6, 7, 11
hate—love: 5:43-46; 6:24
perfect—deficient: 5:48
visible—invisible: 6:1-4, 5-6, 16-18
God—Mammon: 6:24
soul—body: 5:29-30; 6:22-23, 25
Jews—Gentiles: 5:47; 6:7, 32
holy—profane: 7:6
many—few: 7:13-14; 5:13, 16, 19; 6:1, 2, 5, 14, 15, 16, 18; 7:9, 12

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[21] For μωρός see 5:22; 7:26; and *Essays* 6-7.
[22] See *Essays* 114-118.
[23] See 5:18 and *Essays* 43-46.

words—deeds: 5:19, 32, 36, 46, 47; 6:1, 2, 3; 7:12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26

prudent—foolish 7:24-27

4. The Two Ways Schema

Not surprisingly, the fundamental dualism of SM is combined with the traditional Two Ways schema.[24] Although this schema is introduced only at the end (7:13-14), it is basic to the whole of SM. Walking on the rough road and finding the narrow gate is identical with following the precepts of SM, which constitute the "way of life" (7:14). The way to death is not spelled out in SM, but one can conclude that those things it rejects comprise the way to death, or rather, that those who reject the precepts of SM walk the road to death (7:13). In contrast, the Didache (chapter 5) and Barnabas (chapter 20) do explicate clearly the way to death; and completely unlike all of these, SP is not based on the Two Ways schema at all.

5. The Present World

For the faithful of the SM, the present world appears grim. The faithful see themselves surrounded by dangers, threats, temptations, and a multitude of evils: the image of the rough road is not chosen in vain. Dangers also lurk within the person, the heart, and the soul. The awareness of sinfulness and the understanding of its depth are comparable to Paul. Only a few will find at the end of the rough road the narrow gate leading into the heavenly city (7:13-14).

6. The Afterlife

The ideas in SM about the afterlife are, on the whole, traditional.[25] They are not always entirely clear, since the traditional images have been set side by side without much clarification of their real relationship. The exordium (5:4-9) brings to mind the blessings that await in paradise: consolation, inheritance of the earth, satisfaction, mercy, vision of God, declaration as sons of God, great joy and jubilation (5:12). The relationship of this paradise to the heavenly city (7:13-14) is not revealed. While we must assume that the road is travelled by individuals who reach the gates at the end of their lives, vv. 21-23 present a picture of the Last Judgment at the end of history, when groups of persons appear before the divine tribunal. Precisely when this judgment scene is to take place, and how it is to be combined with vv. 13-14, is left unclear. Supposedly the reader understands these traditional images and can put them together in the correct order: the references to the afterlife serve merely as reminders of topoi with which the reader is assumed familiar. Novel is the expectation that Jesus will represent his disciples as their advocate (paraclete) in the Last Judgment.[26]

7. Conclusion

The eschatology of SM is non-apocalyptic in the sense that traditional eschatological topoi appear only at a secondary level of supportive doctrines.[27] The reader is assumed to be familiar with these, so that brief reminders enable him to visualize the necessary data. There is no interest in expanding or elaborating the apocalyptic material itself,

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[24]See *Essays* 3, 144-45.

[25]See *Essays* 34, 125-57.

[26]See *Essays* 151-54.

[27]See my comment in *Essays* 93 n. 25.

which appears in the text only in reduced form. Nor has the apocalyptic material—which was certainly known to the writers of SM—a primary authoritative status in the text. Rather, Jesus is the authority; it is he who motivates the disciples to follow his teachings, not apocalyptic events in and of themselves. Thus if apocalyptic material is alluded to at all, it remains subdued and in the background.

In positive terms, the eschatology of SM is a matter of vision, but such vision is not ecstatic, at least as we know it from typical apocalyptic texts.[28] Unusual attention is devoted to the nature and function of the human eye. In fact, it is difficult to decide whether seeing or hearing takes priority in the hierarchy of the senses. Hearing undeniably occurs first—one hears the words of Jesus. But understanding these words is primarily a matter of physical and intellectual vision.

The process of vision and failure of vision, both physical and mental, is analyzed at several points in SM. Great emphasis is placed on the observation of things as they are, on the vagaries of human behavior, and on the life of the birds and the lilies; and equal attention is given to internal vision, introspection, and the fictional imaginings of things. The extraordinary role of metaphors and images in the final category is especially noteworthy. While these forms of vision remain largely immanent, much of the understanding of the teaching of Jesus is left to the transcendental imagination of the disiciple, and it is here that we touch upon eschatology. In observing the external phenomena, the disciple is asked to visualize such transcendent realities as the kingdom of God, the fatherhood of God, the Two Ways, and, last but not least, the afterlife. Seeking the kingdom of God (6:33) in this world is a matter of the imagination. The episode of the Last Judgment (7:21-23) is one prime example of what such imagination should produce. We find, then, that the references to the traditional topoi of eschatology have only an auxiliary function in that they are intended to stimulate the disciples' imagination. The disciples must learn to visualize the transcendent, eschatological realities in confrontation with present experiences. Without this intense concentration on vision which is at once creative in imagining, keen in focussing, and discriminating in critical acumen, the Christian disciple will not be able to find the narrow gate in the great wall of the heavenly city (7:14).

II. Eschatology in SP

The eschatology of SP is quite different from the eschatology of SM. The underlying world-view and conceptuality are Greek. The text was apparently designed from a Jewish-Christian perspective, for Christian disciples coming from a Greek cultural background. Although the composition differs from SM in many ways—and this in spite of the many parallels and similarities—SP is equally carefully composed. Like SM, SP is teaching material, an epitome of the ethics of Jesus intended for the instruction of Gentile disciples.

1. The General World-View of SP

The world-view of SP is Greek throughout, and thus its language, concepts, ideas, and arguments conform to Greek cultural presuppositions.[29] SP proves that the ethics of Jesus makes sense in terms of Greek ethics and cultural values. The world has two focal points: heaven (ὁ οὐρανός)[30] and the individual. Around the individual stands the circle

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[28] See 6:22-23 and *Essays* 4-6, 71-87.

[29] This has been rightly observed by Johannes Weiss in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 428.

[30] 6:23 in the singular.

of friends, the fellow-disciples.[31] Outside of the community exist the masses (οἱ ἄνθρωποι).[32] The surrounding world is experienced as evil, ignorant, and immoral. The ethics of Jesus is seen as an escape from such ignorance and immorality, although it is seen too as the reason for, not as the way out of, hostility and social discrimination. Discipleship of Jesus consists in education, understood as preventive or corrective in nature. The parable adduced in 6:39 ("Can the blind guide the blind? Will not both fall into the ditch?") is traditional in Greek *paideia*.[33] The implication here is that enlightenment comes through education in the ethics of Jesus and that without it, the person, blind by nature, remains blind.

2. Time

Time concepts focus on the "now" (νῦν) and the "then" of the eschatological and, to a lesser degree, the temporal, future (6:21, 25). History comes to an end: the term "on that day" (6:23: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) presumably refers to the day of the parousia of the Son of Man (6:22). At that time, the great reward of the Christians will be revealed, and they will be made "sons of the Most High" (6:23, 35). There will be the traditional festivities, banquets, fun and games, and wild dances (6:21-23). The present time, for which SP provides the guidelines, is viewed as the preparation for the eschaton. The past is completely ignored with the exception of the negative remarks concerning the Jews' treatment of their true and false prophets (6:23, 26).

3. Duality

Unlike SM, SP is not based on the Two Way schema. Dualism is found in SP, but it is akin to the dualism of hellenistic philosophical literature. Duality lies in the juxtaposition of good and bad (6:33, 35, 45): character types, such as the poor and the rich, are contrasted, with the expectation that the disciple identify himself with the poor. This rather simple structure is evident in a variety of contrasts:

blessing—cursing: 6:20b-22, 24-26, 27b

poor—rich: 6:20b-26

hungry—full: 6:21a, 25a

weeping—laughing: 6:21b, 25b

hating—loving: 6:22, 26, 27b, 32, 35

giving—receiving: 6:29, 30, 34, 35, 38

blindness—vision: 6:39

brother—enemy: 6:27, 35, 41, 42

good man—bad man: 6:45

good student—failing student: 6:47-49

saying—doing: 6:46

hearing—doing: 6:47-49

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[31] 6:40, 41-42.

[32] 6:22, 26, 31; cf. 6:22, 45, 48-49.

[33] See Wolfgang Schrage, *TDNT* 8 (1972), s.v. τυφλός, especially sections A.III; B.III; C.III; E.III.

4. Anthropology

Most important is the anthropology of SP, which is delineated most clearly in 6:45:

ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ
ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν.

"The good human person from the good treasure of the heart brings forth the good, and
the bad from the bad produces the bad."

Only the good person is called a "human being"; the bad is denied that honorific title. The concept of ὁ ἀγαθος ἄνθρωπος comprises, of course, the traditional ideal of Greek ethics,[34] with the source of goodness residing in the heart. The existence or non-existence of goodness in the heart is simply taken as a fact, and no further reflection is given to the origin of this state of things.

5. The Present World

Although the present world is described as evil and treacherous, the situation for the Christian is not doomed. Christian instruction teaches not only the condition to which humanity is subjected; it presents the ethics of Jesus as a means of survival and of realizing one's humanity (6:45). If the evil world and its effects cannot be avoided, ethical and social improvements can be made in one's relations with the outside (6:27-38), in relationships within the Christian community (6:39-42), and in oneself (6:43-45). The basic approach to such ethical and social change lies in the precept of the Golden Rule.

6. The Afterlife

Although references to the afterlife are relatively frequent in SP, they do not go beyond the traditional and conventional. One finds the notion of the kingdom of God[35] and the concept of the reward in heaven (6:20-23, 35) contrasted with the notion of hell and its attendant horrors—hunger, mourning and weeping, and the lack of consolation (6:24-26). The faithful are filled with joy *now* (6:23) because they can expect Paradise and adoption as "sons of God" (6:20b-23, 35).

7. Conclusion

It is clear, then, that the eschatology of SP is non-apocalyptic. Its references are conventional, and they are comparable to the ethical writings of the hellenistic era. These references, primarily reminders of background presuppositions, focus on the education of the disciples for the present situation in preparation for the world to come. Christian disciples are not expected to pay more than this ordinary degree of attention to those things concerning the afterlife.

III. Some Conclusions and Some Questions

What does evidence thus far presented reveal concerning the question of early Christian apocalypticism? Neither SM nor SP is interested in apocalypticism, although they

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[34] It is noteworthy that no adequate investigation exists about this important concept and its usage in early Christian literature.

[35] SP has ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, a Greek concept (6:20). For SM, see note 4, above.

share the Jewish eschatological expectations to the degree that these expectations have been modified to express special Christian concerns.

After an extensive and careful study of these texts, one gets the impression that they are formulated in a tone of restraint with regard to apocalyptic materials and thought: they reflect a knowledge of these materials and thoughts, but they abstain from a deeper engagement with them. The question is, why this restraint, if, indeed, such willful restraint is evidenced? It could be that the texts are simply not interested in apocalyptic issues and materials; or such restraint could result from a rejection of apocalypticism, although there is no hint in the texts that would lead one to believe that there was actual rejection. Two suppositions, therefore, appear most probable:

1. Both texts were formulated at a time and within a community for which apocalypticism was not a burning issue, an attitude shared alike by SM, SP, *Doctrina apostolorum*, Didache 1-6, and Barnabas 18-21. Interest in apocalypticism arose later, a fact indicated by the addition of chapter 16 to the Didache[36] and by other early Christian texts which incorporate apocalyptic materials at a later stage.

2. At the earlier stage of SM and SP, apocalyptic material did not belong to the essentials to be communicated to Christian disciples. One cannot exclude the possibility that apocalyptic concerns were reserved for mature Christians. This situation seems to be reflected in Paul's letters, where detailed information concerning the eschaton did not appear in the earliest instruction and, to Paul's embarrassment, had to be supplied later. Paul reveals this material reluctantly and under pressures (see, especially, 1 Thess and 1 Cor). A similar situation seems to have led to the addition of chapter 16 to the Didache.

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[36]See John S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16:6-8 and Special Matthean Tradition," *ZNW* 70 (1979): 54-67.

Insights from Sociology for New Testament Christology: A Test Case

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Within the past two decades there has been a renewed emphasis on sociological and anthropological approaches to the study of the New Testament.[1] Specialized work on New Testament Christology from this perspective, however, is relatively rare; it is even rarer with the gospels and, as far as I am aware, still rarer to approach the gospel of Matthew and its Christology from this perspective.[2] It is possible to speculate about the reasons for this lacuna. Historians in general have only recently renewed interest in sociology and anthropology,[3] and previous conflicts between Biblical historians and the social sciences would be all the more relevant where the problem of generating appropri-

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*I am especially indebted to Prof. Wayne A. Meeks who first introduced me to social historiography in his seminar on "The Social World of Early Christanity" (1979) and to Prof. Gerd Theissen who has spent many hours discussing social historiography with me in the Spring and Summer of 1985, both contacts being made possible by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Neither, however, is responsible for (or has read) this paper.

[1]D. Harrington, "Sociological Concepts and the Early Church: A Decade of Research," *TS* 41 (1980) 181-90; R. Scroggs, "The Sociological Interpretation of the New Testament: The Present State of Research," *NTS* (1980) 161-79; J. H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless. A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), Introduction, 1-20; A. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (2nd ed.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984?), last chapter (currently unavailable to me); K. Berger, *Exegese des Neuen Testaments* (2nd ed.; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1984) 218-41; cp. P. W. Hollenbach, "Recent Historical Jesus Studies and the Social Sciences" in K. H. Richards, ed., *Society of Biblical Literature 1983 Seminar Papers* 22 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 61-78.

[2]See part I below for three representative examples. Some comments along these lines are made by W. D. Davies, K. Tagawa, E. Schweizer, J. D. Kingsbury, and W. R. Farmer, who are cited below, cf. Part III and notes 95, 96, and 101. A different approach is V. Robbins, *Jesus the Teacher. A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).

[3]Of the great quantity of literature in this area, see esp. K. T. Erikson, "Sociology and the Historical Perspective," in W. Bell and J. A. Mau, eds., *The Sociology of the Future* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971) 61-77; W. Schulze, *Sociologie und Geschichtswissenschaft: Einfuhrung in die Probleme der Kooperation beider Wissenschaften* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1974); P. Burke, *Sociology and History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980 [an excellent introduction]); M. T. Hodgen, *Anthropology, History, and Cultural Change* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1974); B. S. Cohn, "History and Anthropology: The State of Play," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980) 198-221.

ate data becomes more acute, as in the case of a single document.[4] Moreover, theologians in the past have perceived the social sciences to be a-theological, if not outright anti-theological,[5] and the subject of Christology is especially dear to theology. To complicate matters, there are a variety of approaches to the social sciences,[6] disagreement about how to study New Testament Christology,[7] and thus the application of the social sciences to New Testament research, especially in the case of single documents. Nevertheless, recent interest in cooperation raises some interesting questions for New Testament Christology, including gospel Christology.

The following study is concerned with the highly allusive problem of correlating the community which exists behind religious texts, especially a single gospel, and the community's convictions about Jesus expressed in the text(s). Thus, the theme is "Christology and community." I have divided the study into three parts. First, there is a brief summation of three representative approaches to the problem of correlating Christology and community in gospel materials, namely, those of Gerd Theissen, Wayne A. Meeks, and Howard C. Kee. Second, there is an attempt to draw forth some general principles from their work. Third, there is a hypothesis put forward about the Christology of the gospel of Matthew from this perspective.

I

Gerd Theissen: Role Analysis and Structural Homologue[8]

Gerd Theissen seeks to correlate Christology and community in the synoptic gospels by claiming that in the sayings tradition there is a "structural homologue" between the "role" of Jesus as Son of Man and the "roles" of those who passed on Jesus' sayings, the "Jesus movement." The notion of a structural homologue between social reality and spiritual manifestations, derived from L. Goldmann's work on "genetic structuralism" in

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[4]There appears to be an inverse ratio operating: the fewer the documents, the more difficult it is to generate data.

[5]J. G. Gager, "Shall We Marry Our Enemies? Sociology and the New Testament," *Int* 37 (1982) 256-65; cf. W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) 2-7.

[6]See above, n. 1; B. Malina, "The Social Sciences and Biblical Interpretation," *Int* 37 (1982) 229-42; some basic alternatives were already outlined by J. Z. Smith, "The Social Description of Early Christianity," *RSR* 1 (1975) 19-25.

[7]H. Boers, "Jesus and the Christian Faith: New Testament Christology Since Bousset's KYRIOS CHRISTOS," *JBL* 89 (1970) 450-56; L. W. Hurtado, "New Testament Christology: A Critique of Bousset's Influence," *TS* 40 (1979); C. R. Holladay, "New Testament Christology: Some Considerations of Method," *NovT* 25 (1983) 257-78.

[8]G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, trans. by J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) 25-29. For bibliography, see G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*, trans. by J. H. Schütz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) 25-9. For bibliography up to 1979, see Theissen, *Social Setting*, 25-6, to which one should add more recent articles in *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983); *Psychologische Aspekte paulinischer Theologie* (FRLANT 130; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983); *Biblischer Glaube in evolutionärer Sicht* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1984); "Lokal- und Sozialkorit in der Geschichte von der syrophönikischen Frau (Mk 7:24-30)," *ZNW* 75 (1984) 202-25; "Evolutionäre Religionstheorie und biblische Hermeneutik," *Wege zum Menschen* 37 (1985) 107-18.

the sociology of literature,[9] can be clarified by observing how Theissen arrives at the community and correlates the Christology with it.

Theissen's approach to early Christian communities involves a radical alteration of classical form criticism's understanding of *Sitz im Leben*. Whereas it conceived of small groups which totally transformed the Jesus traditions according to the needs of their specifically *religious* "life" (religious instruction, missionary preaching, liturgy), Theissen shifts the emphasis to what he believes was its intended orientation, to *social* "life" in relation to *society as a whole*, allowing for the possibility—the question is left open—of a continuity with the historical Jesus.[10] He states:

> Methodologically, it is presupposed only that in earliest Christianity there existed a correspondence between the Jesus traditions and the life (*Leben*) of the groups which handed them down, whether the tradition conformed to the tradents or the tradents conformed their lives to the tradition available to them. The result is the same in both cases: a correspondence between the life and the tradition which makes it possible to make inferences about the life which stands behind the tradition.[11]

Such inferences, which must be able to yield generalizable sociological data from religious texts, are made by analyzing both explicit statements about persons and groups ("constructive" analysis) and "historical" or religious statements *apart from their intentions* ("analytic" analysis), and then comparing the results with similar statements in texts from the environment ("comparative" analysis).[12] Analyses are applied to the sayings tradition in order to develop generalized "roles," to Jewish society in order to see how "factors" such as politics, economics, ecology (e.g., demographics), and sociocultural facts influence the Jesus movement, and to "functions" or effect, i.e., noneffect, of the Jesus movement on Palestinian Jewish society.[13]

In brief, Theissen's results are as follows. The emergence of new élites (Herodians), the growth of cities, and the failure of the priestly aristocracy to maintain political equilibrium between the Romans/Herodians and those who clung to traditional norms led to social "uprootedness" (*Entwurzelung*), a kind of social "anomie" (Durkheim) characterized by the threat of assimilation, loss of identity, social conflict, intensification of group norms, and consequent schisms. In this context arose several competing "renewal movements" (*Erneuerungsbewegungen*), i.e., the political "resistance movement," the Essenes, the Pharisees, and "the Jesus movement." Only the Pharisees survived the

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[9] L. Goldmann, "Die Soziologie der Literatur," in J. Bark, ed., *Literatursoziologie* I (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1974) 85-113.

[10] Theissen, "Wunderradicalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung vom Worten Jesu im Urchristentum," *ZThK* 70 (1973) 245-71; "Zur forschungsgeschichtliche Einordnung der sozialogischen Fragestellung," *Studien*, 6-15, esp. 6-7, 11-13. The critique focuses on form criticism's early associations with Dialectical Theology's religion-centered otherworldliness and Bultmann's individualistic existentialism. Theissen recognizes that his neutrality on the question of the historical Jesus will lead to conclusions that sound "conservative," cf. 13 and *Sociology*, 4. See following note.

[11] "Einordnung," 13. Note that the correspondence is *not* between the traditions and the historical Jesus, but between traditions and tradents. The historical Jesus question is left open.

[12] For extensive treatment, see "The Sociological Interpretation of Religious Traditions: Its Methodological Problems as Exemplified in Early Christianity," in *Social Setting*, 175-200.

[13] E.g., the plan of *Sociology*.

catastrophe of 70 C.E.;[14] the survival of Christianity depended on a quite different model of belief and practice, namely, Hellenistic Christianity as especially represented by Paul.[15]

The Jesus movement was typified by two "roles," "wandering charismatics"[16] (cf. Weber, Troeltsch) and "local sympathizers." Analysis of persons and groups ("constructive") and of *logia* found especially in call scenes, mission discourses, and radical passages in the Sermon on the Mount ("analytic") point to a pattern of being called to abandon home, family, and protection for a wandering life of preaching, healing, and "charismatic" begging in rural Palestine. Similar analysis of statements about homes of followers and of more moderate sections of the discourses uncovers a more conservative attitude of attachment to family, friends, and profession. With an analogy in the extreme (Qumran) and moderate ("camps") groups of Essenes ("comparative"), Theissen suggests that the more conservative sympathizers gave the wandering charismatics material support. "The two forms of the Jesus movement were both associated and distinguished by a graduated pattern of norms."[17]

What is the correlation between this dual community and Christology? "Constructive" analysis of the Son of Man sayings shows that the Son of Man has authority to transcend the norms of Jewish society (present, earthly sayings), but that he is opposed by the society which brings about his suffering and death (suffering sayings), a paradox ultimately overcome in his function as eschatological judge (future apocalyptic sayings). It is in the "analytical" study of the Son of Man "role" that the "structural homologue" surfaces. Theissen notes that there is an unmistakable parallelism between the role of the Son of Man and the role Jesus expects of his disciples, i.e., suffering, possible death, but ultimate vindication.

> From a sociological perspective, the ethical requirements of the idea of discipleship—a correspondence between Jesus and his followers—became a structural homologue between the attitudes of the wandering charismatics and the local communities on the one hand and that of the Son of Man on the other.[18]

It is not surprising, he says, that most of the parallels occur between the "role" of the earthly Son of Man and the more radical "role" in the Jesus movement, the wandering charismatics.[19] The conflict of the Son of Man and "man" in the Son of Man sayings (cf. Mark 8:38) ". . . have a social foundation in the conflict between vagabond outsiders and 'human' society."[20] Further,

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[14]See especially "Wir haben Alles verlassen (Mc. X.28). Nachfolge und soziale Entwurzelung in der jüdisch-palestinischen Gesellschaft des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *NovT* 19 (1977) 161-96; reprinted in *Studien*, 106-41; cf. *Sociology*, Part II, 31-95.

[15]Paul's Christianity represents what might be called a "contrast model" centered in "community organization" and "love patriarchalism"; cf. "Legitimation and Subsistence: An Essay on the Sociology of Early Christian Missionaries," *Social Setting*, 27-67; J. H. Schütz, "Introduction," *Social Setting*, 11-15.

[16]"Einordnung," 23. "Wandering charismatics" refers to those who have an irresistible "call" to a non-institutional form of life, cf. *Sociology*, 8. See below, notes 44, 53, and 87 for references to Weber and Troeltsch.

[17]Sociology, 23.

[18]Ibid., 26.

[19]Ibid., 26, 29.

[20]Ibid., 27.

> . . . the ambivalence of the sayings about exaltation and those about humiliation in the Son of Man Christology is a structural homologue of an inevitable conflict of roles for the early Christian wandering charismatics.[21]

After locating "comparative" conclusions in Daniel's Son of Man/"saints of the Most High" and the "exclusive conventicles" of apocalyptic movements, Theissen concludes that because the Son of Man is also *independent* of his followers, social analysis cannot answer the question *who* the Son of Man is.[22]

This is not Theissen's sole attempt to correlate Christology and community in the New Testament,[23] but it is his general orientation to gospel Christology. As such, it illustrates the "structural homologue" between a radical Christology and especially the radical wing of a community which lived by it.

Wayne A. Meeks: Literary Analysis and Functional Myth[24]

In contrast to Theissen's research, Wayne Meeks' article, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism" (1972), studies a single document, John's gospel, and explores the way in which its literary *aporiae* contribute to the communication of a Christological myth about "the alien," a myth which functions to give expression to, and reinforce, the ethos of an alienated, sectarian community.[25]

Meeks agrees with Bultmann that the "Johannine puzzle" can be explained only by reference to a myth of an ascending/descending redeemer and that myths have a "logic of their own," but he rejects as untenable Bultmann's solution, that it is to be understood by means of a "gnostic redeemer myth: *extrinsic* to the gospel, but related to it via the hypotheses of a revelation discourse source and Baptist links with the Mandaeans.[26] As an alternative, Meeks centers on the *intrinsic* literary question, namely, how the evangelist and/or his "school" could allow impressive literary compositions to be joined by what

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[21]Ibid., 27.

[22]Ibid., 30.

[23]See "Christologie und soziale Erfahrung. Wissenssoziologische Aspekte paulinischer Christologie," *Studien*, 318-30. Here Theissen notes three approaches (1) the interaction between roles and convictions ("Role analysis"), an example of which is the discussion above; (2) the correspondence between groups or institutions as a network between roles and positions, for which the structure and function of the "house" in antiquity is a "plausibility structure" (Berger/Luckmann), an example of which is J. K. Elliott's "socio-exegetical" work on 1 Peter (see above, n. 1); (3) analysis of the changing social system as a whole as a "plausibility structure" for early Christian beliefs. Taking up the latter, Theissen suggests that Paul has a "*Positionschristologie*" which operates with "*soziomorphen Bildern*" and which reflects certain aspects of Greco-Roman upward social mobility (slave become lord; condemned man become judge of the world; one persecuted by men become one who atones for men) and a "*Participationschristologie*" which operates with "*physiomorphen metaphern*" (e.g., "the body"). On Berger/Luckmann, see n. 32.

[24]*JBL* 91 (1972) 44-72.

[25]Meeks' subsequent research on Paul also concludes with slightly over two pages of "correlations" between patterns of belief and patterns of life, but only after 189 pages of analysis, cf. *The First Urban Christians* (n. 5 above).

[26]Meeks, "Man from Heaven," 45-6, allows that ". . . the Jewish Wisdom myth in some form lies behind both the Johannine christology and the gnostic soul and savior myths. The question is whether both the Johannine and the gnostic myths are independent variations of the Jewish, or whether one had influenced the other." His interest in this essay, however, is primarily intrinsic. See 44, n. 1, for his Bultmann literature.

appear to be awkward literary connections. Insights for a solution are found in the analysis of mythical systems in anthropology, history of religions, and literary criticism. Edmund Leach, for example, shows that like sound communication, a message can be conveyed through the "noise" of a complex social situation by slightly varying, redundant repetitions; attention to the underlying structure of the variants will result in a better hearing of the myth.[27] Similar insights are found in analysis of Ndembu ritual by Victor Turner,[28] Śiva myths by W. D. O'Flaherty,[29] "luminality" by Jonathan Z. Smith,[30] and John's didactic, spirilic literary style by Jan Wojeck.[31] Taking as a general orientation Berger/Luckmann on "sociology of knowledge"[32] and Clifford Geertz's view of "religion as a cultural system," [33] Meeks agrees with N. A. Dahl that there is an "interaction between scripture text, group organization, and historical experience." [34] Meeks proposes

> to discern the function which the motif "ascent and descent" serves, first, within the literary structure of John's gospel, and then, by analogy, within the structure of the Johannine community and its relationships to its environment.[35]

Briefly, Meeks shows that by progressive repetition, the gospel reveals that Jesus is an enigma, an alien to "the world" as especially represented by "the Jews," a stranger from heaven, the only one who descends and reascends, who has access to the heavenly secrets. Hinted at in chapter 1 (1:51), the theme is especially clarified in the inadequate faith of Nicodemus, a Jewish leader who believes in "signs" (Chapter 3), a potentially dangerous position (8:30-59). It is further indicated when "the Jews" fail to understand Jesus as "the bread from heaven" (6:35, 38, 48-51), then *think* that they know where he is from (7:37-52)—in reality only Jesus knows (8:14)—and finally admit that they do not

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[27] E. Leach, "Genesis as Myth," *Discovery* (London) 23 (1962) 30-35; reprinted in J. Middleton, ed., *Myth and Cosmos* (Garden City, New York: Natural History Press, 1967) 1-13.

[28] V. W. Turner, "Color Classification of Ndembu Ritual," *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (ed. M. Banton; ASA Monographs 3; New York: Praeger, 1966) 47-84.

[29] W. D. O'Flaherty, "Asceticism and Sexuality in the Mythology of Siva," ibid. 8 (1968/69) 300-69; 9 (1969/70) 1-41.

[30] J. Z. Smith, "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up/" *HR* 9 (1969/70) 281-303; reprinted in J. Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 147-71; "A Place on Which To Stand: Symbols and Social Change," *Worship* 44 (1970) 457-74.

[31] At the time Wojeck was a graduate student in comparative literature at Yale University.

[32] P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966); P. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967), chs. 1, 2.

[33] C. Geertz, *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (ed. M. Banton; New York: Praeger, 1966) 1-66.

[34] N. A. Dahl, "Eschatologie und Geschichte im Lichte der Qumrantexte," in E. Dinkler, ed., *Zeit und Geschichte* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1964) 3-18 (ET: *The Future of Our Religious Past* [New York: Harper & Row, 1971] 9-28).

[35] Meeks, "Man From Heaven," 50.

know (9:29).[36] The first half of the story emphasizes that the heavenly man's descent is the judgment of "the world"; separated by a descent/ascent transitional passage (13:1-5), the latter half stresses his "ascent" as a "lifting up," or crucifixion/exaltation.[37] Alluded to in 3:14, connected with the Son of Man and the ἐγώ εἰμι in 8:28, it is not finally clarified until 12:32-33. Moreover, if "the world" misunderstands, so do the disciples (13:33-38), especially Thomas (14:1ff.).[38] Yet, the disciples are progressively enlightened and in this regard the farewell discourses (13-14; 15-16) are *inter alia* attempts to show how Jesus' ascent

> . . . *affects the chosen community;* these chapters provide a poignant expression of the group's negative identity, their fear of being ὀρφανοί in the world (14:18). The disciples no longer belong to this world (17:14-15), yet they are 'not yet' permitted to 'follow' Jesus on his ascent. . . .[39]

These discourses assure the disciples that a place is being prepared for them and indicate that the Paraclete, whose function parallels that of the Son of Man, carries on a mission in the world through them. In short, the followers of the Man from Heaven are, like Him, "not of this world" (15:19; 12:14ff.); yet, unlike him—and unlike Gnostic *pneumatiker*—they are still in the world, and belong to the world.[40]

To the main point: how does this system of irrational, disorganized, incomplete, and repentative set of metaphors about the Man from Heaven function as a means of communication for the group that accepts it? For Meeks, ". . . in every instance the motif points to contrast, forgiveness, division, judgment";[41] it is a closed system, at first obscure to the reader, who will either reject it, or become drawn to it by fascination. As Jesus is an enigma understood, if at all, only gradually, by a few elect followers, so John's gospel. "*The book functions for its readers in precisely the same way that the epiphany of its hero functions within its narratives and dialogues.*"[42] Despite the lack of "ecclesiology" in the fourth gospel, it might be called

> . . . *an etiology of the Johannine group.* In telling the story of the Son of Man who came down from heaven and then reascended after choosing a few of his own out of the world, the book defines and vindicates the existence of the community that evidently sees itself as unique, alien from the world, under attack, misunderstood, but living in unity with Christ and through him with God.[43]

This means that the book is a book for *insiders*, reinforcing the community's "largely negative" social identity, and it contains a "symbolic universe" which legitimates a counter-cultural, sectarian consciousness.[44] A dialectic results: the Christology of "the

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[36]Ibid., 50-61.
[37]Ibid., 61-62.
[38]Ibid., 62-5.
[39]Ibid., 66.
[40]Ibid., 66-8.
[41]Ibid., 67.
[42]Ibid., 69.
[43]Ibid., 69-70.
[44]Ibid., 70. Meeks finds the term "sect" (n. 79) in the classical sociologists Weber, Troeltsch, and H. R. Niebuhr to be inadequate for John, citing P. Berger, "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," *Sociological Research* 21 (1954) 467-85; in his more recent work, he draws on B. R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Reli-*

alien" resulted in the expulsion from the synagogue of those who believed it; the alienated community further projected its alienation onto its Christology; and the Christology then drove the community into further isolation.[45] Thus, it is possible to say that, for Meeks, Christology and community in John's gospel are correlated in both narrative social worlds; in the latter case, the christology intrinsic to the narrative functions to give expression to, and reinforce, the identity of the readers of that narrative, the community.

Howard C. Kee: Intentionality and Life World[46]

Howard Kee in *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* also focuses on a single gospel, like Meeks, but is more explicit about the emphasis on extrinsic factors, like Theissen. Kee is more indebted to traditional historical and literary methods, but criticizes them for not being more aware of social factors. He takes as his own object the perspective of a literary critic, E. D. Hirsch, to understand "the horizon which defines the author's intention as a whole."[47] This, he says, requires the combination of literary, social, and conceptual analyses, such that the author's intentionality expresses the "life world" (Schütz/Luckmann) of his community.[48]

Kee rejects all attempts to outline Mark and to discover in the Greco-Roman world a literary prototype[49]—Mark himself created the gospel genre—but he does not abandon literary influences altogether. Indeed, a major point is that Mark conforms to the "Beginning-Middle-End thematic structure of apocalyptic" which *literarily* stresses "the Middle," or present crisis with its threat of martyrdom of the faithful, and *eschatologically-historically* emphasizes that God's purposes for his creation are being thwarted by diabolical powers.[50] By analyzing Mark's style, repetitions, intercalations, and especially the *Sammelberichte* and transitional passages, Kee illumines aspects of Mark's intention. The latter, for example, portray Jesus ". . . *as an itinerant teacher whose interpretation of the will of God is manifest in his powerful actions, especially the exorcisms and healings, as well as in his interpretation of the Law.*"[51] The itineracy has an analogy in the Cynics.

Kee emphasizes that Mark is reworking his sources and traditions "*in the light of the immediate critical needs of his community.*"[52] Making reference to Weber's analysis of alienated, exploited "break away" movements led by a charismatic prophet[53] and

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gious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third World Peoples (London: Heinemann, 1973), whose basic orientation is "response to the world."

[45]Ibid., 71.

[46]H. C. Kee, *Community of the New Age. Studies in Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977); cp. also his *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980).

[47]E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

[48]For "life world," see A. Schutz and T. Luckmann, *The Structure of the Life World*, trans. by R. M. Zaner and H. T. Engelhardt, Jr. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

[49]Kee, *Community*, ch. 2.

[50]Ibid., 66: Mark adapts an "apocalyptic philosophy of history" structured on the "literary strategy of apocalypse."

[51]Ibid., 60.

[52]Ibid., 49; cf. 36, 42-3, 52, 65, 67, 70, etc.

[53]M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. by E. Fischoff from the 4th German edition (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), esp. 43-60.

Burridge's study of prophet-led millenarian movements,[54] he puts forth the view, based on the work of M. Hengel,[55] that Hellenistic exploitation of the Jewish populace from Ptolemaic times on resulted in the formation of apocalyptic conventicles converging in the Hasidic movement, with its literary deposit in Daniel, an offshoot of which are the Essenes. Such voluntary associations stressed God's vindication of the righteous, who resist external pressures and internal apostasy, and defeat of earthly and cosmic enemies.[56] The life world of the Markan community, living in rural and small-town southern Syria in the 60's,[57] a persecuted and repressed apocalyptic group.[58]

From this perspective, Kee stresses that messianism (i.e., Christology) is secondary to the Markan community's concern with its identity as the esoteric chosen people which believes itself opposed by human, demonic, and cosmic forces, but ultimately vindicated.[59] Yet, a common apocalyptic theme is that God will accomplish his purposes by means of his chosen agent,[60] and in Mark the eschatological agent is Jesus. Kee analyzes each of the Christological titles showing that they point to "roles" which, while standing in dialectical relation to background terms and concepts, are most important for the way they function in the Markan text. What seems most important, however, is that there is a correspondence between Jesus and the community via the disciples. Of numerous examples, two must suffice. In his discussion of corporate images for the community, specifically the "eschatological family," he writes,

> Jesus is the paradigm for the disciples, according to Mark, just as they are the model for the uprooted persecuted (μετὰ διωγμῶν 10.30b) members of the Marcan community. Yet, this destiny is not limited to joy in suffering that awaits the present age; rather, they are called to look beyond νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ to eternal life in the coming age (10.30).[61]

Again, in his chapter on eschatology and ethics in the Markan community, Kee emphasizes that the community, like Jesus, was religiously, not politically, anti-authoritarian, while within, there were responsibilities and disciplines; thus, the community conforms to

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[54]K. O. L. Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

[55]M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, trans. by J. Bowden (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974).

[56]Ibid., 80-2.

[57]Ibid., 85-106.

[58]Ibid., 105: "Mark speaks to and from a community which is influenced both by the Jewish-Hasidic-Essene-apocalyptic tradition, with its belief in cosmic conflict about to be resolved by divine intervention and the vindication of the faithful elect, and the Cynic-Stoic style of gaining adherents by preaching, healing, and exorcisms from village to village, existing on the hospitality that the local tradition offered." Cp. 146: "It is not surprising that the two types of movement which we have seen to provide the best historical analogies to the Markan community—the apocalyptical conventicles and the Cynic-Stoic itinerant charismatics—were likewise sharply critical of the establishment and in large measure defined themselves over against the institutions and conventions of the time." Kee's analysis of apocalyptic is extensive; his analysis of the Cynic-Stoic itinerants is not. Here, he refers to Theissen's work.

[59]Ibid., 106-7. In the following pages Kee argues that all the images for the community in Mark are corporate.

[60]Ibid., 116, 120-1.

[61]Ibid., 110.

the "sect" in Bryan Wilson's sense of "response to the world."[62] He writes in relation to Mark 14:62:

> Mark's theme is that the Jesus whose powers conquered demons, healed the sick, stilled storms, enabled him to walk on the sea and to find the multitudes miraculously, who redefined covenant community and its responsibilities, who could foresee the future, and who knew himself to have a central role in the outworking of God's purpose of those who saw in him a threat to their own authority. Similarly, they saw themselves as commissioned by God through him and in his name to carry forward the work that he had begun, to continue to perform healings and exorcisms, to interpret his work for the new situation of his people, to live in obedience to the will of God as he interpreted it, to preserve in the face of hatred and suffering that the members of the community were experiencing as they carried on in his name.[63]

In short, the horizon which defines the author's intentions as a whole includes the life world of the apocalyptic conventicle. In that context, Jesus expresses the alienation and hope of the disciples, and they, in turn, the alienation and hope of the community.

II

Although the above summaries in no way do justice to the studies of these three scholars, I shall now move on in order to make a few observations and attempt a few generalizations about theory, method, and results. Their works were brought together because of a major point they share (mentioned above), namely, *the attempt to correlate Christology with community in a text, or set of texts.* That is the first observation, an important area of overlap.

Related to that is a second way in which they are alike, namely, that the correlation is made *via the role of the disciples in the story.* Though Meeks does not specifically engage in "role analysis," there is a certain analogy in his attempt to describe the alien descending/ascending figure who gives a revelation to similarly alienated disciples. Presumably other Johannine "roles" could be developed in accord with various opponents, or disciples in varying stages of belief, each of which would have generalizable analogies in the environment.[64] In any case, the disciples play a crucial "role," and much could be done here to correlate literary critical role analysis ("characterization"), especially in the case of single texts.[65] Where redaction critics have posited a *conflict* between Jesus and the disciples, as especially with certain interpretations of Mark,[66] the issue would be at least more complicated. Theissen relates this conflict approach in Markan studies to the individualistic orientation of redaction criticism which imagines an individual author standing over against a community on theological grounds, but in principle he has no

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[62]Ibid., 162.

[63]Ibid., 162.

[64]I have in mind R. E. Brown's *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (London: Chapman, 1979).

[65]E.g., D. Rhoades and D. Michie, *Mark as Story* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982); cp. T. R. Sarbin and V. R. Allen, "Role Theory," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 1 (2nd ed.; Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1968).

[66]Esp. T. J. Weeden, *Mark—Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); also W. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark. A New Place and New Time* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974); *Mark's Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

objection to basing sociological analysis on redaction criticism.[67] Could not one posit conflicting communities on theological grounds, analyze their corresponding social locations as "contrast models," and then test the models for fit by reference to analogies? Perhaps the generation of data would prove difficult. In any case, and especially in the case of more positive evaluations of disciples in the texts, the disciples in each study have become an important index to the community.

A third point of commonality is obvious, namely, that *each study is an attempt to make observations about social life*. For Theissen, this interest is a continuation of an original, but diverted, component of form criticism's *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche*.[68] For Meeks and Kee, the emphasis shifts to the *Sitz im Leben des Evangeliums* where questions about the *form of the document* begin to have importance. Theissen is less inclined to discuss formal questions in relation to the sayings. Finally, Theissen and Kee place more emphasis on specific time and place than Meeks, though such issues are clearly implied in his raising questions about the relation of John's gospel to Gnosticism at the beginning and end of his essay.[69]

A fourth area of overlap is more theoretical, namely, all three studies are grounded in the theory of the "sociology of knowledge." While Theissen's "structural homology" is taken from Lucien Goldmann's "sociology of literature" attempt to correlate "*geistigen Structuren*" (and their functions) in literary works with the "collective consciousness" of the social group responsible for them,[70] Theissen relates this perspective to the work of Max Scheler who coined the phrase "sociology of knowledge" (*Wissenssoziologie*) and whom theorists, including Berger and Luckmann, credit with establishing its basic conceptions.[71] Moreover, Theissen accepts Peter Berger's use of Durkheim, that religion attempts to overcome "anomie,"[72] and in his recent study of Paul's Christology, he builds his analysis around comments on "plausibility structures" by Berger and Luckmann.[73] Meeks explicitly claims inspiration from the same theories,[74] and Kee's work refers to A. Schutz's and Luckmann's orientation to "life world" and subsequently in his *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* to Berger and Luckmann.[75] In short, all three are

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[67]Theissen, "Einordnung," 7, citing as an example W. Stegemann, "Untersuchungen zum Lukasevangelium," In L. Schottroff and W Stegemann, *Jesus von Nazareth—Hoffnung der Armen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1976) 89-153.

[68]In this regard it would be instructive to compare Theissen's studies with more broadly-based works on oral tradition, cp. the remarks of J. Gager, *Kingdom and Community. The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975) 7-8 who, like Theissen ("Einordnung," 5-6), refers to Cullmann's 1925 review of Bultmann which calls for a sociological orientation to form criticism.

[69]Meeks, "Man from Heaven," 44-7, 71-2.

[70]Goldmann, "Die Soziologie der Literatur," 87-91.

[71]Theissen, "Wunderradikalismus," 245-6 and notes 3, 6; cp. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction*, 4, and 191, n. 1, based on Max Scheler, *Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft* (2nd ed.; Ges. Werke, Bd. 8; Bern: Francke, 1960); cf. also K. Berger, *Exegese des Neuen Testaments* (2nd ed.; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1984) 240-41.

[72]Theissen, "Wir haben Alles Verlassen," *NovT* 19 (1977) 188, n. 63, 189 and n. 64 (= *Studien* 133, 134). The reference is to *Zur Dialektik* von Religion und Gesellschaft (Frankfort, 1973), a translation of P. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969).

[73]Theissen, "Christologie und soziale Erfahrung," 318-30; cf. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction*, 154-63.

[74]See above, n. 32.

[75]See above, n. 48; *Christian Origins*, 23-6.

informed by a common sociological orientation, namely, that all reality is socially constructed and maintained.

Given this orientation, what unit of society is constructing/maintaining the reality in these studies? It is especially important when analyzing more complex societies to indicate the "level of analysis."[76] Here there are some similarities and some differences in the three approaches. For Theissen, the macro-social unit[77] is what might be termed "Hellenistic-Roman society" as it is represented in the Eastern Mediterranean cities of the Roman Empire. What he is most concerned to analyze, however, is, first, what might be termed a "middle range" society (or if one prefers, a "smaller" macro-social unit),[78] e.g., Palestinian Jewish society uprooted by *inter alia* certain factors of social change brought about by external pressures from the macro-society—one may note here Weber's tendency to stress crisis periods[79]—and, second, micro-social units, e.g., competing "renewal movements," or one might translate, "revitalization movements,"[80] within the "middle range" unit. The community which is correlated with the Christology is thus compared and contrasted with comparable communities at the same level of analysis in generally the same cultural circle.[81] In contrast, Meeks analyzes the material at (primarily) the micro-social level.[82] Kee, for his part, does not engage in either macro-

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[76]Cf. A. H. Galt and L. J. Smith, *Models and the Study of Social Change* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976) 38-45.

[77]Galt and Smith, ibid., 40, prefer the terms "particularistic/holistic" to "micro/macro" or "partial/general" since these terms avoid "the fallacy of composition," i.e., "what is true for a part can be generalized to be true for the whole." Levels are relative to each other on a continuum. Moreover, "it is part of the scientist's art, or *Verstehen*, to decide when to study detail, and when to offer or accept simplifying generalizations" (41).

[78]I have borrowed "middle range" language from R. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1963) 5-10, who, however, uses it of social *theory*, not levels of analysis.

[79]Cf. R. C. Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership," *Daedalus* 97 (1968) 742-8.

[80]A. F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956) 264-81, cf. 273: "Max Weber's concept of 'charismatic leadership' well describes the type of leader-follower relationship characteristic of revitalization movement organizations." For his critique of Weber, see 274. His definition: "A revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (265). Wallace's view is, however, extremely functional and psychological. It nonetheless has the advantage of being cross-cultural.

[81]B. Malina's review of Theissen's *Sociology* in *CBQ* 41 (1979) 176-8 critiques the work for its lack of cross-cultural parallels; thus, it is not "sociology," but social history. Though it is true that Theissen is less concerned with theory, or with models and their fit, there are cross cultural parallels in Weber's work. Yet, Malina also criticizes the application of Weberian analysis to Jesus, cf. his "Jesus as Charismatic Leader?" *BTB* 14 (1984) 55-62, which suggests that the texts show Jesus to be operating basically within societal norms and institutions, being "honorably" passive in interacting with people and respectful of political institutions. Jesus thus avoided leadership. Malina's insights are highly stimulating, but ring a little sedate for a volatile Roman province. Moreover, in Theissen's work, the Jesus movement failed. Would attention to "level of analysis" help clarify matters?

[82]He had written *The Prophet-King. Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967); his subsequent work became more oriented to macro-social factors in Greco-Roman society.

social or "middle-range" social analysis of social factors in the sense that Theissen does, but he accepts Hengel's work on the social location of apocalyptic movements as a basis for his somewhat more traditional diachronic analysis of apocalyptic. Thus, he also assumes macro-social pressures on the "middle-range" society as a basis for understanding persecution and alienation within the Markan community, a position which he supports by his literary-redactional analysis of Mark as apocalyptic.[83] Basically, then, it is the micro-social unit which experiences certain forms of alienation and persecution from without that provides the primary basis for world construction and maintenance, though more encompassing units stand in the background interacting with them. In terms of Berger and Luckmann, there is present a deviant version of the symbolic universe challenging the reality status of the "middle range" society (Theissen, Kee, and probably Meeks, as well).[84] Indeed, in terms of Theissen's analysis, several "alternative" definitions of reality have emerged.

This leads to a fifth area of overlap, some view of the micro-society in terms of the "sect" and its leadership. Meeks does not find the classical theorists very helpful for Johannine sectarianism; in his subsequent work, he uses Bryan Wilson's cross-cultural studies of sect "in relation to the world."[85] Kee also cites Wilson,[86] but both Theissen and Kee acknowledge indebtedness to Max Weber, and Theissen (even more) to Ernst Troeltsch.[87] Theissen notes Weber's influence in two areas, the theory of "ideal types" and the analysis of charismatic legitimation.[88] The former clearly stands behind his "role" analysis and the latter behind his "wandering charismatic" role in relation to "local sympathizers." Kee also relates his views of the Markan community to Weber, specifically in his statement that Christological titles are important primarily for associated "roles" and the way they function in the text (though there is not a very high level of abstraction in his analysis of specific titles) and especially in his view of the apocalyptic agent—here something of an "ideal type" emerges—and his designation of Jesus as a "charismatic prophet" who attracts faithful followers.[89] In short, classical sociological theory is employed where it seems to fit best, namely in Syro-Palestinian apocalyptically-oriented communities, not the Johannine community.

The question of use of models in relation to historical-social information is a complex problem. Kenneth Pike, drawing on linguistics, distinguishes between "etic" and "emic" standpoints for the description of behavior.

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[83]The impact here is somewhat lessened by Kee's reliance on secondary sources for extrinsic social and economic factors, cf. notes 53, 54, 55 above; the achievement is nonetheless important, cf. the review of V. Robbins in *JBL* 98 (1979) 147-9.

[84]Cf. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction*, 106-7.

[85]Most recently, *The First Urban Christians*, 85, 169, and notes. Cp. R. Scroggs, "The Earliest Christian Communities as Sectarian Movement," in J. Neusner, ed., *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) II, 1-23.

[86]Kee, *Community*, 162; *Christian Origins*, ch. 3.

[87]E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. by O. Wyon (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956). Theissen, "Einordnung," 23, states that Troeltsch's divisions into church, sect, and spiritualism were the impetus for his early Christian forms *Liebespatriarchalismus*, *Wanderradikalismus*, and (Gnostic) *Spiritualismus*.

[88]Theissen, "Einordnung," 23. Cf. M. Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. by G. Roth and C. Wittich (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968) 241-54; R. Bendix, *Max Weber. An Intellectual Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) ch. 10; see above, n. 81, for Malina's critique.

[89]Kee, *Community*, 106ff.; cp. *Christian Origins*, ch. 3.

> The etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system.[90]

A similar distinction is made by Lévi-Strauss between "observers' models" and "culturally produced models" (i.e., "conscious" models and "unconscious" models).[91] It should be clear from the descriptions of the three representatives that all of them operate more from the emic point of view, though this characterization may lean a little too much toward structural-functionalism. This is quite natural, for each of them is more interested in, and committed to, social history than to the testing of social models. Nonetheless, models are also present.[92]

Given the problems mentioned at the outset, and having observed the differences in approach, it is probably impossible to list an absolute set of guidelines for pursuing social-historical analysis of a particular gospel as a means of correlating Christology and community. Nevertheless, I shall attempt a few generalizations, if only by way of summary.

1. A text is not only the product of a single, solitary individual reworking traditions according to his theology, but is also an index to everyday social life.

2. A text can therefore be read as a product not only of the individual intentions of its author, but also for unintentional data about the "social world" in which the individual and his text exist.

3. "Social worlds" have different levels; correspondingly, some attention needs to be given to the "level of analysis."

4. In social-historical analysis where societies are not from the outset totally alien, the ideas, behavior, norms, and values of the society as represented in the text must be investigated ("emic" point of view).

5. At the same time, aids to interpretation may also be derived from cross-cultural comparisons, testing them for fit in particular instances ("etic" point of view).

6. "Social roles" need to be abstracted from the texts; aids in the isolation of these roles can be derived from redaction critical perspectives on persons and groups and their functions, "characterizations" by literary analysis, and comparative data in the society.

7. Especially important is establishing the role of the disciples in the text and correlating that role in some way with the role of "the Christ," difficult as it may be to abstract such a role.

8. The ultimate test of such a social-historical approach will be its effectiveness in illuminating the society or societies which "stand behind" the Christology as well as the Christology itself.

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[90] K. L. Pike, "Etic and Emic Standpoints for the Description of Behavior," in A. G. Smith, ed., *Communication and Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966) 152-63.

[91] C. Lévi-Strauss, "Social Structure," in A. L. Kroeber, ed., *Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) 526-7; very important in this regard is B. E. Ward, "Varieties of the Conscious Model. The Fishermen of South China" in *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology* (ed. by M. Banton; ASA Monographs 1, London: Tavistock Publications; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965) 113-37. Cf. also the discussion of native systems of classification by E. V. Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus* (SBLDS 64; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982) 1-41.

[92] Galt and Smith, *Models*, 52: "We advocate an approach which has both etic and emic components."

III

It would be presumptive in the extreme, given the great amount of research on Matthew's Christology and community from the perspective of historical, literary, form, and redaction criticism—new literary criticism seems only to be beginning—to attempt anything like an extensive social-historical analysis of Matthew in the final section of this brief paper.[93] As an alternative, I would like to suggest a hypothesis, a reformulation oriented toward social-historical analysis, based on some already extant work and a few observations related to the studies above. As a preface, it should perhaps be said that I accept the composition of Matthew as taking place between 80 and 100 C.E. (esp. 22:7),[94] perhaps in Antioch, though Caesarea would suit my point of view—a city beyond the Jordan is possible[95]—by a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian "scribe trained for the Kingdom" (13:52) who is in sharp confrontation with Pharisaic Judaism as it is being reconstituted under the direction of Rabban Johannan ben Zakkai at Jamnia.[96] Moreover, recent studies suggest a great difficulty in attempting to describe the role of Jesus and his community. It cannot be denied that, from the perspectives of Theissen and Kee, Matthew's gospel sometimes portrays Jesus in the role of an "itinerant charismatic prophet." W. D. Davies has suggested that Matthew's view of Jesus may be related to his setting of Galilean "enthusiasm" over against the sedate Jamnia "establishment,"[97] and E. Schweizer, drawing on a number of studies, argues that Matthew's Jesus is, in fact, an itinerant charismatic prophet who teaches by his own authority and heals.[98] I have suggested elsewhere that from the literary critical perspective, Matthew was an "omniscient narrator" whose formula quotations function as "plot devices" or "asides," and that for Matthew all of them come from prophets—Psalm 78:2 is from "the prophet" David (Matt 13:35)—who provide something of a model for Jesus and the disciples.[99] It is perhaps not so surprising that, in the light of Kee's study of Mark and these observations, Theissen has derived some of his key texts for the "wandering charismatic" from Matthew.[100] The charismatic prophetic "role" is extremely strong in Matthew. At the same time, the Matthean Jesus also says that the Law is to be fulfilled to the smallest

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[93]Cf. G. Stanton, "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel. Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980," *ANRW* II.25.3 (1985) 1889-1951. (Thanks to Mr. Douglas.)

[94]Neither K. Rengstorf, "Die Stadt der Mörder (Mt 22:7)," *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1960) 106-29, nor J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976) has changed the consensus.

[95]Recently, J. P. Meier in R. E. Brown and J. P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (currently unavailable to me; see my review in *USQR* 39 [1984] 243-50) has surveyed the possibilities and cautiously opted for Antioch; an argument was made for Caesarea by B. T. Viviano, "Where was the Gospel According to St. Matthew Written?" *CBQ* 41 (1971) 533-45; a plausible argument on the basis of internal grounds for the Decapolis has been put forth by H. D. Slingerland, "The Transjordanian Origin of S. Matthew's Gospel." *JSNT* 3 (1979) 18-28, pointed out to me by Theissen.

[96]W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: University Press, 1964) 256-315; cp. J. Neusner, *A Life of Rabban Yohannan ben Zakkai, ca. 1-80 C.E.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962).

[97]Davies, ibid., 299-300.

[98]E.g., E. Schweizer, "Observance of the Law and Charismatic Activity in Matthew," *NTS* 16 (1969/70) 221, 227.

[99]D. Duling, "Matthew and the Problem of Authority: Some Preliminary Observations," EGLBS *Proceedings* 3 (1983) 59-68.

