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Introductory Note

The papers in this volume were prepared for discussion at the One Hundred Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, convened at The New Orleans Marriott and The Sheraton New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana, 17–20 November 1990. The papers 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 The HK Scriptorium for the 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.

David J. Lull
Executive Director

The End of Q

Harry Fleddermann
Alverno College

Twenty years ago Ernst Bammel suggested that the end of Q, the Throne Saying (Q 22:28, '0), holds the key to the genre of Q. Bammel considered Q a testament because it ends with a promise to the disciples similar to the promises that fall at the end of testaments.[1] Although Bammel did not succeed in convincing anyone that Q is a testament, he did draw attention to the end of the document. The end of any literary work sheds light back over the whole text, and some endings rock the reader with intense dramatic power. Joyce brings *Ulysses* to a close with Molly's life-affirming Yes, and Mark ends his mysterious gospel with the enigmatic, "for they were afraid" (Mark 16:8). Anyone interested in Q should pay close attention to the end of Q.

I. The Reconstruction

Matthew and Luke place the Throne Saying in different contexts. Matthew takes over the Rich Young Man from Mark in Matt 19:16-22 (compare Mark 10:17-22), and like Mark he appends the conversation about riches to the pericope (compare Matt 19:23-30 with Mark 10:23-31), incorporating the Throne Saying in the middle of this dialogue (Matt 19:28). Luke on the other hand works the Throne Saying into Jesus' promise to the disciples at the last supper (Luke 22:28-30). As we shall see, the different contexts have strongly influenced the evangelists' redaction of the passage. We begin by comparing the two texts.

	Matt 19:28	Luke 22:28-30	
28	ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι		
	ὑμεῖς οἱ	ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε οἱ	28
	ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι	διαμεμενηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ	
		ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου·	
		κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς	29
		διέθετό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου	
		βασιλείαν, ἵνα ἔσθητε καὶ	30
		πίνητε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου	

[1] E. Bammel, "Das Ende von Q," *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. O. Böcher & K. Haacker; Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1970) 39-50.

ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ,	ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου,
ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ,	
καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς	καὶ καθήσεσθε
ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους	ἐπὶ θρόνων
κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς	τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς κρίνοντες
τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.	τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Fitzmyer claims that Luke dropped the introductory ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, but it is much more probable that Matthew picked up the phrase from Mark 10:29.[2] Although Luke has some aversion to ἀμήν, he never drops the whole phrase ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν. Mark uses ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν (σοι) thirteen times.[3] Luke has parallels to seven of these Marcan texts.[4] He takes over the ἀμήν-phrase three times (Luke 18:17, 29; 21:23); he changes ἀμήν to ἀληθῶς twice (Luke 9:27; 21:3); and twice he drops the word ἀμήν alone (Luke 22:18, 34). He never eliminates the whole phrase.[5] It is much more probable that Matthew added the phrase. Matthew introduces ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν into his sources in 19:23 (compare Mark 10:23) and 24:2 (compare Mark 13:2).[6] Furthermore, Matthew likes to conflate Q and Mark. In redacting the discussion about riches, Matthew wants to add a Q promise, the Throne Saying, to the Marcan promise of a hundredfold reward (Mark 10:29). He inserts the Q saying after Mark's introductory ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, adding ὅτι to separate ὑμεῖς from ὑμῖν (Matt 19:28). After the Q insertion he begins the Marcan promise with καὶ πᾶς ὅστις (Matt 19:29).[7] So Luke did not drop ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν; Matthew took it over from Mark 10:29.[8]

Luke's δέ is also redactional. Luke adds the Q saying after the conversation about who is greatest (Luke 22:24-27). This section ends with Jesus' saying, "But I am among you as one who serves" (Luke 22:27b). After the "I" of Jesus' saying the "you" of the Q saying marks a new beginning which Luke signals by adding δέ.

Matthew and Luke agree in using ὑμεῖς and the article οἱ and in referring to Jesus with the first personal pronoun (Matthew: μοι; Luke: μετ' ἐμοῦ). They both also have a participle but differ in how they use it. Matthew's participle simply modifies the subject "you," but Luke forms an independent clause by adding the verb ἐστέ. The clause strongly echoes Luke's style: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε οἱ διαμεμενηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου. The expression διαμεμενηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ reflects two aspects

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[2] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke* (2 vols.; AB 28 & 28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981, 1985) 2. 1413.

[3] Mark 3:28; 8:12; 9:1, 41; 10:15, 29; 11:23; 12:43; 13:30; 14:9, 18, 25, 30.

[4] Luke 9:27; 18:17, 29; 21:3, 23; 22:18, 34.

[5] See H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1920) 157-158.

[6] J. Dupont, "Le logion des douze trônes (Mt 19,28; Lc 22,28-30)," *Biblica* 45 (1964) 355-392, esp. p. 361 n. 2.

[7] For πᾶς ὅστις in Matthew, see Matt 7:24; 10:32.

[8] See further F. Neirynck, "Recent Developments in the Study of Q," *Logia—Les paroles de Jésus—The Sayings of Jesus* (ed. J. Delobel; BETL 59; Louvain: Peeters/Leuven University, 1982) 29-75, esp. p. 58.

of Luke's style. First, Luke is fond of μένω and its compounds.[9] Second, Luke likes compounds formed with διά. According to Jeremias Luke uses over sixty different verbs that are compounded with διά, and he is responsible for well over half of the total occurrences of these verbs in the NT.[10] The plural πειρασμοῖς is also Lucan. Luke uses the noun six times in the gospel, four times redactionally, and the plural occurs in Acts 20:19 (καὶ πειρασμῶν τῶν συμβάντων μοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).[11] So Luke's clause is mostly redactional. Luke had to alter the original construction because he added the sentence about Jesus conferring the kingdom on the disciples (Luke 22:29). This sentence has no parallel in Matthew, and we shall see that it reflects Luke's redactional concerns. To make room for it Luke turned Q's original participle into an independent clause.

Although Luke clearly altered the beginning of the saying, Dupont cautions against too easily accepting Matthew's participial phrase as original. He argues that Matthew likes to use ἀκολουθέω, and he could have introduced it here.[12] Luz includes ἀκολουθέω in his list of Matthew's characteristic vocabulary, and he points out that Matthew uses it six times in Matt 19:2–20:34.[13] Gundry suggests that Matthew assimilates the participle to Peter's statement in the preceding verse: "See, we have left all things and followed you" (Matt 19:27).[14] Matthew certainly intends to draw attention to the verb "follow," but it could be that the "follow" in v. 27 led Matthew to introduce the Q passage which already contained the verb. Something like ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι must have stood in Q because Luke's διαμεμενηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ expresses more or less the same idea. Furthermore, Matthew's use of ἀκολουθέω should not cause us to overlook its importance in Q. The verb is certainly attested three times in Q (Q 7:9; 9:57, 59), and it should be restored in Q 14:27.[15] The first passage (Q 7:9) is not particularly significant, but in the other three passages (Q 9:57, 59; 14:27) we find the radical demands of discipleship associated

[9] For compounds with μένω, compare διαμένω (Luke 1:22; 22:28); ἐμμένω (Acts 14:22; 28:30); ἐπιμένω (Acts 10:48; 12:16; 21:4, 10; 28:12, 14); καταμένω (Acts 1:13); περιμένω (Acts 1:4); προσμένω (Acts 11:23; 13:43; 18:18); ὑπομένω (Luke 2:43; Acts 17:14). See J. Dupont, "Le logion des douze trônes," 363 n. 2; J. Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums* (MeyerK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 100 n. 49.

[10] J. Jeremias, *Sprache*, 70-71. See also J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (4 vols.; vols. 3 & 4 by N. Turner; Edinburgh: Clark, 1906, 1929, 1963, 1976) 2. 300.

[11] Luke uses πειρασμός in Luke 4:13; 8:13; 11:4; 22:28, 40, 46. It is redactional in Luke 4:13; 8:13; 22:40 as well as in the present verse. See J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1909) 21.

[12] Matthew uses ἀκολουθέω redactionally in Matt 4:22; 8:1, 23; 9:27; 14:13; 19:2; 20:29. See J. Dupont, "Le logion des douze trônes," 362.

[13] Matt 19:2, 21, 27, 28; 20:29, 34. See U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) 54.

[14] R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 392.

[15] See H. Fleddermann, "The Cross and Discipleship in Q," *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. D. J. Lull; SBLSPS 27; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988) 472-482, esp. pp. 478-479.

with the verb, and in three of the passages (Q 7:9; 9:57, 59) it occurs with the dative. As we shall see, the end of Q balances the radical demands of discipleship with the radical reward of the Throne Saying, and the verb "follow" forges a link between the passages. So Matthew reproduces the Q participial phrase, ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι, which began the saying.

Luke recast the beginning of the saying to prepare for his statement on the kingdom: "And I confer on you a kingdom such as my Father has conferred on me that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom . . ." (Luke 22:29-30a). We can claim very little of this sentence for Q; it stems mostly from Luke who inserts it to anchor the Throne Saying in the context of the supper. Although Luke creates an abrupt shift from the present subjunctive (ἔσθητε καὶ πίνητε) to the future indicative (καθήσεσθε), he succeeds in connecting the Throne Saying to the meal.[16] The verb διατίθεμαι picks up the reference to the covenant (διαθήκη) in the cup saying (Luke 22:20), and the words "eat," "drink," and "table" in the purpose clause all develop the meal setting (compare Luke 22:21, 15-18).[17] Luke is the only gospel writer to use διατίθεμαι, and the motif of eating in the kingdom occurs in the redactional introduction to the parable of the Great Supper (Luke 14:15).[18] Besides the vocabulary, the thought is also Lucan. Luke formulated a similar sentence earlier in his gospel, "Do not fear, little flock, for it has pleased your Father to give you the kingdom" (Luke 12:32).

Dupont eliminates the entire sentence on conferring the kingdom (Luke 22:29-30a) as an independent logion, but his knife cuts too deeply.[19] Luke's phrase ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου corresponds to Matthew's ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ and shows that Q had a prepositional phrase at this point in the saying. But even here both Matthew and Luke have been at work. Although παλιγγενεσία occurs only here in the gospels, the word combines two important terms of Matthew—πάλιν and γένεσις.' Matthew's use of πάλιν is somewhat confusing. Turner points out that Matthew frequently omits πάλιν in his editing of Mark, and Luz lists the adverb with words that recede in Matthew.[20] But Matthew only rejects Mark's imprecise use of πάλιν; about half the time Matthew uses πάλιν he introduces it himself.[21] Although Matthew only uses γένεσις twice (Matt 1:1, 18), it appears significantly in the title

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[16] Dupont emphasizes how awkward Luke's transition is. See J. Dupont, "Le logion des douze trônes," 360.

[17] See J. Schmid, *Matthäus und Lukas: Eine Untersuchung des Verhältnisses ihrer Evangelien* (Biblische Studien 23/2-4; Freiburg im B.: Herder, 1930) 310; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2.1419.

[18] Outside the last supper pericope Luke uses the verb διατίθεμαι in Acts 3:25 and the noun διαθήκη in Luke 1:72 and Acts 3:25; 7:8. The combination of the noun and verb in Acts 3:25 is a particularly close parallel. See J. Dupont, "Le logion des douze trônes," 360 n. 5.

[19] J. Dupont, "Le logion des douze trônes," 359-361.

[20] Mark uses πάλιν 28 times, but Matthew only takes it over five times (Matt 19:24; 21:36; 26:42, 43; 26:72). See C. H. Turner, "Marcan Usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel: IX. Lexical Notes," *JTS* 29 (1927-1928) 275-289, esp. pp. 283-287; U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 72.

[21] Matthew uses πάλιν 17 times and at least eight times he introduces it himself (Matt 5:33; 13:45, 47; 18:19; 22:1; 26:44 *bis*; 27:50).

of his book.[22] Furthermore, the compound word παλιγγενεσία fits smoothly into Matthew's redaction, for Matthew likes to vary the terms he uses for the eschaton, and he frequently uses the concept of entering into life.[23] Matthew introduced "rebirth" or "regeneration" into the Throne Saying because it fit the context where he placed the saying. The rich young man asks Jesus, "What must I do to have eternal life?" (Matt 19:16).[24] Later on in the conversation Jesus promises the disciples that they will "inherit eternal life" (Matt 19:29). The word "rebirth" or "regeneration" fits perfectly into this context of having or inheriting eternal life.

Luke found ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ in Q, but he probably replaced an original τοῦ θεοῦ with μου to bring the phrase into line with the other first person phrases in the context.[25] Luke also refers to Jesus' kingdom in his passion narrative where one of the criminals crucified with Jesus asks, "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom" (Luke 23:42).[26] Q usually uses the term ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ to refer to the kingdom (Q 6:20; 7:28; 10:9; 11:20; 13:18, 20, 29; 16:16).[27] The three exceptions occur in places where the full expression would not work. First, the Lord's Prayer contains the petition "Your kingdom come" (Q 11:2), since the prayer addresses the Father directly. Second, the pericope on Anxiety about Earthly Things ends with the saying "But seek first his kingdom and all these things will be added to you" (Q 12:31). Q uses the expression "his kingdom" instead of "the kingdom of God" because the previous verse has just referred to God as "your Father" (Q 12:30). Finally, in the Saying on Places in the Kingdom the phrase "the sons of the kingdom" occurs together with the full phrase "the kingdom of God" (Q 13:28-29). So Luke's "in my kingdom" replaces Q's original "in the kingdom of God."

Matthew's temporal clause ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ echoes several Matthean passages. The closest parallel begins the last judgment scene in Matthew: ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ . . .

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[22] See R. H. Gundry, *Matthew*, 392.

[23] Besides "the kingdom of heaven" and "the kingdom of God" Matthew uses several different terms for the eschaton: ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων (Matt 12:32); ἡ ἡμέρα κρίσεως (Matt 10:15; 11:22, 24; 12:36); ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη [αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι] (Matt 7:22; 24:19, 22 *bis*, 29, 36; 26:29); ἡ κρίσις (Matt 5:21, 22; 12:41, 42; 23:33); ἡ παρουσία (Matt 24:3, 27, 37, 39); ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος (Matt 13:39, 40, 49; 24:3; 28:20); τὸ τέλος (Matt 10:22; 24:6, 13, 14). Matthew speaks of entering life in Matt 18:8-9; 19:16-17, 29 (see also Matt 7:14 and 25:46).

[24] Compare also Jesus' answer, "If you want to enter into life, keep the commandments" (Matt 19:17b).

[25] Luke uses the first personal pronoun eight times in Luke 22:27-30: ἐγώ (v. 27b); μετ' ἐμοῦ . . . μου (v. 28); κἀγώ . . . μοι . . . μου (v. 29); μου . . . μου (v. 30). See J. Guillet, "Luc 22,29: Une formule johannique dans l'évangile de Luc?," *RSR* 69 (1981) 113-122, esp. pp. 119-120.

[26] Luke also develops the theme of Jesus' kingship in Luke 1:32-33; 19:12-27, 28-44. See A. George, "La royauté de Jésus selon l'évangile de Luc," *ScEccl* 14 (1962) 57-69.

[27] Matthew's form of these Q passages frequently has "the kingdom of heaven," but in these cases Luke preserves the Q expression "the kingdom of God." See H. Fleddermann, "The Mustard Seed and the Leaven in Q, the Synoptics, and Thomas," *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (ed. D. J. Lull; SBLSPS 28; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989) 216-236, esp. p. 221 n. 25.

καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ (Matt 25:31).[28] By introducing the temporal clause into the Throne Saying Matthew creates a certain tension between the "me" of the Q saying and "the Son of Man." This tension, though, is typical of Matthew's use of the Son of Man title.[29] The temporal clause, then, clearly comes from Matthew.

Since both Matthew and Luke have introduced additional clauses into the Q Throne Saying, they both have to retouch the original saying to make smooth transitions. Because Matthew introduced the Son of Man in his temporal clause, he adds καὶ ὑμεῖς after the main verb καθήσεσθε. Since Luke introduced two independent clauses in vv. 28 and 29, he adds a καί before καθήσεσθε.

Matthew and Luke differ in formulating the throne phrase. Matthew has ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους, Luke ἐπὶ θρόνων. Gundry claims that Matthew assimilated the Q phrase to δώδεκα φυλάς, so both the "twelve" and the accusative go back to Matthew.[30] We should, though, examine the number and the case separately before deciding. Matthew's accusative ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους stands in a certain tension with ἐπὶ θρόνου in the temporal clause. Luke's genitive ἐπὶ θρόνων reflects a more refined Greek style, and it corresponds to the genitive in the preceding clause (ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου). Following this line of reasoning we might conclude that Luke changed the case. However, Matthew is very free in his use of cases with ἐπί, and he likes to alter them for variety. We can see this tendency most clearly in Matthew's redaction of the Walking on the Water (Matt 14:22-33). Matthew first changes a Marcan genitive to an accusative (ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, v. 25), but then in the next verse he uses the genitive (ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, v. 26).[31] So Luke's genitive is probably original; Matthew altered the case for variety. According to Fitzmyer Luke omitted the number "twelve" before the word "thrones" because he did not want to include Judas in the promise.[32] But three considerations prove that Matthew added the word. First, Matthew uses numbers quite freely. Although he occasionally omits numbers from his sources, he more frequently adds them. Matthew's use of "two" is illustrative—he introduces it twelve times into his sources.[33] Second, he repeats numbers he finds in his sources. For example, Mark states that Jesus was tempted for forty days (Mark 1:13); Matthew expands the phrase to "forty days and forty nights" (Matt 4:2).[34] Third, Matthew identifies the disciples and the twelve. He refers three times to the "twelve disciples" (Matt 10:1; 11:1; 20:17) and once to the "twelve apostles" (Matt 10:2).[35] For Matthew there could be only "twelve thrones." Matthew

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[28] See also Matt 16:27; 24:30.

[29] Matthew justaposes "I" and "the Son of Man" in Peter's Confession (Matt 16:13, 15). Compare also Matt 5:11 with Luke 6:22 and Matt 10:32-33 with Luke 12:8-9. See H. Fleddermann, "The Q Saying on Confessing and Denying," *Society of Biblical Literature 1987 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; SBLSPS 26; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987) 606-616, esp. p. 610.

[30] R. H. Gundry, *Matthew*, 392-393.

[31] Compare also Matt 25:23: ". . . you have been faithful over a little (ἐπὶ ὀλίγα), I will set you over much (ἐπὶ πολλῶν)."

[32] J. A. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2. 1419; see also J. Guillet, "Luc 22,29," 118.

[33] Matt 4:18, 21; 5:41; 8:28; 9:27; 20:21, 24, 30; 22:40; 26:37, 60; 27:21.

[34] Note also the repetition of "two" (Matt 4:18, 21), "twelve" (Matt 10:1, 5), "three" (Matt 12:40), and "two . . . or three" (Matt 18:16, 20).

[35] See also the "eleven disciples" (Matt 28:16). See G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (2d ed.; FRLANT 82;

therefore had several reasons to add "twelve." So both the number "twelve" and the accusative go back to Matthew. The Q phrase was ἐπὶ θρόνων.

Finally, Matthew preserves the Q word order of the final participial phrase. Luke regularly moves stressed words forward for emphasis.[36] We can now draw these conclusions together by printing the reconstructed text:

The Throne Saying (Q 22:28, 30)

28 ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι
30 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήσεσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων
κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

II. The Interpretation

The Throne Saying draws Q's treatment of discipleship to a close with a promise of reward: "You who have followed me will sit on thrones in the kingdom of God, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Q 22:28, 30). The initial phrase, "you who have followed me" draws the disciples and Jesus together with a participle that defines the relationship between them. The strongly emphasized initial "you" is balanced by the final "me." The basis for the reward is discipleship, following Jesus with all that that entails. The initial "you" also corresponds to the final word of the saying, "Israel." The saying sets the disciples, who will exercise authority, over against Israel, who will be subject to their authority.[37]

The interpretation of the passage hinges to a great extent on the meaning of κρίνοντες. Some scholars claim that, instead of translating it "judging" as I have done, we should translate it "ruling," "governing," or even "saving." This usage, derived ultimately from the Hebrew *šāpaṭ*, occurs in several passages in the Septuagint.[38] Ps 2:10 and *Pss. Sol.* 17:26 provide the closest parallels. Ps 2:10 addresses the kings of the earth:

> And now, kings, understand;
> be instructed, all you who rule (οἱ κρίνοντες) the earth.

Referring to the end-time king, *Pss. Sol.* 17:26 states:

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 191; S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) 112; G. Schmahl, *Die Zwölf im Markusevangelium: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Trier Theologische Studien 30; Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1974) 146-147.

[36] See Luke 24:7; Acts 1:2, 10; 3:19; 4:33; 5:13; 7:35; 9:14; 12:25; 16:14; 19:4, 20. See E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 139 n. 3.

[37] See D. Zeller, *Kommentar zur Logienquelle* (Stuttgarter Kleiner Kommentar, Neues Testament 21; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984) 88-89.

[38] Judg 3:10; 4:4; 1 Kgdms 4:18; 4 Kgdms 15:5; Ps 2:10; 1 Macc 9:73; Dan 9:12; *Pss. Sol.* 17:26, 29. See F. Büchsel and V. Herntrich, "κρίνω," *TDNT* 3. 921-954, esp. p. 923; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 2. 1419; R. A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987) 201-207.

> And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
> And he shall rule the tribes (κρινεῖ φυλάς) of a people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.

Ps 2:10 describes the rulers with the plural participle, and *Pss. Sol.* 17:26 has "tribes" as the object of the verb. These parallels are striking, and they appear to settle the matter, but we need to examine the usage of both the NT and Q before deciding. Although the NT uses κρίνω over a hundred times, the verb does not mean "rule" in any other passage.

In the NT κρίνω means "judge," and Q reflects this normal usage. Besides the Throne Saying the verb appears three times in Q, all in the Sermon (Q 6:29, 37 *bis*). In Q 6:29 the verb does not appear in Luke, but it should be restored from Matt 5:40: "And to one who wishes to go to court (κριθῆναι) with you and to take away your shirt, let him have your cloak also." And in Q 6:37 we read, "And do not judge (μὴ κρίνετε) and you will not be judged (οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε)." Q follows the normal NT usage of κρίνω, "judge."[39]

As we have seen, we should probably reject the meaning of "ruling" for κρίνοντες on purely linguistic grounds. But the translation "ruling" would also create insuperable exegetical problems, for it would involve understanding Israel in a positive sense—the disciples would rule over a reconstituted Israel. However, nothing in Q prepares us for this. Q opens with John castigating Israel for relying on religious privilege (Q 3:7-9). Q stresses that the gentiles show more faith than Israel (Q 7:9; 10:13-15; 11:31-32), and in Q Jesus attacks the leaders of Israel for perpetuating the crimes of their ancestors (Q 11:47-51). Many will come from the east and the west and recline in the kingdom of God, but the sons of the kingdom will be cast outside (Q 13:28-29). And Jesus laments over Jerusalem because the city rejected him (Q 13:34-35). Q would make impossible demands on its readers if they had to understand Israel as a positive term in Q 22:30 after the negative portrayal up to this point. If we must reject Israel as a positive term in Q 22:30, then we have an additional reason to prefer the traditional meaning of "judging" for κρίνοντες.

Three important Q themes come together in the Throne Saying. First, Q portrays Jesus as the end-time judge. Jesus will save those who have been faithful, but he will condemn those who have opposed God's work in establishing the kingdom. Second, Q consistently identifies the disciples with Jesus' life and work. Third, the end time brings an eschatological reversal—the conditions that prevail in this world will be overturned in the eschaton. I will summarize each of the themes and show how they come together in the Throne Saying.

First, Q portrays Jesus as the end-time judge. Q introduces Jesus as the end-time judge in John's Preaching (Q 3:7-9; 16-17)

> John said:
> "Brood of vipers,
> who has shown you to flee from the coming wrath?
> Produce fruit worthy of repentence
> and do not presume to say to yourselves,

[39] Besides the verb Q also uses two related nouns, both with judicial meanings. "Judge" (κριτής) appears in Q 11:19; 12:58 *bis*, and "judgment" (κρίσις) in Q 10:14; 11:31, 32, 42.

'We have Abraham as a father,'
for I say to you,
'God is able to raise up children to Abraham from these stones.'
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.
I baptize you in water,
but the one coming after me is stronger than me,
the strap of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie;
he will baptize you in the Holy Spirit and in fire;
whose winnowing fan is in his hand
and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor
and he will gather the wheat into his barn,
but the chaff he will burn in unquenchable fire."[40]

John announces both the future judgment and the coming one who will render judgment. He directs the judgment proclamation to Israel as the reference to Abraham shows. Although both a favorable outcome as well as an unfavorable one comes into focus, the emphasis falls on judgment as condemnation as the end of the proclamation makes clear. From the beginning of Q Jesus plays the role of the end-time judge. Jesus fills this role also in the Saying on Confessing and Denying (Q 12:8-9):

Everyone who confesses me before men,
the Son of Man will also confess him before the angels;
but whoever denies me before men,
the Son of Man will also deny him before the angels.

When applied to the Son of Man "confess" and "deny" are probably metaphors for the saving and destroying, rewarding and punishing, action of the Son of Man in the end time.[41] This is clearly the function of Jesus in the Householder and the Servant Left in Charge (Q 12:39-40, 42b-46). In the Servant Left in Charge the returning Lord will reward the faithful servant (Q 12:44), but he will severely punish a servant who has abused his office (Q 12:45-46). The Householder identifies the returning Lord as the Son of Man (Q 12:40). In the section on Reception and Rejection in the Kingdom (Q 13:24-30) Jesus tells the evildoers, "Depart from me all you who work lawlessness" (Q 13:27). In the Eschatological Discourse judgment will take place on "the day of the Son of Man" (Q 17:24, 26, 30). And when the master returns in the Pounds, he settles accounts with his servants (Q 19:12-27). So Q consistently portrays Jesus as the end-time judge.

Second, Q identifies the disciples closely with Jesus. The disciple must be homeless just as Jesus is (Q 9:57-58). The disciple will suffer persecution as Jesus did (Q

[40] For a reconstruction of the passage see 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; SBLSPS 23; Chico: Scholars, 1984) 377-384; idem, "The Beginning of Q," *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; SBLSPS 24; Atlanta, Scholars, 1985) 153-159.

[41] For the reconstruction and interpretation of this saying see H. Fleddermann, "The Q Saying on Confessing and Denying," 606-616.

6:22-23), and the disciple must bear the cross like Jesus (Q 14:27). Q explicitly states that the disciple must be like the teacher (Q 6:40), and the disciples are associated with the mission of Jesus, especially in the Mission Discourse: "The one who receives you receives me, and the one who receives me receives the one who sent me" (Q 10:16).[42]

Third, Q portrays the eschaton as a time of reversal. The poor will receive the kingdom, the hungry will be filled, the mourners will be consoled, the persecuted will be rewarded (Q 6:20-23). What is hidden will be revealed (Q 12:2); the homeless will be sheltered (compare Q 9:57-58 with Q 13:18-19); the tiny, hidden kingdom will reach magnificent proportions (Q 13:18-21). The end time reverses the conditions of the present.

The judgment theme, the identification of Jesus and the disciples, and the eschatological reversal all come together in the Throne Saying. Before the end time the disciples must not judge (Q 6:37), and they are subject to judgment in the court of their adversaries (Q 12:11-12), but in the end time the disciples will judge the twelve tribes of Israel, sharing in the judging role of Jesus whom they follow as disciples.

The Throne Saying caps the final three pericopes in Q—the Eschatological Discourse, the Pounds, and the Throne Saying—which center on judgment.[43] The Pounds ends with the general aphorism, "For to the one who has will be given; but to the one who doesn't have, even what he has will be taken from him" (Q 19:26), and the Throne Saying applies this aphorism to the disciples and Israel.

If we look back over Q from the vantage point of the end of Q, several themes and lines of development come more clearly into focus. Q works continuously to clarify the relationships between Jesus, the disciples, and Israel. With the theme of discipleship Q identifies the disciple closely with Jesus both in his present homelessness and suffering and in his eschatological triumph. With the theme of judgment Q sets Jesus against Israel which continuously rejects those sent, from the prophets down to John, Jesus, and the disciples. The Throne Saying clarifies the relationships for the last time and restates the themes.

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[42] J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity 2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 95.

[43] J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 164-165.

Q Bibliography
Supplement I: 1990

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Introduction

This brief listing supplements, and in some cases corrects, the "Q Bibliography: 1981-1989," which appeared in the *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (ed. D. J. Lull; SBLSPS 28; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 23-37. The intention is to complete in 1991 a comprehensive Q bibliography through 1990. Only twenty-eight items are added here; those not yet identified will appear in Supplement II. Users of this supplement may wish to consult the entries under "Q" in the Keyword Index of T. R. W. Longstaff and P. A. Thomas, *The Synoptic Problem: A Bibliography, 1716-1988* (New Gospel Studies 4; Macon: Mercer University Press/Leuven: Peeters, 1988).

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New Testament Abstract Listings To Be Added

Neirynck review of Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels. . . .*: *NTA* 33.1103r
Hoover, "Sayings. . . .": *NTA* 33.1102
Lührmann, "The Gospel of Mark. . . .": *NTA* 33.1104

The Law That "Hangs" (Mt. 22:40): Rabbinic Formulation and Matthean Social World

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In describing the double love commandment as something upon which all the law and the prophets "hangs" (κρέμαται), the First Evangelist was employing, no doubt consciously, a current rabbinic formulation. But just as clearly, Matthew pressed this formulation into the service of an approach to the Torah markedly different from anything found among the Pharisees or rabbis. My purpose in this paper is to examine this contrast in the context of other similar tensions in the Gospel of Matthew, and, drawing on the insights of sociology of knowledge and cognitive dissonance theory, to explore its implications for our understanding of the Gospel.

I. Rabbinic Formulation and Matthean Usage

The Hebrew (תלא/תלה) and Aramaic (תלא) equivalents[1] of κρεμάννυμι ("to hang," either literally or figuratively) are used several times in rabbinic literature in a manner formally similar to Matthew's use of the term in 22:40. That is, in each case a relationship is posited between some aspect of the Torah (oral or written) and a verse of the written Torah, in which the former is said to "hang" or depend on the latter. The closest parallel to the Matthean usage is found in *b. Ber.* 63a, where Bar Qappara asks:

> What is the smallest portion of scripture from which all essential regulations (נוֹפֵי) of the Torah hang (תְּלוּיִין)? "In all your ways acknowledge him, and he will direct your paths" (Prov. 3:6).

Here, as in Mt. 22:40, the concern is to identify a verse which sums up or somehow includes the whole of the Torah. In a separate rabbinic tradition, the literal sense of the verb is highlighted within the context of the same figurative usage:

> The rules about release from vows hover in the air and have naught to support them; the rules about the Sabbath, Festal-offerings, and Sacrilege are as mountains hanging (הַתְּלוּיִין) by a hair, for teaching of Scripture thereon is scanty and the rules many. (*m. Hag.* 1:8; also *t. Hag.* 1:9; *t.* ʿ*Erub.* 8:23)

[1] κρεμάννυμι is the predominant LXX rendering of תלא/תלה.

While this tradition deals with the oral Torah, the verb is used in the same way: to describe the support provided for a body of *halakah* by a specific text of the written Torah. While the body of dependent material is broader in Matthew ("all the law and the prophets") than in either of these rabbinic traditions, the formal similarity is clear and has been generally recognized.[2]

But not only are the two usages similar; Matt 22:40 almost certainly reflects and depends on the rabbinic formulation.[3] First, Matthew's use of κρεμάννυμι is anomalous and requires some explanation; the word is absent from the Synoptic parallels (Mark 12:28-34; Luke 10:25-28), and, indeed, appears nowhere else in the NT in a figurative sense. In view of the generally Jewish Christian flavor of the Matthean pericope as a whole,[4] a rabbinic explanation of the formulation immediately suggests itself. Secondly, it is probable that the rabbinic formulation predates Matthew's Gospel. At the very least, the formulation is Tannaitic: the second tradition cited above appears in the Mishnah and the Tosepta; the first is attributed to a Tanna, Bar Qappara (admittedly, with dates in the early third century C.E., one of the last of the Tannaim). Further, the tradition cited in *m. Hag.* 1:8 is closely associated with early Tannaitic rabbis,[5] leading scholars to date the tradition to the late first century[6] or even to the period prior to 70 C.E.[7] Moreover, as will be demonstrated in the

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[2] So Str-B I, 907-908; G. Bertram, "κρεμάννυμι," *TDNT*, III, 919-921; G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (London: SCM, 1963), 77; R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium* (2 Aufl.; Munich: Kaiser, 1966), p. 51, n. 91; W. Trilling, *Das wahre Israel* (3 Aufl.; Munich: Kösel, 1964), 173; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974), 20; B. Gerhardsson, "The Hermeneutic Program in Matthew 22:37-40," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians*, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 137; R. H. Fuller, "The Double Commandment of Love: A Test Case for the Criteria of Authenticity," in *Essays on the Love Commandment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 45; S. T. Lachs, *A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1987), 281; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), p. 93, n. 6.

[3] So all of the scholars cited in note 2 above. K. Berger (*Die Gesetzauslegung Jesu. Teil I* [WMANT 40; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972], 227-230) tries to minimize the rabbinic connection, because he feels that Matthew did not understand the double love commandment in a rabbinic way. But this just begs the question that is being raised here.

[4] Semitic features in Matthew's version include: the inversion of verb and subject in v. 35 (cf. Mk. 12:28); the partitive ἐξ (v. 35); the use of the positive μεγάλη for the superlative (v. 36); the use of ἐν rather than ἐξ in v. 37. See Fuller, "The Double Commandment," 44-45.

[5] Including R. Joshua b. Hananiah, a pupil of R. Johanan b. Zakkai, R. Eliezer, R. Isaac, and R. Tarphon; see *b. Hag.* 10a.

[6] Str-B I, 908.

[7] So S. Safrai, *The Literature of the Sages* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, Section Two, Vol. 3; Philadelphia: Fortress, and Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987), 124, 155-156, apparently on the grounds that in *t. Hag.* 1:9 Abba Yose ben Hanin makes a statement concerning the issue of *halakah* with and without Scriptural support.

subsequent discussion, the statement attributed to Bar Qappara is part of a much wider rabbinic tendency to search for brief passages of Scripture that would sum up the whole Torah, a tendency that is at least as early as R. Hillel.[8] In view of the absence of the term from early Christian usage in general and Matthew in particular, the conclusion is quite probable that in describing the whole Torah as "hanging" on the commandments to love God and neighbor, Matthew was deliberately echoing a rabbinic formulation.

But just as clearly, Matthew has used this term in the context of an approach to the Torah strikingly at odds with the assumptions on which this formulation was based. As has already been mentioned, Bar Qappara's statement is part of a wider rabbinic pattern of organizing *halakah* by bringing individual precepts into relationship with more fundamental statements.[9] As in the Bar Qappara example, such a fundamental statement is sometimes described as a גּוּף (lit. "body"; e.g. *m. Hor.* 1.3). More often the term for such statements is כְּלָל ("general, universal"), in contrast to פְּרָט ("particular, individual").[10] A tradition is recorded in several places, for example, in which R. Aqiba and R. Ben Azzai differ as to whether Lev. 19:18 (cf. Mt. 22:39) or Gen 5:1 is a greater כְּלָל in the Torah (*Sipra* on Lev 19:18; *Gen. Rab.* 24.7). Elsewhere, a contemporary of R. Aqiba, R. Eleazar from Modi'im, finds in Exod 15:26 a כְּלָל "in which the whole Torah is contained" (*Mek.* on Exod 15:26). And similar opinions can be expressed without resorting to this quasi-technical terminology, as is the case with R. Hillel's famous dictum:

> Whatever is unpleasant to you, do not do to your neighbor. This is the whole Torah; the rest is its interpretation. (*Šabb.* 31a)[11]

But nowhere in this material is it the case that the "fundamental principle" is seen as replacing or overriding the individual commandments which it sums up. The one is by no means elevated over the other as a principle of interpretation or judgment. R. Aqiba may have rejected the opinion of R. Ishmael that only the כְּלָלִים were given to Moses on Sinai, the rest being communicated to him in the tabernacle (*b. Hag.* 6a). But neither teacher would have held that the former were more binding, or that any fundamental tension between the two could possibly arise.[12] The purpose

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[8] I.e. the tradition cited in *b. Šabb.* 31a, quoted in the following paragraph.

[9] See esp. B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (Lund: Gleerup/Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1961), 136-142; and D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone, 1956), 63-66.

[10] The terms אָב ("father") and תּוֹלְדָה ("descendant") are used in similar ways (e.g. *m. B. Qam.* 1:1; 3:1).

[11] Also *Tanḥ.* 16b: "R. Simlai [c. 250 C.E.] has said: Six hundred and thirteen commandments were spoken to Moses on Sinai; then David came and brought them to eleven [Ps 15:2-5]; Isaiah brought them to six [Isa 33:15]; Micah brought them to three [Mic 6:8]; Amos brought them to two [Amos 5:4]; Habakkuk brought them to one [Hab 2:4]." The same tradition appears in *Midr. Ps.* 17A.25, and *b. Mak.* 24a.

[12] The same can be said of the related rabbinic practice of differentiating between "light" and "heavy" commandments. The general principle ("Be as heedful of a light precept as of a weighty one, for you know not the recompense of reward of each precept;" e.g. *m. 'Abot* 2:1) was defended, e.g., on the grounds that in Deut 22:6-7 and Exod 20:12 the same promise ("that you may prolong your days") is attached to a light (taking a mother bird with her eggs) and a heavy (honoring father and

of such halakic ordering was probably pedagogical, part of a concern to teach pupils "in the shortest way" (דֶּרֶךְ קְצָרָה),[13] to provide basic rules and broad generalizations[14] as an aid to the memorization of more detailed *halakot*. The intention, then, was taxonomic and pedagogical rather than hermeneutical. The operating assumption was that the more detailed regulations could be *derived* from the general statements.[15] On the lips of Bar Qappara, the statement attributed to Jesus in Matt 22:40 would have meant that all the specific commandments in the Torah were in principle deducible from the statements in Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18.

For Matthew, however, the statement on the lips of Jesus ascribes to the double love commandment a much more dynamic and hermeneutical role with respect to the Torah. As papers already presented to the Matthew Group have demonstrated,[16] the question of Matthew's view of the law is a difficult one, and this is not the place to rehearse it in detail. But it is certainly not controversial to say that Matthew does not see the love commandment as a mere *aide-mémoire*, a summary statement from which the rest of the law can be derived, which leaves the individual prescriptions fully in force, and which, therefore, is redundant and disposable once the full list of regulations is mastered.

This is demonstrated first by the inclusion[17] of "the prophets" within the body of material dependent on the love commandment. While it is possible to envisage the (halakic aspects of the) Torah being derived from a summary statement, this is much more difficult to imagine in the case of the prophets. Secondly, it is clear from Matthew's treatment of the themes of law and love[18] in the Gospel as a whole that, from the standpoint of judgment provided by the love commandment, significant aspects of the written Torah have been overshadowed, superceded, or abrogated. Scholars differ over precisely which of the antitheses in Matt 5:21-48 represent abrogations of the written Torah, but there is general agreement that in at least some

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mother) commandment respectively (*p. Qidd.* 1.61b). See also the many other examples cited in Str-B I, 901-905.

[13] *B. Pesaḥ.* 3b. For instructive discussions, see Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 136-148; J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 51.

[14] These could be independently formulated statements, instead of verses of Scripture; see, e.g., *m. Pe'a* 1:4; *m. Šeb.* 7:1; *m. Ma'aś. Š.* 1:1; *m. Šabb.* 7:1.

[15] So Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," 77-78; G. Bornkamm, "Das Doppelgebot der Liebe," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. W. Eltester (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1957), 86; I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (New York: Ktav, 1967 [repr. 1924]), 24; Berger, *Die Gesetzauslegung Jesu*, 229-230; Goulder, *Midrash and Lection*, 20; Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, p. 93, n. 6; Str-B I, 907.

[16] Esp. K. Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law," *SBL Seminar Papers 1988*, 536-554.

[17] Or, more probably, the addition; see below, n. 44.

[18] As redactional study of the First Gospel has clearly demonstrated, throughout the Gospel Matthew brings the concerns of love (5:43-46; 19:19; 24:12; cf. 7:12; 25:31-46) and mercy (9:13; 12:7) into close relationship with the law and its interpretation. See, e.g., V. P. Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament* (Nashville–New York: Abingdon, 1972), 74-84.

of them the letter of the law is set aside.[19] Further, while Matthew softens the pericope dealing with ritual purity (15:1-20) by omitting Mark's editorial comment that Jesus "declared all things clean" (Mark 7:19), he nevertheless includes all the statements of Jesus (esp. v. 11) implying just such a conclusion.[20] Similarly, in 12:1-14 the detailed prescriptions of the Sabbath legislation are to give way to the demands of "mercy" (cf. v. 7) and of "doing good" (v. 12). Also, though it is not usually mentioned in this regard,[21] we can point to 28:18-20 where the disciples are commissioned to teach the Gentiles "all that [Jesus] commanded." On the one hand Matthew presents Jesus as the authoritative teacher whose interpretation of the law is the basis of life in the Kingdom of God (5:17-20); on the other he assumes that Gentiles can be included within the community of disciples with baptism (and submission to Jesus' teaching) as the sole entrance requirement. Unless one is prepared to argue the highly dubious proposition that Matthew assumes all the ritual and cultic aspects of the Torah by which Jews are differentiated from Gentiles to be included within the commandments of Jesus which Gentile disciples were to observe (but cf. 9:13; 12:6-7), the clear implication of the Mission Mandate is that these aspects of the Torah have been set aside.

As Bornkamm has observed, then, Matthew has elevated the love commandment to the position of a canon of interpretation for the Torah as a whole.[22] Whether and to what extent this represents the replacement of the Torah with a *nova lex* is open to discussion.[23] But in any case the relationship between the love commandment and the rest of the Torah in Matthew's view differs from anything in the rabbinic tradition surveyed above. As Hummel has said, while the rabbis were interested in summary statements for pedagogical purposes, Matthew has made this summary statement a norm and source for *halakah*.[24]

This difference between Matthew and the rabbis is generally recognized by scholars who also recognize the rabbinic origin of κρέμαται.[25] Nevertheless,

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[19] See the survey of opinion in Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law," p. 539, n. 21. Scholars generally agree on the inclusion of the third and the fifth antitheses; but cf. Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law," 551-552.

[20] See C. E. Carlston, "The Things that Defile (Mark vii.14) and the Law in Matthew and Mark," *NTS* 15 (1968-69), 88.

[21] But see E. Schweizer, "Observance of the Law and Charismatic Activity in Matthew," *NTS* 16 (1969-70), 215-216.

[22] "Das Doppelgebot der Liebe," 93.

[23] See, e.g., Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," 153-159; M. J. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 99-120; Carlston, "The Things that Defile," p. 80, n. 6; Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law."

[24] *Auseinandersetzung,* 52.

[25] See esp. Bertram, "κρεμάννυμι," 920-921; Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," 77, 103-104; A. Sand, *Das Gesetz und die Propheten* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1974), 192-193; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung,* 51-53; Goulder, *Midrash and Lection,* 20; Gerhardsson, "The Hermeneutic Program in Matthew 22:37-40," 129-150; J. P. Meier, *Matthew* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1980), 257-258. Cf. Berger, *Die Gesetzauslegung Jesu,* 227-230, who rejects the rabbinic parallel on the grounds of the difference between Matthew and the rabbis.

somewhat surprisingly, the question has rarely been raised[26] why Matthew would use such a characteristically rabbinic formulation in such an anti-Pharisaic passage[27] and to such un-rabbinic ends. It is not enough, when the terminological similarity is recognized, simply to declare that whatever the rabbis might have meant by the term, Matthew of course meant something else.[28] For whatever Matthew's intentions, the fact remains that he chose this particular word to express them. The question cannot be so easily brushed aside.

A simple explanation of Matthew's choice might be possible if we knew how he perceived the lawyer's question as a "test."[29] If we knew this, we might then be able to interpret the passage in a manner analogous to the pericope dealing with the question about tribute money (22:15-22), where Jesus uses an ambiguous reply to evade a trap. In such an interpretation, we could understand 22:40 as an innocuous-sounding statement with which the Pharisaic questioner could not take offence without bringing his own program into question, but which nevertheless masked a more radical approach to the Torah on Jesus' part.

But such an explanation is unlikely. In the case of the tribute money, the combination of elements—Pharisees, Herodians, taxes to Caesar—makes the nature of the trap readily apparent to any knowledgeable reader. But this is not the case in 22:34-40, where the question itself, as the rabbinic discussion of "light" and "heavy" commandments[30] demonstrates, was straightforward and innocuous, and where Jesus' answer was not without parallel in Judaism.[31] Suggestions as to the nature of the test have occasionally been made, but these either rest on subtleties not supported by the text,[32] or are otherwise unconvincing.[33] It is more likely that the Evangelist,

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[26] To my knowledge, the one scholar who has addressed the question with any directness is Goulder (*Midrash and Lection*, 20-21); see below, n. 39; n. 41.

[27] As Bornkamm ("Das Doppelgebot der Liebe") and many others have noted, what in Mark is a *Schulgespräch*, with Jesus and the scribe engaging in friendly discussion and mutual commendation, becomes in Matthew an uncompromising *Streitgespräch*, with the question coming as a "test," from a questioner linked by allusion with the enemies of God in Ps 2:2 (see R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* [Grand Rapids:Eerdmans, 1982], 447).

[28] So Bertram, "κρεμάννυμι," 920-921.

[29] The difficulties in specifying the "test" in v. 36 have often been noted; see, e.g., C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels* (2nd ed.; New York: Ktav, 1968 [repr. 1927]), II, 292; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 52; T. van den Ende, "La Loi et les Prophètes. Mt 22, 34-40," *AssSeign* 61 (1972), 18-19.

[30] See above, n. 12.

[31] Nowhere in Judaism is the Torah said to be summed up in these two passages. Nevertheless, there is enough parallel material to show that Jesus' statement would not be out of step with contemporary Jewish trends: the identification by R. Aqiba of Lev 19:18 as a great כְּלָל in the Torah (*Gen. Rab.* 24.7); the twin injunction to love God and one another in *T. Dan* 5.3 and *T. Iss.* 5.2 (if these verses are not Christian in origin); the identification by Philo of duty to God and duty to humankind as the two main headings of the Torah (*De Spec. Leg.* 2.62-63).

[32] E.g. J. B. Stern, "Jesus' Citation of Dt 6,5 and Lv 19,18 in the Light of Jewish Tradition," *CBQ* 28 (1966), 312-316; Meier, *Matthew*, 256-257.

[33] Barth claims to find the key to the testing in the different ways Matthew and the rabbis understand the relationship between the summary statement and the rest

already intending to reshape the Great Commandment pericope in a more anti-Pharisaic direction (in keeping with his redactional tendencies throughout chapters 19-23), found the term (ἐκ)πειράζων in one of his sources[34] and incorporated it into his account because of its confrontational overtones, but without feeling that it was important to specify the nature of the "test." The question raised by Matthew's choice of κρέμαται remains.

II. Tensions in Matthew and the Problem of Interpretation

The problem under consideration is that Matthew has used a rabbinic formulation in the service of an un-rabbinic interpretation of the Torah and in the context of a decidedly anti-Pharisaic passage. To be more precise, the problem is one of accounting for the tensions inherent in a statement about the law which, in *formal* terms, corresponds to a rabbinic viewpoint (the whole law can be derived from the commandment to love God and neighbor), but which, in *substance*, subordinates and qualifies the written Torah in a manner unparalleled in rabbinic tradition.

This, of course, is not the only place in the First Gospel where such a tension breaks through to the surface. As is well known,[35] Matthew as a whole is characterized by the curious juxtaposition of statements which, on the one hand, radically subordinate the letter of the Torah to the authoritative teaching of Jesus, and on the other, would not have been out of place in a rabbinic *Bet Midraš*. On the one hand,

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of the Torah; "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," 77-78. This may explain how Matthew "could make a contention out of" the conversation; but it does not explain how the lawyer's question itself is a test.

[34] Matt 22:34-40 contains several striking agreements with Luke 10:25-28 against Mark: νομικός (v. 35/v. 25), in all probability an original reading, and found nowhere else in Matt; πειράζων (v. 35)/ἐκπειράζων (v. 25); διδάσκαλε (v. 36/v. 25); ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (v. 36/v. 26); ἐν in place of Mark's ἐξ (v. 37/v. 27); the omission of the monotheistic introduction to the Shema (v. 37/v. 27). These similarities, together with the fact that Luke's account is found in a section where he is drawing on Q and L material, have convinced many scholars that Matthew supplemented his Markan source with details from a Q account of the Great Commandment; see, e.g., F. W. Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 158-159; Fuller, "The Double Commandment," 41-45; A. J. Hultgren, "The Double Commandment of Love in Mt. 22:34-40: Its Sources and Compositions," *CBQ* 36 (1974), 373-378.

[35] These and related tensions are sufficiently prominent in Matthew to be taken up in most scholarly discussion of the Gospel; but see esp. G. Bornkamm, "End Expectation and Church in Matthew," *Tradition and Interpretation*, 24-25; Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law*, 99-120; Carlston, "The Things that Defile," M. J. Cook, "Interpreting 'Pro-Jewish' Passages in Matthew," *HUCA* 54 (1983), 135-146; R. Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 7-22; J. P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976); Goulder, *Midrash and Lection;* Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law"; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, "Attitudes to the Law in Matthew's Gospel: A Discussion of Matthew 5:18," *BR* 17 (1972), 19-32; E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM, 1979), 82-107; Schweizer, "Observance of the Law."

as observed already,[36] we encounter the radical approach to the written Torah in the antitheses (5:21-48); in pericopes dealing with the Sabbath (12:1-8, 9-14), purity (15:1-20) and divorce (19:3-9); and in the studied disregard of the ritual requirements of the Torah in the Gentile mission, even though these Gentile converts are to be subject to Jesus' authoritative interpretation of the law (28:18-20). But on the other, in addition to 22:40, we have in 5:17-20 the strong denial that the law, even down to its smallest particulars, is to be abolished (cf. 23:23); and in 23:2-3 the statement of support for the teaching authority of the scribes and Pharisees which, taken at face value, seems to acknowledge the binding nature of even the oral tradition. While this opens up a larger field of investigation than can be carried out here, the use of the rabbinic formulation in 22:40 needs to be seen as an aspect of this broader phenomenon.

As is to be expected, scholarly attempts to explain these tensions within the framework of traditional redaction criticism have appealed, with varying degrees of emphasis, to these factors: the particular theological conceptions of the Evangelist; the constraints involved in using traditional literary material; and the formative influence of the life setting in which the Gospel was written.

(1) *Conceptual Resolution*—This approach places the emphasis on the theology of the Evangelist. In various ways it is argued that the tensions are more apparent than real, that, given the appropriate hermeneutical key, the apparent conflict resolves itself at the level of Matthew's own theological conceptions. Suggs' argument, that Matthew equates Jesus with Wisdom and hence with the Torah, and that therefore any tension between the written Torah and the Torah embodied in Jesus is categorically eliminated, is one example.[37] Likewise, we can mention Meier's attempt to resolve the tension on salvation historical grounds. He argues that the temporal restrictions of 5:18 ("until heaven and earth pass away . . . until all is accomplished") refer to the turning point of the ages accomplished in the death and resurrection of Jesus. Prior to this event, the Mosaic law is fully in force; after, it gives way to the teaching of Jesus. The apparent tension disappears, then, when the problematical statements are assigned to their appropriate period of salvation history.[38]

(2) *Tradition History*—A second line of emphasis accounts for the presence of conflicting material in Matthew by pointing to the Evangelist's dependence on tradition. One approach is to see both strands as traditional, the Evangelist incorporating both of them into his Gospel without fully resolving the conflict between them.[39] More frequently, one or other of the strands is identified as tradition, taken up by the Evangelist out of faithfulness to the past but subordinated to the other strand which represents his own viewpoint. Usually, the traditional material is identified as the

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[36] See above, pp. 17-18.

[37] *Wisdom, Christology and Law,* 99-120.

[38] *Law and History.*

[39] Goulder falls into this category to a certain extent. While he sees Matthew as attempting to interpret the Jesus tradition in a manner consistent with scribal tradition, he feels that on occasion Matthew's commitment to Jesus' teaching as well leads to statements that undercut the scribal approach. The text of Matthew, then, exhibits conflicting convictions about the Torah. See *Midrash and Lection,* 16-21; and below, n. 41. See also the discussion in Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul,* 22.

more rigorous, Pharisaic Christian layer of material, with the accompanying assumption that Matthew is attempting to guide his community through the difficult transition from a more Jewish Christian past to a future outside the boundaries of Judaism.[40] Occasionally, though, this is reversed, with Matthew seen as attempting to bring the radical Jesus of the tradition in line with a more scribal outlook.[41]

(3) *Life Setting*—Finally, there are studies where the life setting in which Matthew is presumed to have written is seen as the key to resolving the tension. For many scholars, the literary tensions in the Gospel mirror social and theological tensions in Matthew's community, with the Gospel being written in an attempt to reconcile divergent groups within the church. In the usual form of this approach, Matthew is seen as waging a battle on two fronts, attempting to strike a balance for his church between the rigorous approach of the Jamnian rabbis, and the casual disregard for the righteous intent of the Torah on the part of Gentile antinomians.[42]

Certainly Matthew's own conceptions, the traditions at his disposal, and the formative influence of the life setting in which he worked will have a part to play in any full accounting of the tensions in 22:34-40. But none of these approaches provide a ready-made answer to the problem posed by the passage. (1) While the Evangelist arguably has a clear perception of the role of the law, no amount of exegetical or conceptual sleight of hand can cause the tensions in 22:34-40 and elsewhere in the Gospel to vanish.[43] (2) Matthew is dependent on tradition, perhaps

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[40] So G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit* (3 Aufl.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); Trilling, *Das wahre Israel;* J. Rohde, *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists* (London: SCM, 1968), 87; Meier, *Law and History;* K. W. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *JBL* 66 (1947), 165-172. Perhaps we could also include here Cook's argument that Matthew's apparently pro-Jewish statements about the law are merely rhetorical, used to set the stage for consistently anti-Jewish offensives; see "Interpreting 'Pro-Jewish' Passages in Matthew"; cf. Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law," 553.

[41] This is essentially Goulder's position, though he feels that conflicting convictions prevent Matthew from carrying this program through completely; see above, n. 39. Bornkamm ("End Expectation," 24-25) and Hummel (*Auseinandersetzung,* 72-74) also tend in this direction.

[42] See Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," esp. 159-164; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung,* 56-57; Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul,* 22; Hamerton-Kelly, "Attitudes to the Law in Matthew's Gospel."

[43] Meier, for example, is on solid ground when he argues for a salvation historical resolution of the tension between the exclusion (10:5-6; 15:24) and the inclusion (2:1-12; 8:11-12; 10:18; 12:21; 24:14) of the Gentiles within the saving benefits of Christ's ministry (*Law and History*). In this case, prior to the shift in salvation history that appears in 28:16-20, the earthly Jesus does restrict his ministry to Israel. But this distinction in practice, necessary for a salvation historical interpretation, finds no parallel in the case of the law. For nowhere in Matthew do we find the earthly Jesus adopting the same "pre-fulfilment" attitude towards the law (i.e. in keeping with 5:18 or 23:2-3) that he does display with respect to the Gentiles. Instead, already throughout his earthly ministry Jesus propounds an attitude towards the Torah which in Meier's view was valid only after the death-resurrection. Meier's solution is neat, but not supported by the text.

even for the statement under examination[44] (v. 40). But the freedom with which he recasts other aspects of the tradition—for example, his portrait of the disciples (cf. 14:33 with Mark 6:51-52, or 16:12 with Mark 8:21)—together with the fact that his redactional stamp appears on both strands of the tradition (e.g. 5:17-20 *and* 21-48) means that more than the constraining influence of tradition needs to be invoked. (3) The more typical redaction critical approach—seeking to explain the Evangelist's work as that of reshaping traditional material in light of his own theological viewpoint in order to address a particular church situation—might seem to offer the most promise, in that it incorporates the other two elements within the interpretative framework provided by the concept of life setting. But before rushing ahead with such an interpretation, it is necessary to recognize that the adequacy of the redaction critical paradigm is being seriously questioned.

Redaction criticism operates on the assumption that a correlation exists between aspects of the text (e.g. thematic emphases; conflicting statements) and aspects of the community to which it was addressed (e.g. pastoral needs; conflicting groups or viewpoints). The assumption is not implausible; but from several directions there is increasing critical opinion that traditional redaction criticism has been too hasty in acting on it. First, from the perspective of literary criticism and narratology, it is felt that redaction critics have allowed the concept of life setting to dominate and distort the process of interpretation, at the expense of the integrity of the text itself. Given a puzzling or prominent feature of the text, the redaction critic's first instincts are to understand it with respect to the *Sitz im Leben*, the world behind the text, rather than with respect to its place and function within the narrative world of the text itself. In the process, the text becomes little more than source material for the real object of interest—the reconstruction of situations and processes lying behind it.[45] At the very least,[46] literary approaches insist that aspects of the text need to be examined thoroughly within the context of the text itself, before the question of the world behind the text is raised.

Sociological approaches call redaction criticism into question from another direction. While in agreement with the goal of interpreting a text within the context of the social situation lying behind it, these approaches tend to believe that the linkage

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[44] As already noted, Matt appears to have been influenced by Mark and Q (see n. 34), and may well have had in addition a more specifically Jewish Christian form of the pericope (see n. 4, and Hultgren, "The Double Commandment"). The awkward placement of καὶ οἱ προφῆται (at the end of the sentence and separated from ὁ νόμος by the verb), and the singular form of the verb (cf. 11:13), suggest that καὶ οἱ προφῆται was added by the Evangelist, presumably to an already existing piece of Jewish Christian tradition.

[45] See, e.g., R. Alter and F. Kermode (eds.), *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 1-6. The editors' criticism of historical scholarship in general is applicable to the case of redaction criticism in particular.

[46] Some literary approaches, of course, strive for a totally a-historical reading, denying the necessity and even the desirability of bringing the world behind the text into the interpretative process at any point. For a helpful combination of redactional and literary approaches, see J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew* (Proclamation Commentaries; 2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

between text and context in traditional Gospel criticism has been made in too crude and rudimentary a fashion. Redaction critics have apparently assumed that the text is a direct reflection of the social situation in which it was produced; that the interpreter can engage in one-to-one mapping between a body of textual details and a community profile; that the situation of the intended readers can be read off directly from the nature of the text itself. Such an approach has led to such questionable historical reconstructions as a group of christological heretics in Mark's community, and a group of antinomians in Matthew's. Attempts like these to forge a direct link between text and life setting can be compared with the attempt to build a bridge by progressively extending planks from one side, with no intervening structure to support them. The requisite civil engineering for the bridge between the Gospels and their social contexts can be provided, it is claimed, by the social sciences, with their theoretical models of how social groups are formed and maintained, and how texts function within the formation and maintenance processes.[47]

As anyone familiar with current scholarship is well aware, the preceding two paragraphs open up areas of methodological discussion too broad and complex to be treated here. In any case, we have not yet seen the emergence of a new paradigm—especially one that combines both literary and sociological methods[48]—to take the place of the old. My intention here is a modest one: to examine the problem posed by Matt 22:40 in the light of social scientific insights, in order to argue that Matthew's text can be seen as a means of maintaining a threatened social world by dealing with a situation of cognitive dissonance. In a sense, then, it is an attempt to do an enhanced and more textured form of redaction criticism. In Johnson's words, "The sociological analysis of the NT is not a fad; it is a better way of doing history."[49]

Human beings live, "not directly or nakedly in nature like the animals,"[50] but within a system of shared assumptions and social structures that make life possible and meaningful—what sociologists of knowledge call a social (or a symbolic) world.[51] Whether the group in question is a partial one, like a club or an institution, or a total society, it exists because its members give their allegiance to the whole shared complex of beliefs and rituals that define the group as a distinct entity. This complex

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[47] For discussions of social scientific models and their use in NT interpretation, see: J. H. Elliott, "Social-Scientific Criticism of the New Testament: More on Methods and Models," *Semeia* 35 (1986), 1-33; L. J. White, "Grid and Group in Matthew's Community: The Righteousness/Honor Code in the Sermon on the Mount," *Semeia* 35 (1986), 61-65; J. G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 1-4; idem, "'Shall We Marry Our Enemies?' Sociology and the New Testament," *Interpretation* 36 (1982), 256-265; L. T. Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 1-18.

[48] For a promising beginning, see Norman R. Peterson, *Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

[49] *The Writings of the New Testament*, 10.

[50] The phrase is Northrop Frye's (*The Great Code* [Toronto: Academic Press, 1982], xviii).

[51] The seminal work in this area has been done by P. L. Berger, the general theory with T. Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), and with specific attention to the role of religion in *The Sacred Canopy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967) and *A Rumor of Angels* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).

universe of meaning is both the product of human agency, given shape by collective human activity directed towards the arrangement of a common life; and an agent in its own right, acting back on its creators by shaping the existence and identity of those who inhabit it. A social world, then, is an attempt to order life by bringing the discrete experiences of human existence within a meaningful framework.

Because of our apparent need for meaning and for meaningful social interaction, socially constructed worlds are both durable and fragile: durable, because the immediate and undesirable alternative is chaos and loss of meaning; and fragile, because in the absence of the continued allegiance and participation of their members, they can collapse. Social worlds, then, require careful maintenance: through continued recitation of the basic stories that provide the group with its sense of identity; through repetition of the various rituals that reinforce this identity; and through various devices—Berger calls them legitimations—whose purpose is to defuse the world-threatening power of those events or experiences that call the reality of the shared universe of meaning into question.

Such a perception of the social basis of knowledge has been fruitfully applied to the study of the New Testament, with early Christian literature seen not merely as a vehicle for the expression of abstract "ideas" or theologies, but as a means by which a specific social group attempted to create and defend a world of meaning that made sense of both its inherited Jewish tradition and its experience of the earthly Jesus and the risen Lord.[52] As a strategic retelling of the community's foundational story, Matthew's Gospel can be understood as such a world-shaping device.[53] Of particular interest for early Christianity in general and Matthew in particular is the concept of legitimation. Unlike some stable and isolated societies, the plausibility of the early Christian universe of meaning required careful defence. Not only did the church have to compete as a minority with other powerful and attractive social systems. In addition, insofar as it believed that "what God promised to the fathers this he has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus" (Acts 13:32-33), it understood itself to be in continuity with the social world of Judaism, what Judaism would be if it were true to itself. The problem posed for early Christian self-understanding, then, was that of a certain disjunction between its foundational belief—in Jesus God was fulfilling for Israel the long awaited promise of salvation—and its present experience, which did not conform to the expected shape of the promised salvation. The phenomenon of disjunction between expectation and experience has been suggestively analysed in the theory of cognitive dissonance as developed by Leon Festinger.

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[52] The relevant literature is rapidly growing, and need not be detailed here. But see esp. Gager, *Kingdom and Community;* W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); H. C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980); A. F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

[53] As Peterson has suggested, it is this concept of "world construction" that can provide the link between literary and sociological approaches to the Gospels; see *Rediscovering Paul,* p. ix. Literary theorists approach narratives as closed worlds of meaning, intelligible in their own terms (see, e.g., S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978], esp. 15-42), and the Gospels have been studied fruitfully from this perspective (e.g. D. Rhoads and D. Michie, *Mark as Story* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982]; J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* [2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988]).

Before returning to Matt 22:40, it will be useful to describe this theory briefly.[54]

Cognitive dissonance developed as a theory of social psychology rather than in connection with the sociology of knowledge, and it has concerned itself with a broader range of disjunctions than just those of a social-world-threatening nature. Nevertheless, it has particular heuristic applicability to disjunctions of this more fundamental sort. Festinger defines cognitions loosely as any "knowledge"—in the form of beliefs, opinions, perceptions, or feelings—that people have about themselves, their behavior or their environment. By dissonance he means an inconsistency or conflict between cognitions in which the obverse of one cognition would appear to follow from the other. The theory is based on the assumption that perceived dissonance is psychologically uncomfortable, producing pressure (Festinger called it a "drive") to find means of reducing the dissonance, the pressure being proportional to the strength of the dissonance. Dissonance-reducing strategies tend to fall into three categories: (1) avoidance of conflict-producing people or situations; (2) the development of explanatory or rationalizing schemes, either reinterpreting one or other of the cognitions, or finding hermeneutical devices to bring both cognitions into harmony or at least equilibrium; and (3) associating with a group of like-minded people, and engaging in attempts to persuade others to join the group. The role of proselytism in dissonance-reduction, in fact, was highlighted by Festinger and his colleagues in a well known study of a sect that experienced the failure of its prediction of the end of the world,[55] a study that preceded his more general theoretical treatment of cognitive dissonance.

In addition to being widely influential, its field of influence including Biblical studies,[56] the theory has also been widely criticized.[57] Subsequent studies of the effect of failed expectations on sectarian groups demonstrated that proselytism was not an inevitable response.[58] Others charged that terms such as "cognition" and "drive" were used so loosely that the theory was too broad and imprecise to qualify as a theory.[59] More significantly, it was objected that people demonstrate much more of an ability to live contentedly while holding conflicting beliefs than the theory assumed; dissonance may be more of a problem for the researcher than it is for the believer.[60] In fact, some have turned cognitive dissonance theory on its head by arguing that

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[54] The basic work is L. Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957). Convenient summaries can be found in R. P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed* (New York: Seabury, 1979), 86-110; and E. Aronson, "Dissonance Theory: Progress and Problems," in *Theories of Cognitive Consistency: A Sourcebook*, ed. R. P. Abelson *et al.* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968), 5-27.

[55] L. Festinger, H. W. Riecken and S. Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964 [1956]).

[56] See esp. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed;* and Gager, *Kingdom and Community.*

[57] See the discussion in Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed,* with the literature cited there; and the collection of essays in *Theories of Cognitive Consistency.*

[58] J. A. Hardwyck and M. Braden, "Prophecy Fails Again: A Report of a Failure to Replicate," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 65 (1962), 136-141.

[59] This danger was recognized by Festinger himself; *Cognitive Dissonance,* 278.

[60] See, e.g., J. L. Freedman, "How Important is Cognitive Consistency?" in *Theories of Cognitive Consistency,* 497-503; and D. A. Snow and R. Machalek, "On the Presumed Fragility of Unconventional Beliefs," *JSSR* 21 (1982), 15-26.

"normative dissonance" is essential if social groups are to remain balanced and healthy in a complex world.[61]

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of these criticisms, and it is certainly not my desire to defend the theory in any global way. It may be that people have, in Orwell's words, "the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously and accepting both of them."[62] But the fact remains that in some circumstances, at least, such dissonance as Festinger describes does exist, and in these cases the theory provides a suggestive framework for analysis. As Aronson has observed, dissonance theory assumes not that human beings are necessarily *rational,* restless until they have achieved total cognitive consistency; but instead that they are *rationalizing,* uncomfortable when inconsistencies are brought forcibly to their attention in a public way.[63] Such discomfort emerges in particular when the cognitions in question involve basic convictions or existential commitments—in other words when they have to do with the basic structure of a social world—and when the dissonance arises from the failure of a clear expectation.[64] Both factors, I hope to show, are present in the Matthean situation.

III. Matt 22:40 in Cognitive Dissonance Perspective

As was argued above, Matt 22:34-40 represents one aspect of a recurring tension in the Gospel between Christian substance and rabbinic form. On the one hand, Matthew's Christian conviction is that Jesus has inaugurated the Reign of God, anticipated by the law and the prophets, in which his authoritative reinterpretation of Torah (centered on the double love command) is the standard of discipleship for both Jew and Gentile. The law and the prophets "hang" on the love commandment, then, in that they both prophesy (cf. 11:13) an era in which love of God and love of neighbor will become the rule of life. But on the other hand, by employing the rabbinic formulation "hang," he describes Jesus' radical reinterpretation in a manner conveying the impression that Jesus' teaching is not really inconsistent with traditional Torah piety. Bornkamm's description of the tension elsewhere in the Gospel is apropos:

> Matthew understands the law in a way which does not differ in principle from that of Judaism—or better—which in principle "does not" differ, i.e. he deliberately inserts his understanding of the law into the Jewish scribal tradition.[65]

To examine this tension in the framework of cognitive dissonance theory, it is necessary first to identify the dissonant cognitions more precisely. The distinction that we have noted between form and substance means that the dissonant elements

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[61] E. W. Mills, "Sociological Ambivalence and Social Order: The Constructive Uses of Normative Dissonance," *Sociology and Social Research* 67 (1982-83), 279-287; B. J. Malina, "Normative Dissonance and Christian Origins," *Semeia* 35 (1986), 35-59.

[62] G. Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1954), 171.

[63] "Dissonance Theory," 6.

[64] See Aronson, "Dissonance Theory," 23; Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed,* 107.