[100]Esp. Matt 5:38-41; 6:19-34; 8:20, 22; 10:5ff., 20-24, 40-42; 19:12.

detail (5:18) and that the scribes and Pharisees should be obeyed (23:2-3), passages which Theissen associates with the sympathizers in the local communities.[101] Moreover, J. Kingsbury's study of Matthew's Christology would not lead to the conclusion that "charismatic prophet" is the key idea, nor would J. Meier's suggest a "charismatic community," different as they are from each other. The former stresses the "Son of God," the latter balances that with the eschatological "Son of Man."[102] Similar complications, e.g., apparent contradictions, exist in Matthew's community;[103] indeed, Matthew is clearly concerned about "false prophecy," and perhaps even "charismatics" within the community, as well.[104]

Given the tendencies toward a more conservative orientation, I suggest as a hypothesis that an examination of Matthew from the perspective of three levels of analysis, macro-, "middle range," and micro-social levels, would indicate that he develops a "royal" Christological role which, while it has prophetic motifs—David is conceived as a prophet in Judaism[105]—employs more traditional forms of legitimation. In Weberian terms he stands between charismatic legitimation and traditional legitimation, and he becomes an example of a certain kind of routinization of charisma. More specifically, though he may be writing in a Jewish Christian context, he is involved in a Christological "apologetic" on several fronts.[106] It seems likely that Jesus has been "labeled"[107] by "outsiders" who are significant enough in Matthew's world that he casts an eye in their direction as he writes. He has, at least in part, apologetic intentions. More specifically,

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[101]Theissen, *Sociology*, 17, 18.

[102]J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew. Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975); cp. Kingsbury's response to E. Schweizer in, "The Verb *akolouthein* ("to follow") as an Index of Matthew's View of His Community," *JBL* 97 (1978) 56-73 where some correct observations are made, but in the case of healing, at the expense of his usual focus on a two-stage Christology. J. P. Meier, *The Vision of Matthew. Christ, Church, and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979). I contrasted them in "Matthew and the Problem of Authority" (n. 98, above); cf. also W. R. Farmer, "The Post-Sectarian Character of Matthew and Its Post-war Setting in Antioch of Syria," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 3 (1976) 235-47 (unavailable to me).

[103]Schweizer, "Observance"; cp. K. Tagawa, "People and Community in the Gospel of Matthew," *NTS* 16 (1969/70) 149-62, who argues that the social milieu of the gospel requires a group still within Judaism. Most Matthaean redaction criticism has moved in the reverse direction.

[104]Cp., e.g., D. Hill, "False Prophets and Charismatics: Structure and Interpretation in Matthew 7, 15-23," *Biblica* 57 (1976) 327-48. (D. Aune's work on early Christian prophecy is not available to me.)

[105]See above, n. 98. Cp. Jos *Ant* 6.8,2 (LCL 2.249), ". . . the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy"; "David's Compositions" (11QPs/a/), line 11: "And these [4,050 psalms and songs] he spoke through prophecy which was given him before the Most High." See J. A. Fitzmyer, "David, 'being therefore a prophet. . . .' (Acts 2:30)," *CBQ* 34 (1972) 332-39.

[106]Cp. D. Duling, "The Therapeutic Son of David in Matthew's Gospel: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," *NTS* 24 (1978) 292-410. For the scholarly tradition that much of Matthew sounds like "apologetic," see esp. C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd ed.; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1981) 124-8; the tradition goes back at least to T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1909 [original German 1888-92] vol. 2, 560: "an *historical apology of the Nazarene and His church over against Judaism*" (italics author's).

[107]For "labeling theory," see recently Cullen and Cullen, *Rethinking Crime and Deviance* (unavailable to me).

the accusations include: (1) Jesus was not a "king," i.e., his birth was illegitimate[108] and his movement failed politically with his crucifixion for sedition; (2) Jesus was a "magician" who was under the power of Satan; and (3) Jesus was a wisdom teacher who led the people astray. Among the accusations are low birth, heresy, an aborted threat of sedition, and practicing magic. The latter two, of course, have serious implications in Roman law.[109] These, plus the first, would have to be examined from the macro-social level, i.e., in terms of the Empire-wide situation under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. All four would have to be further examined from the "middle range" level, that is, the specific conditions of Syro-Palestinian Judaism of the Jamnia period, especially in the wake of the wars of 66-70 C.E. To determine Matthew's response would require an analysis of the micro-society against the backdrop of the "larger" units of analysis. From this vantage point, one would then explore the detailed facts related to the accusations. Certainly, a solution would include views such as: (1) Jesus' birth was a "high birth," descended from Abraham, David, and Solomon, as well as the other kings,[110] further delineating his kingship in terms of prophecy and the royal titles along non-threatening political lines (at least overtly); (2) Jesus was not a "magician" but a "therapeutic" miracle worker who resisted bowing down to Satan's power, performing his feats rather by divine power for the benefit of "mankind" (4:1-11; 9:24; 10:25; 12:24-32);[111] and Jesus did not lead his people astray with heretical teachings; rather, his teaching and life fulfill the Law and the prophets (5:17) according to their true meaning. Analogies would then be sought from the later Christian apologetes.[112] In short, Matthew's "royal" Christology would provide a "role" at a somewhat higher level of abstraction, hopefully integrating features which, from a redactional perspective, are kept distinct.[113]

The attempt at legitimation on the basis of accepted societal norms at various levels of analysis has clear implications for an understanding of the Matthaean community. If Matthew stands on the boundary between charismatic and traditional legitimation, questions about the roles of Peter and the disciples (13:51; 16:13-23; 18; 28:16-20) could be reconsidered in this light. Themes such as high birth, royal family, performance of miracles for the benefit of mankind, and legitimate interpretation of legitimate Law and prophets would have to be evaluated alongside charismatic legitimation. It may well be that, from the terms of Theissen, "the Jesus movement" in Matthew's context was not

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[108]Davies, *Setting*, 65, 287-8; M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1969) 158 gives a representative list who hold this view; his own position is that the Pantera tradition was a response to the genealogy, cf. 178-9.

[109]The sedition charge is represented in the gospels; for literature on the charge of magic, see D. Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus' Antiquitates Judaecae 8.42-49," *HTR* (forthcoming), notes 68, 69; and esp. R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order. Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966) 95-127 ("Magicians").

[110]See above, n. 7; for the royal tradition as a whole, K. Berger, "Die Königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments," *NTS* 20 (1973) 19-44.

[111]Cp. Gallagher, *Divine Man* (n. 91 above). Gallagher's discussion of native systems of classification, based on the work of especially Mary Douglas, is helpful in terms of the etic/emic distinction and the discussion of conscious models, see above notes 90, 91.

[112]Ibid.; Cp. Justin, *Dial* 17.1, 108.2; *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*; for the link of sorcery and heresy in the Apocryphal Acts, see S. L. Davies, *The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Illinois University Press, Inc., 1980) ch. 3.

[113]It may also be that the more structured form of Matthew in comparison with Mark would offer clues about order.

yet dead, but simply undergoing social change at a different moment in history. If so, Matthew's gospel would provide an interesting test case for insights from sociology for New Testament Christology.

The Exaltation of Jesus and the Restoration of Israel in Acts 1

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A. "Lord, at this time are you restoring the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6)

The disciples' leading question in Acts 1:6 sets the context for Luke's narration of the last words which the risen Jesus speaks on earth. The Lord's oracular answer clearly divides in two parts. Acts 1:7 conveys a sharp caution to those who would speculate about God's timetable: "It is not yours to know the periods or occasions which the Father has established in his own authority." Yet Jesus' final words respond positively to the question of restoration by revealing the deployment of theocratic dominion, even indicating the geographic staging of Acts: "But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and unto the end of the earth" (1:8).

Scholarship has given immense attention to the ways in which such passages imply and express Luke's distinctive eschatology, and the effort has proved rewarding. This particular exchange begins with a corrective concerning speculation on the times of restoration, and the episode concludes with the heavenly messengers assuring the disciples that Jesus whom they have seen "assumed into heaven" will return in the same manner (Acts 1:11). The evangelist has clearly provided an interpretation of the present time (see Luke 12:56) within a scenario of apocalyptic eschatology.[1] Peter's sermons will then specify further Luke's conviction that the present time of repentance, forgiveness, and salvation is integral to the anticipated "restoration of all which God promised through the mouth of the holy prophets from of old," when Jesus the Messiah will again be sent from heaven (Acts 3:18-21; see also 2:33, 38-40; 4:12; 10:42-43).

This passage is also crucial to all assessments of Luke's christology. Commentators

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[1]Hans Conzelmann's presentation of Luke's theology in terms of the "delay of the parousia" (*The Theology of St. Luke:* trans Geoffrey Buswell, London: Farber and Farber, 1960) sharpened the sense of the "problem" in Luke's eschatology, and many subsequent studies have been preoccupied with this issue. But Henry J. Cadbury's description of Luke's "deferred eschatology" or "delayed apocalyptic" had already demonstrated that "delay" is not so much a problem for which apology must be offered as a sign of divine forbearance within an intact apocalyptic drama (*The Making of Luke-Acts.* London: SPCK, 1927, 292-296, and "Acts and Eschatology," *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology,* Cambridge: University Press, 1956, 300-321). Eric Franklin even argued that the ascension of Jesus is the eschatological event which fulfills Israel's expectations: "The guarantee that this is so is the gift of the Spirit and the universal witness that it enables; its seal will be the parousia and the restoration of Israel. The story of Acts is told in order to justify this confidence." *Christ the Lord* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 41.

often suggest that this scene of Jesus' departure is a corrective of Jewish nationalism, an explanation of the absence of Jesus, or the presentation of Jesus' exaltation in a form which would rival the apotheosis of any Greek or Roman hero or ruler. Each of these proposals has certain interpretative values and deserves more ample discussion, but a few remarks must suffice to introduce the suggestion of this essay.

(1) The concern for "the restoration" was shared by many of the interpreters of the scriptures of Israel throughout the intertestamental era,[2] and caricatures of Jewish expectations do justice neither to that rich discussion nor to Luke-Acts. Furthermore, in Luke's day, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and Josephus join Luke in pondering the questions of God's rule and justice in the wake of the calamities of Israel.[3] Luke's own list of *named* witnesses indicates that the hopes of all those faithful in Israel are alive throughout his narrative, i.e. the expectations of "the consolation of Israel" (Simeon, Luke 2:25), "the redemption of Jerusalem" (Anna, 2:38), "the kingdom of God" (Joseph of Arimathea, 23:51), "the redeeming of Jerusalem" (Cleopas, 24:21), "the restoration of the kingdom to Israel" (disciples, Acts 1:6), and "the promise made by God to our fathers to which the twelve tribes hope to attain, as they earnestly worship night and day" (Paul, 26:6-7).

(2) Luke's declaration of Jesus the Messiah and Lord is much more than an "absentee christology," which is preoccupied with the delay of the Messiah's return.[4] Luke's narrative testifies to the exaltation of Jesus as the inauguration of the long promised reign of God on earth through faithful Israel, i.e. commencing with the restored "twelve" and advancing through all those on Pentecost who come to repentance bringing restoration of Israel's calling to witness to God's promise to those far off (Acts 2). The Spirit, name, word, and apostles or "chosen instruments" of the Lord and Messiah exercise his dominion until the time of the restoration of all, even provoking divisions within Israel.[5]

Proper appreciation of Luke's testimony requires the interpreter to set aside modern ideologies of historical idealism or manifest destiny, to neglect medieval concepts of divine right and Christian empires, and to move back before the time when gentile Christianity read Acts as its triumphal displacement of Judaism. This narrative belongs within

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[2]See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 18. This paper was in its last recension when I received a copy of E. P. Sanders' *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985). This remarkable study places Jesus within the context of "Jewish restoration eschatology," documenting the depth and complexity of this hope. Although Sanders accepts the common view that the question about restoration in Acts "is turned aside by the risen Lord, and the general implication is negative" (p. 116), he has laid out the resources clearly for others to investigate the possibility that Luke's Jesus affirms the question. See also Arthur W. Wainwright, "Luke and the Restoration of the Kingdom to Israel," *Expository Times* 89 (1977-78) 76-79. Robert C. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104 (1985) 69-85.

[3]See David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980). Alden Lloyd Thompson, *Responsibility for Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra,* (SBLDS 29; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977). Gwendolyn B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed?: A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch* (SBLDS 72; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984).

[4]See George W. MacRae, "Whom Heaven Must Receive Until the Time," *Interpretation* 27 (1973) 151-165. C. F. D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," *Studies in Luke-Acts,* ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Abingdon: Nashville, 1966), 159-185.

[5]Jacob Jervell, "The Divided People of God," *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972). Donald Juel, *Luke-Acts: The Promise of History* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983).

the world of the late first century when "the crisis over theocracy"[6] confronted all who laid claim to the faith of Israel, and the messianist Jesus movement declared this Savior and Lord to be the Ruler through whose name alone restoration and salvation would be given to Israel (Acts 3:19-4:12).

(3) Luke's usage of "christological" language is replete with terms and titles drawn from a broad range of early Christian usage in worship and proclamation, and several of these terms (e.g. Savior, Lord, Benefactor) had broad currency in the theocratic rhetoric of the Roman government.[7] Luke is also aware (and critical) of stories of rulers who were exalted to divine status and of gods coming to earth in human form (see Acts 12:20-23, 14:11-18). Nevertheless, Luke is neither promoting Jesus for divinization nor offering an overt challenge to the theocratic claims of the emperors and the Roman order.[8] Stories of ascending rulers or saviors whose "abundance of virtue" could lead to apotheosis are more to the point in such literature as Josephus' account of the death of Moses.[9]

B. Theocracy in Israel

The kingdom of God is always understood by Luke to be for and through Israel. The divine authority of the scriptural commands and promises is assumed, and Israel's traditional theocratic institutions of priesthood, kingship, temple and synagogue are regarded as put to the test by the declaration that "God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:36). The "christology" of Acts is preoccupied with testifying to Jesus as God's way of ruling, forgiving, and saving (restoring) Israel. Even the Roman government with its might and theocratic claims only serves as the background and mechanism as God seeks to establish dominion in Israel.

That larger political arena is, of course, crucial to Israel's plight. The story of the birth of this "Savior, Christ the Lord" is presented in the context of the reign and census of Caesar Augustus (Luke 2:1, 11). The beginning of John's declaration of the word of God is fixed by reference to the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, with Pilate, Herod, Philip, Annas and Caiaphas in attendance (Luke 3:1-2). "The kings of the Gentiles" who have dominion are called "benefactors" in direct contrast to the rule which Jesus exercises and authorizes (Luke 22:24-27). Jesus' death is presented in terms of the gathering against God's anointed servant of Herod and Pontius Pilate together with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel (Luke 22-23, Acts 4:27). Claudius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome and repeated references to Paul's rights as a citizen to appeal to Caesar keep

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[6]See Gerd Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 65.

[7]See Charles H. Talbert, "Prophecies of Future Greatness: The Contribution of Greco-Roman Biographies to an Understanding of Luke 1:5-4:15," *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God's Control of Human Events* (ed. by James L. Crenshaw and Samuel Sandmel; New York: Ktav, 1980, 129-141). Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982).

[8]Richard J. Cassidy, *Jesus, Politics and Society* (New York: Orbis, 1978), offers a helpful critique of Conzelmann but is more confident of Luke's implicit critique of the Roman order than may be credible. Nevertheless, Luke 22:25 with its disdain for "the kings of the Gentiles" and their "benefactors" would not have been lost on a first century reader.

[9]See Josephus' careful presentation of the death of Moses in contrast to the apotheosis of Aeneas and Romulus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus as discussed in David L. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBLDS 1; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972), 235.

the reader alert to political realities as Paul heads for Rome (Acts 18:2; 19:21; 22:25-29; 23:27; 25:10-12, 21, 25-27; 26:31-32).

Luke also insists that Paul has not offended any law of Israel nor of Caesar's court (see Acts 25:8), and even the letter of the Roman law is preserved by the Roman tribune so that Paul is quickly unbound and not scourged (Acts 22:25-29). But even these details simply indicate that the story is not about conflict or competition with Rome. In fact, the major trait of Rome's attitude toward the Christians is disinterest.

Thus, Christian "boldness" and assurance of God's dominion in Jesus appear politically preposterous in the story, especially in the face of the power and authority of Rome, and Luke highlights the discrepancy. The proconsul Gallio displays the Roman government's lack of concern in "matters of questions about words and names and your own law" (Acts 18:15), and Felix delays the proceedings twice, reportedly expecting a bribe (Acts 24:22, 25-26). Festus tells Herod Agrippa that he has already heard Paul's case once and could not make sense out of the points of dispute between Paul and his accusers concerning "their own superstition and about one Jesus, who was dead, but whom Paul asserted to be alive" (Acts 25:19). Even Agrippa is incredulous in the presence of the procurator when Paul seeks to persuade him to repent and believe as a Messianist, while Festus thinks he is mad (Acts 26:25-28). Luke is finally as disinterested in the Roman officials as they are in Paul, and he does not even attempt to interpret Paul's case in terms that would make sense to them.

The fact that all the titles are reported to derive from "words and names" of Israel's scriptures offers an important clue since Luke's stance toward the Roman imperial realm is also scriptural and traditional. His contrast between the reign of the God of Israel and that of the rulers, gods, lords, messiah and saviors of the empires had already been developed in the prophets, especially in Isaiah 40-55. The implied audience for Luke's testimony to the kingdom of Jesus the Messiah is composed of those who believe in the God of the scriptures, and the theocratic dispute which the exaltation of Jesus provokes is primarily with Israel's instituted authorities.

Disinterest is not possible for the Sanhedrin, synagogues, high priest, or people of Israel. The encounters of Peter, John, Steven, and Paul with Israel's theocratic authorities are remarkable scenes of conflict, where the choices are between obedience to God and humans (Acts 5:29). When Paul is "unlawfully" struck, he calls the High Priest a "whitewashed wall," which even Luke's Paul found to be an excessive criticism of the highpriesthood (Acts 23:1-5). Whether speaking before Jewish or Roman courts, Paul's defense speeches, as carefully composed by Luke, consistently testify to the resurrection of Jesus as the fulfillment of the scriptures, further provoking division in Israel (Acts 23:6; 24:14-15; 26:22-23).[10] As Simeon's oracles had indicated, Jesus the Messiah would not only be the "light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to thy people Israel," but he was also "set for the fall and rising of many in Israel (Luke 2:32, 34)."

Literarily, the whole story of the restoration of the theocracy of Israel turns on the "plot device" of "the rejection of God's agents by God's people in connection with God's sanctuaries (synagogues and temple)."[11] Theologically, it is the reign of God exercised by this Messiah which produces a divided Israel. That division will persist to the end of the narrative where some Jews in Rome are convinced and others disbelieve (28:24). Even the conflict with the traditional theocratic institutions of synagogues, temple, priesthood and

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[10]See Jerome Neyrey, "The Forensic Defense Speech and Paul's Trial Speeches in Acts 22-26: Form and Function," *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984) 215.

[11]Norman Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978) 83. See also David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980).

kingship are not signs that the followers of Jesus the Messiah have in any way failed to obey the law (see Acts 21:23; 24:14). No, the refusal of the apostles to "withstand God" (Acts 11:17) is a sign that the theocracy of Israel has begun to be restored. Gamaliel's warning is thus directed to Israel's authorities: "If this plan or this undertaking is of men, it will fail; but if it is of God, you will not be able to overthrow them. You might even be found opposing God!" (Acts 5:39)

C. Restoration

The disputes about "words and names and your own law" may have been trivialized by the Romans, but these were life and death issues in first century Israel. The urgency and difficulty of the questions no doubt intensified as the growing crisis with Rome produced massive calamity in Palestine and grave peril for Jews in Rome, Alexandria, and other localities. Israel's faith required a theological interpretation of such tragedy. What sin or apostasy has been committed and by whom? What repentance would lead to forgiveness? How might restoration be accomplished and when?

The fountainhead for such discussions had long been the scriptures, and particularly Moses' parting words to Israel in Deuteronomy. There the prophetic interpretation of the Babylonian destruction rendered a harsh verdict, calling Israel to account for apostasy, announcing that returning to the Lord will bring forgiveness although immediate salvation is no longer possible, and declaring that only the pride of the nations prevents God from scattering Israel altogether. Thus even the conquering nations will yet experience God's vengeance, and Israel's restoration will attest that the Lord God is the only god. Isaiah 40-66 and Ezekiel 33-48 picked up this refrain, along with other scriptural theologians of "restoration," so that a predictable set of concerns appeared in many subsequent theological interpretations of Israel's history. A diagnosis of sin or apostasy, a call to "return" or repentance for forgiveness, a vision of the regathering of the twelve tribes, and a vision of how the nations or "Gentiles" would see Israel's light were standard, although interpreted in particular ways.

Daniel Harrington has pointed to the interpretation of Israel's history which was done by means of rewriting Deuteronomy 31-34 in several Jewish sources dating from the second temple. He observed that "Jubilees" 1, Pseudo-Philo's "Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum" 19, "The Testament of Moses," and Josephus' "Antiquities" 4:303-331 all present Moses expanding upon his predictive history in accord with the Deuteronomic pattern of apostasy, punishment, and vindication.[12] These distinct construals of "The Song of Moses" may also be compared with the hymn of Tobit 13 and Psalms of Solomon 17 in order to grasp the range of Jewish visions of the restoration of Israel's theocracy, and 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch demonstrate the continuing vitality of this heritage of theodicy and theocracy which calls Israel to repentance in hope of restoration.[13]

A wealth of comparisons with Acts emerges with the study of these texts. Jubilees 1 defined apostasy in terms of "walking after the Gentiles and after their uncleanness" (1:9) and the possibility of repentance was the beginning of the recreation of a holy spirit

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[12]"Interpreting Israel's History: The *Testament of Moses* as a Rewriting of Deut. 31-34," *Studies on the Testament of Moses*, edited by George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr. (Septuagint and Cognate Studies, 4; Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973) 59-68.

[13]See Gwendolyn B. Sayler, op. cit., 96: "It seems clear that the relationship of Baruch to his successors is modelled after that of Moses to Joshua. . . . Baruch announces his impending death (44:2), transfers leadership from himself to his successors (44:2-3, chap. 45), exhorts them to preserve the people by teaching them the Torah (44:3, chap. 45), and delivers revelations about the immediate past (44:5) and the eschatological future (44:7-15).

and a clean heart (1:21, 23). Josephus, by contrast, had Moses announce that "their repentance would profit them naught amid those sufferings, for "God who created you will restore those cities to your citizens and the temple too; yet will they be lost not once, but often" (Antiq. 4:313-314). The Testament of Moses presented a fascinating extension of Moses' final words. It may have even indicated the "assumption" (*analempsis*) of Moses (see also Luke 9:51), and it clearly linked the apocalyptic timetable of vindication of the faithful martyrs "Taxo" and his sons with the glorious appearance of the "kingdom" to happy Israel (chapters 9-10). The royal Davidic expectation of the Psalms of Solomon stands in some contrast to all of these depictions of Moses the prophet, but Acts gathers both strains of testimony within a few verses (Acts 2-3).

Of course, each rendition of this scriptural heritage of theodicy had its particular turns. Jubilees' diagnosis of Israel's sin as walking after the uncleanness of the Gentiles (1:9) may illumine Acts' report that James and the elders in Jerusalem were eager to clear Paul of the charge of "teaching apostasy from Moses to the Jews who live among the Gentiles" (Acts 21:21). But Acts 3, in turn, points to Israel's failure to "listen" to the prophet like Moses as the sin which will cause the unrepentant to be "destroyed from the people," while the "restoration of all" still waits (Acts 3:21-23, Deut. 18:19, Lev. 23:29). And while Mark 9:12 and Matthew 17:11 interpret John's role in the eschatological drama of the "restoration of all" by reference to Malachi's (4:5) promise of Elijah, Luke's silence leaves the question of restoration open until the Messiah's last words on earth in Acts 1:6-8.

So also, several dimensions of Luke's presentation of Jesus' "departure" stand out more clearly when compared with these other interpretive extensions of Deuteronomy. Thoroughly imbued with the convictions and style of the scriptural histories, Luke-Acts shows particular affinities to Deuteronomy in its presentation of Jesus the prophet like Moses (see Acts 3:22-23; 7:37), its recitation of Israel's history as indictment calling for repentance (see especially Acts 7), and its presentation of Jesus' "exodus" as "fulfilled" in Jerusalem in accord with the words of Moses and Elijah (Luke 9:31, 51; Acts 1:11).

The key scriptural resource for Luke's interpretation of Jesus exaltation was the divine oracle of Isaiah 49:6: "It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel. I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth." Allusions or references were also made to this declaration in Simeon's prophetic oracles as the child Jesus was brought to the temple (Luke 2:29-35), in the conclusion of Paul's sermon in Antioch (13:47) and in Paul's final defense before Agrippa (26:23), with a probable allusion in the painful conclusion of Acts (28:28). Jesus' response to the disciples' question is not formulated in order to correct the readers' "christology" or "eschatology," but to introduce the whole narrative of Acts as a testimony to the deployment of the reign of God's Messiah through his twelve apostles who declare repentance and forgiveness to Israel.[14] First the twelve are restored (Acts 1:12-26). Then the Spirit is poured out upon devout Jews "from every nation under heaven" (Acts 2).

The logic is directly from 2 Isaiah: the promise of God's reign is not simply the restoration of the preserved of Israel, but the renewal of the vocation of Israel to be a light to the nations to the end of the earth. Have God's promises failed? No, the restoration which the exalted Jesus is now about to inaugurate through the Holy Spirit (the promise of the Father: Luke 24:49) is the renewal of Israel's prophetic calling in the world.

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[14]See Jervell, "The Twelve on Israel's Thrones," op. cit., 75-112. Note the crucial context of defining Jesus' "kingdom" in which Luke speaks of the session of the twelve, indicating that their "kingdom" is a present reality which anticipates the eschatological "kingdom" of the age of the messianic banquet (Luke 22:24-30).

And what is Israel's sin or apostasy from Moses which requires repentance? How shall the dire judgments of Deuteronomy be read by this interpreter among Jewish preachers of repentance? Repentance is required not for "idolatry" or "walking after the Gentiles in their uncleanness," but for the rejection of the prophet like Moses and the refusal of the reign of the exalted Lord who is David s Lord.

Acts does not introduce an "absentee Christology" to explain the delay of the parousia, nor does it uncritically adopt Greco-Roman traditions of the apotheosis of rulers or benefactors in order to develop a doctrine of Jesus' divine status. If its "christology" has been reduced to "soteriology" it is because the question of the salvation and restoration of Israel must be answered by all who would interpret "the present time" of the late first century in accord with the scriptural warnings and promises. If Jesus is to be Israel's Messiah and Lord, the inspired preaching of repentance unto forgiveness, the division in Israel, the ascendancy of Rome, and the expanding gentile mission of the Christian movement which follow in Acts must all be seen as integral to the restoration which the exalted Jesus has inaugurated. Until the "restoration of all that God spoke by the mouth of the holy prophets from of old" (Acts 3:21), the apostles and the evangelist together are witnesses to the salvation and dominion which God is exercising through the Messiah in the present time.

The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism[1]

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Of all the characteristics of early Christianity, probably the most distinctive was the cultic veneration of the exalted Jesus. In their gatherings for worship, Christians sang hymns in his honor, invoked his presence (1 Cor 16:22), baptized converts in his name.[2] very likely had rituals of "calling upon" Jesus and "confessing" him as "Lord" (Rom 10:9-12; 1 Cor 12:3), and in all this seem to have understood themselves as only reflecting the heavenly and eschatological veneration of Jesus referred to in Phil 2:9-11 and vividly pictured in Rev 5:1-14.[3] The Graeco-Roman world was full of gods and heroes to whom various kinds of worship were given, but Christians refused to give such honors to any save the God revealed in the Old Testament, and to Jesus (see, e.g., 1 Cor 8:5-6). In view of their refusal to reverence the many manifestations of divinity so widely venerated in their culture, their devotion to Jesus is all the more remarkable.

But this reverence for Jesus also gave their devotion a distinctive "binitarian shape" over against the Jewish tradition out of which Christianity first developed.[4] It is well known that ancient Jews jealously guarded the honor due to Yahweh alone, and set themselves apart from all other religious groups by their refusal to give worship to any other deity or demi-god. Although we do not possess direct statements by first-century Jewish leaders about what they thought of the early Christian reverence for the risen Jesus, it

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[1]This paper was written during a 1984-85 sabbatical year as Bye Fellow at Robinson College, Cambridge, England, and I thank the University of Manitoba for the leave, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a Leave Fellowship. I summarize here views and material to be dealt with more fully in a book manuscript tentatively titled, "One God, One Lord: The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism." Earlier versions of this paper were presented to seminars at the universities of Cambridge, Durham and Manchester.

[2]See L. Hartman, "Baptism 'Into the Name of Jesus' and Early Christology," *ST* 28 (1974) 21-48.

[3]A. W. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1962) 93-104, discusses briefly evidence of the worship of Jesus. I deal with the matter also in the book manuscript referred to in note 1. On the scene in Rev 4-5, see my article, "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies," forthcoming in *JSNT*.

[4]Although the later dogma and practice of the Church became more fully trinitarian in "shape," including the Holy Spirit along with God and Jesus as appropriate objects of cultic devotion, at the earliest stages it appears that Christian devotion was directed toward "God" and Jesus, "the Lord." When I describe their devotion as characterized by a "binitarian shape," I refer to the fact that, though their devotion was directed to two figures, they apparently saw themselves as faithful to the exclusive view of God that we call "monotheism," and did not intend their reverence for Jesus to threaten the unique position of God.

seems likely that to some of them at least Christians were guilty of violating the proper uniqueness of God. In Jewish rabbinic sources, which stem from the second century and later, it appears that Jewish Christians are included among the "heretics" who worship "two powers in heaven," and this may reflect the attitude of many loyal Jews of the first century as well.[5] It seems very possible, for example, that Paul's persecution of Jewish Christians prior to his "conversion" was occasioned, at least in part, by the reverence they gave to Jesus. Paul describes his change of heart as brought about because God "was pleased to reveal his Son to me" (Gal 1:16), suggesting that Paul's Damascus Road experience led him to embrace a view of Jesus' relationship to God that he, as one "so extremely zealous . . . for the traditions of my fathers," had been unable previously to accept.[6]

The cultic veneration of Jesus is remarkable, however, not only because it gave to early Christian devotion this distinctive "binitarian shape," but also because it seems to have begun at a very early stage of Christianity. Indeed, it appears that the cultic devotion to Jesus can be traced back to a Semitic language (and probably Palestinian) setting, and to a time when the young religious movement was a Jewish sect, well before the great influx of Gentiles that characterized Christianity from approximately the middle of the first century onward.

Bousset's classic historical investigation of the development of christology, a work that has dominated subsequent discussion, describes the cultic veneration of Jesus as the result of pagan influences and as originating only at a secondary stage of the early church, as it began to drift away from its Jewish monotheistic roots.[7] But we must recognize that the cumulative impact of research, especially in the last few decades, has brought into question various aspects of Bousset's presentation of the development of christology, including this matter.[8] In my judgment, Martin Hengel's brisk and direct handling of the chronological question persuasively summarizes the evidence that the decisive steps in christology, including cultic veneration of the exalted Jesus, began

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[5]See the excellent study by A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

[6]On the nature of Paul's "conversion" experience, see Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT, 4; Tübingen: Mohr, 1981). On Paul's persecution of Jewish Christians, see A. J. Hultgren, "Paul's Pre-Christian Persecutions of the Church: Their Purpose Locale, and Nature," *JBL* 95 (1976) 97-111. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), referring to Gal 5:1; 6:12; 1 Thess 2:16, writes, "Paul gives only one motive for persecution: the question of circumcision, and thus, by extrapolation, the question of the law" (p. 12). See also his *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 190-92. This observation is both technically correct and also misleading. Sanders overlooks the fact that the Pauline position regarding circumcision was based wholly on a view of the person of Jesus and, thereby, the significance of his crucifixion. Note that Gal 6:12 refers to being "persecuted for the cross of Christ." Note also Phil 3:4-11, with its strong christocentric language used to contrast Paul's new religious direction from his days as persecutor.

[7]W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913, 1921). The book was translated into English by J. E. Steely in 1970 (Nashville: Abingdon), demonstrating its continuing importance, and in the present essay I have used this translation. On the origin of Jesus veneration, see, e.g., p. 147, "This placing of Jesus in the center of the cultus of a believing community, this particular doubling of the object of veneration in worship, is conceivable only in an environment in which Old Testament monotheism no longer ruled unconditionally and with absolute security."

[8]In an earlier essay I summarized some of the ways in which recent research has shaken Bousset's construction: "New Testament Christology: A Critique of Bousset's Influence," *TS* 40(1979) 306-317.

within the dirst decade of the Christian movement, when the church was probably composed almost exclusively of Jewish believers.[9] This means that cultic devotion to Jesus began among people whose religious tradition had emphasized that worship could not be offered legitimately to any other figure than the God of Israel. That is, the old chestnut that the cultic veneration of Jesus did not characterize the "primitive community" and is to be explained as the result of the influence of pagan cults upon Christian converts among whom the traditional Jewish concern for the uniqueness of God was not a pressing matter will no longer wash, Bousset's fondness for this view notwithstanding.[10] The origin of the cultic veneration of Jesus lay among Jewish Christians, whose religious background would have prepared them to treat with grave suspicion the practices of the other religious groups of their time. Whatever religious influences they might have accommodated they would have had to perceive as, if not stemming from the Jewish tradition, at least compatible with that tradition.[11]

If we cannot rely on older theories about the direct influence of pagan religious practices to explain the rise of Jesus veneration, then only two possible factors remain: (1) the religious experiences of early Christian groups that prompted them to accord the risen Jesus the sort of veneration that their tradition reserved for God alone, thus producing a "mutation" in the tradition of monotheism; and (2) elements in the ancient Jewish tradition that may in fact have assisted the early Christians in accommodating the risen Jesus as an object of cultic devotion alongside God. I am of the opinion that the correct historical understanding of the origin of Jesus veneration must invoke both of these factors. That is, the veneration of Jesus began among Jewish Christians under the impact of what were for them experiences of the glory and power of the risen Jesus, glory and power that seemed to them to justify, and indeed demand, the sort of veneration they offered in response. I have in mind here such things as visions, prophecies, etc., in which the exalted Jesus was seen in glorious appearance and/or spoke through prophets with divine authority. And the result was what may be described as a new "mutation" in the traditional Jewish reverence for God, a mutation in which the risen Jesus was offered similar reverence without these Jewish Christians feeling that they had departed from their ancestral commitment to one God.

This is not to say that the later doctrine of the Trinity was already worked out in this earliest period of Christianity—far from it! Indeed, it must be emphasized that what appears to have happened is that the cultic veneration of Jesus, a *functional* re-definition of monotheism if you will, began well before there was (and came to demand) a developed intellectual re-definition such as the later Trinitarian conception.[12] This cultic

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[9]M. Hengel, "Christology and New Testament Chronology: A Problem in the History of Earliest Christianity," *Between Jesus and Paul* (London: SCM, 1983) 30-47.

[10]Cf. M. Casey, "Chronology and the Development of Pauline Christology," in M. D. Hooker, S. G. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C. K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982) 124-34, who, along with some interesting suggestions, repeats uncritically the notion that the decisive adaptation of Jewish monotheism is to be attributed to the influence of Gentile converts.

[11]This is not to minimize the fact, however, that what the earliest Christians perceived as compatible with their heritage was not always considered such by other Jews. But the basis for this disagreement lay in the fact that the early Christians were guided in their interpretation of their tradition by their religious experiences, which centered in the person of the exalted Jesus as mediated to the early communities by the power which they identified as the Holy Spirit.

[12]See the discussion of the importance of early liturgical practice and "devotion to Christ" in the formation of christology in E. Schillebeeckx, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology* (New York: Seabury, 1979) 565-567. See also M. Hengel, "Hymn and Christol-

veneration of Jesus probably also preceded, and perhaps helped to prompt, the development of particular christological doctrines such as the "pre-existence" of Christ. Certainly in a monotheistic context the cultic veneration of a figure is a more fundamental development than the idea that the figure might have enjoyed an existence prior to his earthly life.[13]

But, if these early believers offered to Jesus veneration like that which they accorded to God, and did so without the benefit of the later Christian theological reflection, did they have no thoughts about what they were doing? Further, did the Jewish tradition which was the matrix in which their faith was born provide them any resources for understanding and accommodating the conviction about the exalted position of the risen Jesus to which their religious experiences drove them? What I wish to suggest is that the ancient Jewish tradition, with its keen emphasis upon the uniqueness of God, also contained elements that to some extent might have assisted the first Christians in coping theologically with the idea that Jesus had been given a heavenly position and role second only to God himself. To be more precise, although the idea that this particular man, with the stigma of crucifixion about him, might have been chosen for this position was apparently repugnant to Jews such as Paul in his days as persecutor of the Church, the basic idea that some figure might hold some such position does not have seem to have been as difficult to accept.

Divine Agency in Ancient Judaism

It is well known in scholarly circles that the literature of post-exilic Judaism contains many references to various heavenly figures who are described as participating in some way in God's rule of the world and his redemption of the elect. A great deal of scholarly effort has been spent discussing the references to these figures and debating what they signify. It is neither necessary nor convenient in the space of this essay to introduce these figures at length, and I shall confine myself to a few points important for understanding ancient Jewish monotheism.

First, it is my contention that the references in question reflect an interest in what I shall term "divine agency," although the religious needs behind the interest varied and, accordingly, the interest manifests itself in varying forms. We may classify this broad interest in "divine agency" as follows: (1) interest in divine attributes and powers, such as Wisdom or Philo's Logos; (2) interest in exalted patriarchs, such as Moses, Enoch, and others; and (3) interest in chief angel figures, such as Michael, Iaoel and (probably) the Melchizedek of *11QMelchizedek*. In describing these as all examples of "divine agency," I mean that they all picture one or another figure acting on God's behalf, or representing God in some major and distinctive capacity. Of course, we could broaden the concept of divine agency to include prophets, priests, OT kings such as David, and Messiah(s) but the types of figures chosen here are all pictured as either heavenly in origin or as exalted to a heavenly status, and they seem to take on more directly the properties associated with divinity than do the earthly figures described as acting on God's behalf. Needless to say, their heavenly status also makes them considerably closer to the kind of position ascribed

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ogy," in E. A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Biblica 1972: III* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1980) 173-97, reprinted in Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 78-96.

[13] I cite with approval the following comments: "In the development of Christology in the primitive church, the emergence of the worship of Jesus is a significant phenomenon. In the exclusive monotheism of the Jewish tradition, as distinct from some other kinds of monotheism, it was worship which was the real test of monotheistic faith in religious practice." R. Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity," *NTS* 27 (1980-81) 322.

to the risen Jesus in the early Church. Most importantly for the origins of christology, the figures mentioned here are each described as representing God in a special capacity, and stand in a heavenly position second only to God himself.

Second, I suggest that this apparently widespread and diverse interest in "divine agency" may indicate that ancient Jews were, far more than has been commonly recognized, able to accommodate this or that heavenly chief agent in quite exalted terms, without feeling that commitment to one God had been compromised. This in turn may mean that, when the early Jewish Christians came to the conviction that the risen Jesus had been placed "at God's right hand," and given all authority and power for the redemption of the elect, they were better able to accommodate this conviction because the idea that there might be such a heavenly position next to God had already been explored in some ways in the various forms of "divine agency" speculation referred to here. That is, the developments I have classified under the heading of "divine agency" may have given the earliest Christians a conceptual starting place for accommodating theologically the exaltation of Jesus. In order to make this conceptual starting place a bit clearer, I would like to offer a few observations about the types of "divine agency" referred to earlier.

Personified Divine Attributes

Let us begin with the description of divine attributes as divine agents. Perhaps the first thing to indicate is that I must align myself with those scholars who insist that it is a mistake to take references to personified Wisdom, Logos, etc., as evidence of "hypostases" in ancient Jewish theology. The term "hypostasis" is anachronistic (deriving from the later Christian speculation about the person of Christ and the Tri-une God), and in my judgment not particularly helpful for understanding the Jewish texts. Quite bluntly, to interpret the personalized references to divine Wisdom, Torah, Logos, the Name, etc., as indications that the writers understood these phenomena as actual beings alongside God amounts to the sort of interpretive mistake linguists describe as confusing "sentence meaning" with "utterance meaning," and reflects an insensitivity to the stylistic traits of ancient Jewish writers.[14]

In a sense, then, we are not really speaking of "divine agents" when we refer to these items, for, unlike the exalted patriarchs and chief angels, Wisdom and Logos were not really considered to be independent beings in God's service but were ways of speaking of God's own actions. But I have included these phenomena as one type of "divine agency" because they are examples of the *language* of divine agency, even though, as I have said, the language must not be pressed woodenly. My point is that the "divine agency" language

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[14]The terms "sentence meaning" and "utterance meaning" derive from modern linguistics. "Sentence meaning" is the simple meaning of the individual words and the grammatical constructions in which they are placed. "Utterance meaning" is the meaning of the sentence *seen in its full context*. See, e.g., J. Lyon, *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1981) 137-144. G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1967) surveys all so-called "hypostases," showing them to be best understood as psychological and stylistic phenomena of ancient Jewish writers. See also A. Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) 92-96, for a recent treatment of the matter from the standpoint of modern linguistics. The view criticized here is most fully represented in H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: Haken Ohlssons, 1947), esp. 89-193. His view is accepted uncritically by, e.g., J. Fossum, "The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: The Origins of the Idea of Intermediation in Gnosticism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Utrecht, 1982, forthcoming in 1985 in the WUNT series, Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck]).

used to describe them is one indication that the concept was familiar and accepted in ancient Judaism, in both Alexandrian (Philo) and Palestinian (Ben Sira) circles, and among obviously loyal Jews. Also, of course, it appears that the language used to describe Wisdom, Torah and Logos was in fact drawn upon at some point to describe the significance and role of the exalted Christ, as is well known in scholarly circles (e.g., Col 1:15-20; John 1:1-14).

The religious causes behind this language were, I think, basically two. First, there was the desire to emphasize the importance of a particular virtue or attribute by describing it as God's agent. For example, Proverbs 8:22-31 seems clearly intended to magnify and identify Wisdom by making it the companion of God before the world. Or, in Ben Sira 24, the writer glorifies "the law which Moses commanded us" (v. 23) by identifying it with divine Wisdom, which he personifies as a heavenly being prominent among God's heavenly assembly (vv. 1-7).

In other cases, however, we may see another religious cause at work: the desire to describe God's actions with appropriate reverence, so that the reality of God's actions is upheld while maintaining at the same time that he is far greater than any of his actions indicate. Thus, Philo's description of the Logos seems to be prompted by such a motive. At the risk of great oversimplification, the Logos may be seen (in at least some examples!) as Philo's way of referring to God as he deigns to encounter and act upon the created world, and as he can be perceived in these actions. So, the Logos is "God," but is not God absolutely and in full scope. Though his language is heavily philosophical in the terms of his day, Philo also illustrates for us another example of the concept of "divine agency" in his description of the role of Logos. Thus, Philo can refer to the Logos as if it were an intermediary between God and the world, acting on God's behalf as his vice-regent or grand vizier. It would be a mistake to press Philo's figurative language too literally, but, at the same time his language shows how the concept of "divine agency" was known among ancient Jews and was acceptable language to employ in describing God's relationship to the world.

Exalted Patriarchs

When we turn to the descriptions of the exalted patriarchs, such as Moses or Enoch, we are dealing unarguably with figures distinct from God who are pictured as given a glorious place of heavenly power and honor. There is, for example, the amazingly exalted language Philo used to describe Moses' significance in God's plan, a matter discussed quite fully by Goodenough some time ago now and by other scholars since, such as W. A. Meeks, who demonstrated that Philo reflects an exaltation of Moses found in a wide array of ancient Jewish and Samaritan sources.[15] Thus, Philo can speak of Moses as made "deity" (*eis theon*, referring to Exod 7:1) in several places (e.g., *Sac* 1-10; *Mos* 1:155-158; but cf. *Det* 161f.), and in general makes him God's vice-regent on earth, who serves in a paradigmatic capacity for all others who could come to God.[16]

There is a similar view of Moses reflected in the fragmentary *Exagōgē* of Ezekiel the

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[15]E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University, 1935) 199-234; W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (Leiden: Brill, 1967); idem, "Moses as God and King," in J. Neusner (ed.), *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 354-371; idem, "The Divine Agent and His Counterfeit in Philo and the Fourth Gospel," in E. S. Fiorenza (ed.), *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University, 1976) 43-67.

[16]See the full discussion of Philo's "deification" of Moses in C. R. Holladay, *Theios Anēr in Hellenistic Judaism* (SBLDS 40; Missoula: Scholars, 1977) 103-69.

Tragedian, where Moses apparently dreams of God giving him his own sceptre and throne, signifying that Moses is to be made God's vice-regent.[17] And in the *Testament* [or *Assumption*] *of Moses* he is described as having been devised and "prepared from the beginning of the world, to be the mediator [Latin—"*arbiter*"] of his covenant: (1:14-15).

We may also note the impressive place of Enoch in ancient Jewish apocalyptic literature.[18] In *Jubilees* 4:17-25, he is presented as having been given full knowledge of heavenly secrets and as having been made the heavenly recorder of human deeds and the altogether righteous witness against the sins of humankind (see also 10:17). There is also the interesting passage in *1 Enoch* 71:14-17, where he is apparently designated the "Son of Man"/"Chosen One," who is described, e.g., in 46:1-8 and 48:1-8 as the leader of the elect and the heavenly judge who acts on God's behalf in the eschaton. Of course, in later tradition, as reflected in *3 Enoch* 9-12, Enoch is identified with Metatron, who is designated "the lesser YHWH" (12:5; cf. 48C:7).[19]

Other OT worthies are given great honor also. In *Testament of Abraham* 11 (Recension A) Adam is pictured with a terrifying appearance and adorned with much glory upon a golden throne; and in 12-13 we are shown Abel similarly glorified and acting as judge of the entire creation until God's eschatological judgment. There is also the striking passage in Origen (*Comm. in Ioann.* II,31; with a further fragment in *Philocalia* XXIII, 15) quoted from what he calls a Jewish document entitled *The Prayer of Joseph*, in which Jacob describes himself as "an angel of God and a ruling spirit," and claims to be "the firstborn of every living thing," "the first minister before the face of God," "the archangel of the power of the Lord and the chief captain among the sons of God."[20]

It is risky to offer an opinion about the religious motives behind the portrayal of all these figures in these diverse ancient writings. I suggest, however, that the exalted patriarchs were intended primarily to serve as paradigmatic figures, in whose exaltation Israel, the elect, were to see their own destiny and hope prefigured, and their own status in the eyes of God confirmed, over against the insignificant position they occupied in the eyes of the earthly powers.[21] The suggestion of some, that the stories of the ascended

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[17]See now the full-scale study by H. Jacobson, *The* Exagoge *of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983). The dream is related and interpreted in lines 68-89 (pp. 54-55 of Jacobson). See also C. R. Holladay, "The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1976* (Missoula: Scholars, 1976) 447-52; H. Jacobson, "Mysticism and Apocalyptic in Ezekiel's Exagoge," *Illinois Classical Studies* 6 (1981) 272-93; P. Van Der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 (1983) 21-29; idem, "Some Notes on the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel," *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984) 354-75.

[18]See now J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984), but his study is limited to the early stages of the Enoch tradition and deals mainly with derivation of the features of the tradition. Cf. P. Grelot, "La légende d'Henoch dans les apocryphes et dans la bible," *RSR* 46 (1958) 5-26, 181-210.

[19]See the excellent discussion and translation of *3 Enoch* by P. Alexander in J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983) 223-315.

[20]The quotations are from the translation given in J. Z. Smith, "The Prayer of Joseph," in J. Neusner (ed.), *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 253-294. The Greek text appears in A.-M. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae Supersunt Graeca Una Cum Historicorum et Auctorum Judaeorum Hellenistarum Fragmentis* (Leiden: Brill, 1970) 61-62.

[21]There is surprisingly little discussion of the religious meaning and function of the stories of the exaltation of the patriarchs for ancient Jews. See W. A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," esp. 365-371, who lists four possible functions but omits the one sug-

patriarchs were intended to guarantee the validity of the esoteric teachings of the groups who produced the stories, is not adequate to account for the phenomenon we are discussing. We must reckon with the fact that the theme of the exalted patriarchs was by no means the exclusive property of a few esoteric groups, but instead appears across a wide spectrum of ancient Jewish materials. Further, although one can imagine that the stories of the heavenly ascensions of the OT figures served in some texts to authenticate the information (or the ethical instructions, as in *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) given in them, this does not explain the theme of heavenly *enthronement*.[22] But the enthronement of these ideal figures makes perfect sense, given the social situation of post-exilic Judaism, as incentive for ethical action and as a vivid picture of bright hope for divine vindication.[23]

Chief Angels

Of all the types of divine agency discussed in ancient Jewish literature, perhsps the most striking is the role of certain chief angel figures. The apparent surge of interest in angels in post-exilic Judaism is well known among scholars.[24] In the descriptions of the heavenly ascent of OT figures, we are informed about the various ranks of angelic beings assigned an array of tasks, and usually portrayed as occupying various heavenly strata (e.g., *2 Enoch* 4-21; *T. Levi* 3; cf. *Jub* 2:2). Nearer to the throne of God there are special classes of heavenly beings (e.g., *1 Enoch* 71:7), such as the *chayyoth* (the "living creatures," deriving from Ezek 1:4-14), the *ophannim* (the "wheels" of Ezek 1:15-21, seen as living beings), the *seraphim* (from Isa 6:2), and the *cherubim* (known from the tabernacle furnishings in Exod 25:18-20), which seem to be especially connected with the heavenly liturgy. There are also high classes of angels, such as archangels and "angels of the presence" (e.g., *T. Levi* 3:5; *T. Jud.* 25:2; *Jub* 1:27-29), which have special authority over the other angels and carry out particular tasks, such as interceding for Israel (e.g., *1 En* 20:1-7).

Much more important for the present discussion, however, is the fact that some of the ancient texts refer to a particular angel in terms which distinguish him from all other heavenly creatures and associate him quite closely with God. The names given to this angel vary, but behind the variations there seems to be a commonly shared conception of a heavenly position something like the grand vizier of oriental courts.[25] We encounter Michael, God's "mediator" and "*archistratig*" (*2 En* 33:10; *T. Dan* 6:1-5; *T. Abr.* 1:4; cf. *Adam and Eve* 14:1-2). There is also the Eremiel of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (6:1-15), whom the seer initially mistakes for God; Iaoel of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (10-11), in

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gested here. See also B. L. Mack, "Imitatio Mosis: Patterns of Cosmology and Soteriology in the Hellenistic Synagogue," *Studia Philonica* 1 (1972) 27-55; and P. Grelot, "La légende d'Henoch," esp. 198-210.

[22]See the similar argument by Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 369. On the importance of heavenly secrets in apocalyptic literature, see now C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SCM, 1982).

[23]For example, *Testament of Moses* 10:9 sets before the elect the hope that God will set them "above the stars where he himself dwells," a striking parallel to the exaltations of the patriarchal figures.

[24]See the survey of post-exilic references to angels in P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1975) 9-74. See also H. B. Kuhn, "The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Apocalypses," *JBL* 67 (1948) 217-232.

[25]See F. Stier, *Gott und sein Engel im Alten Testament* (Münster: Aschendorffschen, 1934) for discussion of the concept "*Wesir Jahwes*."

whom God's ineffable name dwells; and the mysterious angel of *Ascension of Isaiah* (7:2-4), whose name cannot be given. Also, there is the Melchizedek of the Qumran fragment called *11Q Melchizedek*, who seems to be a heavenly being and is identified as the "*Elohim*" of Psalm 82:1.[26] From several centuries later, we have *Hebrew Enoch* (*3 Enoch*) with its description of Metatron, the "lesser *YHWH*" (12:5), who is given a throne like God's (10:1), and before whom the other angels prostrate themselves (14:5). This figure is a bit unusual, in that he is said to be the patriarch Enoch, now transformed into angelic nature and made the chief prince of God (4:1-5; 9:1-5). He could, therefore, be considered either a chief angel or an exalted patriarch. In either case, the figure is an example of the sort of divine agent idea I am pointing to in ancient Judaism.

In recent years, several scholars have attempted to trace the origins of the chief angel figure in earlier developments in Jewish tradition.[27] In particular, they have pointed to the theophany scenes of Ezekiel 1 and 8 and Daniel 7 and 10, arguing that these passages reflect the development of a second divine figure alongside God. M. Black has described the scene in Daniel 7:9-14 as representing "a theology which seems virtually ditheistic," and understands the figure "like a son of man" as a second divinity.[28] C. Rowland argues that the passages show a separation of the divine glory (*kabod*, described in a human shape) from the throne, with the *kabod* pictured functioning as the agent of the divine will and the companion of the divine throne.[29] He understands the chief angel figures, such as Iaoel, as later adaptations of this idea, and argues that this explains the similarities of the descriptions of these chief angel figures to the descriptions of God in OT theophanies. If these scholars are correct, they are pointing to a major and striking phenomenon in ancient Jewish religious thought. I think, however, that there are good reasons for withholding assent to their conclusions.

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[26]The most recent study is P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981). See also F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A. D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976). On Qumran angelology, see S. F. Noll, "Angelology in the Qumran Texts," (Ph.D. thesis, Manchester, 1979).

[27]M. Black, "The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the 'Son of Man': A Study in Tradition-History," in R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (eds.), *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 57-73; C. Rowland, "The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev. 1:13ff.: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology," *JTS* 31 (1980) 1-11; idem, *The Open Heaven*, 94-113. See also J. E. Fossum, "The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord," and idem, "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism," *VC* 37 (1983) 260-87, who likewise argues for an incipient binitarianism in Jewish circles. Fossum elaborates and extends the suggestions of his mentor, G. Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament," in J. P. Hyatt (ed.), *The Bible and Modern Scholarship* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 252-71; idem, "The Origins of the Gnostic Demiurge," in P. Granfield, J. A. Jungman (eds.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1970) 1:272-76, and is thus mainly concerned to argue that the Gnostic doctrine of the demiurge developed from Jewish ideas of a second quasi-divine being, which he believes is reflected in the principal angel figure.

[28]Black, "The Throne-Theophany," 61. It should be noted, however, that Black then goes on to argue that Daniel 7 shows the adaptation of this kind of theology into the idea that Israel is to achieve "apotheosis," and that later texts such as *3 Enoch* show the further adaptation of this view into the idea of the apotheosis of messianic figures such as Enoch.

[29]Rowland, "Vision," 4-8, and *The Open Heaven* 94-113.

In the first place, we are never told what might have provoked what would appear to be a radical development in ancient Jewish theology. Rowland certainly notes some interesting verbal connections of the passages he examines and offers suggestions about the "trajectory" of the tradition he thinks he can trace in the texts. But he never tells us what might have caused ancient Jews such as Ezekiel to think of the *kabod* as separating from the *Merkavah* and functioning as agent of the divine will. Yet surely the plausibility of his hypothesis of such a development in the ancient Jewish conception of God depends to a great extent upon his being able to explain the factors in the life of Israel that would have led to, and would make sense of, this development.

Still, we might be prepared to overlook this failure if the interpretation of the texts offered were compelling, but here lies another problem. Let us begin with the texts in Ezekiel. The description of the figure of Ezekiel 8:2 is very similar to the description of God in 1:26-28, and thus *may* be the same figure, as Rowland wishes, although this cannot be taken for granted.[30] In Rowland's view, this figure is the divine *kabod* seen in 1:26-28, now removed from the throne and functioning as divine agent. Rowland seems to build his case for the view that the *kabod* is shown separated from the throne on the fact that no divine throne is explicitly mentioned in the passage, but neither is it explicitly mentioned that the *kabod* has separated from the throne. And in 8:4 the writer says that he saw the glory of God "like the vision that I saw in the plain" (referring to Ezek 1:4-28), which suggests that no major development such as Rowland imagines has taken place. Yet it seems to me that Rowland makes his interpretation of Ezek 8:2-4 crucial for the rest of his case. If this passage does not clearly show the bifurcation of divinity he alleges, then his basis for his interpretation of the later texts is considerably weakened.[31]

Thus, his interpretation of the figure in Daniel 10:5-21 as a later form of the divine *kabod*, here separated from the throne and acting as agent of God, seems unconvincing to me.[32] As evidence for his view, Rowland asserts that the description of the figure is dependent upon Ezek 1:26-28 and 8:1-4, but the only feature shared by the figure in Daniel 10 is skin the color of bronze (Dan 10:6; Ezek 8:2; 1:27). Although the figure in Daniel 10 is not named, it is fairly certainly a prominent angel. The figure is sent by God (vv. 11-12), and requires the assistance of Michael in struggles with what are apparently the angel princes of the world empires (vv. 13-14, 20-21), hardly what one would expect of the divine *kabod* itself. The fact that in Rev 1:12-16 there seem to be one or two echoes of Dan 10:5-6 is interesting but hardly proof that the figure in the latter passage is to be seen as a divine being.[33]

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[30]It must be remembered that angels are frequently described in terms very similar to the theophanies. So in Ezek 8:2 is the figure described like God or simply like a heavenly being? Cf., e.g., Judges 13:6; Dan 3:25; 10:2-9; *2 En* 1:5; *T. Abr* 16:6; *Apoc Zeph* 6:11-15; *Apoc Abr* 11; *Joseph & Asenath* 14:4-12, for examples of the appearances of angels. See also *1 En* 106:5-12, where the child Noah is described in very similar terms, his appearance suggesting to his family that he is sent from heaven.

[31]Rowland's reference to Ezek 10:4 as proof that Ezekiel knew of "the independence of God's *kabod* from the throne-chariot" seems mistaken. The passage has nothing to do with the supposed bifurcation of God, but concerns the relationship between the divine presence and the Jerusalem temple (cf. 9:1-11:25; and, very importantly, after each of its movements the divine glory returns to its position over the cherubim (cf. 10:18-19; 11:22). There is movement of the *kabod* in this passage, but no permanent separation of it from the throne.

[32]Cf. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 98-100.

[33]Though Rowland refers to the "extensive use of Daniel 10:5f. in the description of the Risen Christ" in Rev 1:12-16, the only feature in the latter passage that must derive from the former in particular is the golden girdle. The other features of the description

Also, Rowland's understanding of the Iaoel figure in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* seems flawed.[34] He is probably right that the description of Iaoel in chapter 11 reflects certain features found in OT theophanies,[35] and this accords with other indications that this angel has a special relationship with God. His name is of course derived from *YHWH* and *El*, reflecting the fact that he claims to be indwelt by God's name (10:8; probably an allusion to Exod 23:20-21), and the tasks and powers he claims for himself are certainly impressive (10:9-17). All of this suggests that Iaoel is an example of the chief angel figures which are characteristically described as appointed by God to a unique status and role. But Rowland's attempt to make Iaoel a later form of the divine *kabod* which has left the throne and is here to be seen as the agent of the divine will does not, in my judgment, succeed.

First, as indicated earlier, his interpretation of Ezek 8:2-4 as describing the separation of the divine *kabod* from the throne, which is the basis for his view of Iaoel, is unconvincing. But further, he simply errs in stating that *Apoc Abr* describes the divine throne as empty.[36] In 16:3-4, Iaoel tells Abraham that "the Eternal One" will come toward him, but that Abraham "will not look at him himself." Then, in 17:1-2, Abraham sees fire coming toward him and "a voice in the fire like a voice of many waters"; then, he *and Iaoel* bow down and worship. In 18:1-14, the writer pictures the divine throne and the living creatures which accompany it. Rowland takes the absence here of a description of *a figure* on the throne to mean that the throne is empty, but this is surely a *non-sequitur*! The throne is not said to be empty, and we are told that above the throne is the fire mentioned in chapter 17, which seems to be the writer's way of picturing God. This means only that the writer, who has already been told that he cannot see God directly (16:3-4), does not engage in the anthropomorphic descriptions of God such as found in Ezekiel 1:26-28 (a reluctance shown also by the author of Rev 4). This reluctance to portray God as a human is interesting, but hardly evidence of a separation of the divine *kabod* from the throne.

I can only conclude that the attempt to interpret these passages as containing hints of an incipient di-theism in ancient Judaism is unsuccessful.[37] In my view, the chief angels of the post-exilic literature are not softened forms of the divine *kabod* but are one type of figure pictured as given a special place before God and a special role and significance in his work. In other words, the chief angel figure is not a later mutation of what was earlier thought of as a second divinity, but, instead, represents the elevation of one of God's heavenly servants to a place of honor and responsibility second only to God. Along with OT patriarchs such as Moses, and personified attributes such as Wisdom, the chief angels are examples of the ancient Jewish interest in what I have called "divine agency." These all show a widespread tendency in ancient Judaism to portray God as having appointed a particular figure to act as his chief agent, and as having given this figure the privilege of bearing a measure of divine glory. That is, the God who is incomparable and who is said to share his glory with no other (Isa 42:8) is described as having done what seems, in some respects, to amount to this very thing. Yet the idea that God

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of Christ are either fairly likely taken from other passages such as Dan 7:9 and Ezek 1:22-28, or are only vaguely similar to features in the angelophany in Dan 10. Cf. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 100-101.

[34]Ibid., 101-103.

[35]The likening of Iaoel's headcovering to a rainbow, 11:3, may derive from Ezek 1:28. The description of his hair as "like snow," 11:2, may derive from Dan 7:9.

[36]Cf. Rowland, "Vision," 6-7.

[37]See also I. Chernus, "Visions of God in Merkabah Mysticism," *JSJ* 13 (1983) 123-46, who argues that early Jewish mystics did not distinguish between God and some visible manifestation of his glory.

might share his glory with one of his servants does not seem characteristically to have led to the idea that this servant is truly "divine" in the sense that he should be worshipped. And the fact that worship was not offered to such figures should warn us against sweeping interpretations about the meaning of beings such as the principal angel figure who is said to bear the divine name.[38]

I have already offered suggestions as to the religious motives behind portraying divine attributes and OT heroes in such a role, and now I wish to deal briefly with the probable motive behind the description of chief angels in this status. It must be noted that the chief angel figure is related to the angelic hierarchy which seems to have become a familiar feature of Jewish thought in the post-exilic period, and I suggest that the historical setting helps to explain the development of both. From the exile onward, Israel was under the domination of a succession of imperial powers. Her own significance seemed marginal, and the most powerful realities were the might and structure of the empires which dominated the whole world. In ancient Jewish thought, Israel's God was so closely tied to the nation that the apparent insignificance of the latter must have raised questions about the significance of the former as well. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that in this same period Jews portrayed their God as the great heavenly king with a massive and many-tiered hierarchy of heavenly servants. In other words, the angelic hierarchy so popular in post-exilic Judaism may be seen as an attempt to defend the significance and power of Israel's God. Over against the apparent earthly insignificance of Israel, God's elect, God is shown to be the true king over all in the sphere of ultimate reality, the heavenlies, and his might and awesomeness are portrayed by means of the most impressive model of earthly power, the imperial court and its hierarchy of subordinates.[39]

In spite of the repeated assertions of various scholars, there is no clear evidence that the portrayal of an angelic hierarchy resulted from a sense of God's alienation and distance from Israel and the world.[40] The few attempts made to examine the indications of Jewish piety of the post-exilic period show that God was perceived as fully accessible to the prayer of the pious, and that it was believed that God acted in the world both through his angelic servants and directly.[41] The elaborate descriptions of God's angelic hierarchy,

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[38]See the remarks on worship of "divine agents" in the following pages.

[39]See E. Peterson, *Der Monotheismus als politische Problem* (Leipzig: Jacob Hegner, 1935).

[40]The view rejected here finds classic expression in W. Bousset, H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: 1926) 302-357. Similar assertions are found, e.g., in Stier, *Gott und sein Engel*, 80; and I. Gruenwald, "Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," ANRW II. 19. 1:96.

[41]See H. J. Wicks, *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature* (New York: Ktav, 1971, originally published 1915), esp. 120-129; and N. B. Johnson, *Prayer in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Study of the Jewish Concept of God* (SBLMS, 2; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1948). In the latter work, cf. p. 65, where the author makes the standard assertion that the belief in God's angelic agents must mean that God was seen as removed from the world, and p. 69, where he implicitly retracts this assertion for lack of evidence: "Although a belief in angels should logically [?] suggest that God is remote from our world, the Jew evidently felt no compulsion to abandon faith in God's immanence." As only one example, see the prayer in *2 Bar* 48:1-24, where the speaker refers to God's "innumerable hosts" (v. 10) and yet appeals simply and directly to God himself to hear and to act (vv. 11-24). On the study of ancient Jewish piety, see J. H. Charlesworth, "A Prolegomenon to a New Study of the Jewish Background of the Hymns and Prayers in the New Testament," *JSJ* 33 (1982) 265-285.

thus, are not indications of a softening of monotheistic faith but the opposite! The point of the descriptions is to say, "Do you see how great our God is, who has such a vast and powerful retinue to do nothing but serve him?"

Having described God's significance by employing the model of the imperial court and government, ancient Jews no doubt found it appropriate to allow for the position of the grand vizier, the head of the imperial retinue, and this clearly seems to be the model for the chief angel figures we meet. To be sure, there were also elements in the Israelite tradition that must have seemed to encourage and assist in this conception, such as the references to the angel in whom God's name dwells in Exod 23:20-21, and the "commander of the army of the Lord" in Josh 5:13-15. Indeed, we may imagine that the idea that God (as any earthly emperor) might have such a chief servant would have excited various speculations about who it might be and what his significance was.

But the chief angel figure was more than just an appropriate court position that seemed to have some interesting justification in Jewish tradition. The meaning of the figure is indicated partly by the function he plays in the various texts. Where the chief angel is Michael (e.g., *T. Abr* 1:4-5; *Adam and Eve* 14:1-2), the point is that the greatest of God's heavenly servants is the one who has a special responsibility for Israel (Dan 12:1), and vice versa. In texts where the chief angel bears some other name, it still seems that he functions as encouragement to the Jewish readers. Great power that he is, this angel characteristically conducts the OT patriarch through the heavenly strata to a vision of the divine throne, and to a heavenly exaltation. That is, God's chief servant, second only to God in heavenly authority, is ordered by God to act as the personal guide of a patriarchal figure, whose ascent and exaltation assures and prefigures the exaltation of the elect.

Divine Agency and the Veneration of Jesus

In this paper I have described briefly the evidence of a widescale interest in what I have termed "divine agency" in ancient Judaism, and I have suggested some of the religious and historical factors that may have prompted this interest and to which it may have spoken. In my view, the evidence of an interest in divine agency shows that a wide variety of ancient Jewish monotheism was able to tolerate the concept that God had a chief servant to whom he had given such authority and significance that this servant was second only to God himself. Indeed, ancient Jewish thought seems, at one time at least, to have been comfortable with the idea that God had associated such a figure so closely with himself that the figure could be regarded as bearing in some measure the divine glory.[42]

Although I do not have the space here to argue the point fully, I wish to suggest that what I have termed the concept of "divine agency" may have provided the first Christians with traditional materials with which to begin to accommodate the exalted Jesus in their theology. When their visions of the risen Jesus and other religious experiences revealed to them that Jesus had been given heavenly glory, this Jewish tradition of "divine agency" facilitated the earliest reflection upon these experiences, and helped to shape the earliest christology.[43] Thus, in a thoroughly Jewish monotheistic setting it was

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[42]It appears that by the second century Jewish leaders were finding reasons to back away from this idea, perhaps under the impact of polemics with Christians and Gnostics. See P. Alexander, "The Targumim and Early Exegesis of 'Sons of God' in Gen. 6," *JJS* 23 (1972) 68-69, who notes a polemic against angelology in Judaism of the second century and later. See also A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*.

[43]Of course, we may even think of this tradition as the conceptual "grid" through which the risen Jesus was experienced, although the experiences seem to have carried the early Christians beyond the characteristic contours of "divine agency" tradition.

possible for the early Christians to think of Jesus as exalted to a position of glory next to God himself, and as made something like the grand vizier of the imperial court.

But the early Christians seem very quickly to have produced a new mutation in Jewish monotheism, for which the concept of divine agency is no full analogy. And the key indication of this is the fact that at a very early point Jewish Christians began the veneration of the risen Jesus in cultic forms ordinarily reserved for giving worship to God, such as hymns and prayers, which formed part of the corporate cultic activities of early Christian conventicles.[44] That is, the Christian mutation in Jewish monotheism is first recognizable by the distinctively binitarian shape of its *corporate devotional practice*. In spite of claims to the contrary, the evidential basis for the assertion that the worship of angels, patriarchs or divine attributes was a regular part of the cultic activities of Jewish religious groups is, to say the least, very slender indeed.[45] Indeed, the early Jewish apocalyptic literature in which the chief angels play such a major role contains clear indications of a concern to prevent worship of any being but God.[46] In

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[44]These cultic actions have received attention in several essays recently. See M. Hengel, "Hymn and Christology"; R. P. Martin, "Some Reflections on New Testament Hymns," in H. H. Rowdon (ed.), *Christ the Lord: Studies in Christology Presented to Donald Guthrie* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1982) 37-49; R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

[45]In the 13 volumes of E. R. Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York: Pantheon, 1953-1968), his claim of Jewish worship of angels rests mainly upon a curse inscription on a gravestone from Delos (vol. 2, pp. 145-146). But see A. Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927) 414-418, who shows that the invocation "keeps well within the bounds of the Biblical creed" (418), citing Ps 103:20 as analogy. It is perilous to base too much on the sort of polemical remark found in the *Kerygma Petrou* (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* VI. 5. 39-41), for this is clearly a Christian polemical interpretation of Jewish rites, and no indication of actual Jewish intentions, as shown in M. Simon, "Remarques sur l'angélolâtrie juive au debut de l'ère chrétienne," *Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, comptes rendus des seances de l'annee 1971* 120-35. M. Hengel's reference to a "pre-Christian angel cult under Jewish influence, e.g., in Phrygia" is apparently based on the assumption that Col 2:18 refers to the worship of angels and reflects pre-Christian practice among Jews, *The Son of God* (London: SCM, 1976) 85, n. 146. But see F. O. Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. 2:18," *Studia Theologica* 16 (1962) 109-134; W. Carr, *Angels and Principalities: The Background, Meaning and Development of the Pauline Phrase hai archai kai hai exousia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1981) 69-71; and C. A. Evans, "The Colossian Mystics," *Biblica* 63 (1982) 188-205. M. Casey, "Chronology and the Development of Pauline Christology," in M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C. K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982) asserts (p. 127) that prayer is addressed to Moses in Philo (referring to *De Somn.* I. 164-165), but the passage hardly bears such an interpretation, for the "invocation" of Moses is obviously a rhetorical device and in no way reflects the actual cultic practices of Philo. I discuss the case for Jewish worship of angels more fully in the book manuscript mentioned in note 1 above.

[46]See R. Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity." Rabbinic prohibitions against sacrifice to Michael and worship of angels are discussed in P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* 67-74, and in W. Leuken, *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 4-12, but the latter's views have been treated far too uncritically in subsequent scholarship.

short, my view is that, on the one hand, the sort of developments in Jewish thought described here were important in preparing early Jewish Christians to accept a second figure in heaven at God's side who bore a significance second only to God himself, and, on the other hand, under the impact of their own distinctive religious experiences of the exalted Jesus, these Jewish Christians quickly altered the concept of "divine agency."[47]

The cultic veneration of Jesus shows that they were convinced that the position given to the exalted Jesus, though second to God, included a fuller measure of the divine glory than normally associated with this chief agent role. Yet, in their minds this did not amount to Jesus becoming a second god. Guided by their Jewish tradition, and perhaps especially by its ability to tolerate a chief agent without God's uniqueness being threatened, and under the impact of their religious experiences, they believed that, in giving praise and worship to the one they were sure God himself had appointed to be Lord, they were praising this Lord "to the glory of God the father" (Phil 2:11). It was for them, as loyal Jews, apparently an unprecedented step to take to re-shape their corporate devotional life around God and another figure, Jesus. But the impetus for this step was the conviction that the exaltation of Jesus included the apparently equally unprecedented step of divine appointment as a proper object of cultic devotion alongside God.

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[47] My comments do not demand of the reader any particular religious disposition toward the Christian claims about these experiences. All I mean here is that in certain ways the early Christians had religious experiences which, while perhaps not formally distinctive from other religious groups of the time, carried a distinctive "content" and were interpreted by Christians in distinctive ways, producing convictions about Jesus and re-interpretations of the Jewish tradition that were not easily accepted by those who had not shared these experiences. Thus, "distinctive" does not necessarily mean "valid," only that the experiences were in some ways peculiar to the early Christian groups. There appear to have been other Jewish groups of the same period with their own distinctive religious experiences and, consequently, somewhat distinctive re-interpretations of their Jewish tradition, e.g., the Qumran sect.

The Composition of the Pentateuch

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Introduction

Ever since Wellhausen's *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*,[1] the study of the composition of larger blocks of OT materials has been a legitimate scholarly endeavor, and it has played an increasing role during the last two generations. The latest publication to date concerned with composition is E. Blum's monumental dissertation, "Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte."[2]

It is immediately clear that methodologically, quite different things are done under the term composition. The term is used in literary-critical, form-critical, redactional-critical, rhetorical, stylistic, and other types of interpretation. The same is true for the term structure which, besides the fields just mentioned, has become the main label for entire fields such as structuralism and structural linguistics.

The following discussion is not concerned with a critique of the appropriateness of these words for certain fields of study.[3] Nor is it concerned with distinctions between the words "structure" and "composition." Rather, it focuses on the proper determination of the parts within a literary unit and on their relationship—in our case: the super- or macrostructure of the Pentateuch.

Whether or not, or by what criteria the Pentateuch must be considered as a literary unit may remain an open question even though the traditional source-critical and traditio-historical arguments in favor of a Hexateuch have since M. Noth decisively lost ground. The Pentateuch certainly points beyond itself. Nevertheless, there is sufficient ground for the study of its composition even if this literary unit should be part of a larger historical work in which the priestly and deuteronomistic works were combined.

It is known that the Pentateuch in its basically extant form is the result of a long and complex growth process of oral and written traditions which extended throughout centuries. It is also known that this process essentially did not come to its end before the fifth century B.C.E. What is presumed, but not sufficiently studied is the final result of this process at that later period in Israel, this "baroque" phenomenon as G. von Rad called it. Traditional historical exegesis has for good reasons been preoccupied with the layers and developments before the latest composition. At the same time, however, it has behaved as if the final composition was not worth discussing. The reason for this neglect is

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[1] J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1963).

[2] E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984).

[3] On this point, see my comments in "Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction," *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. D. Knight and G. Tucker; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 123-165.

probably because this layer is presumed to be self-explanatory, a matter for lay people. Another reason might be that its complexity betrays the disintegration or convolution of originally "clean" generic traditions and literary authors, or even that its late date associates it with the "ritualistic" and "legalistic" interests of Jewish religiosity which is considered "inferior" to early Israel's great traditions and thereby irrelevant for the—whose?—knowledge of the OT's religion or theology.

It is worthwhile to point out these influences on scholarship. But neither their ideological prejudices nor their historical assumptions provide a valid basis for true and ongoing scholarly work. Indeed, the interpretation of the extant Pentateuch is an urgent necessity, not only because its final composition represents another important historical *datum* in the Pentateuch's and the OT's tradition history but also because attention to this stratum provides an important starting point and control mechanism for studying the Pentateuch's tradition history itself.

It is not the intention of this paper to engage in critical discussion with publications that focus on the same subject. These publications are few anyway. The absence of critical discussion results from the basically different method in this paper and the results derived from this method, and not from intentional neglect of the valid scholarship of others. The results may differ from or concur with those of others. In either case, they rest on the approach to the material and not, at least not primarily, on the history of research so far. The test for the method and its results has to be the literary phenomenon of the Pentateuch itself.

This paper can only address the major questions. Much detail must remain unsaid for the moment. And some aspects that should be mentioned may be missed. It is, hopefully, a beginning.

I. The Main Parts of the Pentateuch.

A. Pentateuch?

The canonical shape of the Pentateuch, its division into five books, is just as much an obstacle to the recognition of its literary structure and genre as the shape of its literary sources has always been. Whatever the reasons may have been for this fivefold division, and its canonic-theological implications, this shape cannot claim to reflect the formation of the Pentateuch that is intrinsic to its literary nature. Indeed, at important points the canonical shape has destroyed the literary structure of the whole. Inasmuch as this intrinsic literary nature is theologically relevant, its own theological relevance is more important than the theological relevance of its canonical shape.

The division between Genesis and Exodus is for obvious reasons a primary division. The division between Numbers and Deuteronomy is also justified. But it cannot be considered on the same level as the division between Genesis and Exodus. For a variety of reasons to be discussed below, Numbers and Deuteronomy belong decisively closer together than Genesis and Exodus. The case is even clearer regarding the division between Exodus and Leviticus, and the division between Leviticus and Numbers. Both divisions cut the literary unit of the Sinai-pericope to pieces by associating one part of this pericope with the narrative leading to Sinai (so in Exodus), and another part with the narrative following the time at Sinai (so in Numbers).

The fivefold subdivision of the work suggests, structurally speaking, that its five parts belong together on the same, and highest, macrostructural level. If it were to suggest a different meaning, such a meaning is not self-evident, and it would still conflict with the self-evidence of the equal level of each part suggested by the fivefold division. Most importantly, however, the fivefold subdivision, should it structurally mean anything at all, conflicts with the different structural levels to which certain blocks belong in the literary unity of the work. Indeed, it stands in the way of a proper under-

standing of the hierarchical nature of the work's composition. This composition consists of a variety of different levels at which the parts of the work are related to one another. And no interpretation of the composition of the "Pentateuch" is appropriate which ignores the fundamental importance of the different structural levels to which the parts of the work belong and which constitute the relationship of these parts. In view of this methodological maxim, a fresh look at the problem is in order.

B. We begin with the observation that the books of Exodus throughout Deuteronomy are held together by the narrative about Moses from his birth until his death. And we conclude that this observation is important for our understanding of the composition of the "Pentateuch." This work consists of two parts: the time before Moses (Genesis) and the time of Moses (Exodus-Deuteronomy). A number of additional observations support and specify this conclusion.

1. The book of Genesis covers the time span from the creation of the world until the death of Joseph, an exceedingly long time (more than 2000 years) narrated in roughly twenty-five percent of the total text of the Pentateuch. In seventy-five percent of the total text of the Pentateuch, the books of Exodus-Deuteronomy cover the time span of Moses' life, 120 years. The extent of material allotted to each of the two time spans is extremely disproportionate, a factor that must be considered programmatic and not merely the result of less and more available information for the two parts of the work.

2. The work regards each of the two time periods as coherent in each part, in Genesis on the basis of genealogy, and in Exodus-Deuteronomy on the basis of Moses' life, an aspect not unrelated to genealogy. By contrast, the work sees a hiatus between the two time periods which is unparalleled within each of the two parts. Exod 1:6-8 makes the hiatus explicit by referring on the one hand to Joseph's and his generation's death and on the other to a new king who did not know Joseph, and to the increase of Israel's descendants between the two eras. This passage establishes the link between the generation of Joseph and the generation of the Israelites under the new Pharaoh, but it says nothing about the duration which elapsed between them, which it quite obviously assumes. Exod 12:40 knows it precisely: 430 years.

3. The scenarios of the two blocks must also be considered as separate. The story of the Israelites in Egypt and in the desert is clearly distinct from the story of the patriarchs and their ancestors in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. Whatever the divisions are in each of the two stories, they are less significant than the divisions between both of them. The division between Genesis on the one hand and Exodus-Deuteronomy on the other is therefore fundamental, while all other divisions within the "Pentateuch" are subservient to it.

4. What, then, is the relationship of these two parts? It should be evident that the "Pentateuch" focuses heavily on the time of Moses, and compared with this focus only preliminarily on the time before Moses. And since in its historical perspective both times are connected, the conclusion is inevitable that the "Pentateuch" as a whole is a work about the time of Moses in which Genesis, the time before Moses, is the introduction, the prelude, the preparation, or the prehistory. The book of Genesis is not the center of this work, nor is it equal in perspective to Exodus-Deuteronomy, much as it is read and discussed. Nor is it a work meant to be understood apart from the following main work. It is the introduction to the time of Moses, and receives its meaning from Exodus-Deuteronomy.

Nevertheless, this prehistory is not unimportant. It shows that the time of Moses must not be understood in isolation. On the contrary, the time of Moses must be under-

stood in world-historical perspective as the culmination of the long process of world-history in one short period. The "Pentateuch" is the story, or history, of the time of Moses in the light of universal creation and history, or the history of universal creation and history culminating in the time of Moses.

5. In the following, we bypass discussing the composition of the book of Genesis[4] and focus on the composition of the main body.

II. The Composition of the Moses Story

A. What is the super-or macrostructure of Exodus-Deuteronomy? In order to answer this question, we proceed as before by defining first of all the dominant blocks of the material to which all the other blocks are subordinate. Methodologically, the guiding question is: What are the criteria by which this work is organized? Under this question it is immediately clear that our traditional exegetical methods do not provide the primary tools for determining the structure of this work. For the macrostructural level, something like concept-criticism seems to be of primary importance since the work appears to be organized conceptually on this level.

1. Two blocks stand out as primary units: Deuteronomy and the Sinai-pericope from Exodus 19-Num 10:10. This leaves us with two other primary units: Exodus 1-18, and Num 10:11-36:13. The Moses story consists of four primary parts. Before discussing the nature of these parts we ask how they are related to each other.

2. Statistical data are relative. Yet what they indicate should not be ignored. The Sinai-pericope alone represents some forty-two per cent, almost half, of the total text. It is by far the largest of the four units. When combined with Deuteronomy which amounts to more than twenty-six per cent, both units make up 68.5 per cent of the text. By comparison, Num 10:11-36:13 covers about nineteen per cent, and Exodus 1-18, the smallest of the four blocks, about 11.5 per cent of the text. First impression: the Sinai-pericope seems to be the most important of the four blocks, followed by Deuteronomy, whereas blocks one and three appear to be somehow subordinate.

3. This first impression is reinforced by additional observations. One is topographical and the other chronological in nature.

a. The entire Moses story is based on the migration of the Israelites from Egypt to "the land of Moab," "beyond the Jordan" (Deut 1:1-3; Num 33:49, 50-56). The itinerary tradition is the well-known backbone of this story. Indeed, it is the primary device for the organization of the fourfold macrostructure of the story. In light of the itinerary, the Moses story focuses on the primary importance of two locations above all the others during the migration: Sinai and the plains of Moab. The migration story is governed by the arrival and the events at these two locations. Consequently, the two other parts of the Moses story (Exodus 1-18; Num 10:10-36:13) must be considered as prestages or presuppositions to their respective goals, as leading up to and being subservient to these goals. This picture reveals, as in other places where itineraries are used, much more than an interest in the mere listing of the itinerary stations. It reveals a systematized understanding of the migratory process which is heavily dictated by theological priorities. And lastly, it shows that the Moses story is conceptualized as a migration story under two

[4]For this composition, see now G. W. Coats, *Genesis: With an Introduction to Narrative Literature* (FOTL 1; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1983).

foci to which the other parts, respectively, represent the prelude or transition. On this basis, the macrostructure of the Moses story looks as follows:

I. From Egypt to Sinai	Exodus 1-Num 10:10
A. Journey to Sinai	Exodus 1-18
B. Events at Sinai	Exodus 19-Num 10:10
(note the programmatic statement in Exod 19:3)	
II. From Sinai to Moab	Num 10:11-Deuteronomy 34
A. Journey to Moab	Num 10:11-36:13
B. Events in the plains of Moab	Deuteronomy 1-34

It may be mentioned at the outset that this structure, clearly the end result of a long traditio-historical process, is quite unlike any structure that can be found in the tradition history of the same core material in the OT.

On the surface, the structure appears symmetrical. But there are important semantic differences. In both I. and II., the journey (A.) leads to the main destination (B.); but what happens at each destination also looks back at, reflects, and integrates the meaning of the journey. However, the situations presupposed in I. and II. are not the same. In I., the liberation story aims at the Sinai story and the Sinai story actualizes the liberation story. The role of the liberation story, I.A., is thereby different from the role of the second journey story, II.A. Even though this story (I.A.)—more specifically the story of the oppression, the exodus, and the beginning of the migration—is no end in itself but points to its first and most important fulfillment in the Sinai narrative, it is certainly perceived as constitutive, too, which is not the case for the second journey, II.A.

Interestingly, the Sinai-pericope does not reflect on the already narrated murmurings of the Israelites. The situation is very different in II. While II.A., the forty year migration in the wilderness (Num 14:33-34; 32:13; Deut 2:7; 8:2, 4; 29:5; cp. also Exod 16:35; Josh 5:6), aims at the events in Moab, i.e. at Deuteronomy, these events themselves, Moses' last will and testament (II.B.), are distinctly necessitated by the crisis that erupted during the migration after the Sinai event. Deuteronomy, II.B., is the reaction to Israel's failure, II.A., to come to terms with the Exodus-Sinai theology in I. This failure reveals the problem of Israel's inability to react appropriately to the meaning of exodus and Sinai which is, essentially, the direct reason for the predominance of the parenetic genre in Deuteronomy. With qualifications, one could say that the first part of the Moses story (I.) focuses on Yahweh's acts, whereas the second part (II.) shifts in focus to the problem of the human response to these acts.

This understanding of II.A. is programmatically expressed in the deuteronomistic introduction to Deuteronomy (Deut 1:6-3:29) which reviews the migration from Horeb to Hermon under the aspect of four crises: at Horeb (1:6-18), at Kadesh (1:19-46), *en route* from Kadesh to Zered (2:1-15), and from Zered to Hermon (2:16-3:29). It is another, and quite unique, theologically systematized understanding of that period.

What has been said also helps to bring into sharper focus the relationship between the whole of I., the exodus and Sinai story, and II.B., Moses' testament. While both the Sinai story (I.B.) and Deuteronomy (II.B.) refer to the oppression/exodus event (I.A.), Deuteronomy specifically represents an updated, additional interpretation of the Sinai event (I.B.) without reinterpreting the exodus event itself. Deuteronomy has no problem with the exodus event. But it must confront the problems that arose with the Sinai event from that time on. This function of Moses' testament shows that Deuteronomy is no replacement for the Sinai-pericope. On the contrary, it reaffirms the Sinai-pericope as its own foundation. Deuteronomy submits to the preeminence of the Sinai-pericope and by doing

so points to that pericope as the central piece and most important part of the macrostructure of Exodus-Deuteronomy.

A final observation concerns the relationship between the durations of encampment in I.B. and II.B. on the one hand, and the periods of migratory movement in I.A. and II.A. on the other. If our observations so far are correct, we should conclude that the periods of local encampment are considered as more important than the periods of movement. This conclusion by far exceeds a passing significance. It is in tune with the fundamental assumption of the entire OT tradition according to which the basic structure of Israel's existence is sedentary, and not migratory. The sedentary existence is not transitional. It is final. The migratory existence, also the one of the patriarchs, is not final. It is transitional, preliminary.

b. Chronological observations reinforce what has been said thus far. In this context, we cannot discuss all the extant chronological *data* and the literary-historical and traditio-critical problems associated with them. We confine the discussion to the *data* relevant for the macrostructure of the Moses story. The data concerning Moses' life will be discussed later.

The *data* are interspersed in the material. They complement the macrostructure observed in the itinerary system.

Exod 12:1ff. mentions the first date. Passover is to be held in the night towards the fifteenth day of the first month, the night of the exodus. This instruction establishes the cultic calendar, grounds it in the presupposed Babylonian lunar cycle, and represents the basis for the numbering of years in this stratum of the Israelite tradition. The tradition is priestly.

On this basis, Israel arrives in the wilderness of Sin "on the fifteenth day of the second month" (Exod 16:1), i.e., one month after the day of exodus.

On the day of "the third new moon" (Exod 19:1), i.e., after a month and a half or forty-two days of journey, Israel arrives at Sinai; and on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year (Num 10:11), i.e., after almost a full year of encampment, Israel departs from Sinai.

In part II.A., the journey to Moab, we find only the reference to the forty year period of wandering, but no longer a date that would schedule any event during this period within the cultic calendric system. The shift for this period from the cultic calendar to the forty year period is more than coincidental. It reflects the negative value asserted for that period in the narrative II.A. already, and not only in Deut 1:6-3:29. In addition, this shift neglects the positive value asserted for the periods I.A. and I.B.—in I.A. specifically from the day of the exodus on!

Into this positive calendric schedule the document of Moses' last will and testament (II.B.) is finally also bound: "In the fortieth year, on the first day of the eleventh month, Moses spoke . . . ." (Deut 1:3). By this statement, the forty year period from the passover-exodus date in I.A. on until the end of II.A. is connected with the new event II.B. On "this day," the positive conclusions are drawn from the negative results of the previous period from "Horeb" on.

It is generally assumed that Deut 1:3 comes from the hands of the priestly redaction. It is also generally assumed that in the deuteronomistic tradition of the book of Deuteronomy, Moses is giving his farewell speech, and that in this edition the references to "this day" reflect the day of his farewell speech. For the priestly redactor in Deut 1:3, however, "this day," namely day one of month eleven of year forty, is the day of Moses' death. With this statement, the priestly redactor reinterprets all the other references to the day of Moses' farewell speech so as to mean Moses' last will and testament on the day of his death. This testament includes not only his farewell speech but also the other testamentary activities such as, among others, the installation of his successor Joshua,

and the Song and the Blessing of Moses.[5] Thus, the redactor changes the genre of the deuteronomistic farewell speech to the genre of the last will and testament of a dying person. And the book of Deuteronomy becomes based on the structure of the genre testament, and no longer on the generic structure of a farewell speech. And last but not least, this final event in Moses' life becomes an integral part of Israel's cultic history.

a. + b. We can summarize. The absence of specific dates in part II.A. confirms what has been said about this part in the topographical discussion. And the specific datings in parts I.A. and I.B. and II.B. confirm what has been said in the topographical discussion about these parts. The datings specifically point to the importance of these parts of the Moses story, just as the negative forty year period reflects the negative side, also of Moses' own life which was not the case in I.A. (Exodus 1-18). It is clear, however, that neither the datings nor the periods dated determine by themselves the importance of the dated events. The arrival in the wilderness of Sin (Exod 16:1) is not as important as either Israel's encampment at Sinai or Moses' testament. And the fact that Moses' testament happened on one day while Israel's encampment at Sinai lasted almost a year is most probably based on the idea of the duration required for each event, but this difference does not by itself indicate a priority of one over the other. The importance of the parts of the total story lies in their conceptual relationships which emerge from their topographical and chronological orders themselves.

B. The Individual Parts

1. The next step in the discussion would have to interpret on a further level of subdivision the composition of each of the four parts of the Moses story. This task cannot be addressed for each part in this paper. For obvious reasons, the two parts that deserve preferred attention are I.B., the events at Sinai, and II.B., the events in the plains of Moab. What is most important concerning the latter has already been indicated. What needs to be addressed is the problem of the composition of the Sinai-pericope, which is the longest and central part of the Moses story. To this task we shall now turn.

2. The Sinai-pericope

a. By combining a calendric and a topographical statement Exod 19:1-2 report that Israel arrived in the wilderness of Sinai and "encamped before the mountain." The just quoted statement sets the stage for the basic structural organization of the entire Sinai-pericope in the final form of our text. This organization grows out of the distance between the two mentioned localities: the camp and the mountain.

Clearly enough, Exod 19:3 sets out by saying: "And Moses went up (*ʿālāh*) to God." According to v 7 he came down into the camp: "So Moses came (*wayyābo'*) and called the elders. . . ." V 8b resumes: "And Moses returned (*wayyāšeb*) the words of the people . . .," and according to v 14 he "went down" (*wayyēred*). Again, "Moses went up (*wayyaʿal*); v 20bβ, and "down" (*wayyēred*), v 25, and "up" (*niggaš*), v 20:21b, and "down" (*wayyābō'*), v 24:3, and "up" (*wayyaʿal*), v 24:9, and "down" (*wayyēred*), v 32:15, and "up" (*wayyaʿal*), v 34:4, and "down" for the final time (*wayhî bĕredet*), v 34:29.

The regularity of this ascent-descent pattern is blurred within the block Exod 32:15-34:4. After coming "down from the mountain" (32:15) Moses says to the people "I will *go up* to Yahweh" (*'eʿeleh*, 32:30b). 32:31 continues "And Moses *returned* to Yahweh"

[5]Cp. Deut 26:17, 18; 27:1, 4, 9, 10, 11; 28:1, 13, 14, 15; 29:9, 11, 14; 30:2, 8, 15, 16; 31:2; 32:46, 48.

(*wayyāšob*). According to 33:4 the people "heard these evil tidings" which leaves unclear whether they heard Yahweh's words spoken to Moses on the mountain (which is an improbable assumption of the text), or whether they heard Moses after his return from the mountain (which may be presupposed but is not said), or whether 33:4 assumes a Moses-speech conveying the Yahweh-speech 33:1-3 that was spoken at a different place, namely in the tent outside the camp.

33:7-11 speak about the ongoing encounter between Yahweh and Moses whereby Yahweh speaks to Moses "face to face, as a man speaks to his neighbor." This encounter takes place in the tent outside the camp. 33:12-23 contain a dialogue between both of them, according to the context (vv 7-11) in the tent. The dialogue is continued in 34:1-3, and in 34:4 Moses "went up to the mountain Sinai" again.

Thus, Moses is said to have gone up but not to have come down. At the same time he is presupposed to be in the camp (33:4), but it is not said from where he came. The interruption of the clearly expressed ascent-descent pattern is certainly the result of the combination of different literary strata or of text-accretions in which different signals come to work together. Exod 32:15 and 34:4 belong together because of the tablets which Moses brings down, and the new tablets which he takes back. Both passages mention the mountain. By contrast, 32:30-31 have Moses going up—returning "to Yahweh" for intercession and without the new tablets, and 33:4 fails to mention that Moses came down again. Finally, 33:4-34:3 is the only block in Exodus 19-39 where Yahweh speaks to Moses from within the tent, in contrast to the rest of the text.

These factors suggest that in the final redaction, the literarily heterogeneous block 32:30-34:3 was not successfully integrated into the ascent-descent pattern, despite a signal indicating such an integration in the statement "I will go up" in 32:30b. The final redaction has combined conflicting signals. Based on 32:30b, one might account for an additional ascent-descent cycle. Based on the unsuccessful integration of the block 32:30-34:3, however, one may prefer to consider 32:30-35 as an accretion to the older ascent-descent tradition which in the process towards finalization of the text was not fully upheld and became, besides other texts, a subordinate element in the block 32:15-34:4. With this *caveat* in mind, we can summarize.

c. Six times Moses goes up to the mountain, and six times he comes down into the camp. Whenever he is on the mountain he receives an instruction from Yahweh, and whenever he is in the camp he conveys it to the people. And while the response of the people to Moses is mentioned repeatedly, it is returned by Moses to Yahweh only once in v 19:8b. The ascent-descent signal must be considered as the basic structural signal for the organization of Exodus 19-39. According to this structure, the text consists of six major cycles of which each has two subdivisions: the first, the instruction report, narrating the event on the mountain, and the second, the compliance report, narrating the subsequent event in the camp. And while the ascent-descent statements introduce the two parts of each cycle, the contents of the cycles are governed by six distinctly different concerns. These concerns distinguish the cycles from one another, and reflect the progress of the events. The structure may, then, be presented as follows:

I. The initiation of the covenant	19:3-8a
A. Ascent for instruction	19:3-6
B. Descent for compliance	19:7-8a
II. The theophany	19:8b-19
A. Ascent for instruction	19:8b-13
B. Descent for compliance	19:14-19

III. The confirmation of the mediator	19:20-20:20
A. Ascent for instruction	19:20-24
B. Descent for compliance	19:25-20:20
IV. The document and ratification of the covenant	20:21-24:8
A. Ascent for instruction: the document	20:21-24:2
B. Descent for compliance: ratification	24:3-8
V. The instruction for the tabernacle	24:9-34:3
A. Ascent for instruction	24:9-32:14
B. Descent for *interference*	32:15-34:3
VI. The second tablets and the compliance	34:4-39:43
A. Ascent for instruction (second tablets)	34:4-28
B. Descent with tablets for construction compliance	34:29-39:43

As is well known, this structure unites, sometimes violently, a variety of different literary strata and aspects of which only the most striking may be listed: the classical Decalogue (Exod 20:1-17) introduced as a speech of God, interrupts the narrative flow about the descent situation in the camp from 19:25 to 20:18. Resulting from its position in the narrative in Deuteronomy 5, the positioning of the Decalogue in Exodus was a logical choice. Nevertheless, except for Exod 40:1-15 it conflicts with the functions of all the compliance elements in the exodus narrative. In none of these elements does God speak to Moses or the people in the camp in order to give substantive instructions, except in the case of the Decalogue. Exod 40:1-15 and Leviticus are for good reason exempt from this rule. Also, the position of the Decalogue in III., the confirmation of the mediator, has little if anything to do with that confirmation. While the deuteronomic notion of God's speaking the Decalogue to the people caused the positioning of the Decalogue in III.B., it severely conflicts with the meaning of the compliance reports and of part III. in the structure of the narrative in Exodus.

d. The literary-critical and traditio-historical problems of the so-called Covenant book are known. It should be noted, however, and precisely for contextual reasons, that this block of material belongs to IV.A., to Yahweh's instruction given to Moses on the mountain, and not to a compliance report or any context apart from this instruction. The reasons for the position of the Covenant Book in IV.A. are certainly in need of interpretation.

It should also be noted that in a part of V.A., namely in Exod 24:9-18, the ascent pattern starting in v 9 is extended beyond its regular level. After ascending together with Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy of Israel's elders (vv 9-11), Moses is called to ascend (further!) to God on the mountain. He goes with Joshua while leaving the elders behind to wait with Aaron and Hur (vv 12-14). Finally, Moses goes up (even further!, and without Joshua!) for six days, to be called by Yahweh from out of the cloud on the seventh day and to go into the cloud and up onto the mountain for forty days (vv 15-18). That is where and how he received the instruction for the sanctuary!

It is clear that the passage 24:9-18 is meant to extend the regular ascent pattern, and not to interrupt or replace it. In its present composition this passage portrays a sort of hierarchical reality of localities—and times (!): seven days and forty days—in five stages: (1) camp, (2) higher level with Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders; and

Aaron and Hur, (3) a further higher level with Joshua, (4) another higher level with Moses alone (?) outside the cloud, (5) and the highest level with Moses, certainly alone with God, in the cloud.

It is unnecessary to list the heterogeneity of many elements in Exod 24:9-18. But it is amazing how successfully these disparate materials were combined under the guidance of a configuration of the hierarchical order of Israel's representatives between Yahweh and Israel, an order that literally places them at different levels on the mountain. And while Moses belongs to all levels of this hierarchy, nevertheless, he stands above all of them, and he alone stands with God on the very top of the mountain. The big exegetical question is: Does this configuration reflect a reality in Israel's cultic history, or a program for Israel's cult, and if so: what reality or program is it, and from which time and place did this picture originate?

e. More important, however, than what has been said so far is the fact that the ascent-descent pattern has in parts V. and VI. combined elements of quite different nature and origin. This fact is not even recognized by scholars who are pointedly interested in interpreting the final, or as they say, the canonical shape of the text. In V.A., the just discussed conceptual unit Exod 24:9-18 is in its entirety nothing but an expanded ascent statement analogous to all the other ascent statements. This statement functions as the introduction to the Yahweh instruction for Moses in Exodus 25-31. The traditionally so-called jehovistic block Exod 24:9-19 has been combined with the priestly text Exodus 25-31 into a united structural entity.

But that is not all. This entire ascent narrative does not end in Exod 31:18, as is universally assumed under the magic influence of literary-critical criteria. It ends in Exod 32:14. Not until Exod 32:15 does Moses go down from the mountain. Certainly, the perspective in Exod 32:1-6 switches down to the camp. But 32:7-14 switches right back to the situation on the mountain, to Yahweh's speech to Moses about the situation in the camp (vv 7-10) and to Moses' successful intercession (vv 11-14). The passage 32:7-14 shows that the momentary switch in perspective in vv 1-6 is a necessary literary device used to demonstrate to the reader that Yahweh on the mountain had become aware of what was going on in the camp. This device is nevertheless subordinate to Moses' place on the mountain. Literary-critically speaking, the deuteronomic-jehovistic narrative unit Exodus 32-34 has been split into four parts with new functions. Its first part, 32:1-14, became combined with the previous combination of 24:9-18 and chapters 25-31 into a unit about the events on the mountain, V.A. Its second part, Exod 32:15-34:3, narrates Moses' interference in the camp, V.B. Its third part, Exod 34:4-28, finds Moses back on the mountain again for the Yahweh instruction of the commandments and the gift of the second set of tablets, VI.A. Its conclusion in Exod 34:29-35 functions as the expanded introduction to the compliance report according to which the elements of the sanctuary are manufactured and the sanctuary is set up, VI.B.

The combination of different literary strata under the dominant ascent-descent pattern has in parts V. and VI. led not only to the disruption of the originally coherent priestly narrative tradition in Exodus 25-31 and 35-40 but also to a substantively modified flow of the narrative from V. to VI. The priestly portions in parts V.A. and VI.B. belong together as ascent and descent for the narrative about the sanctuary. This narrative did not require a twofold ascent-descent. In fact, the ascent-descent pattern did not belong at all to the original priestly-deuteronomic narrative. Into this narrative, the priestly sanctuary narrative was inserted.

One result of this insertion was that both the jehovistic-deuteronomic and the priestly narrative units were split, and the respective parts of one narrative were combined with the respective parts of the other under the influence of the jehovistic-deuteronomic ascent-descent pattern to which the priestly narrative had to yield—for

good reasons. The other result was a bifurcation in which the two foci nevertheless complement one another. The bifurcation consists of the focus on the sanctuary on the one hand, V.A. and VI.B., and on Israel's anti-sanctuary and the resulting crisis of the tablets on the other, V.B. and V.I.A. In this bifurcation within the combined text, however, the crisis of the tablets is combined with both: the story of the sanctuary in V.A. and VI.B., and the story of the anti-sanctuary in V.B. If this observation is correct, one may conclude that the creation of the anti-sanctuary narrated in Exod 32:1-14, while representing within V.A. the counter story to the simultaneous instruction for the sanctuary, created the *real* crisis, namely the destruction of the tablets which in the combined story were related to the sanctuary as Yahweh's very own contribution. The real crisis, for which the story of the golden bull is only the cause, consists of the destruction of the tablets that were given by Yahweh in conjunction with his instruction for the sanctuary.

This crisis explodes in V.B., the narrative about the destruction of both the anti-sanctuary and the tablets. After that is done, the story can continue in VI.A. with the new ascent for the instruction and the writing of the second set of tablets, and in VI.B. with the descent in which as in V.A. the tablets are combined with the sanctuary.

Summary: The aspects of the sanctuary and the tablets complement one another as the two central components of the sanctuary despite their bifurcation caused by the combination of different literary strata. This complementation which at the same time excludes and destroys the anti-sanctuary, represents a major conceptual integration of traditio-historically quite different cultic traditions contained in the jehovistic-deuteronomic and the priestly texts. Historically, it seems to be a late phenomenon which must have been generated by the priestly tradents.

f. What is the intention of the sixfold ascent-descent narrative? It shows Moses as the decisive mediator, literally, the "go-between" between Yahweh and Moses. Specifically, Moses is the mediator of the total process and not only of the covenant. What is the nature of this process? How are the six ascent-descent cycles related?

The first four cycles are connected by the covenant motif. They reflect the process of the making of the covenant in which Moses is the mediator between Yahweh on the mountain and Israel in the camp. In each step of the process, Yahweh takes the initiative, and Moses and/or Israel follow suit. Cycles five and six are connected by the sanctuary motif. They reflect the process of the making of the sanctuary, again initiated by Yahweh on the mountain and mediated through Moses to Israel in the camp. How, then, are cycles I.-IV. on the one hand, and cycles V.-VI. on the other hand, related? Answer: The covenant narrative I.-IV. has lost its independence and has become subservient to the sanctuary narrative. It is now the introduction to the narrative about the sanctuary in the center of Israel's camp (Exod 25:8; Numbers 1-2), as opposed to the older tradition which had the tent of meeting set up outside the camp (Exod 33:7; Num 12:1-15). The covenant is the condition and preparation for the establishment of the sanctuary in Israel's midst.

The original priestly narrative had only the story of the tabernacle connected with Sinai, but it had no Sinai covenant story, namely the jehovistic-deuteronomic covenant story which they included with their priestly narrative of the sanctuary story. The combination of these two traditions reveals the following theological program: the ultimate goal of Israel's encampment at Sinai during its migration from Egypt to the promised land is not the covenant—important as it was as a condition—but the permanent sanctuary as the place of Yahweh's presence or appearance in Israel's midst, along with the organization of Israel as a strictly theocratic community around this sanctuary. At the same time this goal provides the ultimate meaning of Israel's existence as a settled community in the promised land.

In the sixfold ascent-descent cycle, the emphasis lies clearly on the sanctuary narrative. It is not surprising that the older covenant narrative is much shorter than the sanctuary narrative; indeed, it remained shorter and perhaps became more truncated in the transmission process than it may have been before. It is equally unsurprising that under the influence of the priestly redactors who controlled the combination of both narratives, it was the priestly portion of the total narrative that continued to receive accretions, apparently over several generations, and not the jehovistic-deuteronomic portion.

Lastly, the monstrous structure of the tabernacle itself can only be understood in light of Israel's permanent settlement in the promised land. Important as its origin at Sinai is as a fundamental legitimation, it cannot be understood as the sanctuary of an essentially migratory community. True, it had to be carried, and a large organization had to be set up for this service, Numbers 4. And it is true that after being initially erected (Exod 40:1-17) and taken down (Num 10:17), the tabernacle-sanctuary apparently was meant to be erected repeatedly whenever Israel encamped for any length of time, "whether it was two days, or a month, or a longer time that the cloud continued over the tabernacle" (Num 9:22; cp also Num 9:15-23). Nevertheless, besides Exod 40:1,17 and Num 10:17 which refer to its initial erection and taking down at Sinai, there is no further statement which explicitly says that the sanctuary was ever again erected and taken down. It is always the "cloud" that settles down, rests, or is taken up. The text emphasizes that the sanctuary had to be carried, and de-emphasizes that it was erected and taken down—with the one exception in Exodus 40. One wonders why. At any rate, even the implied repeated set up of the tabernacle cannot mean more than the scenario of a transitional situation in which the tabernacle was understood to be on the way to its final destination, to be erected there permanently and not to be carried again once Israel, organized around it, had arrived at this destination itself and settled down permanently. Seen from the vantage point of Israel's anticipated permanent settlement, the message is that the sanctuary had to be the Mosaic tabernacle from Sinai, and no other one!

g. A word must be said about the position of Exodus 40 in the Sinai narrative. The unit consists of three parts: a new Yahweh instruction to Moses to erect the tabernacle "on the first day of the first month"—New Year's day of the second year!—(vv 1-15), Moses' compliance (vv 16-33), and the occupation of the sanctuary ("tent of meeting" as well as "tabernacle") by Yahweh (vv 34-38).

Since this unit refers only to the sanctuary, it belongs at most to the cycles V. and VI. of the ascent-descent pattern. However, the question arises whether it belongs to this pattern at all. On the one hand, Moses is in the camp and no longer on the mountain for the Yahweh instructions. On the other hand, the unit is clearly set apart from the preceding compliance report Exodus 35-39 by a summary of that report in 39:32-43, and by a new Yahweh instruction concerning the erection of the manufactured sanctuary at a specific date. Finally, if one recognizes the parallelism between the instruction and compliance concerning the construction in Exod 24:9-39:43 on the one hand, and between the instruction and compliance concerning the erection on the other hand, Exodus 40, the sum of all indicators suggests that the total narrative of Exod 24:9-40:38 is governed by two conceptual aspects: the manufacture and the erection of the sanctuary. In view of this conceptualization, the ascent-descent pattern is relegated to a secondary structural level. It is confined to the manufacture narrative, whereas the narrative about the erection of the sanctuary, together with its occupation by Yahweh on New Year's day—a conclusion that has its counterpart in the conclusion 39:32-34—is a separate and critically highly special event, also for that day itself.

h. We are now in a position to ask the final question concerning the macrostructure of the Sinai-pericope: What is the relationship of the text discussed thus far, Exodus 19-

40, to the rest of the Sinai-pericope from Leviticus 1 on? It seems that the decisive signal for this question is given in Lev 1:1: "And Yahweh called (*wayyiqrā'*, in addition to the usual *wayyĕdabbēr*) Moses, and spoke to him *from the tent of meeting*." This statement is programmatic. All along, Moses had to go up to the mountain to receive the instruction, and to bring the instruction back to the camp. The distance between Yahweh's and Israel's location had to be bridged. This was inevitable as long as there was no sanctuary in Israel's midst.

We have already mentioned that the idea of the sanctuary in the midst of the camp conflicts with the older tradition of Yahweh's coming down and encountering Moses and the Israelites "at the door of the tent" outside the camp (Num 12:5). The conflict is apparently also programmatic. It reflects the difference between opposing claims concerning the legitimacy of the location of the true, the only true Yahweh sanctuary. This difference cannot be decided on the basis of Moses' authority which belongs to both traditions. And Num 12:5 shows that the final text has not totally resolved the conflict.

Lev 1:1 contends that the legitimate sanctuary is the one which had its pattern (*tabnît*, Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8) genuinely revealed *on* the mountain, and which represents the place to which Yahweh's revelation moved *from* the mountain. This sanctuary represents the continuity of the localities of revelation: from the mountain to the tabernacle. With this massive claim, the older tradition of the tent of meeting outside the camp could not compete. This claim confirms what we have said earlier about the importance of Sinai when compared with the exodus. It was only at Sinai where the liberated community was organized as a cultic-theocratic community around the sanctuary and prepared for its final settlement. And while the exodus community was on a journey led by the pillars of cloud and fire (Exod 13:21-22; 14:19, 24; 16:10), the Sinai community of the priestly tradition was on a pilgrimage organized around the sanctuary, the place of the revelation of the glory of the God from Sinai, the place to which the cloud had become related (Lev 16:2, 13; Num 9:15-21; 10:11-12; 12:10; 14:14; 16:12).

Lev 1:1 signals the highest level in the macrostructure of the Sinai-pericope. According to this structure, the total narrative consists of two parts: the revelation from the mountain (Exod 19:3-40:38), and the revelation from the "tent of meeting" (Lev 1:1-Num 10:10). This structure reveals a fundamental theological program. It speaks of two stages of revelation in which the first was preparatory and preliminary. It provided the condition for the second stage, the ultimate goal of Yahweh's revelation. As long as Yahweh could not speak to Moses from the sanctuary in Israel's midst, he had to speak from the mountain in order to provide the condition of his move from the mountain to the sanctuary in the camp. Once that condition was accomplished Yahweh moved down, and the period of the revelation from the mountain was replaced by the new period of revelation in which—again—Moses remained the exclusive mediator.

From now on, Yahweh would meet Moses from the sanctuary in Israel's midst, and no longer on Sinai. The mountain belonged to the past. The presence belonged to the sanctuary. Its legitimacy and identity were secured by the continuity of the revelation of the God from the mountain. And now, Yahweh could give the ultimately decisive instructions concerning the ongoing life of Israel. These instructions have two foci: the provision of the atonement institution for the continuous liberation from the destructive burden of guilt and pollution (Leviticus 1-16), and the regulations for Israel's societal life as a "holy" community (Leviticus 17-27). The Sinai-pericope aims at the book of Leviticus. This book is the center of the Pentateuch.

In conclusion, we can present the structure of the Sinai-pericope:

I. The Revelation from the Mountain	Exod 19:3-40:38
A. Preparation: the covenant (four (four ascent-descent cycles)	Exod 19:3-24:8

1. First Exod 19:3-8a
2. Second Exod 19:8b-19
3. Third Exod 19:20-20:20
4. Fourth Exod 20:21-24:8

B. The Goal: the sanctuary — Exod 24:9-40:38

1. The construction of the sanctuary — Exod 24:9-39:43
   a. Instruction — Exod 24:9-34:28
      1) Fifth ascent — Exod 24:9-32:14
      2) Descent: the crisis — Exod 32:15-34:3
      3) Sixth ascent — Exod 34:4-28
   b. Compliance-Execution — Exod 34:29-39:43
2. The erection of the sanctuary and the appearance of the glory — Exod 40:1-38

II. The Revelation from the Tent — Lev 1:1-Num 10:10

A. Instruction of communal life — Lev 1:1-27:34

1. Concerning atonement — Lev 1-26
2. Concerning societal life — Lev 17-27

B. Preparation for the pilgrimage — Num 1:1-10:10

This structure must be understood as a part of the larger structure of Exodus-Deuteronomy, and ultimately of the twofold "Pentateuch." It is hoped that this discussion justifies the conclusion that the Sinai-pericope, the end result of a long traditio-historical process, is in its final form the expression of a profoundly systematized theological understanding which shaped the historical narrative. This achievement reflects a distinct setting, priestly, and the concerns of a historical period, exilic-postexilic. It belongs to, and is in part similar to and yet distinctly different from the theological blueprints that can be discerned in Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, the Deuteronomists, and Ezra-Nehemiah. We know little if anything about these priestly authors and their specific time and location. But without careful attention to their final "Pentateuch" work, we will know even less. It is just this attention to their internally obviously ongoing work for several generations that may give us a few more clues about its authors, and a heightened appreciation for the potency of their thoughts.