[65] "End Expectation," 31.

cannot simply be identified as Jesus' interpretation of the Torah on the one hand, and the rabbis' interpretation on the other. While Matthew's substantive statements about the law overlap to some degree with Pharisaic and rabbinic viewpoints, he does not display allegiance to rabbinic teaching per se. The implication of 22:40—that all individual Torah prescriptions can be derived from the double love commandment (or that of 23:2-3—that the oral tradition is valid, and binding on Jesus' disciples)—finds substantive support nowhere in the Gospel. The text asserts the formal congruence of Jesus' interpretative program with that of those who "sit on Moses' seat" (cf. 23:2), while at the same time preserving its radically distinct substance. In other words, what we encounter is a juxtaposition of the convictions (1) that the people of God is formally constituted on the basis of the Torah as it is interpreted by the authoritative and recognized leaders of Israel; and (2) that Jesus has inaugurated a new era of salvation, anticipated by the law and the prophets, in which his authoritative reinterpretation of the Torah (centered on the double love commandment) is the rule of life for God's people. The dissonance, then, pertains more to the contrast between what might have been expected of the Pharisees in their role as recognized interpreters of the law and therefore as leaders of the people of God in this new era, and the actual experience of Matthew's community. More concisely, it is a contrast between expected continuity and experienced disjunction.

Let us develop this more precisely, taking into account the observation noted above[66] that dissonance theory works best in clear cases of a failed expectation. I suggest that the tension observed in 22:40 and elsewhere can be understood with respect to failed expectations concerning the people of God and its leaders. The dissonance in each case can be described as a kind of failed syllogism. First, Matthew's Gospel reflects two basic convictions about the people of God:

1. The people of God are those who do the "will of [the] Father" (7:21) as it is expressed in the law (5:17-20).
2. Jesus has come as Israel's savior (1:21), announcing the arrival of the Kingdom of God (4:17) to the "sons of the kingdom" (8:11) and identifying the double commandment of love as the heart of the "law and the prophets" (22:34-40).

The logical expectation arising from these two convictions is that

3. Israel will find salvation by adhering to Jesus' teaching and thus achieving the "greater righteousness" (5:20) called for in Jesus' interpretation of the law.

But instead, the experience reflected in the text is that

3′. The church's proclamation of Jesus and his teaching was rejected by the majority in Israel, and those who accepted Jesus as Messiah and savior were excluded and persecuted.[67]

A similar pattern emerges with respect to leadership in the people of God:

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[66] Above, pp. 26-27.

[67] See D. R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (SNTSMS 6; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

1. Leadership in Israel is supplied by those who sit on Moses' seat (23:2), i.e. by the authoritative and authorized interpreters of the Torah.
2. Jesus has come as the authoritative (e.g. 7:29) and divinely authorized (e.g. 17:5; 28:18) interpreter of the law, and therefore as Israel's leader (7:28-29).

Again, this would have led to an expectation:

3. Israel and its leaders will recognize Jesus' authority and submit to his leadership.

But again this expectation was not fulfilled in the experience of the church:

3′. Israel's leaders oppose the church and its message, thereby rejecting Jesus' teaching and authority.

The dissonant cognitions can be described simply then as (1) the belief that the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus represented the fulfilment of God's promises to Israel; and (2) the recognition that these and subsequent events did not conform to the expected shape of the fulfilment. Put in these general terms, of course, this description is applicable to the whole of early Jewish Christianity. Matthew's Gospel is just an especially Torah-oriented version of the tension present whenever it was declared that "what God promised to the fathers this he has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus" (Acts 13:32-33), for many aspects of the "fulfilment" (the cross itself; the appearance of a Messiah without a messianic age; the success of the mission to the Gentiles and relative failure of that to the Jews; etc.) were unanticipated in the "promise," and many aspects of the "promise" (glorification of Jerusalem; return of the exiles to Zion; liberation of Israel; etc.) were not manifest in the "fulfilment." Indeed, the whole New Testament can be seen as an attempt to resolve such tensions by creating a new social world in which the inherited world of Judaism was reinterpreted in the light of the present Easter experience.[68]

In view of the objections that have been raised against cognitive dissonance theory, however—i.e. that people are not necessarily consistent and can hold divergent cognitions without discomfort[69]—it is appropriate to ask whether we can identify any specific circumstances that might have brought the underlying tensions to the surface and made dissonance-reduction an urgent necessity if the community's framework of meaning was to remain intact. Without making any assumptions about the place of origin of Matthew's Gospel, we can draw a parallel from the experience in Antioch as recounted in Gal 2:11-13. From the reaction of the Jewish Christians in Antioch to the arrival of the "men from James," it is apparent that they were

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[68] Johnson takes such an approach in his stimulating book, *The Writings of the New Testament.* This, in my opinion, is a more legitimate and satisfactory application of cognitive dissonance theory to the NT than that of Gager (*Kingdom and Community*), who attempts to account for the survival of the church by interpreting the early Christian mission as a response to the disconfirmation represented by the crucifixion. Not only does this depend on one of the more questionable aspects of the theory (i.e. proselytism as a strategy of dissonance reduction; see above, pp. 26-27). But in addition, by refusing to allow for the reality of the Easter experience, and therefore for its potential for creating a new world of meaning, it is inevitably reductionistic.

[69] Above, pp. 26-27.

experiencing unresolved tension between their inherited Jewish self-understanding, which limited table fellowship with Gentiles, and their conviction that the Gentile Christians (in words attributed to Peter) "have received the Holy Spirit just as we have" (Acts 10:47), which apparently gave divine sanction to their presence at the Lord's table. Presumably such potentially dissonant cognitions were present prior to the arrival of the Jerusalem delegation. But only when the dissonance between them was brought forcibly to their attention, with specific social consequences, did it produce tension and (presumably[70]) the drive to reduce it. Can we discern an analogous set of circumstances in the Matthean community?

My suggestion is that the circumstances developing after 70 C.E. served as a catalyst to bring these dissonant convictions to the fore in Matthew's community. In the aftermath of the war, the Pharisees had emerged as the dominant Jewish group (in Matthew's territory, at least[71]), and were in the process of reconstructing a more homogeneous form of Judaism, one with less tolerance for Jewish Christianity than Matthew's community had heretofore experienced. The community, it can be assumed, contained influential members drawn from circles that traditionally had looked on the Pharisees as interpreters of the law and therefore as leaders of Israel. It can also be assumed that the community had come to endorse and participate in the Gentile mission. The question of the historical development of the Matthean community—whether it ever adhered to the oral tradition, for example, or whether it initially insisted that Gentiles became full converts to Judaism—need not detain us here. For our purposes all we need to observe is that the Gospel reflects the position that (1) the law as interpreted by Jesus is binding on all Christians, Jew and Gentile alike, as the norm of community membership; but that (2) Jesus' interpretation identifies the double love commandment as the material and hermeneutical center of the law. (It is worth noting in passing that in the case of the Gentile mission, one observes a distinction between form and substance similar to the ones discussed above. Formally, the Gentiles appear as proselytes, subject on the same terms as Jews to the law as interpreted by Jesus; cf. the distinction between Torah-observant Jews and "righteous Gentiles" apparently underlying the Apostolic Decree.[72] But in substance, the aspects of the Torah that differentiate Jew from Gentile seem to be

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[70] I assume that, whatever the precise details of its development were, the "Apostolic Decree" (Acts 15:23-29) arose as an attempt to deal with these conflicting convictions about the Gentiles.

[71] One should not overemphasize the dominance of the "Jamnian" rabbis, as if their leadership was immediately and everywhere recognized; see the perceptive discussion in S. J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 224-228.

[72] For a discussion of "righteous Gentiles" and the related Noahide laws, see T. L. Donaldson, "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles'? The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought," in *Torah and Nomos in Post-Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier Press, forthcoming), with the literature cited there, esp. D. Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism* (New York—Toronto: Edwin Mellen, 1983). The suggestion of a connection between the Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:29) and the Noahide laws goes back at least to K. Lake; see "The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem," Note XVI in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. V, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake (London: Macmillan, 1933), 206-209.

no more binding on these Gentiles than they were on the Gentiles to whom the Apostolic Decree was addressed.)

This is by no means a novel approach; but let us see what it looks like within the perspective developed above. In a group such as I have described in the previous paragraph, there would always have been the potential for a tension between its expectations concerning Judaism's response to the gospel, and its own experience. Prior to the war with Rome, when Judaism was characterized by diversity and instability, such tensions would not have been world-threatening. To the extent that they were perceived, they would probably have been dealt with in terms of a "not yet" approach: Israel will soon recognize Jesus as savior and teacher, and rally around his leadership. But with the developments in the post-war period, all the "slack" in their cognitive structure[73] would have been used up. No longer was it possible to believe that they could maintain membership both in Judaism and in a church open to the Gentiles; they had built their world on a tectonic fault line, and the continents were starting to drift apart. Unable any longer to straddle the line, they were caught between two worlds. To the one side, they identified with the larger church in its allegiance to Christ and its mission to the Gentiles; but they wanted to dissociate themselves from what they perceived as its antinomian excess and disregard for the Torah. To the other side, they shared with scribal Judaism the belief that the people of God were to be defined by adherence to the Torah as it was interpreted by authorized teachers; but they could share neither its *halakah* nor its attitude to Christ. Each side, unimpressed by the subtle distinctions, would tend to interpret the lack of full identification with itself as a clear indication that the real allegiance of Matthew's community lay with the other. Matthew's situation, and the dissonance resulting from it, finds an analogy in the situation of the Hellenistic Judaism of the diaspora, caught between the Hellenistic world, which it admired for its culture and philosophy, but deplored for its idolatry and immorality; and the world of traditional Judaism, with which it shared a history and basic identity, but whose stance of exclusiveness and separatism it could no longer share.[74]

In such a situation, I suggest, the underlying tensions, present in Matthew's community from the beginning, emerged with world-threatening force. Matthew's Gospel should not be read, then, simply as an attempt to mediate a conflict in the community—an ecumenical statement, carefully worded so as to be acceptable to two factions. The community may well have had members attracted more to one of the adjacent worlds than to the other (though the existence of a group containing both antinomians and adherents of scribal tradition is harder to countenance). But it seems to me that the tensions are experienced as such in the Gospel itself, and thus in the community in which it first functioned. The Gospel represents a group which holds to conflicting convictions and feels the tension between them. In other words, the text reflects a situation within the domain of cognitive dissonance theory.

My suggestion, then, is that Matthew's Gospel be seen, at least in part, as an attempt to reinforce a social world being threatened by the kind of dissonance described above. This is not the place to look at the Gospel as a whole, or even the

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[73] For the concept of "slack," see W. J. McGuire, "Theory of the Structure of Human Thought," *Theories of Cognitive Consistency,* 158.

[74] J. J. Collins uses the concept of cognitive dissonance in his perceptive analysis of Hellenistic Jewish literature; see *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), esp. 8-10, 244.

theme of the law, from this perspective. Our concern is with Matt 22:34-40 and the group of passages from which 22:40 has been chosen for particular attention. The Great Commandment pericope could be examined for evidence of the typical attempts to lessen dissonance by means of various strategies of social control;[75] the much harsher treatment of the Pharisees in Matthew than in either of the parallel accounts, for example, could be seen as an attempt to keep group members away from conflict-producing situations, and to encourage them to associate with like-minded people. But our main interest is with the curious conjunction of rabbinic form and Christian content in 22:40 and elsewhere (esp. 5:17-20 and 23:2-3). These texts fall generally into the other main category of dissonance-reducing strategies, namely, explanatory or hermeneutical programs providing a framework of interpretation within which the tension between the dissonant cognitions can be released or at least deflected.

Matthew's strategy, to some extent, is rhetorical, in that formulations drawn from one of the convictional worlds, such as the κρέμαται construction in 22:40, are used as conveyances for beliefs more in keeping with the other. The dissonant convictions are not fully resolved; instead, a way is found of continuing to hold to them both. Again, the situation of Hellenistic Judaism provides an instructive parallel. In *Sibylline Oracles III,* for example, we encounter on the one hand an emphasis on the universality of the law: in the eschatological future, Gentiles will come in pilgrimage to Jerusalem to "ponder the law of the Most High God" (719), and the law will govern the life of the whole of humankind (757-758); in the present, nations are condemned because of their transgression of the law of God (599-600; 685-688). But on the other hand, while the "law" in question is clearly the law of Moses given at Sinai (254-258), the Sibyl evidently thinks of it primarily as natural law, equally evident and applicable to Gentile and Jew alike: in detailed descriptions of the law (esp. 218-264 and 573-600) there is no mention of the ritual and cultic aspects of the Torah by which Jews were differentiated from Gentiles; instead the emphasis falls on such things as idolatry, sexual immorality, social justice, and the Jerusalem temple as God's sanctuary. Formally, the Torah is presented as universally binding, and Gentiles are encouraged to become "proselytes"; but in substance, the law as the Sibyl perceives it is much more general and universal in nature. As Collins has said, "while the sibyl remains devoted to the law of Moses, she treats it in practice as natural law."[76] Certainly there are differences between the natural law of *Sibylline Oracles III* and the teaching of Jesus in Matthew. But the parallel is illuminating. Pulled in a similar manner between two worlds and two allegiances, the Sibyl addressed the situation of dissonance rhetorically, using traditional formulations to convey altered conceptions.

In the Gospel of Matthew, then, such a strategy of dissonance reduction provides a way for the Evangelist to affirm two more basic convictions brought into conflict by the course of events; namely: (1) an ecclesiology in which the Torah is the material center of the people of God and recognized Torah interpreters the formal center; and (2) a christology in which Jesus is believed to be the fulfilment of the

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[75] See above, p. 26.

[76] *Between Athens and Jerusalem,* 151.

law and the prophets. By emphasizing the links that bound Jesus and his followers with the Torah community of the past, and by attempting to sever the Pharisees and their followers from the line of tradition in the present, Matthew strove to construct for his community a habitable world, one that would hang, not by a hair, but by the sturdier cords of God's promise and fulfilment.

A Reexamination of the Relationship between Matthew 5:21-48 and the Dead Sea Scrolls

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The reconfiguration of our understanding of Second Temple Judaism resulting from the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is still in process and will continue to have an impact on New Testament studies, a field which already has been transformed in the wake of these developments. Quite early in the study of these new documents scholars made connections with some of the terminology found in the Sermon on the Mount. Works such as those of Krister Stendahl and Kurt Schubert have pointed to various points in ideology and terminology shared by the Gospel of Matthew and different works among the Qumran scrolls. While many others should be cited, the most important work concerning the Sermon was the classic 1964 study of W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount.* After an excellent attempt at a balanced assessment of the various places in this material where we can find evidence of the impact of the thinking reflected in the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, Davies suggested that parts of Matthew 5 originally must have arisen out of a confrontation between Jesus and the Essenes.[2] But the study by Davies was primarily a form critical study, an attempt to isolate short passages, usually no more than a sentence, and to locate their sitz-im-leben. He saw only scattered pieces of evidence which indicated this awareness and he attributed what he found to some pre-Matthean phase of composition. Subsequent research in Qumran studies propelled by the discovery of new manuscripts and the more current emphases in Gospel

[1] Unless noted otherwise, translations of the biblical text are from the Revised Standard Version. Where possible I have utilized *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (J. H. Charlesworth [ed.], 2 vols. [Garden City: Doubleday, 1983-85]) for non-biblical texts. Exceptions are noted. Translations of the Qumran literature are from G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 2d ed. (Middlesex: Penguin, 1975), unless otherwise noted.

[2] W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 252. He mentions 5:13-15, 22b, 34, 43ff., 48 and 19:21. Important for the purposes of this paper is the fact that he included vv. 22b, 34, 43ff. and 48 in his listing of these texts. Elsewhere he goes on to describe his understanding of this relationship (p. 235): "The Sermon reveals an awareness of the sect and perhaps a polemic against it."

studies on literary and sociological methodologies compels a reexamination of this relationship.

A word of explanation is in order. I consider the manuscript evidence found in the caves near Wadi Qumran to be the literary remains of a movement which was scattered throughout Palestine. I certainly accept the identification of the Essenes with the evidence of a sectarian existence at Qumran. I think it is an accident of preservation due in large part to its desert locale that all the manuscripts we have of this sectarian movement come from the same geographical area. Thus, while I sometimes refer to this evidence as Qumran, I am really thinking of it as a movement that was much more widespread than that one location and whose history spanned at least two centuries, if not more.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that larger blocks of material than those proposed by Davies can be identified as a response to Essene thought. I will consider the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, Mat. 5:21-48, as one of those portions. This selection requires justification. Matt. 5:20 is often called the 'heading' of the antitheses. The major point of that verse is to emphasize the 'greater righteousness' which is seen to be related to the question of Jesus and the law in vv. 17-19. Verse 20 also functions as a bracket for the antitheses, the material being closed at the other end by v. 48 which speaks of being perfect.[3] The cases cited in vv. 21-47 are to be viewed as examples of both righteousness and perfection. Now these are all Matthean issues: perfection, righteousness and the law. While these terms are not unique to Matthew in the New Testament, it justifiably can be argued that their meaning and significance are distinctive within that corpus.[4]

In a soon-to-appear study of the social world of the Matthean community, J. Andrew Overman argues that *dikaiosynē* is a term selected to designate "the proper behavior and disposition of the members of his community, in contrast to those with whom the community contends and opposes."[5] In his study Overman emphasizes the importance of this term for understanding the expected behavior of the members of that community. While in his study of *dikaiosynē* in Matthew Benno Przybylski did not find it to be the central term for the gospel's self-understanding of what it means to be a follower of Jesus, he did discover a very particular and important role for it. It's function is polemical, appearing in contexts where Jesus is in debate with Jews other than those who are his followers.[6] It is a term which provides a point of contact with these other Jewish groups. Not insignificant for the present subject is the emphasis on a polemical context. A number of studies have argued for the essential role of the term *sedaqah* (righteousness) in the self-understanding of the literature from the Qumran sect.[7] This is true particularly for the legal literature such

[3] Benno Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and his world of thought*, SNTSMS 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 85-87.

[4] Benno Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and his world of thought*, SNTSMS 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 105-15; J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Augsburg/Fortress, 1990), Chapter 3.

[5] See previous note.

[6] Przybylski, *Righteousness*, 113-23. Both studies, of course, take issue with any effort to "Paulinize" Matthew by arguing that *dikaiosyne* in some way designates a gift from God.

[7] D. Hill, "*Dikaioi* as a Quasi-Technical Term," *NTS* 9 (1964-65): 296-302; J. M

as the Temple Scroll, Jubilees, the Zadokite Documents and the Community Rule. The use of the term *tamym* (perfection) in phrases such as *temymey hadderek* (the perfect of the way) is so common in this same literature that it requires no further justification.[8] *Torah* is essential to all of it. It would be no surprise to find in literature attributed to the sectaries at Qumran some legal materials within an inclusio bracketed by *zedaqah* and *tamym*.

Such a possibility provides the justification for the hypothesis already proposed, that the antitheses are a block of material which find explanation as a response to viewpoints expressed and considered important in Essene literature. Support for this hypothesis can be found by examining two aspects of the relevant text, its form and its content. In this paper I initially will consider the question of form and then turn to content.

The Form of the Anitheses

As noted by David Daube, Matt. 5:17-20 proclaims a general principle which is then illustrated by six examples (or cases), the antitheses.[9] Each of these cases, in turn, is made up of two sections. In the antitheses the writer presents a legal formulation rejected by Jesus followed by his statement of an alternative principle. The author then provides examples—more accurately called focal instances[10]—for each case, except for the issue of divorce in vv. 31-32, to illustrate the point of the saying.[11] Now the form of the general statement encompassing the initial legal formulation and Jesus' response to it is the same in all six instances, even though it is frequently abbreviated. In its shortest version it appears in vv. 31-32 concerning divorce, while only vv. 21-22 concerning killing and anger and vv. 33-36 concerning the swearing of oaths contain the full text. W. D. Davies is probably correct when he suggests that the full text in v. 33 which begins with *palin* (again) breaks the unit into two triads.[12] Explanations of this structure as well as of its significance and meaning have been numerous and varied.

Commentators who looked to rabbinic materials for an explanation of this form found in these verses an outline of the syllogism which was intended to correct what the rabbis considered to be an incorrect inference from a verse.[13] David Daube points out that in Rabbinic literature when the verse is identified with the words *šomea'*

Baumgarten, "The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of *Sedeq* in Jewish Apocalyptic," *ANRW*, II:219-39.

[8] The centrality of *teleios* in the Qumran literature is noted by W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, vol. 1, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 561-62.

[9] David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1956), 63-66.

[10] Robert C. Tannehill, *The Sword of His Mouth*, SemeiaSup 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress/Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 67-77.

[11] See Perry Yoder, *From Word to Life: A Guide to the Art of Bible Study* (Scottdale: Herald, 1982), 66-67, 72-73, for the use of this structure for the antitheses.

[12] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 504.

[13] Daube, *New Testament*, 55-62. Daube did note, however, that Matthew had altered the form to suit his own purposes.

'any (I might understand or "hear"), it is most frequently related to a literal, narrow understanding of the biblical statement which the rabbis wished to correct. He suggests that this formula is related to *ēkousate* (you have heard) in the antitheses. Solomon Schechter had earlier argued a similar case.[14] It is not immediately apparent, however, how Matthew could have derived the form of the antitheses, "You have heard that it was said" from the formal *šomea' 'any* type of argumentation. Daube did note that Matthew had altered the form to suit his own purposes.[15] Schechter says that the talmudic formula "originally [had] something to do with" these verses in Matthew. In response to Schechter, Montefiore argued that the formula only fits the two verses Schechter had mentioned, i.e., vv. 21 and 27, and is not suitable for or rather awkward with the other four.[16] The Matthean form does not very easily fit into a rabbinic framework, thereby raising one possible objection to a hypothesis that would ascribe the origin of these sayings to that provenance. Missing from the analysis of all these commentators is some explanation for the fact that *ēkousate* in Matthew is in the plural whereas the rabbinic *šomea' 'any* syllogism in the singular, not to mention the difference in persons. Any theory concerning the structure of the antitheses must come to terms with these differences.

While our sources documenting the relationship between the various Jewish groups of the late Second Temple period are rather limited, we do find in what is available to us some evidence of the disputes between the various Jewish "sects."[17] Both sides of a dispute are noted in *m. Mak.* 1:6, where the disagreement concerns whether false witnesses in capital crimes are put to death only after the execution:

> False witnesses are executed only after the verdict is complete. For the Zadokites say, "Until he (i.e. the convicted) has been killed, as it is said, 'Life

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[14] Solomon Schechter, "The Rabbinic Conception of Holiness," *JQR* 10 (1898): 11, n. 3: "I suspect that the expression in the N.T., 'You have heard,' had originally something to do with the Talmudic formula *šomea' 'any . . . talmud lo'mar,* or *lo' sama'nu . . . 'ele' . . . talmud lo'mar,* or *bimšama' . . . talmud lo'mar.*" This is also found in *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology: Major Concepts of the Talmud* (New York: Schocken, 1961-orig. 1909), 214, n. 1. I have transliterated the Hebrew text. See also "Some Rabbinic Parallels to the New Testament," *JQR* 12 (1900): 427.

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[15] Daube, *New Testament,* 58.

[16] Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels,* 2:56.

[17] For a discussion of the problems which can arise in the use of that term see Ellis Rivkin, *A Hidden Revolution* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1978), 8, 316-18, n. 1; Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah,* Library of Early Christianity 7 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 124-27; John Kampen, *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism: A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees,* Septuagint and Cognate Studies 24 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 87-94.

> for life.'" (Deut 19:21) The Sages said to them, "Has it not already been said, 'Then you will do to him as he determined to do to his brother.' (Deut 19:19) Then his brother is still alive. . . ."

The positions of both the Zadokites and the Sages in this dispute are introduced through the use of the plural verb and the reply of the Sages is addressed to their opponents using the plural pronoun. In the well-known account of the origin of the sects in ARNA 5, the opinion of the Zadokites is transmitted via a direct quotation and introduced with the plural verb *'omrym.*[18] The point may appear obvious, but for our purposes it is important: when the positions of competing groups are presented in a dialogical or polemical format, it is natural to use plural nouns and verbs. In both instances the dispute involves the Zadokites, a Hebrew term frequently translated Sadducees. Note that the position of the Zadokites emphasizing a literal understanding of "life for life" coincides with the use of that phrase in 11QT and Jubilees.

Of particular importance with regard to the Matthean texts is the evidence from *Mishnah Yadaim.* The well-known texts from *Yadaim* record some of the areas of dispute between the *Perušym* (Pharisees) and the *Ṣedoqym* (Zadokites): "The Zadokites say, 'We denounce you, Pharisees, for *you say,* "The Holy Scriptures render the hands unclean, but the writings of Homer do not render the hands unclean."'"[19] Note the plural form of the direct speech which characterizes this polemical interaction between these two groups. Of particular interest is the second person plural phrase, "for you say." In this vivid portrayal of the differences between the two groups the Zadokites charge the Pharisees using the words, "for you say," with "you" in the plural.[20] Noteworthy is the polemical nature of this form—the accusation as a quotation from direct address to characterize the stance of the opponent indicates its disputatious nature. What we have here is not a sophisticated mode of argumentation rooted in a specific set of exegetical principles peculiar to a particular scribal group in Second Temple Judaism, such as for example a proto-rabbinic movement, but rather a style of vigorous argumentation.[21] The following mishnah concerning *nizzoq* (an unbroken flow of liquid) is of the same nature. Even when in *m. Yad.* 4:8 the opinion is that of a Galilean heretic,[22] an individual, the

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[18] This translation is from J. Goldin, *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan* (New York: Schocken, 1974-original, 1955), p. 39: "So they arose and withdrew from the Torah and split into two sects, the Sadducees and the Boethusians: Sadducees named after Zadok, Boethusians after Boethus. And they used silver vessels and gold vessels all their lives—not because they were ostentatious; but the Sadducees said, "It is a tradition amongst the Pharisees to afflict themselves in this world; yet in the world to come they will have nothing."

[19] *M. Yad.* 4:6.

[20] I have omitted, because it is irrelevant to the point being made, a discussion of the fact that these Zadokite charges are found in a document which is assumed to be Pharisaic.

[21] This means examples of *egō de legō* (but I say) from rabbinic literature cited by Morton Smith (*Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels,* JBLMS 7 [Philadelphia: SBL, 1951], 28-29) are not significant for developing an understanding of the Matthean text and may simply be an example of "parallelomania."

[22] Some later versions read *ṣedoqy* rather than *myn* (heretic).

quotations are still in the plural. When the Pharisees reply to his charges they say, "We denounce you, Galilean heretic, for *you* (plural) *write* (the name of) the ruler along with the Divine name on the same page. . . ." The similarity in the construction of these *mišnayot* does suggest that there was a set literary form employed by their author.

I, of course, am not arguing that the word *sama'* never appears in the plural in Rabbinic literature. The theoretical question which is being addressed, however, is whether the Matthean statements are related to a talmudic syllogism. The instances of the use of this term in the plural cited by Strack-Billerbeck,[23] for example, such as *m.* *'Ed.* 5:7, are not relevant to this argument since they are not part of a formal rabbinic syllogism but are rather found in simple declarative sentences. One must also note that the instances cited are written in the third person (*šam'u*) rather than in the second.[24] What we have found is evidence for the use of a certain literary form employed for the purposes of describing the positions of two groups in disagreement over some matter considered important by them. What is the relationship of this form to those documents whose origin is traced back to the caves on the shore of the Dead Sea?

A relationship between the positions held by the *Ṣedoqym* described in the texts just discussed and the *Beney Ṣadoq* as one of the names used with reference to the sect described in the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls has been posited previously by others.[25] There is a good basis for understanding some references to the *Ṣedoqym* in talmudic literature as indicators of the same ideology which characterized a certain sectarian viewpoint we have identified with the archaeological and literary remains attributed to the Qumran site. It now appears that the frequently mentioned but yet unpublished 4QMMT (*Miqṣat Ma'sey batTorah*-A Portion of the Works of the Torah) also contains forms similar to those already discussed and may turn out to be its best exemplar. It is a long letter, we have fragments of 12 columns, written by a sectarian leader, perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness, itemizing numerous points of difference in legal matters between the sect and the Jewish leadership in Jerusalem.

In the 1984 Jerusalem Congress on Biblical Archaeology Moshe Weinfeld, responding to the description of this text by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, already made mention of the similarity of the formula in 4QMMT *'al 'inyan zeh 'anu 'omrym* (concerning this subject we say) to the antitheses' *ēkousate* (you have heard) . . . *ego de lego* (but I say).[26] He suggests that this is probably a manner of polemical exchange. Qimron and Strugnell note that the polemical character of the

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[23] *Str-B* 1:253. By explaining in their headings for these sections that *ēkousate* really means "ihr habt als Tradition empfangen" and *errethe* "es ist als Tradition gelehrt worden," these commentators make the examples appear much closer to the Rabbinic tradition than the text of Matthew itself necessarily warrants.

[24] It is interesting to note that *šema'tem*, the second person plural form, appears only three times in the entire Talmud: *Yebam.* 16a, *B. Bat.* 10b, *Qidd.* 61b.

[25] Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1983), 115-16, 135-40.

[26] *Biblical Archaeology Today*, ed. Janet Amitai (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in cooperation with ASOR, 1985), 456. The article by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell appears in the same volume: "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," pp. 400-07.

letter is characterized throughout by the use of formulae such as *'anaḥnu 'omrym, 'anaḥnu ḥošbym* and *wa'atem yod'ym.*[27] The publication of this document will demonstrate even more clearly its extensive use of these polemical formulae. We observe again the use of the second person plural, presumably to point out opinions or observations concerning the group which are in opposition to the views presented in the document. Since the group whose viewpoint is represented in the manuscript *parasnu* (separated) from the majority of the Jewish people, we have here a first hand account of sectarian identity.

It is the argument of this paper that within the context of these inter-sectarian debates of first century Judaism the form of the antitheses find their setting.[28] Let us continue the argument by examining one of the references where the formula is given in full, Mat. 5:21-22. The first term, *ēkousate* (you have heard), is in the second person plural. I would suggest that this plural form refutes any consideration that these verses find their basis in the *šomea' 'any* syllogism and raises grave doubts about any hypothesis involving a talmudic predecessor for it. This is apart from any argument concerning the dating of the literatures involved. When Matthew places the word *ekousate* in the mouth of Jesus he rather means, "You, as members of my group, as the adherents of my particular Jewish sect, have heard that. . . ." This context of inter-sectarian debate follows from the second person plural form utilized in the opening term.

The next term in this formulaic expression is *errethe* (it was said). Two commentators, Robert Guelich and Robert Gundry, interpret the passive mood of this verb as representing the voice of God which here is speaking through the Hebrew Scriptures.[29] While Gundry mentions the frequency with which *eiro* is used in Matthew and cites examples of its use in the citation of texts from the Hebrew Scriptures, he fails to note that the particular form used consistently in the antitheses, *errethe,* is unique to this section in Matthew.[30] The evidence for the hypothesis that he is using the formula to cite passages from the Hebrew Scriptures is lacking, particularly in view of the fact that all of the citations do not appear in any known versions of the sacred texts. It is, on the other hand, conceivable that the author is attempting to make the text read as though it is appealing to the voice of God. While most texts attributed to Qumran prefer the passive *katuv* (it is written) to *šene'emar* (it was said), there is no doubt that regularly in texts from Second Temple Judaism attention is

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[27] Ibid, p. 402. Note that the use of *hayytem yod'ym* (you knew) in *ARNB* is similar to the last of these formulae (see Schechter, *Abot deRabbi Natan* 13b or Wacholder, *Dawn,* p. 265, n. 12 for text).

[28] This is the setting in which the Sermon is placed as well by Hans Dieter Betz, *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount,* trans. L. L. Welborn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 92. Betz is also aware of and notes its polemical setting.

[29] R. A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Waco: Word, 1982), 180-81; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 83. See also Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Place, Structure and Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount Within Matthew," *Int* 41 (1981): 131-41. On p. 139 he suggests the thrust of this passage is that Matthew is pitting the authority of Jesus against that of Moses. This seems good but its implications require further development.

[30] The most common form used elsewhere in the Gospel is *hrethen* (that which was spoken), the participle.

called to God via the passive voice.[31] Terminology meant to make the reader think of the voice of God is employed, however the actual content of what is heard is not limited to the words found in the Hebrew Scriptures. How could a writer employ such a peculiar notion? Answers to that question would follow from a full analysis of the content of these six antitheses. A partial answer may be found in the following discussion.

The next term requiring attention is *archaiois*, which I will leave untranslated for the moment. While some commentators note its use in the classical Greek sources,[32] Gerhard Barth, along with many others, sees this as an allusion to the Sinai generation, however understand it in the context of its rabbinic meaning where a continuous tradition of interpretation and legislation is seen to be rooted in the revelation of the law on the mountain.[33] In other words, the ancients are those who received the law from God in the wilderness, however they are mentioned here because the rabbis saw their teachings as being in direct continuity with and a part of that revelation. As has often been pointed out, however, the wording of the statements attributed to the ancients in this chapter does not always agree with either that found in the rabbinic texts or with the sentiments expressed therein. Another explanation is possible.

It is in the work of Kurt Schubert that we find a different proposal. He notes that the term *ri'šonym*, a Hebrew word meaning the "first ones," the "early ones," or the "ancients," is used in CD 1:4 and 4:10.[34] In CD 4:7-10, as well as other places which can be noted in the work, "first" refers either to the founders of the sect or to its earlier membership:[35] "[Such are the fir]st [men] of holiness whom God pardoned, who declared the just man just and the wicked, wicked; Then all those who entered (the covenant) after them to act according to the exact tenor of the law in which the first had been instructed until the consummation of time [according to the number] of those years."[36] In the Community Rule this term has a different but related referent, "And they will be judged by the *first* commandments in which the men of the commune initially were instructed." "First" here points to the original or

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[31] It is possible that *katub* was avoided deliberately by the author of the Gospel in order to make the claim advanced here.

[32] Willoughby C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Matthew*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3d ed., 1912), 47. Note also W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 26 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), 60.

[33] Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth and Heinz Joachim Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, Trans. Percy Scott (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 93. Note also *Str-B* 1:253-54.

[34] Kurt Schubert, "The Sermon on the Mount and the Qumran Texts," *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, Ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 125. He lists CD 8:4, it should read 1:4. The reading *ri'šonym* is a more likely reading than *laqqadmonym* employed in the Delitzsch translation or recorded in the later text published by George Howard, *The Gospel of Matthew According to a Primitive Hebrew Text* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), 18.

[35] CD 1:16; 3:10; 4:6,8; (6:2?); 8:17; 19:29; 20:8,31. Cf. 1QS 9:10.