That their work was an ongoing process can among many other instances also be seen in the fact that at various places in Leviticus including Lev 27:34 Yahweh still or again speaks to Moses from the mountain, in clear conflict with Lev 1:1.

Finally, a better understanding of the end result of the traditio-historical process may provide some safeguards against insufficiently substantiated assumptions about earlier stages of that process, and ultimately a new basis for the study of the tradition history of the "Pentateuch" itself.

III. The Genre of the Pentateuch

A. With few exceptions the question of the genre of the Pentateuch has not played a significant role in critical OT scholarship.

1. The oldest tradition in which these books have been understood as a unit defined them as Torah.[6] This definition reflects the nature of the five books as the earliest and most authoritative unit of the tripartite canon of the Bible already in the Jewish tradition. But it is scarcely sufficient for determining the generic nature of the work. Lastly, all parts of the OT are Torah. And while including different generic forms, the term torah in its broad and functional sense says nothing about the specific generic form of the "Pentateuch." With respect to genre, the term torah conceals more than it reveals.

The question of genre involves more than technical curiosity only. It may well be that the genre of the "Pentateuch" constitutes the decisive basis for the Pentateuch-Torah as the authority above the other parts of the OT. The assumption that the Pentateuch-Torah is most authoritative does not mean that it is authoritative because it is torah. It means that there is something else that makes this Torah especially authoritative. The Torah is the result of its authoritative basis, but not the ground of its own authority. What is the authoritative ground of the Pentateuch-Torah?

The picture changes when the "Pentateuch" is called the torah of *Moses*.[7] This definition still indicates no genre. But it qualifies this torah as the most authoritative because it represents the legacy of Moses. The "Pentateuch" is not distinct because it is torah but because the person and authority, and lastly the claimed authorship of Moses constitute it as a unit and its torah as distinct authority regardless of its generic form. This distinctiveness of the Pentateuch-Torah due to the person of Moses increasingly became all important, not only for everything contained in the tradition (which for much of the material was originally not the case) but also for everything new that was in need of supreme authorization.

The constitutiveness of Moses for the Pentateuch-Torah is directly relevant for the question of the literary genre of the "Pentateuch." For if the generic forms of torah and the Torah itself were relative to the authority given them by Moses, one must ask if the constitutive importance of Moses himself did not have to be expressed in the "Pentateuch" in a typical and ultimately in a literarily generic way. We must ask what constitutes the importance of Moses rather than what constitutes the importance of the Torah. And we may assume that this question was not alien especially to the final authors of the "Pentateuch," and that we can find the answer in their work. We shall return to this question later.

2. Of the few theories concerning the genre of the Pentateuch or Hexateuch that have been proposed, none has survived, at least not intact.

a. G. von Rad explained it as the baroque kerygmatic narrative-unfolding of the ancient cultic creed in Deut 26:5-11. A. Weiser explained it as the outgrowth of the ancient covenant-cult festival. One cannot say that a serious attempt has been made to

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[6] Cp. J. Sanders, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); B. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 128-135; R. Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1983) 139ff.

[7] The phraseology referring to Moses as the decisive person for the authority of the law(s), their communication and writing, and the book of torah, is diverse. From the numerous references, a random sample: Exod 24:4; Lev 26:46; 27:34; Num 15:22-23; 16:40; 30:17; Deut 4:44; 31:9, 24; 33:4; Josh 8:32; 22:5; Judg 3:4; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 18:12; 21:8; 23:25; 1 Chron 22:13; 2 Chron 23:18; 25:4; 30:16; 33:8; Ezra 3:2; Neh 1:7; 8:1; 10:29; Sir 24:23; Matt 8:4 et al.; Mark 1:44 et al.; 12:26; Luke 2:22 et al.; 24:44; John 1:17 et al.; etc.

explain the whole of the Penta- or Hexateuch as the narrative form of the covenant formulary.

b. B. Childs following J. Sanders[8] emphasizes the reality of Torah while saying that "Clearly Genesis was conceived of by the final redactor as the introduction to the story of Israel which begins in Exodus."[9] He says that the first five books "provided a critical norm of how the Mosaic tradition was to be understood by the covenant people."[10] At the same time he says that "The claim of Mosaic authorship functioned as a norm by which to test the tradition's authority."[11] In the first of these statements, the norm for the Mosaic tradition is the "Pentateuch." In the second statement, the norm for the tradition's (the "Pentateuch's"?!) authority is the Mosaic authorship. What is the norm for what? If Moses is the norm for the "Pentateuch," how is this reflected in the work as a whole? It is doubtful that Childs has answered this question, despite his justifiable attention to the canonic level and the final redactor. And if the "Pentateuch" is the norm for the Mosaic tradition, in what sense is it the norm for the covenant people? Is it the norm in the sense that it is "the story of Israel which begins in Exodus," and to which Genesis is the introduction? Is this the explanation of the sense? Nevertheless, this formulation comes relatively close to a generic definition. It is intriguing that Genesis is considered as the introduction to the whole that follows. But the "story of Israel" goes beyond the "Pentateuch." In this "story," Exodus-Deuteronomy would be the *beginnings* of the *History* of Israel. If we ask, however, what constitutes these beginnings of Israel's history, we are back at the question whether the history of these beginnings constitutes the Mosaic authority or whether the Mosaic authority constitutes these beginnings. In short, what is constitutive: the beginnings? Israel, with Moses? Moses for Israel? or something else for the beginnings, for Israel, or for Moses?

c. It is commonplace in interpretation to define Exodus-Deuteronomy as concerned with Israel. This *opinio communis* is subject to critical scrutiny. Indeed, it seems to be much more the result of the critical-historical reconstruction of the historical origins of Israel's history than of the interpretation of the literary nature of the Pentateuch. In this critical reconstruction of Israel's historical beginnings, Moses has played an ever decreasing role which is the exact opposite of the ever increasing role asserted for Moses in the traditio-historical process towards the "Pentateuch." From the time of the deuteronomists on, the "Pentateuch" was referred to with regard to Moses, and not with regard to Israel or Israel's history. This role of Moses which finally increased to monumental proportions could be neglected in critical scholarship because the final literary picture reflects neither the reality of Israel's historical beginnings nor the portrait of the historical Moses. The history of research about Moses presented by R. Smend[12] and E. Osswald,[13] and the analysis of the Moses-traditions in the Pentateuch by many others, most recently in a brilliant way by H. Cazelles,[14] are exceedingly revealing: this history

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[8]Sanders, *Torah*.

[9]Childs, *Introduction*, 130-132.

[10]Childs, *Introduction*, 131-132.

[11]Childs, *Introduction*, 134.

[12]R. Smend, *Das Mosebild von Heinrich Ewald bis Martin Noth* (BGBE 3; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959).

[13]E. Osswald, *Das Bild des Mose in der kritischen alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft seit Julius Wellhausen* (Theologische Arbeiten 18; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962).

[14]H. Cazelles, "מֹשֶׁה" (TWAT Band 5, Lieferung 1/2; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984) Spalten 28-46.

and analysis has been governed virtually exclusively by the historical question about what we can know about the historical Moses and the portrait of Moses *before* its final shape in the extant "Pentateuch." Only a French publication pursues that picture throughout the entire biblical tradition and beyond.[15]

Due to the prevalent historical interest, the importance of Moses in the late form of Exodus-Deuteronomy has played no role, including Cazelles's article, and the late form of the "Pentateuch" itself has not been worth studying, neither literarily nor historically. It is, then, quite typical when O. Kaiser speaking for many can have a beginner exclaim: "'The Pentateuch is not Mosaic, but a mosaic!'"[16] One wonders how the beginner can arrive at such a sophisticated judgment. Also, K. Baltzer who in my opinion is basically on the right track can say that the Pentateuch contains essential elements of the genre biography, but that "die geschlossene Form einer Biographie hier weitgehend aufgelöst ist."[17]

d. Against all these assumptions it should be asserted that the serious study of the literary form and genre of the extant "Pentateuch," and with it the study of the portrait of Moses is just as necessary as the study of the historical Moses or the Moses in the pre-"Pentateuch" traditions. In such a study it may just happen, for some beginners and for the scholars alike, that the Pentateuch appears to be much more Mosaic and much less of a—chaotic—mosaic than O. Kaiser's beginner assumes.

Recognizing that statistics are relative, Moses is mentioned more often than Israel—some 510 against 460 times (according to a rough count based on Mandelkern)—in Exodus-Deuteronomy. But one needs to read the entire narration from Exodus through the end of Deuteronomy with attention to the question of how the relationship between Israel and Moses is depicted, i.e., who is in the foreground and who in the background, who is important for whom, who is decisive and who if not negligible then at least relative, who depends on whom, whose story it is and whose it is not or whose it is only secondarily. The evidence for these questions is so overwhelming that one need not even bother quoting references which go into the hundreds. It is perplexing how the scholarly tradition could say that Exodus-Deuteronomy narrate the story of Israel, contrary to what these books demonstrate and contrary to the self-understanding of these books in their subsequent tradition history. We will have to be prepared for the *thesis that the "Pentateuch" is not the story or history of Israel's beginning but the story of the life of Moses which is fundamental for the beginnings of Israel's history; that it is the Vita, or the Biography of Moses.* It is not coincidental that the older traditions mean the torah of Moses, and not simply torah when referring to the Pentateuch.

B. The Pentateuch as Genre

1. With the possibility that the "Pentateuch" is the Biography of Moses we introduce an interpretation that demands, if only briefly in this paper, a few methodological clarifications.

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[15] *Moïse, l'Homme de l'Alliance* (ed. Desclée, et cie; Tournai: Desclée, 1955); German edition: *Moses: Schrift und Überlieferung* (ed. F. Stier and E. Beck, Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963).

[16] O. Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977) 44.

[17] K. Baltzer, *Die Biographie der Propheten* (Neukirchen: Neukirchner, 1975).

a. The genre biography has recently been introduced into the discussion by K. Baltzer.[18] After some forerunners who pointed out the biographical nature of some OT materials, Baltzer has defined the genre specifically and associates with it, or with elements of it, a broad spectrum of the OT literature. Baltzer's work is of fundamental importance for a special reason above all others: OT research has, also in form-criticism, focused on the corporate reality of Israel to such an extent that its attention to individuals and their relationship to and role in their communities has been not only neglected but sometimes outright disclaimed. This one-sided sociological model can no longer be defended, not only because of the great individuals in Israel's history but also because of the place of each individual in its community. Israel was not an amorphous mass of anonymous numbers. Attention to individuality has nothing to do with an individualistic concept of society. And whatever the sociological and theological importance of Jeremiah and Ezekiel 3 and 18 may be for the view of the relationship between the individual and the community, these books do not mark the beginning of Israel's attention to individuals. Indeed, we will not properly understand Israel's concept of community as long as we do not understand the place and role of individuals in the community.

The roots for Israel's awareness of individuality should be much more carefully studied. Israel recognized that individuals were born, lived, and died, that each had a name, a life-story, and above all else a pedigree. One of the inevitable roots for all life-stories, narrated or not, was the genealogy, a richly documented genre in the OT. Against this common background, the life-stories of individuals which we possess must be understood. They are quite numerous. They are the biographies of individuals who had become important for their communities, their traditions, and lastly for Israel and its history. The aspects which are important for such life-stories vary from clan to hero to royal office to types of non-royal office to messiah to prophet and perhaps others. The telling or writing of a life-story is a well-identifiable tradition throughout the entire OT tradition history which had—for understandable reasons—different forms and different settings. Baltzer's work raises some problems, but it addresses a gap for which research has been long overdue.

b. Based on the pattern of the Egyptian tomb inscriptions, Baltzer presupposes for the genre a strict or closed set of patterned elements according to which a biography, the biography of a public servant, had to be conceived. This methodological assumption does not only evoke the question of the historical relationship between the Egyptian tomb inscriptions and the OT biographies. It also raises the broader question of the possible variety of forms or structures and matrices or settings in which and out of which biographies could emerge, a question that cannot be pursued at this point. Another question has to do with the apparent interdependence of different genres such as tomb inscriptions, biography, royal inscriptions, chronicles, annals, historical novels, historiography, etc.[19] Last but not least, the question is of utmost importance whether we must understand every genre as the programmatic application of a consciously preconceived pattern, or whether we may at least also understand genre as the result of processes in which typical forms or structures of oral or written narrations emerge. The question is whether a *defined* genre stands at the beginning of a narration or literary work, or whether the generic definition of some such works may also be an *a posteriori* abstraction. What is the relationship between Baltzer's "Ideal-biography" and a Real-biography?

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[18] Baltzer, *Biographie*.

[19] On this aspect, cp. the lucid discussion by John Van Seters, *In Search of History* (New Haven/London: Yale, 1983).

c. Autobiographical and biographical literature is found, with qualifications, in Ancient Egypt and among the Hittites,[20] and in the Mediterranean world in a long development from prestages in Homer on down to Roman times.[21] Characteristic for this literature is the correlation between personal life (*bios*) and work, the importance for the work of the spirit guiding the personal life, and the public relevance of the work. The development also shows that autobiography and biography as genres were possible only under societal conditions, especially in monarchies, in which the society's fate was decisively influenced by the character, the accomplishments, and the fate of an individual.

The fact that the full-fledged genre appears late in the Mediterranean world, from the Hellenistic period on and in Rome, does not prove that this development is irrelevant for the Israelite literature because the former is later than the latter. The question is whether an analogous generic development cannot be observed in the history of the older Israelite literature, too, and especially even in the development of the pentateuchal traditions themselves in which Moses had become ever more important until he finally became the solely decisive individual for the entire history and community of Israel.[22] Such an analogous generic development towards the biography of the all-important Moses is particularly relevant with regard to the historical circumstances under which Moses could become more important for Israel than any other individual in its history: after the end of the monarchy. After and because the monarchy had been vanquished and the biographies of the kings had come to an end, *de facto* and with regard to the fundamental validity of those available, Moses could rise above them all, and his biography could once and for all replace theirs as the life story of the person whose importance for Israel was more fundamental than theirs and who was before them.

d. In order to provide a clearer access to the question of the biographical nature of the "Pentateuch" we must raise two questions: What is constitutive for the genre? And how are the person and its work related in the genre?

On the first question, Baltzer and Van Seters, with some variations, have on the basis of the Egyptian biographies presented the arguments. According to their description, the

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[20] Cp. Van Seters, *History*, 118f., 128-130, 145, 165, 181-187, 192, 219, 221.

[21] Cp. "Autobiographie" and "Biographie," *Lexicon der Alten Welt* (Zurich/Stuttgart: Artemis, 1965) 414-417, 469-473; G. Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1950); and A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1971).

[22] For the development of the form of the Egyptian biographies cp. Van Seters, *History*, 181-185. Most important is what Van Seters says about their complex structure: "And what is most important for form-critical considerations, both private biographies and royal inscriptions often have the same complex structure with a variety of genre elements included within the same work, each appropriate to the general *Sitz im Leben* in which it is used. Prose narration may be combined with poetic forms, especially hymns and prayers. Both genres may contain lists or legal enactments, and even elements of wisdom" (p. 185). Van Seters' description demonstrates very clearly what is *not* constitutive for the genre: the "complex structure"—in terms of style and genre elements—is a mosaic, to use Kaiser's term. But the mosaic says nothing about whether it is chaotic or generic. This fact is especially important where the mosaic, as in the case of the "Pentateuch," is the result of a complex traditio-historical process. The complexity of this process does not mean that in the final stratum, or in any of its earlier literary strata, a generic identity and homogeneity is impossible because the complexity of the tradition-history would only allow for generic disintegration into chaos.

biographies present persons as figures of a public function or office, and their work as an accountability report (to the gods or posterity) for their conduct of this office. Constitutive for the biographies are the installation report (so Baltzer; not mentioned by Van Seters); the reference to the installing authority, the king, and to their good relationship with that authority; and the description of their assignment and its execution.

Variables in the genre are—and here we already include aspects from the OT biographies: (1) The narrations in statements about birth and death. Not all biographies contain birth narrations or birth statements, although reference to the genealogical relationship is virtually universal. And the autobiographical farewell speeches in which persons leaving public office account for their conduct of office naturally contain no death report. Probably for other reasons as well, we have to distinguish between *ante mortem* and *post mortem* biographies; (2) The variable arrangement of the material in chronological, topographical, or some other systematic order; (3) the aspects of different offices, or various aspects of the same public function or office. Predominant among the aspects of office are the person's conduct of foreign and domestic affairs, and its relationship to the cult; (4) the degree to which a biography appears in the context of a wider history; (5) the length of the narration; (6) the length of the life narrated; and (7) the styles in generic elements used in the narration.

e. The second question of how person and work are related in the genre is above all important because the ancient biography is constituted by the correlation of these two factors. The ancient biography is no *Entwicklungsroman*.[23] In this relationship between person and work, one can see that the individual person does not disappear behind the work but that the work would not exist without the individual person. One can see at the same time that the subjective traits of the person's individuality insofar as they play a role at all stand in the service of the objective conditions of the person's task as a public servant. One can detect, and should expect a correlation between the references to an individual's life and the conceptualized presentation of work, function, or office. How this correlation looks can only be found out from case to case. We can now return to the "Pentateuch."

2. Of all the criteria for the ancient genre of biography just listed, not one is absent in Exodus-Deuteronomy. Contained in that narration are all the elements of biography, including the variables without exception. These elements need not be recounted at this place. Nor is it necessary to list the statements of the authors, such as e.g. Deut 34:7-12, that explicitly state the importance of Moses the person, or the references to his various functions or offices, or even those references that note his subjective traits. Exodus-Deuteronomy without the person of Moses would not exist. In fact, this work is not only framed by the narrations of Moses' birth and death, it is throughout pervaded by and based upon the central importance of Moses.

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[23]The modern understanding of biography as an often highly individualistic and psychological development is perhaps another reason, besides the focus on corporateness, why OT scholarship has hesitated to speak about biography. A further reason for this hesitancy seems to have been the theological interest in the kerygmatic nature of the texts in which the focus is on Yahweh and not on persons. But the focus on Yahweh means neither that there are no human life-stories nor that Yahweh is absent from such human life stories.

a. What is more important than the biographical elements is the conceptual coherence in Exodus-Deuteronomy which is constituted by the biographical elements. In its twofold structure, with two subdivisions in each of the two parts, this narration represents in a systematized order the work of Moses, Yahweh's servant for Israel, by means of his life from his birth until the day of his death. This systematized structure is cast into the topographical and chronological order of the sequence of the events. And in each of the four major parts Moses has a specifically different function as the narration progresses. Deuteronomy alone, the testament of Moses, is a distinctly biographical element of the whole Moses story. Here, as in the older parts, he functions for the last time as the executor and interpreter of Yahweh's instructions and as the dispenser of his public responsibility. In the narration from Egypt to Sinai he is both the receiver and executor of Yahweh's instructions, the Mediator. Nowhere does Moses disappear behind his work because he is Yahweh's servant, or behind Israel because Yahweh's and Moses' work happen on behalf of Israel. On the contrary, Moses' work and Yahweh's work, indeed Israel itself, would not exist without the person of Moses. Israel's existence was bound to Moses, and the guess that Yahweh could have chosen someone else is speculative in view of the literary narration, apart from the fact that it would only affirm the importance of a person anyway. Moses' work is intrinsically related to Moses as a person, and the person Moses stands in the service of the conditions of his work. The biographical data and the conceptual organization are interwoven with each other. They are indissolubly intertwined.

b. Moreover, the work of Moses is not narrated by way of the juxtaposition of two or four stages on the same level of importance. It climaxes in the Sinai-pericope in which Moses is literally the go-between, first between Israel in the camp and Yahweh on the mountain—ultimately alone with Yahweh! About whom in the OT was Israel capable of saying anything like that?—and then between Israel and Yahweh over the sanctuary within the camp. He is much more than the leader of a migratory group. He is the Mediator *kat' exochen*—prophetically and priestly—for all time. Beyond the second-most important event, Moses' testament, the Sinai-pericope pinpoints the culminating event in Moses' "life," his "work" in less than a one year period. The narration of Moses' life is not an anthology of unrelated stories or periods. It may be a mosaic, but this mosaic is eminently structured topographically, chronologically, and most important of all: conceptually prioritized. The picture presented here conflicts with Baltzer's statement that the closed or fixed form of biography is by and large dissolved in the "Pentateuch." That statement reflects the tradition of the tradition-critical scholarship on the Pentateuch in which one ultimately could no longer see the forest for the trees as the saying goes. It seems much more certain that the biographical genre is clearly evident precisely in its final, very much expanded form.[24]

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[24]Baltzer, *Biographie*, p. 38. Baltzer is probably correct when assuming that there were several Moses-biographies in earlier stages of the tradition. However, this assumption proves nothing for the absence or presence of the same genre in the final "Pentateuch." But when Baltzer separates the salvation-historical and the biographical traditions in Exodus-Deuteronomy and says that the decision as to which elements belong to which tradition cannot always be made with certainty (p. 39), he had a good argument as far as the analysis of the traditions behind the final "Pentateuch" is concerned. For the final "Pentateuch," however, it is quite clear that this alternative does not exist because all those originally non-Mosaic salvation-historical traditions have been—redaction-historically speaking—framed by and thereby put under the authority of Moses. This massive Mosaization is especially clear in the priestly parts of the Sinai-pericope and in Deuteronomy.

c. Moses died 120 years old. According to Exod 7:7 he was eighty years old when he spoke to Pharaoh. This statement must be understood biographically. It refers to Moses' public appearance and not to his vocation-installation. It focuses the reader's attention on the understanding that the Moses biography proper, encompassing the last third of his life, begins with his public appearance. This distinction within the total biography rests perhaps on the older well known distinction between the secret vocation or anointment and the public appearance of Yahweh servants. One can see here a shift in the tradition history of the Moses biography from one biographical element to another; from the installation to the public appearance, or again: from the commission to the compliance-execution. Likewise it ought to be noted that Moses' public appearance before Pharaoh subdivides the part "From Egypt to Sinai" (Exodus 1-18) into two parts, the time before and from that appearance on. This subdivision is not necessarily required by the older structure of the narration.

Finally, Exod 7:7 does not dislodge the twofold/fourfold macrostructure of Exodus-Deuteronomy. One might suspect that the statement is a signal by which the public life of Moses from Exod 7:7-Deuteronomy 34 is bound together in contradistinction to the preparation for that period in Exod 1:1-7:6. This understanding would be an overinterpretation of the function of Exod 7:7 which confines Moses' (and Aaron's) appearance to their speaking to Pharaoh. Thus, while it marks the beginnings of the forty decisive years of public life, it relates this beginning to Moses' and Aaron's encounter with Pharaoh, together with the statement that Aaron was eighty-three years old at that moment. Exod 7:7 is confined to the story of the rebellion against the oppression which precedes the exodus story proper.

d. What has the book of Genesis to do with the biography of Moses in Exodus-Deuteronomy? If Genesis is not a part of that biography, the "Pentateuch" as a whole cannot be the biography of Moses. Can or must Genesis be understood as a part of this biography?

We have discussed the major arguments for the twofold macrostructure of the "Pentateuch." Basic in that discussion is the argument that the two blocks are related, and not juxtaposed as unrelated narrations. Genesis is the introduction to the *Vita Mosis*. Hence, the two parts interpret one another. Their relationship means, basically, that the life and time of Moses, the period of one person's generation, cannot be properly understood in isolation from all of human history, indeed from the creation of the world. It can only be understood in this horizon. Conversely, creation and human history and the patriarchal period cannot be properly understood if not seen in the light of the life and time of Moses.

Specifically, the relationship between Genesis and Exodus-Deuteronomy means that in the work of Moses for Israel, especially in Moses' mediation of the revelation at Sinai and in his testament, the program is laid down by which Israel is called to be the paradigm for humanity in God's/Yahweh's creation. The decisive person for mediating this revelatory paradigm was Moses. Thus, just as Moses is seen as the one decisive person for all of humanity's history and existence so is he the decisive person for all of humanity's history and existence.

This person appeared in the course and at a distinct point of human and Israel's history: under Israel's oppression in a foreign land, and before its entry into the promised land. That point in history is obviously seen as more than a passing historical moment. It is seen as the axis of Israel's and human history before and after it, as the watershed mark and forever the fundamental point of orientation for human and Israel's history even as it is itself a moment in history.

This interpretation is substantiated when one realizes that the exilic-postexilic writers of the "Pentateuch," even those who proceeded to write the subsequent history of Israel, the deuteronomists, did not regard history as progressing to ever higher

culminations after the life of Moses, perhaps up to their time and beyond. On the contrary, they saw history culminating once and for all centuries earlier in the life of Moses, and themselves constituted, called, and evaluated from that vantage point.[25] When talking about Moses they did not talk about themselves, but when talking about themselves they talked about Moses. To be the Israel of Moses was the criterion for their identification. This criterion was at the same time the basis for their claims to universal validity.

Genesis is an intrinsic part of the biography of Moses, of the biographical genre that came to be structurally developed in the context of a universal-historical perspective, and even a creation-historical perspective. This stage in the development of the genre is obviously late in Israel's history. One would have to ask, however, where the roots of this structure are found within Israel's history, and in the history of the Ancient Near East. This question cannot be pursued at this point. It will need to be sufficient to point here to the subsequent development of the biographical genre, which is visible, e.g., in the Chronistic work where the movement begins with Adam, as in the Pentateuch, and culminates in the time of David and Solomon who built the temple, unlike the Pentateuch. One is reminded of the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John in which with variations the life and especially the public ministry of Jesus are set up in a more (so Luke and John) or less (so Matthew) universal perspective. One would have to look at other biographies or histories, e.g., Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and his *Ecclesiastical History*, and perhaps the correlation of both. The patterned, generic composition of the *Vita Moses* in the "Pentateuch" may not have been the first of its kind. It certainly was not the last.[26]

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[25]The observation is inevitable that for the Christian perspective, its *Mitte der Zeit* (Conzelmann), or its axis of history in history (different from K. Jasper's eighth century B.C.E. prophetic axis time of world history) is the time of the life of Jesus or the event of resurrection (Pannenberg) which is in antithesis to the "Pentateuch." This Christian thesis comes into sharp focus only when one understands it as the direct antithesis to the "Pentateuch's" thesis: Jesus versus Moses.

[26]I am indebted to Stephen Reed and to Henry T. C. Sun, senior OT Ph.D. students and my research associates at the Claremont Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, for editorial assistance, and to NT Ph.D. students Clayton N. Jefford and Kathleen E. Corley, secretaries at the IAC, for typing of the manuscript.

The Historiography of Acts: Deuteronomistic or Hellenistic?

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This paper presented as a prolegomenon, setting forth a program of study to test in more detail the hypotheses suggested in the title, rather than a summary, stating the results of research already completed. Stated more fully, the question is: Is the historiography which gives shape to the Book of Acts more similar to that of the biblical historiography reflected in the deuteronomistic history or to that of contemporary histories? I will present the former hypothesis, and David Balch will give an opposing response in the paper which follows.

I

The shape of the discussion about Lukan historiography has changed little since Cadbury's response to the prevailing approach to Luke-Acts as biography. Cadbury observed a biographical feature that Luke-Acts shares with both Hebrew history and Greek history: "the narratives of ancient history were often carried forward by the careers of successive individuals." However, this does not qualify Luke-Acts as "formal history." Rather, "the sayings of Jesus have their parallels in the collected dicta of the Greek philosophers, in the proverbs of the Jews and in the apothegms of the Christian Fathers. The narratives have their parallels in the Old Testament and in all popular history." Cadbury concluded that "all ancient history and biography rested in the last resort on material much like Luke's."[1]

A variety of studies since have investigated ways in which Luke-Acts is "parallel" to Old Testament history. Our purposes will be served by noting representative samples. Probably the most enduring contribution since Cadbury has been Paul Schubert's study of "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24." Schubert looks at Luke as both historian and theologian. In the former capacity Schubert offers this assessment: "As an historian Luke no doubt modeled himself on the Old Testament (LXX) and, chiefly, on Greek historiography."[2] Schubert's primary focus, however, is on Luke's theology of history, which he calls "proof-from-prophecy theology," which in turn is designated as "Luke's central theological idea throughout the two-volume work."[3] Schubert later gave a "better" description as "the theology of divine promise (LXX) and divine fulfillment (Luke-Acts)," which suggests a relationship between the two-volume work as a whole and the LXX. Schubert finds this theme culminating in the βουλή-theology of the speeches in Acts.[4]

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[1] *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: SPCK, 1927) 133-34.

[2] In *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. by W. Eltester (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954) 165-86, see pp. 170-71.

[3] Ibid., 174n, 176.

[4] "The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts," *JBL* 87 (1968) 1-16, see pp. 1-2.

Nils Dahl added support to the "proof-from-prophecy" motif in his study of "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts." The Abraham allusions have a definite "biblical flavor" in keeping with "the scheme of prophecy and fulfillment."[5] This is a scheme "Luke did not invent." Rather,

> The model for his conception of sacred history as a series of predictions and events Luke found, no doubt, in the historical books of Holy Scripture . . . . In the deuteronomistic work of history (Deuteronomy-II Kings) the word of God, announced by prophets and accomplished in due time, is considered an active power at work in history. Luke is imitating biblical historiography.

While Luke is doing this in the context of the larger Hellenistic world, "his own conscious intention was to write history in biblical style, or rather, to write the continuation of the biblical history."[6] For Dahl, like Schubert, the prophecy and fulfillment motif becomes the "theology of history" which dominates the speeches of Acts.

While Schubert and Dahl talk more generally about "biblical history," a more concrete Lukan usage of Deuteronomy was seen by C. F. Evans, in "The Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel." Not only does it begin in a peculiar style, "characteristic of the narrative style of the LXX," the sequence of subject matter leads Evans to call it "a Christian Deuteronomy."[7] Evans' suggestion has been pursued by a number of other scholars. Among the most prominent is James A. Sanders, who practices "comparative midrash" as part of canonical criticism. He seeks to trace the function of canonical traditions, such as Luke's use of Deuteronomy.[8] Apart from such study of particular texts, Sanders also is interested in the larger Deuteronomic influence on Luke: "the Deuteronomic history . . . not only helped shape Luke's understanding of what God was doing in Christ (the gospel) and in the early Church (Acts), it also helped shape Luke's two-volume report of that activity." Sanders further indicates his intent in a footnote: "Full evidence that Luke's work as a theological historian was shaped by his understanding of the LXX form of the Deuteronomic history must await further publication."[9]

David Tiede also builds on Evans and the "prophet like Moses" tradition from Deuteronomy. Tiede uses various descriptions for Luke's use of Deuteronomy: "Luke appropriates texts," has "linguistic parallels," presents "correlations with Deuteronomy," that amount to "a midrashic adaptation of Deuteronomy," placing Luke inside "an ongoing hermeneutical debate" about Israel's relation to the Moses tradition.[10] The "affinities" with Deuteronomy are especially noteworthy where Moses "provides the paradigm for Luke's presentation of Jesus." Tiede does not discuss the more general question of historiography, apart from referring to Luke-Acts as "biographical history or succession narrative."[11] The pattern of Jesus as "the prophet like Moses of Deuteronomy" is elaborated on in greater detail by David Moessner, who argues for "a typological correspon-

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[5]In *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. E. Keck & J. L. Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 139-58, see pp. 143-44.

[6]Ibid., 152.

[7]In *Studies in the Gospels*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955) 37-53, see pp. 37, 42.

[8]See *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) and references therein to earlier works.

[9]"Isaiah in Luke," *Int* 36 (1982) 144-55, see 146-47.

[10]*Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 39, 56, 58-60.

[11]Ibid., 17.

dence" with Deuteronomy at work in Luke-Acts.[12] Thomas L. Brodie also finds texts from the Deuteronomic history used in Luke-Acts, but sees them as part of the Hellenistic practice of imitating classical texts.[13]

John Drury begins with the premise, "Rooted in the Jewish past, it was inevitable that the early Christians' thinking about history should be determined by Jewish historiography." Thus when "historical writing flourished among the Christians," Luke employed "the technique of the Deuteronomic historian" in "his renaissance of Old Testament historiography," which meant a sense of history as "a dialectic of prophecy and fulfilment."[14] Luke becomes "one of the greatest narrative Midrashists," applying midrash to sources which "could be anything from a whole written document to a verse within it."[15] Drury describes Luke's use of the OT as deploying the "stock-in-trade of ancient Jewish historiography," using the OT books of history as his "models and tutors." Therefore one is not surprised to find "the binding themes of the Deuteronomic history, God, people, Jerusalem, temple and prayer, historical psalms, and women given prominent roles." However, Luke "does not allow the Septuagint to dictate the course of events . . . , but he emerges as a storyteller in his own right."[16]

While Drury's study of Luke as historian/storyteller is primarily on Luke's gospel, his observations about the Deuteronomic flavor of Luke 1-2 have clear implications for approaching the entire two-volume work.

> The opening scene of Zechariah ministering in the temple with all the people praying outside is a grand tableau of the whole of Israel gathered at its national shrine, the house of its God, strongly reminiscent of the scene of Solomon's dedication of the same temple in the presence of the whole assembly of Israel in 1 Kings 8. Luke's opening scene has the double effect of bringing the fundamental pattern of the old dispensation before the reader, and of raising expectation of some new and momentous event in this long history.[17]

Not only the temple but the city also is an integral part of the Deuteronomic history. "Jerusalem is the geographical magnet which determines the movement and the action of the whole two-volume work up till Paul's departure for Rome . . . . In Deuteronomy it is 'the city that the Lord has chosen' and the 'house for the name of the Lord.'" Luke thus seeks to "tie his Christian history to the whole of the salvation history of God's people," a history that has its impetus in "prophecy and its fulfilment," so that "prophecies spoken by the tale's *dramatis personae* are fulfilled within its course." In this way Luke "joins the tradition of Old Testament historiography."[18]

In summary: At least since the time of Cadbury, scholars have noted a variety of ways in which Acts, and Lukan historiography in general, bring to mind OT historiography, and especially that of the Deuteronomist.

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[12]"Luke 9:1-50: Luke's Preview of the Journey of the Prophet Like Moses of Deuteronomy," *JBL* 102 (1983) 575-605, see 600, 590.

[13]See "Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke's Use of Sources," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, ed. C. H. Talbert (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 17-46 and references therein to earlier works.

[14]*Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study of Early Christian Historiography* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1976) 3-5.

[15]Ibid., 12, 45.

[16]Ibid., 50-51, 60.

[17]Ibid., 51.

[18]Ibid., 52-53.

II

The list of features comparing Acts to OT historiography would be quite extensive, without necessarily being any more conclusive. Therefore, the requisite next step must be a more careful synchronic look at the structure of Acts. An important contribution toward that end has been the study of the parallels between Acts and its companion volume.[19] One such comparable feature between the two volumes is the role of the early speeches. Talbert parallels the first speech in Acts (2:14-41) with the "inaugural speech" of Jesus in Luke 4. An alternative analysis suggests rather that Peter's sermon in Acts 2 is structured similarly to the Baptist's sermon in Luke 3:

Lk 3:3-18 Baptist's Sermon	Ac 2:14-40 Peter's Sermon
4 prophetic text	16 prophetic text
4 opening theme: ἡ ὁδός	17 opening theme: τὸ πνεῦμα
6 final theme: πᾶς/σωτήριον	21 final theme: πᾶς/σωθήσεται
7 appeal to audience	22 appeal to audience
10, 12, 14 τί ποιήσωμεν	37 τί ποιήσωμεν;
3 βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	38 μετανοήσατε κ. βαπτισθήτω εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν
18 generalized summary	40 generalized summary
21 ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι	41 ἐβαπτίσθησαν
19-20 because of other activity, John is jailed	3:1-4:3 because of other activity, Peter and John are jailed

The response to the activity of Peter and John is arrest and jail, because the priests and Sadducees are annoyed (Acts 4:1-3). This pattern continues in chapter 5, when the high priest and Sadducees, filled with jealousy, arrest and jail the apostles again. When the escaped apostles return preaching, the Sanhedrin is infuriated and wants to kill them (5:33). This spiral of antipathy continues until the speech of Stephen infuriates his listeners so that they cast him out of the city and stone him (7:54, 58). The infuriating theme of Stephen's speech is the career of Moses, the same subject of Peter's speech in chapter 3 which provoked arrest and jail. This is an audience that does not respond favorably when reminded of prophets like Moses. When the sequence results in Stephen's death, the event is momentous enough to introduce Saul onto the stage of history and to cause a new "diaspora" (8:1-2).

The model for the treatment of Stephen is Jesus in Luke 4. His message that "no prophet is acceptable in his own country" provokes anger and he is put out of the city and they attempt to kill him. In response he preaches in Capernaum and "they were all amazed" (4:36) and reports spread everywhere, after which disciples are called (ch. 5). The content of Jesus' speech is that the prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled and the stories of Elijah and Elisha from 1-2 Kings are fitting reminders that the biblical story of salvation is not an exclusivistic story. This serves to announce the theme that Sanders

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[19]See C. H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) and A. J. Mattill, Jr., "The Jesus-Paul Parallels and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: H. H. Evans Reconsidered," *NovT* 17 (1975) 15-46.

identified in the central section: "a prophetic critique of current inversions of the Deuteronomic ethic of election."[20]

The relationship between the role of Jesus and that of John is a major interest of Luke and is given careful attention in the opening chapters of his gospel. Scholarship has long recognized that the Magnificat is modeled after the song of Hannah from the birth story of Samuel. Drury goes further to ask: why Samuel? and answers: "He is the bridge connecting the era of the judges and the kings, the precursor of Saul and David and their anointer" and thus "John is Samuel come-again," anticipating "Jesus's destined superiority, like David's over Samuel."[21]

The concluding chapter of Luke's gospel likewise has important parallels to Acts. Schubert found "proof-from-prophecy theology" at the heart of Luke 24 and concluded that the end of Acts (28:17-31) is a "deliberate and close parallel, structurally, formally and materially (proof-from-prophecy scheme) to Luke 24:1-53."[22]

As we approach Acts more explicitly synchronically, trying to do justice both to Acts as a whole and to its role as part of a two-volume work, the relationship between the two volumes can be seen as its own kind of promise-fulfillment. Van Unnik argued for the purpose of Acts as confirmation of the gospel:

> There is a solid bridge between the saving activity of Jesus and people living at a distance who have had no personal contact with the incarnate Lord. The solidity of this bridge consists in the *confirmation* of the salvation by the apostles, sanctioned by God through miraculous gifts.[23]

> The two volumes of Luke's work show: this is the way of the Word in this world, the Word of God, the Word of Salvation. These various motifs are not separate lines of thought, but various aspects of *one* great fact: God's place of σωτηρία, how it came to the world in Jesus Christ and how it built the solid bridge across to them who did not see Jesus incarnate. Acts is the confirmation (βεβαίωσις) of what God did in Christ as told in the first book.[24]

In this perspective the two-volume work is not only a "fulfillment" of the Old Testament "promise," but is itself held together by its own kind of internal promise-fulfillment momentum. If this perspective is brought to all the work on the parallels between Luke and Acts, then the parallels take on a new kind of importance as part of the very fabric of the structure and purpose of the two volumes.

III

When we turn to explicit discussion of the historiography of Acts, we must consider van Unnik's comparison of "Luke's Second Book and the Rules of Hellenistic Historiography." The comparison is at first not favorable, because the prevailing conception of history was: "*history was political history*," and "whatever may have been the special

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[20]"The Ethic of Election in Luke's Great Banquet Parable," in *Essays in Old Testament Ethics*, ed. J. P. Hyatt (New York: KTAV, 1974) 247-71, see p. 255.

[21]*Tradition*, 58-59.

[22]"Structure," 185.

[23]"The 'Book of Acts' the Confirmation of the Gospel," *NovT* 4 (1960) 26-59, see p. 48.

[24]Ibid., 58.

purpose of Luke, it was decidedly *not political history*."[25] However, when van Unnik catalogues ten "literary criteria for historical writing held in the Hellenistic world,"[26] Acts compares much more favorably: (1) choosing a noble subject, (2) which will be truly profitable to the reader, (3) the historian must be independent (incorruptible), (4) the importance of the beginning and end of the book(s), (5) the author's activity in collecting material, (6) the principle of selection: change, variety and rapidity, (7) the disposition and order of the material, (8) vividness, (9) topographical details, and (10) the introduction of speeches. The speeches particularly have been evaluated by others to be representative of Hellenistic historiography,[27] though the presence of biblical motifs also has been noted.[28] Some of the other criteria would be difficult to assess for Acts, but in general they seem to be an apt description, at the literary level, of how Acts might have been composed.

Beyond the literary level, however, historiography also included the search for explanation of the cause of events. In the second century BCE Polybius views "the power of *tyche*—whether this be chance, fate, or luck" as the cause of history, while in the next generation, for the Stoic Posidonius, "history is seen as guided by divine providence."[29]

Two important features of Lukan historiography are directly pertinent here. We have already seen the central role that Schubert gives to βουλή-theology in Acts. This is but part of the larger framework of "divine necessity" (δεῖ) which is integral to Luke's understanding of "God's plan of salvation."[30] These two features, in turn, must be seen within the discussion of "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology," as presented recently by C. H. Talbert.[31] One dimension of discussing this feature that remains troublesome is the uncertainty of what to call it. Talbert uses a variety of labels: paradigm, perspective, schema, motif, theme, device, pattern, literary pattern, and theology. Talbert identifies some ways in which this feature of Luke-Acts has been understood: to explain proof-from-prophecy texts, "in imitation of biblical historiography," in presenting scriptural-like behavior, in "typological use," and to explain ethical demands.[32] Talbert then suggests that the cultural milieu in which promise and fulfillment would have been heard was "the notion that a divine necessity controls human history, shaping the course of its events," as it "fulfills oracles." The evidence for this is the Stoic idea of divine providence, "rewarding of virtue and punishing of vice." While this device is used in the Deuteronomic history, it was part of the Mediterranean world-view, another "cultural-commonplace."[33]

In such a diluted version the historiography of Acts may appear to be but a variation of a common theme recognized by every Hellenistic reader. However, the full pattern to be investigated is much richer than that, e.g., Mattill's summary of the extensive Jesus-Paul parallels:

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[25] In *Les Actes des Apôtres*, ed. J. Kremer (Leuven, 1979) 37-60, see pp. 38-39.

[26] Ibid., 59.

[27] E.g., see M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. H. Greeven (New York: Scribner's, 1950) 138-85 and F. Veltman, "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. C. H. Talbert (Special Studies Series 5; Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 243-56.

[28] E. g. Schubert, "Final Cycle."

[29] H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. One: History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) 130-131.

[30] Mattill, "Parallels," 26, 24.

[31] In *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives* (see n. 13) 91-103.

[32] Ibid., 92-94.

[33] Ibid., 96-100.

> Luke has shown that Paul, like Jesus, is loyal to the traditions of Israel: Law, synagogue, resurrection, and Scripture; that in God's plan of salvation Paul, like Jesus, is God's elect servant, governed by divine necessity; guided by Spirit, revelations, and angels; legitimatized through signs and wonders; and portraying the rejections of the Gospel by the Jews and its proclamation to the Gentiles; that Paul, like Jesus, journeys toward Jerusalem and passion, though innocent of all charges; and that both repeatedly enjoy house hospitality.[34]

This picture gives meaningful shape to the promise-fulfillment pattern between the two volumes of Luke's work. Furthermore, the basis for this promise-fulfillment pattern is itself the deuteronomistic history.

David Tiede builds upon the crucial observation that "Luke explicitly identified Jesus as the 'prophet like Moses' promised in Deuteronomy," in the context that "the scriptures and their fulfillment are thus the crucial testimony to the constancy and indeflectability of the divine will."[35] Luke had already set the tone in the first chapters of his gospel:

> The imitation of the scriptural tone of the deuteronomistic historians already recalls a theological tradition in which the determination or intention of God for his people sets the framework for discussing human freedom and responsibility. As a hellenistic historian, Luke both contemplates the inscrutable forces and causes of the fortunes of this people and draws upon archaic traditions to do so.[36]

Luke, therefore, is continuing in the deuteronomistic tradition of interpreting Moses as the prototype prophet, whose suffering "functioned both to indict Israel of unfaithfulness and to offer assurance of divine faithfulness to the elect when in distress."[37] Coupled with his role as a "prophet like Moses," Jesus is, of course, also "the anointed one" like David, so he becomes an "anointed prophet-king," whose rejection leads to a divided Israel.[38]

Tiede evaluates the nature of the deuteronomistic allusions used by Luke and concludes that they "are *not incidental* to his literary purposes," but rather that "Luke draws heavily upon the deuteronomistic historical traditions to interpret recent history." In fact, Tiede places Luke inside a "continuing hermeneutical debate" over the fulfillment of the scriptures, "Israel's faithfulness to Moses' instruction,"[39] Luke's use of the deuteronomistic tradition, therefore, is part of his scriptural apologetic.[40]

IV

Before we can test Acts more adequately as deuteronomistic historiography we also need a fuller description of the latter. The most recent work by John Van Seters gives a detailed critique and re-evaluation of the traditional historical-critical studies of the Dtr

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[34]"Parallels," 36-37.

[35]*Prophecy*, 30, 32.

[36]Ibid., 29.

[37]Ibid., 43, 41.

[38]Ibid., 55, 121.

[39]Ibid., 51, 59.

[40]See D. Schmidt, "Luke's 'Innocent' Jesus: A Scriptural Apologetic," in *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*, ed. R. J. Cassidy and P. J. Scharper (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983) 111-121, especially 117-19.

history.[41] Van Seters' careful investigation calls into question the results of the diachronic studies that have dominated scholarship. Rather than find redactional features scattered throughout a variety of early sources, he finds a thoroughly Dtr work. Rather than evolving from early forms, the Dtr work is the creation of the author. To facilitate a comparison with Acts, we will digest the dominant features Van Seters finds in the Dtr history.

Luke's two-volume work begins with John as "Samuel come-again."[42] In the Dtr history "Samuel, as prophet, is the means by which the divine will and activity are set in motion."[43]

> The connection is developed by Dtr in order to make the description of Saul's relationship to Samuel similar to his other descriptions of prophet-king relationships in Kings. . . . This redactional process—a mixture of free composition and the creation of redactional links between independent blocks of material of different types and genres—is the basis of historiography in Samuel and Kings.[44]

> Each unit contributes to the thematic interest of the whole and is composed with this larger theme in mind. Scarcely a single episode can be considered in isolation from the rest of the story. Whatever the nature of the traditional material . . . , it has been used with complete freedom by the author, making it virtually impossible to distinguish between the received traditions and the elements of his own composition. . . . Another literary technique used . . . is the repetition of short scenes, motifs, and the like to reinforce the overall theme and unity of the work. This has often been interpreted as an indication of a plurality of sources or traditions, but such an explanation does not work very well.[45]

Van Seters is skeptical of attempts to find and reconstruct the sources that lie behind such a history:

> The story shows little concern for exact chronology and makes little attempt to overcome inconsistencies and contradictions in the compilation of its scenes and episodes. No amount of source analysis, tradition criticism, or redaction criticism can solve what is basically the result of this author's particular literary techniques.[46]

Rather than search for sources, Van Seters notes important structural features in the Dtr history. The Dtr parallels "my servant David" (2 Sam 7:8) to "my servant Moses" from Deuteronomy, and "thus sets apart these two figures as the dual founders of the nation and marks off two important eras in Israel's history."[47] The Jesus-Paul parallels come immediately to mind in Luke-Acts as an analogous set of "dual founders."

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[41] *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale, 1984) 249-353.

[42] See n. 21.

[43] Van Seters, *Search*, 255.

[44] Ibid., 258.

[45] Ibid., 268.

[46] Ibid., 269.

[47] Ibid., 276.

The most crucial element in the historiography of Acts to be derived from the deuteronomistic history was promise and fulfillment. Van Seters finds it indigenous to the deuteronomist. "The Dtr account of Solomon's reign" is summed up as "a rather elaborate reconstruction by Dtr based upon very little prior material. He is concerned, first and foremost, to see in Solomon's reign the fulfillment of the divine promise to David . . . ." The pattern "is a literary artifice created by Dtr," which "creates a sense of unity and movement in the longer work."[48]

> It would appear from this that the thematic unity of the Dtr history in the books of Kings consists in the development not only of one simple theme but of a complex of themes . . . . All these themes are interrelated in various ways and grow out of the ideological and thematic basis developed and articulated for them already in the [earlier stories].[49]

At the end of his "study of Dtr's thematic continuity in Samuel and Kings" Van Seters summarizes the "unifying devices" used to integrate the material:

> These include patterns and analogies, repetition of formulaic statements in a framework, prophecies and their fulfilment, and contrasts between major figures . . . . Techniques such as these allow the historian to carry forward a number of different concerns in a loose association with each other and to incorporate into his work a great variety of source materials of different styles. To break each pattern or scheme apart into a separate redaction or source is a serious mistake. No single scheme is imposed upon the whole since the periods and subjects do not easily lend themselves to such uniformity of treatment. Nevertheless, the interweaving and overlapping of patterns and formulas make the sense of unity clear enough.[50]

Van Seters then suggests some of the implications of his conclusions. The so-called "collections" of material "never had an independent existence," but were collected by the author, who employed "a variety of literary techniques" in using them:

> the use of speeches by major figures or the insertion of editorial comment to introduce or sum up the theme of a unit, or to provide a transition to the next unit; the periodization of history . . . ; the association of themes with principle figures . . . ; the pattern of prophecy and fulfilment . . . ; and the use of analogies between the figures of history.[51]

An overriding concern was "the integration of tradition into a single authoritative form," which required "the combination and reconciliation" of disparate traditions—of "the royal ideology of the house of David" with the "prophetic sense of corporate responsibility."[52]

This general description of the composition of the Dtr history taken from Van Seters, if read as a definition of biblical historiography, fits the Lukan historiography as well as it does that of the deuteronomist. The essential features of the description are supported by previous scholarship on the Dtr history. Two examples will suffice. The first is from von Rad's description of "The Deuteronomistic Theology of History in the Book of Kings."

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[48]Ibid., 311-12.
[49]Ibid., 314.
[50]Ibid., 349-50.
[51]Ibid., 355-58.
[52]Ibid., 360.

The Dtr is most concerned with the question of complete obedience to the words of Yahweh, so that history is presented through the schema of prophecy and fulfillment:

> Jahweh revealed his commandments to Israel; in case of disobedience he threatened her with severe punishment, with the judgement of total destruction, in fact. That had now actually taken place. Jahweh's words had been "fulfilled" in history—they had not "failed," as the Deuteronomist is fond of saying. There thus exists . . . an inter-relationship between the words of Jahweh and history in the sense that Jahweh's word, once uttered, reaches its goal under all circumstances in history by virtue of the power inherent in it.[53]

This is clearly the same understanding of history that gives impetus to Luke-Acts.

A second example is provided by the rather exhaustive list of "Deuteronomic phraseology" compiled by Moshe Weinfeld. He groups the data under ten headings:

1. The struggle against idolatry
2. Centralization of worship—the chosen place and the "name"—theology
3. Exodus, covenant, and election
4. The monotheistic creed
5. Observance of the law and loyalty to the covenant
6. Inheritance of the land
7. Retribution and material motivation
8. The fulfilment of prophecy
9. The Davidic dynasty
10. Rhetoric and parenetic phraseology.[54]

Not only do these general categories correspond to items in the Lukan history, many of the individual phrases characteristic of these categories in the deuteronomistic history are also part of the historiography of Acts, e.g., serve/worship God, fear God, the name of the Lord, chosen Israel, the people, signs and wonders, prayer, the way of the Lord, turn away (apostasy), scatter (diaspora), fulfill (the word of the Lord), servants (prophet), servant (David), turn (from wickedness), proselytes and widows. Such phrases, therefore, are the result of more than mere Septuagintal influence on Luke's language and style. They reflect the historiographical perspective of the author, namely, that of the deuteronomist. Another implication of acknowledging the historiographical perspective of Luke is that this data must not be used simply as evidence of sources.[55] Rather the linguistic data must be approached with the sensitivity displayed by Cadbury and Dupont.[56]

In sum: the studies of Van Seters, von Rad and Weinfeld collectively yield a harmonious picture of the "theology of history," or more generally, the historiography, of the deuteronomistic tradition. When this picture becomes the basis for detailed comparison with Acts, it will need to be based, of course, on the LXX text, from which were taken the representative phrases above.

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[53] *Studies in Deuteronomy* SBT 9; London: SCM, 1953) 77-78.

[54] *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 320-59.

[55] E.g., C. H. H. Scobie, "The Use of Source Material in the Speeches of Acts III and VII," NTS 25 (1979) 399-421.

[56] H. J. Cadbury, "Four Features of Lucan Style," in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 87ff.; J. Dupont, *The Sources of the Acts* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1964.

V

Summary: This prolegomenon has suggested a course of study for investigating the historiography of Acts. It begins by noting the convergence of scholarship on Luke's "theology of history" and that of the deuteronomist, characterized as "promise and fulfillment," but much more comprehensive than that. A thorough, synchronic study of Acts (with only a sample given here) is required to demonstrate that the only adequate explanation for the oft-noted deuteronomistic features of Acts is that the underlying historiography of Acts is derived from the deuteronomistic historiography.

Acts as Hellenistic Historiography

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Introduction

Professor Daryl Schmidt accepts John van Seters' synchronic analysis of Deuteronomic historiography and proposes the thesis for future study that the underlying historiography of Acts is derived from it. Van Seters lists the key literary techniques of Dtn. as speeches, editorial comment, the periodization of history, the association of themes with principal figures, the pattern of prophecy and fulfilment, and the use of analogies between the figures of history.[1] Prof. Schmidt provides a sketch of recent research which has emphasized the influence of Dtn. on Luke/Acts, not merely on Luke's language and style, but on basic literary features, especially the theme/theology/scheme/motif/dialectic/pattern/model/momentum/structural feature of promise and fulfilment.[2] The critical response which follows touches on several of these Deuteronomic literary techniques, but it focuses on the theme of "prophecy and fulfilment" in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*.[3]

A. Alternatives

Van Seters' list of literary techniques first mentions speeches. Dibelius compared speeches in Acts and Thucydides, which appear at significant points to supplement or correct the narrative;[4] they have a function in the book as a whole,[5] illuminating the significance of turning points in the events.[6] Dionysius (*Rom. Ant.* 7.66.3) expresses

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[1]John van Seters, *In Search of History. Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University, 1983) 358, quoted and cited by Schmidt in ftn. 51, who does not point out that van Seters is summarizing the results of his "comparative study of *Herodotus and* Dtn." (my emphasis)

[2]Van Seters, *In Search of History* 37 comments on prophecy and fulfilment in Herodotus, citing R. Lattimore, "The Wise Adviser in Herodotus," *Class. Phil.* 34 (1939) 24-35. J. J. M. Roberts, "Myth versus History. Relaying the Comparative Foundations," *CBQ* 38 (1976) 1-13 suggests caution when making claims about the uniqueness of biblical historiography in the Ancient Near East (cited by van Seters, p. 2, n.3).

[3]W. C. van Unnik, "First Century A.D. Literary Culture and Early Christian Literature," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 25 (1979) 28-48, at p. 35 observes that Dionysius is "an important representative of that literary culture of the first century . . . which was so characteristic for the world in which the early church had its place."

[4]Martin Dibelius, "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography," *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (SCM, 1956) 176.

[5]Dibelius, "Speeches" 152, 175.