[36] A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*. Trans. G. Vermes (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1973-orig. 1961), 127.

initial legislation pertaining to communal life.[37]

Elsewhere in the Qumranic literature we can look to the book of Jubilees for uses of this term. This is not the place for an extensive discussion of the claim that Jubilees is a work from the Qumran sectaries. Permit me, however, to mention a few points. I must first of all remind you of the citation of an abbreviated version of the title of Jubilees in CD 16:3-4: "The book of the divisions of the times according to their Jubilees and their Weeks." The Damascus Document shows the influence of the Book of Jubilees in a number of places, so we should not be surprised to discover this allusion. Both works have been shown to have a strong connection with the so-called Temple Scroll, perhaps more aptly titled the Qumranic Torah, the longest and most recent of the Qumran scrolls to be found and published. In fact, some scholars have argued that Jubilees and the Qumranic Torah together comprise one work.[38] Jubilees begins at creation and ends at Exodus while the Qumranic Torah begins with Sinai and ends in Deuteronomy. Of course, we must also note James VanderKam's study of the fragments of Jubilees found at Qumran.[39] Now the obvious point has been made a number of times that evidence of works found at Qumran does not mean they were authored by the sectarians. However, the three works mentioned here share enough linguistic and ideological similarites that the evidence is quite convincing for considering Jubilees to be a composition of the Qumran sectaries.

In Jub. 1:26 as God speaks to Moses we read the following: "And do you write down everything I tell you on this mountain, the first things and the last things that shall come to pass. . . ."[40] When we translate this phrase "the first things and the last things" into Hebrew from the Ethiopic, we find the words *hari'šonym weba'aḥronym* (the first and the last). The same phrase appears to lie behind the translation of 1:4 by C. Rabin in his revision of Charles, "And Moses was on the mount forty days and forty nights; and God taught him the first things and the last things, and the division of all the days of the law and the testimony."[41] What precisely the author of Jubilees had in mind has been a matter of considerable dispute. What is clear is that in the context of chapter 1 of this work we are speaking of the authority of a new Torah which God is giving to Moses, having already written "the book of the first law" which the author refers to in 6:22. Given the attribution of this pseudepigraphic composition, the first is a reference to the original Torah and/or the Sinai experience. The authoritative claim being made here is that this law which appears to be new also was given to Moses at Sinai. Now for the question that you have all been sitting there asking? How does this relate to Matthew's use of *archaiois?*

Since we now know that the particular legal formulations attributed to the Qumran sect were considered to be the result of revelation,[42] it is plausible to argue

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[37] 1QS 9:10.

[38] M. Smith, "Helios in Palestine," *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982): 199*-214*, see 206*-07*.

[39] J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees.* HSM14 (Missoula: Scholars, 1977).

[40] H. F. D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 13.

[41] H. F. D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 11.

[42] L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran,* SJLA 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 22-76.

that this is the former revelation suggested in the Gospel of Matthew.[43] From this perspective the protasis in these Matthean formulations is to be understood as containing an injunction which was received by revelation. Via this formula the author of this gospel argues that what is presently being presented is in contrast with some former revelation. Clearly the text refers to those persons in the past who were the recipients of revelation, like those with the same designation in the Zadokite Documents, rather than to the things revealed, as in 1QS and Jubilees. The use of the term *ri'šonym*, as in the Qumran texts, is then deliberate and of some significance.[44] We can see the author of this work, the product of a new sectarian Jewish movement, in dialogue and/or dispute with another Jewish sectarian movement of greater antiquity. The author is attempting to undergird an authoritative claim by positing a relationship between some prior event or text and this new revelation which is being presented. In both cases the new understanding either supersedes the old or becomes the authoritative interpretation for it. Could the author of Matthew have adopted this terminology to set off this new revelation against one that had once been advanced in this same manner but which he/she now regarded as old? In other words, did Matthew now regard the sectarian viewpoint which was expressed in the writings found at Qumran as "former" revelation? A positive answer to that question must, of course, find further validation in an examination of the content of these formulations. In this paper I must examine one more phrase in the opening formula of these verses.

The audacious nature of the clause *egō de legō hymin* (but I say to you) is apparent. This was already noted by David Daube in his comparison of this section of Matthew with what he characterized as a more scholastic rabbinic form: "The tone is not academic but final, prophetic, maybe somewhat defiant. Nor is there any reasoning."[45] Rather than looking to rabbinic formulations I would argue that the spirit of the response in these antithetical formulations noted by Daube is much more clearly identified in the you-we statements of *Mishnah Yadaim* or 4QMMT. The difference, of course, is the presence of the first person singular in Matthew rather than the first person plural. The centrality of the figure of Jesus for the early Matthean community accounts for this difference. The authority of the new revelation is rooted in that figure, hence the articulation of certain differences with other sectarian groups is attributed to him. The revelatory nature of the sectarian viewpoint represented in that gospel is grounded in the figure of its founder, hence the use of the first person singular to articulate its legal principles and tenets. Could not the author of the gospel of Matthew, who wanted to argue that its hero is the authoritative spokesman of the will of God, have been cognizant of the pseudepigraphic tradition represented in works such as 11QT, Jubilees and now 4Q Second Ezekiel where God speaks in

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[43] This ideology is not confined to Qumran sectarians in Second Temple Judaism, however it does receive great emphasis in that literature.

I along with many others reject any reading of *tois archaiois* as an instrumental dative. This is also rejected by Guelich, *Sermon*, 179 and Gundry, *Matthew*, 84. The "first" here are those spoken to, not the speakers.

[44] It must noted, of course, that the rabbis can speak of *basydym hari'šonym* and *zeqenym hari'šonym*. See my discussion in *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism: A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees*, SCS 24 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 187-207.

[45] *New Testament*, 57-58.

the first person?[46] If so, the first person is employed in these texts to enhance the figure of Jesus as the one who speaks for God, the author of revelation.[47]

Having demonstrated the manner in which the formulation of the antitheses in the Matthean version of the Sermon on the Mount should be understood in the context of the sectarian polemics of the latter Second Temple period, I now must turn to their content. Space permits an extensive consideration of only one of the antitheses. I have selected the first one. Only a cursury survey of my approach to the other five can be provided in this paper.

The Content of the Antitheses

Matt. 5:21-26: Murder

"You have heard that it was said to the men of old, 'You shall not kill; and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment.' But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment; whoever insults his brother shall be liable to the council, and whoever says, 'You fool,' shall be liable to the hell of fire."[48]

This statement starts with the decalogue, *lo' tirṣaḥ* (You shall not kill).[49] Obviously the remainder of the statement in Matthew does not come from the same source. Albright and Mann find echoes of Dt. 17:8 in this verse: "If any case arises requiring decision between one kind of homicide and another, one kind of legal right and another, or one kind of assault and another, etc."[50] David Daube, interpreting it from a rabbinic perspective, rather finds that the phrase may be explained as an incorrect inference drawn from the meaning of the verse.[51] Disputing any claim that this phrase comes from the rabbinic tradition, Gundry argues that the judgment statement represents Matthew's own summary of the penalty for murder in the *Torah*.[52] Arguing in a similar vein, Davies notes that the additional phrase is "not found in the OT or in extant Jewish literature."[53] He suggests that it is rather a summary of biblical laws and should not be labelled rabbinic legislation. While agreeing with the latter portion of that statement I must wonder whether it is adequate to explain this phrase as an inference from or a summary of the view concerning killing found in the *Torah?*

It is the argument of this paper that the author has a more specific target in mind. In Jub. 4:31-32 we read:

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[46] John Strugnell and Devorah Dimant, "4Q Second Ezekiel," *RQ* 13 (1988): 45-58.

[47] That the formulation of the antitheses is the responsibility of the Gospel writer is documented very well in Gundry, *Matthew*, 82-84, as well as in his subsequent commentary on each section.

[48] Matt. 5:21-22.

[49] Exod 20:13 = Deut 5:17.

[50] Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 61.

[51] Daube, *New Testament*, 56.

[52] Gundry, *Matthew*, 84. He does connect it to the summary of the law in Mat. 19:18.

[53] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 511.

> At the end of that jubilee Cain was killed one year after him. And his house fell upon him, and he died in the midst of his house. And he was killed by its stones because he killed Abel with a stone, and with a stone was he killed *by righteous judgment.* Therefore it is ordained in the heavenly tablets: "With the weapons with which a man kills his fellow he shall be killed just as he wounded him, thus shall they do to him."[54]

It appears to me that this is precisely what Matthew is talking about. Cain is judged in righteous judgment by God for the killing which he has committed. This story is justification for a legal statement regarding the matter. When the text reads, "in like manner shall they deal with him," the case of Cain is being cited as precedent for subsequent legal action. Later in the same work, the shedding of blood is considered injustice and is one of the major reasons for the judgment which occurred in the flood.[55] In this case, as elsewhere in Jubilees, the biblical prohibitions against the eating of blood are linked with the shedding of blood, killing, a connection not made in the biblical materials themselves.[56] The problem with accepting payment for killing, as specified in Jub. 21:19, is that this is killing which is carried out without judgment. In Jubilees we see that killing is combined with ideas of justice and judgment. The significance of these texts for understanding Jubilees should not be underestimated since they are linked with a whole host of offenses which require capital punishment.[57] The law in Jubilees is very harsh, as is the case also in the Qumranic Torah. In the latter work capital punishment is mandated for priests who do not wear the proper garments, corrupt judges who accept bribes, those who engage in idolatry, the Israelite who betrays his people to the nations, those who commit a capital crime and flee to the gentiles,[58] and the man who lies with a betrothed virgin.[59] The crimes for which one can be put to death in these Qumran writings are rather numerous.

In light of the passage from Jubilees concerning Cain and Abel I am also tempted to refer to the fact that 11QT 61:11-12 includes the text of Dt. 19:21: "Your eye shall not pity; it shall be life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." The writer of Jubilees must have had this passage in mind.[60] My assumptions about the relationship of the Qumranic Torah and Jubilees compel me to argue that this author knew it was part of the Qumranic Torah. One reason for not bringing this verse into the discussion of the Matthean verse at this point is because part of the verse is cited in the fifth antithesis as the erroneous or

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[54] Italics mine.

[55] Jub. 7:20-33.

[56] Jub. 6:8, 11:2-6, 21:6-20.

[57] Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1983), 51. The list includes neglecting circumcision, incest, fornication, marriage of a Hebrew girl with a gentile which is fused with the prescriptions against adultery and lying with the father's wife.

[58] 11QT 64:9-13. You hang him and he dies. You don't leave his body on the tree all night because that would be a defilement of the land. Cf. Deut 21:22-23.

[59] Wacholder, *Dawn,* 51. Not to be found in the Bible are the following cases which are discussed in the passages listed: priests with wrong garments (Exod 28:41), erring judge (Deut 16:18-20), Israelite who betrays his people to the nations (Lev 19:16).

[60] Wacholder, *Dawn,* 51.

misunderstood statement: "You have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'"[61] It may be worthy of note, however, that the clause concerning "a life for a life" is omitted from v. 38 by the author of the Matthean text. Was this an intentional omission where the writer already assumed that he had dealt with that issue?[62] If he was writing with an eye toward the Jubilean text in its Qumran setting, this would certainly be a possibility. Confirmation for this line of argument is found when we turn to the response found in v. 22.

"But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment; whoever insults his brother shall be liable to the council, and whoever says, 'You fool!' shall be liable to the hell of fire." Most often the three portions of this verse have been interpreted as standing in an increasing order of severity.[63] Both the severity of the infraction as well as the harshness of the penalty are seen to increase with each new clause. But I wonder whether such an argument does not strain the evidence. There may be some development in the level of punishment, at least if we assume that *krisis* refers to a judgment handed down by a local court or even to the court itself and *synedrion* refers to the "high" court in Jerusalem. But there is a problem with the term *krisei.* It appears in a parallel phrase in v. 21, both verses reading *enochos estai tēi krisēi.*[64] Not only are we dealing with the same word, we are dealing with the same phrase. I have already interpreted that as a reference to capital punishment. Should we really interpret the same phrase in two adjacent verses differently? While that should not be ruled out as a logical and linguistic impossibility, it should only be considered when there is good reason to do so. If we are already dealing with a verdict of capital punishment or with a court that has jurisdiction to issue such a verdict in the first instance, there is limited significance to be found in any theory of further development. The developmental theory encounters equal difficulties on the infraction side.[65] Certainly we find in the first instance an inner attitude while we find an outward, verbal expression of an attitude in the second and third cases. As most commentaries mention, the word *braka* would be the translation of the Hebrew or Aramaic *reyqa'*, meaning an empty or worthless being, a good for nothing.[66] *Morē* in the next phrase may mean "fool" in Greek but may also reflect the Hebrew of Num 20:10 where it seems to refer rather to some persons who are rebellious, the same word as the name for the one son in the passover seder.[67] Certainly there is little to choose between a fool and a good for nothing. Even if the Hebrew term is what the writer of the text had in mind, it is not clear that the significance of the verse hangs on a logical theory of development.

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[61] Matt 5:38.

[62] Daube, *New Testament,* 258, bases his interpretation of the text on this feature.

[63] Albright and Mann, *Matthew,* 61; Gundry, *Matthew,* 85; Allen, *Matthew,* 47; Jan Lambrecht, S.J., *The Sermon on the Mount: Proclamation and Exhortation,* Good News Studies 14 (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1986), 91.

[64] The necessity of dealing with the phrase in both instances in a similar manner is noted by Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 512.

[65] Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 515, sees an ascending order only in the list of punishments, but interprets *krisei* to mean local court.

[66] Gundry, *Matthew,* 84. See also M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1975-original, 1903), 1476.

[67] Albright and Mann, *Matthew,* 61.

There is probably a rhetorical development in this verse, concluding with the "Gehenna" of fire, which attempts to drive home the same point with a little more volume in each successive phrase.[68]

Whether Robert Guelich in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount is correct in his literary analysis when he suggests that v. 22 is to be understood as an example of irony, I think he gets at the heart of this verse.[69] Its thrust is to emphasize the importance of collegial relations among the community of disciples, the followers of Jesus the Messiah. What prompted the author of this Gospel to express it in this manner?

While we can certainly find evidence in the rabbinic writings that the rabbis called people *reyqa'* and that they condemned any kind of "oppression in words,"[70] we do not find in that corpus any more specific material that would help us understand the basis of this verse. However when we turn to the Qumran scrolls, we find materials that are more helpful. Certainly we find that in the regulations for communal life a premium is placed upon cordial relations between its members. This is mentioned specifically with reference to the reproof and correction of one another and brings to mind some of the material in Matthew 18. In 1QS 5:24-6:1 we read: "They shall reprove each other in truth and humility and loving charity one towards the other. Let no man speak to his [brother] with anger, or ill-temper, or disrespect, or impatience, or a spirit of wickedness. And let no man hate him [in the perver]si[ty] of his heart; he shall be reproved on the very same day. And thus a man shall not bear a fault because of him." Later in that column we find that collegial relations with other members of the sect is enforced through sanctions: "And whoever answers his fellow disrespectfully, or speaks (to him) impatiently, going so far as to [vio]late his brother's formal order by refusing to obey his fellow inscribed before him, [or (whoever) metes] out justice with his own hand, shall be punished for one year [and separated]."[71] If the other members of the sect are not respected and if the procedures for redress of wrongs are not followed, he will be punished for one year. Presumably the punishment was exclusion from *toborat rabbym*, the purity of the many, which probably referred to the central communal religious rites.[72] When we come to the Zadokite Documents, then the penalties are even more severe. On page 9 of that work we find a list of actions that are punishable by death. One of the first paragraphs discusses the importance of reproving a fellow member privately before bringing him before the elders, presumably a reference to the sect's court. Then it goes on: "If he has kept silence towards his fellow from one day to another (without reproving him), or (then) has spoken against him in the heat of his anger, it is in an action liable to (punishment by) death that he will have witnessed against himself."[73] Here we find a case where being angry with one's brother is punishable by death. Whether the author of Matthew had this text specifically in mind is hard to say. We do not have here a case of a word for word linguistic parallel. What we do have is a parallel

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[68] I am grateful to Tom Boomershine who, in reading an earlier version of portions of this paper, made me consider the implications of an oral reading of the text.

[69] Guelich, *Sermon*, 188.

[70] C. G. Montefiore, *Rabbinic Literature*, 39.

[71] 1QS 6:25-27.

[72] See 1QS 6:25.

[73] CD 9:6-7.

reference to the idea that a word spoken in anger is punishable by death.[74] Such an idea seems to me certainly to go beyond general proverbial wisdom. If Gundry is correct in his assertion that this verse is to be understood as an ironic comment, then this irony may be directed at the members of a sect who could entertain such an idea. Do you really need to have the threat of death and eternal punishment to emphasize the importance of the idea that the members of the community should respect one another?

From the references that we just discussed in relationship to v. 22 of this chapter of Matthew, it is easy to see why the next two verses discuss the topic of reconciliation. Clearly the measures outlined in the Zadokite Documents and the Community Rule are aimed at reconciliation of the differences between members of the community. As noted by Guelich, the use of the word *adelphos* in both vv. 22 and 23 shows the connection between them.[75] The curious part of these two verses is that the subject is discussed in the context of an altar. One explanation has been to point to *b. Yoma* 87a which speaks of the necessity of being reconciled to one's neighbor on the day of atonement.[76] Certainly the rabbis had an interest in reconciliation.[77] The mention of the temple has been explained as being evidence of an early date for this passage.[78] But is that an adequate explanation? I would like to suggest an alternative possibility. With the discovery of the Qumranic Torah, it has become clear to me that the temple is much more important for understanding Qumran than we had previously envisioned.

The priestly aspects of the sectarian lifestyle were not always immediately apparent in the Community Rule, the Hymns and the War Scroll, which formed the basis of most of our perceptions of the Qumran community. Priestly aspects were recognized but viewed primarily in the context of a struggle for the control of the temple and the high priesthood in Jerusalem and not as a vehicle for understanding the life and theology of the sect.[79] A very common perspective is that of Bertil Gärtner who

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[74] In 1QS 7:2-4 a word spoken in anger is punishable by one year of penance and separation from the *tohorat rabbym* (the purity [pure meal-?] of the many [congregation-?]).

[75] Guelich, *Sermon*, 189.

[76] Allen, *Matthew*, 49; Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 62.

[77] Montefiore, *Rabbinic Literature*, 40.

[78] Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 62. See also Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels*, 61.

[79] This is not as true for M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament*, BJS 48 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983-reprint, 1961), 16, 29-30, 104-11 and J. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls," *Studies in Qumran Law*, SJLA 24 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 39-56 (reprint from *HTR* 46 [1953]: 141-59) as for some others listed below. Black in particular emphasizes the priestly elements to explain his view, even though his discussion of the shewbread is less than convincing (*Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 104-11). Other studies include: F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, rev. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 100-02, 127-60, 240-41; W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, "Qumran and Essenes: Geography, Chronology and Identification of the Sect," *The Scrolls and Christianity*, ed. M. Black (London: SPCK, 1969), 16-22; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Régle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 533-37; *id.*, "The Essenes and their History," *RB* 81 (1974):228-33, 236-39.

says that in the texts from Qumran the spirit of God is no longer confined to the temple in Jerusalem but rather is tied to the true and pure Israel represented by the community at Qumran.[80] The cult has been transferred from Jerusalem to the community which itself becomes the 'new temple' and replaces the Jerusalem temple in the ideology of the sect.[81] In this view, the temple becomes a 'spiritual' reality. All the references in the Qumran scrolls available to him are interpreted from this perspective.[82] Other scholars make similar if less radical claims.[83] These claims now require reevaluation because for the most part the texts upon which they are based no longer serve as either the exclusive or even primary evidence for our understanding of the ideology of the sectaries at Qumran.

The Qumranic Torah which has been viewed by Wacholder,[84] Yadin[85] and Milgrom,[86] each in their own way, as the document which is foundational to the sect demonstrates the way in which cult was at the center of communal life. It would appear that the temple and cultic system described in the Qumranic Torah provided the basis for the common life of the sect as described in the Community Rule and the Zadokite Documents.[87] This means that the many regulations concerning cultic matters have a real basis in the cult as it is described in the Qumranic Torah.[88] It would appear that there is some application of the terminology of the temple to the life of the sect in 1QS 9:3-6 and other passages in that text.[89] However this is not

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[80] B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 16.

[81] Ibid., 16-22.

[82] Ibid., 22-46.

[83] McKelvey also speaks primarily of the 'spiritualization' of the cultus, whose immediate motive was dissatisfaction with Jerusalem: R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 36-40. The spiritualization theme is a rather common view of Qumran and the temple. Note also H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), 215.

McKelvey (*Temple*, 46) seems to be in that stream of New Testament scholarship which has difficulty finding a positive role for the Law in Judaism: "The one thing more than any other, perhaps, which contributed to the spiritualization of the cultus was the transformation of Israelite religion into a religion of the law" (p. 44).

Fiorenza argues that it is more appropriate to speak of 'transference'. E. Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38 (1976), 161.

Joseph Baumgarten also speaks of how the 'holy spirit' in the Zadokite Documents "served to compensate for the Temple sacrifices" (*Studies*, 46).

[84] His work, *The Dawn of Qumran*, is an elaboration of that thesis.

[85] Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), *Temple Scroll*, 1:390-402.

[86] J. Milgrom, "The Temple Scroll," *BA* 41 (1978): 119. In public lectures, he has referred to it as the 'constitution' of the sect. See also W. O. McCready, "A second Torah at Qumran?" *SR* 14 (1985): 5-15.

[87] Wacholder, *Dawn*, 84-88, 101-35.

[88] Such as those found in CD 9:14, 11:17-18, 11:18-21 and 16:13.

[89] 1QS 5:5-6, 8:4-10.

a transference from or spiritualization of the temple in Jerusalem. The emphasis on the *bet qodeš* (house of holiness) and the *qodeš qodešym* (holy of holies) in these references from the Community Rule suggests the kind of purity and sanctity that is characteristic of the Qumranic Torah. These texts are written in the light of the vision articulated in that work and represent an attempt to relate it to the life of the sect. The nature of the attempt to live out that 'pure' vision and to make/let it come to pass is a subject which far exceeds the scope of this presentation.[90] It would include a discussion of the *Beney Ṣadoq* the sons of Zadok who have a leading role in the life of the community as well as the many other roles which priests bear in these documents such as in the Community Rule and the War Rule.[91] The major point is not to be forgotten: there was a very concrete vision of the temple and the cult which was the motivation and guide for the sectarian lifestyle. Rather than finding no or a rather limited connection with a temple, we find in the Qumranic writings a group with cult and priesthood at the very center of its life.

When we return to our Matthean text, we see that the possibility of leaving something at the altar would have been a real possibility in the Qumran community and in the manner in which issues were addressed in that context. If Gundry is correct when he claims that Matthew's source for this verse was Mark 11:25, which speaks of reconciliation but makes no mention of an altar, we find more evidence for a particular audience that the author of the First Gospel had in mind.[92] Matthew has written this text in such a manner that he addresses persons who have at least a good knowledge of the sectarian viewpoint and we suspect much more.

Equally puzzling are the final two verses in this pericope. This common bit of wisdom, that it is better to be reconciled with your opponent on the way to court than to lose to him in the courtroom again raises the question of context. Certainly the resolution of issues in rabbinic courts was a part of the world recorded in the Talmud and Mishnah. But what about the readers for whom the Gospel of Matthew was written? I have often scratched my head and tried to figure out why there is so much concern with courts in these antitheses. Was the christian community at the

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[90] One of the ongoing questions concerning the role of the cult at Qumran has been whether the sectaries actually offered sacrifices. In the light of the Qumranic Torah, I would not be at all surprised to learn that at some points in their history they adopted such a practice in an attempt to make their Torah and their temple a reality. Cross, *Ancient Library*, 69, 82, 100-03 has argued that they offered sacrifices. Note also Feldman, *Josephus*, LCL 9, pp. 16-17.

[91] This vision of the cult found expression in the leadership of the sect. In CD. 4:3-4 we read that "the *beney Ṣadoq* are the chosen of Israel, called by name, who arise in the latter days." In this document as well as in the Community Rule we find these sons of Zadok to be in leading roles in the life of the community. The sons of Zadok are also considered, of course, to be the legitimate and 'true' priests of the temple in the vision of Ezekiel. Elsewhere in the Community Rule and the War Rule as well as other texts we find extensive reference to the role of the priests in all aspects of the life of the sect. In other words, we have here a sect dominated by concerns of purity, led by a group of priests who bore a name that summoned up visions of a faithful, pure core of that institution and which had priests in many of its major roles and activities. Probably it was the institution which provided the central model for the life of the rest of the community.

[92] Gundry, *Matthew*, 85-86.

time of the writing of this gospel so divided that members were taking each other to court? While not an impossibility, it would seem surprising if it did occur in large numbers. Again, I must appeal to the nature of life in the sectarian community. The resolution of issues via sectarian courts is discussed in considerable detail in Manuscript B of the Zadokite Documents and certainly receives mention in Manuscript A and in the Community Rule. If the previous discussion of the early verses in this pericope has any validity, then certainly these last two verses can be understood in that same sectarian context. What does this mean for understanding the passage in Matthew?

If my analysis is correct, then these six verses are to be understood in the context of one sectarian addressing another. In v. 21 a sectarian understanding of one of the statements of the decalogue is held up as incorrect. Verse 22 attempts to show the absurdity of the way in which the Qumranites attempt to enforce brotherly (and sisterly?) love and reconciliation through the imposition of harsh penalties. Vv. 23-26 looking at the positive side of the Qumran sectarian experience emphasize the importance of face-to-face reconciliation between persons within the community.

Matthew 5:27-30: Adultery

The second of the antitheses also begins with a quote from the Decalogue: *ou moicheuseis-lo' tin'ap* (you shall not commit adultery)—Exod 20:14 and Deut 5:18. Unlike v. 21 there is no additional phrase that provides a clue to the problem envisaged by the author of this gospel. Due to its presence in this set of antithetical formulations, however, we must postulate that there is something amiss in the manner in which it is understood. We first of all note the presence of the term *epithymēsai* (to desire), which points to the last of the Ten Commandments where this term is used by the LXX to translate *taḥmod* (covet) in Exod 20:17 and both *taḥmod* and *tit'awweh* in Deut 5:21.[93] Perhaps the intention is to explain the meaning of the earlier commandment by including the latter; in the statement concerning adultery the author is talking about covetousness.

The most telling clue to the problem underlying this section is to be found in the observation that Jub. 20:4 uses the principle outlined here in Matthew with regard to fornication:

> And when any woman or girl fornicates among you you will burn her with fire, and let them not fornicate with her after their eyes and hearts and let them not take wives from the girls of Canaan because the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the land.

In this work the prohibition of fornication "with her after their eyes and hearts" is related to the issue of purity,[94] which is interpreted as referring to the membership of the group, whether defined as Israel or as a sectarian entity within Israel. Canaan in the second century B.C.E. would represent someone outside of that group. We furthermore note that the context for the concerns expressed in this citation are those of uncleanness, pollution and fornication, expressed in Jub. 20:3-6. This activity is

[93] This possibility is presented by W. D. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 523.

[94] Note that in 11QT 59:13-14, a work dominated by the concern for purity, we find the following phrase with striking similarities to the passage in Jubilees, "The king whose heart and eyes *zanah* from my commandments."

contrasted with "the way of the Lord" in 20:2, which includes "that they might do righteousness and each one might love his neighbor." R. H. Charles points to a similar concern in Jub. 41:25, where he who commits incest by lying with his mother-in-law or daughter-in-law is burned with fire.[95] This concern over incest is also discussed under the category of *zenut* (fornication) in Zadokite Documents 4-5. The concentration on purity which Jubilees relates to the basic issue of the necessity for marital relationships being confined to group members sets an appropriate context for the interpretation of this section within Matthew.

It is clear that the Qumran literature, as just noted, reflected a good deal of concern about sexual morality and marriage.[96] This was one of the purity issues considered important to the life of the sect. In the case of intercourse with the aunt we know that this is a legal stipulation which distinguished the sect from the rest of Judaism.[97] As assumed in Jubilees, these purity issues were important to the self-definition of the sect or at least to the manner in which the sect would have interpreted Jubilees. In agreement, then, with the ideology represented in Qumran literature the author of Matthew would have held out the importance of the seventh commandment. Within the sectarian ideology already discussed with regard to vv. 21-26, a connection with the tenth commandment would not be surprising. Covetousness would have been a very serious issue for those involved in the sectarian lifestyle. Taboos concerning sexual relationships, in particular, would have had to be stringent. Rejecting simply a legalistic interpretation of this commandment suggested by the discussion of *zenut* in 11QT and the Zadokite Documents, the author of Matthew in v. 28 attempts rather to get at the heart of the intention of those strict taboos.[98] I think we find the author's understanding of those intentions in vv. 29-30.

While vv. 21-26 had been dominated by the issue of the nature of the relationships within this community of the followers of Jesus, this section is concerned with the question of loyalty, boundary maintenance in sociological terminology. In the Hebrew Scriptures, *zenut* is used to describe idolatry as well as sexual behavior considered immoral.[99] While Meier is correct in noting that the eye and the hand are mentioned in these verses because of their sexual connotation,[100] the meaning derived from this discussion of sexual behavior goes much further. What is the price of loyalty to the group? The gospel writer wants loyalty to a different group which is of a different nature than the Qumran sect. The nature of allegiance to that group who are followers of Jesus is discussed as the issue of adultery.

Matthew 5:31-32: Divorce

The author's discussion of the issue of divorce finds its basis in Deut 24:1-4,[101] where the main issue is not the procedures for divorce but rather for remar-

[95] R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2:42.

[96] See Wacholder, *Dawn*, 16-17, 116-27, 150-53 for a discussion of these questions.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Note Schubert, *Scrolls and the New Testament*, 126.

[99] Ezekiel 16, Hos 1:2, 4:15 (note in 3:1 the woman is described as *mena'apet* (an adulteress).

[100] J. P. Meier, *Matthew*, NTM 3 (Wilmington: Glazier, 1980), 52.

[101] Note also Isa 50:1 and Jer 3:8.

riage.[102] It is well-known that the hard line in the New Testament concerning divorce is similar to that found in various writings from Qumran,[103] and with a few exceptions, is in contrast to the view expressed in later Rabbinic materials. Unacceptable are the opinions of commentators such as Davies and Gundry who reject the connection between these verses and the statements in the Zadokite Documents and 11QT concerning divorce.[104]

For the subject of this paper the crucial question is the meaning and origin of the exception clause, *parektos logou porneias* (except on the ground of fornication[105]), peculiar to Matthew and found elsewhere only in 19:9. Since the general statement on divorce is also found in Mark 10:4, 11-12, Luke 16:18 and 1 Cor 7:10-16, it is important for the thesis of this paper to see whether a connection of the exception clause with the Qumran materials can be established. It correctly has been noted that this clause is rooted in the two words in Deut 24:1, *ʿerwat dabar*, which I shall leave untranslated.[106] Davies also correctly observes that the phrase in Matthew does not reflect the LXX, since the phrase in Deut 24:1 rather reads *aschēmon pragma* (indecent deed).[107] It does appear, however, that these words in Matthew are more than merely a translation of the Hebrew terms in Deuteronomy.[108] The question which the author of this text seeks to answer is, What is the *ʿerwat dabar* in Deut 24:1 which permits a husband to issue a writ of divorce? We know that a variety of answers to this question appear in rabbinic texts.[109] Regrettable is the fact that the paraphrase of Deuteronomy found in our copy of 11QT ends at the beginning of chapter 23. We do not know whether it continued to chapter 24 and certainly do not have the text, if it did. The availability of that text may have helped to answer this present riddle. From other evidence in 11QT and with the help of CD we can know how those writers understood the matter.

From the evidence in the LXX, we can be quite confident that *porneia* is a translation

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[102] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 527.

[103] G. Vermes, "Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule," *JJS* 25 (1974): 197-202; J. R. Mueller, "The Temple Scroll and the Gospel Divorce Texts," *RQ* 10 (1978): 247-56; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Divorce Among First-Century Palestinian Jews," *Eretz-Israel* 14 (1978): 103-10; Wacholder, *Dawn*, 16-17, 124-27, 152; Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:353-57.

[104] See Gundry, *Matthew*, 91. Note that Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 528, follow Vermes (see previous note) in arguing that 11QT 57:17-19 and CD 4:12-5:14 prohibit polygamy but not divorce.

[105] My translation, a more common and accurate rendering of *porneia*.

[106] Gundry, *Matthew*, 90; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 528-31.

[107] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 528.

[108] Contra Gundry, *Matthew*, 91.

[109] In *m. Git.* 9:10 we read: "The School of Shammai say: A man may not divorce his wife unless he has found unchastity (*debar ʿerwah*) in her, for it is written, 'Because he hath found in her indecency in anything.' And the School of Hillel say: [He may divorce her] even if she spoiled a dish for him, for it is written, 'Because he hath found in her indecency in anything.' R. Akiba says: Even if he found another fairer than she, for it is written, "And it shall be if she find no favour in his eyes. . . ." Translation from H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (London: Oxford University, 1933).

of the Hebrew *zenut*, or some other term from the same root.[110] Along with uncleanness and defilement of the temple, *zenut* is a major concern in the Zadokite Documents. I have already discussed the way in which it is the term which includes the category of incest. Included in those same pages we also find under the heading of *zenut* a discussion of the subjects of polygamy and divorce. The connection between 11QT and the Zadokite Documents concerning these three issues has been documented above. This suggests to me the importance of the term in the ideology of Qumran. What the author of Matthew is doing is interpreting the meaning of Deut 24:1; What is the legitimate grounds for divorce established in the Torah? The argument is that the reader is to understand that *'erwat dabar* really refers to *porneia*. Further evidence of the author's desire to stress that term is found in Matt 19:9 which reads *me epi porneiai;* the author felt free to change the term *parektos*, used earlier, because the important point was that people understand that Deut 24:1 was referring to *porneia*. What was the author referring to when employing this term?

If the preceding treatment of vv. 27-30 has validity, the groundwork has been laid for answering this question.[111] In the discussion of that section I posited a relationship between the treatment of adultery and the notion of allegiance to this sect composed of followers of Jesus. As with other sectarian groups violation of its provisions would be ground for dismissal. I have already argued that the concept of *porneia* includes legislation relating to polygamy, divorce and incest at Qumran. This is one portion of the concern reflected over defilement and uncleanness in that literature, issues at the center of that community's self-understanding. It is quite possible that the term included the same categories in Matthew, since the moral stance concerning all of these issues appears to have been rather similar in the New Testament and Qumran literature. In this case, the author of Matthew applied Deut 24:1 to the sectarian stance concerning issues like polygamy, divorce and incest. Whether other issues related to purity were also to be included in this category is a question which must remain open at this time. The major point the author of this gospel wished to make is that divorce is prohibited, except in the case of those very basic purity issues which I would assume resulted in expulsion from the sect. When the issues were that basic and that grave then divorce was legitimate. Is this conclusion the meanderings of an overactive imagination or is there further warrant for such a viewpoint? It seems to me that Paul was dealing with a similar issue in 1 Cor 7:15 when he gives persons permission to divorce if the unbelieving partner desires it, i.e., the partner that is not a member of this new Christian sect.