[6]Dibelius, "Speeches" 164. E. Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller.*

surprise that some historians do not "report the speeches by which the extraordinary and remarkable events were brought to pass" (trans. Cary in Loeb Classical Library). Gärtner admits that the Old Testament offers no real parallels to speeches such as those in Acts.[7] Has van Seters proved the opposite?[8]

The periodization of history, another literary technique, is illustrated by the Deuteronomist's succession of generations of forty years' length for the Judges and the early monarchy and by the Priestly Writer's antediluvian, postdiluvian and post-Mosaic ages.[9] Or is Plümacher correct that this periodization no longer grows out of the Old Testament idea of election, but represents the Roman *fatum* ideology and the related hellenistic motif of *anankē* religiosity?[10]

Cadbury perceived ancient historiography as a narration of the careers of successive individuals. Thus Nils Dahl interprets "Abraham in Luke-Acts," and David Tiede stresses the prophet like Moses. Prof. Schmidt sees a "pattern" of preaching on the career of Moses followed by unfavorable response. This emphasis seems consistent with James Sanders' definition of Torah as a story (*muthos*) with law (*ethos*) embedded in it.[11] But is this literary technique derived from Deuteronomic historiography? In Roman historiography, Romulus (Dionysius, *Rom. Ant.* 1.76-2.56) and Numa (*Rom. Ant.* 2,57-76) play roles analogous to those played by Moses and David in Dtn. Augustus was another Romulus,[12] Antony another Dionysus, etc.[13]

B. Divine Promise and Divine Fulfilment:

The emphasis of Schubert, Tiede, Moessner, Drury, and now van Seters as interpreted by Prof. Schmidt, is on divine promise and fulfilment. This Deuteronomic theology of history is defined by von Rad subjectively as the question of obedience, objectively in Israel's history. "Jahweh revealed his commandments to Israel; in case of disobedience he

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Studien zur Apostelgeschichte (SzUNT 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) 36 cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. Ant.* 7.66.3, quoted below.

[7] B. Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation* (Copenhagen, 1955) 18ff.

[8] See van Seters, *In Search of History*, "General Index" under "Literary techniques."

[9] Van Seters, *In Search of History* 38.

[10] Eckhard Plümacher, "Lukas als griechischer Historiker," in Pauly, *RE*, Supplementband 14 (1974) 235-264 at col. 238. Compare his "Die Apostelgeschichte als historische Monographie," in *Les Actes des Apôtres*, ed. J. Kremer (BETL 48; Leuven: U.P., 1979) 457-466, esp. 459, 463 for examples of monographs on selected time periods.

[11] James A. Sanders, "Adaptable for Life: The Nature and Function of Canon," in *Magnalia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God*, Essays . . . in Memory of G. Ernest Wright (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 531-60, at p. 535. Cp. his "Torah and Paul" in *God's Christ and His People*, Studies in Honour of Nils Alstrup Dahl, ed. J. Jervell and W. A. Meeks (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977) 132-40, at p. 138: "Of the two Jewish denominations, which finally survived the destruction of the Second Temple in A.D. 70, Christianity fell heir to the emphasis on the heilsgeschichtliche Story aspect of Torah (*in sensu lato*) while Pharisaic-Rabbinic Judaism fell heir to the emphasis on Torah as the divine will expressed for life-style." More broadly, compare Larry D. Shinn, *Two Sacred Worlds. Experience and Structure in the World's Religions* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973) 91-98.

[12] David L. Balch, *Let Wives be Submissive. The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (SBLMS 26; Chico: Scholars, 1981) 72, n. 48.

[13] Balch, *Wives* 70. Josephus makes Moses another Solon or Lycurgus; see Balch, "Two Apologetic Encomia: Dionysius on Rome and Josephus on the Jews," *JSJ* 13 (1982) 102-22, at p. 115.

threatened her with severe punishment, with the judgment of total destruction, in fact. That had now actually taken place. Jahweh's words had been 'fulfilled' in history. . . ."[14]

This scheme has close analogies in Hellenistic historiography. Here I underline one of Talbert's observations: the literary critic works with three entities: the text, the author's intention, and the readers/hearers of the text and what they would have perceived. Knowing what the readers would have perceived requires knowledge of ancient Mediterranean culture.[15] A glance at Stern's collection of *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* stimulates healthy skepticism about how much they would have known about Old Testament theology! Hecataeus of Abdera, Nicolaus of Damascus, Celsus and Galen[16] are exceptions in Stern's collection; most were either remarkably ignorant about Judaism or intentionally slanderous.

Some persons in the first century would have heard divine promise and fulfilment as interpreted by Dionysius.[17] Romulus' "constitution" regulated Rome's relation to the gods (Dionysius, *Rom. Ant.* 2.18-23), and this constitution was the "cause" of Rome's success (*Rom. Ant.* 2.3.6).[18] Rome is powerful *because* s/he is just and pious. ". . . divine Providence (*theia pronoia*) . . . has on every occasion preserved (*kairo sozousa*) this city and down to my own times continues to watch over it. . . ." (*Rom. Ant.* 5.54.1, trans. Cary). Some conspirators are compelled by visions to reveal their plan; a soothsayer says they will perish if they do not change (5.54.3; cp. 2.22.3). This instance of "divine intervention" (5.56.1) occurs and the conspirators die (5.57.4-5).

Two gods fight for the Romans (6.13). Again, when the Volscians incite each other to a war against the Romans, "some benevolence of the gods, who were always careful not to permit the Romans to become subject to their enemies, manifested its power upon this occasion. . . ." (7.12.4, trans. Cary). A pestilence was sent on the Volscians.

> The greatest assistance of all . . . is the favour of the gods (*theon eunoia*), by whom this city . . . not only continues to this day to preserve her liberty . . . , but is also flourishing (*eudaimona*) and the ruler over many nations. (8.26.3, trans. Cary)

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[14]G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (London: SCM, 1953) 78, quoted by Schmidt in ftn. 53. Compare the common Ancient Near Eastern treaty; see Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (1963). However, this scheme was modified in Israel, which "renewed" the covenant despite disobedience (Jer 34:8-22; Nehemiah 9-10; see Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary* (1971). Josephus, e.g. *Ant.* 1.14, uses technical Stoic terminology to express the Deuteronomic blessings and curses. See Harold W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (HDR 7; Missoula: Scholars, 1976) 67, 84, 86.

[15]Charles H. Talbert, "Promise and Fulfilment in Lucan Theology," in *Luke-Acts. New Perspectives from the SBL Seminar*, ed. Talbert (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 91-103, at p. 96.

[16]Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974 and 1980), vol. 1, pp. 20-44, 227-60 and vol. 2, pp. 224-328. See M. Stern, "The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, Section One, vol. 2, pp. 1101-1159.

[17]See van Unnik (quoted n. 3 above). The following examples are cited by Earnest Cary in his Loeb edition of Dionysius (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1968), vol. 1, p. xxiv.

[18]The Romans even reversed this (Deuteronomic?) theology. Apion (in Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.125) argues that the Jews are unjust and impious *because* they are not masters of an empire. See Balch, "Two Apologetic Encomia" 112, 116.

When Pyrrus sought an impious source of funds in the temple, Providence (*pronoia*) showed its power (*dunamis*) as an example and a lesson (*paradeigma kai paideuma*, 20.9). Pyrrus' dreams and a vision help him divine his future misfortune (20.12).

Some atheists ridicule epiphanies of the gods and goddesses, thinking they do not concern themselves with anything relating to humanity (2.67; cp. 8.56). But others

> who do not absolve the gods from the care of human affairs, but, after looking deeply into history (*historia*), hold that they are favorable to the good and hostile to the wicked, will not regard even these manifestations as incredible. (2.68.2, trans. Cary)

How far is this from Deut 25:19; 26:6; 27:7, 25, 33, 41, 49, 52, 68; 2 Sam 7:9, 11; 8:1ff.; and Psalms 2? Would the Gentile Christians in Luke's congregations, at least those who had heard or read the Deuteronomic history, have perceived the difference?

Missionary Journeys in Acts and European Missionary Societies

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Many of us can remember having to memorize outlines of Paul's missionary journeys when we were children. Traditionally there were three of them, each beginning in Antioch or Jerusalem. The first journey had Antioch as a base and outlined Paul's travels in Acts 13-14. The second journey covered the events of Acts 15:40-18:22, and ended with a one-verse Pauline visit to Jerusalem and Antioch.[1] The third journey covered the events of Acts 18:22-21:16 and ended with Paul's arrival in Jerusalem, where he was soon to be arrested.

Modern scholarship has generally accepted this journey scheme uncritically. Journey outlines appear in the commonly used biblical atlases;[2] and, with an occasional exception,[3] the journey scheme has been used in all modern commentaries on Acts for over a century.[4] Of course there have been many doubts about how accurately Acts portrays Paul's travels,[5] in particular the number and significance of his visits to Jerusalem;[6] but there is little serious doubt today that the author of Luke-Acts divided Paul's missionary travels into three, possibly only two,[7] journeys with either Antioch or Jerusalem as a point of departure, or even a home base.

It is questionable, however, whether a missionary-journey scheme is to be found in Acts itself. Did the author of Luke-Acts understand Paul going out and returning to some home base? Did this author see Paul in terms of a missionary sponsored by the Jerusalem-Antioch Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the JASPG? To be sure the travels of Paul to Cyprus and Asia Minor depicted in Acts 13-14 do describe a missionary

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[1]As most exegetes recognize, Acts 18:22 implies a Jerusalem visit through the expression, "he went up"; but cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), p. 544, n. 5.

[2]E.g., G. E. Wright and F. W. Filson, *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956) 99; Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 154-155.

[3]One such exception is A. Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Nourry, 1920) 614f.; *The Birth of the Christian Religion*, trans. L. P. Jacks from the 1933 French edition (New York: University Books, 1962) 136-165; *The Origins of the New Testament*, trans. Jacks from the 1936 French edition (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1950).

[4]So P. H. Menoud, "Le plan des Actes des Apôtres," *NTS* 1 (1954/55) 47f.

[5]See, e.g., H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HNT 7; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1972) 80: "Das Schema der 'Reisen' is eine Schöpfung des Lk."

[6]For a summary of various studies, see R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 63-87, especially 75-85.

[7]Occasionally a critic will argue that the second and third journeys are a single long journey. So, e.g., Menoud, 47ff.; followed by C. S. C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (HNTC; New York: Harper, 1957) 214.

journey based in Antioch; but, after Paul's break with Barnabas in Acts 15:39f., the pattern changes.[8] Paul simply goes out into the gentile world to wherever the Spirit would lead him,[9] and remains on the move until he reaches Corinth. There he settles down for a long stay (18:1-18), perhaps with the intention of using the city as a base for wider missionary activity.[10]

Unfortunately after a mere eighteen months Paul has an altercation with the Jewish community, an altercation serious enough to involve the proconsul Gallio (18:12-17), and shortly afterwards decides it is time to leave (18:18). He heads for Syria, presumably for Antioch; but, while passing through Ephesus, he sees there a good opportunity to relocate (18:18-22). When, therefore, Paul has completed his journey to Syria via Jerusalem, he ends up in Ephesus, where he remains for three years (18:22-20:1).[11] Then, after the Ephesian church becomes involved in a civil disturbance (19:21-41), Paul departs, first to Greece (probably Corinth) for three months and then with some trepidation (20:22-25, 38) to Jerusalem. At first the author of Luke-Acts gives no reason for the trip but later mentions in passing that Paul was bringing up a collection of "alms and offerings" (24:17) to Jerusalem. There Paul's fears are realized. He is arrested and eventually sent to Rome.

Apart from chapters 13-14, the story in Acts shows little concern in depicting Paul's travels as a series of missionary journeys from a home base in either Jerusalem or Antioch. Rather the author of Luke-Acts portrays Paul as an independent itinerant. After the journey from Antioch, which is the one missionary journey in the traditional sense, the Paul of Acts heads out from Antioch like Abraham forsaking Ur of the Chaldees (Gen 12:1). Both venture out into the unknown with only the Divine to guide them. Like Abraham Paul was leaving in order to find a new place to settle. Eventually Paul settled in Corinth. When that city became too difficult for him, he chose Ephesus. Thus, after his conversion, Paul worked within and out from three bases: Antioch, Corinth, and Ephesus.

Now, if such a scheme is indeed what the author of Luke-Acts had in mind, then why would later exegetes read the traditional system of missionary journeys into the story? The answer is that they did not do so until relatively modern times. Ancient and medieval commentators know nothing of a threefold missionary journey scheme in Acts.

Modern exegetes too often ignore ancient Christian and Jewish interpreters of Scripture. Such exegetes may indeed have used approaches to Scripture, such as allegorical interpretation, that we today should have trouble accepting. Ancient exegetes did, however, have certain advantages in understanding Scripture. They may have been somewhat removed from the New Testament writers, but they were certainly a lot closer to their world views than modern European or North American scholars. Exegetes from the ancient Greek-speaking world shared the same language. Even allowing for dialectical difference, the fact that they spoke the same language certainly gave them an advantage that very few modern interpreters can claim. Apart from ease in reading the Greek text and the sharing of similar thought patterns, most ancient exegetes had a greater

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[8] So Menoud, 49.

[9] This guidance by the Spirit should be taken quite literally. See Acts 16:6, 7; 19:21; cf. 16:9.

[10] The author of Col 2:1 apparently believed that Paul had operated in such a fashion from Ephesus; and Rom 15:19, which affirms that Paul ranged as far as Illyricum, suggests the possibility of a Corinthian base of operations. In Acts itself, however, there is no specific evidence for Paul using either city as a base for wider operations apart from the length of time he spent there.

[11] The importance of the stay in Ephesus for Paul is indicated by his sending for Ephesian Church elders from Miletus (20:17). The author of Luke-Acts indicates the importance of the occasion by expanding the story through an eighteen-verse speech.

familiarity with ancient literary forms. They also shared physical living conditions that were similar. If, therefore, there were a missionary-journey pattern in Acts, then certainly it would have been obvious to ancient exegetes; but such a pattern was apparently unknown to them.

One of the earliest post-New Testament works on Paul is the second-century Acts of Paul. In that work Paul journeys through a series of cities. He travels from Damascus through Jerusalem, Antioch (Syrian or Pisidian?), Iconium, Antioch (probably Pisidian), Myra, Iconium,[12] Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Smyrna, Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, and Italy to Rome and martyrdom. The work describes Paul traveling about in a single continuous journey without a return to some sponsoring church. Unfortunately, the work is so different from the Acts of the New Testament that it is difficult to regard the later work as an interpretation of the earlier.[13]

The earliest writer who definitely knew Acts and wrote about Paul's travels is Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 3:14:1), and he also never spoke of separate missionary journeys. In his brief outline of Paul's life following the Apostolic Conference in Acts 15, Irenaeus depicted the apostle's work as a continuum.

What is true of Irenaeus is also true for other later writers of the ancient Church who wrote on Acts. None of them spoke in terms of the traditional missionary journeys. Of course, the silence of certain writers on Acts about missionary journeys need not be significant. Some like Didymus the Blind (c. 313-398)[14] have no extant commentary on the Pauline section of Acts. Others like Jerome (c. 342-420)[15] and Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. after 451)[16] are simply too brief for an argument from silence to carry much weight. Still other commentators on Acts provide more but hardly extensive material on Acts. These writers include Ephraem (c. 306-373),[17] an anonymous commentator who may be Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350-428),[18] Cassiodorus (c. 485-c. 580),[19] and Isho'dad of Merv (9th cent.)[20] The silence of such writers on missionary journeys may be significant, but their extant work is still too brief for their silence to be overly surprising. There are, however, certain ancient writers with extensive works still extant on Acts and Paul. These writers include John Chrysostom (c. 347-407),[21] The Venerable Bede

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[12] The events in these last three places form most of the section called "The Acts of Paul and Thecla."

[13] According to W. Schneemelcher in E. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. under R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), vol. II, p. 348, the Acts of Paul used the language of canonical Acts, but the evidence for the author of the Acts of Paul knowing canonical Acts seems far from conclusive.

[14] *PG* 39:1653-78.

[15] *De Viris Illustribus* 5 (on Paul), which simply skips over the travels of Paul reported in Acts with a reference to that work.

[16] *PG* 93:1387, which contains only two extant comments for the relevant sections in Acts.

[17] *Ephrem on Acts*, translated from the Armenian Catena by Dr. F. C. Conybeare (unpublished MS from the library of W. H. P. Hatch, now in the EDS/Weston Library, Cambridge, MA).

[18] E. von Dobschütz, "A Hitherto Unpublished Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles (Probably by Theodore of Mopsuestia)," *AJT* 2 (1898) 353-387.

[19] *PL* 70:1382-1406.

[20] *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, ed. and trans. by M. D. Gibson ("Horae Semiticae," 10:4; Cambridge: UP, 1911).

[21] Apart from his 55 homilies on Acts, there are other relevant works, such as his 7 panegyrics on Paul. I am grateful to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Demetrios Trakatellis for help in searching through Chrysostom's work.

(c. 673-735),[22] and Oecumenicus of Tricca (10th cent.).[23] The fact that these writers also are silent about a missionary-journey pattern in Acts would certainly cast doubt on any argument that the pattern was originally intended by the author of Luke-Acts.

What is true of ancient writers is also true of those belonging to a later age. Neither Erasmus (c. 1466-1536)[24] nor John Calvin (1509-64)[25] nor Theodore Beze (1519-1605)[26] nor Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637)[27] nor Hugo Grotius (1583-1645)[28] interpreted Acts in terms of the traditional missionary journeys. In fact, the earliest reference that I can find to these journeys is in the first edition of J. A. Bengel's *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*.[29] In an outline of Paul's travels in the preface to his section on Acts, Bengel divided Paul's travels into three journeys, but with the third journey beginning at Acts 19:21 instead of 18:22.[30] The fact that the three-journey pattern occurs in the preface is particularly significant since Bengel does not appear to have used the pattern in the commentary proper. This fact suggests that Bengel like many authors may have written his prefaces last and included the three-journey pattern there as a last-minute addition. Such a suggestion is confirmed by the fact that a work by him on chronology[31] which he pubished the year before his *Gnomon* lacks the missionary-journey pattern.[32]

In the years following the first edition of *Gnomon* most[33] writers on Acts adopted a missionary-journey pattern. It found its way into the major commentaries, including those of J. H. Heinrichs,[34] H. A. W. Meyer,[35] and H. Alford.[36] Thus, by the middle of the century the three-missionary journey system had become firmly established in the exegetical tradition of Acts.

Why should a missionary-journey pattern have been imposed on Acts at this time? A likely answer is that commentators were reading their own presuppositions back into apostolic times. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an escalation of Western missionary activity. It was an era for founding missionary societies. In 1662 Gregory IV

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[22] *CChr.* 121:1-163.

[23] The catena ascribed to him is published in *PG* 118:23-322.

[24] *Paraphrase upon the Newe Testamente* (sic), facsimile of the 1548 ed. (New York: Scholars' Facsimile and Reprints, 1975).

[25] *Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949) vol. 1, p. 496-vol. 2, p. 276.

[26] *Annotationes majores in Novum Dn. Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum*, Vol. I (n.p., 1594).

[27] *Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram*, Vol. 10 (Paris: Berche et Tralin, 1875).

[28] Annotationes in Novum Testamentum, emended edition (Erlangen: T. C. Tetzchner, 1656).

[29] Tübingen: J. H. Philippus Schrammius, 1742, p. 410f.

[30] Later exegetes did not follow Bengel in placing a journey division at Acts 19:21. They preferred to begin the third journey at Acts 18:22.

[31] *Ordo Temporum* (Stuttgart: Benedict Mezler, 1741) 268-295.

[32] Cf. Menoud, p. 47, according to whom the journey pattern has been current since the 19th century.

[33] There are a few exceptions. E.g., the pattern is missing in S. T. Bloomfield's *Recensio Synoptica Annotationes Sacrae*, Vol. 4 (London: Rivington, 1828). Moreover, not all saw a third journey beginning in Acts 18:22. See, e.g., G. Kuinoel, *Commentarius in Libros in Novi Testamenti Historicos*, Vol. 4 (Leipzig: Barth, 1827), 537. See also above, n. 7.

[34] *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1808).

[35] *Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das neue Testament*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1854).

[36] *The Greek Testament*, Vol. 2 (London: Rivington, 1852).

had formed the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, and in the early nineteenth century such societies as the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1822, gave a new impetus to Roman Catholic missionary effort. Protestant missionary efforts paralleled those of Rome. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was founded in 1698 to be followed by Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in 1701. Again there was a new surge of missionary activity in the early nineteenth century. Beginning in 1799 with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and in 1804 with the British and Foreign Bible Society, new missionary societies began to appear every few years throughout the century and came to include virtually every nominally Christian country and almost every denomination.[37] Such societies acted as a home base to foreign missionaries. Unlike earlier missionaries, such as Francis Xavier (1506-52), who had wandered about fairly much on their own, missionaries of this period looked to their home societies for support and guidance in their work.[38] Since it was standard missionary practice for evangelists to operate out of a home base, one should not be surprised at the exegetical assumption that Paul, the great missionary of the New Testament, had done the same.

The practice of reading a missionary-journey pattern into Acts has more than a strictly academic significance. It reinforces the view that the younger Christian churches are the receivers of a gospel dispensed from the largess of Europe and North America. Today there is little overt support for such an unequal approach to the Christians of the third world. It is time to recognize that the approach does not find support in the book of Acts.

It is difficult to argue a negative. How can one state with certainty what has *not* been said about Paul's travels unless one has read what every Christian has written from the earliest times until the missionary-journey pattern first appears? Even then it is quite possible that the first reference to the pattern has been lost. All conclusions, therefore, must be tentative. The evidence seen thus far, however, does lead to the conclusion that the finding of a missionary-journey pattern in Acts corresponds quite well with the rise of modern missionary societies.

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[37]S. Neill, *Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965) 252.

[38]The NT maintains that the Pauline churches had a quite different relation to the older Jerusalem church. Support came from the newer churches to the poor of Jerusalem, not the reverse.

The Overthrown Enemy: Luke's Portrait of Paul

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Luke's repetition of the narrative of Paul's conversion (Acts 9:1-31, 22:3-21, 26:1-23) signals that this event occupies a place of significance in Luke's understanding of Paul, as students of Luke-Acts generally concede. The character of that significance, however, is far from clear. A major problem in assessing the importance of Paul's conversion in Acts stems from disagreements concerning method, both the appropriate method for comparing and interpreting the three accounts and the method to be used in reconstructing Luke's view of Paul. In this paper I argue that (1) Luke tailors each of the three accounts of Paul's conversion to its context, making it impossible to isolate Luke's sources or to identify one account as closer to tradition than the other accounts; (2) Luke introduces Paul (Saul) in Acts 9 as the church's enemy who is overthrown, and subsequently appeals to that portrait in the defense speeches; and (3) this reading of the narratives of Paul's conversion should inform our discussions of the Lukan Paul.

Early research on the conversion narratives concentrated on comparing them with comments in Paul's letters in order to produce a "history" of Paul's conversion.[1] The primary concern here was to learn "what had actually happened" to Paul. While that issue never entirely disappeared, it was eclipsed by source analysis of the three Lukan accounts. Friedrich Spitta, for example, argued that behind Acts 9 stands a legendary source, while behind Acts 22 and 26 there is a better, more historically accurate, source.[2] H. H. Wendt, by contrast, saw the account in Acts 22 as a repetition of Acts 9, with the version in Acts 26 stemming from Paul himself.[3] Emmanuel Hirsch followed Wendt's view of Acts 26, but argued that Acts 9 derived from a Damascus tradition and that Acts 22 represented Luke's reconciliation of his two sources.[4]

As is the case with many other problems in the study of Luke-Acts, the publication of Conzelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit* altered this quest for sources behind Luke's accounts

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[1]For a survey of the literature, see E. Moske, *Die Bekehrung des heilige Paulus* (Munich: Aschendorffschen, 1907; E. Pfaff, *Die Bekehrung des heilige Paulus in der Exegese des 20 Jahrhunderts* (Rome: Officium Libri Catholicum, 1942); B. Rigaux, *The Letters of Saint Paul* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1968) 40-64; H. H. Platz "Paul's Damascus Experience: A Study in the History of Interpretation" (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Chicago, 1960); L. H. Reiff, "Paul's Damascus Experience and His Theology: A Contribution to the History of Recent Interpretation," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Yale University, 1963); B. R. Gaventa, "Paul's Conversion: A Critical Sifting of the Epistolary Evidence," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Duke University, 1978) 6-114.

[2]*Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre quellen und deren geschichtlichen Wert* (Halle, 1891) 270.

[3]*Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1913).

[4]"Die drei Berichte der Apostelgeschichte, über die Bekehrung des Paulus," *ZNW* 28 (1929) 305-12.

of Paul's conversion. Attention turned from isolating the source or sources Luke might have had at his disposal to distinguishing Lukan redaction from earlier tradition. Where earlier generations regarded differences among the three accounts as indicative of different sources, recent studies have asked whether the variations reflect Luke's corrections of a single early source or tradition. Working in this way, three recent studies have concurred that Acts 9 stands closest to tradition and that Luke has reworked that tradition most extensively in Acts 22 and 26.

Christoph Burchard analyzed the conversion narratives as part of his study of the Lukan treatment of Paul in *Der dreizehnte Zeuge*. He argued that Luke had only one tradition about Paul's conversion, and that tradition forms the basis of the narrative in 9:1-19. The structure of this tradition was dictated by conventional Jewish-Hellenistic conversion narratives, such as *Joseph and Asenath*. Luke reworked this tradition for his narratives in Acts 22 and 26, making Paul conform to Luke's own view of him as the one called to be the "thirteenth witness."[5]

Like Burchard, Karl Löning, in *Die Saulustradition in der Apostelgeschichte*, concludes that Acts 9 is the account closest to tradition and that the material in Acts 22 and 26 represents Luke's reinterpretation of that tradition. Löning's literary analysis is somewhat more complicated than Burchard's, however, since Löning contends that there are three stages in the history of Acts 9. The first stage, the Saul tradition, concerns the simple story of the conversion of the persecutor Saul (9:1-12, 17-19a). In the second stage, a pre-Lukan redactor adds material which interprets Paul as a witness who will suffer as do other Christians (e.g., 9:13-16, 20-21). Only the third, Lukan, stage characterizes Paul as having a special role as a missionary (9:19b, 22).[6]

Charles Hedrick begins by describing the three accounts as "in form three different narratives."[7] Acts 9:1-19 is predominantly a miracle story which describes the healing of Paul's blindness. 9:13-16 attempts to harmonize this story with later accounts. Acts 22:4-16 redacts the basic miracle story into a commissioning narrative. Acts 26:12-18 is a commissioning narrative. Hedrick carefully insists that we must attend to Luke's literary techniques. Nevertheless, he too sees Acts 9 as closer to early tradition than the other two accounts, with Acts 22 containing "Luke's edited version of the traditional legend" and Acts 26 containing "Luke's own abbreviated composition."[8]

While these three studies disagree on many points, their agreement on the relationship between Acts 9, on the one hand, and Acts 22 and 26, on the other hand, stems from some shared methodological assumptions that are problematic. First, it is assumed, especially by Burchard and Löning, that the tradition available to Luke can be isolated, even if only in a general way. Since Luke recounts Paul's conversion three times and does so differently each time, one of those versions must be closer to early tradition. The earliest account can be located by carefully comparing the three narratives.

This approach to the conversion accounts inevitably takes these accounts out of their context. Because the primary question to be answered is how the accounts are related to one another, and not what place any one of them has in the unfolding of Luke's narrative, the accounts are isolated from their literary setting. An earlier generation also removed these narratives from their literary context, although at that time the motive was to compare them (and sometimes to conflate them) with Paul's letters in order to arrive at

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[5] *Der dreizehnte Zeuge: Traditions-und kompositions-geschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukas' Darstellung der Frühzeit des Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970)

[6] *Die Saulustradition in der Apostelgeschichte* (Munich: Aschendorff, 1978).

[7] "Paul's Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Reports in Acts," *JBL* 100 (1981) 415-32.

[8] Ibid., 432.

historical fact. Until context is taken into account, however, it is in no way demonstrated that differences among the three accounts occur because one of them is closer to tradition.

A second assumption operative in these studies is that issues that are peripheral or subordinate in a narrative indicate that an early narrative has been edited or redacted. Thus, an earlier form of the narrative can be determined by excising material that appears to be extraneous to the issue at hand. In Acts 9, where this assumption comes into play, Löning and Hedrick argue that the issue of Paul's calling appears only in the exchange with Ananias, vv 13-16. Since the bulk of Acts 9 recounts a "simple" conversion story, they conclude that this brief reference to Paul's vocation must be an addition either by Luke or by a pre-Lukan redactor. To my knowledge, no linguistic grounds for identifying 9:13-16 as distinct from the remainder of Chapter 9 have been offered.[9] Instead the text is isolated merely because it introduces a topic that has played no significant role in Paul's story up to this point (see below, however, on 9:6). This procedure ignores the way in which Luke creates his narrative. While in the middle of one episode, which seems to have one clear and distinct point, he will introduce a thread that then disappears and re-emerges later in an important way. For example, 9:19b-31 primarily concerns the difficulties Paul experienced with Christians at Damascus and then at Jerusalem, because they did not trust their former adversary. Within this story, however, Luke notes that Paul was proclaiming the gospel (9:20) and that he was being harrassed by Jewish leaders (9:23). These threads then disappear in 9:32-12:24, where no mention of Paul appears. When he does reappear in 12:25, he is commissioned by God and installed by the church (13:1-3). After his first sermon, the threat of persecution re-emerges (13:50-52) and becomes dominant as the story unfolds.[10]

These problems with recent work on the narratives of Paul's conversion prompt a reconsideration of the texts, with particular attention to narrative development and context. In what follows I will discuss the account in Acts 9 in some detail, because the distinctiveness of this narrative has played a large part in the development of the theories already discussed.

THE NARRATIVES OF PAUL'S CONVERSION

1. Acts 9[11]

The opening words of Acts 9 describe Saul as "still breathing threat and murder against the disciples of the Lord" and remind us that Luke has already introduced Saul at the stoning of Stephen. Initially Saul appears as a passive bystander at whose feet the murderers of Stephen place their cloaks (7:58). We know only that he is a "young man" (*neanias*). Subsequently, Luke explains that this Saul consents (*syneudokeō*) to Stephen's death (8:1). When persecution breaks out in Jerusalem, Saul figures prominently in it,

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[9]Indeed, Löning, who thinks vv 13-16 are pre-Lukan, acknowledges that they sound Lukan because Luke revised them (*Die Saulustradition*, 31).

[10]On Luke's skill as narrator and the difficulties that skill creates for source analysis, see L. T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars, 1977) 24, ftn. 1. For the way in which repetitive patterns contribute to the unified narrative of Luke-Acts, see R. C. Tannehill, "The Composition of Acts 3-5, Narrative Development and Echo Effect," *SBL 1984 Seminar Papers* Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984) 217-40.

[11]The material in this section is developed in more detail in Chapter 3 of B. R. Gaventa, *"From Darkness to Light": Aspects on Conversion in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, forthcoming).

raging against the church and its adherents (8:3).

Luke skillfully links this early material about Saul with the story of Stephen. Among the final words of Stephen's speech are these:

> You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit. 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, you who received the law as delivered by angels and did not keep it (RSV, Acts 7:51-53).

Following this scene, Saul appears as the fulfillment of Stephen's words. Saul's resistance to the church, described in 8:3 and 9:1-2, acts out Stephen's words about resistance. Even in a literal sense, Saul fulfills Stephen's prophecy. In 7:52 Stephen uses the verb *diōkein* of "the fathers," and in 9:4 and 5 Jesus identifies Saul as his persecutor (*diōkein*). Paul breathes "threat and murder" (*phonos*) in 9:1, and Stephen calls his enemies murderers (*phoneis*) in 7:52. Luke juxtaposes his final comment about Stephen's death with the emergence of Saul as persecutor: "Devout men buried Stephen, and made great lamentation over him. But Saul laid waste the church, and entering house after house, he dragged off men and women and committed them to prison" (Acts 8:2-3).

Gradually Saul comes forth as persecutor, fulfiller of Stephen's words. At the end of 8:3, and at the beginning of 9:1, all that Luke has said about Saul is that he is the enemy of the church. We cannot rely on conjectures about what Luke's audience "must" have known of Saul. Nor can we deduce Saul's motives or allegiances from his presence at Stephen's death. The text does not even specify that he is a Pharisee. He is described exclusively as "the enemy."

This characterization of Saul is developed in Acts 9. Following the proclamation of the gospel in Samaria and the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, Luke returns to the story of Saul. In 9:1-2, we learn that Saul has sought official license to pursue Christians in Damascus. His animosity toward the "way" provokes him to take the initiative in going to the authorities, to take the persecution even beyond Jerusalem, and to attempt the arrest of men and women.

The experience of light and voice described in vv. 3-6 suddenly terminates Saul's activity as enemy. Even here, however, the words addressed to Saul identify him as the enemy: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? . . . I am Jesus whom you persecute." We have already noted the appearance of *diōkein* here and in 7:52. Luke consistently associates Saul with persecution (cf. Acts 22:4, 7, 8; 26:11, 14, 15).[12]

In addition to labeling the activity of Saul as persecution, the encounter with Jesus provides the first hint of Saul's calling. The double vocative , "Saul, Saul," recalls the same device in the Septuagint, where it often appears in scenes of commissioning (e.g., Gen 22:11, 46:22, Exod 3:4; 1 Sam 3:4, 3:10).[13] While the precise character of Saul's

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[12]In the gospel of Luke the verb appears only three times (11:49, 17:23, 21:12). In one instance Luke apparently follows Q (11:49, cf. Matt 23:34), and in one the connotation is to follow or pursue rather than to persecute (17:23).

[13]On the origin and function of the commissioning accounts in Luke-Acts, see B. J. Hubbard, "Commissioning Stories in Luke-Acts: A Study of Their Antecedents, Form and Content," *Semeia* 7 (1977) 103-26; idem, "The Role of Commissioning Accounts in Acts," *Perspectives in Luke-Acts*, ed. C. H. Talbert (Danville, Va: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 187-98.

commission is not stated, Jesus' words do hint that a specific mission awaits. "Rise and enter the city, and you will be told what you are to do" (*se dei poiein*). Luke's frequent use of *dei*[14] in connection with prophetic statements (Luke 21:9, 22:38, 24:26; Acts 1:16, 17:3, 19:21, 23:11) indicates that what Saul is "to do" concerns a mission, not simply a course of action he is to follow when he has arrived in Damascus. Even in this early part of the story, the vocation of Saul has been introduced. It is not a secondary addition, confined to vv 13-16.

The encounter with Jesus immobilizes Saul. Unable to see, he must have assistance from his companions who lead him by the hand into the city. There he remains for three days, blind and unable or unwilling to eat or drink (9:7-9). This new description of Saul contrasts sharply with the original. Saul no longer "breathes threat and murder" or seeks "any belonging to the way." He has been reduced to a state of passivity.

The passivity not only contrasts with the earlier description of Saul as the enemy but parallels the initial appearance of Saul as passive bystander at the execution of Stephen. As Luke escalated the portrait of Saul from passivity (7:58) to consent (8:1) to action as a persecutor (8:3), he will here escalate the portrait of Saul from passivity (9:8-9) to consent (9:11-12) to action as proclaimer of the gospel (9:20).

Although Saul has ceased to persecute the church, that persecution does not cease to be a part of his identity, as the Ananias scene (vv 10-16) makes clear. In a vision, God tells Ananias to find Saul, who is himself seeing Ananias in a vision. The role of Ananias, who is sent to an unexpected and unacceptable person, builds on the earlier commission of Philip, who is sent to a deserted place in midday (8:26-40) and anticipates the commission of Peter to go to the home of the Gentile Cornelius (10:19-20). In these three successive conversion narratives, a Christian is sent to some unusual place and/or person, and the resistance to the directive increases with each narrative.[15]

Ananias resists the commission, saying that he has heard about "this man, how much evil he has done to thy saints at Jerusalem; and here he has authority from the chief priests to bind all who call upon thy name" (v 14). The response to Ananias neither confirms nor denies what Ananias says, but offers a new identity for Saul: "he is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and sons of Israel; for I will show him how much he must suffer for the sake of my name" (vv 15-16).

Löning has argued, as noted above, that a pre-Lukan redactor added vv 13-16, and vv 15-16 portray Saul as an ordinary Christian who can expect to suffer for his faith. He draws here on Gerhard Lohfink's claim that "to carry my name" (v. 15) does not refer to missionary activity but to martyrdom.[16] Since "to carry my name" may mean either to carry it to others by engaging in missionary activity or to carry the name oneself as a believer, and since Luke does not elsewhere use this expression, our interpretation of this passage ought not lean heavily on this phrase. More important are the words that stand first in the divine response to Ananias: "he is a chosen instrument of mine." Luke elsewhere uses the noun *skeuos* with the simple literal meaning, container or vessel (Luke 8:16; Acts 10:11, 11:5). He does not elsewhere use *eklogē*, but he does use the related verb *eklegomai* to refer to the selection of a person for a particular task (1:2, 24; 6:5;

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[14]Paul Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," *Neutestamentlichen Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. W. Eltester (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1954) 181; L. T. Johnson, *Literary Function of Possessions*, 15-16; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981) 179-80.

[15]On 8:26-40 and 10:1-11:18, see Gaventa, "*From Darkness to Light*", Chapter 4.

[16]"'Meinen Namen zu tragen . . .' (APG 9,15)," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 10 (1965) 108-15.

13:7; 15:7, 22, 25) within the community. Vv 15-16 do not merely announce that Saul will be a believer, but that he will have a *particular* role.

This conclusion still leaves open the question whether vv 13-16 are an insertion (Lukan or pre-Lukan) into an earlier narrative, since Burchard and Hedrick contend that the motif of Paul's calling is secondary to the original story. I have already drawn attention to the way in which Luke weaves topics in and out of his narratives, which prompts us to be careful about concluding that a text is secondary because it concerns a topic somewhat extraneous to the surrounding narrative. Also important here, as previously mentioned, is that Saul's calling—or the fact that a calling awaits him—appears as early as 9:6. Moreover, both Ananias' complaint and the divine response refer to "the name" (vv 14-16) and the motif of "calling on the name" reappears in 9:21, 27, and 28.[17] Most important, perhaps, is that 9:13-16, consistent with the narrative surrounding it, revolves around the identity of Saul. Ananias' objection to his task summarizes all that Luke has revealed about Saul, the enemy of the church. The response given Ananias points forward to Saul's new identity, which emerges in 9:17ff. Taken together, these observations indicate that 9:13-16 is an integral part of the story of Saul's conversion, one which cannot be removed without altering the story's function and impact.

The healing of Saul (vv 17-19) does conform to the general pattern of the healing miracles, as Hedrick's analysis indicates.[18] Unlike the conventional healing miracle, however, the story does not culminate in amazement at the healing or praise of the healer. Instead, the healing in Acts 9 returns to Saul his strength along with his sight (vv 18-19). The question that follows the healing is not who healed Saul or by what power, but again the question concerns the identity of Saul (v 21). Thus, Luke has drawn on the conventional healing miracle in only a minimal way.

The identity of Saul dominates the narrative that begins in 7:58 and develops in Chapter 9. At first Luke portrays Saul as the one who persecutes him. Ananias resists the divine voice by referring to Saul's persecution. The voice responds that Saul is to be a *skeuos eklogē*. Even here the issue of Saul's identity continues, since both in Damascus and in Jerusalem Christians fear and distrust Saul "who made havoc in Jerusalem" (9:21).

Previous attempts to understand this narrative have not done justice to this recurrent issue of Saul's identity. While it is not inaccurate to characterize Acts 9:1-31 as a conversion narrative, the conversion described has little to do with theological concepts or religious affiliation. Saul does not hear a proclamation of the gospel and respond to it (cf. 2:37-39, 8:32-37). What is converted is Saul's identity. Acts 9 describes the reversal of the church's most vehement and aggressive enemy.

An examination of the context of Acts 9 reinforces this conclusion. In Acts 8:26-11:18, Luke includes three extended narratives of the conversion of individuals. Only the brief accounts of the healings of Aeneas and of Dorcas interrupt the course of these conversions, and following both healings conversions are reported (9:35, 42). Somehow the stories of the Ethiopian eunuch, Saul, and Cornelius belong together. The section begins just after the flight of believers out of Jerusalem and into Samaria (8:2-25) and ends with the acceptance by Jerusalem Christians of the conversion of a Gentile (11:1-18). The eunuch, as a figure from the most remote location and people Luke could imagine, symbolizes that the movement of the gospel to "the end of the earth" (1:8) is about to begin.[19]

Why does Saul's story stand between that of the eunuch and that of Cornelius? The

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[17]On the prominence of references to "the name" in the early chapters of Acts, see Tannehill, "The Composition of Acts 3-5," 219.

[18]"Paul's Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis," 422.

[19]On the significance and identity of the Ethiopian eunuch, see Gaventa, "*From Darkness to Light*", Chapter 4.

gospel has been proclaimed in Jerusalem, in Samaria, and is about to be proclaimed among Gentiles. Saul is not a Gentile, but neither is he one of the Jerusalem Jews. As the enemy of believers, he has removed himself as far as possible from the faithful Jews of Jerusalem. The conversion of this figure marks the last stage prior to the Gentile mission and actually prepares for that mission, since Saul will become the central witness among Gentiles.

The overthrow of the persecutor Saul also carries forward the Lukan motif of God's protection of the Christian community from its enemies. The early chapters of Acts depict both large conversions and official enmity. Stephen's speech results not only in his own death but in the outbreak of persecution in Jerusalem (8:2). Despite their power, the enemies of the Christians are thwarted, and indeed persecution leads to the growth of the community. It is because they are driven from Jerusalem that believers go into Samaria (8:4). With the exception of Herod's death (12:20-23), the conversion of Saul is the most dramatic example of the defeat of the church's enemies. Saul, who sets out to destroy "the disciples of the Lord" (9:1), finds himself among those very disciples.

Given the careful narrative development of the first account of Saul's conversion and the complex ways in which Acts 9 is connected to its context, attempts to characterize this account as "earlier" or more "traditional" must be abandoned. While Luke may have had a tradition or traditions about Paul, we have found no evidence that Acts 9 stands closer to those sources than do Acts 22 and 26. If Acts 9 stands apart from 22 and 26, it is because of its place in Luke's unfolding story.

2. Acts 22

In Acts 22:3-21, Luke presents the first of Paul's defense speeches, which comes as the culmination of a series of events that begins in 19:21 with Paul's determination to go to Jerusalem. After farewells (20:36-38) and despite warnings about his fate (21:11-12), Paul reaches Jerusalem, where he learns that he is accused of teaching Jews to abandon the law (21:21, 28) and of defiling the temple by bringing Gentiles into it (21:28). When he is seized by a mob, a tribune arrests him but grants his request to speak. There follows the first defense speech, which addresses the mob as if it were a jury.[20]

Because the setting of this speech is in Jerusalem, and the issue is whether Paul has betrayed "the people and the law and this place" (21:28), the speech itself presents Paul as a loyal Jew. Where this speech departs from the narrative of Acts 9, it also emphasizes the Jewishness of Paul and his calling.

Four distinct sections comprise the speech itself: Section 1, vv 3-5; Section 2, vv 6-11; Section 3, vv 12-16; Section 4, vv 17-21.[21] To understand the speech in its context and in comparison with the other accounts of Paul's conversion, attention to all the sections is needed. It is not sufficient merely to select the verses most comparable to 9:1-31 or 26:9-18.[22]

In Section 1 Paul describes himself in a way calculated to convince his hearers that he is just as zealous for Judaism as they are. Together with the comment that he spoke in the Hebrew dialect (v 2), his opening words in v 3 establish his commonality with the audience in location and education.[23] He is one of them.

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[20]F. Veltmann, "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Graduate Theological Union, 1975) 2.

[21]A more detailed analysis of the speech may be found in Gaventa, "*From Darkness to Light*", Chapter 3.

[22]Hedrick, for example, pays little attention to the function of the temple scene (22:17-21) ("Paul's Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis," 423-26).

[23]On v 3, see W. C. van Unnik, "Tarsus or Jerusalem," *Sparsa Collecta, 3 vols.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973-83) 1:321-27.

The description of his persecution of Christians in vv 4-5 illustrates Paul's zeal and continues the identification he has already established. Paul claims that "the high priest and the whole council of elders" can corroborate his story, and Haenchen rightly notes that the passage of time would have made it unlikely that the same personnel would be available.[24] But Haenchen does not see that the appeal to such persons again solidifies Paul's tie to Jerusalem Judaism. The authorities can attest to his desire to persecute Christians.

Section 2 recounts Paul's encounter near Damascus in terms that are quite close to those of 9:3-9. The major difference between this version and that of Acts 9 has to do with the calling of Paul.[25] Where the first account describes Paul as asking only, "Who are you, sir?" here he also takes the initiative to ask, "*ti poiēsō, kurie*." Jesus responds again by sending Paul into Damascus, this time saying that he will learn there "all that is appointed for you to do" (22:10).

Section 3 (vv 12-16) portrays Ananias and his role in Paul's conversion quite differently than does Acts 9. Here the need to argue for Paul's Jewishness changes Ananias from "a disciple" (9:10) to "a devout man according to the law, well spoken of by all the Jews who lived there" (22:12). Nothing is said of Ananias' vision, and little is said about the healing of Paul's blindness. The account focuses instead on Ananias' announcement of Paul's vocation. The calling stems from "the God of our fathers," a conventional reference to Israel's God (e.g., Gen 31:16, Exod 3:13, Deut 1:11, Josh 1:11, 1 Chron 5:25), in contrast to "the Jesus who appeared to you" (9:17). Paul will be a witness *pros pantas anthrōpous* (22:15). The implication of this statement is that Paul will witness to Gentiles as well as to Jews, but the Gentiles are not yet explicitly named. Ananias' announcement includes no direct reference to Jesus or to his followers. The incident contains nothing that would offend Paul's Jewish audience.

With vv 17-21 (Section 4), the speech comes to its climax. Paul explains that, while he was praying in the temple (again his loyalty is underscored), he experienced a vision which told him to flee Jerusalem. When Paul protests, the voice orders, "Depart, for I will send you far away to the Gentiles" (v 21). The claim that God sent Paul to the Gentiles prompts a fierce reaction from the mob, and the speech is interrupted.[26]

Before the explicit call for the Gentile mission, Paul resists the order to leave Jerusalem with a curious remark:

> Lord, they themselves know that in every synagogue I imprisoned and beat those who believed in thee. And when the blood of Stephen thy witness was shed, I also was standing by and approving, and keeping the garments of those who killed him (vv 19-20).

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[24] *Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 625.

[25] The contradiction concerning the companions and their experience is a minor one. Primarily the difference between 9:7 and 22:9 stems from the functions of the companions in the two stories. In Chapter 9 the companions are mentioned only after Paul's encounter with Jesus. Their speechlessness underscores the supernatural character of the event, and they are present to help the immobilized Paul. In Chapter 22, they are mentioned during the encounter, emphasizing that the words of Jesus are for Paul alone.

[26] According to Dibelius, the interruption draws attention to the central issue of the speech (*Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* [London: SCM, 1956] 160-61).

Despite the claim that Paul's testimony will not be received, Paul wants to stay in Jerusalem. He argues that the Jerusalemites know how aggressive he was against believers. His credibility stems from the fact of his persecution. If a loyal Jew, who had once fought against the followers of Jesus, has become one of his witnesses, then Jerusalem must listen.

In his second account of Paul's conversion, Luke draws attention to Paul's Jewish loyalty. His loyalty extended to persecution of Christians, and his conversion and calling to the Gentiles came directly from the God of Israel. While this account does not directly respond to the charge that Paul overthrows the law, it does respond to the more general charge that he teaches against Jewish ways. There is no reason to see here a separate source or tradition, but an intentional retelling of the story in order to match it with the trial scene itself.

3. Acts 26

Luke's third account of Paul's conversion appears as Paul's final defense speech. Festus brings Paul before Agrippa and Bernice so that they may determine what charges are to be sent to Rome concerning Paul. Festus freely admits that he has no grounds on which to accuse Paul (25:26), and Paul's defense underscores his innocence. While Paul argues his own innocence and his loyalty to Judaism, the character of his defense is different from that in Chapter 22. There he spoke to his own people and appealed to their commonality. Here he addresses persons who represent Rome and contends that he is innocent because he is accused in a sectarian quarrel about the resurrection (vv 4-7).

Following the conventional opening remarks of vv 2-3, Paul refers to his past life as a Pharisee (vv 4-5). In v 6 he turns to the present trial and begins the body of the defense, which forms a chiasm as follows:

1. Paul conforms to tradition in his belief in resurrection (vv 6-8)	6. Paul confroms to tradition (vv 22-23)
2. He persecuted Christians (vv 9-11)	5. He has been persecuted (v 21)
3. He received a call (vv 12-18)	4. He obeyed his call (vv 19-20)[27]

Central to the speech is Paul's description of the encounter with Jesus and his response to that encounter. Here both Paul and his companions experience the great light. Paul then hears a voice which speaks to him in Hebrew. As before, Jesus asks why Paul persecutes him, but now a Greek proverb is added: "It hurts you to kick against the goads."[28] As before, Paul asks for the identity of the one speaking. Jesus identifies himself and then explains that he has appeared *in order that* Paul may become a witness (vv 16-18).

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[27]Gaventa, "*From Darkness to Light*", Chapter 3.

[28]Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 2:94; Aeschylus, *Agammemnon*, 1624, *Prometheus*, 324-25; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 794.

Vv 16-18 stand both as a recollection of Paul's conversion and as part of his defense at a much later period. For this reason, Jesus can say that Paul will witness to things he has already seen (v 16), referring not simply to the conversion but to other visions Paul experiences. Similarly, v 17 suggests that Paul is being delivered from "the people and the Gentiles." At his conversion, such deliverance was unneeded, but it is needed at the time Paul addresses Agrippa and Festus. Here the times of the narrative intersect to affirm Paul's calling and to claim for him God's continued protection.

Paul concludes his defense by explaining that he has been faithful to the call (vv 19-20) and that he has, as a result, been persecuted (v 21). He then returns to his original argument about the inoffensiveness of his faith in the resurrection (vv 22-23).

Although all three accounts of Paul's conversion refer to his calling, that calling becomes dominant in Chapter 26. The story moves quickly to the issue of Paul's calling and places it in the mouth of the risen Lord. In considerable detail, Jesus explains to Paul his future role. Once again, however, the narrative conforms to its context. In this final defense, Luke explains that there are no valid charges against Paul. Paul has acted within the norms of Judaism and in response to divine activity.

As with 9:1-31 and 22:3-21, the careful development of this narrative and its interconnection with surrounding material make it improbable that we can isolate sources or traditions used by Luke. Nor can we determine that Luke prefers one account over others. Each reflects the needs of the narrative as it unfolds, and therefore each is Luke's version of the story.

Paul as Overthrown Enemy

Our analysis of Luke's three accounts of Paul's conversion calls into question the methodological assumption that we can distinguish, even in a general way, Luke's source or sources from his redaction. The three accounts differ from one another because Luke has written each in accordance with its context. This methodological conclusion does not mean, however, that no common thread runs through the three narratives. On the contrary, Luke establishes a clear identity for Saul in Acts 9 and appeals to that identity in both Chapters 22 and 26.

In Acts 9, as argued above, Luke presents Paul's story as that of the reversal of an enemy. Paul comes on the scene as the fulfillment of Stephen's words (7:58-8:3), the ardent opponent of believers. The encounter with Jesus in 9:3-6 leads to the reversal of this identity, but that reversal does not occur without the protest of Ananias and the bewilderment and suspicion of others (9:21,26). Even when Paul emerges as ardent proclaimer, the question concerning his identity does not disappear. He remains the enemy, although now the enemy who has been overthrown.

Because the second and third accounts of Paul's conversion emphasize his vocation to preach among the Gentiles, we might expect this portrait of the "overthrown enemy" to fade, but it does not. In 22:4-5, Paul's speech presents his persecution as an aspect of his zeal and describes him as pursuing Christians "to the death." More important, in the temple scene Paul appeals to his persecution as part of his credibility as a witness. The Jews of Jerusalem should listen to him for the very reason that he once concurred with them by his actions as a persecutor (22:17-21).

While the defense speech in Chapter 26 omits Paul's blindness and the role of Ananias, it extends the depiction of Paul's activity as a persecutor. Paul explains how he imprisoned believers *and* voted for their death *and* punished them *and* tried to compel them to blaspheme *and* pursued them outside of Jerusalem (26:10-11). The commission from the risen Jesus, again preceded by "Why do you persecute me?" immediately follows this expanded description of Paul's persecution.

Luke's repetition of the story of Paul's conversion draws attention, not just to Paul's divine commission, but also to his former opposition. Paul remains the overthrown

enemy. That is, part of Luke's interest in Paul stems from Paul's early animosity to the followers of Jesus. It may be that an apologetic motive is at work here in that some charge against Paul requires such a defense. A more probable explanation comes from Luke's constant interest in demonstrating that the church has triumphed over its enemies.

Reconstructing the Lukan Paul

While one factor in Luke's view of Paul is that of "the overthrown enemy," it is not my contention that this is a sufficient or all-inclusive designation. This study of the conversion narratives does, however, prompt some observations about methods to be used in deducing Luke's view of Paul.

Philipp Vielhauer's essay, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," derived Luke's view of Paul largely from Paul's sermons in Acts.[29] Vielhauer analyzed the sermons of Paul in Acts and compared them with Paul's letters in order to establish the relationship between the Lukan view of Paul and the Paul of the letters. Although that approach has greatly influenced the discussion, it has now largely been supplanted by those who wish to determine Luke's view of Paul by his redaction of earlier materials.[30] The question here asked is what source material Luke received and how did he alter it.

Given the unity of Luke's work and the careful way in which he crafts his narrative, we need to revise our method for locating Luke's view of Paul. We can best determine that view by closely attending to narrative development and style. While Luke does not tell us all of Paul's story in Acts 9, he does begin the story there, and his references back to that story indicate that Paul remains for Luke "the overthrown enemy."

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[29]"On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 33-50.

[30]For a careful critique of Vielhauer, see Volker Stolle, *Der Zeuge als Angeklagter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973) 14-16.

The Title *Huios Theou* in Acts

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The controversy continues concerning the proper method for determining Lucan christology.[1] On the one hand, Charles H. Talbert[2] contends that any who would find Luke's christology must begin not with titles, but with "the overall structure of the Lucan picture of Christ," including the birth stories, the entire public ministry, and the resurrection and ascension narratives. Concurring that Lucan christology must be viewed in its totality is Emmeram Kränkl,[3] who announces his intention to forego analysis of the christological titles in the Acts speeches, believing that for Luke they are not as decisive as the overall structure of his portrait of Christ.

On the other hand, Stephen S. Smalley[4] points to the care with which Luke, especially in the speeches, has taken over various titles from his sources and used them to

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[1]Among the best recent studies in Lucan christology are M. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (SNT 1; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1969); G. Voss, *Die Christologie der lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen* (StudNeot 2; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965); F. Schütz, *Der leidende Christus: Die angefochtene Gemeinde und das Christuskerygma der lukanischen Schriften* (BWANT 9; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969); A. J. Malherbe, "Christology in Luke-Acts," *Restoration Quarterly* 2 (1958) 62-66, 115-27; W. S. Kurz, "Hellenistic Rhetoric in the Christological Proof of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 171-95; E. Franklin, *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 48-76; C. F. D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of P. Schubert* (eds. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 159-85; G. W. MacRae, "'Whom Heaven Must Receive Until the Time:' Reflections on the Christology of Acts," *Int* 27 (1973) 151-65; and O. C. Edwards, *Luke's Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981). Additional bibliography may be found in A. George, *Études sur l'oeuvre de St. Luc* (Paris: Gabalda, 1978); F. Bovon, *Luc le théologian: Vingt-cinq ans de recherches (1950 - 1975)* (Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1978); A. J. and M. B. Mattill, *A Classified Bibliography of Literature on the Acts of the Apostles* (Leiden: Brill, 1966); and G. Wagner, *Bibliographical Aids No. 7: An Exegetical Bibliography on the Acts of the Apostles* (Rüschlikon-Zurich: Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975).

[2]"An Anti-Gnostic Tendency in Lucan Christology," *NTS* 14 (1967-68) 259-71; see also his *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) especially ch. 6, and "Shifting Sands: The Recent Study of the Gospel of Luke," *Int* 30 (1976) 387-89.

[3]*Jesus der Knecht Gottes: Die heilsgeschichtliche Stellung Jesu in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte* (BU 8; Regensburg: Pustet, 1972) xiii; see my review of Kränkl's work in *JBL* 93 (1974) 470-71.

[4]"The Christology of Acts Again," *Christ and Spirit in the NT: In Honour of C. F. D. Moule* (eds. B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley; Cambridge: University Press, 1973) 81.

illustrate different aspects of Christ's person. While admitting that the speeches' christological content cannot be fully delineated by an isolated analysis of these designations, Smalley does see in them a "vital framework" for Lucan christology. During the past several years, I have arrived at similar conclusions based on considerations of the titles *christos*, *kyrios*, and *pais*.[5] The christology exhibited in Luke-Acts is that of Luke's own day, i.e., late first century C.E.—indeed, of Luke himself, rather than that which was current in the primitive Christian community shortly after Jesus' death, i.e., the middle of the first century C.E.

There is merit in each approach. Title research permits one to observe Luke's adoption and integration of traditional christological designations into his own theological conception, but such analysis is incomplete unless it is related to Luke's use of his sources, the wider christology of Luke-Acts, and, ultimately, NT christology as a whole. This paper attempts to combine both methods, using as focal point the title *huios theou*, "Son of God."[6]

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[5]Donald L. Jones, "The Title *Christos* in Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 69-76; "The Title *Kyrios* in Luke-Acts," *SBL 1974 Seminar Papers* (ed. G. MacRae; 2 vols.; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 2. 85-101; and "The Title *Pais* in Luke-Acts," *SBL 1982 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; Chico: Scholars Press, 1982) 217-26. A revised version of the last paper appeared, with full documentation, as "The Title 'Servant' in Luke-Acts" in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. C. H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984) 148-65.

[6]On the Son of God title in Luke-Acts, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981) 205-8; E. Schweizer, *"Huios Theou* in the NT," *TDNT* 8 (1972) 380-82; H. J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts," *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles* (eds. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1920-33) 5. 363; F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake; "Christology," *Beginnings of Christianity*, 1. 392-403; A. George, "Jésus fils de Dieu dans l'évangéle selon Saint Luc," *RB* 72 (1965) 185-209; E. Schweizer, "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and its OT Background," *Studies in Luke-Acts*, 186-93; F. W. Danker, *Luke* (Proclamation Commentaries; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 20-26; J. D. Kingsbury, *Jesus Christ in Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Proclamation Commentaries; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 103-5; B. Vawter, *This Man Jesus: An Essay Toward a NT Christology* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975) 134-68; and J. C. O'Neill, *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 1961) 139.

On the Son of God concept in general, see M. Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) —see my review of Hengel's work in *Int* 33 (1979) 424-30; B. M. F. van Iersel, *"Der Sohn" in den synoptischen Jesusworten* (NovTSup 3; Leiden: Brill, 1961); W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God* (SBT 50; Naperville: Allenson, 1966) 108-28, 183-94; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A NT Inquiry Into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 12-64; G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973) 192-222; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the NT* (NT Library; rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 270-305; F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (London: Lutterworth, 1969) 279-346; R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of NT Christology* (New York: Scribner, 1965) passim; R. N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (SBT 2/17; Naperville: Allenson, 1970) 93-9; I. H. Marshall, *The Origins of NT Christology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1977) 111-25; and W. G. Kümmel, *The Theology of the NT: According to Its Major Witnesses: Jesus—Paul—John* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973) passim.

A judgment on the nature of the Acts speeches is necessary.[7] In another place[8] I have argued that, occasional traces of older kerygmatic or liturgical material notwithstanding,[9] the evidence strongly supports the view that the speeches are of Lucan composition. For the purposes of this paper, then, we will assume that the addresses as we have them are not accurate reports of speeches actually delivered, but rather products of Luke's dramatic imagination of what would have been appropriate for both the speakers and the occasions. Directed more to the reader than to the imagined audiences, the discourses possess far greater literary than historical significance. They are employed by Luke to interpret the narrative and illuminate the meaning of pivotal situations. This practice had its genesis and development among Greek and Roman historians, Thucydides in particular.

Before examining *huios theou* in the NT generally and Luke's use of the title in his gospel and in Acts in particular, we must consider briefly how, when, and where "Son of God" found its way into Christianity.

I. The Title Huios Theou in Palestinian Judaism

The "Son of God" concept originated in Egyptian and Assyrian royal ideology. Adolf Deissmann[10] cites inscriptional evidence that kings in Egypt were thought to be descendants of the sun god Re, and described themselves with this honorific title. Also, the Assyrian practice of adopting their king as the "son of God" was assimilated into Yahwistic theology. But the essential background for the Christian utilization of "Son of God" lies in the OT.[11]

The two best-known passages which illustrate the election of the Israelite king as "God's son" are Nathan's prophecy concerning David's successor in 2 Sam 7:14: "I (the

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[7]The literature here is voluminous. Among the best recent studies are W. W. Gasque, "The Speeches in Acts: Dibelius Reconsidered," *New Dimensions in NT Study* (eds. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 232-50; F. F. Bruce, "The Speeches in Acts—Thirty Years After," *Reconciliation and Hope: NT Essays for L. L. Morris* (ed. R. Banks; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 53-68; M. Wilcox, "A Foreword to the Study of the Speeches in Acts," *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith* (ed. J. Neusner; SJLA 12; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 1. 206-25; U. Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und Traditionsgechichtliche Untersuchungen* (WMANT 5; 3d ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974); K. Kliesch, *Das heilsgeschichtliche Credo in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte* (BBB 44; Cologne and Bonn; Peter Hanstein, 1975); and F. Veltman, "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts," *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. C. H. Talbert; Special Studies Series 5; Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 243-56.

[8]Donald L. Jones, "The Christology of the Missionary Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1966) 33-59.

[9]As M. Hengel puts it, "to deny in principle the presence of earlier traditions in the speeches composed by Luke makes them incomprehensible and is no more than an interpreter's whim" (*Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980] 104).

[10]*Light from the Ancient East: The NT Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (rev. ed.; New York: Doran, 1927) 346ff.

[11]See, e.g., G. Fohrer, "*Huios* in the OT," *TDNT* 8 (1972) 340-54; and G. Cooke, "The Sons of (the) God(s)," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 22-47.

Lord) will be his father, and he shall be my son,"[12] and the royal Ps 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten you."[13] Of these verses Reginald H. Fuller[14] says: "It is difficult to suppose that the Palestinian church could have adopted 'Son of God' as a christological title from any other source than from Ps. 2:7; 2 Sam. 7:14." Related to the king's sonship are such passages as Exod 4:22: "Israel is my first-born son" and Hos 11:1: "Out of Egypt I called my son" where Israel herself is spoken of as "God's son."[15] "Son of God" is also used as a designation for angels, e.g. Gen 6:2 and Job 38:7.

Did "Son of God" appear as a messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism? Several, including Hengel,[16] Vermes,[17] and G. Dalman,[18] have denied it. To be sure, the evidence from 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra must be discounted. The reference to "I and my son" in 1 Enoch 105:2 is probably a later interpolation since it is missing from the Greek version which goes back to the Semitic original, while "my son," as a designation of the Messiah in 4 Ezra 7:28, represents an original "my servant" and is a mistranslation of the Greek *pais*.[19] F. Hahn[20] cites a rabbinic passage where Ps 2:7 refers to Messiah ben David, but it dates from the second century C.E.

It is not surprising, then, that those who have claimed that "Son of God" was a pre-Christian Jewish messianic title (including Cullmann[21] and Rudolf Bultmann[22]) could only, until recently, have considered it probable. Now, however, hesitancy has turned to certainty since the Dead Sea scrolls have yielded clear evidence that "Son of God" did serve as a messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism. In 4QFlor 10-14 we find this summary of Nathan's promise to David in 2 Sam 7:10-14: "And the Lord tells you that he will build a house for you and I will set up your seed after you and I will establish his royal throne forever. I will be his father and he shall be my son. This is the sprout of David."[23] Moreover, there is the new "Son of God" text from Cave 4—4QpDan A^a.[24]

We conclude, therefore, that "Son of God" was used as a messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism, and hence was available to the earliest Christians for their interpretation of Jesus.

II. The Title Huios Theou in Hellenistic Judaism

In the Hellenistic world, where the distinction between the divine and the human was

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[12] All biblical quotations are from the *RSV*.

[13] Also see Ps 89:26f.; G. Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God," *ZAW* 73 (1961) 202-25; and Cullmann, *Christology of the NT*, 273ff.

[14] *Foundations*, 167.

[15] On this topic, see V. Huonder, *Israel Sohn Gottes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975).

[16] *Son of God*, 63.

[17] *Jesus the Jew*, 196ff.

[18] *The Words of Jesus: Considered in the Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1902) 272.

[19] See Fuller, *Foundations*, 31f., and S. Gero, "'My Son the Messiah': A Note on IV Ezra 7:28f.," *ZNW* 66 (1975) 264-7.

[20] *Titles of Jesus*, 282f.

[21] *Christology of the NT*, 274.

[22] *Theology of the NT* (2 vols.; New York: Scribner, 1951) 1. 50ff.

[23] K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community: Its Origins and Teachings* (London: Black, 1959) 119f.; see also L. H. Silberman, "A Note on 4QFlor," *JBL* 78 (1959) 158.

[24] J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the NT," *NTS* 20 (1973-74) 391-4.

generally blurred, *huios theou* could mean little more than a very good man. On the other hand, "divine men" (*theioi andres*), who claimed to be sons of God, were found in abundance, and often were venerated as such.[25] And, of course, the Emperor was *divi filius*.[26] The Greek mind conceived of men physically descending from gods and, consequently, possessing supernatural wisdom and power. Kings, philosophers, and other outstanding personages were what they were by virtue of their divine ancestry.

As early as 1913 Wilhelm Bousset suggested that, as a NT christological title, "Son of God" was derived from the Hellenistic concept of the *theios anēr*, "divine man," and was first bestowed on Jesus in Hellenistic Christian circles.[27] His position was supported by Bultmann.[28] The evidence is impressive that the "divine man" influence came into Christianity via Hellenistic Judaism despite the fact that the precise term *huios theou* is never used for this concept there.[29] The Hellenistic expression *anthropos theou*, "man of God," or "divine man," is used for certain OT heroes in the Ep. Arist. Josephus employs the Greek adjective *theios*, "divine," as an attribute for Moses and the OT prophets. And, most notably of all, Philo depicts Abraham, the prophets, and, especially, Moses with traits drawn from the Hellenistic concept of the *theios anēr*.[30]

In 1935 E. Huntress,[31] having shown that the "suffering-righteous man" in Wis is called "Son of God," argued that this usage was significant for the earliest Palestinian application of the title to Jesus. In 2:13 the faithful Jew calls himself *pais kyriou*, "child of God," and at v.18 the "righteous (*dikaios*) man" boasts that God is his father and he "God's son" (*huios theou*). At 5:5 the devout Jew is counted among the "sons of God" in the OT. This portrait of the faithful Jew is drawn partly from the OT (especially the Suffering Servant Songs of Isa 40-55), but partly from those elements in the Hellenistic "divine man" concept which were compatible with the OT tradition regarding the

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[25]So Simon the magician (Acts 8:10), Herod (12:22); also Paul and Barnabas (14:11f.), Paul (28:6). That "Son of God" was used of Hellenistic rulers, see Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 273, and W. von Martitz, "*Huios*," *TDNT* 8 (1972) 334-40.

[26]See Donald L. Jones, "Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung* (ed. W. Haase; Berlin/New York: deGruyter, 1980) II. 23. 2, 1023-54, and my forthcoming entry "Roman Imperial Cult" in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D. N. Freedman).

[27] *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginning of Christianity to Irenaeus* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970) 91-8; on the idea of the "divine man" in Hellenistic thought, see L. Bieler, *Theios Anēr. Das Bild des "Göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (original ed: 1935-36; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967); G. P. Wetter, "*Der Sohn Gottes.*" *Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannesevangeliums* (FRLANT 26; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1916); W. Grundmann, *Die Gotteskindschaft in der Geschichte Jesu und ihre religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* (Weimar: Deutsche Christen, 1938) 25ff.; H. D. Betz, "Jesus as Divine Man," *Jesus and the Historian* (ed. F. T. Trotter; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968) 114-33; David L. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBLDS 1; Missoula: Univ. of Montana, 1972); and C. H. Holladay, *Theios Anēr in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in NT Christology* (SBLDS 40; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977).

[28] *NT Theology*, 1. 28-33

[29]Cullman, *Christology of the NT*, 274ff.

[30]See Fuller, *Foundations*, 68f., and Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 289f.

[31]"'Son of God' in Jewish Writings Prior to the Christian Era," *JBL* (1935) 117-23.

"suffering-righteous man." All elements of the *theios anēr* judged to be incompatible (e.g., metaphysical origin, and divine essence or being) were omitted.[32]

In conclusion, then, the Hellenistic "divine man" concept was taken over into Hellenistic Judaism, but in modified form and controlled by OT tradition. Among the modifications was the assumption of the "suffering-righteous man" concept as developed in Wis.

III. The Title Huios Theou in Early Christianity

In the "Introduction" to his recent christological study, James D. G. Dunn says: "'Son of God' language was always prominent in early Christian talk of Jesus and before long (fourth century) established itself as the central and decisive christological title."[33] Dunn's first chapter (in excess of fifty pages) is entitled "The Son of God" and begins with these words: "None of the titles or ways of assessing Christ which we will be examining has had both the historical depth and lasting power of 'Son of God.'"[34] Inasmuch as the synoptic evidence and that from Acts will be presented later, we will discuss here only those "Son of God" passages found elsewhere in the NT. The title does not appear in 1 and 2 Tim, Titus, Jas, 2 John, Jude or 1 Pet, and there is but a single occurrence in Rev (2:18) and 2 Pet (1:17).

The designation "Son of God" is prominent in the Gospel of John, Heb, and the Pauline *corpus*. The Fourth Gospel was written "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (20:31).[35] Similarly, Martha replies to Jesus prior to the raising of Lazarus in 11:27: "I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God, he who is coming into the world." And 3:16, "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son," preserves the same emphasis on God's sending his beloved Son which we will find in Paul.

"Son of God" or "Son" occurs twelve times in Heb.[36] The christology of this letter seems to be erected on Ps 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten you," since the verse is cited both at 1:5 and 5:5. The entire epistle is an exhortation to "hold fast" to the "confession" that Jesus is the Son of God (4:14). The author uses *huios theou* to convey the whole span of Jesus' mission: pre-existence, earthly life, death, resurrection, exaltation, and Parousia.[37]

For Paul "Son of God" held special soteriological significance and was derived from earlier tradition.[38] The title appears seventeen times in his correspondence. W.

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[32]Fuller, *Foundations*, 70f. and 97f.

[33]*Christology in the Making*, 7.

[34]Ibid., 12.

[35]See further M. de Jonge, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven and Son of God: Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective* (SBLSBS 11; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977); J. Howton, "'Son of God' in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 10 (1963-64) 227-37; and Bultmann, *NT Theology*, 2. 33ff.

[36]Among the literature here, see J. W. Thompson, "The Structure and Purpose of the Catena in Heb. 1:5-13," *CBQ* 38 (1976) 352-63; C. K. Barrett, "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *The Background of the NT and its Eschatology: Studies in Honour of C. H. Dodd* (eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: University Press, 1954) 363-93; and F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century AD and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: University Press, 1976).

[37]Fuller, *Foundations*, 187.

[38]Especially helpful are Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, 110ff.; A. D. Nock, "'Son of God' in Pauline and Hellenistic Thought," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (2 vols.; Oxford: University Press, 1972) 928-39; and Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 304f.

Bousset[39] argued that Paul was the first so to describe Jesus and that the title was the apostle's own creation. However, as A. M. Hunter rightly contends,[40] it is more likely that this doctrine of Jesus' unique sonship should have come to Paul as part of the tradition which he received than that he should have arrived at it through some spiritual intuition of his own. In 1 Thess 1:10 a pre-Pauline tradition appears in a resurrection-Parousia context. Christians are encouraged "to wait for (God's) Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead."[41] A sense of exaltation is assumed in 1 Cor 15:28: "When all things are subjected to (God), then the Son himself will also be subjected to him," while the theme of pre-existence is introduced in Gal 4:4: "When the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law."[42]

Not surprisingly, it is in Rom where Paul's most distinctive use of *huios theou* is found. The pre-Pauline tradition in 1:3f. may go back to the earliest Jewish-Christian community. The gospel concerns "God's Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead"—a statement containing unmistakable allusions to Jesus' earthly life, resurrection, and exaltation.[43] Rom 8:3, like John 3:16, speaks of God's sending the pre-existent Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh." Similarly, at 8:32 God "did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all."[44]

In summary, *huios theou* in early Christianity (outside Luke-Acts) is used in reference to all phases of Jesus' work: from pre-existence, through earthly life and death, to resurrection, exaltation, and Parousia.

Before proceeding with the synoptic evidence, a distinction should be drawn, as Hahn suggests, between the titles "Son of God" and "the Son."[45] Discounting the trinitarian formula in Matt 28:19,[46] the absolute *ho huios* is found only three times in the synoptics. One of these, the parable of the wicked tenants of the vineyard (Mark 12:1-12 par.), will be discussed later. The two remaining passages are: Mark 13:32;[47] par. Matt 24:36: "But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but

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[39] *Kyrios Christos*, 91ff.

[40] *Paul and His Predecessors* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 89.

[41] On this verse, see E. Best, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: Black, 1972) 85-7; and Hahn, *Titles of Jesus* 286.

[42] The Gal passage is discussed in detail by Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 38ff., and E. Schweizer, "Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der 'Sendungsformel' Gal. 4.4f, Röm. 8.3f., John 3.16f, I John 4.9," *ZNW* 57 (1966) 199-210.

[43] See, on this passage, J. D. G. Dunn, "Jesus - Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Romans 1:3-4," *JTS* 24 (1973) 40-68; C. Burger, *Jesus als Davidssohn* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970) 25-33; Hengel, *Son of God*, 59ff.; Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, 108f.; and Fuller, *Foundations*, 165f.

[44] On Rom 8:3, see the Schweizer article cited in n. 42, and Kramer, ibid., 111-23.

[45] *Titles of Jesus*, 279f. Disagreeing with Hahn on this point are I. H. Marshall, "The Divine Sonship of Jesus," *Int* 21 (1967) 87-103, and Longenecker, *Christology*, 96.

[46] In ch. 2 of his work *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), J. D. Kingsbury argues that "Son of God" is the most important christological title for Matt; see also M. J. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) 89-95.

[47] See van Iersel, "*Der Sohn*," 117-23.

only the Father," and the much-disputed Q passage: Matt 11:27; par. Luke 10:22, often called "the synoptic meteor from the Johannine heaven," where Jesus refers to himself three times as "the Son:" "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."[48] These passages raise such questions as (1) the designation of God as Father; (2) Jesus' consciousness in a special sense of being God's "Son," and (3) his unique practice of calling God *abba*[49]—matters which deserve full treatment, but which cannot concern us here.

IV. The Title Huios Theou in The Gospel of Luke

It is readily apparent from Luke's gospel that he believed Jesus to be the Son of God. We are told as much in the annunciation to Mary.[50] The title is absent from the Matthean version (1:18ff) where emphasis is placed on the Emmanuel prophecy of Isa 7:14.[51] At Luke 1:32, however, the angel says to Mary concerning the child to be born: "He will be called the Son of the Most High," and again at v. 35: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be called holy, the Son of God." The virginity of Mary is based on the LXX of Isa 7:14 where the Greek *parthenos* replaces the Hebrew *almah*. Divine sonship is established by the creative power of the Holy Spirit, and a special act of election in the mother's womb. Exclusion of an earthly father represents another feature borrowed from the modified Hellenistic-Jewish concept of the *theios anēr*.[52] As we will see, Luke sometimes applies "Son of God" to Jesus in a resurrection-exaltation sense, but here at the annunciation he transfers the title back to Jesus' earthly life, and bestows it on him not by a human voice, but by that of an angel.

At Jesus' baptism the heavens opened, the Holy Spirit descended upon him like a dove, and a voice from heaven said, "Thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased" (3:22; par. Mark 1:11; Matt 3:17). Again, divine sonship is conferred on Jesus not by a human, but by a heavenly voice. Wishing to emphasize the bestowal and permanent possession of the Holy Spirit, Luke adds "in bodily form," a phrase lacking in the parallels. Bousset's theory is probably correct,[53] that *huios* here and at the transfiguration has

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[48]On this important passage, see Cullman, *Christology of the NT*, 286ff.; Suggs, ibid., 71-77; W. Grundmann, "Matt 11.27 und die johanneischen 'Der Vater—Der Sohn' Stellen," *NTS* 12 (1965-66) 42-9; and, especially, P. Winter, "Matt 11:27 and Luke 10:22 from the First to the Fifth Centuries," *NovT* 1 (1956) 112-48.

[49]Mark 14:36; see also Rom 8:15 and Gal 4:6. This intimate address was unprecedented in the Judaism of Jesus' day. In a liturgical context, a Jew might address God as *abbi*, "my Father," but never would he use the familiar *abba*; see further, J. Jeremias, *NT Theology* (New York: Scribner, 1971) 61-8.

[50]See R. E. Brown, "Luke's Method in the Annunciation Narrative of Chapter One," *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, 126-38, and *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977); also P. S. Minear, "Luke's Use of the Birth Stories," *Studies in Luke-Acts*, 111-30; W. B. Tatum, "The Epoch of Israel: Luke i and ii and the Theological Plan of Luke-Acts," *NTS* 13 (1966-67) 184-95; and Schweizer, "*Huios Theou*," 376f.

[51]R. Pesch, "Der Gottessohn im matthäischen Evangelienprolog (Matt 1-2)," *Bib* 48 (1967) 395-420.

[52]Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 296f., 285.

[53]*Kyrios Christos*, 91-8; see Jeremias, *NT Theology*, 53-5; for a dissenting view, I. H. Marshall, "Son of God or Servant of Yahweh?—A Reconsideration of Mark 1:11," *NTS* 15 (1968-69) 326-36.

replaced an original *pais*, "servant." That Luke was influenced by the LXX of Isa 42:1 is undeniable. For him the "Son" concept is intimately connected with that of the "Servant."[54] As he did at the annunciation, Luke has taken the title *huios theou* and read it back into Jesus' earthly life. The "Western" text at 3:22[55] attributes the full sentence from Ps 2:7 to the heavenly voice: "Today I have begotten you," thereby contributing the notion of appointment to messianic office. But the context of the reading back is controlled not by Ps 2:7, but by Luke's adaptation of the Hellenistic-Jewish concept of the "suffering-righteous" Son of God as we observed it in Wis.

Twice Jesus, endowed with the Holy Spirit, is tempted by Satan to misuse his power: "If you are the Son of God, command this stone to become bread," and "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down" from the pinnacle of the temple (4:3, 9; par. Matt 4:3, 6 Q).[56] Once again *huios theou* is bestowed on Jesus by other than a human. Despite Bultmann's claim[57] that the temptation story was created *de novo* on the Hellenistic-Jewish Christian stage, most commentators[58] hold that the temptation and baptism accounts were already connected in the oral tradition.

In 4:41 when the demons recognize Jesus as the "Son of God," he rebuked them and would not allow them to speak because "they knew that he was the Christ." The parallelism in this verse suggests that for Luke "Son of God" and "Christ" are synonymous terms.[59] Of added significance is the fact that the titles are lacking in the parallels (Mark 1:32-34; Matt 8:16-17), although Luke may have been influenced by the "unclean spirits" calling Jesus "Son of God" in Mark 3:10-11. As of yet no human has bestowed *huios theou* on Jesus—a record kept intact in Luke's account of the Gerasene demoniac (8:28; par. Mark 5:7; Matt 8:29) who falls at Jesus' feet shouting, "What have you to do with me, Jesus, Son of the Most High God?" This passage is related to that of the man with the unclean demon at the Capernaum synagogue (4:34-35; cf. Mark 1:23-24) who cries out: "I know who you are, the Holy One of God." However, in Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity the idea of Jesus as a "man of God" or "Holy One of God" is replaced by "Son of God," or, as we have it at 8:28, "Son of the Most High God."

At the transfiguration Jesus is once again identified as "Son of God" by a heavenly voice: "This is my Son, my Chosen; listen to him!" (9:35; par. Mark 9:7; Matt 17:5).[60] We

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[54]See my discussion of this matter, "*Pais* in Luke-Acts," 219f.

[55]Those who support the D reading as original are listed in J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 366 n. 73.

[56]Two important studies here are B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son: Matthew 4:1-11 and Parallels* (Lund: Gleerup, 1966) and E. Best, *The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965) 169f.

[57]*The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1976) 257.

[58]E.g., Cullmann, *Christology of the NT*, 276.

[59]Among those who have noted this are O'Neill, *Theology of Acts*, 139; Cadbury, "Titles of Jesus in Acts," 5. 363; and V. H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions* (NTTS 5; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 116f. For a different point of view, see Longenecker, *Christology*, 93f.

[60]See J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Composition of Luke, Chapter 9," *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, 146ff.; W. L. Liefeld, "Theological Motifs in the Transfiguration Narrative," *New Dimensions in NT Study* (eds. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 178ff.; and C. E. Carlston, "Transfiguration and Resurrection," *JBL* 80 (1961) 233-40.

recall Bousset's theory[61] that at both the baptism and the transfiguration *huios* has replaced an original *pais*. The question arose: In which tradition did the shift first occur? Bultmann,[62] who believes the transfiguration to be a misplaced resurrection appearance, naturally favors the baptism, but it is possible that the change was made simultaneously in both pericopes.

Luke makes two alterations here which show that he is not as dependent on the LXX of Isa 42:1 as he was at the baptism: first, instead of *ho agapētos*, "my beloved," found in both parallels, Luke has *ho eklelegmenos*, "my Chosen"; and secondly, while Matt includes the Isaianic phrase of divine approval: "with whom I am well pleased," Luke omits it. The imperative "listen to him" recalls Deut 18:15, 19 where God raised up the prophet Moses and commanded the people to listen to his words. Both Elijah and Moses in the transfiguration account legitimate Jesus as the eschatological prophet.[63] The motif of "metamorphosis" is not just a change in appearance, but the earliest example of divine sonship understood as transformation in reference to "being."[64] Luke has appropriated a feature from the Hellenistic *theios anēr* concept seldom observed in Hellenistic-Judaism —namely, Jesus' true "being" is unveiled before his disciples.

Brief mention should be made of the parable of the wicked tenants of the vineyard (20:9-18; par. Mark 12:1-12; Matt 21:33-43) in which the owner of the vineyard first sends servants to collect the rent, but they are driven away. Finally, the owner sends his own "beloved son" (v. 13) whom the tenants as inheritors kill. W. G. Kümmel[65] regards this parable as an allegory of the Aramaic-speaking church on the history of salvation into which *huios agapētos* is introduced in conformity with the terminological shift in the baptism and transfiguration narratives. But even if the parable is authentic,[66] "beloved son" must not be regarded as a self-designation by Jesus, despite the claim of Cullmann.[67]

In the account of the Parousia's coming (21:32ff) Luke significantly omits the statement found in the parallels (Mark 13:32; Matt 24:36) that not even the Son knows the time. Luke is so concerned at this point in Jesus' ministry to link "Son of God" with the passion that he refrains from mentioning the title in a context which will not contribute to this conception.[68]

In the trial of Jesus before the Council (22:66b-71) the elders, chief priests, and scribes say to him (v. 67): "If you are the Christ, tell us," and he replies, "If I tell you, you will not believe." Later (v. 70) they ask, "Are you the Son of God, then?" and he answers, "You say that I am." Mark 14:61 has a single question: "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" which Matt (26:63) is content to copy with only a slight change: "Tell us if you

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[61] See n. 53.

[62] *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 259ff.

[63] P. Minear, in *To Heal and To Reveal: The Prophetic Vocation According to Luke* (New York: Seabury, 1976) 106, comments on Luke's understanding of the link between Jesus and Moses, and correctly notes that the designation "prophet" coalesces compatibly with the other titles found in the Acts speeches; see my review of Minear's work in *JBL* 97 (1978) 146-48.

[64] Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 300-2.

[65] "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte* (Marburg: Elwart, 1965) 207-17.

[66] So J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Scribner, 1972) 70ff.

[67] *Christology of the NT, 289.*

[68] Malherbe, "Christology in Luke-Acts," 118.

are the Christ, the Son of God."[69] Luke, however, has expanded Mark's single question into two—one having to do with Jesus' sonship and the other with his messiahship.[70] Here, as at 4:41, "Christ" and "Son of God" are used in parallelism, indicating once again that for Luke they are synonymous titles.[71] As we have seen, all previous references to Jesus as "Son of God" have been by other than human voices (i.e., angel, God, Satan, demons). But here, as C. F. D. Moule observes,[72] with the gospel nearing its conclusion, Luke permits Jesus himself to give a noncommittal response concerning the title.[73]

In Mark 15:39 the centurion confesses at the cross, "Truly this man was the Son of God" which Matt (27:54) repeats exactly. Luke, however, who understands "Son of God" in terms of the "suffering-righteous (*dikaios*) man" concept found in Wis, has the centurion say at 23:47: "Certainly this man was innocent (*dikaios*)"—thereby explaining the title rather than merely repeating it.

In the synoptics *huios theou* does not occur on the lips of Jesus at all, and only once is it attributed to him—namely, on the cross by a jeering crowd: "He said 'I am the Son of God'" (Matt 27:43). This, however, is obviously a Matthean addition since it is lacking in Mark 15:30 and Luke 23:35. We conclude, therefore, that Jesus did not use the title, nor did he claim for himself divine sonship.[74]

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[69]For a detailed discussion of this pericope, see D. R. Catchpole, "The Answer of Jesus to Caiaphas (Matt xxvi.64)," *NTS* 17 (1971) 213ff.; C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977) 24ff.; V. Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of Saint Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation* (ed. O. E. Evans; SNTSMS 19; Cambridge: University Press, 1972); J. D. M. Derrett, "Midrash in the NT: The Origin of Luke 22:67-68," *ST* 29 (1975) 147-56; and P. Winter, "Luke 22:66b-71," *ST* 9 (1955) 112ff. I wish to thank Joseph B. Tyson, "Source Criticism of the Gospel of Luke," *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, 27 n. 9 and 39 n. 56, for calling my attention to another helpful article by P. Winter, "The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist in Luke 21-24," *ST* 8 (1954) 138-72, and G. Schneider's important work *Verleugnung, Verspottung, und Verhör Jesu nach Lukas 22:54-71* (Munchen: Kosel, 1961).

[70]H. Flender, *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 167) 44ff.; also see Cullmann, *Christology of the NT*, 279f.

[71]See n. 59; Malherbe, "Christology in Luke-Acts," 119, concludes his discussion of the "Son of God" title with these words: "In Luke the titles Son of God and Christ are parallel in the ministry of Jesus, and in the Passion, as Jesus fulfills his ministry as the Son of God, the title Christ comes to take over. The Son of God looks to the Cross and Resurrection, and it is there that he becomes the Christ in the full meaning of the term."

[72]"Christology of Acts," 165.

[73]H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960) 172, claims that the "Son of God" title is of "outstanding importance" for Luke. This is shown "not only by the stories of the Baptism and of the Transfiguration, but also by the argument in Luke xxii, 67-70, where the train of thought reaches its climax with this title."

[74]Most commentators agree with van Iersel, "*Der Sohn*," 183, that Jesus never alluded to himself as "Son of God," but see V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 65, who claims that Jesus "believed himself to be the Son of God in a pre-eminent sense."

V. The Title Huios Theou in Acts

In Acts Jesus is called "Son of God" only twice[75]—9:20 and 13:33—three times if the D text at 8:37 ("I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God") is accepted as original. While some[76] regard the Ethiopian eunuch's baptismal confession as authentic (or at least a very early addition), its absence in the best witnesses makes it an extremely doubtful reading.[77] In 10:42 Jesus is "the one ordained (*hōrismenos*) by God to be judge of the living and the dead" in exactly the same way as he was "designated (*horisthentos*) Son of God in power" in Rom 1:4. Belonging to the same christological conception are 17:31 ("a man whom he has appointed") and 3:20 ("the Christ appointed for you").[78] The reading of "Son" in 20:28 is sheer conjecture, unsupported by any Greek manuscript evidence.

In 9:20, following his conversion, Paul is proclaiming Jesus in the Damascus synagogues saying "He is the Son of God." Two verses further on Paul is still "proving that Jesus was the Christ," again indicating that neither title was specifically chosen, and that for Luke, as Ernst Haenchen[79] and Geza Vermes[80] have observed, "Christ" and "Son of God" are synonymous terms.[81]

Finally, Jesus is called God's Son in the speech attributed to Paul at Pisidian Antioch[82] (13:33) where Ps 2:7 is quoted. The good news which God had promised to the fathers he has now "fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus; as also it is written in the second psalm, 'Thou art my Son, today I have begotten thee.'" In his important work on this passage, E. Lövestam[83] argues that the covenant promise to David of permanent dominion for his house and its fulfillment in Jesus as Son of God dominates the speech, and that this "royal aspect" plays a crucial role in the designation of Jesus as "God's Son" in the synoptics.

We have seen in the gospel portion of this study that Jesus was "Son of God" during his earthly life. Now we have Luke, in his second volume, using the title in a resurrection-exaltation context.[84] Acts 13:33 is one of two favorite texts (the other being Acts 2:36) adduced as evidence that Luke's christology is "adoptionist."[85] Jesus

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[75]The fact that "Son of God" is not taken up anywhere else in Acts suggests for I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970) 167, that this title is "a piece of tradition taken up by Luke and not integrated into any scheme of his own."

[76]E.g., Cullmann, *Christology of the NT*, 290f.; Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 329f.

[77]Among others, Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 287.

[78]Fuller, *Foundations*, 166.

[79]*The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 331.

[80]*Jesus the Jew*, 263 n. 44.

[81]See notes 59 and 71.

[82]Recent discussions of this speech include M. Dumais, *Le langage de l'évangélisation (Actes 13, 16-41)* (Recherches 16; Montreal: Bellarmin, 1976) and M. F. Buss, *Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus im pisidischen Antiochien: Analyse von Apg 13, 16-41 im Hinblick auf die literarische und thematische Einheit der Paulusrede* (Forschung zur Bibel 38; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980).

[83]*Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13:32-37, with an Appendix: Son of God in the Synoptic Gospels* (ConNT 18; Lund: Gleerup, 1961) 23-48.

[84]Hengel, *Son of God*, 62, says: "The statement 'God has raised Jesus' could be described as the real primal Christian confession which keeps recurring in the NT."

[85]Supporters here include Bultmann, *NT Theology*, 1. 43f.; Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, 108-11; van Iersel, "*Der Sohn*," 66-73; G. MacRae, "Christology of Acts," 156; and I. H. Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles," *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce* (eds. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Exeter: Paternoster, 1970) 92-107.

became "Son of God" only at the resurrection. He had been specifically chosen ("adopted") by God because he had proven himself worthy by his mighty works, wonders, and signs (2:22). Ps 2:7 is quoted at 13:33 not (as in the gospels) in connection with the baptism or the transfiguration, but with reference to the action of God in raising Jesus from the dead. "Adoptionist" christology advocates contend that Ps 2:7 was first used in connection with the resurrection and was later extended (or "pushed back") to the other two.

A more tenable position, however, has been posited regarding Luke's christology. That Jesus became the "Son of God" only as the result of a transformation wrought by the resurrection is denied; he was in fact Son of God before his death—even before his birth. According to Luke, there was never a time in Jesus' life when he was not the "Son of God." Jesus was "subordinate"[86] to and totally dependent upon God in all things. The resurrection only confirmed and vindicated Jesus in his role as "Son of God."

VI. Conclusion

We have been concerned with how Luke has adopted and integrated the title *huios theou*, "Son of God," into his theological perspective, and are now prepared to draw some conclusions from our study.

First, Luke's adaptation of the title has been influenced by various elements borrowed from the Hellenistic *theios anēr* concept—especially those of "divine being" and the "suffering-righteous man"—as developed in Wis. Secondly, Luke's three-fold use of *huios theou* synonymously with *christos* (twice in his gospel and once in Acts) indicates that for him "Son of God" is simply another way of saying "Christ." Finally, in the gospel the title appears solely in the context of Jesus' earthly life, and is, with the possible exception of the trial narrative, applied to him by other than human voices—divine, angelic, Satanic, and demonic. In Acts, however, Luke has Paul confer *huios theou* in a definite resurrection-exaltation sense. For Luke, there is no distinction between the earthly and the exalted "Son of God." Not only is the title applied to the historical as well as the resurrected Jesus; he is *huios theou* even before his birth. Since Jesus is already "Son of God" on earth, Luke, both in his gospel and in Acts, can use the title freely, unconsciously, and indiscriminately.

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[86] Advocates of a "subordinationist" christology include Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 173ff.; Wilckens, *Missionsreden*, 137ff.; Haenchen, *Acts*, 90ff.; and Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 51.

Ethnocentricity and Salvation History in the Cornelius Episode (Acts 10:1–11:18)

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I. The Problem

It is clear that the Cornelius episode in Acts 10:1-11:18 marks an important turn in the story, the beginning of the Gentile mission. The problem lies in determining just *what* is being said about the new relationship between Jewish Christians and Gentiles. Among the important questions are the following:

(1) Is Peter's vision (10:9-16) about clean and unclean meats (i.e., Jewish dietary laws) or about clean and unclean people (i.e., Jewish regulations concerning social contact with Gentiles)? And when the circumcision party objects that Peter has gone in to the uncircumcised and eaten with them (11:3), are they objecting to Peter's having violated laws concerning diet or laws concerning social contact with Gentiles?

(2) Is the point of the Cornelius story the sheer fact that a Gentile received the Holy Spirit and was baptized, and thus that the Gentile mission was legitimated *per se*, or is the point that Cornelius was baptized without circumcision and the obligation to keep Jewish purity laws? And since Acts 15 clearly discusses the *conditions* to be placed upon Gentiles entering the church, and since Peter appeals to the Cornelius episode to support his position there (15:7b-11), how are we to understand the relationship between Acts 10:1-11:18 and Acts 15:1-35? Does the former prepare for the latter in the sense of providing a preliminary stage, or does the latter rehash and reaffirm the former without adding anything to it, or are the two pericopes discussing different issues altogether?

(3) What is the literary function of the resistance of Christians to what God is doing? Notice Peter's reluctance to heed the vision (10:14; cf. 10:20, 28f, 47; 11:17b), the objections of the circumcision party (11:2-3), and the call of some in Antioch and Jerusalem for Gentiles to be circumcised and to keep the law (15:1, 5). Does Luke depict this resistance as a reflection of Jewish prejudice or as a reflection of zeal to remain faithful to God's will in the law, zeal which needs to be corrected by the new thing God is doing?

The fundamental issue is brought out well by R. P. C. Hanson:[1]

> The subject of table-fellowship was involved with the subject of food regulations, and both with the subject of circumcision. When therefore Luke introduces into his story of the acceptance into the Church of an uncircumcised Gentile a sub-plot describing a vision about clean and unclean food, it may well be that he is combining two different traditions . . . , but they are not incompatible. Ultimately they are both concerned with the same subject; and Luke knows this.

[1] R. P. C. Hanson, *The Acts in the Revised Standard Version, with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 120.

Hanson summarizes accurately a Jewish perspective on the relationship among table fellowship, food regulations, and restrictions on social contact with uncircumcised Gentiles, i.e., that all of these are part of a purity ethic. But his last statement ("and Luke knows this") is subject to question. It is not at all clear that Luke uses this purity ethic as a point of departure or that he is even sensitive to the importance of the purity ethic for Jews and its connection to restrictions on social relations.[2] The issue is not the relationship between purity laws and social relations in the "historical world" of the Christian community in the first century as a social historian might describe it; the issue is the relationship between purity laws and social relations in the "literary world" of Luke-Acts. I hope to show that in Luke-Acts Jewish regulations such as circumcision and restrictions on table fellowship function not as part of an ethic of purity but as part of an ethic of ethnocentricity; and the Cornelius episode is therefore not about purity but about ethnocentricity.

II. Peter's Vision—Tradition and Redaction

What causes interpreters to think that Luke is dealing with purity in the Cornelius episode is most of all Peter's vision (10:9-16), when Peter is told, in regard to his vision of various animals which he is commanded to kill and eat, "what God has declared clean, don't you declare unclean." It is often thought that Luke thereby has God declare all the purity laws annulled.[3]

Almost all interpreters point out that Peter's vision, despite the reference to food, is used by Luke to discuss distinctions among people.[4] What is not clear is why Luke takes such a roundabout way of discussing the acceptability of social contact between Jews and Gentiles. Why bring up clean and unclean animals if what you really want to discuss is social contact with Gentiles?

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[2]Notice that outside the Cornelius episode, ἀκάθαρτος ("unclean") occurs in Luke-Acts only as an attribute of "unclean spirits"; κοινός ("common") does not occur at all with the meaning "unclean", and except for Luke 11:41 καθαρός ("clean") does not occur except with the meaning "innocent" (Acts 18:6; 20:26). In Luke 2:22 Luke refers to τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν, apparently misunderstanding the Jewish purity laws to apply to both Mary and Joseph after the birth of Jesus. Luke 11:37-41 deals with regulations for washing utensils and hands before eating; here the point is that one keeps *oneself* clean by deeds of mercy (from the inside) rather than by washing the outside of the body (washing utensils is only discussed as an illustration of this). Mark 7:14-23, which bears directly on the Jewish purity ethic, especially in the matter of food, is omitted by Luke. Unless it is in Acts 10:1-11:18, Luke never really deals with the Jewish claim that certain objects and foods are unclean and that to remain clean before God and godly people one must avoid contact with such objects. I hope to show below that the Cornelius episode is consistent with Luke's outlook elsewhere in this regard.

[3]See, e.g., recently G. Schille, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* (THKNT V; Berlin: Evangelische, 1983) 236, 245, 246, 248, 252, 259. Also H. H. Wendt, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899[8]) 200-201, 210-211; F. F. Bruce, *A Commentary on the Book of Acts* (ICNT; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1954) 218, 222-223; I. H. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles* (TynNTC: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 180-81, 186; L. E. Toombs, "Clean and Unclean," *IDB* 1 (1962) 645.

[4]See below for a discussion of how the vision functions in the story. For now it will suffice to point out that vv. 17-20 link the vision to the rest of the story by having the Holy Spirit command Peter to accompany the Gentile messengers to Caesarea.

Martin Dibelius[5] argued that what we have here is a problem of tradition and redaction: Luke took up a story about the distinction between clean and unclean animals and re-interpreted it to apply to the distinction between clean and unclean people. Peter's vision, then, has its original *Sitz im Leben* in early Christian debates over Jewish dietary regulations, but Luke uses it for an entirely different purpose.

Dibelius's explanation has not gone unchallenged. Ernst Haenchen argued that Luke composed 10:9-16 himself in order to illustrate the point of 10:28b—no one is common or unclean.[6] He observes that the mixture of clean and unclean animals should not provoke Peter's objections (he could still kill a clean animal); the mixture is the clue that the vision can only be understood figuratively, as a reference to clean and unclean people. Karl Löning and Klaus Haacker have argued in addition that Peter's vision is heavily dependent on its context in Acts 10 and that the pericope therefore is not likely to have had a prior, independent existence.[7]

Despite the objections, the distinction between tradition and redaction seems to be the most useful point of entry for interpreting Acts 10:1-11:18. What makes the objections to this approach initially plausible is the tendency of form critics like Dibelius and Bovon to give insufficient attention to literary analysis once the oral tradition has been isolated. Why has the author appropriated this tradition, and how has he adapted it and incorporated it into his *own* story? A more thorough tradition *and* redaction analysis should tighten up Dibelius's case.

The primary *aporion* that invites a tradition-history theory is the vision's references to food. We are told in quite concrete terms that Peter was hungry and was praying while others made dinner (10:10); that in the vision Peter was presented with animals to slay and eat; and that Peter protested that he had never eaten anything unclean (10:11-14). There is no hint anywhere in the vision that anything except food is under discussion. Furthermore, 10:12 lists the animals in the sheet in a manner similar to Gen 1:24 LXX;[8] the vision thereby alludes to God's original will in creation when he made everything good (cf. Acts 10:14).[9] The vision is thus a self-sufficient unit, arguing for a renewal of the original will of the creator[10] in the matter of clean and unclean animals, without ambiguity as to the subject matter.

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[5]"Die Bekehrung des Kornelius," in *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte* (FRLANT 60; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951) 96-107; cf. his earlier work in "Stilkritisches zur Apostelgeschichte," in *Aufsätze*, 19. A similar analysis was done subsequently by F. Bovon, "Tradition et rédaction en Actes 10:1-11:18," *ThZ* 26 (1970) 22-45. For a survey of redactional analyses of Acts 10:1-11:18 as a whole see G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, II. Teil (HTKNT 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1982) 61-64.

[6]E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965[14]) 306-7.

[7]K. Löning, "Die Korneliustradition," *BibZ* 18 (1974) 1-19; K. Haacker, "Dibelius und Cornelius: ein Beispiel formgeschichtliche Überlieferungskritik," *BibZ* 24 (1980) 234-51. Cf. F. Hahn, *Das Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament* (WMANT 13; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1963) 42, who argues that Luke received the story of Peter's vision in its present context.

[8]Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 293; Schille, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 244.

[9]Bovon, "Tradition et rédaction," p. 33. The procedure is reminiscent of Jesus' appeal to creation in revoking the Mosaic divorce laws (Mark 10:2-12).

[10]Midr. Pss. 146 §4 (ca. 268 C.E.) reports that some rabbis taught that when the messiah came, God would declare all animals clean (according to Str-B, 11:702-3). The passage is too late to serve as evidence for the Jewish background of Acts 10:15, but it illustrates the connection between eschatology and the renewal of creation in the "cleansing" of all animals.

Haenchen's objections that the sheet contains clean as well as unclean animals is difficult to take seriously. It is precisely the mingling of clean and unclean animals and the command to kill and eat without discrimination against which Peter objects. Furthermore, the inclusion of all kinds of animals is necessary for the Genesis allusion. The point is that Peter is commanded to "slay and eat" without discrimination,[11] and the logistical details should not be pressed.

It is true that in Luke's story Peter is totally baffled by the vision until the Spirit leads him into the situation with the Gentiles that interprets it for him. But Peter's puzzlement is a *Lukan* device; it serves not only to interpret the vision but also to disguise the fact that the vision makes sense already on its own--a sense different from the one Luke wants to bring out. Dibelius's critics, who cannot understand the vision apart from its Lukan context, have fallen prey to Luke's skillful manipulation of the scene. It is, in fact, only in the Lukan context that the vision is to be taken figuratively.[12]

The ostensive reference to clean and unclean food in Acts 10:9-16 is an *aporion* not only because of its conflict with the rest of the chapter, but also because of its conflict with Luke's understanding of the law's application to Christians. Acts 15:20 limits the application of the law to Gentiles to the four stipulations of the Apostolic Decree, but does not do so for Jewish Christians. Never do we hear that Jewish Christians are released from the law in the slightest; indeed, Acts 21:20 speaks of tens of thousands of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who are zealous for the law. A *general* abolition of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, then, would be quite out of place in Acts.[13]

The second question in regard to Peter's vision concerns the manner in which it delivers its message. If Luke composed Acts 10:9-16, as Haenchen thinks, why does he take such a circuitous route to make the point, describing this mysterious vision which Peter has to decipher? Why does he leave the possibility of drawing from the vision a conclusion contrary to his own theology? A comparison with the other visions in Acts shows that Acts 10:9-16 is unique in this regard. Acts has five other visions; in four of them, Jesus appears and speaks directly to the recipient, without the least ambiguity in meaning (9:10-16;[14] 18:9-10; 22:17-21; 23:11). In the vision at Troas (16:9-10), Paul sees a man from Macedon calling him to come and help the Macedonians; but even here, the command is direct, and there is no need to puzzle out an interpretation. If Luke were responsible for composing the story of Peter's vision in Acts 10, it would be difficult to account for the change in literary strategy.

The incongruences of Peter's vision in its context in Acts 10 thus lead us to regard it as a piece of early Christian tradition that Luke has taken over and pressed into service

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[11]Wendt (*Die Apostelgeschichte*, 200) had already suggested that Peter was commanded to eat indiscriminately, but Haenchen dismisses the idea as "highly artificial" (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 293 n. 2). Correctly on this point, Bruce, *Acts*, 218.

[12]Bovon, "Tradition et rédaction," p. 34 (correctly).

[13]Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 307. See also J. Jervell, "Das gespaltene Israel und die Heidenvölker: Zur Motivierung der Heidenmission in der Apostelgeschichte," *ST* 19 (1965) 68-96. The essay can be found translated and reprinted as "The Dividied People of God," in idem, *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972) 41-74.

[14]The vision of Ananias is similar to Peter's in that it functions as a "confirming vision" (confirming Paul's vision on the road to Damascus), as does Peter's vision (confirming Cornelius's vision). The parallel suggests that the presence of Peter's vision in the Cornelius story is due to Lukan rather than pre-Lukan redaction.

for a purpose other than its original one, which was to explain why Christians do not keep Jewish dietary laws. Now we must examine the story carefully in Luke's context.

III. The Literary Structure of Acts 10

The second half of the tradition and redaction task, after pointing out *aporia*, is to suggest why and how the author has appropriated the tradition. Luke uses the story of Peter's vision to solve a problem: he cannot simply tell the story of Cornelius's "conversion"[15] through Peter, because as Luke understands it, it is "unlawful for a Jew to associate with or to visit anyone of another nation" (Acts 10:28a); i.e., Jews are not permitted any social contact with Gentiles, especially contact which would involve eating together, traveling together, and sleeping under the same roof.[16] Since Luke understands the apostles as law-keeping Jews, he cannot tell the story without some kind of episode that will make possible contact between Cornelius and Peter.

The material he incorporates as Peter's vision thus serves his purpose well in two respects: (1) It emphasizes God's leading and initiative, a major motif in Acts 10:1-11:18, and a motif Luke often brings in by means of visions. (2) It stresses that "what God has called clean, don't you call unclean," the punchline of the vision (Acts 10:15). Since the punchline is stated in general terms, it lends itself to the broader application Luke gives it. But the punchline is also well-suited to Luke's concern to show that it is God who is making the decision for the Gentile mission; instead of simply commanding Peter to do something, the punchline commands Peter not to contradict what *God* is doing. The vision now found in Acts 10:9-16 was thus amenable to Luke's reinterpretation of it and in fact was in some respects well-suited to his purpose—to show how God himself has cleared away the distinction between clean and unclean (people, in Luke's interpretation), thus making possible contact between Peter the Jew and Cornelius the Gentile.

Luke has skillfully incorporated the vision into the plot of the Cornelius story, taking advantage of the tension between the ostensive referent of the vision and his own interpretation of it to provide the movement of the plot in Acts 10:9-29 (see chart, below). The vision is set up by Peter's praying on the roof, hungry, while others prepare dinner (10:9b-10). After the vision (10:11-16), Peter is perplexed as to its meaning; the rest of the story through 10:29a serves to resolve Peter's perplexity.

The resolution happens in two stages. In the first stage (D), immediately after the vision ("as Peter was wondering to himself what the vision might mean . . ."), Peter receives three signs: Cornelius's messengers appear and call for him, the Spirit tells him to go with them without raising any objections,[17] and the messengers report Cornelius's vision in which he was commanded to send for Peter. At the instigation of these three

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[15]Cornelius is not converted in the sense of "being led to a dramatic reversal" (he is already a pious God-fearer, 10:2), but he is instructed in the basic kerygma (10:34-43) and incorporated into the people of God by the gift of the Holy Spirit (10:44) and baptism (10:48).

[16]The historical question of whether Jews of Luke's time or of Peter's really took such a hard line on social contact with Gentiles as is expressed in Acts 10:28a, though very important in itself, is of little consequence for the present essay; it is enough to know that Luke understands the Jewish position this way.

[17]Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, 69) recognizes the function of the appearance of the messengers and the intervention of the Spirit in interpreting the vision, and points out that both v 17 and v 19 describe Peter's perplexity and then introduce the sign with ἰδού.

Acts 10:1-48

A. Introduction (1-2)
—Cornelius presented to readers

B. Cornelius's vision (3-8)
double agenda:
—command to send for Peter
—implied promise to receive something from Peter

problem: no social contact with Gentiles allowed

C. Peter's vision (9-16)
problem: what does vision mean?

D. Messengers arrive (17-23)
3 signs:
—messengers arrive
—Spirit commands Peter to go with them
—report of Cornelius's vision

result:
Peter obeys
—houses messengers
—travels with them to Joppa

E. Cornelius receives Peter (24-29a)
sign:
—Peter finds house full of of Gentiles ready to hear

result:
—Peter announces the interpretation of the vision: Gentiles not unclean

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F. Peter's speech (29b-43)
sign: —Cornelius recounts his vision

result: —Peter preaches to the Gentiles

G. Baptism of the Gentiles (44-48a)
sign: —Holy Spirit falls on Gentiles, tongues

result: —Peter has Gentiles baptized

H. Conclusion (48b)
—Peter stays a few days

signs, Peter houses the Gentiles for the night[18] and travels with them the next day (10:23). In the second stage (E), Peter and company arrive in Caesarea; there they are greeted by Cornelius and a crowd of his friends and relatives, all Gentiles, and all anxiously awaiting Peter's arrival[19]—Cornelius even tries to worship Peter.[20] It was not until this point that Peter announces the interpretation of the vision (10:28b): "God has shown me that I should call no one common or unclean."[21] Apparently, in the first stage (D), Peter simply acts in accordance with the Spirit's command and the signs;[22] in the second stage (E) he realizes that what he is doing is interpreting the vision. Peter's perplexity about the vision thus sets up a dramatic tension that is resolved bit by bit as Peter comes to understand it in the events that follow.

The sub-plot of Peter's vision (C, D, E) is, of course, inserted into, and partially overlaps with, the main plot of Acts 10:1-11:18, i.e., the "conversion" of Cornelius. This main plot is also driven by dramatic tensions set up in the first scene. The appearance of the angel (B) sets two different "agenda" in motion: (1) a command to send for Peter, which is yet to be obeyed; (2) an implicit promise that God will do something for Cornelius through Peter, which is yet to be identified and fulfilled.[23] The sub-plot of

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[18]Peter does not even own the house! But Luke makes Peter the host to underscore his welcoming and sheltering Gentiles in "his" home (Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 294).

[19]Schille (*Apostelgeschichte*, 243, 247) notes that Cornelius could not have known the exact time the party from Joppa would arrive after a four-day journey, and so one would expect that Cornelius would wait to summon his friends until after his messengers had returned. He therefore attributes the mention of the group of friends gathered to meet Peter to the pre-Lukan form of the Cornelius story, in which Peter was found in Caesarea, and v 24b followed immediately upon v 8. Schille is probably right about the history of the tradition, but he overlooks the important literary function played by the scene when Peter finds a crowd of Gentiles already assembled to meet him, as this is the final sign that Peter's vision has declared all people clean.

[20]Cf. the incident in Acts 14:11-15. Luke apparently regards worship of humans as common (or at least a common temptation) among Gentiles. But whereas those in Lystra turned on Paul to stone him after he disavowed divinity, Cornelius simply obeys—a model Gentile convert!

[21]This pronouncement (10:28-29a), the definitive interpretation of Peter's vision, thus ends the sub-plot surrounding the vision. Peter's inquiry in 10:29b as to why he was summoned is tied to the new section in which he gives his speech (F), and marks the return to the main plot concerning the fulfillment of the promise of *Cornelius's* vision. Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 71 and n. 104) recognizes the meeting of Peter and Cornelius as the solving of the mystery of Peter's vision, but he confuses the sub-plot and main plot by seeing the interpretation of Peter's vision in the beginning of Peter's speech (vv 34-35) and in the coming of the Holy Spirit (v 44), events actually part of the main plot and corresponding to Cornelius' vision in vv 3-8. Luke has in fact constructed the story carefully; the question concerning Peter's vision is answered clearly and finally by v 28-29a.

[22]Although Peter now says that he came without objection because of the vision, at the time when he had the vision he was perplexed as to what it meant (10:17). Luke is providing him with hindsight at this point in order to make clear for the reader the connection between Peter's vision and his journey to Caesarea.

[23]Schille, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 243. Schille remarks that by giving Cornelius instructions rather than telling him what the reward is, God is testing Cornelius even as he rewards him. But nothing is ever said in the story about Cornelius having passed such a test, nor is his obedience interpreted as the passing of a test. The theological point of

Peter's vision overlaps with the main plot in that the angel's command to Cornelius to send for Peter is carried out in the sub-plot.

The main plot's second agendum, the promise, is identified in two stages, as was Peter's vision. First (F), when Peter hears from Cornelius himself about his own vision and finds that all these Gentiles are waiting to hear what he has to say, he preaches the gospel to them, beginning with the announcement that grounds what Cornelius has been promised—". . . God shows no partiality, but in every nation the one who fears him and does righteousness is acceptable to him" (10:34-35).[24] The second stage (G) unfolds when the Holy Spirit comes upon the Gentiles as they hear Peter preach, and Peter concludes that no one can now forbid their baptism (10:44-48). Again, each stage of the resolution has a sign from which conclusions are drawn and actions are taken.