The stance of Matthew in these two verses makes sense in the context of sectarian disputes. Amply attested in the New Testament materials is the stance which the author surely inherited, that divorce is not permitted. There is however the problem of what to do when one member of a couple is more committed to the sectarian principles than the other, or when one member violates a basic principle of that group. Here the author, using the pretext of Deut 24:1 lays out the principle that violation of some of the fundamental principles of the sect was a legitimate basis for

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[110] E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897), 2:1194-95. See Meier, *Matthew*, 52-53, who says that this is what it means in this passage and in Matt 19:9.

[111] Note Gundry, *Matthew*, 89 sees such a close connection between the second and third antitheses that he refers to the latter as an 'appendix.' The title of Allen, *St. Matthew*, 51, for these verses is "Special application to divorce."

divorce. Was this an example which could be applied to categories other than those covered under *porneia?* I suspect it was. It did provide, however, for a way in which the community addressed by this gospel could remain faithful to the inherited Christian tradition on this issue and simultaneously deal with a troublesome sectarian issue in a manner which is not attested in the literature from Qumran and which may have offended the absolutist kind of legal principles characteristic of that group.

Matthew 5:33-37: Oaths

The second section of the antitheses begins with another full citation of the polemical formula. While the evidence concerning Qumran and oaths appears ambiguous, I think there is a consistency in the literature represented in the diverse expressions concerning this issue. In Josephus' description of the Essenes, the stance concerning the oath is remarkably similar to this text in Matthew:

> Any word of theirs has more force than an oath; swearing they avoid, regarding it as worse than perjury, for they say that one who is not believed without an appeal to God stands condemned already.[112]

What is surprising about this viewpoint is found in the next paragraph at the conclusion of the description of the initiation procedures: "But, before he may touch the common food, he is made to swear tremendous oaths."[113] The description of these oaths then continues for a full page! They do not swear by the name of God concerning the veracity of their statements; they do, however, swear an extensive oath of allegiance upon full admission to membership in the sect. A comparable stance is found in CD 15:1-6 and 16:1-2. In 1QS 5:8-11 each member of the covenant

> shall undertake by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to every commandment of the Law of Moses in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok. . . .

While we can cite various texts from the Hebrew Scriptures which appear to form the background of Matt 5:33 such as Exod 20:7, Lev 19:12, Num 30:3-15, Deut 23:22-24, Ps 50:14, etc.,[114] no one passage seems to capture the essence of this saying, particularly with regard to clarifying what the author considered objectionable. Gundry is correct in pointing out the importance of Deut 23:22-24 for this section, and also recognizes that it is not a direct quote. One problem is the presence of the term *epiorkēseis* (swear falsely), which is not found in Deut 23:22. Bringing Lev 19:12 into the discussion as the background for *ouk epiorkēseis* seems reasonable, even if the Greek of Matthew does not resemble the LXX rendering of the passage.[115] As in v. 31, the writer brings to mind a passage from the Hebrew Scriptures upon which to base the desired point. The argument is not simply, however, with the assertion in Deuteronomy, but rather with a sectarian interpretation of it. From columns 1-2

[112] *BJ* 2:135.

[113] *BJ* 1:139.

[114] Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 533.

[115] Gundry, *Matthew,* 91-92. Less clear is the assertion that the second half of the verse is based on Ps 50:4, even though Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 534, also supports that viewpoint. Even if this were the case it would not contradict the following argument.

of the Community Rule we know that the binding oath mentioned in 1QS 5:8 is rooted in the blessings and curses of the latter part of Deuteronomy. The author brings to mind both the covenant of that biblical book[116] as well as the holiness regulations of Leviticus in that opening line. This combination would certainly describe the nature of the covenant to which the initiate swears allegiance in the Community Rule. I would submit that is the incorrect inference which the author of this gospel is wanting to counteract; the object of attack is the loyalty oaths administered to all those entering into the Qumran covenant.

The response to this interpretation of Leviticus and Deuteronomy is to argue that loyalty oaths are not necessary for membership in the sect advocated by the author. Citing many of her/his favorite themes,[117] this gospel writer argues that none of them provide the basis for oaths of allegiance. Then comes the simple conclusion, couched in language cited elsewhere in the discussion of oaths;[118] joining the Jesus group is a straightforward matter of acceptance or rejection, "anything more than this comes from the evil one."[119] This, of course, points us back to the covenant in texts such as 1QS 2:5 where those cursed are "men of the lot of Belial." In the dualistic world of Qumran sectarianism everyone who did not swear the oath of membership was outside the group and allied with Belial, the evil one.[120] Matthew reverses the use of this figure by arguing rather that anyone who does swear the oath of membership is of the lot of Belial. In this sectarian competition the author of Matthew is claiming that the adherents of this other group are of the devil, a charge thrown around rather freely in Qumran literature.

Matthew 5:38-42: Lex Talionis

Citing a portion of Deut 19:21 this segment brings to mind a principal tenet of legislation in Qumran literature. 11QT 61:11-12 cites the segment from Deuteronomy, applying it to the same legal problem—false witnesses. While this might appear to be mere repetition of the biblical text, it seems clear that the author of that presumptuous document which claims to be direct revelation from God only included material that she/he considered important. I have already noted above in my discussion of the first antithesis the manner in which Jub. 4:31-32 employs this concept.[121] At that point I observed that the omission of *nepeš taḥat nepeš* (life for a life) from v. 38 might be because the writer of this gospel thought that the matter had already been discussed.[122] Nowhere in this literature do we find any hint of an attempt to blunt the stringency of this legislation, whereas in rabbinic literature the

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[116] Note that the LXX of Deut 23:22 also contains a form of the verb *apodidomi*.

[117] Gundry, *Matthew*, 92.

[118] 2 Enoch 49:1-2. We do find debates in Rabbinic literature as to whether "Yes, Yes" and "No, No" have the force of oaths: *b. Sanh.* 36a. See the discussion in C. G. Montefiore, *Rabbinic Literature*, 48-50.

[119] My adaptation in the translation.

[120] See the following section for references to this figure.

[121] See also Wacholder, *Dawn*, 51.

[122] This is a different explanation than that advanced by Daube, *New Testament*, 258, where he argues it is because in the rabbinic tradition *nepes tahat nepes* (life for life) was divorced from the other phrases because they applied to monetary compensation.

biblical passage becomes the basis of compensation for injury.[123] The author of this gospel is pointing in v. 38 to a fairly harsh penal code which either in actuality or in its ideology characterized Qumran.[124]

I previously made reference to the importance of the evil one, Belial, in the literature of Qumran. While included in 11QT 55:3, citing Deut 13:14, it is much more common in the more sectarian legal literature, such as the Community Rule[125] and the Zadokite Documents,[126] as well as other writings from Qumran.[127] What we know is that opposition to the sect, whether celestial or terrestrial, was embodied in this figure. *Mē antistēnai tōi ponerōi* (Do not resist the evil one)[128] is an injunction concerning relationships with those outside the sect. These relationships are not to be characterized by the hatred discussed in the following segment, but rather by an accommodating compliance to the demands of the outside world, including apparently those of the Roman occupation forces in v. 41. Any expectation on the part of Qumran that Judaism should enforce a legalistic type of moral code based upon the principle of vengeance is contradicted by the writer of Matthew. Nor should that be the basis upon which the sect relates to the world around it. This is not the kind of Judaism that the author of the gospel envisages. It would appear that this a statement concerning both the internal life of the author's own Jewish sect who are followers of Jesus as well as a statement concerning the author's understanding of Judaism. In both cases the notion of vengeance as a basis for resolving problems in social relationships is to be rejected.

Matthew 5:43-47: Love of enemies

The injunction to love your neighbor, based on Lev 19:18, is important to the author of this gospel and also found in Matt 19:19 and 22:39. The latter two verses contain the additional phrase, *hōs seauton* (as yourself), found in the Hebrew Scriptures. As in v. 21, the protasis of this argument contains an additional phrase which suggests the problem its composer had with the interpretation of the verse from the Hebrew Scriptures. *Kai misēseis ton echthron sou* (and hate your enemy) is this gospel writer's perception (caricature-?) of what in her/his opinion was wrong with how the Qumran sectarians understood this verse.

While Davies admits the possible allusions to literature from Qumran in this troublesome phrase, he argues that it cannot be "a polemical barb aimed right at the Essenes" because "this would make 5.43-48 anomalous" since "none of the preceding paragraphs is (presently) directed against the Essenes."[129] Not accepting this contention, permit me to turn to some of these references. Of particular significance is 1QS

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[123] Daube, *New Testament*, 255-59; Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels*, 2:69-76, *id.*, *Rabbinic Literature*, 50-59.

[124] Note this also seems to be implied concerning the Boethusians in *Meq. Ta'an.* 4. On this passage see Wacholder, *Dawn*, 164.

[125] 1QS 1:18, 24; 2:5, 19; 10:21.

[126] CD 4:13, 15; 5:18; 8:2; 12:2; 19:14.

[127] It appears 12 times in both 1QH and 1QM, as well as in other texts. See K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 33.

[128] My translation.

[129] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 550.

1:9-11: those admitted to the covenant shall live perfectly and "love all the sons of light . . . and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance."[130] This, of course, is the introduction to the blessings and curses of the initiation ceremony described in the opening columns of the rule already mentioned in the previous discussion.[131] Similar sentiments are found in CD 8:18 (cf. 19:31).[132] Later in the Community Rule we learn, "These are the rules of conduct for the Master in those times with respect to his loving and hating."[133] What God hates is described as the ways of the sons of darkness.[134] In the marked dualism of the Community Rule and the Zadokite Documents, the correct attitude towards those outside the sect is described as one of hatred.[135]

Our gospel writer dislikes such a viewpoint and does not want it to characterize the relationships of the followers of Jesus with fellow Jews.[136] Certainly v. 44 presents a contrasting view of attitudes to be held toward opponents of the sect. The following verses provide justification for this perspective. As already seen in previous sections of the antitheses, the gospel writer dislikes the walls the Qumran sect erected around itself and the barriers it created between itself and the rest of Judaism.

Conclusion

This is my proposal for understanding the structure of the argument presented in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount. I have advanced the thesis that there are larger bodies of material in the Gospel of Matthew which reflect some debate with a viewpoint we find represented in the preserved writings of the Qumran community. If this is judged sound, more work needs to be done on the rest of the book concerning this thesis and its implications require a good deal more elaboration. In addition to the redactional and literary issues, persons working on the social world of Matthew would have to take into account evidence suggesting that the debates within that gospel represent more than two groups, the followers of Jesus and a Pharisaic or proto-Rabbinic opposition.[137] Given the diversity of viewpoints and the

[130] See also 1QS 1:4.

[131] This is an example of the close relationship between vv. 38-42 and 43-48, particularly when evaluated against the parallels in Luke 6:27-36 (see Gundry, *Matthew*, 94-100). This is similar to the case of 5:27-30 and 31-32 noted earlier. This may be another example of the parallel structure in the two halves of the six antitheses.

[132] The only place where hatred of one's fellow is mentioned in a negative way is in CD 8:6 (19:18), where it applies to relationships within the group. This is also the focus of 1QS 5:26.

[133] 1QS 9:21, cf. 9:16.

[134] 1QS 4:1. Hatred is also mentioned in this dualistic context in 1QS 4:24 and lies behind the hymn in 1QS 10:17-21. See also CD 2:13, 15.

[135] While speculative one wonders whether this attitude toward the outside world found justification in 11QT (1-)2, where the expulsion of the inhabitants of the land is necessary to make way for the eschatological temple.

[136] Since Gentiles are used as a negative in v. 47, I suspect that the primary concern of this writer was Judaism and its adherents. This holds true for most of the Gospel, however the conclusion requires explanation.

[137] Note work of Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism*, chapter 4,

and the turbulence of the events and forces impacting on first-century Judaism, a few more complications in reconstructing the social world of the Matthean community should not surprise us.

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arguing for Lower Galilee as the provenance for Matthew. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981): 575-600 uses the setting of Matt. 16:13-19 at Caesarea Philippi to talk about a particular tradition of revelation represented in Matthew and apocalyptic literature with a geographical rooting in Upper Galilee. Then we get into the Jewish and Jewish-Christian sects of Syria: Sebastian P. Brock, "Some Syriac Accounts of the Jewish Sects," *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East,* ed. Robert H. Fischer (Chicago: The Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1977), 265-76. Here we get into the listings of person such as Dionysios bar Salibi, Epiphanius, Hegesippus (Second Century), etc.

Canonical References to Extra-Canonical "Texts": Priscillian's Defense of the Apocrypha

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"Let what ought to be condemned be condemned, what is unnecessary not be read!"[1] With these words addressed to the bishops assembled at Saragossa in 380, Hydatius of Merida attacked the wide-ranging reading habits of his rival Priscillian. Priscillian, a noted lay teacher,[2] ascetic, and exegete, mockingly rephrased Hydatius' outraged cry: "Condemn what I do not know, condemn what I do not read, condemn what I do not seek by pursuit of sluggish leisure!"[3] He contrasted the command of a bishop whom he characterized as ignorant and lazy with the divine command to search tirelessly through the scriptures in the guest for knowledge of God.[4] Caught in a trap, as he put it,[5] between these two commands, Priscillian chose to obey God rather than Hydatius—a decision which eventually led to his execution as a Manichaean and sorcerer, a reader of secret and nefarious books.[6]

In the conflict between Priscillian and Hydatius, differing understandings of ecclesiastical authority were closely intertwined with differing understandings of the nature of canon and of the role of the Christian as reader. For Hydatius, canon signified limit and closure, a boundary beyond which the Christian reader dared not

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[1] *Tract.* 2, 42: "Damnanda damnentur, superflua non legantur." The eleven "tractates" attributed to Priscillian are edited by G. Schepps, CSEL 18 (1889), reprinted in PL Suppl. 2 (1960), 1391-1483.

[2] Priscillian was subsequently consecrated bishop of Avila, but at the time of the council of Saragossa and perhaps also of the writing of the *Apology* and the *Book on Faith and the Apocrypha*, he was still a layperson, probably a member of Hydatius' congregation in Merida.

[3] *Tract.* 3, 51: "damna quae ego nescio, damna quod ego non lego, damna quod studio pigriscentis otii non requiro."

[4] *Tract.* 3, 41: "Hinc ex parte altera divinum urget eloquium: 'scrutate,' inquit, 'scripturas'" (John 5.39).

[5] *Tract.* 3, 47-48: "Non possum autem dicere quod loqui cogor, ut mihi apostolum sequi non eruditio fidei fuerit, sed muscipula decepti."

[6] Our main source for Priscillian's trial and execution is Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicle* 2.50-51. See the excellent discussion by Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 111-148.

venture. For Priscillian, on the other hand, canon marked the beginning and end but by no means the entirety of the Christian reader's journey. Canon constantly pointed beyond itself and invited—indeed compelled—the reader to move between the canonical text and extra-canonical texts in the process of interpretation. Canon was guide, standard, and measure, but not limit. The present discussion will focus, first, on Priscillian's theoretical justification for his deliberately "intertextual" reading of the scriptures, and, second, on two examples of his method as a reader of canonical and extra-canonical texts.

Priscillian's Defense of the Apocrypha

In his *Book on Faith and the Apocrypha* Priscillian calls attention to the numerous references to extra-canonical texts which occur in the canonical scriptures themselves. Some of these references consist of actual citations of prophecy. Thus, Jude cites a prophecy of Enoch (Jude 14-15),[7] Matthew cites an anonymous prophecy concerning the infant Jesus' sojourn in Egypt (Matt 2.14-15),[8] and both Acts and Daniel cite sayings of the Lord (Acts 20.35, Dan 13.5);[9] none of these cited prophecies is found elsewhere in the canon. Other allusions consist not in citations but in simple references to a prophet or prophecy, as when Tobit—which Priscillian considers canonical—refers to Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as "prophets" (Tob 4.12), although none of their prophecies are contained in the canon,[10] 1 Kings and Luke refer to the slaying of the prophets (1 Kgs 19.10; Luke 11.50-51), although the canon contains no record of any prophet having been killed,[11] and 2 Chronicles refers repeatedly to prophetic books not included in the canon (2 Chr 9.29, 12.15, 13.22, 20.34, 25.26, 28.26, 33.18-19).[12] Priscillian also detects a reference to an extra-canonical work when the canonical scriptures include an obviously incomplete narrative whose missing portions are supplied by a known apocryphal text. This is the case with the canonical account of the burning of the testament: since the testament was obviously restored, maintains Priscillian, the very silence of scripture here refers the reader to the extra-canonical text which narrates the re-writing of the testament by Ezra (2 Esdr 14).[13]

Through these allusions, the canon itself explicitly grants divine authority to certain texts not found in the canon; the attempt to confine revelation to the canon therefore results in a contradiction, argues Priscillian. If all extra-canonical texts are condemned, he writes, "either the witness of the condemned is accepted or the authority of the writer of the scriptures is not maintained."[14] Canonical references to extra-canonical texts cannot be selectively rejected by the arbitrary act of one who

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[7] *Tract.* 3, 44.
[8] *Tract.* 3, 48.
[9] *Tract.* 3, 49.
[10] *Tract.* 3, 45-46.
[11] *Tract.* 3, 47.
[12] *Tract.* 3, 50-51.
[13] *Tract.* 3, 52.
[14] *Tract.* 3, 50: ". . . si extra canonem tota damnanda sunt aut qualiter vel damnatorum testimonium recipitur, vel in his quae scribta sunt scribentis auctoritas non tenetur."

picks and chooses "as if choosing between desires for ordinary food."[15] The canonical text is a product of divine gift, not human choice, and authority cannot be granted to one part of that text while being denied to another: "if the first fruit is holy, the mass is also" (Rom 11.16). It is of the nature of heretics to follow their own will rather than to listen to God, Priscillian finally observes, neatly turning the tables on those who have declared his own reading of extra-canonical texts heretical.[16]

Crucial to Priscillian's argument are the concepts of text and of allusion. For Priscillian, the mere mention of a prophet or a prophecy conjures a prophetic text which is both separate from and intimately related to the canonical text in which the allusion occurs. Actual citations, no less than vaguer allusions, point to external texts, so that—strikingly—for Priscillian any revelatory word which is presented as a citation overflows the boundaries of the canonical text and takes on the status of extra-canonicity. Most of the texts to which canon alludes are not otherwise available to Priscillian; in only a few cases does he seem to be referring explicitly to apocryphal scriptures he knows and uses. This abstract nature of the extracanonical texts evoked by canon aids Priscillian in generalizing his argument. For it is not just a limited number of specifically cited texts whose use is authorized by canon; Priscillian appears, rather, to imply that the intertextual relations of canon extend to encompass an infinite body of texts, so that the use of *any* extra-canonical text is potentially legitimate.

In fact, Priscillian is particularly interested in a group of extra-canonical texts—certain Christian apocrypha—which are not specifically alluded to by the canonical scriptures, except perhaps in the manner of the Ezra story, where the complementary nature of the canonical and extra-canonical accounts constitutes for Priscillian a kind of allusion. A strong emphasis on canon is crucial to Priscillian's defense of the reading of these apocryphal writings not only because he can claim to demonstrate that canon itself legitimates and even mandates the reading of extra-canonical texts in general, but also because canon serves as a standard by which the tares can be removed from the good grain in apocryphal works which are commonly agreed to have been interpolated by heretics.[17] Priscillian's optimism here is in strong contrast to Hydatius' fear of pollution from any contact with apocryphal texts. While Priscillian acknowledges that certain things "ought not be committed to inexperienced ears,"[18] he does not doubt the ability of a skilled exegete like himself to separate the wheat from the tares. Moreover, he places the efforts of the exegete in the mythic context of the fight against Satan: to fail to read the interpolated texts, writes Priscillian, is to play into the hands of the devil, who

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[15] *Tract.* 3, 48: ". . . nec potest tamquam inter aepularum mortalium voluntates aliud eligi et aliud repudiari. . . ."

[16] *Tract.* 3, 48.

[17] *Tract.* 3, 46: "In quibus tamen omnibus libris non est metus, si qua ab infelicibus hereticis sunt inserta, delere et [quae] profetis vel evangeliis non inveniuntur consentire respuere. Nec enim illi ipsi deo sancti mendacium in veris et sacrilega amplectuntur vel detestabilia pro sanctis, meliusque est 'zezania de frugibus tollere' (cf. Matt 13.29) quam spem boni fructus propter zizania perdidisse. . . ."

[18] *Tract.* 3, 56: "inperitis haec non committenda auribus."

> introduced his own among the holy things for the very reason that, if it were not under a careful reaper, the grain would die with the tares and one would make the good perish with the very bad.[19]

Having marshalled his arguments in defense of the reading of apocryphal scriptures, Priscillian opposes Hydatius' exhortation—"Let what ought to be condemned be condemned, what is unnecessary not be read!"[20]—with a new cry—"Let it be allowed!"[21]

> How are we guilty because we read a few of these books, when we are more accountable for not having read all that has been prophesied about God? . . . For however much a crime it may be not to have believed the apostolic discourses, it is not, however, a fault worthy of condemnation to construct a support for faith by examination of the scriptures and to keep nothing in which the reproof of the devil may make us weak.[22]

Priscillian as Reader

In his *Book on Faith and the Apocrypha*, Priscillian confines his argument primarily to the theoretical justification of the use of extra-canonical texts, avoiding any specific mention of the apocryphal scriptures which were the subject of controversy between himself and Hydatius. We must turn to another work, Priscillian's so-called *Apology*, to find well-developed examples of Priscillian's method of intertextual reading, and even here the veils of accusation and defense partly obscure Priscillian's exegetical discussions. I will focus on two passages from the *Apology*. In the first, Priscillian interprets the significance of animals in the canonical scriptures by reference, I will suggest, to the depiction of the archons in gnostic writings. In the second, Priscillian interprets the account of creation in a gnostic or Manichaean work by reference to the canonical scriptures. These two examples will illumine both Priscillian's method of intertextual reading and the significance of canon in his reading.

In the *Apology* Priscillian responds to the request of certain bishops that he defend his own orthodoxy by condemning a list of errors; presumably, these are errors of which he himself has been accused. Among these Priscillian gives prominant place to the error of those who interpret the references to animals in scripture falsely.

> Let the one be anathema who, upon reading about griffins, eagles, asses, elephants, serpents, and unnecessary beasts, has been captured by the emptiness of confused respect and constructed, as it were, a mystery of divine

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[19] *Tract.* 3. 46-47: ". . . propterea cum suis inter sancta 'zabulus inseruit' (cf. Matt 13.25), ut, nisi sub cauto messore, cum zezaniis frux periret et bona faceret occidere cum pessimis. . . ."

[20] See n. 1 above.

[21] *Tract.* 3, 52: "Liceat!"

[22] *Tract.* 3, 52-53: "Qualiter, rogo, pauca ex his legentes culpabiles sumus, cum magis ob hoc rei sumus, quod omnia quae de deo sunt profetata non legimus? . . . . Quamius enim crimen sit apostolicis non credidisse sermonibus, non est tamen damnabilis culpae firmamentum fidei scriptorum probatione construere et nihil in quo nos infirmes redarguitio diaboli faciat reservare."

> religion—though their works and abominableness of form are the nature of the demons, not the truth of the divine glories.[23]

He insists that any scriptural mention of animals or fabulous beasts must be understood as a reference to demonic powers and moral vice, and he vehemently denounces rival interpretations which identify certain scriptural animals as symbols of God or the sacraments. Such false interpretations confuse demons with God, evil with virtue, and thereby condemn the interpreter. Citing the apocalyptic visions of bestial adversaries described in Daniel and the Revelation, Priscillian explains that

> The prophets wanted all that was put in their visions to be read by all and, having been understood, to be avoided; and therefore the hearts of those who, investigating those things, did not understand rightly what it was that they read, have been given to the beast and their flesh will be devoured.[24]

Those who interpret scriptural beasts correctly, on the other hand, are enabled to attain the virtue of the true Christian and ascetic:

> The one who understands the natures of beasts which have been spoken in parables, rejecting those things which are of the customs of the world, may purify the defects in him or herself.[25]

Priscillian is strangely adamant in his insistence on a single correct interpretation for all scriptural references to animals, but it is unlikely that either the idiosyncrasy or the intolerance of his exegetical stance would have been enough to provoke an accusation of heresy. The explanation for both his adamancy and the hostile response of his accusers lies, I suggest, in Priscillian's probable use of gnostic apocrypha to interpret canonical references to animals. Elsewhere in his *Apology,* Priscillian identifies scriptural beasts both with the seven planetary gods[26] and with demons called by the gnostic names Saclas, Nebroel, Samael, Belzebuth, Nasbodeus, and Belial.[27] An apocryphal work like the *Apocryphon of John* could have suggested just such an identification: according to this work, the lustful chief archon Yaltabaoth, also known as Saclas or Samael, has the form of a lion-faced serpent; the seven planetary "powers" of Yaltabaoth also take bestial shapes, bearing the faces of lion, donkey, hyena, serpent, dragon, monkey, and fire, respectively; and the two archons Yave and Eloim, produced through the adulterous union of the chief archon and Eve, have

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[23] *Tract.* 1, 7-8: "Anathema sit qui legens 'grifos aquilas asinos' (cf. Lev 11.13) elefantos serpentes et bestias supervacuas confusibilis observantiae vanitate captivus velut mysterium divinae religionis adstruxerit, quorum opera et formarum detestabilitas natura daemoniorum, non divinarum veritas gloriarum est."

[24] *Tract.* 1, 9: "Quae omnia posita in visionibus suis profetae legi ab omnibus voluerunt et intellecta vitari et ideo, qui esta cognoscentes quid esset quod legerent non intellexerunt recte, cor eorum datum est bestiae et carnes devorabuntur eorum. . . ."

[25] *Tract.* 1, 12: ". . . qui bestiarum naturas dictas in parabolis intelligit, repudians quae sunt saeculi morum in se vitia castiget. . . ."

[26] *Tract.* 1, 15: "Aper de silva et singularis ferus depascatur eam" (Ps 80.13); "induit armis dei ascendentes super basiliscum et aspidem conculcemus leonem et draconem" (Ps 91.13).

[27] *Tract.* 1, 18: ". . . sive bestia habens 'septem capita et decem cornua' (Rev 13.1) sive serpens ponatur aut draco. . . ."

the faces of cat and bear.[28] Salvation in the gnostic text hinges on the recognition that the bestial archons are not gods but ignorant and despicable demons whose rule drags humanity down under the weight of temporality, immorality, and animal nature. If some such form of gnostic dualism does indeed provide part of the "intertext" for Priscillian's reading of the canonical scriptures, it is not surprising that Priscillian considers the question of the true identity of scriptural beasts to be crucial to salvation.

This is not to suggest that Priscillian's interpretation of the animals in scripture is distinctly "gnostic," though his use of gnostic apocrypha apparently caused some alarm on the part of Hydatius and provided the excuse for his confused claim that Priscillian worshipped animals, planetary gods, and gnostic demons. As he moves in his reading from canonical to apocryphal scriptures, Priscillian always returns again to the canonical text in order to take the measure of orthodoxy. A consideration of a second example of Priscillian's method of intertextual interpretation will illustrate how he uses the text of canon to control his reading of apocryphal texts.

This second example occurs later in the *Apology*, in a passage in which Priscillian responds to the bishops' request that he express his opinion concerning "the individual things which have been written" about creation;[29] from what follows it is apparent that Priscillian has been asked to respond to a certain apocryphal text which he has been accused—probably rightly—of reading. This text bears some resemblance to portions of the *Apocryphon of John*[30] as well as to extant accounts of the Manichaean creation myth[31] and includes the story of the chief archon Saclas' seduction of Eve and the subsequent birth of Cain and Lamech, and perhaps also the creation of Adam and Eve through the union of the archons Saclas and Nebroel.

Priscillian does not condemn the gnostic creation story. He begins by affirming that those who worship demons are "rightly related to the earthly Adam" and rightly identified as the product of Eve's intercourse with the demon Saclas.[32] Instead of rejecting the gnostic creation story outright, Priscillian moves to offer an orthodox interpretation by reading the text in relation to a canonical intertext. First, he places Eve's adultery in the context of the allegorical representation of Israel as the unfaithful wife of God in the canonical prophets.[33] Next, he complements the apocryphal account of Eve's adultery with the canonical affirmation that she will return to her rightful husband and God through child-bearing.[34] Finally, Priscillian avoids both a literal interpretation of child-bearing (problematic for an ascetic) and a crude material dualism (generally acknowledged to be heretical) by further equating Eve with the "mother" church whose children are identified by their good works.[35]

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[28] Nag Hammadi Codex II 1, pp. 10, 11, 24.

[29] *Tract.* 1, 18: "Ac si volunt scire, quid de singulis quae scribta sunt sentiamus, ..."

[30] Nag Hammadi Codex II 1, p. 24.

[31] See Samuel H. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1985), 16-17.

[32] *Tract.* 1, 18-19: ". . . recte talibus cum Adam terreno et fera facto tenebrosae vitae unita cognatio est. . . . Digni sunt quos in forma 'Cain et Lamec' (cf. Gen 4.24) Evva parturiens. . . ."

[33] *Tract.* 1, 19.

[34] *Tract.* 1, 20.

[35] *Tract.* 1, 20-21.

The canonical intertext leads Priscillian to a more explicitly critical reading of the apocryphal text on certain points. He rejects the docetic christology of the apocryphal text as the "false lies" of heretical interpolation, since canon proclaims that "the one who denies Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" is the Antichrist (cf. 1 John 2.22).[36] He further rejects as contradictory to the canon the gnostic conception that God is "masculo-feminine" and fragmented into a plurality of aeons: "there is no masculine and feminine, but we are all one in Christ Jesus (Gal 3.28)," and "neither Armaziel nor Mariame nor Joel nor Balsamus nor Barbilos is God, but Christ Jesus."[37] Interestingly, Priscillian acknowledges that the conception of God as "masculo-feminine" derives in part from a reading of the canonical text, but argues based on a more thorough examination of that same text that the heretics' reading is false.

Priscillian thus rejects the tares of gnostic theology and christology as heretical interpolations which contradict the controlling intertext of the canonical prophets and gospels. The valuable wheat of gnostic demonology and moral dualism is identified through its harmonious meshing with the canonical intertext and in its turn provides a significant intertext for Priscillian's interpretation of the canonical scriptures.

Concluding Remarks

It is difficult to "read Priscillian" without posing the question: was he heretical or not? The answer depends at least in part on the other texts to which we relate his life and thought. Priscillian constructed his own readings of Christian orthodoxy in relation to the "texts" of the ascetic and academic cultures of late antiquity. The ascetic worldview established a fundamental opposition and negative correspondence between vice and virtue, between the multitude of demons and the one God Christ; Priscillian accepted this opposition, along with the correlate conviction that knowledge of vice and the demons is inseparable from knowledge of virtue and God. His conscious identity as the well-read member of an educated elite further predisposed Priscillian to seek knowledge of both God and the demons through books and to place as much value on the breadth of his readings as on their selectivity. His wide-ranging reading habits necessitated a careful sifting of texts in order to separate truth from falsehood; in this process he appealed to the divinely established canon and

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[36] *Tract.* 1, 21-22: "Et ideo repetito semper sermone: anathema sit 'qui negat Jesum Christum in carne venisse, quia hic antechristus est' (cf. 1 John 2.22). . . ."

[37] *Tract.* 1, 28-29: ". . . Illis enim, sicut ab infelicibus dicitur, masculo-femina putetur deus: nobis autem et in masculis et in feminis dei spiritus est, sicut scribtum est: 'fecit deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, masculum et feminam. . . ' (cf. Gen 1.27-28); . . . 'quia non est masculus neque femina, sed omnes unum sumus in Christo Jesu.' (Gal 3.28)." "Nobis autem scientibus quoniam 'non est aliut nomen praeter Christum Iesum sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat salvos fieri' (Acts 4.12), neque Armaziel neque Mariame neque Joel neque Balsamus neque Barbilon deus est, sed Christus Jesus. . . ."

creed[38] as standards of orthodoxy by which the careful Christian scholar could measure all other texts.

Priscillian's opponents interpreted his thought in relation to rather different sets of cultural codes. For Hydatius, the demons held no special key to knowledge about God or oneself, and it was not conceivable to him that the study of demons might be undertaken for any reason other than to enter into dealings with those very demons—a practice with which the worldly bishop may have been quite familiar.[39] In this context, Priscillian's interests could only appear highly unorthodox. Nor was his frequent reference to the authority of books persuasive in the eyes of a bishop who seems to have viewed the private use of books with suspicion. At best, much study of books might lead to the questionable upward mobility of the social upstart or the charlatanry of the sophist; at worst, books gave rise to the hideous crimes of the Manichaean or sorcerer. The authority of the written word was properly located within the narrow confines of the public reading and interpretation of the canonical texts in the episcopal liturgy. Hydatius' concept of orthodoxy is well-expressed by the spatial metaphor of the avoidance of error, or wandering. To read beyond the boundaries of the canonical text was to transgress the boundaries of orthodoxy, to go astray. According to Hydatius, then, Priscillian *was* a heretic, guilty of a foot-loose wandering between texts.

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[38] This study has emphasized Priscillian's use of canon as the standard of orthodoxy; the baptismal creed also played as significant role, as is emphasized particularly in Priscillian's letter to Damasus, which includes a recitation and interpretation of the creed (*Tract.* 2, 36-37); see also the references to the creed in the *Apology* (*Tract.* 2, 4, and 21).

[39] Hydatius and Ithacius accused Priscillian—almost certainly falsely—of taking part in magical rituals designed to secure good weather for the crops (*Tract.* 1, 23-24). As Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, p. 53, points out, the charge is, as magical charges go, relatively mild; yet Priscillian, whose understanding of Christianity mandated fierce opposition to the demons, reacted with utmost horror. None of Hydatius' written works have survived and it is therefore difficult to reconstruct his attitudes in detail. However, I would speculate that he perceived the realm of spiritual powers to be considerably more differentiated and ambiguous than the ascetic Priscillian judged it. While he surely intended the accusation of magic to be damaging to his rival's reputation, he himself may not have been as appalled as Priscillian at the prospect of appealing to the demons for good weather for crops. Constantine specifically allows such uses of "white magic" (Codex Theodosianus 9.16.3). And Chadwick, p. 54, cites evidence that some Christian bishops may have participated in such peasant rituals; I disagree, however, with his suggestion that Priscillian himself probably did so.