Within the overall story, the sub-plot of Peter's vision and its interpretation functions to eliminate an otherwise insurmountable obstacle to the resolution of the agenda of Cornelius's vision. Cornelius is commanded to send for Peter, through whom the promise to him will be fulfilled; but Jewish practice as Luke understands it makes contact between Jews and Gentiles impossible, rendering both of the agenda in Cornelius's vision impossible to carry out. Peter's vision removes that obstacle. Luke found it necessary to add this interlude because the community from which the story of Cornelius's "conversion" came either did not understand relations between Jews and Gentiles the way Luke did (Acts 10:28a), or they had some other story or account that solved the problem, and they assumed the solution when telling of Cornelius's "conversion." Luke considered it imperative to make clear to the reader that Peter had not taken it upon himself to violate Jewish practice to further the Gentile mission. This will be an important point when we consider the objections of Peter and the others, below.

Of course, for Luke, Peter's vision is not merely a dramatic device, any more than the whole Cornelius episode is merely an edifying tale. Luke has made this story a turning point in the history of salvation at which new principles for mission and fellowship

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setting up Cornelius's vision this way is that God guides every step of this crucial proceeding, and its literary function is dramatic—later events will disclose what Cornelius' reward will be (10:22, 34-35, 47).

[24]Cf. Deut 10:17. On divine impartiality see Jouette Bassler, *Divine Impartiality: Paul and a Theological Axiom* (SBLDS 59; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), and more recently, "Divine Impartiality in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *NovT* 26 (1984) 43-58. Bassler points out that God's impartiality is an important theme in biblical, Hellenistic and rabbinic Judaism, referring especially to his impartiality in judgment. Paul and other Christians re-interpret the motif to stress the universalistic scope of God's salvation and judgment as revealed in Christ, encompassing both Jews and Gentiles. One is tempted to draw from the Christian (especially the Lukan) view the logical conclusion that God *used* to show partiality, because the Gentiles were only included after Christ came. But Luke, of course, never says this; in his story, the God who joined himself to a particular people (Acts 7) now includes other peoples in that blessing (Acts 15:14-17), not as a sudden change of plan but as a fulfillment of his will revealed long ago in the ancient prophecies. On the inclusion of the Gentiles as fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies and promises, see N. A. Dahl, "A People for his Name," *NTS* 4 (1957-58) 319-327 (in regard to Acts 15:14-17), and idem, "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," *Studies in Luke-Acts*, (ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966[1], 1980[2]) 139-158 (in regard to Acts 7). Cf. also Luke 2:29-32; Acts 2:39; 3:25; 13:47. Luke does not offer much reflection on the possibility of Gentile "salvation" before Christ (cf. Acts 17:30a—"the times of ignorance God overlooked").

are established.[25] The point of the main plot of Cornelius's "conversion" is summarized in Acts 10:34-35, 47: God [now] makes no distinctions between Jew and Gentile, but from this point on he grants them also a share in the salvation inaugurated in Jesus Christ. But the Cornelius episode also shows that Gentiles are not only acceptable to God but are also clean for Jews, i.e., there is no longer any need for Jews to avoid social contact with them. This is the point of the sub-plot concerning Peter's vision. This latter point is secondary in importance to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God, but it is logically prior in that a mission to Gentiles is impossible without social contact. With distinctions between clean and unclean people abolished, the last obstacle to the Gentile mission is removed.

A few words are in order about the sign-result structure of Acts 10:1-11:18.[26] This structure is related to the prophecy-fulfillment scheme that is basic to Lukan theology.[27] Thereby Luke makes it clear that God is taking the lead, that the events that take place in the story are according to his own will and plan. Closely related to the prophecy-fulfillment and sign-result schemes is Luke's understanding of God's providence, recently outlined in a helpful article by C. H. Cosgrove, "The Divine δεῖ in Luke-Acts."[28] Among the aspects of the divine "must" outlined by Cosgrove[29] is that the plan of God is a summons to obedience, in which God's people are called to faithfulness to his will. This point is especially important since Luke is sometimes accredited with a view of providence that depicts humans as mere pawns in a divine drama. Haenchen's remarks on Acts 10:1-11:18 typify this attitude:[30]

> Im Bestreben, die Hand Gottes im kirchlichen Geschehen sichtbar zu machen, schaltet Lukas die menschliche Entscheidung so gut wie völlig aus. . . . Diese göttliche Eingriffe haben nach der lukanischen Darstellung eine solche Wucht, dass der Zweifel ihnen gegenüber verstummen muss. Sie beweisen zwingend, dass hier nicht der Mensch, sondern Gott wirkt. Gott wird konstatierbar. Damit fällt aber der Charakter der Glaubensentscheidung als Entscheidung hin, und was Lukas als Glaubensgehorsam schildern möchte, wird etwas ganz anders: die Menschen drohen zu Marionetten zu werden.

Haenchen overlooks the fact that the *connection* between sign and result in this story is accomplished solely through the obedience of Cornelius and Peter. The "two-fold edge of

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[25]This is clearest in later allusions to the story. In Acts 11:18, the Jerusalem Christians conclude from Peter's account that "to the Gentiles also [i.e., all Gentiles, not just these] God has given repentance unto life!" In Acts 15:7-9, Peter reminds the Jerusalem Christians of the ἡμέρων ἀρχαίων ("days of old") in which God decided that Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe.

[26]11:1-18, which we have not analyzed in detail, has a structure similar to 10:1-48. In broad outline, that structure is: introduction (v. 1), complaint of circumcision party (problem; vv. 2-3), Peter's speech (sign; vv. 4-17), acquiescence of circumcision party (result; v. 18). Here Peter's speech is not only functions as a "sign" itself, but it recounts from Acts 10 primarily the signs in that chapter which also serve to bring forth the result of v. 18.

[27]P. Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954) 165-86. Dahl, "The Story of Abraham."*

[28]C. H. Cosgrove, "The Divine δεῖ in Luke-Acts: Investigations into the Lukan Understanding of God's Providence." *NovT* 26 (1984) 168-190.

[29]Ibid., pp. 189-90.

[30]Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 307-308.

divine attestation and divine summons to obedience" which Cosgrove documents in the occurrences of δεῖ in Luke's stories about Jesus and Paul[31] is apparent also in the depiction of God's providence in the Cornelius episode. Though Haenchen is right about the emphatic way Luke stresses the divine initiative and guidance at every step in this story, the signs not only attest God's will and plan for the inclusion of the Gentiles, but they also summon Cornelius and Peter to their part in carrying out this plan. God's will appears inevitable and irresistible in Luke-Acts, not because Luke gives it the character of "fate" in the Hellenistic sense, but because he depicts the early church as uniformly obedient to the will of God (see VI below on resistance to God's will in the church).

IV. Purity and Ethnocentricity

The question now is whether Luke understands the Cornelius episode, particularly Peter's vision, as making a point about purity or about ethnocentricity. Acts 11:2f has the circumcision party in the Jerusalem church protest not Peter's preaching to Gentiles and baptizing them but his going in to them and eating with them. This suggests to some that what Luke is up to in Peter's vision is the abolition of all ritual and cultic distinctions: now, for everyone, all foods are clean, all people are clean, all things are clean, and there is no need to observe any of the cultic regulations or the social restrictions they impose.[32] But such a solution is problematic in light of Luke's understanding of the law, especially ch. 15.

There is good reason to think that for Luke problems of table fellowship have to do with the *persons* involved and not with the menu. The Gospel of Luke shares with Mark and Matthew the story of Jesus' reply to the Pharisees who complain that Jesus eats with tax collectors and sinners (Luke 5:27-32). But whereas Matthew, by adding a citation from Hos 6:6 ("I desire mercy and not sacrifice") makes this story in which the purity of regulations are set aside for love's sake as in the Sabbath controversies, Luke expands on the theme of the tax collectors and sinners in his Gospel from a different perspective. In Luke the idea is that God is more pleased with repentant sinners than with the self-righteous or even with the genuinely righteous (Luke 3:12-14; 7:29-50; 15:1-32; 18:9-14; 19:1-10). The ethical corollary is that one should not be like those who "are convinced that they themselves are righteous and despise the others" (Luke 18:9); therefore Luke makes the three parables in ch. 15 on God's love for sinners into Jesus' reply to the complaint of the Pharisees that he welcomes sinners and eats with them (Luke 15:1; cf. Luke 19:5-7). For Luke, then, the question of table fellowship is not whether one must preserve purity but whether one is willing to associate in the most intimate way with those outside usual spheres of respectability. Admittedly, in the Gospel of Luke it is a question of table fellowship with *Jewish* tax collectors and sinners, but that is because in Luke's scheme of things the Gentile question is not really dealt with until Acts.[33]

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[31] Cosgrove, "The Divine δεῖ," pp. 174-76, 179-183, esp. p. 176.

[32] See the quotation from R. P. C. Hanson above (p. 2). Cf. S. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 23; Cambridge: University Press, 1978) 174-76; Bruce, *Acts*, p. 234; Marshall, *Acts*, 186; Schille, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 252. Bovon sees 11:3 as part of a source in which 11:3 was the complaint of the Jerusalem church against Peter's new lifestyle in which he spurned purity regulations ("Tradition et rédaction," p. 35).

[33] Luke does tell the story of the Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1-10) which climaxes with Jesus' exclamation, "Not even in Israel have I found such faith!" Luke has apparently altered the story so that the centurion is off-stage, represented on-stage by Jewish elders who plead for him (7:3-4) and then by friends (7:6; this latter device is especially artificial—why would someone send messengers saying "Come" and then others saying

In Acts likewise, table fellowship is not so much an affair where purity must be preserved as it is an occasion for intimate social contact. Peter (unknowingly) acts out the instructions of his vision by housing and accompanying the Gentile messengers and by entering Cornelius's house (Acts 10:17-29). It is to this social contact that the circumcision party objects (11:3). If they had objected only to the meals, it would have been a minor point not requiring Peter's long answer; or do they simply wish that Peter had eaten and slept somewhere else when he went to preach to the Gentiles? No, the objection is a fundamental one; they understand the strict rule of Acts 10:28a as still binding, making social contact with Gentiles (and thus any mission to them) impossible. Peter's answer (11:4-17), which retells the events of ch. 10, is that God has ended the ethnocentric era in the history of salvation—no longer will God restrict his saving activity to Jews, and no longer must (or may!) Israel remain closed to Gentiles. Thus the group who objected to table fellowship with Gentiles (11:3) became convinced after hearing Peter's story, not that God had abolished ritual and dietary law, but that "to the Gentiles also God has granted repentance unto life!" (11:18).

In summary, Luke has taken up the story of Peter's vision[34] and placed it in a completely different context. Apart from the larger context of Acts 10 the vision clearly abolishes the distinction between clean and unclean meats. But in Luke's use of it, not only are the animals of 10:12 understood figuratively as people, but also the terms "clean" and "unclean" are no longer understood in the context of a purity ethic and its modification but in the context of an ethnocentric outlook and its abolition. As the larger story tells of how God extended his salvation beyond the ethnic limits of Judaism, the vision permits Jews to extend social relations beyond those limits, so that the Gentiles might hear the word through which they will be saved and enter the fellowship of God's people.

V. The Relationship of Acts 10:1-11:18 to Acts 15:1-35

The Cornelius episode plays an important role at the Jerusalem Conference, since Peter refers to it to defend his position there (Acts 15:7-11). By mentioning that it happened ἀφ' ἡμέρων ἀρχαίων ("from days of old") Peter makes the Cornelius episode a

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"Don't bother?"). Thus Luke, through the Jewish elders, represents the centurion as pious and friendly to Jews (a god-fearer?). The story anticipates Acts 10:1-11:18 in that we see a pious Gentile whose faith and beneficence towards Israel are rewarded by God even though he is not a Jew (thus expressing the Christian understanding of "divine impartiality," Acts 10:34-35; cf. n. 23, above). But two important points keep Luke 7:1-10 from marking the breakthrough which Acts 10:1-11:18 does: (1) There is no indication that the centurion becomes a disciple of Jesus or a proselyte; the centurion's "faith" here is his trust in Jesus' power. The centurion's faith becomes the occasion for a saying of Jesus which hints at what is to come ("not even in Israel have I found such faith!"), but the story comes to a close without pressing the larger implications. Furthermore, the terminology of salvation is never used. (2) Since Jesus and the centurion never meet, the Lukan-Jewish understanding of social relations with Gentiles (Acts 10:28a) is not put to the test. So although Luke 7:1-10 illustrates God's love for outsiders, the centurion in the story remains an outsider, albeit a pious one (similarly Luke 23:47, the centurion at the cross).

[34]The vision may have been attributed to Peter before Luke, but given the way this story has been transmitted and re-shaped for Luke's own purposes, one must be cautious in using Acts 10:1-11:18 to understand the life and thought of Peter or Paul's dealing with him in Antioch (Gal 2:11-14).

"classic" case by which the present case may be resolved.[35] The issue at hand in Acts 15 is the assertion of some that Gentiles cannot be saved unless they are circumcised and keep the law of Moses (Acts 15:1-5). In other words, the complaint is not about the admission of Gentiles *per se*, but about the *conditions* of such admission.[36]

Many scholars have taken Acts 15:7-11 as the key to finding the fundamental significance of the Cornelius episode. Martin Dibelius concludes that since the Cornelius episode is cited as support for the law-free mission, Acts 10:1-11:18

> stellt die Offenbarung von Gottes Willen dar, die Heiden ohne gesetzliche Verpflichtung in die Kirche aufzunehmen. Diese Bedeutung hat die Cornelius-Geschichte, wenigstens für Lukas.[37]

Jacob Jervell adds that since the Gentile mission *per se* has been decided on already (Luke 2:32; 24:47; Acts 1:8; 2:39; 3:25-26), the Cornelius episode must have some other point, namely the time at, and especially the conditions under which, Gentiles receive a share in the promises to Israel.[38] Thus, on this reading, the point of the Cornelius episode is not so much that Gentiles become Christians as that as Christians they remain Gentiles, i.e., without circumcision and purity requirements.

But in effect, Dibelius and Jervell collapse Acts 10:1-11:18 and 15:1-35 into one story and thereby overlook the distinctive emphases of each. Though Acts 15 is indeed about the conditions for Gentiles entering the church, the reference to the Cornelius episode is only the point of departure for answering this question. The Cornelius episode shows that God granted the Holy Spirit to the Gentiles, cleansing their hearts by faith, not distinguishing between them and the Jewish Christians (15:8-9). Peter then goes on from there (νῦν οὖν) to ask why they want to burden the Gentiles, received in the same manner as the Jews, with a burden even Jews cannot bear (15:10-11). Then Paul and Barnabas tell of their successful ministry among Gentiles (15:12). James explains the Cornelius episode as the moment when God began to take a people for his name (15:14-17); James then goes on (διό) to decide not to burden the Gentiles with the law in its entirety but to require of them only the four ordinances of the Apostolic Decree (15:19-21).

Peter and James thus answer the question of the conditions of Gentile admission not by simply citing the Cornelius episode but by going beyond it and working out its implications. In fact, the key verses 19-21[39] have little connection with the Cornelius episode. Acts 15:1-35 is about the requirements to be made of converted Gentiles, and it cites the Cornelius episode only as a point of departure; the arguments for the position taken are 15:10 (the law is a burden we ourselves cannot bear) and 15:21 (things should be done according to the law of Moses, i.e., requiring of Gentiles only the sojourner laws of Lev 17-18).

Acts 10:1-11:18, for its part, says nothing explicit about the law and circumcision for Gentile converts. The movement of the plot centers on God's promise to Cornelius (10:4) and its fulfillment in his receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit and in his being baptized (10:44, 48) despite the social barriers (10:28a) and the objections of Peter and the

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[35]Dibelius, "Bekehrung des Cornelius," p. 101; H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HNT 7; Tübingen: Mohr, 1963) 83.

[36]Conzelmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 81.

[37]Dibelius, "Bekehrung des Cornelius," p. 103. Similarly Wilson, *Gentiles*, p. 177.

[38]Jervell, "Das gespaltene Israel," 92-95.

[39]Somehow, Dibelius manages to trace the argument of Acts 15 without mentioning vv. 19-21 ("Bekehrung des Cornelius," p. 100-103).

circumcision party (10:34-35, 45, 47; 11:17-18). The climax of the story is the exclamation that "to the Gentiles also God has given repentance unto life!" (11:18). To interpret this verse as a comment on the conditions of God's gift (i.e., that they receive life as Gentiles, and therefore no requirements are to be made of them regarding circumcision or the law)[40] is surely to misplace the emphasis. The circumcision party could presumably have brought up the question of circumcision and the law *after* the Gentiles' baptism as did Paul's opponents in Acts 15. The fact that the Gentile mission is free of the full requirement of the law is at best implicit in Acts 10:1-11:18. The main points here are that (1) at this time[41] God opens the way for the Gentile mission; and (2) no one may call Gentiles unclean by refusing table fellowship (i.e., social contact). Jervell is correct that earlier Luke gives intimations there would be a Gentile mission, but for Luke this is much too significant a matter to leave to intimations. Acts 10:1-11:18 establishes once and for all that Gentiles are acceptable to God (i.e., acceptable for admission to the church) and clean for Jews (i.e., acceptable for social contact). Neither of these questions is re-opened in Acts 15; the answers given are confirmed in 15:7-9, 14-17 and used as a point of departure for deciding about circumcision and the law for Gentiles.

VI. Peter's Reluctance and the Objections of the Circumcision Party

As we have already seen, a major motif of Acts 10:1-11:18 is that Cornelius's baptism happens only over the objections of the circumcision party (10:45, 47; 11:1-18) and despite Peter's reluctance to heed the vision (10:14, 28a). The same motif appears in the negative formulation of Peter's call for the Gentiles to be baptized: "Who can *forbid* water to be brought so that these people can be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit just as we have?" (10:47).[42] An important function of this motif is to emphasize the divine initiative: Peter and the others cannot be credited with initiating the Gentile mission, but rather had to be pushed at every step. But it remains to be asked what attitude Luke takes towards this resistance to God's will—are Peter and the circumcision party simply clinging to Jewish prejudices, or are they acting in a manner consistent with God's past dealings with Israel, which are now changing?

The second formulation best describes Luke's intent. From his perspective, the belief of the Jews that God was *their* God was not simply a prejudice;[43] this ethnocentric

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[40] Jervell, "Das gespaltene Israel," p. 94. So also Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 84), though without claiming exclusive reference to conditions of Gentile baptism, and despite his earlier summary of the intent of the Cornelius episode in terms of the Gentile mission *per se* (p. 64).

[41] Jervell's evaluation of the question of the Cornelius episode is thus half-right: "zu welcher Zeit" (but not "auf welcher Weise") do the Gentiles receive a share of the promises to Israel (ibid., p. 92)?

[42] Schille (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 251) notices the negative formulation, but overlooks the fact that in Luke's perspective it is not only fringe Jewish Christian groups who might raise an objection, but rather Luke sees even Peter acting against his usual suppositions about who is acceptable to God. Bruce (*Acts*, p. 231, following O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*), noticing the similar usage of κωλύω in baptismal contexts in Acts 8:36, 10:47, and 11:17, misses the point by postulating a custom in the primitive Christian baptism service of inquiring if there was any "cause or just impediment" why the candidate should not be baptized. The negative formulations are better understood as a Lukan literary device.

[43] *Contra* Bruce, *Acts*, 217.

outlook is grounded in salvation history—God joined himself to a particular people, to Abraham and his descendants, to whom his promises were made and through whom they were fulfilled (Acts 7:1-53). For the Gentiles he remained the unknown God (Acts 17:23). The strict prohibition of social contact with Gentiles attributed to Jews by Luke was not self-righteous bigotry but an expression of an ethnocentric salvation history: God had chosen Israel to be his special people. Even the troublemakers in Acts 15 are not enemies or heretics; after all, they are simply calling for adherence to the scriptures. The issue at the Jerusalem Council is an interpretive one—whether, or better, to what extent, the Old Testament law applies to Gentiles who now participate in the promises and salvation of Israel.

Naturally, Luke must not let this resistance get out of hand, lest he spoil his picture of the apostolic Golden Age. Peter is reluctant, but he acts; his Jewish Christian companions are surprised but do not protest; the circumcision party at Jerusalem protests but acquiesces and glorifies God after hearing Peter.[44] The circumcision party in Acts 15 is emphatically dissociated from Paul and the leaders in Jerusalem (15:1-5, 24). But these reservations of Luke's are due not so much to embarrassment over the opinions expressed by those who resist the new developments as to a triumphalist outlook that plays down controversy and resistance. These objections function to emphasize the dramatic turning point in salvation history that has been reached; reluctance, objections and controversy arise because people operate on ethnocentric assumptions once appropriate but now obsolete.

VII. Conclusions

Luke understands the beginning of the Gentile mission as a major turning point in salvation history, in which the God who joined himself to Abraham and his descendants now extends the benefits of the promises to Abraham beyond the ethnic bounds of Judaism. In so doing, God abolishes the ethnocentric character of the Christian mission, which means that he abolishes the ethnocentric definition of the people of God who share in the promises and salvation of Israel, in accordance with the prophecies of the ancient scriptures.[45] And at the same time, God abolishes the ethnocentric definition of social patterns tied up with his previous relationship to Israel.

All this takes place in Acts 10:1-11:18 with the visions of Cornelius and Peter, and their fulfillment in Peter's coming to Cornelius and Cornelius's baptism. Though Luke occasionally uses language reminiscent of the Jewish purity ethic (Acts 10:14-15, 28; 11:3, 8-9), he has little interest in accounting for the obsolescence of that ethic—for him it is a dead issue. Rather this purity language is reinterpreted to speak of ethnocentric restrictions on social contact and their abolition. Even in Acts 15, the issue is ethnocentricity rather than purity: Do Gentiles have to be circumcised and keep the whole law? No, this is a Jewish ethnic characteristic; Gentiles keep only that aspect of the law that has always pertained to them (Lev 17-18). If it seems hard to believe that early

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[44] Haenchen (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 304-5) remarks that Luke has them protest against table fellowship, not Cornelius' baptism, thus softening the depiction of their resistance to God's will. This is partly true, but their objections would make the Gentile mission impossible, so the net effect would be the same.

[45] As Jervell ("Die gespaltene Israel") argues so persuasively, Luke (as opposed to many of his interpreters) places the greatest importance on the continuity between Israel and the church. Gentile Christians in no way replace Jews as the people of God, but rather they join that portion of Israel that has repented and accepted the Messiah, and thus share in the promises to Abraham fulfilled in Christ.

Jewish Christians could think about the law and about relations between Jews and Gentiles apart from the purity ethic, this only emphasizes once more that Luke is a third generation Gentile Christian, not always sensitive to the outlook of early Jewish Christians.[46] His concern is ethnic—the inclusion of the Gentiles in the promises to Abraham, and the removal of ethnocentric restrictions on social contact with them. This is the point of the Cornelius episode.

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[46]Cf. Conzelmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 83 (in reference to Acts 15:10): "Die Auffassung vom Gesetz als ein untragbarer Last is weder allgemeinjüdisch . . . noch paulinisch; es ist die Auffassung eines Christen in der Zeit, da die Trennung vom Judentum bereits zurückliegt. Konsequenz zieht, dass man dieses Joch auch den Judenchristen abnehmen müsste. Das Judenchristentum hat für ihn nicht mehr aktuelle Bedeutung, sondern grundsätzlich-heilsgeschichtlich."

How My Mind Has Changed (Or Remained the Same)

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I have been so caught up in my ongoing work that I have rarely had time to reflect on my past or even to achieve an overview of where I am. Thus the opportunity provided by the invitation to present this paper is welcome, in providing the stimulus to enter into that part of my future that consists in moving deliberately forward from where I have been. I have hence reread my early publications and seek here with all due "fairness" and "historical perspective," but also with all due candor, to assess what I have done thus far, with a concern to do some elementary deconstruction, in hopes that out of the mass of detail some significant clearing may come. I apologize for the inevitable frequency with which first person references occur in this literary genre. The numbers in parentheses refer to the numeration of my bibliography; entries to which reference is made are listed at the conclusion.

The alternative "changed" / "remained the same" may not quite fit the situation, in that my professional life seems more characterized by a series of shifts in focus than either by change or by continuity on given topics. This may seem disorganized, haphazard, even irresponsible. Yet I have throughout been aware of a common point of departure. Ernst Käsemann once told me that for him the difference between Oscar Cullmann and Rudolf Bultmann, who were the two German-language alternatives at the time, was that with Cullmann one had no where to go, whereas with Bultmann one had the agenda for a meaningful lifetime of research. I have sometimes conceptualized my task as the critical reexamination of the various strands of the Bultmannian synthesis, which seemed a generation ago to have pulled so many heterogeneous aspects of our discipline together that it provided the most promising basis for the future, and yet which called for "post-Bultmannian" rethinking strand by strand. Thus my involvement in the new quest of the historical Jesus, the later Heidegger, hermeneutic, and Gnosticism find in Bultmann their "unity." Yet each involved my starting over in disciplines as unrelated to each other as are theology, philosophy, Coptology, codicology and archaeology, in addition to the traditional subdivisions of New Testament scholarship. This has meant a career not characterized by building one block upon another into an impressive edifice of the skills, lore and expertise that are the power of a given specialization. I have not even had the compensatory advantages of a popularizer and generalist. Rather I have been caught up in working my way into a series of specializations that have tended to be abandoned once the foundation had been laid and access gained, as well as in administrative activities for which I was equally poorly prepared. I would hope this procedure might find its justification in terms of furthering the discipline as a community of scholarship, if not in terms of my own success in the discipline.

I

Bill and I came from an orthodox Christian home more characterized by stability than by challenge. Our father was a distinguished theologian of the right, more a

Seventeenth Century Calvinist scholastic than an American fundamentalist. We admired him for his intellectuality, his integrity, his courage and steadfastness when pressured by the emergent pallid liberalism of his ecclesiastical context. We of course began with his theology, soaked up in family prayers, Bible reading and the recitation of psalms, and then as students of his at Columbia Theological Seminary, where his father had been Chairman of the Board and he for more than forty years its most distinguished and most conservative faculty member. Fortunately I have been spared the embarrassment of prominent publications from that pre-critical period, although in a volume he edited while I was in Seminary I contributed a seemingly definitive proof that Paul's Christology was as "high" as that of John, an unoriginal exercise inspired by a learned footnote from B. B. Warfield, the high water mark of old Princetonian orthodoxy (2). In a much more promising vein I also published a brief satire in which I spoofed at the foibles of the denomination I knew so well, with only a couple of thinly veiled pious sentiments to spoil the fun (1). But the most revelatory writing of that beginning period was an unpublished poem composed in college, a lover's dirge modelled after Edgar Allan Poe's *Raven*, concluding appropriately "now die must I," completely without socially redeeming features or Christian sentiments at what was after all an existential level.

When we went to Basel in 1947-48 to continue our studies (following in our father's footsteps, since he had spent his only sabbatic there just before World War II), my movement away from his position began, though without a dramatic wrench or personal rupture (though my next year at Princeton Theological Seminary was rather suicidal) (13). I have moved steadily to the left ever since, in spite of what one might expect to be the conservative influences of the aging process and the current cultural context of the "moral majority" (148). The orthodoxy that I know and respect, but that had left the Bible Belt segregated, and that intellectually could not cope with modernity, has neither a nostalgic claim on me nor the enticement of a haven of refuge. But perhaps it is the very absence of an "Oedipus complex" in my relation to my father that has accounted for the lack of dramatic "change" in an intellectual life that has not actually "remained the same." With the same kind of dogged persistence with which he "kept the faith," my intellectual quest has brought me into the modern world and on toward the political left. But since this move has been accompanied by a frequently changing subject matter or field of specialization, it has been less a matter of rescinding earlier views on a given topic than of assuming a position further to the left in a new subject matter.

II

My doctoral dissertation under Karl Barth (not Oscar Cullmann, as Reginald Fuller has rumored) was in contemporary theology, designed to reach an understanding of the point of departure of dialectic theology. I settled upon the Neo-Kantian philosophical theologian of the Ritschlian School. *Das Problem des Heiligen Geistes bei Wilhelm Herrmann* was in effect an effort to interpret him through the various phases of his career, with the thesis that Bultmann continued in a more straight-line way his direction, especially what was problematic in it, whereas Barth functioned as a corrective. Thus it consisted of a hundred pages of the theology of liberalism in its classical period, within an orthodox, neo-orthodox framework (3; 5; 109). I wrote it in the autumn of 1951 in German in a suburb of Paris while expecting my first baby.

Now that I, like Herrmann and Bultmann, have come to accept the responsibility for understanding the theology I affirm, their route seems more reasonable, and I would no longer superimpose on them such a Procrustean bed. This dissertation, though printed (in Marburg) to meet the requirements of the University of Basel, was never published, reviewed or translated. But a generation later Ernst Fuchs bought out most of the remaining stock from me to use in his seminar, at the time that he and Gerhard Ebeling were reviving Hermann as a precurser of the new hermeneutic.

It has only been gradually that I have recognized the importance of Bultmann's point that Herrmann was decisive in moving via the ethical orientation of religion to insist upon its historicness. It is in interpersonal relations that one experiences the ultimate ideal claim laid inescapably upon one, in that one should do all one can for the other, a recognition countered in practise by the inability to be that perfect, and yet by the acceptance one experiences in spite of one's inadequacy. If this began as the encounter with the inner life of Jesus, it became, as that inner life became less and less attainable to scholarship, the experiencing of the Christian community, and modulated ultimately into the encounter with the kerygma, as judgment / grace, cross / resurrection. This experience is the revelation of God, the ground of faith, and doctrines are but faith's thoughts, whose truth lies in the extent to which they give expression to the meaning of that encounter. Metaphysical theology would lay upon the would-be believer the work of accepting as objectively true and factual its speculations, who thus begins with the "works righteousness" that makes true faith impossible. This is in effect the restatement of Schleiermacher's famous second letter to Lücke in which he outlined how he would like to redo the *Glaubenslehre* or, put in terms of the future, an anticipation of demythologizing (80). Thus my progressive appreciation for Herrmann's theology took the form of a progressive move from Barth to Bultmann. For it was while studying in Basel that, on a faculty-student outing, I had walked with the other American studying there that year, Paul Meyer, who explained to me demythologizing as the most recent import from across the border. My reaction at the time was cynical: That may be all well and good, but it is not the resurrection of Jesus. By now I have come to recognize in demythologizing the only form in which I can believe, and, what is more significant, what makes believing important.

I was hired to teach biblical theology at the Candler School of Theology at Emory University by the conservative wing of the faculty determined to maintain the unity of the Bible, over the opposition of the Biblical Department that wished to close down a chair that had a title not corresponding to reality, as I fortunately only later learned. I therefore resumed while teaching there my doctoral program at Princeton Theological Seminary, where I had once passed the qualifying examinations in the New Testament but then had abandoned that field as a boring discipline and returned to Basel to work with Barth in contemporary theology. Since I lacked only the dissertation for the New Testament doctorate, I proposed to my (German) doctoral father at Princeton, Otto Piper, "Jesus' Understanding of History." In retrospect this seemed to be seeking to do in the discipline of New Testament studies something analogous to what the Basel dissertation had sought to do in dogmatics. Piper wrote that this topic, sample chapter (4) and outline seemed interesting, and agreed I should come to Princeton to write it during the coming summer (or what was left of it after teaching summer school and attending as a visitor the meeting of the World Council of Churches in Evanston). On arrival at Princeton he mentioned that of course one could speak of Jesus' view only after presenting that of the four gospels. So I began with the oldest, Mark, and presented this much of the dissertation to him at the end of the summer. He had the kindness to suggest I limit the dissertation to Mark, which was published in German by Cullmann and, only on the basis of this endorsement, by Floyd Filson in English (9; 14; 62).

I focused on the past event to which Jesus referred, the baptism of John, and described that opening of Mark as cosmic language that in the exorcisms, debates and passion became progressively historicized, as eschatological dualism became historic involvement. What I actually meant was that the baptism and temptation narratives are highly mythological, but I did not dare use that language in a Princeton dissertation. I subsequently lit upon the myth that was behind the shaping of traditions into the temptation narrative (and behind Revelation 10, to which I had at least referred in the dissertation) in *The Apocalypse of Adam* from Nag Hammadi (86). In subsequent sporadic work on Mark I have become much more interested in William Wrede's discovery of the "messianic

secret" in Mark, where an affinity to emergent Gnosticism may be sensed. But rather than putting Mark on the Gnosticizing trajectory, as did Wrede, it seems clear to me that Mark is concerned to replace that trajectory's dividing line at Easter, with all that goes before, such as the "public ministry," relegated to a less authoritative role, with a turning point in the middle of the public ministry (8:32), thus elevating the Jesus of the public ministry and passion to the more authoritative level (86; 128; 145).

It was in a book review chiding Reginald Fuller's *Mission and Achievement of Jesus* for Bultmannianism that my concern came perhaps most clearly to expression, to the effect that kerygmatic theology's vested interest in the turning point at the conclusion of Jesus' life prevented it from recognizing the importance of the event at the beginning of the so-called public ministry, as the basic historic event that both went back to Jesus' encounter with John and was constitutive of the first gospels. By seeming to elevate the Baptist at the expense of Jesus it stood in a sort of tension to the kerygma and so was phased out of early Christianity and Bultmannian theology (6; 7). Perhaps there is something of this that has resurfaced in my interest in Q, where kerygmatic theology was really at a loss as to what to do.

III

I had spent a semester in Marburg while preparing my Basel dissertation, auditing Bultmann's course on 1 Corinthians and his seminar on Hellenistic religions. At the end of that semester I was advised by one of his students to meet the most exciting young member of that school, Ernst Käsemann. So I interrupted my train trip from Marburg to Paris (for my wedding) long enough to meet him for an hour's appointment in the train station in Mainz, his first teaching position. Since Käsemann was on the Barthian side of the Bultmannian school, his work was congenial to me. I became a "post-Bultmannian" before I became a Bultmannian. It was actually only during the Emory years (1952-58) that I read enough of Bultmann to move into that school in any form.

In reviewing Volume 2 of his *Theology of the New Testament* I had come to realize how the theologies of Paul and John, the canon within the canon, were experienced by Bultmann more theologically than historically, in the sense that they, like the Spirit / wind, came from nowhere and went to nowhere (11). I thus found in the kerygmatic hymns, creeds, and other oral materials to which form criticism had drawn attention the trajectory in terms of which New Testament theology might be understood historically (10). In fact it is this reflection that led to the title of the collected essays with Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (90). I wrote a form-critical analysis of the hymn of Col 1:15-20, from which I learned that purity of formal structure is hardly to be found in the texts themselves, try though I did (19). The editor of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, which accepted it for publication, David Noel Freedman, suggested I should move on from there to Qumran. In a sense I did that in an article for the Haenchen *Festschrift* arguing that the Hodayoth formula introducing the Qumranian hymns is behind primitive Christian prayers and hymns and may even explain the odd opening of some of these hymns with a relative pronoun (60).

Work on the hymn of Phil 2:6-11 was interrupted, and never resumed, by an invitation to present a paper on the "Master Theme" of the historical Jesus at an Oxford Congress on "The Four Gospels in 1957" (24). The editor of the SCM Press asked me to expand it into the format of the series Studies in Biblical Theology, but to get rid of the terribly Germanic title (that resurfaced in the German edition), "The Kerygma and the Quest of the Historical Jesus"—out of which *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* emerged (20; 27; 32; 34; 39; 50; 63; 66; 75; 147). The book had just appeared when I taught the Summer Semester at the University of Göttingen, 1958, where I used the book as the basis for the lecture course I gave (my seminar was on my other "Bultmannian" theme, prayers and hymns in primitive Christianity). In the course of the semester it expanded into a

considerably larger and updated work, whose second edition reached 264 pages and brought the debate up to 1965. When I "dropped everything" to turn to making the Nag Hammadi Codices accessible, the thing that had been next on my agenda was to translate into English that book (of which there was no English original). The most important thing in it, I would think, would be the discussion with Bultmann's criticism of the "new quest." For I agreed with Gerhard Ebeling's response to Bultmann, to the effect that the new quest, as taken over by the new hermeneutic, was seeking a legitimate post-Bultmannian study of the word in primitive Christianity, comparable, I might add, to the legitimate studies of early Christian hymnic and credal "kerygmatic" texts, rather than seeking, as had the original quest, to prove brute backs to back up the kerygma.

The extensive debate in lengthy footnotes in that second German edition with Van Harvey and Schubert Ogden's essay "How New is the 'New Quest'?" did not seem to me substantively important, in that I thought the article was blemished by the facile polemical tactic of caricaturing the opposing viewpoint and then readily destroying the caricature. An instance from the Preface to the second German edition will suffice:

> Unfortunately the criticism of my work is for the most part based on misunderstandings. It is assumed that I share the widespread caricature of Bultmann's position, according to which his statements on the question of the historical Jesus are interpreted in the sense of a basic historical scepticism. That in Bultmann's view we can know "nothing" about the historical Jesus I have nowhere maintained in my book. With the help of questionable inferences this misunderstanding of Bultmann is ascribed to me, which is then refuted with often quite correct statements about Bultmann's theology. But in such a procedure of course numerous concessions are inescapable: "as Robinson even himself spells out" (p. 53 [of the German translation of their article]), "as Robinson himself recognizes" (p. 54), "as Robinson in the above sentences quite accurately observes" (p. 57), "as Robinson himself emphasizes" (p. 57), "yes, Robinson offers to his (!?) thesis himself the most valid opposing argument" (p. 56). Thus the authors of the essay, at least in the criticism of my assumed understanding of Bultmann, are storming open doors.

IV

That sabbatic year in Germany was hardly a sabbatic in terms of teaching. The Summer Semester in Göttingen was succeeded by a Summer Semester 1959 in Zürich—fortunately I turned down an invitation to teach the intervening Winter Semester in Heidelberg. But this immersion in the German academic scene did bring me in contact with the theological trends then emerging. I suggested to John Cobb we prepare volumes in dialogue with the three new trends I identified in contemporary theology, from which the series New Frontiers in Theology emerged (51; 53; 76). The later Heidegger has now largely passed from the scene in philosophy and theology, but, as in the case e.g. of the later Schelling, has left behind some basic insights that are being reworked in other contexts, such as Jacques Derrida. At least it is my hope that I might there pick up the later Heideggerian interests that I have neglected in the intervening time. The fateladenness of cultural conditioning inherent in our language world is to me a basic insight I received from Heidegger, and the way in which being is a perennial problem of our thinking, suppressed and oppressing, in different regards, has been brought home first clearly to me in that context. The new hermeneutic is also no longer at the center of theological discussion, although this dimension of our discipline has had a vigorous life on the American scene in its linguistic, structuralist and post-structuralist activities, with which I hope increasingly to have to do (166). The demise of the new hermeneutic in Germany I

attribute to the sociological orientation resulting from the "student unrest" in the late '60s. I regret this all the more because such an outcome is not inherent in the intentions of the new hermeneutic at all, which on principle is concerned that the kerygma be translated into each and every cultural situation that emerges. It is rather I suspect a matter of individual personalities, which were less open to the new trends of the '70s, than was the theological method they advocated. With regard to the Pannenbergian school, this seemed to me a more sophisticated version of Oscar Cullmann's *Christ and Time*, the first book I got through in German (since Cullmann's German was very simplicistic), which in turn was for me a half-way house in my exit from orthodoxy. A fourth volume on process theology was to feature a lead essay by Schubert Ogden, and the meeting of participants (involving the Germans who had been featured in the first three volumes) actually took place in Mainz in 1966—but without Ogden's lead essay. He conceded he could not produce it and the volume (and the series) collapsed.

If the Nag Hammadi hiatus had not taken over in my own case, I would have liked to get involved in the God-is-dead controversy, rather than on various occasions having to distinguish myself as the "dishonest-to-God Robinson." For one of the dangling but central (though not discussed) questions regarding dialectic theology is why the concept of God was made an exception to the transfiguring of all the biblical language from the ancient Near East and the Hellenistic world into its substantive meaning. Even in demythologizing Bultmann did not carry through consistently with regard to God talk. It is here, rather than in the area of the indispensability of historical encounter for what is radically new, i.e. not even potentially or latently possible (36), that a "mythological vestige" make lurk in Bultmann's position. Perhaps Barth's approach was, paradoxically, in this regard more open, in that he was able to conceive of philosophy as "doing the same thing" in a different vocabulary as did theology, and thus could recognize in Plato's vision (mediated through his philosophical brother Heinrich) something like the kingdom of God (as well as heralding Karl Marx as one of the Jewish prophets alongside Moses and Jesus).

V

The involvement in the publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices was not premeditated, and would no doubt have been avoided had it been possible in advance to know what would be required. I had heard Gilles Quispel speak enthusiastically about the *Gospel of Thomas* at the Oxford Congress on the Four Gospels in 1957, and had been impressed by Alexander Böhlig's description of the *Apocalypse of Adam* in his *editio princeps* as a pre-Christian Gnostic text from the Jordanian region, since this was just the kind of thing that Bultmann had led us to expect. I began learning Coptic. During the year 1965-66 when I was Annual Professor at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, I went to Cairo in hopes of collating the *Apoocalypse of Adam* and informing myself as to what was being done to make the bulk of the material accessible. To my consternation I found that my questions presupposed more information than was available in Cairo, except for the unhappy news that the UNESCO project to photograph the pages was dragging on all too slowly. When I reported this at the Messina Congress on the Origins of Gnosticism that spring, I was again mistaken as the person with the most up-to-date information, and hence was entrusted with preparing the first draft of a telegram to UNESCO urging completion of that task, lest these manuscripts, like the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi, disappear in a similar warlike context without even a photographic record surviving.

Failure met my efforts in Egypt to rescue materials from the discovery that were (falsely) rumored to be still available in the region by the Guard posted by the Department of Antiquities at the site of the discovery, even though I had equipped myself for any eventuality by bringing along as translator a representative of the German

Protestant Church of Cairo (not to speak of the congregation's treasury). Nor was I given permission by the Coptic Museum to do the collating I wanted to do. Yet I did return to America with enough transcriptions, made from photographs of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, working twenty-four hours a day for two or three days, to launch the Coptic Gnostic Library Project. And when I posed the problem to UNESCO as to whether the photographs they had finally made were based on the reassembly of the leaves, or merely based on the haphazard conservation of unidentified fragments, I was asked to study their photographs and provide UNESCO and myself with an answer to the question. In the process of preparing this report I had a copy of the photographs made, on the basis of which the Coptic Gnostic Library Project was able to expand its scope to include the whole Nag Hammadi Library. These *demi-monde* activities of an 007 type give me some pangs of conscience that make me think I would be unfit for espionage, but in this case I am embarrassed to say I think "the end justified the means." When Kurt Rudolph made explicit reference in the *Theologische Rundschau* to the transcriptions and translations that we were circulating privately in Europe and America, in spite of our rubber stamp on each page requesting those to whom we gave access not to publish what we had no rights to publish, Henri-Charles Puech, the mastermind of the French efforts to retain a monopoly on the texts, lodged a formal protest to UNESCO. But the UNESCO official who had given me access to the material convened a committee of UNESCO officials to exonerate himself, with the result that this board of functionaries ruled that it was UNESCO's mission to disseminate the culture of member states, rather than to prevent access to it. Thus the way was free for them to appoint me as the American on the editorial committee they nominated to the Ministry of Culture of the Arabic Republic of Egypt, and indeed to see to it that I became the Permanent Secretary. For I had proven my worth to them in willingly doing the work they were not otherwise getting done, but for which they could now gain credit within the bureaucracy—not to speak of their relief from the pressure I had been doggedly exerting on them to get at it (92; 121; 135).

The work of assembling the fragments and determining the sequence of the leaves of the fragmentary codices fell to me and three members of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices who had actually had access to the codices prior to the naming of the UNESCO committee. Since this tedious conservation of the papyrus was prerequisite to producing publishable photographs, and the publication of a facsimile edition was what freed publication rights to the texts themselves, I dropped everything else I was doing and spent the years 1971-77 publishing the eleven volumes of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* that put all the material in the public domain (96; 101; 104; 106; 111; 114; 118; 120; 124; 125; 136)—a twelfth volume, the *Introduction* (157), did not appear until the end of 1984.

Since the European members of this "Technical Sub-Committee" of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices said they did not have time to devote to studying the texts in preparation for each subsequent brief annual trip to Cairo, I enlisted the Coptic Gnostic Project members from America. It was this annual experience with European scholarship elbow to elbow that liberated me from the assumption I had cherished as to their inevitable superiority. Whereas we had begun our plans for the Coptic Gnostic Library Edition by adopting the procedures of the Nag Hammaadi texts that had at that juncture been published in Europe, the American team matured so remarkably that our critical edition is vastly superior to those models with which we had begun. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that a new era of exactitude and methodological sophistication has been introduced into the editing of Coptic texts. Although I am not the most expert member of the team, I do take satisfaction in having made this advance possible. Furthermore the struggle between the French and the Germans as to who would control the material, a tension which dominated and delayed Nag Hammadi studies for a generation, ended in an ironic outcome: Complete editions of the Nag Hammadi Codices

are being produced at the outer fringes of the European establishment, the English edition in the United States, the French edition in Canada, and the German edition in the German Democratic Republic. As I am now turning to other areas of interaction with European scholarship, I am less awe-struck and more realistic in my expectations. This is of course in part because I myself am maturing, and it is in part due to the unfortunate circumstance that European scholarship in our field is no longer characterized by such truly outstanding figures as dominated the field when I was an impressionable student. I had heard Karl Barth (13), Emil Brunner, Karl Jaspers, Rudolf Bultmann (167), Martin Heidegger, Karl Ludwig Schmidt, Walter Eichrodt. We hardly have their equals today.

As is the case with most manuscript discoveries, the first reports tend to be enthusiastically uncritical. Jean Doresse produced headlines to the effect that the Nag Hammadi Codices were more important to scholarship than the tomb of Tutankhamun. This cache of late fourth century or early fifth century codices did not produce texts about which a consensus has emerged to the effect that the authors had composed them more than four centuries earlier (if one may discount a fragment from Plato's *Republic*), to produce in the form of texts ("no texts no history") the pre-Christian Gnosticism that the history-of-religions school had postulated and Böhlig had prematurely announced (78). (Böhlig somewhat lamely explained that all he had intended to state was that the *Apocalypse of Adam* was without Christian influence, whenever it was composed. This led to the late dating of that text in the unpublished dissertation by Walter Beltz, from which his doctoral father Hans-Martin Schenke has subsequently distanced himself.) There may indeed be pre-Christian sources in this and other Nag Hammadi texts, but that debate has not been once-for-all settled by this discovery.

What has however become rather irrefutable is the existence of non-Christian Gnosticism, including Jewish Gnosticism, which from the flank, so to speak, disposes of the traditional view of Gnosticism as an inner-Christian aberration of the second century, a view already largely abandoned on the Continent but cherished in Great Britain and conservative American circles. To be sure, some of the Nag Hammadi texts whose substance and generative center is non-Christian do have a thin veneer of Christian material, which has generally and I think quite rightly been regarded as a secondary accretion in the process of transmission, in that the copies we have are clearly Christian in scribal origin. Thus such a secondarily Christianized Gnostic text as *The Trimorphic Protennoia* has been shown by Gesine Schenke to derive from a non-Christian development of Jewish Wisdom speculation into Gnostic Sethian mythology, and to be the matrix from which the Prologue of the Gospel of John can best be derived (128; 140). And the Nag Hammadi Codices have opened up as never before the whole field of New Testament Apocrypha, in that a number of texts, in some cases perhaps secondarily and intentionally, appropriate as titles the New Testament categories of Gospel, Act, Epistle, Revelation. The discipline of New Testament scholarship can no longer even pretend to conform to the canonical limits, but must of necessity include in its area of responsibility the whole mass of early Christian literature (151; 162). Among the many areas of research following the publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices, these are the areas that have been of primary interest to me and where I hope to continue to be involved somewhat in the relevance of the Nag Hammadi Codices for the history of ideas (123) and for our discipline (144), now that I am no longer engrossed in tracing their fibres.

VI

The work on the Nag Hammadi Codices has to a considerable extent been a detour, and yet as I now seek to find my way again into the main stream of our discipline, various openings to which that "detour" led and which I myself do not plan to pursue in a major way are nonetheless areas of specialization which I am very concerned to see pursued. For I found myself not only in academic fields for which my own training had not

prepared me, but several times in areas that still needed to be actually established as recognized academic disciplines:

Whereas there is a well-established discipline of codicology, namely the analysis and cataloguing of the parchment manuscripts surviving from medieval monasteries and libraries, there is no equivalent discipline for the analysis of papyrus codices. This is largely because one hardly had access to papyrus codices prior to the 1930s. Papyrologists had largely developed their discipline on the basis of rolls, documentary papyri written on individual sheets, and scattered fragments from codices. The analysis and reassembly of papyrus codices when they emerged had been largely relegated to technicians involved in conserving them in libraries and museums who, with the exception of Hugh Ibscher and his son Rolf in Berlin, did not publish what their empirical handling of the material and resultant reflection may have taught them. Each new technician began, as in any handicraft or trade, only with what he or she learned as an apprentice of one's predecessor.

It was therefore important to me, having inductively learned this lore from the painstaking reassembling of the Nag Hammadi Codices, to record the abstract theoretical conclusions we had derived from studying the intact codices and had applied in reassembling the fragmentary codices, so that those involved in the next major discovery would not have to begin all over where we had begun. Thus a paper correcting previous inventories of the Nag Hammadi Codices was entitled "The Future of Papyrus Codicology" (130), and a format for recording the relevant data was exemplified in a "Codicological Analysis of Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502" (132). Indeed the final volume of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, the *Introduction* (157), was devoted primarily to a recording of the codicological data and generalizations involved in the conservation of the papyrus and the preparation of the facsimile edition. It would be my hope that this volume, hardly readable though its mass of data and charts is, will serve as a model for future editors of papyrus codices, so that gradually a data bank will accumulate, making it possible to reach empirically-based generalizations rather than the often misleading assumptions of the trade with which we had to begin. However I do not myself propose to continue in a significant way in this new discipline of papyrus codicology, urgent though the task is to prepare such a data bank by reexamining all previously published papyrus codices, so as to be ready for the next major discovery of papyrus codices when it comes.

I am however currently involved in analyzing a largely uninscribed codex at the Chester Beatty Library with a Belgian scholar who is editing it and is eager to include the kind of codicological analysis I have advocated. We are at the moment quite excited that it does present a major exception to what has been previously known, in that the leading edges of two leaves are joined as in a paperback French book. Whether this is a unique and hence irrelevant aberration, or whether we have stumbled onto something more widespread that had been previously unnoticed, we do not know. Obviously any leaves left thus uncut in the manufacture of a quire would be cut by the scribe who inscribed them, and thus this kind of evidence of the condition in which the quires reached the scribe would have been lost. For an uninscribed quire has never been analyzed codicologically before. I mention such a detail only to point out the extent to which things that never occur to us, or if they did we would unthinkingly take for granted, are actually yet to be done, in laying a foundation for the understanding of the physical form of the texts we are accustomed to study only in the abstract.

It is a commonplace that the antiquities dealers through whose hands our manuscript treasures pass are thoroughly unreliable with regard to the provenience of the materials they sell, both because of their interest in keeping to themselves their sources of supply and because of the illegality of the trafficking in which their sources of supply and they themselves are involved. Thus, in spite of various casual reports that often accompany the publication of manuscript discoveries, such rumors have not usually been taken

seriously. But they have not been taken seriously in senses that have seriously impaired our discipline. If the various manuscripts and other antiquities that come from the same discovery could be identified as belonging to the same discovery, light would be shed by one upon the other, and the whole discovery would be more intelligible. And something significant would be learned about the place of the discovery. One only need think of the article Eric Turner wrote on the Roman army retirement town of Oxyrhynchus on the basis of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, to see what a wealth of information about Egyptian provincial history is lost by not knowing the provenience of illicitly excavated materials. With such motivation I turned to the question of the provenience of the Nag Hammadi (?) Codices, and was amazed to find how relatively easy it was to ascertain quite specific and concrete information about the discoverer and middlemen, both in terms of official records and in terms of interviews with the principals. Perhaps this is because my investigations took place after an informal statute of limitations had passed and before the principals had died.

In the process of these investigations I stumbled on reports of a quite different manuscript discovery, which turned out to be that of the Bodmer Papyri. I am currently working on a book on that discovery, whose materials are scattered among repositories as far apart as Geneva, Dublin, Rome, Cologne, Barcelona, New York, and Vaduz, Liechtenstein. It turns out to be the library of the first Christian monastic order, founded near Nag Hammadi early in the fourth century by Pachomius. Thus the putting into question of the Pachomian monastic order as the provenience of the Nag Hammadi Codices, a recent development caused by the publication of all the cartonnage lining the covers (136), has been more than compensated for, in terms of new information about the Pachomian order, by the much more certain identification of the Bodmer Papyri with that provenience. The library's oldest surviving holdings, such as Homer, Menander, P^{66} and P^{75}, antedate Pachomius, and hence must have been for some time in the possession of literate people, whose heirs then entered the monastery and contributed their holdings to its library. Perhaps even the Patriarch of Alexandria Athanasius, who hid out there in the middle of the fourth century for a time when he had temporarily lost control of his see, may have left with the monastery books that he doubtlessly brought with him. Thus the history of monasticism and of the environment perhaps of the Nag Hammadi Codices but certainly of the Bodmer Papyri are put in a new light by tracking down the discoverer and middlemen of the Bodmer Papyri. If the excavation by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of the Basilica of St. Pachomius at the headquarters monastery of the Pachomian order in Faww Qibli (Pabau), in clear view of the site of the discovery of the Bodmer Papyri and the Nag Hammadi Codices, promises to produce no more than the floor plans of the Basilica and of the earlier chapel under it, my drinking of tea and chatting with the villagers has produced basic new and quite important information about that monastery. This kind of information, doggedly tracked down and checked and double-checked, need not be discarded just as village rumor, but is to be taken seriously as a major resource for the history of Egyptian Christianity, for such purposes as the Institute's project on The Roots of Egyptian Christianity. And if the widespread illicit excavation and trafficking is ever to be superceded by supervised scientific excavation and conservation, the practices of the millennia, so destructive of artifacts and of information only available when the artifacts are unearthed *in situ*, need, to the extent they are typical, to be understood in detail in order to be anticipated and controlled (154). I do not assume I will be involved further in such detective work, but such activity should be recognized as an important preservation responsibility, a primary though bypassed source of information about the manuscripts themselves, and primary data about the place in Egypt where they were buried. It is an instance of the disciple "oral history," a specialization that has established itself as academically respectable and rewarding in other fields such as American Studies.

Of course there is the old adage that as many manuscript finds may lurk unrecognized in libraries and museums as in the sands of Egypt. I experienced this a generation ago when, sifting through a box of scraps identified only as "Coptic" in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, I identified what remained of a parchment copy of the Acts of the Apostles that Robert Kraft has subsequently published. The chance discovery by Stephen Emmel of half a leaf of Nag Hammadi Codex III, 145/146 in the Beinecke Library of Yale University is a more important and recent case in point. This thus-validated adage has proven its merit to me again most recently when trying to identify which materials in the Chester Beatty Library are from the Bodmer Papyri discovery. For I inquired of the British Museum, which had done the conservation of the Sir Chester's part of the Bodmer Papyri, if they had pictures of what they had conserved. They responded by saying they even had the last part of the papyri themselves, since the conservator had retired without having finished the conservation. This was unknown in Dublin, but now that it has been drawn to their attention the material is being transferred and accessioned.

One of the Bodmer Papyri at Dublin contains part of the Gospel of John in Sub-Achmimic, prefaced by a student's solid geometry exercises in Greek. I enlisted the head of the papyrological department of the Ägyptisches Museum in West Berlin, the American William Brashear who has specialized in Greek mathematics, to edit that part of the quire. After discussing that with him, he inquired if I knew anything of the half-conserved Manichaean codex in their stores. He showed it to me, and I have subsequently made some investigations. The Manichaean discovery of around 1930 at Medinet Madi from which the Homilies, the Kephalaia, and part of the Psalm Book have been published, was bought in part by Sir Chester Beatty, in part by Carl Schmidt for Berlin. Sir Chester's part was promptly taken to Berlin to be conserved along with the rest by Hugo Ibscher and edited by H. J. Polotsky.