New Testament Quotations in the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Philip

William J. Stroud

The Gospel of Philip alludes to either passages or phrases from the New Testament, or ideas compatible with New Testament thoughts more than fifty times. This usage shows a familiarity with parts of the New Testament. A redacted text of Matthew provides the basis for many citations, while others depend on John, I John, Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, and I Thessalonians. and perhaps Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Hebrews and I Peter.[1]

A Greek *Vorlage* possibly lies behind the Sahidic text of the Gospel of Philip (hereinafter GPh). Judging from the calligraphy, the Coptic writing is from the end of the fourth century. Whether we accept the dating of GPh as late second or early third century of the common era,[2] it stands as an independent tradition and provides a window into the nature of textual activity between the time of the Greek and that of the Coptic New Testament. Translation of the most important parts of the New Testament into Coptic was accomplished under the rule of Bishop Dionysos of Alexandria (247/8-264/5).[3]

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[1] R. Mc. L. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962). Walter C. Till, *Das Evangelium nach Philippos* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1963). Hans-Georg Gaffron, *Studien zum Koptischen Phillipusevangelum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente* (Bonn: Frederich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1969). William J. Stroud, *The Problem of Dating the Chenoboskion Gospel of Philip*, (Denver: The Iliff School of Theology, 1970). C. M. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition, Synoptic Tradition in the Nag Hammadi Library* (Edinbugh: T&T Clark, 1986).

[2] Isenberg says Coptic text is translation of a Greek text written as late as the second half of the third century C.E. In James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988), 114. Alternatively, "The mid second century or the early part of its second half is the period when one would expect to find this kind of incomplete collection of New Testament writings," says Eric Segleberg "The Gospel of Philip and the New Testament," 211.

[3] Arthur Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile (Stockholm: 1954), 216. Georg Steindorff, "Bemerkungen über die Anfänge der koptischen Sprache und Literatur" in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, edited by Michael Malinine (Boston: The Byzantine Institute, Inc., 1950), 206. W. C. Till, "Coptic and its Value," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XL (1967), 230, 231.

Citations of New Testament Materials

Citation formulas indicate a special kind of authority. The focus of this study is to show that the authority called upon by GPh is prior to and independent of the Coptic New Testament translations known to date.

Helmut Köster, in his study of the Apostolic Fathers, introduces citation formulas found in II Clement.[4] Old Testament citations comes first. Nine citation formulas introduce synoptic material, bearing a similarity to those used in GPh.[5]

Twenty-two sayings possess a citation formula in GPh. The formula *pejaf* (He said), equivalent to the Greek *eipen*, occurs seven times at 105,4[6], 106,10, 115,30, 116,8, 116,9, 120,33, and 122,10. The word *pejaf* occurs in other introductions: *philippos papostolos pejaf* (Philip the Apostle said) at 121,8, *pejaf nafje* ("He said to him"), at 107,25; *peje* ("he said") in *peje pjoeis* ("the Lord said") at 103,37, *peje papostolos* ("the apostles said") at 121,8, *mmos peje* ("some said") at 103,25. Several words with a *joo-* root appear in introductory formulas: *afjoos* ("he says") at 103,36, *nefnajoos* ("he did not say") at 103,33, *šanjoos* ("we say") at 132,15. Three other present tense verbs belong to introductory formulas utilizing the *jo* root: *plogos jō* ("The Logos says") 123, and *gar* ("for") at 110, 111 and the word *pejaf* at 120,33.

A New Testament citation suggests a text, Greek or Coptic. Observations of differences between GPh and the standard text indicate the nature of the New Testament text available to GPh. GPh often uses transliterations of Greek words are common in GPh, as does the Sahidic New Testament. Transliterations of technical words and phrases continued into the fourth century, while fluent Coptic words were substituted for Greek words as they became available. Sahidic and GPh disagree at times in regard to transliterations. Their choice of translations and transliterations provides a display of the relationship between GPh and standard texts.

Do Greek grammar and syntax dominate GPh or Sahidic? Variations arise for several reasons: dialectical, theological, a different textual tradition, and word order differences in Coptic. The current study offers evaluation of textual variations, grammatical structure, and the use of transliterations as opposed to translations.

Analysis of Citations

A. Introductory formula plogos jō

Two citations with introductory formulas occur at 131,11-13 and 132,7-9: "That is why *the logos says:* 'Already the axe is laid at the root of the tree.'" "*The Logos said:*

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[4] For another discussion of citation formulas in GPh see William D. Stroker, *Extracanonical Sayings of Jesus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 329.

[5] Helmut Köster, *Synoptische überlieferung Bei Den Apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 63. At 2:4, 3.2, 4.2,5, 8.5, 5.2,4, 6.1, 8.5, 13.4, 9.11, 12.2 and 13.4, Clement uses citation formulas, some of which are similar to those used in GPh." In GPh, they are general, according to Segelberg. Once "the Savior" is the subject, in four "the Lord." Use of the "Lord," is contrary to the general belief that Valentinians did not use the term, hence a possible New Testament influence. "The Gospel of Philip and the New Testament," 206.

[6] Numbering is that used by Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip.*

'If you know the truth the truth will make you free.'"

The citations occur in a treatise on the root of wickedness. A quotation from Matt 3:10 begins the treatise and one from John 8:32 closes it. GPh speaks of the nature of cutting, and thinks of an axe with special powers to delve to the bottom. The axe plucks out not just the stump is cut, but its insidious root. Without this radical plucking the root will grow again and bring forth fruit in our hearts, controlling us. When the root enslaves us, we do what we do not want, and it exercises its power over us. Those who are in the truth "will be perfect when all truth is revealed." (132.1,2) GPh explains that truth is like ignorance while it is hidden, but once revealed it is much stronger than ignorance and error. The recognition of and uniting with the truth brings fulfillment. GPh offers verification for this belief by citing the Logos which is the source of a saying: "If you know the truth, the truth will make you free."

A present tense verb, *plogos jō,* introduces the passage, in narration about John the Baptist.[7] 131. 11, 12 parallels Matt 3:10, "The axe is already laid at the root of the tree." GPh and Greek in Matthew and Luke use the correlative conjunction *ēdē de* in Greek and its transliteration in Coptic. GPh and Greek employ the Greek *axinē* and its transliteration. GPh and Sahidic apply the Coptic words *nnšēn* and *atnoune* instead of the Greek *dendrōn* and *hrizan.* Since Coptic is inconsistent in translating conjunctions, the absence of the conjunction *kai* in the Greek text is not important. A more important difference is that GPh utilizes the verb *cmmont'*, a translation of the Greek *keitai,* ("laid"), while the Sahidic NT omits the word completely. Both GPh and Sahidic use the same transliterations for nouns, and translate nouns in the same way. GPh and Greek agree against Sahidic in that GPh transliterates the Greek correlative conjunction *de ēdē.* Both the transliterations, and the agreements in Coptic strongly suggest a fixed text on which GPh is based. Moreover, compare this with the Boharic text *hēdē de pikelebin fchē zathnouni nniššēn.* GPh and Boharic agree significantly with the Greek against Sahidic. Perhaps GPh had access to a different Sahidic text than those attested in Horner's edition of the Sahidic New Testament, or GPh is in the transmission line which finally results in Boharic, or that GPh represents and independent tradition which happens to correspond well with Boharic.

The axe not merely cuts but delves at the root of evil (131,20). If we fail to "pluck out the root," our ignorance will permit the root to flourish and bear fruit in our hearts. Matt 3:10b says, "Every tree therefore that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire." GPh alludes to this idea in the phrase "bear fruit in our hearts." Turning away from the source in Matthew, a line (130,27-28) explains the effect of the evil fruit: "so that we do what we do not want and what we want we do (not) do," reminiscent of Rom 7:19. These allusions, bracketed by sure citations, make a strong case for the lines being based in a collection, in which a variety of New Testament materials including two gospels and a letter of Paul are included.

In 132,7-9, a continuation of this logical unit, presents another parallel to New Testament material. The "Logos" as a source, with a past tense introductory formula "*pejaf,*" is followed by a citation of John 8:32: "If you (pl) know the truth, the truth will make you free." Jesus is making a statement to the Jews in John 8:32. Should GPh have this passage in mind, the Logos can comfortably be identified with Jesus,

[7] Christopher Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in some Nag Hammadi and Related Texts," *Vigiliae Christianae* (36), #2, (1982), 173.

as well as with a body of tradition. In GPh, the saying is introduced with a past tense formula, lending authority to the source. "Logos" introduces material identified with John.

In GPh, the term is used seven times. Due to lacunae, two of the passages are uncertain. The Logos has its origin in the upper sphere, as contrasted with the lower sphere where worldly activity takes place.[8] 126,27-33 corresponds in thought: "The kinds mix with those of like kind." Spirit mixes with spirit, logos with Logos, and light with light.[9]

This triplet of spirit, logos and light is repeated in 127, 9-10: "neither man nor spirit nor logos nor light . . . " and in 126.31-127,3: "(If thou) become man the man will love thee. If thou become (spirit), the spirit will be joined to thee. If thou become logos, it is the logos which will mix with thee." In 105,6 "logos" refers to Jesus: "What is it? The flesh is the logos, and his blood the Holy Spirit." In 105, 14-17 "Thou sayest the sprit in the flesh, and it is also this light in the flesh. But this, too, is a logos which in the flesh, for whatever thou shalt say thou sayest nothing outside the flesh." The logos is that which is true, a good and trustworthy saying, a worthy source for spiritual instruction, and for the formation of doctrine.

131,11 also uses logos: "This is Jesus the Christ. He deceived the whole place and did not burden anyone. That is why the one of this kind is a blessed one because he is a perfect man. For this is the logos." Does "this" refer to Jesus, Christ, to the perfect man, to a blessed one, to the saying itself? Or is what follows in 128, 5ff the logos? The heavenly logos is used in as many ways as in the early Christian Church. Some uses are orthodox, some correspond to what we know of Gnosticism.

Teachings considered sound by the community of GPh include both written and oral materials. Egypt in this time knew great flexibility. Harnack observes: "It is very possible that the actual position of the Church of Alexandria in regard to the growing New Testament was yet more primitive than it appears in the works of Clement."[10] This church seems to be willing to accept every work which could possibly be sacred and referred to them as authoritative.[11]

There is agreement between GPh and either the Greek or Sahidic versions of John 8:32. Major differences in syntax and choice of words, also, occur.

a. "The Logos said 'If you know the truth . . .'" GPh offers *etetnšansouōn* (if you know) while Sahidic suggests *tetnasouon.* (You will know.) GPh utilizes the conditional form while Sahidic and Greek use the future tense. GPh employs the transliteration *talētheia,* while Sahidic translates with the Coptic *tmēe,* "truth," both here and in the second half of the citation.

b. "The Truth will make you free." GPh and Sahidic use *nar* (it will make) with a second person plural pronoun *tēne* (make you). GPh transliterates the Greek

[8] GPh 127,5-11 contrasts: "the man, spirit, logos, light those above and those within" with: "horse, ass, bull, dog, sheep, any other animal of those outside, and those below."

[9] In *I Apol* 32,87; *II Apol* 8,1 Justin speaks of the *logos* dwelling in them (other men) or being implanted like a seed. He speaks of them as living with the Logos (*I Apol* 46,3) sometimes have a share of him (*I Apol* 10,1-3).

[10] Adolf von Harnack, "*The Origin of the New Testament,* trans by J. R. Wilkinson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), 110.

[11] By the beginning of the third century the question of canonicity was a matter of counting the heads of authorities. Harnack, *The Origin of the New Testament,* 112.

neleutheros (free), while the Sahidic translates *nembe* (free). In both halves of the passage there are divergences between GPh and Sahidic in the usage of translations and transliterations.

c. Alterations. Greek and Sahidic both make use of coordinating conjunctions (*kai . . . kai, auo . . . auo*) while GPh offers the conditional structure *etetnšan.* Such alteration transpires by either stylistic or theological motivation. In John a promise is fulfilled in the future, while in GPh "truth" is already present, it is awaiting recognition, thus, the conditional. Eight considerations in this treatise show that while GPh frequently agrees with the Sahidic, it agrees more often with Greek.

(1) Logos is called on at the beginning and end of the passage. (2) Correlative conjunctions are used by both Greek and GPh while GPh does not. (3) GPh transliterates the Greek for axe, while Sahidic translates. (4) GPh and Sahidic use the Coptic words for tree and root, not transliterations, (5) GPh and Greek use the verb "laid" while Sahidic does not. (6) GPh says "if you know," while Greek and Sahidic offer "you will know." (7) GPh transliterates "free," while Sahidic translates. (8) GPh and Sahidic use *nar tēne,* "It will make."

Words in common, common transliterations, translations in common show GPh to be different from both the Sahidic and the Greek New Testaments. While GPh uses more transliterations than does Sahidic, GPh is still dominated by the tradition of preserving important ideas in Greek, while Sahidic translates these ideas.

B. Introductory Formula pejaf

104:26ff contains a parallel to John 6:53. This passage begins with a discussion about the body. It mentions a fear of a naked resurrection. Those who wish to rise in the flesh are indeed naked. A line reconstructs I Cor 15:50 "Flesh (and blood shall) not inherit the kingdom (of God.)" GPh asks, what will we inherit? The answer: "That which we have, and that which belongs to Jesus with his blood." "Because of this he said: 'He who shall not eat my flesh and drink my blood has no life in him.'" Gnostics would not usually use this passage with authority,[12] and it appears to contradict the first part of the saying which includes a reflection of I Corinthians. An idea that the Great Church accepted appears in a document usually discussed as Valentinian.

105,4-5 parallels John 6:53: "So Jesus said to them, 'Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you.'" GPh and Sahidic use *ntasarx* ("flesh"), a transliteration of the Greek. GPh and Sahidic use *mpasnou* (blood) to translate the Greek *to haima* suggesting that GPh and Sahidic use a similar source. Both use the Coptic conjunction *auo* to translate the Greek *kai.* GPh utilizes verbs similar in root meaning but not in tense. The verb in GPh ("eat") is present active tense, while Sahidic presents the conditional form corresponding to the Greek, both in meaning and in tense. The second verb *nusō* "drink" in GPh and *ntetnsō* in Sahidic translates the Greek *pinte.* In GPh the verb is present active, while in Sahidic it is conditional. Sahidic and GPh use the phrase "life in him" to translate the Greek "life in yourselves."

The texts differ from one another in the following ways: (1) GPh introduces the

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[12] Gaffron suggests GPh's understanding of John 6:53f would be acceptable to any Catholic Christian at the time. Quoted in Segelberg, "The Gospel of Philip," 210.

saying with the phrase *dia touto pejaf* (on account of this he said), while the New Testament Sahidic is *peje . . . ī̄s*, and Greek is *eipen . . .bo ī̄sous*. (2) Sahidic and Greek both use the phrase "son of Man." That phrase is absent in the present text, although used elsewhere by GPh. (3) In GPh the nouns "blood" and "flesh," contain possessive prefixes while Sahidic uses the articles *t* and *pe* corresponding to *ten* and *to* in Greek, a structure suggested by John 6:54b: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me . . ." (4) The structures of the sentences differ radically from one another. GPh introduces the saying with a relative clause, while Greek uses the negative conditional, and Sahidic is conditional clause. Further, the Greek represents the second plural, while both GPh and Sahidic are first singular. GPh uses *peta* (he who . . .), while Sahidic uses *etetn* (if one), and Greek *ean mē phagete* (lest you eat).

Van Eijk observes that the linking of John 6:53 with I Cor 15:50 is original, while the relationship between eating and drinking of Jesus' flesh and blood and the resurrection has support from John 6:54 as well as Ignatius and Irenaeus. Since this linking appears in no other place in documents before the third century, GPh drew his awareness from John 6.[13] Gaffron compares the passage with Bodmer Papyrus III and the Subachmimic papyrus from Qau el Kebir in addition to Sahidic and Boharic and demonstrates no better correlation.[14] Because none of the Coptic texts help clarify the passage as it occurs in GPh, the thesis that GPh represents an independent tradition is supported. That GPh allows the form of John 6:54 influence the rendition of John 6:53 is further evidence that not just isolated verses are available for the writer.

C. Introductory Formula gar

120,33-34 parallels Matt 3:15. The saying beginning at 120,25 has more than half the page missing, so the reconstruction is problematic. Since Matt 3:15 refers to the baptism of Jesus, a baptismal context is expected in GPh if the passage is taken from a Matthew tradition. That is exactly what is found in GPh. Isenberg translates: "Those (. . . go) down into the water. (. . . . .) out (of the water), will consecrate it. (. . .) They who have (. . . .) in his name. For he said, "(Thus) we should fulfill all righteousness." 121,1ff continues a baptismal theme. Comparing the gift of "resurrection" with baptism, GPh says: "So also they speak about baptism, saying that baptism is a great thing, because if (people) receive it they will live." (121,5-8)

The same question motivates Matthew and GPh. Why does Jesus submit to the baptism of John? The answer: "in order to fulfill all righteousness." Because the citation is in a baptismal setting, we can be increasingly confident that GPh is calling on the tradition in Matthew.[15] Further corroboration is provided by 120,33 where there appears to be some kind of baptismal formula: *hm pefran* (In his name. . .)[16]

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[13] A. H. C. Van Eijk, "The Gospel of Philip and Clement of Alexandria," *Vigiliae Christianae* (25) #2 (1971), 100-101.

[14] Gaffron, p. 53.

[15] Matthew's redaction accordomg to Tuckett. "Synoptic Tradition in some Nag Hammadi and Related Texts," 124.

[16] Gaffron, *Phillipusevangelium*, 34. In relation to the Gospel of the Ebionites, Gaffron cites Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 30.13: ". . . for thus it is fitting that everything should be fulfilled." Hennecke, Edgar, *New Testament Apocrypha*. Edited by Wilhelm

In Matthew, GPh and Sahidic, the saying is introduced by *gar*. The sub-Achmimic *enadōk* in GPh corresponds to *edok* in Sahidic and to *plērōsai* in Greek. Matthew, Greek and Sahidic, apply the infinitive, while GPh uses past tense. The Greek noun *dikaiosynēn* is transliterated in both GPh and Sahidic. *nim'* ("all") is the translation of *pasan* in both GPh and Sahidic. The one significant alteration is the infinitive in Sahidic and Greek over against the past tense in GPh.

D. Citation Introduced by pejaf'

116, 9-11 parallels Matt 6:6. 115,30 begins a section GPh which is badly preserved. Reference to 'the upper' and 'the one above,' and to 'one who is revealed,' and 'that which is called' are clear, but the connection to one another is not. Language shared with Gospel of Thomas follows: "For it is good that they should say, 'the inner and the outer, with what is outside the outer." GPh says: "Because of this the Lord called destruction 'the outer darkness, outside which there is nothing.' He said 'My Father which is in secret.' He said 'Go into thy chamber and shut thy door upon thee, and pray to thy Father which is in secret,' which is he who is within them all."

Virtual word for word agreement obtains between GPh and Coptic in the phrase translated "go into your closet." In the next phrase, correspondence is also complete, although GPh adds *erok'* (upon you,) an important textual variation. Otherwise, the differences are minor. The Greek phrase "who is in secret," is attested in D, Old Latin, Syr^{s} and Syr^{c} according to Gaffron.[17] An extra article *p* in GPh is also found, which may be a dialectical variation or a scribal mistake, and can be ignored in this context. Another dialectical variation is the change from *arek'* in GPh to *erek'* Sahidic. Otherwise, agreement is complete.[18]

Greek, GPh and Sahidic agree, but the textual variant *erok* is found in Boharic, and not in Sahidic. The independent tradition suggested for GPh is once again justified by this variant.

116.9 contains a citation introduced by *pejaf*. "He said, 'My father who is in secret.'" In the next line is the passage discussed above. Matt 6:4 offers the phrase: "so your alms may be in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you." There is not enough correspondence to judge conclusively that 6:4 is the source of this any more than 6:6. Both of these could support the alteration suggested by GPh. The use of newly manufactured agrapha is characteristic of the fluid period that marks this era of the development of the Sahidic text of the New Testament. On the basis of context, and the lack of clear correlation this may be considered a manufactured saying relating Matt 6:6 to a saying with roots in Logion 22 of GTh.

Schneemelcher. English Translation edited by R. Mc. L. Wilson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), 157-8.

[17] Gaffron, *Philippusevangelium*, 35.

[18] Matt 6:6 = LXX Isa 26:30. Because a citation of Matt 6:4 precedes, it is not likely that GPh knows Isaiah: "My Father which is in secret." A reference to "outer darkness," is here as in Matthew and AVV.

E. Introductory Formulas Neunajoos and afjoos

Citation formula introduced by ***neunajoos*** at 103,35-36 parallels Matthew 6:9 and Luke 11:2. In the context of a saying which begins at 103,23 and continues through 104,3 there are two citation formulas, and New Testament material which must be considered. The passage begins with a controversy in the theological community from which GPh writes. The issue is the conception of Mary. It is impossible for a woman to conceive of a woman, and Mary is understood as the virgin whom no power defiled. But the Lord would not have said "My (Father who is in) heaven" unless he had another father, but he would have said simply "(My father)."

Isenberg reconstructs: "And the Lord (would) not have said. 'My (father who is in) heaven' unless (he) had had another father, but he would have said simply '(My father).'"[19] C. J. de Catanzaro offers the same reconstruction.[20]

The passage is introduced by a citation formula in the past tense: ***neunajoos***. Part of this word had to be reconstructed, but again the context is clear. This word corresponds with the Greek ***epein***. In 54.35 a citation formula ***afjoos***, is translated with a past tense in the subjunctive mood.

In the treatment of this idea, GPh reveals something about how conflicting sources are dealt with. A portion of the address of the Lord's prayer is cited, and it is argued that if Jesus had no other father, he would not have designated "the one in heaven." If there were more than one father, "He would say, 'My Father.'" GPh calls on the tradition of both Matthew and Luke. In Luke, ***pater*** alone, is given in Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, the Lake Group, Vulgate, Old Syriac Version (sy^s)[21], and in Marcion and Origen. Nestle notes that the addition ***"pater hēmōn ho en tois ouranois"*** in some texts has come over from Matthew.[22] This addition is found in Alexandrinus, Ephraemi, Bezae, Freer, Koridethian, the Farras Group, Koine, Old Latin, Old Syriac, Syriac Peshita and Sahidic. (Sahidic Matthew and Luke are identical in the opening of the Lord's prayer.) GPh knows both traditions, and gives credence to Matthew's form. The form GPh prefers dominates both Matthew and Luke in Sahidic.

103,37 55 contains a passage alluding to, but not citing John 14:2. A citation formula introduces the passage. The saying from GPh: ". . . come into the house of the Father, but do not receive (anything) in the house of the Father and do not take (anything) away." In John's Gospel, Jesus is speaking: "In my Father's house are many rooms." The allusion hinges on the use of the phrase "house of the father." There is correspondence in the phrase, but otherwise there is not enought to determine dependence.

Once again, GPh is found in the stage between the Greek text and the fixed Sahidic text. GPh chooses (at least in this fragmentary beginning) Matthew's initial phrase in the Lord's prayer over against Luke's choice of the shorter form. Matthew's version of the Lord's prayer completely dominates Sahidic. Selection is based on a theological tenet of GPh's, i.e., that Jesus was not sired by the Holy Spirit. There

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[19] Isenberg, "The Gospel of Philip," 143.

[20] Cantanzaro, C. J. de, "The Gospel According to Philip," *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, XII (1964), 38.

[21] Albert Huck, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*. Edited by Hans Lietzman and F. L. Cross (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 29.

[22] Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1960), 13.

may be a gnosticizing contrast between the carnal woman defiled and of the heavenly woman: Mary is a virgin, whom no power defiled. Again an independent tradition in GPh is suggested.

F. Citations Introduced with gar

125, 19 parallels John 8:34: "He who sins is a slave of sin." The passage begins at 125,15 with a rephrasing of the relationship between knowledge and freedom. Some people are given the ability not to sin and are called free by the world. The one who is free does not sin. The introductory formula *gar*, cites a passage: "Every one who sins is the slave of sin," which demonstrates some deviations from the standard texts. GPh uses words in common with the Sahidic, except for the following: (1) A dialectical variation in the noun *mpnobe* (sin) and (2) GPh renders the word *phmhal* (slave) in third person singular and with a definite article, while Sahidic renders it first person common, with the definite article missing. GPh translates *doulos* as *bok*, as do Sahidic and Achmimic while Boharic and other use *doulos*. Echoes of I Cor XIII are woven in and out of what follows. Similarity with Sahidic and against Boharic, indicates an independent tradition.[23]

126,11 parallels I Peter 4:8. A passage that recalls the tradition at Luke 10:34ff about the Good Samaritan, is identified with I Peter 4:8, and explains the healing of the wounded man. A citation formula "for," introduces the passage: "love covers a multitude of sins."

Clement of Alexandria in *The Instructor*, III,12 identifies this as a saying of the Lord: "Also of love. 'Love' he (the Lord) says, 'covers a multitude of sin.' The saying is found in Prov. 10:12 and Jas 5:20. That GPh knows this in a written form is possible, but there is no evidence to suggest that it is I Peter that is at hand. The citation occurs in a discussion of ointment beginning at 125,35, recalling a tradition known from the *Didache* that the fragrance of the ointment has positive effects on those who stand and watch. The Samaritan gave nothing except wine and oil. This wine and oil healed the traveler. Thus, GPh suggests that "Love covers a multitude of sins." The use of the formula *gar* indicates the passage has special authority for GPh, but does not give a clue to the source.

116.26 parallels Matt 27:46/Mark 15:34. 116,26 contains a passage related to the synoptic tradition: "My God, my God, why, Lord, hast thou forsaken me?" GPh continues, "He said these words on the Cross, for he separated the place. . ." The textual variant "why, Lord," is new in this passage. Because of the content of what follows, we can assign this source to Matthew with confidence. Wilson recalls the interest GPh has for the bridal chamber and baptism, providing metaphorical interpretation for "houses for places of worship in Jerusalem." He says that although Hebrews 9:25ff may stand behind the passage, this is not to be understood as a citation.[24]

While the Hebrews passage may refer to the tabernacle in the wilderness, GPh is speaking of the temple in Jerusalem. General descriptions include only two rooms for offering. GPh argues: "there were three houses for places of offering in Jerusalem

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[23] Gaffron holds that the influence goes from GPh to Sahidic and Boharic. *Philippusevangelium*, 43.

[24] Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip*, 140.

The one was open to the West and was called the holy. Another was open to the South and was called the holy of the holy (one). The third was open to the East and was called the holy of the holy ones, the place where the high priest entered in alone." Baptism is identified with the holy house, and the bridal chamber with the holy of the holy ones.

GPh relates that "the veil was rent from the top to the bottom. For it was fitting for some from below to go upward." (118,1-3) Wilson, following Schenke's reconstruction, argues that this refers to those who are to ascend to the bridal chamber. The passage could equally well be read as the opening of the graves as in Matthew, and thus following Matthew's pattern: (1) The cross statement: "My God, my God . . . ," (2) the rending of the veil of the temple, from top to bottom (missing from Luke). (3) The rending of the veil opens the curtain on the graves giving up their occupants, an eschatological setting. In Luke, the rending of the veil opens the curtain on the confession of the centurion. (4) The rending of the veil follows the death of Christ (precedes the death of Jesus in Luke).

Language considerations point to Matthew rather than Mark, as a source. GPh uses *etbe* which is unusual. Although this would be a common Coptic translation of the Greek *dia*, it is rare in GPh. Since *ou* corresponds with the Greek *ti* we should read *etbe ou* as a translation of *eis ti* of Matthew rather than *binati* of Mark.

Hence, the passage quotes Matthew. The textual variant, *pjoeis*[25] in line 27 points to an independent tradition. There is no clear theological reason to add this thought to the passage.

G. Citation Formulas Which Introduce Non-canonical Material

At 121,8 the formula "Philip the Apostle said," introduces a saying about Joseph planting a garden in order to have wood for his trade. It was he who made the cross from trees he planted. "His seed was Jesus, but the planting was the Cross." At 107,27-28 another previously unknown saying is attributed to the apostles. "The Apostles said to the disciples: 'May our whole offering obtain salt.'"

107,25-27 introduces a previously unknown dominical saying. "He said to him, 'Ask thy mother, and she will give thee of that which is another's.'" At 132,15-16 the introductory formula "We say" is used. This aphorism follows: "They are the strong which are honored." 125,33-35 contains a badly broken passage which contains parts of introductory formulas. Till reconstructs the formula in the present tense, and the reconstructed text may be an elaboration of or reflection on I Cor 13:4-5. "It does not say 'This is mine' or 'That is mine,' but it says 'It is thine.'"

103,23-29 is introduced by the formula "some said": 'Mary conceived of (24) the Holy Spirit.' That is an error, because "When (did) a woman ever conceive of a woman?" "Mary is the virgin whom *no power* defiled." The saying is not found in other sources, but there are reflections of familiar thoughts in the passage. The Protoevangelium of Jas 11:3 makes the claim which GPh counters: "And the angel of the Lord said: 'not so Mary; for a *power* of the Lord shall overshadow you.'"

106,10 contains a saying which Grant considers entirely Valentinian.[26] Introduced

[25] Gaffron, *Philipussevangelium*, 34.

[26] R. M. Grant, "Two Gnostic Gospels," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 79 (1960) 6.

by the formula "He said," the saying is in a eucharistic setting: "Those who hast joined the perfect, the light with the Holy Spirit, unite the angels with us also, the images."

112,3 uses the citation formula: The formula is "The Lord answered and said." The saying is: "Why do I not love you like her?" This saying may have a ground in the Gospel of Mary. In both cases, there is some jealousy among the disciples relating to Mary, and this jealousy must be eliminated. GPh places the saying in the mouth of the Lord, while GM identifies Levi as the speaker. GPh uses the first question in the mouth of the disciples, while in GM Peter seems to bring up the question. The phrase "all of us" in GPh is missing in GM. Relationship is supported by the following (1) the citation formula "The Lord answered and said" is frequently used in GM. (2) In GPh 111,25-26 the Lord goes into the dye-works of Levi. In GM it is Levi who is speaking. (3) The Greek transliteration *psoter* (savior) in GPh at 112,3 and in GM *psoter* is the name preferred for Christ, occurring in plates 16 and 19 four times. (4) In GPh Logion 55 Mary is the consort of Christ, and in GM 7,7-9 Mary is the sole object of conversation with Christ. (5) In Logion 55, GPh the Lord kisses Mary on the mouth, suggesting the Coptic verb *ouoš* found in GM 18,14.

115,20 contains a citation formula "He said." The saying introduced has been reconstructed on the basis of Gospel of Thomas, Logion 22, *II Clement* 12:2, *Acts of Philip* 34 and Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 3:63,1-2 (quoting the *Gospel of the Egyptians*).[27] According to Schenke's reconstruction the passage is: "But the Lord said: 'I am come to make the lower like the upper, and the outer like the inner. I am come to unite them in that place.'[28]

122,10 contains another saying introduced with "He said." The citation is "Eat this, do not eat that." Several references in Logion 94 recall the Garden of Eden and the word of God to the couple in the Garden. In lines 27-33 the word "paradise" occurs three times. The tree of knowledge, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil is mentioned three times. Adam comes into the saying at 122,3. For these reasons, the Genesis story of the Garden of Eden is the ultimate source of this saying in GPh, but there is no quotation.

"The Lord said" introduces a passage found at 112,10-12 and parallels material in GTh Logion 19. In GPh, the Lord said, "Blessed is he who is before he came into being. For he who is, both was and shall be," while in GTh, Jesus said, "Blessed is he who was before he came into being."[29] Again, GTh may be an authority for GPh.

Conclusion

Citation formulas are used by GPh to introduce material with special authority. This authority shored up arguments used by the author. Materials known from the

[27] Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip*, 115.

[28] GTh (85,25-28): "When you make the two one, and when you make the inner as the outer and the outer as the inner and the above as the below . . ." II Clement 12:2: He said, "When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female." Another parallel is in *The Acts of Peter*, 38,9ff. See also Dennis MacDonald, *There Is No Male & Female: The Fate of A Dominical Saying in Paul and Gnosticism* (Harvard Dissertations in Religion Ser.) (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1987).

[29] Irenaeus, in *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*, 43 says: "Whence it is said in Jeremiah, 'Blessed is he who existed before he was made man.'"

Gospels, as well as apocryphal material and unknown sources are all called upon. The preponderance of the passages introduced by citation formulas are New Testament passages. Allusions and citations of Matthew predominate and indicate GPh was most familiar with that source. In many cases, when compared to the Sahidic New Testament, GPh is closer to the Greek than Sahidic and is marked by more frequent and often different transliterations.

Textual variations, grammatical differences, the use of transliterations, indicate that GPh represents an independent source which lies somewhere between the Greek New Testament and the formulation of the Coptic Versions both Sahidic and Boharic. These variations are significant enough to be considered when a critical text of the Sahidic New Testament is established. Non-New Testament materials with citation formulas indicate that these sources were also authorities for GPh, and are useful in the reconstruction of the theological milieu which produced GPh.