The work was still dragging on when the war came. The material was put for safe keeping in an anti-aircraft bunker in the Berlin Zoo. When this suffered a bomb hit, Ibscher's son and successor Rolf received permission from the Museum to take some of the still unconserved part, apparently the part that did not belong to the Berlin Museum, to his wife's home in a Bavarian village. What he did not take was transported east by the Soviet authorities and, apart from a few leaves that had been conserved and are now in Warsaw and Berlin (DDR), the unconserved rest has been lost, apparently irretrievably. Two unconserved codices were turned in by Rolf Ibscher's father-in-law to the American army of occupation, which transferred them to the British Zone, from which they were sent to the British Museum, which turned them over to Sir Chester Beatty. Rolf Ibscher informed Sir Chester that a third unconserved codex belonging to Beatty had been part of what had been taken by the Soviet forces. Ultimately a package returned from the Soviet Union was turned over to Beatty, which however proved to contain only a few unimportant uninscribed leaves.

But one of the unconserved codices had remained in Bavaria, where Rolf Ibscher, who maintained it was part of the Berlin holdings, had on vacations worked at conserving it. It was brought to Göttingen, where much West Berlin material was temporarily housed, and was studied while there by Alexander Böhlig and Carsten Colpe. They came to the conclusion that it was in too bad a condition to be further conserved, much less published, and incidentally that it actually belonged to Sir Chester Beatty. It was ultimately transferred to the West Berlin Ägyptisches Museum, where it has been neglected for some twenty years, until Brashear drew it to my attention. But since Böhlig and Colpe decided it contained excerpts from Mani's Great Gospel, either as a commentary or lectionary, it is potentially of great significance. Hence I have been investigating what can be done by way of making it available. Again this is hardly the direction in which the bulk of my future scholarship is to move, and yet such a find should not be permitted simply to return again to oblivion.

Another of the by-products of the Nag Hammadi phase of my professional life that I do not propose myself to follow up in a concentrated way but that I do not wish to see completely neglected has to do with field archaeology relevant to early Christianity. As part of the investigation of the site of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices, the Nag Hammadi Excavation of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity went into the field for four seasons of excavation. The first cleared caves in the Jabal al-Tarif where the codices had been buried, but found no archaeological confirmation at the site pinpointed by the discoverer himself (119). The other three seasons were devoted to excavating the Basilica of St. Pachomius at Faww Qibli, the main Christian ruin in sight of the Jabal al-Tarif from whose base the Nag Hammadi Codices came and the Jabal Abu Mana from whose base the Bodmer Papyri came (122; 134). Though this excavation proved relevant primarily for the architecture of the Byzantine cathedral, it did give some prominence to field archaeology relevant to Early Christianity, to supplement the more prevalent focus on sites relevant to the Old Testament and the ancient Near East. Although I functioned more as administrator (Principal American Investigator) than as scholar, I have hopes that such early Christian field archaeology will continue as part of the program not of my own scholarship but rather of our discipline and specifically of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity I direct. We have hence set up an Alexandria Committee and a Capernaum Committee, in hopes that we can develop long term plans to join in the excavation of these two sites.

VII

If thus papyrus codicology, the tracing of the provenience of clandestine manuscript discoveries, the rediscovering of manuscripts buried in libraries and museums, and early Christian field archaeology are four by-products of the Nag Hammadi period of my professional life for which I have more concern and commitment than competence and time, the area where I do hope to move forward during the next decade has to do with the Sayings Collection we call Q. During my first sabbatic in 1959-60 I became aware of the revival of Q studies in Germany (35), where they had been dormant for half a century, and in 1964 published in the Bultmann *Festschrift* "LOGOI SOPHON: On the *Gattung* of Q," seeking to trace a trajectory from Jewish Wisdom Literature to Q and on to the *Gospel of Thomas* (56). Now that the Nag Hammadi Codices have become fully accessible (without any texts of comparable significance, though Helmut Koester has emphasized the comparable importance of the *Dialogue of the Savior*) (162), I would like to resume the study of Q (158; 164).

Q may even provide a context in which various areas of prior research I had left dangling during the period of engrossment in the Nag Hammadi Codices could be carried forward. After all, the new quest of the historical Jesus had not returned to brute facts behind the word, as a prop for what would otherwise be incredible, to which the old quest would seemed to have stooped, but rather traced the word event of the kerygma back behind Easter to Jesus and the word (to use the English title to Bultmann's *Jesus*). The later Heidegger had pointed out that language is not the ex-pression of the speaker's subjectivity, such as Jesus' (non-existent) Messianic self-consciousness, but rather the clearing of being, where "world" (such as the kingdom of God) uses persons to show itself. The new hermeneutic had emphasized that language is not primarily communication of information, but rather "I-thou" communion, inter-personal event, at its best saving event, and lives on in its re-presentation. Q could provide a concrete focus where such broader interests might be updated and pursued again.

Kerygmatic theology was not able do much with this in the case of Q, for the Jesus who rose into the kerygma was not himself in his word by this definition Christian, existentially challenging though *Jesus* and the Word is to anyone who has ears to hear. Thus Easter marked a *metabasis eis allo genos* when Jesus rose into the kerygma. But why

then, where then, by whom then, were Jesus' sayings transmitted? Form criticism assumed: as a paraenetic appendix (didache) to the kerygma of the Palestinian Christian church. But the renewal of Q research in Germany was marked by the discovery that Q has a distinct Christology of its own, and hence cannot be simply subsumed as the "practical application" under the kerygma of a Christianity in this regard homogeneous. Talk of a "Q community" emerged, which with the specificity of the Mission in Q 11:2-16 (being discussed in the Q Seminar at the 1985 SBL Annual Meeting) seemed to achieve a concreteness surpassing that of the Marcan community. The "Wanderradikalismus' of these Cynic-like / prophet-like / Sophia-like street preachers / beggars has become one of the topics of current debate. The tension between the orality of the Q tradition and the writtenness of the Marcan tradition is one place where linguistics has drawn attention to the "politics" of primitive Christianity (166).

When I was teaching at the University of Göttingen the Summer Semester of 1959, Friedrich Gogarten invited me to have supper with him one evening each week. He inquired on one such occasion how my course was going, and I replied that I was only barely keeping ahead of the class, hurriedly pulling the last sheet of the lecture out of the typewriter just in time to run to class to read it. He expressed considerable shock that I prepared lectures on a typewriter, reflecting that theology's doom had been sealed when in his youth one shifted from sharpening a chicken's feather into a quill and began using fountain pens. I have subsequently moved from my German portable typewriter to an electric, then to a Selectric, then to a Vectorgraphic word processor, and now hopefully to the IBYCUS word processsor. This promises to combine the research capability of searches of word clusters in ancient languages provided by the IBYCUS computer developed by David Packard for just this purpose, with the user friendliness of a word processor. One of the methodological advances in the study of Q in the coming period is based upon taking seriously this trajectory of technological progress that has taken place since Q was discovered (152; 156; 161). Rather than leaving Q a vague and imprecise text somewhere behind Matthew and Luke, we are seeking to treat it as a tattered and fragmentary papyrus, with lacunae caused by the moth of Matthew and the rust of Luke. Once the papyrus with these lacunae has been fed into the computer and the variation units distinguished and numbered to correspond to notes of a critical apparatus, and the apparatus fleshed out with a report on each reconstruction effort for each variant since Adolf von Harnack, it should be possible in team research to reach a large degree of consensus about which of the lacunae can be filled and how, and thus progressively to reconstruct a critical text of Q upon which a modern commentary can be written. I would like to be able to complete this project, in hopes that then an ongoing committee, perhaps appointed periodically by the Research and Publication Committee of the Society of Biblical Literature, could keep the critical text and translation updated in much the same way that the Revised Standard Version Committee keeps that translation up to date.

VIII

A larger part of my professional life than I would have expected has been devoted to administrative dimensions:

—As founder and Director of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (1967 ff.) I have sought to provide a context in our society for teams devoted to basic research in our discipline (83; 98; 102; 141; 165), as well as participating myself in such team research by directing the Coptic Gnostic Library Project (78; 87; 105; 110; 112; 126; 127; 131; 138; 139; 155; 159; 163; 168; 169).

—A Patmos Monastery Library Project I administered sent several teams to the island to catalogue manuscripts in the library of the Monastery of St. John the

Theologian beginning in 1970. We transferred all the library holdings from an old library of worm-infested wooden shelves, via a fumigation apparatus authorized by the Department of Agriculture of the state of Greece, into a new library whose metal shelves we provided. With the help of the Sixth Fleet's helicopters, climatizing equipment too heavy and bulky for any vehicle on the island to move was installed at the new library to control the moisture and temperature.

—After repeated inquiries UNESCO, in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of the Arab Republic of Egypt, finally appointed and convened the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices in December 1970 (91; 95). I functioned until its work was completed in 1984 as its Permanent Secretary (96; 101; 104; 106; 111; 114; 118; 120; 124; 125; 136; 157). This involved, as a by-product, organizing in the name of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization of the Arab Republic of Egypt the first International Congress of Coptology, to function as the UNESCO Committee's second meeting in December 1976 (129), as well as preparing for the foundation of the International Association for Coptic Studies at that congress.

—As Chair of the Committee for the International Congress of Learned Societies in the Field of Religion appointed by the Society of Biblical Literature and the Council for the Study of Religion, I was at the center of the first west coast meeting of the numerous American and international societies involved, at the Century Plaza Hotel in September 1972 (99).

—During my year as President of the Society of Biblical Literature (1981), which is normally a passive ("honorific") position (144), I carried through the negotiation of an acceptable settlement between Scholars Press and Robert W. Funk (142).

Although each of these administrative activities has been much more time consuming and emotionally draining than I would have expected or the public could have realized (121; 135), and of course resulted in correspondingly less concentration on my own scholarship, I think each of these enterprises was worth what it took out of me. For I think our discipline is healthier as a result of each of them. I am grateful to the Society of Biblical Literature for awarding me at its Centennial Banquet a citation for statecraft in this regard.

I have learned from these administrative activities something of how one functions in our society, so that my own life of the mind has not been as abstract as it might otherwise have been. For, although I have not been as practice-oriented, popularizing and accessible as our society expects of academics in our field, I think it is irresponsible to ignore the context in which we work, as if it were a stable and lasting world in which we can pursue our technical and intellectual pursuits unconcerned. In reality we do whatever we do on a very precarious roller-coaster whose outcome is far from obvious, and for which we as intellectuals bear a large share of responsibility.

The archetype for social involvement in my case has been racial integration, given the Southern upbringing I experienced, where indeed a major change of mind—actually a consciousness raising—was called for (8; 85). But I seek to extend that commitment to other dimensions of affirmative action as well. Here my interest in Wisdom speculation in relation to Q (113) has provided an opening I have tried just this year to develop in the direction of a Sophia Christology (170). Although I am not adequately sophisticated or specialized in Women's Studies to excel in this field, it seems to me that all of us, wherever we are primarily occupied, should exercise our freedom of speech as best we can with regard to such issues before our society. The conference on "Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism," taking place at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont November 20-22 and at the 1985 SBL Annual Meeting in Anaheim November

23-26, is an instance of seeking to address ourselves professionally to such a social concern.

I do not mean to conclude what is intended to be an analysis of the life of one's mind on a "practical note." Rather I am saying that I am concerned with the specialization and technology that have taken over large parts of my professional life and threaten to make meaningless the whole enterprise in which we are involved and thus to lead to its demise. The discipline itself is in need of deconstruction, to lay bare the outdated biblicistic presuppositions on which it was originally projected and to make way for creative clearings that will point toward a future worthy of the past out of which we come. Never before has biblical scholarship had so many participants, so many chairs, so much funding, such large conventions, and so little meaningful results. We urgently need a think tank to assume responsibility for planning and conceptualizing for our discipline in the Twenty-First Century, if that century is not to preside over its demise as anything more than an irrelevant ghetto in an otherwise booming or collapsing society.

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Jewish Identification and Assimilation: Continuities and Discontinuities in Roman Egypt

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Introduction

The infatuation with Greek culture and thought by Jews in Egypt 2000 years ago is not that dissimilar to Jews of the twentieth century experiencing the American dream. Both ancient and modern Jews living in the Diaspora are faced with a variety of choices concerning the intensity of their Jewish identification. Sociologically, their choices can be characterized by the institutional matrix within which they develop: family, religion, economy, community, etc. For particular groups, such as the intelligentsia, gravitation to apostasy or orthodoxy is a mirror of the level of continuity or discontinuity in the institutional order. Empirical manifestations that exhibit attraction to either extreme and indicate the level of social integration in the society include "liminal phenomena" (phenomena at the boundaries of institutional life)[1] and "holistic canopies" (totalitarian acquiescence to ideology with behavior enforced by social control agencies). For Jewish intellectuals, twenty centuries ago and today, Jewish identity is a social product.

The aim of this paper is twofold: first, to examine the institutional matrix of Judaism in Egypt at the turn of the millennium in Egypt as a means of specifying Jewish social structure and interpersonal characteristics that encouraged Jewish socialization, and concomitantly, Jewish identification. Second, to consider the transition in the Ptolemaic mode of production and the tensions inherent in interpersonal relations leading to discontinuities in the society and discouraging Jewish identification. The contours described, and problems raised, suggest that the degree of assimilation is a reflection of the solidarity of ethnic social structure, the nature of interpersonal relations, and the tempo and direction of social change.

I

By the age of Augustus the Jewish demographic presence in Egypt was considerable. Migration, natural increase and proselytism all contributed to Philo's description of Jews in Egypt as "resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia."[2] Baron and Avi-Yonah have estimated the Jewish population at one million[3] (as does Philo[4]) and Juster and Green have argued that Jews comprised

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[1] V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, IL, 1969).

[2] Philo, *Flacc.* 43.

[3] See S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1952[2]), v.1, 170 and 370, n. 7 and M. Avi-Yonah, "Historical Geography of Palestine," in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds., Assen, 1974), v.1, 109.

[4] Philo, *Flacc.* 43. Tcherikover considers this figure inflated. See V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks and M. Stern, eds., *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), v.1, 4 and 81, (hereafter *CPJ*).

between 10% and 15% of the Egyptian population.[5] In Alexandria, in particular, the Jewish population may have approximated the Greek (Mommsen described Alexandria "almost as much a city of the Jews as of the Greeks"[6]) and within Egypt's borders Jews had twice the Greek population.[7]

Accompanying the substantial demographic presence of Jews in Egypt was the establishment of an institutional matrix that characterized their particular ethnicity. This included extensive community organizations with a strong emphasis on trust (solidarity) and a symbolic-ideological attraction predicated on personal and collective Jewish identity.[8]

The institutional matrix had both religious and secular institutions that catered specifically to Jewish needs. The more the religious dominated, the more Judaism dominated the secular life of an individual. The more Judaism dominated the secular life of an individual, the more he interacted with other Jews. The more he interacted with other Jews, the greater the likelihood that Jewish patron-client relations existed within his everyday world. For Jews voluntarily placing themselves within this social matrix, the exchange of resources (instrumental, economic, political, solidarity, loyalty, etc.) provided a "package-deal" that provided long range credit, interpersonal obligation and networks of individuals stratified by differences in power.[9]

The number of religious institutions for Jews in Egypt, in itself, is indicative of the demographic presence transformed from a statistic into an actuality. The Ptolemaic favorable disposition towards the Jews followed by Caesar's charter of rights provided an environment conducive to growth. The synagogue (*proseuche*) was the center of prayer and study and acted as a communal assembly (town hall, a court, lodging). Dedicatory inscriptions refer to *proseuchae* as early as the third century B.C.E. (Schedia, Lower Egypt; Arsinoe, Fayum)[10] and by Philo's period they were numerous throughout Egypt and Alexandria,[11] including a Temple at Leontopolis.[12]

According to Applebaum, the synagogues in Alexandria were organized into a federation which coordinated religious life.[13] Synagogues, therefore, acted as a "fence around the Torah," dividing Jews from non-Jews in the face of Hellenism; a *communitas* that de-emphasized the role of the individual.

Certain standardized rituals, seasons and formats (quorum of 10 men at fixed regular intervals, the Sabbath, Hagim, fast days) indicate a similarity with Palestinian observance. However, in other ways, deviation seems more the norm. Philo's description of various rituals indicate heterogeneity. Philo omits the four species during the Feast of Tabernacles, claims that the shofar was not blown on Rosh Hashanah and that Nisan, not

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[5]See J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* (New York, 1914), v.1, 209 and H. A. Green, *Gnosticism: Its Economic and Social Origins* (Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series, Atlanta, 1985), 91 and n. 100.

[6]T. Mommsen *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (trans. W. P. Dickson, New York, 1899), v.2, 177.

[7]See Green, *Economic and Social Origins*, 92 and n. 108.

[8]See S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge, 1984), especially chapters 2 and 3, 19-42.

[9]Ibid., 48f.

[10]See *CPJ*, v.3, no. 1440 and no. 1532a.

[11]For Philo's evidence in Alexandria see *Leg. ad Gaium* 132 and 156 and *Flacc.* 45.

[12]Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 387ff. and 13.62ff.

[13]S. Applebaum, "The Organization of the Jewish Communities in the Diaspora," *The Jewish People in the First Century* (S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds. Assen, 1974), v.1, 500.

Tisrai, was the principal New Year.[14] The continuous interplay between the activities of new elites and groups, the new geopolitical situation (Greek to Roman), the weakening of the monopoly of access to attributes of sacredness held by ascriptive groups, and an elite-status based on the learning of the law contributed to a transition in the practice from Jerusalem. "In situations of transition. . . .[institutional] realms are structured according to different principles and entail dissimilar ways of interweaving of trust [solidarity], meaning and power relations."[15]

In contrast to the Temple in Jerusalem where only the priests could provide access to God through their hereditary right to perform sacrifices, in Egyptian synagogues individuals were asked to lead the congregation in prayers and scripture-reading. Yet, even with decentralization and liberalization, Philo testifies that Sabbath attendance was poor and Torah readers difficult to find.[16] Like today, Jews were indifferent to their religion if measured by attendance except on the Day of Atonement.[17]

The weakening of ascriptive groups in the synagogue did not mean a weakening in the division of labor. New elites looked for status and rank. Within the synagogue, a president, archons, and an executive committee, reveal formalization and networks necessary to establish patron-client relations within the Jewish community.

These individuals, literate within an illiterate society, enjoyed high status both within the synagogue and the religious community.[18] Drawn from the more affluent strata they shared cultural orientations prevalent in the society but exercised different modes of control over the production and allocation of resources.

Synagogues also acted as schools to socialize youth and adults and to transmit knowledge (what to do and what to think). Although the Mishnah states that education was to begin at age five[19] there is little evidence of standardized and institutionalized instruction during Philo's life. Philo's comment that in his days Jews "are instructed in them [i.e., the Law of the Torah] from their earliest youth, . . . [and] are taught . . . by parents, teachers and educators" is more wishful than factual.[20] Mendelson's penetrating study on secular education in Philo[21] helps us to understand how Philo viewed his Greek education, no doubt due to Philo's silence on the topic. Following Tcherikover, among others, the language of instruction was Greek,[22] and in all likelihood followed the teaching methods similar to those of the Hellenistic-Roman world.[23] However, since education

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[14]Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* 2.204ff., 2.138ff., 2.150ff. Cf. G. Alon, "On Philo's Halakha" in G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (trans. I. Abrahams, Jerusalem, 1977), 133f., 124f., and 130f.

[15]Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons*, 40.

[16]Philo, *Hypothetica* 7.13.

[17]Philo, *De. Spec. Leg.* 1.186.

[18]See S. Safrai, "The Synagogue," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, (S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds., Philadelphia, 1976), v.2, 934 for supporting evidence.

[19]*m. Abot, 5.21.*

[20]Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 210 and 115. On the legendary founding of a school in Alexandria by R. Judah b. Tabbai in the first century B.C.E. see *b. Sanh.*, 1076. For an opposing view see H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), v.2, 80.

[21]A. Mendelson, *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati, 1982).

[22]*CPJ*, v.1, 31.

[23]A comparison of non-Jewish school manuals from the third century B.C.E. in Greek to those in Coptic in the fourth century C.E. indicates an extraordinarily high similarity in teaching methods despite the fact that two different languages and cultures were involved. Although there is no evidence of teaching manuals for Jewish communities, the fact that Jews in Egypt studied in Greek and that there was little change for 700 years in non-Jewish manuals suggests that educational methods were uniform regardless of ethnic

was the privilege of the wealthy, the division of labor led to other patron-client relations that complemented those of the synagogue (mobility, resource distribution, status). The average Jew tied to the land or his employer, had little time to engage in the luxury of education. The lack of centralized control from Jerusalem led patrons of teachers to control directly or indirectly the transmission of knowledge and gravitation to Hellenism. Philo's thought is only one representation of hermeneutics that combined Hellenism and Judaism.

Through the synagogue with its ancillary functions, bonds of solidarity were fused and patrons exercised social control. Jews were socialized within their tradition and identified with other Jews. The more they participated in synagogue life, the more Judaism dominated their secular life and established social networks for interaction with other Jews.

The family, the first institution where power and meaning (values) are encountered and patterns of interaction established, seeds the symbolic-ideological orientation. For families actively involved in synagogue life and exhibiting a strong Jewish identity, a legitimation of the Roman perception that Judaism was a "superstition shackled by ceremonial worship"[24] was unavoidable. Within the family one recited prayers at sunrise and sunset, before and after eating, placed mezuzahs on doors, followed a life-cycle prescribed by rituals (circumcision, marriage, death, burial), dressed according to precedent (tzitzit and tefillin), made special preparations before the Sabbath and the holidays in order, for example, not to bake or boil water, and divided the sexes by law. Most of these activities, if practised, resulted in social interaction with other Jews in secular contexts. However, for families less involved in the synagogue, the process of socialization would have been more Hellenistic.

Viewed from the family's position within the stratified society, the response to the symbolic-ideological emphasis on Judaism was dependent on their ability to control resources. The lower the vertical placement, the greater the need for Jewish patrons.

Economy, also influenced by religious prescription, resulted in secular life being transformed from a non-Jewish to a Jewish experience. The stronger one's Jewish identity, the more one would eat and drink only certain foods and beverages, plant, grow, sell and consume based on religious norms, and choose certain occupations (not to work on the Sabbath). Consequently, the "package-deal" between patrons and clients became all the more important for an individual socialized and motivated to practice his faith. Jewish patrons, for example, may have controlled access to institutional markets (economic), conversion of resources between these markets and the distribution of information.[25]

The economic sector, however, demanded more often than not, that the Jew interact with the non-Jew. Socio-economic behavior was regulated by Hellenistic and Roman jurisdictional practice. Tcherikover has pointed out how administrative procedures, form and content of documents, and place of jurisdiction were all regulated first by Ptolemaic and then Roman law. For example, commercial documents were drawn up in the standard Greek and Roman manner; the office employed was a regular government office (i.e., non-Jewish); legal disputes were brought before Greek and Roman authorities; and the

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affinity. See H. I Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (trans. G. Lamb, Toronto, 1964), 216.

[24]Seneca, *De Superstitione*, apud: Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 6.11.

[25]Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons*, 38.

laws and regulations for business life were those of the ruling class in Egypt.[26] Even such a basic economic transaction as lending money to fellow Jews tended to follow Ptolemaic (and Roman) custom[27] rather than Biblical precept.[28] Tcherikover further comments that these laws and regulations would have affected all social institutions, and in particular, the family. As he notes, "it follows that the family life of Alexandrian Jews, their marriages and divorces, were regulated by Greek contracts in accordance with the principles of Hellenistic law."[29] In fact, except for one papyrological document which mentions a Jewish archive, "the papyri do not bear any distinct mark of Jewish law or institutions" in Ptolemaic or Roman Egypt.[30] Jewish tribunals in Alexandria, therefore, may not have played an important secular role in spite of Goodenough's contention that Philo's *De Specialibus Legibus* reflected the real judicial practice of Alexandrian Jewish tribunals.[31] Rather the evidence supports the use of non-Jewish courts; concomitantly, this implies Hellenistic and Roman norms of jurisprudence rather than Jewish law as promulgated in the Torah.[32]

Yet in spite of these limitations the Jewish community of Alexandria,[33] and maybe Leontopolis,[34] were considered as *politeumata* (quasi-autonomous judicial entities, granting alien-ethnic groups civic rights and domicile in a *polis*, but not citizenship), and therefore unique. "It had its own constitution and administered its internal affairs as an ethnic unit through officials distinct from and independent of those of the host city."[35] Under the Romans, the Alexandrian *politeuma* was ruled by a *gerousia* (a council of elders) and was responsible for the supervision of contracts, the settlement of internal disputes, the modification of Jewish legislative practice based on governmental edicts, and maintenance of community organizations such as the synagogues, among other things. Members of the upper class and patrons to the Jewish community, they also shared ties of *amicitia* (via commerce, land ownership, *epheboi* status). The degree the *gerousia* sought to accommodate or to insulate Jews from Hellenistic patterns of behavior was dependent on the interests of their social networks, clusters of patrons and Roman perception of the Jews as hostile or friendly. Invariably, Roman laws and institutions encroached on religious norms and gradually secularized the practice of Judaism. Assimilation is a by-product of this process and the network of interpersonal relations of

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[26] *CPJ*, v.1, 33.

[27] For example, see *CPJ*, v.1 nos. 20, 24. In the light of Philo's comments (*De Spec. Leg.* 2.74ff.) it is evident that many Jews did not follow the economic laws of the Torah. See also *CPJ*, v.1, 35.

[28] Exod 22:25 and Deut 23:20. Other economic transactions, such as the sale of slaves, may also have copied Greek models and practices.

[29] *CPJ*, v.1, 34.

[30] *CPJ*, v.2, 4 in reference to no. 143.

[31] E. R. Goodenough, *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt* (New Haven, 1929). For a recent summary and support of my argument see R. Hecht, "The Exegetical Contexts of Philo's Interpretation of Circumcision" in *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaica in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, (F. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert and B. Mack, eds., Chico, CA., 1984), 51-79.

[32] See *CPJ*, v.1, 32f. and V. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic and Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri* (in Hebrew, Jerusalem, 1963[2]).

[33] See *Ep. Arist.* 310; *CPJ*, v.1, 6; M. Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1976), 225ff.

[34] L. Robert, "Epigramme d'Égypte," *Hellenica* 1 (1940), 18-24.

[35] Smallwood, *Jews*, 225.

patrons and clients stratified by differences in power (control over access to avenues of commerce, specialized knowledge, procedural requirements, etc.).

II

The transition in the Ptolemaic mode of production came with Roman conquest of Egypt.[36] New patterns of landowning (state to private), production (mixed state and private), and management (mixed state and private) were established. Private ownership was emancipated from external constraints, several state monopolies were devolved, the bureaucracy was restructured and private accountability was increased. State domination combined with individualism. Parassoglou described this transition (i.e., private ownership) as "the most radical change introduced in Egypt by the Romans, and the example most illustrative of the fundamental differences between Hellenistic and Roman tradition."[37] All aspects of the institutional and social order were affected by this metamorphosis. For example, the selling off of state land and the confiscation of temple land redistributed to private owners resulted in the development of new clientelistic arrangements between patrons and clients. Roman ties of *amicitia* provided fertile ground for new interpersonal relations among Egyptians, Greeks and Jews. Tempo and direction of change not only generated discontinuities in the social division of labor but in the construction of trust (solidarity) and meaning (values).

The Romans, similar to the Greeks (Ptolemies), were faced with identical problems (e.g. social control). Neither the Greeks nor the Romans wished to be assimilated into the culture which they had conquered; nor did they advocate opening their ranks and providing mobility for the native Egyptian. Restructuring of resources, however, leads to situations requiring a repositioning of normative values. Early Greek behavioral patterns that advocated ethnic segregation, closed kinship systems and legal prescriptions for social interaction dissolved over time. By the end of the Ptolemaic epoch a number of native Egyptians and Semitic mercenaries (including Jews) had been incorporated into the army and had received veteran (*cleruch*) land, had married Greek citizens and were able to enter the *gymnasium*.

Yet for the overwhelming majority of Egyptian residents, including Jews, little changed. The nature of life in antiquity counteracted such developments as the growth of an urban movement or the increased importance of industry and commerce over agriculture. Eighty percent of the labor force in antiquity remained deployed in agriculture. "The labor force in the Roman Empire was primarily peasants who produced most of what they themselves consumed and consumed most of what they produced."[38] The transition from public to private property had little meaning for them. Economically deprived, their vocation socially stigmatized them. Added to this humiliation, the land they farmed was differentiated by ethnicity. Moreover, peasants were obligated by the corvée to work for five days a year on the public irrigation system and to maintain the embankments of the irrigation system of the private landholder.

The Jewish peasant, nonetheless, stood apart from other Egyptians on account of his symbolic-collective identification. Although tied to patron-client relationships structured around the access to land and localized, the Jewish peasant shared an affiliation with his ethnic community organizations. The Jew neither engaged in sibling marriage like the

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[36]For an analysis of the Ptolemaic mode of production see Green, *Economic and Social Origins*, 21-74.

[37]G. M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology 18, Amsterdam, 1978) 6.

[38]K. Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980), 104.

Egyptians nor discarded unwanted neonates like the Greeks. In contrast to the Egyptian peasant who deserted the land and remained part of the *chora* (asylum of a Temple), the Jewish peasant could converge on urban Jewry and expect a sympathetic response based on bonds of symbolic-ideological affinity. Consequently, different clusters of patrons competed for control of these human resources (loyalty, obligation, manpower, bribes for protection, etc.) even if viewed as alien and lacking commitment. Friendship, therefore, could replace kinship, symbolically and organizationally.[39]

At the other end of the stratified ladder there were Jews who were Greek and Roman citizens. As mercenaries under the Ptolemies many had received land grants, become upwardly mobile and were viewed as "Macedonians." However, under the Romans, these "Macedonians'" upward mobility was curtailed. Positions of rank accorded to individuals during the Ptolemaic period such as Dositheus and Onias IV became rare, if not accompanied by apostasy (e.g. Tiberius Julius Alexander). Paradoxically, although the propensity for mobility was dislocated, Rome's change of policy with regard to private enterprise and ownership of land resulted in Jews compensating for their "social" loss with "economic" gain. (e.g. Alexander Marcus, Dorotheus, and Simon). Consequently, the networks of patron-client relationships within the Jewish community took on new forms as traditional patrons gave way to the *nouveaux riches*. Clientelistic relations revolved around people, rather than an office as with the Ptolemies. Placed within the geopolitical context of Egypt-Israel, the networks exhibited a dispersed structure that was characterized by a greater instability and transiency. Generated by competition among the "old" and "new" patrons under conditions of non-uniform mobility (occupational, political) and by market forces that were transforming the mode of production, "patron-brokerage" through the *gerousia* would have aggravated the discontinuities (e.g. land for landless, state-subsidized food, opening of administrative offices, etc.).

These discontinuities, although hindering Jewish affiliation on the symbolic-ideological level, encouraged Hellenistic identification. New clientelistic relations with non-Jews predominated if the Jewish institutional matrix provided weak linkages. This manifested itself through patterns of the dominant culture. Tcherikover has cited extensive data to demonstrate the pervasiveness of cultural assimilation.[40] Greek language was used for writing, for epitaphs and for synagogue dedicatory inscriptions; Jews chose Greek names; imitated Greek social institutions (e.g. Jewish scribal schools were modeled after Greek educational methods); engaged in figurative art although forbidden by the Torah; participated in athletic events; and dressed according to Greek standards. The use of Greek is especially significant with regard to the symbolic-ideological attraction. The Egyptian Jew by thinking in Greek would have perceived his Jewish identity through Greek perceptions.

Cultural assimilation merely signified acceptance by the ethnic group. Social assimilation denoted structural acceptance by the dominant culture (Greeks, Romans) of the ethnic group into their social institutions. The acceptance of Jews into Greek social institutions, however, was not readily embraced. Acceptance into the *gymnasium*, for example, led to citizenship papers and the Greeks were adamant in demanding that those qualified be Greek first. The object of Greek education "was to fashion the ideal of Greek gentlemen."[41] Viewed by the Greeks as ideological and economic competitors, acceptance would mean the acceleration of Jewish opportunities at the expense of their own. "There was strong opposition to Jewish influence at court, in the army, amongst

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[39] Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons*, 17.

[40] *CPJ*, v.1, 27-47 and 74-78. See also V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (New York, 1979, [1959]), 344-377 and Green, *Economic and Social Origins*, 153-169.

[41] M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture, Fusion and Diffusion* (New York, 1959), 60.

government officials, and . . . among the Greek citizens of Alexandria."[42] The patron-client relation could be reversed: Jew-Greek rather than Greek-Jew. Alexandrian Greeks already suffered the indignity under Rome of not being allowed a *boule*, in contrast to the Jews with their *gerousia*.

The Greek attitude was abetted by policies "to impede social mobility."[43] The introduction by the Romans of the *laographia* (poll-tax) translates into status dissonance for the upwardly mobile secular conscious Jew. Culturally the Jew viewed himself and was perceived as Greek with high status; legally, he was identified by the Romans as of low rank and taxed like an Egyptian. High social status is not identical to high social class. Consequently, the *laographia* became an embarrassment and an impediment. Socially stigmatized, and legally disenfranchised, the prospects for informal channels outside the institutional structures increasingly appealed (roots of "liminal phenomena," e.g., Gnosticism). On the other hand, for those still able via their social networks of patrons to achieve a *gymnasium* education, in Applebaum's opinion, it could only "have been purchased with the betrayal of Judaism."[44] Restriction of Greek education in jurisdictional and citizenship terms, maintained the clientelistic relationships of Greek-Jew. Thus the transformation in the mode of production was responsible for discontinuities that discouraged Jewish identification.

The degree of cultural and social assimilation was not identical for all classes. Jews in the *chora* shared the cultural behavioral patterns of the typical Egyptian peasant; while those in the city, that of the urban Greek. Consequently, the lower the class, the more visible the attempt to enter Greek institutions and the stronger the rejection. On the other hand, it was harder to segregate fellow elites and patrons who shared the same urban patterns of social interaction. With the introduction of the *laographia* the tensions were exasperated. For some, conversion acted as the ultimate bridge across the barrier. For others, the allegorization of the Scriptures to the exclusion of the literal meaning was an alternative.[45] The Jewish intelligentsia, in particular, had a symbiotic relationship with Greeks and Hellenistic philosophy. But whereas Hellenistic philosophers rarely if ever had first hand knowledge of the *Septuagint*, Jewish philosophers, read and knew their Greek literature firsthand. For men like Philo, Greek philosophy was no more than "a handmaiden to Scripture," where the encyclia was endowed with Jewish theology.[46] Hellenistic philosophy, *gymnasium* education and secular studies were "fraught with danger" but acceptable unless they "compromised either the integrity of the individual or the solidarity of the Jewish community."[47] One sought divine knowledge rather than "exploiting the acquisition of Greek culture to further social ambitions."[48] The degree of secularization and subsequent assimilation is once again a reflection of symbolic-ideological commitment to collective Jewish identity characterized by participation in the ethnic institutional matrix and in social interaction with patrons and clients. Cultural and social assimilation signify accommodating and rebellious trends in Egyptian Judaism.

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[42] *CPJ*, v.1, 24.

[43] N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule* (Oxford, 1983), 32.

[44] S. Appelbaum, "Review of V. Tcherikover and A. Fuchs," *Tarbiz* 28 (1958/59), English summary, xiii.

[45] Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 89ff.

[46] Mendelson, *Secular Education*, xix.

[47] Ibid., 46.

[48] Ibid., 82.

III

The Jews who traded away their faith for Alexandrian citizenship[49] and betrayed Judaism for "the frivolous spirit of life's success"[50] were sucked into the vortex of social change that descended with Rome. On the one hand, the transition in the mode of production produced discontinuities in the division of labor, allowing Jews to become upwardly mobile. On the other hand, these discontinuities generated tensions within the realm of interpersonal relations and divided ethnicities (Greek from Jew). The level of symbolic-ideological attraction to the institutional matrix of Judaism relaxed these tensions by offering varying degrees of interaction with Jewish clusters of patrons and clients. Jewish identification, therefore, was dependent on socialization and mediated by interpersonal networks. The breakdown of Jewish identity and movement to assimilation and apostasy was more accessible for those of higher social strata; and, in particular the intelligentsia, who felt more deeply the discontinuities.

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[49] *3 Macc.* 2.31 and 7.10.

[50] Philo, *De Vita Mosis* 1.30f. and *De Virt.* 182.

The End of Prophecy in the Light of Contemporary Social Theory: A Draft

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All too often, the issue of the end of propecy is taken for granted as a core assumption without the benefit of thorough analysis of the issues, theories, and models that have shaped our understanding of the end of prophecy. Since the evidence is scant, their views about the "end of prophecy" are shaped by assumptions and models not only with regard to prophecy but also related to the understanding of Hebrew society as a complex. Thus the use of a functionalist social theory without benefit of scrutiny has led to a misreading of Jer 23:34-40 and Zech 13:2-6. This misreading has led some to mistakenly assert that prophecy came to an end. In fact what we see is a continuing conflict between two groups of religious elites.

Biblical scholars as historians are shaped by the historical particularism of the Enlightenment. Such a position explicitly contends that each event in history is unique and therefore the use of cross-cultural material, theories or models is superfluous. However, in point of fact we continually use models to "patch out" or fill out that data which is available to us. We see examples of this from the amphictyonic theory of Noth to the documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch.

The discussion of the end of prophecy is determined by the model of prophecy one uses. This is related to the theory of Hebrew society one uses. Once the functionalist perspective gives way to another theoretical orientation, such as the conflict or critical perspective the view of the so-called end of prophecy is changed.

1.1 Models and Theories

The relationship between theory and models is a dynamic one. Models are generated by theory. Theory depends on models to verify the theory orientation as helpful.

1.1.1 Theory

The notion that we can stay away from the hermeneutical complexities of social theory is unrealistic. Robert Wilson has advised biblical scholars to avoid interpretive schemata.[1] John Beattie, on the other hand, has made the point that one will inevitably use social theory. The question is whether it shall be self-conscious or unconscious.[2] "A theoretical procedure makes explicit the ideas that are otherwise implicit in an investigation."[3] The issue presents a problem in the minds of some scholars such as Robert

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[1]R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 16.

[2]J. Beattie, *Other Cultures* (New York: Free Press, 1964) 42.

[3]M. Buss, "An Anthropological Perspective Upon Prophetic Call Narratives," Semeia 21 *Anthropological Perspectives on Old Testament Prophets* 1981, 10.

Culley. Sociological and anthropological theory is a discipline that the biblical scholar must be wary of if she/he is to avoid dilettantism.[4] The way for biblical scholars to avoid such a pitfall and maintain quality control in their research is to focus on the hermeneutics of theoretical positions. For while one might maintain that social and anthropological theory is a new challenge for biblical scholars hermeneutics is clearly not.

The forest of possibilities in terms of social theories is not as immense as it might seem. There are four basic options available for the biblical scholar. The first of these is the functionalist perspective. The second is conflict theory, which has connections with Karl Marx. However, the interpretation of Marxian thought has taken divergent directions, and for the purposes of simplicity we shall focus critical theory.[5] The third is symbolic interaction, pioneered by George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer. Finally there is the social exchange theory of Peter Blau. Ethnomethodology has been deleted because of the special problems it presents such as its own methodological confusion. In this essay we will focus on the first two options, functionalism and conflict/critical theory. These two represent the most divergent domain assumptions. Also they represent the major poles or centers of gravity in the discussion of anthropological and sociological theory.

1.1.2 Models

Before going on it is important to be more precise about what is meant by "models." "A major aim in employing a model is generally to analyze a complex configuration by some form of pattern matching."[6] In other words a model acts as an interpretive lens through which material is read.

"A model is something less than a theory and more than an analogy."[7] An analogy is used to propose that one thing is like another. A model on the other hand proposes that a thing falls into a particular category, the members of which have certain common characteristics. However, a model falls short of the worldview comprehensiveness which is a trademark of a theory. Even theories of the middle-range, a concept of Robert Merton used by David Petersen has a level of abstraction slightly greater than that of a model. As such they also function to bring to the open the values of the historian.[8]

There are two types of models for consideration here, cross-cultural and postulational. Though there is considerable overlap, each accents a different function. The cross-cultural model is the one that is found in the work of Robert Wilson among others.[9] This type of model helps to outline the essentials.

The postulational model, or thought experiment is a simulation.[10] It has been used in biblical scholarship in order to explain problem related policy, such as restructuring of the tax base in the period of the United Monarchy.

The groundbreaking work on the cross-cultural models done thus far is crucial for the advance to postulational and analytical models with regard to prophetic studies. The cross-cultural models which outline the social institution of prophecy in general, but more specifically in the eighth century, are foundational for postulational and analytical

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[4]R. Culley, "Anthropology and Old Testament Studies," Semeia 21 *Anthropological Perspectives on Old Testament Prophecy* 1981, 2.

[5]See A. W. Gouldner, *The Two Marxisms* (New York: Seabury, 1980).

[6]T. F. Carney, *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity*, (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado, 1975) 8.

[7]Carney, *Shape of the Past* 7.

[8]Carney, *Shape of the Past*, xiv.

[9]R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981).

[10]Carney, *Shape of the Past*, xv.

models necessary to answer questions concerning the final form of prophetic works that reflect significant theological if not sociological drift.

Also models function as a validation of the theoretical orientation. Certain problems are more conducive to one social theory but not another. The bias of a certain social theory may be such that it illuminates one body of literature and obscures another. Therefore the validation process of models is crucial. The validation process is the vehicle we use to determine whether the theoretical perspective is suitable to the data.

1.1.3 Functionalism

Functionalism represents probably the most powerful social-theoretical position and force in biblical studies today. The functionalist position in terms of biblical studies can be seen in the work of Frank Moore Cross (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*), Paul Hanson (*Dawn of Apocalyptic*) David Petersen (*The Roles of Israel's Prophets*), and, possibly, in the work of Robert Wilson (*Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*). This should not be surprising. In his classic work *The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology*[11] Alvin Gouldner has argued persuasively that the functionalism of Parsons and to a lesser degree of Merton was forged in the hearth of the rising bureaucratic America. As such, it became part of the academic world of sociologists and, one might add, biblical scholars in the United States. This in no way denigrates the effectiveness of functionalism as a social theory. Nevertheless, the hegemony of any one social theory is not in the best interest of the discipline. In the past the functionalist position has posited that prophecy ended in the Persian period, if not before. Such an interpretation is a natural outgrowth of functionalist social theory.

1.1.3.1 Individual and Group

Seven domain assumptions outline the terrain of this theoretical position. The first assumption has to do with the relationship between the individual and the group. The primacy of the group is a functionalist assumption. Socialization is comparable to individualization in the Parsonian system. As such the individual is an extension of the group.

1.1.3.2 Hermeneutics

The second domain assumption is comparable to what biblical scholars understand as hermeneutics. The question is, what constitutes reality? For the functionalist, formal appearances are real. Under such a rubric passages that propose that prophecy ended are taken at face value.

1.1.3.3 The Nature of Human Action

Functionalism is behaviorist as opposed to mentalist, that is to say it is not preoccupied with mental processes. The accent is on the conscious. Human action equals behavior which is by nature rational. The priority of the collective is maintained. Self-interest remains an incentive to behavior, but the individual is rewarded for promoting the interest of the collective.

1.1.3.4 Integration versus Conflict

Integration is a central issue in functionalist theory. Education, or socialization,

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[11](New York: Basic Books, 1970) 167-69.

helps integrate the individual into the group. For instance in Robert Merton's theory of deviance anomie, which Durkheim understood as the lack of regulation, it is said to be the use of inappropriate means to attain cultural goals. The implication is that the individual is pre-occupied with attaining the goals deemed good or valuable by the society through the behaviors determined as acceptable in the society. The centrality of integration is also evident in Parson's treatment of "functional imperatives" (adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and latent-pattern maintenance) and role allocation.

1.1.3.5 Fluidity and Stability

According to the functionalist the world is basically stable. The later Parsons is able to maintain his position on stability without falling into a system gridlock by adapting a developmental or evolutionary model.[12] Nevertheless this evolution is towards integration.

1.1.3.6 Optimism versus Pessimism

Functionalists are optimistic. "Parsons' approach, like that of the evolutionary anthropologists, is essentially an optimistic one . . ."[13] This is an optimism that the present social order is capable of those adaptations necessary for it to survive.

1.1.3.7 Idealism versus Materialism

Ideas, not material culture, are the currency in the functionalist position. As such, the history of the material culture is always to be understood in terms of the history of ideas, not vice versa.

1.1.4 The End of Prophecy: A Functionalist Perspective

The data are scant. The most notable biblical sources are examined in David Petersen's work on deutero-prophetic literature (Jer 23:34-40; Zech 13:2-6). There is a line in the Psalms (Ps 74:9). 1 Maccabees gives us two views. First that prophecy has ceased and there is no indication that it will arise again (1 Macc 9:27b). Second, prophecy has ceased but there is an expectation that a prophet shall arise to give instructions beyond certain ad hoc procedures with regard to the temple and high priesthood (1 Macc 4:46; 14:41).

As noted above, the hermeneutics of the functionalist approach requires accepting Zech 13 and Jer 23, as well as the 1 Maccabees passages, at their face value, because formal appearances are the basis of reality. The reason that these texts refer to prohibitions of prophecy is because they reflect the end of prophecy and the beginnings of apocalypticism.

Prophecy, as defined in this model (see Cross and Hanson) is an extension of the monarchy, that is to say the centralized government. When the monarchy comes to an end, then the prophecy as an institution must likewise die. Monarchy and prophecy are two institutions of public policy working with a model of checks and balances. After the monarchy ends there is a movement from prophecy to apocalypticism.

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[12] T. Parsons, *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives.*

[13] Wallace & Wolf, *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980) 52.

1.1.5 Conflict/Critical Theory

Each theoretical orientation takes an observation of life and posits that as the core of domain assumptions. The functionalist position is an outgrowth of the understanding of societies using models from organic chemistry or biology, as demonstrated in the work of Emile Durkheim. As such, homeostasis becomes a centerpiece for functionalism as a theoretical orientation.

However, life is more complex than theory. Homeostasis provides a helpful tool in understanding the nature of human societies. Nevertheless, human experience is fraught with conflict and flux. The conflict theorist take this as the central metaphor for the conflict theorist orientation. If a conflict or critical theorist were to use an organismic analogy it would be the white corpuscles that are constantly fighting bacteria and disease.

1.1.5.1 Individual and Group

Conflict theory posits the priority of the group over the individual. Contemporary society merely gives the illusion that the individual takes priority over the interests of a particular group. An example of this can be seen in the work of the Frankfurt School. One of its members Erich Fromm has maintained that the human is a social being. He tried in his work to transform the individual psychoanalysis of Freud to a social psychology.[14]

The result is that two things come to the fore. The conflict theorist understands that role and status assignments are no longer viewed as value neutral as they had been in functionalism. They now are instruments of "interests." Second, in contrast to the work of Parsons social stratification is seen as neither necessary nor good.

1.1.5.2 Hermeneutics

A major difference between functionalism and conflict theory is their respective hermeneutics. The functionalist understands formal appearances as the cornerstone of reality. The Frankfurt School talks about the "culture factory" which produces "false consciousness." As such one would argue that it is the task of educated elites to promote illusions on which the present political and economic order stand. These illusions or ideas are the social fabric of the socio-political and economic system. This leads the conflict theorist to use a "hermeneutic of suspicion." This would also apply to conflict theorists that examine biblical texts.[15]

1.1.5.3 Human Action

The concept of false consciousness compels the conflict theorist to be a mentalist (concerned with mental processes) not a behaviorist. The accent is on bringing matters to consciousness. There is an accent on rationality, but it is redefined. The rationality of functionalism is now defined as "instrumental reason." "Acts and ideas are judged according to their usefulness which is assessed in terms of their consequences for some (variously set) goal or aim."[16] This is not rational because it moves from the assumption that

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[14]D. Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory. Horkheimer to Habermas* (University of California: Berkeley, 1980) 111.

[15]Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory* 77-96; M. Horkheimer & T. W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1972) 120-67.

[16]Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory*, 153.

the human being is somehow separate from the environment and as such can use ideas and nature as pure instrumentalities. Therefore rationality for the critical/conflict theorist is not what one has always seen as rationality. Rationality is mental process moving toward the collective good, not necessarily adaptation as was the case in functionalism.

1.1.5.4 Integration versus Conflict

Conflict, not integration, is a major force for societies, according to the conflict/critical theorists. Integration as defined in the functionalist perspective means adaptation to the present social order and adaptation by that social order sufficient to self-preservation of the order and subsequently the society. The next two domain assumptions will make it clear why integration cannot be the centerpiece for these theorists.

1.1.5.5 Fluidity versus Stability

Here the key issue is perspective. The functionalist looks at a situation and sees stability in the scenario. A critical/conflict theorist looks at the same situation and sees conflict and flux. Both theorists perceive the same situation, but differ in the weight they assign to fluidity or stability. Both are correct in their assessments to some degree.

1.1.5.6 Optimism versus Pessimism

The critical/conflict theorists are pessimistic about the present social order and its adaptability. Even the period which is called the Enlightenment fell far short of its goal. The response of critical theorists Adorno and Horkheimer as they investigated the Enlightenment will give some indication of their pessimism. "It turned out, in fact, that we had set for ourselves nothing less than the discovery of why mankind [sic], instead entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism."[17] The root cause for this state of affairs for the critical theorist/conflict theorist is that the society had been too optimistic about the adaptability of the social order to accommodate a more humane perspective.

1.1.5.7 Idealism versus Materialism

The conflict/critical theorist would argue that this is a fallacious dichotomy. The functionalist theorists would also argue that there is a correspondence between the ideas or symbol system of a society and their material culture. The question is which of these two is most equal? Does the material culture shape the ideas or do the ideas shape the material culture?

1.1.6 End of Prophecy: A Critical/Conflict Perspective

As noted above, the data are scant. It is the lack of data that makes it clear the way in which social theory, usually implicit, has shaped our understanding of the so-called end of prophecy. Nevertheless, it is clear that the end of prophecy looks different from a critical/conflict theorist perspective.

Prophecy is not as bureaucratically defined as it is in the functionalist model. It is, on the contrary a heterogenous collection of seers, visionaries, and mantic wise persons

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[17]Horkheimer & Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* xi.

who attach themselves to elites in the community and legitimize their work through acts of divination. They are somewhat more than pawns in social conflict.

The domain assumption concerning the hermeneutics of suspicion means that the critical/conflict theorist will read literary data (Jer 23, Zech 13, and the material from 1 Macc) in a much different way. Such theorists would argue that the functionalist reading of these texts has taken the revisionist history presented there and allowed it to stand as if it were a disinterested report of the events.

As early as 1972 David L. Petersen has some sense of this as he proposed the reasons for the prohibition of prophecy in Jer 23. "First, the 'false prophecy' problem, as depicted in the oracles and even more in the prose sections of Jeremiah, had not been resolved."[18] There is no reason to repeat the excellent discussion of the historical setting of this passage outlined by Petersen. Second, this represents the transformation of the "false prophecy" rhetoric. Petersen comes close to the truth as he concludes his treatment of this passage: "The purpose of this exegetical piece was to prohibit new oracles in the classical prophetic style; apparently people were improperly claiming to have words from Yahweh."[19]

The point is not that prophets during this period were improperly making use of the divine instruction as per prophetic tradition. A hermeneutics of suspicion would posit that there was a community of religious elites who defined the appropriate task of religious elites not as mantic activity, but rather as midrash. In this passage they define their opponents out of existence. By so doing they consolidate their own power. It is only when we read the biblical or any ancient text naively that it presents a problem.

Zechariah 13:2-6 presents us with a different problem. Unlike the Jeremiah material, there is no connecting link to the discussion of "false prophecy." However, once again we find the Deuteronomic tradition, in particular Deut 13:1-11. Even the discussion of prophecy in the future as evidenced in Joel 3:1-5 and Mal 3:1,23-24 indicate the same polemic quality. Divine revelation for these persons was never in the mantic style.

1.2 Which Perspective

It is not possible for biblical scholars to abdicate responsibility concerning matters of social theory. It is important that we not become doctrinaire about issues of social theory and hermeneutics. Some criteria are helpful. We should check our theory with the assemblage of models as outined above. Also certain genres, and institutions, are illuminated more by one type of social theory than another. Hence two questions should emerge. (1) The cross-cultural, postulational and analytical models as these are related to the discussion of prophecy corroborates which theory the most? (2) The data is understood most completely with which theoretical orientation?

These questions provide a validation process for the selection of a given theoretical orientation. The critical/conflict perspective has demonstrated that it works with the cross-cultural models. Further, it works more completely with the data, inasmuch as the deutero-prophetic material can be more fully understood. The functionalist perspective is to be found in the work of Petersen, implicitly in the work of Cross and Hanson, and de facto in Wilson's approach.[20] Of these Petersen and Wilson explicitly draw the parameters of their work as the prophecy of the monarchal period. As such the root metaphor for the period is stability not fluidity; as such the domain assumption that underlies our perception of the period dictates our social theory. These studies suggest that in a more

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[18]Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy* 28.

[19]Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy* 33.

[20]R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 15f.

or less stable situation the use of functionalist theory with cross cultural and postulational models is effective.

Others, such as Cross and more effectively Hanson, have attempted to outline functionalist perspective. Hanson has brought social conflict into the basically static system and made it developmental functionalism. This interpretation posits periods of stability that are interrupted by moments of conflict that prompt a new stage in the history of religion. The conflict is a crisis in Hanson's system as it moves to a new homeostasis. The system is not a fluid one in a thoroughgoing sense as in critical/conflict theory. Carroll is correct in proposing that Hanson would have been well served to have used more of the conflict theory inherent in Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge than Hanson does seem to draw on.[21]

The work of T. Overholt moves in a different direction and can give significant light on the prophecy of the post-exilic community. His paradigm is to understand prophecy as the interaction of the revelatory experience of a person or persons in relation to some public or community.[22] This represents the perspective of symbolic interactionism rather than functionalism or critical/conflict theory. His definition of prophecy makes it a type of mantic activity which gives a legitimate quality to social behavior of elites or any other public. They therefore become an elite due to this power base. Here we see the connection between prophecy and apocalypticism or more precisely, Jewish millenarianism.[23]

Overholt's position may come from a symbolic interactionist perspective, but it is nevertheless consonant with the perspective of prophecy put forth by the conflict/critical theorists. Further, he has demonstrated through his own cross-cultural analysis that such a position stands up under the cross-cultural model.

The postulational model in a skeleton form has three parts. First mantic activity was part of the symbolic and ritual universe of the Israelite religion at every stage. Second this mantic activity can be represented in at least two forms. (1) There is the revitalistic mantic activity of the prophets. (2) There are also the revitalistic millenarian groups that made use of mantic wisdom. However, somewhere in the post-exilic community a scribal religious elite made effective moves to neutralize mantic wisdom as tool for political or religious sanction.

If one uses a hermeneutic of suspicion as is part of conflict/critical theory then this is evident. Persons operating from a functionalist perspective take passages like Jer 23 and Zech 13 at face value. Further, they are using a root metaphor that has skewed their perception. The use of a linear paradigm has been the problem. Apocalypticism or millenarianism does not grow out of prophecy, thus displacing it; rather, they both grow out of mantic activity. Mantic legitimation and scribal legitimation provided theological support for public policy.

A conflict/critical perspective understands the passages used to buttress the end of prophecy position as originating from a group using primarily scribal authority. The scribal group viewed the mantic groups as presenting a religious and political threat. The

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[21]R. P. Carroll, "Dawn of Apocalyptic or Twilight of Prophecy," *JSOT* 14 (1979) 3-35; R. R. Wilson, "From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Reflections on the Shape of Israelite Religion," Semeia 21 *Anthropological Perspectives on Old Testament Prophecy* 1981, 79-95.

[22]T. W. Overholt, "Prophecy: The Problem of Cross-Cultural Comparison," Semeia 21 *Anthropological Perspectives on Old Testament Prophecy* 1981, 55-78.

[23]See H. P. Muller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," *Congress Volume: Uppsala, 1971* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 268-91.

prophetic conflict rhetoric was recast in a new way, one which said prophecy was dead. Further, as a conflict/critical theorist one would maintain that as historians we cannot afford to be duped by the rhetoric of one elite attacking another.[24]

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