Logion 123 (131,11-13)
parallels Mt 3:10 = Lk 3:9

ⲠⲀⲞⲨⲞⲤ ϫⲱ ⲘⲘⲞⲤ ϫⲱ ⲏϫⲏ ⲧⲁϩⲓⲛⲏ
ϫⲓⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲗⲉⲃⲓⲛ

ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη
ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀξίνη

ⲥⲘⲘⲟⲛⲧ' ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ϩⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲱⲟⲩⲛ

πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται
πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται

Logion 123 (132,7-9)
parallels Jn 8:32

ⲠⲀⲞⲨⲞⲤ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ

καὶ γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ

ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ

ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμας

Logion 23 (105,4-5)
parallels Jn 6:53

ⲇⲓⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲙⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉϫⲉ . . . ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ . . . ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲙⲟⲩⲱⲛ

εἶπεν οὖν . . . ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . . ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε

ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲣⲝ ⲙⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ

τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
καὶ

ⲛϥⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲛⲟϥ
ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲏⲧⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα οὐκ ἔχειτε

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲱⲛϩ ϩⲣⲁⲓ
ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲏ

ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς

a. Logion 89 (120,33-34)
parallels Mt 3:15

ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲅⲁⲣ [ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲉⲑ]ⲉ ⲉⲛⲁϫⲱⲓⲕ' ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲧⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉⲑⲉ . . . ⲉϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι

ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁ[ⲓ]ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ'
ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ

πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην

a. Logion 69 (116,9-11)
parallels Mt 6:6

ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ' ϫⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ' ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ
εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖόν σου

ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲁⲙ' ⲙⲡⲉⲕ'ⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲕ' ⲛⲧⲱϧⲛⲁ
ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ ⲛⲅⲱϧⲛⲁ

καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου

ⲁⲡⲉⲕ' ⲉⲓⲱⲧ' ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ'
ⲉⲡⲉⲕ ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ

πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρί σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ

Logion 17 (103,35-36)
parallels Lk 11:2

ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲧ [ⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲕ]ⲉⲉⲓⲱⲧ
ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧ2ⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ

πάτερ (ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς)

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 2ⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲁϥϫⲟⲟ[ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ]

1. Logion 110 (124,19)
parallels Jn 8:34

ⲡⲉ†ⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲡ2ⲙ̄ 2ⲁ̄ⲗ ⲙ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲃⲉ
ⲡⲉ†ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϥⲟⲛ2ⲙ̄2ⲉⲗ' ⲙⲧⲛⲁⲃⲉ

ὅποιων τὴν ὁ ἁμαρτίαν δουλός ἔστιν ἁμαρτιάς

2. Logion 111 (125,19)
parallels I Pet 4:8 or general tradition

ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ 2ⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ 2ⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲉ

ὅτι ἀγάπην καλύπτει

ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉ
ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ

πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν

Logion 72 (116,26-27)
parallels Mt 27:46 = Mk 15:34

(ⲡ)ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲡ(ⲁ)ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ

ὁ θεος μου ὁ θεος μου εἰς τί
θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἱνατί με

ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ (ⲁ)ⲕ'ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ'
ⲁⲕϫⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ

ἐγκατελιπές με
ἐγκατέλιπες

Balaam as Figure and Type in Ancient Semitic Literature to the First Century B.C.E., with a Survey of Selected Post-Philo Applications of the Balaam Figure and Type

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Introduction

The word and concept of war links Philo with his Judaite predecessors who wrote about and/or reflected upon Balaam ben Beor. Whether this fact was intentional on Philo's part is yet to be determined. In an earlier work I demonstrated that the Balaam of Numbers 22-24 was a figure utilized by various warring groups of priests/prophets against each other's ideal self-concept and type-concept.[1] One group saw in him an archetypical priest, prophet, diviner, magician to be emulated. Another perceived in him the archetypical outsider and mantic type to be vigorously spurned. The war theme was already there demonstrably in one of the source strata underlying the Numbers 22-24 Balaam text used by either faction: specifically the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh.*[2] In extra-Hebrew Scriptures material Balaam and war appeared connected on the same playbill at Qumran, in the War Scroll discovered there.[3] Philo also wrote of Balaam within the context of war, war against ignorance.[4] When one considers other interstitial Balaam material between the eighth-century Numbers 22-24 final version and treatment of Balaam by Philo, the war motif is either played up significantly, or is lurking near the surface.

[1] John T. Greene, "Balaam: Prophet, Diviner, and Priest In Selected Ancient Israelite And Hellenistic Jewish Sources," *SBL Seminar Papers*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 57-106.

[2] Cf. Numbers 21:14.

[3] Yigael Yadin, *Megillath Milḥamath Bne Or bi-Bne Ḥoshech.* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1956).

[4] In *De Cherumim*, X one reads: "Moses also represents Balaam, who is the symbol of a vain people, stripped of his *arms*, as a runaway and deserter, well knowing the *war* which it becomes the soul to carry on for the sake of *knowledge;* for he says to his ass, who is here a symbol of the *irrational* designs of life which every foolish man entertains, that "If I had a *sword*, I should ere now have slain thee." (Num. 22:29)

The present work weaves together two concerns about Balaam. One continues to study the history of the use and interpretation of the figure and type from the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century B.C.E. The other seeks to contribute to the first by providing data from Semitic language text traditions about Balaam, which may be useful to those scholars pursuing the question of what type of text tradition concerning Balaam would have been available to Philo.[5] Both concerns find their points of confluence necessarily in the same place, and both respond to the problem of the interpretation and continued use of the prophetic figure and type by ancients concerned with the issues of prophecy and divination utilizing Balaam as a test case.

Recent evidence concerning the fine tuning of the Documentary Hypothesis (DH) assisted immensely in unraveling the meaning and uses of the Balaam cycle of Numbers 22-24.[6] The evidence also assisted in ascertaining the argumentative program of other biblical materials which contain accounts of Balaam's activities. But beyond the Numbers 22-24 materials the finely-tuned DH materials were to prove less effective. Each Balaam occurrence had to be examined within its own set of contextual data. Yet, Numbers 22-24 remains the pivotal yard stick whereby all other uses of the Balaam figure may and indeed must be measured and understood until earlier versions of the Balaam story are unearthed and brought to light. Since the bulk of my first study was concerned with a thorough explication and demonstration of how the Balaam of Numbers 22-24 was utilized, with occurrences of Balaam in other literary sources having been treated as satellites due to the main interest of that paper,[7] this study focuses considerably more light on the Balaam of Numbers 31:8; 31:16, Micah 6:5, Deuteronomy 23:4-5, and Nehemiah 13:2 in order to provide a more thorough presentation of the Hebrew Scriptures materials. It then takes up the War Scroll from Qumran, the Balaam figure and type of the Samaritan materials, the Balaam text of Deir 'Allā, and the Balaam typology found in 1 Enoch and related material.[8] After completing this study of pre- Philo Balaam materials as they appear in Semitic-language writings, I pursue post-Philo trajectories as well. This has a twofold purpose: 1) to assist in placing Philo's study of Balaam within literary-historical context, thereby allowing his studies to be raised in greater relief, and 2) demonstrating just how long after Philo the interest in Balaam ben Beor as either figure or type continued. Philo's study, considered in such light, can only garner tremendous respect for his hermeneutical skills and efforts.

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[5] The questions still remain: "Where did Philo get his information about Balaam? From the text tradition known as Codex Alexandrinus?; Is it possible to demonstrate that what Philo writes comes from that text, or is it possible that he employed some extra-*nomos* literary tradition?" These questions were raised most recently during discussions with Professor David Hay, a member of the SBL Philo Seminar Group.

[6] R. E. Friedman, *Who Wrote The Bible?*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1987), *et passim.*

[7] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 59-92.

[8] The Enochan material and the figure known as Pilti, who appears in certain Samaritan texts, present the reader with *types* which recall Balaam easily. The typology demonstrates the profound effect traditions about the Balaam figure persisted in having on nonbiblical writers.

A. The Hebrew Scriptures Literature Concerning Balaam

1. Numbers 31 and Balaam

Numbers 31 opens on the theme of war. In fact, the word war assaults the reader's senses numerous times. Thus, one reads, "Arm men from among you for the war, . . ." (31:2), "You shall send a thousand from each of the tribes of Israel to the war" (31:4), ". . . twelve thousand armed for war" (31:5), "And Moses sent them to the war, . . ." (31:6a), "They warred against Midian, . . . " (31:7a). All of this positioning for war resulted in the account contained in verse eight: "They slew the kings of Midian with the rest of their slain, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian; . . ." And as if in an afterthought the account continues: "and they also slew Balaam the son of Beor with the sword." Two observations are necessary. Balaam appears to have been brought in gratuitously; there is nothing in the text to prepare the reader for his being present in Midian, especially since he has been depicted as having departed for his "homeland" in the earlier Numbers 24:25 account. Moreover, this Balaam is accused of a different "crime." More will be stated concerning this problem below.

In an earlier work, I argued that Balaam was treated as, and addressed as an equal by Balak in the early verses of the Balaam cycle of Numbers 22-24.[9] I based that argument on an analysis of the language employed by King Balak, which I compared with the message to one of equal status or standing studied within the framework of communication practices in the ancient Near East (ANE).[10] I stated further that evidence pointed, then, to Balaam having been a monarch, to be compared with Solomon, David, Hammurabi and Hiram, other great kings, yet kings famous for seemingly unkingly or atypical activity for kings.[11] In the case of the above-named that was an intellectual and proverb writer, a musician and song writer, a great lawgiver, and an architectural engineer respectively. King Balaam, I argued, left an impression as a priest/prophet/diviner. The apparent afterthought, "and they also slew Balaam the son of Beor with the sword,"[12] appears to betray this same knowledge, i.e., that Balaam was known to have been a monarch, for here he is, albeit gratuitously, depicted as having met the same (deserved) end as other Midianite! monarchs. As for Balaam being depicted as a traveling monarch, found first in Moab (Num. 22:36), then in Midian (Num. 31:8), it should be remembered that Hiram was depicted as being physically present in Solomon's Jerusalem actively engaged in the building projects being carried out by Tyrian artisans and craftsmen (1 Kgs. 7:13-14).

At verse sixteen of Numbers 31 Balaam is mentioned again. This time he has been assigned equal guilt by Moses with the Midianite women. The specific charge is: ". . . these (women) caused the people of Israel, by the counsel of Balaam, to act treacherously against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and so the plague came among the congregation of the Lord." In order to unravel this problem one must first return to Numbers 23:28 where Peor is mentioned for the first time in relation to Balaam. There one reads that Balak takes Balaam to the summit of this mountain named after a deity. According to this account, Balaam has an overpowering experience which

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[9] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 63.

[10] John T. Greene, *The Role of the Messenger and Message in the Ancient Near East*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 81-83.

[11] Greene, "Balaam," p. 63.

[12] Numbers 31:8.

has been prompted by Yahweh's Spirit. The following *mashal* depicts Balaam as blessing and not cursing. Thus, in the Balaam cycle, the Peor incident did not result in any harmful side effects for Israel. Whatever the counsel of the Balaam of 31:16, his counsel resulted in what was perceived to be the necessity to kill young male offspring of the Midianite women, as well as sexually experienced Midianite women to reverse its harmful effects. Only women with no sexual experience were allowed to live, but then as booty of war![13]

But why does this Balaam differ from the one(s) of the cycle? Only the names Balaam and Peor are common to the two versions. A closer view of the Numbers 31 account within context shows that its setting is one of the numerous battles contained in the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh.*[14] That work was produced by priests, and most certainly those priests who were in charge of the ark and related visible symbols of war associated with the divine warrior, Yahweh.[15] These are mentioned as Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest (31:6), the Levites who have charge of the tabernacle of the Lord (31:30), the (relevant) vessels of the sanctuary (31:6), and the trumpets to summon the tribal levies to war (31:6). A rereading of the story betrays the stereotypical language of the priest/scribe, the need to spell everything out as if the unity of the universe was riding on each detail of the narrative presentation (because for priests this was the way to maintain the unity of the universe). This whole episode is crafted around certain laws of purity which are at the heart of Yahweh War, such as sexual abstinence on the part of each warrior during Yahweh War, the disposition of women as spoils of war after the defeat of their late husbands and guardians, disposition of the non-human spoils of war, period of time to pass before warriors and spoils may be allowed to come within the central area of the camp without contaminating (ritually) the ritually-pure maintained center and sanctuary, as well as how the spoils are to be divided. All of these ingredients are present in this story. One also notices that Moses (as priest) and Eleazar the priest legislate everything which is to be accomplished.[16]

The careful reader will continue to note, however, that something is still missing from all this analysis. Granted, priests are responsible for this story having been written. But why does the story not tally with the Numbers 22-24 story at the point of Peor? That question must still be answered. The key to the purpose and meaning of this story lies in the presence of the expressions Eleazar the priest (31:6; 13; 21; 26; 29; 31; 41; 51; 54) and the Levites who have charge of the tabernacle of the Lord (31:30; 47). A fine distinction, therefore, is being maintained here by the writer(s) between priests on the one hand and Levites on the other. The average reader knows what a priest is. Moreover, such a reader knows what the function of a priest was in ancient Israel. But what, then, is a Levite? The most direct answer is that a Levite is also a priest. What, then, is the difference between a priest and

[13] Numbers 31:18.

[14] Apparently this work was expanded, and thus served as the vehicle for telling the story of the journey of Moses and his host from the mountain of Yahweh to a position in Transjordan opposite Jericho, before continuing across the Jordan.

[15] Patrick D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

[16] Eleazar is said to have been the son of Aaron. Below, more will be stated concerning to which source stratum of the Pentateuch this segment belongs. Eleazar will be a key to identifying the author/editor of that stratum.

a Levite? Functionally, none! But the reader is unknowingly being drawn into making value judgments dear to the heart of the writer, is being manipulated ever so subtly to appreciate priests as a sacerdotal class more highly than Levites (the subtle suggestion is that they are an underclass of priest assistants or something). Looking for information concerning Balaam, one has stumbled upon literature crafted by one group of priests to discredit or belittle another group of priests. It has been demonstrated conclusively that during much of the United Monarchy, as well as during a large portion of the Divided Monarchy period, the Zadokite/Aaronid, Judah-based priesthood, and the Shiloh-based; Mushite priesthood in the territory of Israel (both tribal and monarchical) exchanged barbs and darts.[17] He demonstrated that raising the question about authorship of the Hebrew Scriptures ultimately revealed serious priestly wars of a polemical nature. The crystallization of the verbal barbs and darts took the form of what students of the Documentary Hypothesis would recognize as the J, E, P, and D source strata of the Pentateuch. Fine-tuning his thesis, Friedman argued that one of the polemical devices of the author of the P source stratum was to refer to his Aaronid colleagues (past and present) as priests, and to refer to his Mushite antagonists as Levites.[18] The Balaam of Numbers 31 is being presented to the reader by the author known as P. What would move P to create a new version of Peor?

Peor occurs only once in the Balaam cycle of Numbers. I have discussed Balaam's relation to it above. Peor occurs outside of the cycle in the chapter of Numbers presently under discussion, in Numbers 25:3; 5; 18 (twice), in Deuteronomy 4:3, in Joshua 22:17, and in Psalm 106:28. Let us study the relevant Numbers material.

Leaving the Balaam cycle, a new P story begins at Numbers 25 wherein the "daughters of Moab" (v.1) invited members of Israel "to the sacrifices of their gods, and the people ate (contaminated food [i.e., food which had been sacrificed or offered ritually to Ba'al of Peor]) and bowed down to their gods." (v. 2). The expression "So Israel yoked himself to Baal of Peor" (v. 3a) suggests that some members of the Moses host accepted formally and publicly this specific form of the Ba'alist worldview. Moses' reaction to this rebellion (against the covenant with Yahweh) was to: "Take all the chiefs of the people, and hang them in the sun . . ." (v. 4), as well as to demand that each of the judges of the host "slay his men" (v. 5) who participated in the Ba'al Peor ritual. This series of executions at first glance would appear to have been the sole and "appropriate" response to the rebellion. Apparently it was not.

Numbers 25:18 states why (holy/Yahweh) war was declared on Midian. They (i.e., the Midianite women) have "harassed you with their wiles, with which they beguiled you in the matter of Peor." (v. 18). This whole episode is exemplified by the relationship tween Cozbi, the daughter of a prince of Midian and Zimri, a man of Israel (vv. 14-15). No Balaam was implicated in the Numbers 25:18 account. Numbers 31 purports to be the culmination of the Ba'al Peor incident. Why, then, is Balaam implicated? The reply lies in an understanding of how Balaam was employed as a *typos* by each of the authors/producers of the four source strata of the Pentateuch. Of these, P, the priestly writer as he is known, has been identified more specifically as a(n) Aaronid/Zadokite priest.[19] An anaiysis of P's program reveals that he guarded jealously/zealously the purity of the Jerusalem-based,

[17] Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, pp. 120-121.

[18] Ibid., p. 210.

[19] Ibid., p. 210.

national priesthood. P represented a group of priests and supporters who were opposed to any other type of priesthood within or without "Israel." In fact, it has been argued that P's stratum and concomitant program of reformation paralleled the contemporaneous political reformation of King Hezekiah, during whose time he wrote.[20] Foreign priestly influence (especially from neo-Assyria), as well as intra-Israelite priestly competing influence was vigorously lambasted and lampooned in P's literature, but ever so subtly and skillfully. I argued, on the basis of P having been identified as an Aaronid, that "Balaam" served as a code for outside sacerdotal types which combined the characteristics of priests, prophets (here understood in the broadest possible types understood by the ancient Israelite priesthoods), wizards, magicians, and diviners which P and his associates opposed.[21] When this is grasped, and the question of why "Balaam" was seemingly brought into the Numbers 31 text gratuitously is raised, all pieces fall into place. When all of the Midianite monarchs have been put to death, according to P, all of the Ba'al priests and their professional associates should suffer the same fate. P's simple, yet far-reaching and strongly-implying literary device for indicating the Ba'al Peor priestly culpability in leading many of "Israel" astray is ". . . and they also slew Balaam the son of Bear (i.e., the five dispatched Midianite kings' priesthoods [or, conservatively, their chief priests]) with the sword." (v. 8). P is concerned that "Balaam," his competitor, be brought to justice under the rules and demands of Yahweh/holy war, just as the victorious Judaite or Israelite king must slay his vanquished and defeated counterpart.[22]

2. Micah 6:5 and Balaam

The Balaam af Micah 6:5 is mentioned within the framework of a *rîb* or covenant lawsuit.[23] This is stated in verse 2c and d wherein one reads the bicolon cast in *parallelismus membrorum:* "for the Lord has a controversy with his people, and he will contend with Israel." It is probably the least problematical of the biblical texts concerning Balaam. He is mentioned in the section of Chapter 6 which recapitulates in capsule form the major mighty acts of Yahweh upon having brought "Israel" out of Egypt.

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[20] Ibid., pp. 210-211.

[21] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 76-81; 81ff.

[22] The extent to which priests would go to execute completely the complete cycle of activity connected with Yahweh/holy war is available in 1 Samuel 15:1-34. In typical (holy war) fashion, Saul, the newly-appointed *nagid* is charged: "Now go and smite Amalek, and *utterly destroy* all that they have; *do not spare them,* but kill both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass" (15:3). Saul failed to carry out the *herem* (ban, i.e., consecrating and devoting the spoils of war to Yahweh alone) and thereby violated the charge of the covenant, and earned the ire of Samuel. Saul spared Agag the king of the Amalelites, and also: "the best of the sheep and oxen . . ." (v.11). In order to set matters right, Samuel withdrew his support from Saul and said: "Bring here to me Agag the king . . . And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord at Gilgal" (vv. 32-33). "Balaam," therefore, in Numbers 31 may do double duty, standing for both king and (outsider) *propriediv.*

[23] Cf. J. Harvey, "Le 'Rîb-Pattern' requistoire prophetique sur la rupture de l'alliance," *Biblica* 43 (1962): 172-196, and E. Wuerthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," *Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche* 49 (1952): 1-16.

Moreover, Balaam is here cast in a good light if one reads the text carefully, for Balaam not assisting Balak in carrying out his "devised scheme(s)" must be counted among Yahweh's "saving acts" of verse 5b. It should not escape the reader's attention that these "saving acts" belong to the activity of Yahweh/holy war, the specific itinerary being the war against Midian and Moab. Thus, although the writer of Micah 6:5 is not concerned with forwarding a *typos* argument here, he does reveal that he has invested in the view of "Balaam" contained in Numbers 22-24, and has accepted it as historical fact within the activities of the mighty acts of Yahweh on behalf of the Moses host.[24]

What is different about this account has more to do with where it was produced. Research can place each of the Balaam recensions in either Jerusalem at specific times, or in (most probably) Shiloh at a specific time.[25] Thus, at first sight one might get the impression that the literary Balaam type is passed back and forth between only two camps: "Balaam" concerns were centered on two loci. The locus of Micah's activity and writing is the rural city of Moresheth, located at some distance southwest of Jerusalem. A critical reading of the Mican material shows that he is at odds with the priesthoods (who support the monarchs) of both Israel and Judah.[26] Whether his views represent the Shiloh worldview, or whether he includes that priesthood in his condemnations also, is difficult to argue. If the former, we have an extra-Samarian, antagonistic-to-state-priesthood and extra-Jerusalem, antagonistic-to-state-priesthood, priestly/prophetic viewpoint expressed in Micah.[27] That would mean the two state priesthoods' activities had been monitored by two outside priesthoods which considered themselves having remained loyal to Yahweh and his covenant: one centered on Shiloh and one centered on Moresheth. If the latter, the Mican tradition would be understood to have been hostile to three priesthoods; the Shilonite, Samarian (including Danite and Bethelite), and Jerusalemite priesthoods.

What either possibility does for the *typos* issue is to cast "Balaam" in the role of being any and all of these outside-of Moresheth priesthoods. Since Micah's activity is located in the eighth century B.C.E., the circle of priesthoods included in this condemnation and represented by "Balaam" would also have to include the Assyrian priesthood which was accompanying the Assyrians as they conquered all in their path.[28]

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[24] Cf. Deut. 3:24, 4:36; 1 Kg. 8:42; 2 Chr. 6:32; Dan. 9:15; Ezek. 20:33, 34; Ps. 20:6, 71:12, 145:4 and 145:12 for testimonies to these "mighty acts." Descriptions of the *same* mighty act, reported in three different ways by the Yahwist (=J), the Elohist (=E) and the Priestly (=P) writers are found in Exodus, [13:21, 14:13, 19b-25, 27b, 30, 31]; [13:17, 17:19, 14:10c, 16, 19a]; and [13:21, 14:1-4, 8-9, 15, 17-18, 21-23, 26-27a, 28-29] respectively. Cf. pp. 122-124 of H. Keith Beebe, *The Old Testament*, (Belmont, CA: Dickenson, 1970).

[25] The homes of the J (Jerusalem) and E (Shiloh) strata.

[26] Cf. Micah 1:5, 9, 13; 3:10, 12 (against Judah), and 1:5, 6, 14; 3:1, 8, 9 (against Samaria).

[27] See especially the anti priesthood stance in Micah 3:11 "Its priests teach for hire," and 6:7 "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams (*having been sacrificed*) . . ." The anti propriediv stance is read at 3:6-7: "Therefore it shall be night to you without *divination*, the sun shall go down upon the *prophets*, ... the *seers*, shall be disgraced, and the *diviners* put to shame; . . .

[28] Cf. Micah 3:5-6.

3. Deuteronomy 23:4-5 and Balaam

Within the deuteronomic program war was also important. Therein one reads of a charge to Israel to engage in a holy war without end against the age-old enemies Amman and Moab. Deuteronomy 23:3-4 reads:

> No Ammonite or Moabite shall enter the assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation none belonging to them shall enter the assembly of the Lord forever; because they did not meet you with bread and with water on the way, when you came forth out of Egypt, and because they hired against you Balaam the son of Beor from Pethor of Mesopotamia, to curse you.

Verse five of this account holds that Balaam's intentions came to naught: intended curse became transformed into definite blessing due primarily to the love of Yahweh. The statement of verse six: "You shall not seek their peace or their prosperity all your days for ever" declares war on these two groups, and locks them and Israel in mortal combat.

The statement in verse 4b, ". . . Balaam the son of Beor from Pethor of Mesopotamia, . . ." is noteworthy. This writer appears to be unaware of another tradition about Balaam's homeland being "near the River in the land of Amaw. . ." at Numbers 22:5. Although his Balaam also comes from Pethor, that Pethor is located, for him, in Mesopotamia. What is obvious once again is that a number of Balaam traditions existed. In Numbers 22-24, several were woven together, and then these were expanded on by at least five recensions noticeable in my critical reading of that text mosaic.[29] More precise identification of the writers program concerning Balaam comes from two observations.

First, scholars of Deuteronomy the book, and the deuteronomistic history have long been aware that Deuteronomy 1–11 is written as a sort of preamble to a core of earlier-written material comprising Chapters 12-26, the literary home of 23.3-6.[30] This core comprises what are held to be the contents of the scroll discovered in the Jerusalem Temple during the early years of the reign of the young Judean monarch, Josiah. Josiah brought about a long range reformation, using this core as the hub around which his reforming efforts revolved. Text historians argue for a northern provenance for this core sometime prior to 722 B.C.E. The most likely candidate for having produced this core was the Mushite priesthood located at Shiloh. This Shiloh priesthood criticized both the contemporaneous Jerusalem-centered priesthood and the Samaria/Dan/Bethel priesthoods Chapters following Chapter 26 were also added later. The author/collector/editor of Deuteronomy has been identified as Jeremiah the priest/prophet of the sixth century B.C.E.[31] The author of Deuteronomy is also identified as the collector/writer/shaper of a body of materials now comprising Joshua, Judges, the Samuel books, the Kings books. This is what is known as the Deuteronomistic History. Still other literature, such as the Book of Jeremiah, and the Book of Lamentations, contribute to make up altogether the literature reflecting the concerns of the "deuteronomistic school." This school is

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[29] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 70-81.

[30] Friedman, *Who Wrote?*, p. 123.

[31] Ibid., pp. 125-127.

highly influenced by what is known to have been the worldview of the Shilonite priests.[32]

Second, one of the recensions of Numbers 22-24 also reflects the deuteronomistic outlook and program, especially in its use of language conventions. That overlay would have to be a sixth century B.C.E. product. Here I don't argue that Jeremiah is the author of this recension, but I do elsewhere.[33] My focus here is merely on time.

The deuteronomistic material was produced at a time when one Mesopotamian power, neo-Assyria, was ruling much of the ancient Near East, and when another, neo-Babylonia, was awaiting its turn on the conquering stage. Balaam material concerning Assyria, and the Kittim was more than likely produced at this time. Thus, in the Balaam cycle, the question of Numbers 24:22: "How long shall Asshur take you away captive?" asked of the Kenites, and verse 24's: "But ships shall come from Kittim and shall afflict Asshur and Eber; and he also shall come to destruction" are arguably seventh to sixth century concerns. A Balaam of Mesopotamia, as the Deuteronomy 23 passages present, would reflect the outlook of the same period as the Numbers material. In other words, both bodies of Mesopotamia-oriented Balaam material smack seriously of the Shilonite stamp.

Concerning typology, if the above time line is correct, Balaam of Mesopotamia,[34] a construction we read nowhere else in biblical literature, may represent the Assyrian mantic in general, or the chief Assyrian priest in particular. Since all of the biblical Balaam material betrays its having been written by priests, if the pronouncements of Balaam of Mesopotamia (i.e., the priests who most certainly accompanied the Assyrian conquering armies) against "Israel" had been allowed to stand, it would have meant the obliteration of that "Israel." Since Israel the kingdom was destroyed by Assyria in 722/1 B.C.E., the "Israel" which received Yahweh's blessing would have been Judah the kingdom. This provides another reason why I argue for a post 722 B.C.E. period for the Balaam accounts involving a Mesopotamian power, and then, specifically Assyria.

4. Nehemiah 13:2 and Balaam

Nehemiah 13:2 reads: ". . . for they (i.e., the Ammonites and Moabites) did not meet the children of Israel with bread and water, but hired Balaam against them to curse them—yet our God turned the curse into a blessing." Immediately one may state that this writer, too, has accepted the contents of Numbers 22-24 to be true. He reveals his knowledge of another tradition concerning Balaam, the Ammonites and the Moabites, for he quotes from a specific part of that tradition embedded in the book of Deuteronomy. Nehemiah 13:2 parallels Deuteronomy 23:3-4 which reads: "No Ammonite or Moabite shall enter the assembly of the Lord: . . . because they did not meet you with bread and water on the way. . ." In addition, the work unwittingly helps correct the text of Numbers 22:5 which relates that Balak "sent messengers to Balaam the son of Beor at Pethor, which is near the River, in the land of Amaw . . ." We stated elsewhere that Amaw, translated as of his people in the expression land of his people was unsatisfactory.[35] A better rendition, taking possible

[32] Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[33] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 93-95.

[34] Cf. Deuteronomy 23:4.

[35] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 61-64.

text flaws as well as geographical considerations into account, was forwarded which resulted in the suggested revised translation to read simply ". . . which is near the River (now meaning the Jabbok in Transjordan and not the Euphrates [Which produced more geographical problems than solutions]), in the land of Ammon." Ammon and Ammonites are not mentioned at all in the Numbers 22-24 cycle. However, Balaam arrives at the city of Moab by traveling southward from his homeland. Ammon was located immediately north of Moab.

One other observation is in order here. This text's writer does not betray an awareness of a Ba'al Peor incident for which "Balaam" is to be held culpable as we observed above in the Numbers 31 account. Like the Micah 6:5 account, the account contained in the verse currently under discussion appears to reflect a Peor incident which simply surprised both Balak and Balaam by having Balaam's *brk*, i.e., (intended) curse become transformed into a *brk*, i.e., blessing (seen in Numbers 24:3b-10). Nothing more than this is certainly intimated by the present text. The Balaam of Micah 6:5 and the Balaam of Nehemiah 13:2 are the Balaam figure of Numbers 22-24 and grow out of that tradition. The "Balaam" of Numbers 31 appears to be solely a P *typos* useful to the P and Hezekian mutual reform efforts.[36]

The Numbers 22-24 Balaam cycle became a core text tradition which apparently gave rise to what I have demonstrated were probably two different tradition trajectories through later Israelite and early Jewish history of mantological exegesis of the Balaam text(s) prior to P's editorial overlay. It would be an oversimplification to argue, however, that these two trajectories could be designated priestly and prophetic. The Numbers 31 trajectory is hostile toward Balaam (as were E's and P's) and is not based on anything discernible in the material of Numbers 22-24. It might have grown out of an oral tradition given rise by the P material. The Mican and Nehemian materials do not reflect this hostility, but see Balaam (regardless of what might have been a touted reputation *au contraire*) as a helpless figure made pliable and malleable by the power of Yahweh, to accomplish that deity's bidding and to communicate that deity's will of mighty acts on behalf of his people.

Concerning the theme of war, Nehemiah 13:2b's: "–yet our God turned the curse into a blessing" appropriately falls within the purview of the mighty acts of Yahweh, and as such belongs to the activities of Yahweh/holy war.

Before departing the Nehemian text, we address the issue of its meaning and use. The portion of a text in which it is located was read on a specific day (Nehemiah 13:1) before a gathering among which were the responsible heads of households. Apparently, what was not known to these responsible heads of households was that contemporaneous Ammonites and Moabites (with whom they had engaged in at least social and business [if not other] intercourse) was henceforth no longer to be a common practice. Moreover, instead of a decision reached by Balak and his counselors to summon the notorious services of Balaam, this text lays blame at the feet of any and all Ammonites (not implicated in the main document concerning Balaam) and all Moabites (a term here which might also include Midianites). Thus, Ammonites and Moabites are held culpable for (1) joining in a (made useless!) conspiracy to *brk* "Israel,"[37] and (2) lacking in civility (offering "Israel" no bread and water)![38]

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[36] Friedman, *Who?*, pp. 210-216.

[37] Nehemiah 13:2.

[38] Ibid.

5. *Summary*

The above Numbers, Mican, Deuteronomic, and Nehemian accounts which mention Balaam have in common their having been cast within material which acknowledged a specific itinerary for "Israel" enroute to the land of the Canaanites. Each writer takes for granted the targeted reader's knowledge of the general tradition. Yet, the tradition is focused in such a way that one of two different trajectories is followed in presenting the Balaam type. Balaam is located within a long list of encounters with the enemies of Yahweh, the entire list of which constitutes that which makes up the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh.*[39] The most sustained piece concerning Balaam casts the encounter between the Moses host and Balaam near the end of that host's sojourn in Transjordan. Thus the Balaam cycle relates an episode shortly before the host (later under the leadership of Joshua) crosses the Jordan river to begin its most significant Yahweh war phase: the stories contained in the Book of Joshua. Elsewhere, I studied the use of that most sustained piece of biblical literature containing a treatment of the Balaam figure, Numbers 22-24, which I termed the Balaam cycle.[40] Therein I laid out the following scheme and use.

a. The Numbers 22-24 cycle was a literary mosaic.

b. That mosaic cold be subdivided into three distinct parts: a narrative framework, a fable, and a collection of logia or *meshalim.*

c. The "glue" which held these three components together was the wars of Yahweh itinerary.

d. Balaam was probably a famous priest-king who also demonstrated mantic traits of the "seer," the "gazer," the "*nabi,*" and the "wizard."

e. Balaam was probably king of Ammon in Transjordan at one time.

f. Numbers 22-24 shows signs of having undergone four major recensions:

   1) a tenth century version wherein the Balaam figure was presented as a type of acceptable, formerly non-Israelite priest who was now accepted as a legitimate priestly colleague by the official national priesthood under either David or Solomon. He might well have been typed as the local Yahweh-loyal prophet/priest/diviner (propriediv) in the territories conquered or controlled by David. Thus, a Judean version. A J source stratum was proposed.[41]

   2) a later than 922 B.C.E., but earlier than 722 B.C.E. version which concentrates on a northern homeland for Balaam. This northern work is the most nebulous of the discernible recensions. This recension was probably produced by the Shiloh priests. Had we more information, the Balaam type would most certainly have been cast in a negative light. These priests were known to have been rigid in their fierce zealousness and jealousness for Yahweh. Outsider mantics would not have been welcomed by these insiders. An E source stratum was proposed.[42]

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[39] Cf. note 14 above.

[40] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 58-92.

[41] Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[42] Ibid., pp. 72-75.

3) a post-722 B.C.E. recension which was conciliatory in intent. Therein, Balaam once again served as the type *par excellence* of the priesthood member in Judah after the destruction of Israel the northern kingdom. It was a time when refugee priests appeared in large numbers in Jerusalem. Once again outsiders were absorbed into the body of the Judean state priesthood and given legitimacy. A combination of the above two strata was proposed which resulted in a JE proposition.[43]

4) a post JE response to JE identified as the P source stratum. This recension is characterized by its anti outsider priest stand, as well as its preoccupation with inefficacious sacrifices offered by other than *bona fide* priests of Yahweh. Its concerns with Assyria as an agent of Yahewh war, on the one hand, while stating confidently that Assyria shall be trodden down by the Kittim, betrays its production during the period of King Hezekiah of Judah.[44]

5) a very subtle response to the P recension. Linguistic analysis provided the program of this last recension writer. Balaam of his product is made to ask questions which marked the major thrust of the deuteronomistic reform movement. Thus, Balaam is made to ask Balak in Numbers 23:19-20 about Yahweh's actions in the following way: "Would he speak and not act (*y'sh*), promise and not fulfill (*dbr wl' yqymynh*)? Truly, my message was to bless: and when he blesses, I cannot reverse it (*wl' 'sybynh*)." This recension bore all of the characteristics of the D source stratum.[45]

In neither case did those who produced the recensions I have proposed see any need to change the war setting of the story about Balaam. In fact, it appears that Balaam apart from a war setting was quite unknown to those who employed the story.[46] These recensions were produced over a period ranging from the tenth century (the first recension) to the sixth century (the fifth recension) B.C.E. Other than the nebulous E recension (2), three of the others correspond to periods of war in which the southern kingdom of Judah was embroiled (I, 4, and 5). Only one of these war periods was offensive: the tenth century (holy/Yahweh) wars of conquest under David (1). Recension 3 was produced during the aftermath of a war which resulted in the total destruction of the kingdom of Israel in 722/1 B.C.E.

The Deuteronomy 23:3-4 account took advantage of the war setting as well. In fact, concerning the Ammonites and Moabites and Balaam's association with them, the Israelites were told: "You shall not seek their peace or their prosperity all your days forever" (23:6). This means nothing less than that Israel has been charged to engage in incessant holy war against these two kingdoms. The main reason for this Deuteronomy 23:2-4 shares with the later work Nehemiah 13:2, as mentioned above. All of the biblical material concerning Balaam, then, can be demonstrated to

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[43] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[44] Ibid., pp. 76-81.

[45] Ibid., pp. 57-58; 93-95.

[46] This will not change even when the Balaam figure departs, but the *type* remains as in the Samaritan figure Pilti. See below, note 131. It is uncertain whether or not the coming conflagration which the Balaam of Deir 'Allā (below, note 166) "sees" is cosmic warfare.

have a connection with the theme of (holy/Yahweh) war. And Yahweh did not always win.[47]

B. The Extra-Hebrew Scriptures Materials Concerning Balaam[48]

All of the literature which contains an account or mention of Balaam ben Beor thus far has one characteristic in common: these accounts are all located within literature which is not intended to be understood as historical. Most of the literature of the TaNaK may be separated into two main camps: 1) historical (into which would fit 2 Samuel 9-20; 1 Kings 1-2 [the first real attempt at historiographical writing in the Hebrew Scriptures], Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles books), and 2) non-historical. The non-historical books have essentially theological agenda. Although the Balaam material examined to this point purports to have taken place within a specific time in ancient Israelite history, one fact does not escape us: the literature which enshrines it is essentially nonhistorical in character, and therefore may not be trusted to present historical fact and sequence.[49] The agenda it does present have been discussed already. The historical worth of the already studied material has come through analysis of the contents of each given piece and that content's program and intended use. We even were able to tentatively identify the author/editor/concerned group on this basis. Turning to extra-Hebrew Scriptures materials concerning or mentioning Balaam, we must subject them to a rigid scrutiny also.

1. The Balaam Materials from Qumran

In taking up the issue of the Qumran Balaam here, I depart from what has been a chronological approach to this point. The Numbers 22-24 cycle with its overlaid

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[47] According to strict rules of warfare in the ANE, when a people were defeated so also was their (chief) deity understood to have been defeated. Thus, the resounding defeat of Israel by the Philistines in the story located in 1 Samuel 4 should read: "And when they learned that the *ark of the Lord* had come into the camp (of Israel), the Philistines . . . said, "A *god* has come into the camp." (vv. 6-7) So the Philistines fought, and Israel was defeated, (v. 10) And the *ark* of *God* was captured; (v. 11) When the Philistines captured the ark of God, they carried it from Ebenezer to Ashdod; (5:1) . . . and brought it into the temple of Dagon . . . " (v. 2). But the writers never admit defeat. When we who read the story get it, it has been highly glossed, embellished with miracles, and furbished. Cf. the remainder of 1 Samuel 5, 6, and 7 to verse 14a.

[48] The extra TaNaK materials oftentimes include, or consist of some materials contained in the TaNaK. The so-called Pentateuch is a perfect example. It belongs to a number of corpora which reflect different yet related programs. Thus, study of the literature and meaning of Balaam and the Balaam type as both are depicted in the Qumran, Samaritan and Septuagintal materials of, say, the Balaam cycle, must each receive its own treatment. This fact will be evidenced as this study proceeds.

[49] This division is certainly for purposes of description and nothing more. I am the first to realize that it could and should be subjected to numerous legitimate attacks; the first of which is that it is too simplistic and artificial. The point here is that certain biblical material exhibits certain characteristics which other biblical materials exhibit as both attempt to "tell a story" and how they do it. See below, note 55.

recensions ranged from the tenth to sixth centuries B.C.E. With this body as a core, I took up the issues of the Balaam of Numbers 31:8 and 31:16. This material was most certainly later than the Balaam cycle material, and also differed radically from it with reference to the Peor issue. The Mican material came from the eighth century B.C.E., which was followed by (and maybe produced during the same century as) Deuteronomy 23:4-5. The core material of the present Book of Deuteronomy was probably produced long before the Deuteronomist pre and affixed addenda to it and made it part of the Deuteronomic History during the sixth century.[50] The Nehemian material comes from the post exilic period somewhere between 444 and 398 B.C.E. or even later.[51] If the chronological treatment were to continue, we should take up next the material from Deir 'Allā, which is generally believed to be eighth century B.C.E. material.[52] My rationale for departing from my chronology is based in part on the similarity of language and contents between the materials studied up to this point and the corpus of writings from the Wadi Qumran. The rationale is also based partially on the fact that the language of the War Scroll from Qumran[53] reflects the language charactertistics of a particular earlier priesthood which contributed a Balaam recension overlay available in the Numbers 22-24 account: the P overlay.[54] As will be demonstrated below, the Deir 'Allā tradition is *sui generis.*

The most famous body of extra-Hebrew Scriptures materials is the corpus of writings produced by the Qumran community located near the Dead Sea in the ancient land of Canaan. This community existed from between 150-140 B.C.E. to the middle of the first war against Roman domination, C.E. 68. With the Nehemian Balaam recension the reader is still presented with ancient Near Eastern influenced portraiture of this propriediv. The Balaam of Qumran appears in material which has been influenced by Hellenistic culture. The War Scroll which mentions Balaam comes also under the category of nonhistorical literature.[55] Thus, the type of

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[50] Be reminded that this deuteronomistic body of material was presented in two "editions," Deuteronomistic History version one (designated D1), and version two (designated D2). Cf. the discussions in Friedman, *Bible?*, pp. 129, 137-149, and Brian Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 7-9 (D1); 21-68 (D2).

[51] These dates coincide with the twentieth years of the reigns Kings Artaxerxes I and II. Since neither Nehemiah 1:1 nor 2:1 supply more information, we must proceed with caution in dating the Nehemian material.

[52] Cf. Greene, "Balaam," pp. 96-99 for a condensed treatment of these extra-Hebrew Scriptures texts, and the discussion which follows below.

[53] Cf. note 3 above, and the bibliography in Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, (New York: Viking Press, 1955), pp. 420-435. The classic introductory work is by Frank M. Cross, Jr. *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958); B. Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of Finds in the Desert of Judah: 1955-1969*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971); and J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Major Publications and Tools for Study*, (Missoula: Scholars, 1975).

[54] The distinction between *priests* and *Levites* is maintained here also.

[55] Cf. note 49 above, and Hannelis Schulte, *Die Entstehung der Gerichtsschreibung im Alten Israel*, BZAW, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972); John Van Seters, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East," *Orientalia* 50 (1981), pp. 137-185; and André Lemaire, "Vers l'histoire de la redaction des livres des Rois," *ZAW* 98 (1986), pp. 221-236.

literature in which Balaam appears continued to be useful for those writers not concerned with historiography. Below, however, I shall fine tune the nonhistorical types of literature, and demonstrate major differences.

The Qumran community was the product of war, and it was destroyed by war. Between these wars the community became so influenced by the actuality of war that it on one great literary occasion produced a work employing the genre of the futuristic, cataclysmic war to end all wars. That is, the Qumranites created their own fantastic war between actual wars.

a. The Actual Wars

The ideational war created in the minds of the Qumran writers was preceded in actual historical times by the Jewish wars of either independence, conquest, or collusion, on the one hand, and by the first war between the Jews and the Romans on the other. The Qumran community came into being during the reigns of Jonathan Maccabaeus and his brother/successor Simon Maccabaeus, that is, between 153-52 B.C.E.[56] Jonathan, a non-Zadokite priest, was elevated to the High Priesthood in Jerusalem by Alexander Balas. Balas had usurped the Syrian Greek Seleucid throne, and Jonathan had supported his bid with Jewish troops which had fought formerly against Balas' predecessor. When Jonathan was assassinated by a Syrian Greek general named Tryphon in 143-2 B.C.E., Simon was elevated to the position of High Priest and leader of the people by the Jewish government itself. So strong and confident had the tiny nation of the Jews become since the outbreak of the Maccabean wars against (originally) religious oppression under Anthiochus IV Epiphanes (ca. 167 B.C.E.). The successors of Simon the High Priest recouped much territory around the territories of Jerusalem and Judah. Under first John Hyrcanus I (134-104 B.C.E.) and then Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.E.) territory which included Samaria, Galilee, and Edom, to mention just three areas, came under Jewish domination and control. Between the reigns of these two occurred the short reign of Aristobulus I (104-103 B.C.E.). Aristobulus has the distinction, according to many historians of this period, of being the first ruler of Jerusalem since Zedekiah/Mattaniah of Jerusalem before the main Babylonian deportation, to wear the title *priest-king*. War, then, was the order of the day: wars of religious freedom under Judas and Jonathan Maccabaeus; wars of collaboration under Jonathan Maccabaeus; and wars of conquest under Simon Maccabaeus, John Hyrcanus I, Aristobulus I, and Alexander Jannaeus.

Unon the death of Alexander Jannaeus, his able and capable widow, Queen Alexandra Salome, mounted the throne in Jerusalem.[57] This move led in a direct way to another series of wars. These wars pitted Jews against Jews in a bloody civil war. At the center of the conflict was a war between two brothers, John Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, sons of Alexandra Salome. In short, Alexandra could be king without being contested. However, no woman could attain the title of any kind of priest.

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[56] Cf. M. Avi-Yonah, "The 'War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness' and Maccabean Warfare," *IEJ* (1952): 1-5, Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities* Book XIII and *Wars* Book I, I Maccabees (which covers the years 167-134), and II Maccabees (which covers the period 175-160 B.C.E.), and Bar Kokhbah, *The Battles of the Hasmoneans: The Times of Judas Maccabaeus*, (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1980) (in Hebrew), which presents a detailed description of these battles.

[57] Josephus, *Antiquities* Book XIII; and *Wars* Book I.

Since that was impossible, and the High Priesthood was such an important and powerful position, unlike her predecessors, Salome had to appoint a male to this position. She appointed the weaker of her two sons in order to maintain a firm grip on the position, and it angered the stronger son, Aristobulus. Factionalism resulted, political lines were drawn, Aristobulus attempted to usurp the High Priesthood, and formed an army willing to help him do so. This filial and familial conflict unleashed hatreds and greed which resulted in an adjudication by the Roman general and strongman, Pompey.[58] Although the High Priesthood office would continue for another three decades, Pompey's actions in 63 B.C.E. of turning the heretofore independent Jewish state into a Roman province effectively ended the battle for the High Priesthood. Rome now controlled the office and appointed the High Priest at its pleasure.

It is not difficult to understand how preoccupation with war for so long a period of time (ca. 167-63 B.C.E.) would move even the intelligentsia to also incorporate it into their writings. The difference between seasoned military men and scholars viewing war is that the scholar attempts to manipulate war safely in the library through writing about it, and to ultimately find some positive use for it. Within all these historical local wars, the Qumran producers of the War Rule conceived a war of cosmic proportions. Employing a genre of literature borrowed from Persia[59] on the one hand, and from the Hellenists[60] on the other, they crafted a war scenario in which they, as one of the most injured parties as a result of all these wars, would direct the ultimate war; a war which would result in their being restored to what they understood as their rightful place at the head of the Jerusalem priesthood. Thus, on numerous battlefields, both actual and conceptual, Jews were engaged in combat.

b. The Imagined War(s)

The war(s) imagined by the writers af Qumran is/are contained in what is known as the War Scroll. The fullest study of this scroll was praduced by Y. Yadin in a Hebrew-written work published in 1955.[61] The scroll itself is identified in literature

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[58] Josephus, *Antiquities* Book XIV, *Wars* Book I, and Martin Noth, *The History of Israel,* (2d. Ed.) (New York: Harper Row, 1960), pp. 346-401, which covers the period from Alexander the Great to the Jerusalem victory of Pompey.

[59] Zoroastrian influence provided Jewish apocalyptic with a cosmic dualism: a view which allowed the conception of a world as battleground between a good creative principle (Ormazd, or Ahura-Mazda), and an evil disturbing principle (named Angra-Mainyu, or Ahriman). These two principles competed for domination of the world. Cf., among others, the treatment of Zoroastrian literature in A. C. Bouquet, *Sacred Books of the World,* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), pp. 104-118, and also Albert T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), John M. Cook, *The Persian Empire,* (London: J. M. Dent, 1983), and Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia,* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966).

[60] Cf. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule,* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); John J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalyptic Against Its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," *BASOR* 220 (1975), pp. 27-36, and Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome,* 2 Vols. (Berkeley: University of California, 1984).

[61] Cf. note 3 above.

by the siglum 1QM,[62] and is preserved incompletely in nineteen columns. Rarely has a war been so well described, down to the vivid descriptions of vestments of the combatants and horses. Yet, 1QM is not a military manual. It belongs to the genre of literature known as apocalyptic: a genre which requires some comment.[63]

The "Balaams" of the Hebrew Scriptures, as I shall refer to the types of the various recensions and allied literature discussed under A. above, appear in all three divisions of the TaNaK. The chief work, the Balaam cycle, is imbedded in Numbers, a part of the Torah. The Deuteronomy 23:5 passage belongs both to the Torah as its last book, and to the Nevi'im, as the first book of that section. Moreover, the D recension of the Balaam cycle belongs to the deuteronomistic outlook. Thus, the Nevi'im perspective is also contained in Torah material. Micah, as a scroll contained within the Twelve Prophet Scroll, most certainly takes its place within the Nevi'im worldview. These Torah, Torah/Nevi'im, or Nevi'im works represent outlooks that are unhistorical. Nehemiah 13:2 is located within the Kethuvim section, and is one of the few works purporting to "do" history.

The material of the Nevi'im section revolves around the view that at the Mountain of Yahweh two parties, Israel and Yahweh, entered into a covenant.[64] No specific date is provided the reader in relation to some known occurrence, and two names have been assigned to the name of the mountain: Sinai in one tradition, and Horeb in another.[65] Without sacrificing the importance of the priestly office and its duties of maintaining a ritual relationship between the two covenanted parties, the prophetic stamp of this sacerdotal responsibility focused more on "grass roots" issues equally important to maintaining the covenant relationship. Thus was born a movement of specialization within the priestly ranks.[66] The "prophetic" priests focused on ethics, i.e., oughtness as needing serious and omnipresent cultivation. This stance and decision was especially true when wealthy middle classes emerged during periods of prosperity in Israel and Judah which gave rise to new moralities and concomitant conduct. The "prophetic" gauged all actions of members of the covenant by the laws of the covenant, and made no exceptions in terms laying blame, i.e., rebellion against the covenants demands, at the feet of the proper offender whether that offender were a priest-king or a simple farmer. The most obvious body of literature to view this "prophetic" concern about flagrant violation of covenant rules and requirements is the corpus of writings known as *melachim*, (I and II) Kings. Therein, each of the kings of Israel and Judah is subjected to criticism of rebellions characterizing their period of tenure, and are assigned a "report card" grade. Few of these monarchs receive a

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[62] Which means that it was retrieved from Cave 1 of the Qumran Caves, and has the title *(M)ilḥamat Bne Or bi-Bne Hoshech*, i.e., *The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness*.

[63] Cf. Paul D. Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic Against Its Near Eastern Environment," *RB* 78 (1971), pp. 31-58; John J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalyptic Against Its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," *BASOR* 220 (1975), pp. 27-36.

[64] Cf. Delbert R. Hillers, *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960); K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary*, transl. David E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); and Moshe Weinfeld, "B'rith," in *TDOT*, vol. 2, pp. 253-259.

[65] J and E respectively.

[66] Cf. Theophile J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1960 c. 1936), pp. 148-183.

good report. Among those who do are David, Hezekiah, and above all, Josiah. Thus, this "prophetic" view was written during the age of Josiah (ca. 639-609 B.C.E.).[67] Although the subject of each critique is a king, it is not the kingly of their office which interests the writer of these critiques. Rather, it is the priestly side of their office which receives stinging rebuke. These kings did not live up to their priestly responsibilities vis-à-vis the covenant they had sworn publicly to uphold. A further litany of rebellions is available in the writings of such "prophetic" literature as Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah 1-23; 28-39, and Jeremiah. What the reader must not lose sight of is the fact that the "prophetic" critiques the "unpriestly," i.e., the irresponsible acts of priest-kings. The reason lies in the fact that most (if not all) of the prophets, after whom biblical books have been named, were themselves priests. The term "prophetic," unless strictly understood and adhered to, can be most misleading to the average reader. The author/collector of the Kings books refers his readers to the archives (both the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah were located in Jerusalem in the days of this author/collector) if they want to pursue the issue of how these kings functioned as kings. He does not clutter up his critique of them as highest priests with their kingly accomplishments, which for some of them were considerable.[68]

The "prophetic" kept company with the "kingly" and "priest-kingly." As soon as the first king of Israel, Saul (ca. 1020 B.C.E.), had been anointed, he combined with a band of prophets.[69] He thereby effected a "wedding" between the two functions and worldviews which was to last until the last king of Judah, Mattaniah, was taken in chains in an ignominious fashion to Babylonia in ca. 587/6 B.C.E.

Although the office of prophet, and the prophetic view resurfaced during the exilic and post-exilic periods in the writings of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah on the one hand, and Haggai and Zechariah (including Deutero-Zechariah) on the other, the "prophetic" characteristics of the participants remained the same. They were still priests. What had changed was the focus of their writings and their critiques. For one thing, there were no more priest-kings to critique. Their role as "consumer advocates" of Israel was over. The latest glimpse into the "prophetic" worldview is contained in the Book of Deutero-Zecharia 13:2ff. There one reads of the death knell which has been delivered to that worldview and activity. Most literature on the subject intimates that the prophets should be pitied as having outlived their usefulness, as having fallen prey to their own devices, as being an example of being on top in May, and having been shot down in June.[70] Nothing could be farther from the facts. What

[67] Cf. Friedman, *Who Wrote The Bible?*, p. 135.

[68] The "Chronicles" would have been kept in priestly/scribal repositories near the temple complex in Jerusalem, available to those who possessed "library cards," as it were.

[69] Cf. 1 Samuel 10:1, 2, 5, 6, and 10.

[70] Cf. Georg Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion*, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1972), p. 359: "Ezra's reform finally set the mainstream of Yahwism on the course that turned its back on the insights and principles that had previously prevailed, above all on the message of the prophets." And John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 2d. ed. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976), p. 322: "The official promulgation of a written law, . . . elevated the law until it became in post-exilic times . . . the first step in the concomitant process whereby the prophetic movement, . . . came to an end."

probably occurred is that the former, pre-exilic preoccupation of priest and (priest)-prophet under the monarchy responded to the post-exilic preoccupation first of priest at the center of a theocratic government,[71] and then, with the introduction of Ezra and a sophisticated scribal class,[72] sacrificial priests and scribal priests. "Prophets," then, did not disappear in ignominy, they merely joined the scribal side of the priestly equation.

This scribal side of post-exilic priestly activity appears to have taken two trajectories. Following one trajectory, one entered the *arcana mundi* of the Torah of the God of Heaven, a *torah* which under Ezra the Scribe, had become nothing less than a written constitution of the small Jewish government of Jerusalem sometime between 444-398 B.C.E. This *torah* gave rise to attorneys-at-*torah* whose job it was to constantly update it and make it useful as a constitution in the face of numerous political and social changes.[73] These attorneys-at-*torah* were priests who specialized in this scribal function. Of course, the ruler of Jerusalem, the center of this constitutional government, was the High Priest. The other trajectory of the post-exilic priestly concern crystallized into what one may term the apocalyptic worldview. It focused on a specific time in a relatively-understood future. They held that at some specific time, the God of Heaven would act in some specific way on behalf of a selected group of "Israel." They counted themselves among this elect group which had been selected, and which had been vouchsafed certain key, and heretofore unknown-to-the-public-at-large information about coming events of a cosmic nature. It was their unquestioned piety, faithfulness to the (still in force) covenant, and personal deportment which had caused them to be selected by the deity. Their knowledge guaranteed that they would be at the cutting edge of any new theocratic government established in Jerusalem after the pivotal godly intervention established on earth a Jerusalem after his heart and desires. After this, nothing would ever be as it had been before. Literature expressing such a worldview is legion.[74]

The 1QM scroll belongs to this apocalyptic genre. It tells of events which will occur, not of events which have already occurred. That is the first and major characteristic of this apocalyptic material. Specifically, it describes in futuristic terms, a spiritual battle between two ongoing adversarial forces: the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.[75] At a time only known to those who have advance knowledge

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[71] Thus, the Temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt between 520 and 515/14 B.C.E. and the sacrificial cult resumed.

[72] Ezra the priest's duties do not involve him in sacrificial duties.

[73] Even this side of the bifurcated priestly function split, apparently, into two concerns. The first, the *scribal* is summed up, although much later, in Ecclesiasticus: "On the other hand he who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be concerned with prophecies; . . . He will reveal instruction in his teaching, and will glory in the law of the Lord's covenant" (Ecclus. 39:1-4a; 7-8). The second, the *apocalyptic*, is also *learned*, and is understood to be the continuation and "heir" of the "prophetic" inclination.

[74] Cf. Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975); D. S.Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964); Harold H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1955); and "Apocalypticism," *IDBS*, pp. 27-34.

[75] Cf. note 59 above.

of the *apo kalyptein*,[76] the God of Heaven will intervene in what will surely appear to those on the earthly plane as more of the ongoing struggle between the two equally-matched camps (i.e., life as it has been known until the time of the apocalypse), and turn the tide of the battle in favor of his Children of Light bringing an end to the conflict.[77]

1QM quotes three passages from the Balaam cycle: Numbers 24:8 at 1QM 12:11; Numbers 24:17 at 1QM 7:19-20; and Numbers 24:18 at 1QM 11:6-7. This is typical of the whole of Qumran literature which employs numerous glosses, expands parallel passages, and excels in editorial-type activity.[78] The Balaam we study here must be understood within the framework of apocalypticism: we encounter the apocalyptic-relevant Balaam.

Red flags should go up immediately when one begins to read the War Scroll after having read to this point in my work. The first engagement of the Children of Light in the war is against the troops of Edom, Moab, and the Ammonites, the Philistines and the Kittim of Assyria.[79] All have a connection with my study of Balaam interpretations and uses so far. Edom and Moab (and sometimes thrown in for good measure, Amalek) have been the "scenes" of the desired cursing by Balaam, and Balaam arrives in the city of Moab from Ammon (cf. the Balaam cycle material). The Philistines were one of the first groups—along with the Moabites—to rebel against the Assyrians under whom they labored as vassals during the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah. In fact, both the Philistines and Moabites sent envoys to Hezekiah attempting to lure him into their political intrigue.[80] Hezekiah merely studied the situation from a safe distance (cf. Numbers 24:22-24 and the analysis of the P recension of the Balaam cycle). The Kittim (cf. Numbers 24:22-24 and the P recension of the Balaam cycle) underwent development in the minds and interpretation schemes of Israelite priestly groups as well. Essentially, the Kittim went from meaning a group of Mediterranean, Cyprus-dwelling warriors who reached the shores of the eastern Levant in the seventh-sixth centuries, to any invader of the eastern Levant from lands located to its west (which later even included the Romans), to foreigners in general with hostile intentions toward the Israelites.[81]

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[76] That is, *apocalypse*, revelatory knowledge.

[77] This, however, is only one battle consisting of seven (7) encounters in its present redacted form. See the discussion in Philip R. Davies, *Qumran*, (Guilford, Surrey: Lutterworth Press, 1982), pp. 118-125.

[78] The pesher or sectarian commentary, the best example of Qumran editorial activity, is studied by Y. Yadin, "Some Notes on the Newly Published Pesharim of Isaiah," *IEJ* 9 (1959), pp. 39-42; J. Carmignac, "Notes sur les Pesharim," *RQ* 3 (1962), pp 505-538; and D. Flusser, "The Pesher of Isaiah and the Twelve Apostles," Eretz Israel 8 (E. L. Sukenik Memorial Volume, 1967), pp. 52-62 (in Hebrew); J. D. Asmusin, "Ephriam et Manasse dans le Pesher de Nahum," *RQ* 4 (1964), pp. 389-396; and G. Lambert, "Traduction de quelques 'psaumes' de Qumran et du 'pesher' d'Habacuc," *NRT*, (1952), pp. 284-297.

[79] 1QM 1:1.

[80] Cf. Isaiah 14:29-31 (an oracle against Philistia) and Isaiah 15-16 (an oracle against Moab), and the discussion in Greene, "Balaam," pp. 90-92.

[81] The Kittim, the final enemy of the Qumran sect, are discussed in R. Goossens, "Les Kittim du Commentaire d'Habacuc," *NC* (1952), 137-170, and O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, An Introduction*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 419-420.

The various interpreters of the Balaam material and the Qumran writers who penned the War Scroll had much in common, and their concerns about the (almost) same set of "enemies" is not coincidental. It has been demonstrated that the writers of each piece of biblical Balaam material were priests, either Mushite or Aaronid/Zadokite.[82] The Balaam cycle recensions demonstrate that each recensionist added to, not subtracted from, the basic "stump" of the story mosaic. And although two major trajectories can be followed throughout the remainder of the biblical period, enough remains of the "stump" so that one never has to lose sight of it as the anchoring tradition. Anywhere one reads in the Qumran library, one encounters the writings of a priest. Since these writers have voluntarily established a monastery in the Judean wilderness, due in no small part to their politico-sacerdotal worldview, they are priests who had no stake in the sacrificial cult side of the priestly office anyway. The most telling evidence, therefore, to suggest that with the first founders of the Qumran *yaḥad*[83] we are dealing with essentially scribe/priests of the type described above is their copious library, and the way it has come to us modern researchers.[84]

The Nehemiah Chapter eight material tells the reader that many of the associates of Ezra the (priest)Scribe were Levites. The job of these Levites on the most important day of their lives, the day on which an assembly had been summoned officially before the Water Gate in Jerusalem to hear and witness the Torah of the God of Heaven read to them, circulated among the assembly, and (at verses 7-9 themselves) "read from the book, from the Law of God, clearly; and they gave the sense,[85] so that the people understood the reading." Verse nine tells the reader that: ". . . the Levites taught the people. . ." One more piece of information must be supplied before we continue. It is found in Nehemiah 7:73. If one reads uncritically, the fact will escape that four specializations within the post-exilic priestly ranks are enumerated here: priests, Levites, gatekeepers, and temple servants.[86]

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[82] Greene, "Balaam," pp. 70-92.

[83] Cf. Y. Baer, "*Serekh ha-Yaḥad*-The Manual of Discipline. A Jewish-Christian Document from the Beginning of the Second Century CE," *Zion* 29 (1960), pp. 1-60 (in Hebrew), and Ralph Marcus, "Philo, Josephus and the Dead Sea Yaḥad," *JBL* LXXI/IV (1952), pp. 207-209.

[84] Frank M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1961).

[85] ". . . *mbynym 'at-h'am ltwrh . . . wswm skl wybynw bmqr'a*" (Nehemiah 8:7-8) is a bit more active than many translations into English would suggest. *mbynym*, for example, is an active participle of a *hif'il* (causative *binyan* or inflection form). "They caused them to understand" (=*mbynym*) produces an image of much verbal give and take on the part of both Levite Scribe/Assistant to Ezra (the arch Scribe), and person for whom the teaching is intended. "And placing comprehension (on *torah*) they caused (the audience) to understand.

[86] These four ranks (Scribes according to Nehemiah 8:7 and 8:9 come from both the *priest* and *Levite* ranks) producing the 'priestly estates' suggest a highly stratified self-view of the priestly office in Jerusalem in the Ezra-Nehemiah and post-Ezra-Nehemiah periods. Gatekeepers, and temple servants are priestly groups whose courses would have required their presence physically within the temple precincts. Not so for the groups priest and Levite. These groups appear to have consisted of various specialized substrata groups. See Ezra 7:7 where singers are also mentioned.

The Qumran material reflects the work of two of these four groups: the priests and the Levites. It has been remarked elsewhere in this study that this particular distinction within the priestly ranks was maintained by the producer of the P source stratum of the Pentateuch.[87] It may be that the priests referred to as Levites did not mind. At any rate, we have available no text containing a complaint by the group designated Levite which suggests that they had an insurmountable problem with this appellation.[88] Ezra, the redactor of the R source stratum of the Pentateuch, is cast as their Zadokite, not Levite leader and archscribe, and has no problem working with them.[89] Likewise, the intellectual, multilingual Levites appear to support Ezra's archscribal efforts. After all, all of them are ultimately official agents of the Persian government![90]

Thus, a strong scribal class of priests is responsible for producing the Qumran library. One may add further, that there is evidence of both Zadokite priestly input and Levite priestly input.[91] Whatever the contents of the Qumran library, the contents are a joint Zadokite (= Aaronid)/Levite (= Mushite) venture and enterprise. Whatever distinctions existed during the days of P appear to no longer have been of concern during the days of the Qumran covenanters.

Qumran, then, provides the reader with (among other significant things) a Balaam type who is the product of reconciliation between two formerly warring priestly factions. The Qumran Balaam influence, then, does not reflect factionalism among traditionally warring priests. Rather, his typology is employed to ensure unity. The medium for accomplishing this is the *pesher*,[92] the commentary on literature, but employed to tell another story, or to present another etiology. At Qumran Balaam is not a shaped explosive charge aimed strategically at rival priesthoods, whether within or without Israel. At Qumran there is the assumption and agreement of guilt and culpability on his part. But his influence still has a major part to play in terms of the outlook of apocalyptic warfare.

If we do not lose sight of the problem as it has developed to this point, we are ultimately still in the midst of a situation which pits priest against priest. However,

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[87] Friedman, *Who Wrote?*, p. 210, and see discussion engendering note 18, above.

[88] There exists no literary complaint, that is, until one reads critically the *Testament of Levi*, a part of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs contained in the Pseudepigrapha. The literary view contained therein was probably engendered by the success of the Maccabean Revolt and Hasmonean success. The *Testament of Levi* laments the demise of and looks forward to the restoration of Levite messiahs (= priest/kings). The Maccabee/Hasmoneans were Levites.

[89] Friedman, pp. 217-245; 246-254; especially 218-225 for a discussion of Ezra the Aaronid priest.

[90] Cf. Ezra 7:11-14 (and Nehemiah 2:5-9).

[91] My previous study of the Balaam cycle has shown that "Balaam" was a "bat" in the grip of numerous "sluggers"; all attempting to bash out each other's brains, or at least to "bash" one or another group into submission. The most vicious "slugger" was P, and to him is traced the distinction between *priest* (a priest) and *Levite* (a priest!). This distinction, or at least dual appellation at Qumran appears to have been most acceptable in light of non-sacrificing priestly self-views expressed in their *writing*. "Balaam" is no longer the enemy-*typos*. Danger is now presented by the Sons of Darkness and the Kittim! Both terms were loaded.

[92] See note 78 above.

we are no longer still embroiled in a situation where it is Israelite priest against Israelite priest, or Israelite priest against Judaite priest, or even Shilonite priest against both Israelite and Judaite priests, all of which have been demonstrated above. "Balaam" the type, therefore, is no longer necessary for the type of anti priestly arguments produced at Qumran. What is significantly different is that we are now witnessing literature which works through the problem of legitimate Jewish priest versus illegitimate Jewish priest! What has altered the earlier equations is a radical change in what is understood to be Israel! And the exigencies of the historical situation have brought that about.[93]

As a result of the above discussion we take up the analysis of three "footnotes." The term "footnote" I derived from the fact that this literature employs the same technique which modern scholars employ: supporting what is said and argued with written evidence: evidence written by someone else. Let us take a look at them.

(1) Numbers 24:17 reads:

> "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall came forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the corners of the head af Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth.

(2) Numbers 24:18 reads:

> Edom shall be dispossessed, Seir also, his enemies, shall be dispossessed, while Israel does valiantly.

(3) Numbers 24:8 reads:

> God brings him out of Egypt; he has as it were the horns of the wild ox, he shall eat up the nations his adversaries, and shall break their bones in pieces, and pierce them through with his arrows.

All three "footnotes" come from material which comprises the Balaam cycle of Numbers 22-24. The Qumran worldview embraced that material and saw its usefulness in conducting their war. Looking at the contents of the three, one sees that the material quoted belongs to the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh* material.[94] Qumran is using the Numbers 24:8 "footnote" to describe combatants on the side of the Sons of Light. Its bellicose tone is apropos for the purposes of the War Scroll. Qumran employs the Numbers 24:18 material because it once again names one of (from the point of view of the priestly group writing this scroll) the archenemies of "Israel." Moab (and Sheth) complete(s) the list of primary archenemies, and links the Qumran tradition to that of the producers of the Numbers 22-24 material concerning Balaam, and to their epigones, those who employed the cycle's contents following one of two trajectories about Balaam.

Other military oriented material certainly existed which could have been employed to make either of the three above points. My task, therefore, is to ascertain

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[93] With the Maccabee/Hasmoneans, specific Levites found themselves enjoying titles such as High Priest and Priest-King, leadership positions in Jerusalem after the death of Onias III. The *Testament of Levi* mentioned in note 88 above is sympathetic with this historical situation.

[94] See above, note 14.

why this material and not some other material was employed in the War Scroll at this point. To accomplish this, let us first look at some particular phraseology of the Scroll column by column. Concerning the religious offices during wartime,[95] the producers of the Scroll wrote:

> After the high priest and his deputy they shall appoint an order of major priests, twelve in number, to serve constantly before God. Furthermore, twenty-six major officials duly assigned to service shall serve in their appointed offices; and after them shall be twelve levites, one for each tribe, to serve constantly.

Concerning the battle signals[96] they wrote:

> When the lines of battle are drawn up to face the foe, line in front of line, then out of the center gap in the ranks there shall come into the lines seven priests of the descendants of Aaron . . . and: (a)
>
> And when these priests go out between the lines, seven levites shall go out with them, . . . and: (b)
>
> And three officers selected from the levites shall walk ahead of these priests and levites. As well as: (c)
>
> And the priests shall sound a blast on [two of the trumpets] for calling to arms . . . and the levitical officers [shall go out with them.] (d)

Of the order of battle,[97] the covenanters wrote:

> After the priests have sounded a blast for them (i.e., the warriors) on the trumpets of [memorial], . . . Then the priests shall blow a second time, . . . And the levites and all the people with ram's horns shall sound a loud blast.

Finally, on thanksgiving for victory,[98] one reads:

> And when the son is hastening to set on that day, the high priest shall stand up, and the priests and the levites that are with him, . . .

Compare the contents of these excerpts with the following one from the TaNaK:

> And Hezekiah established the divisions of the priests and the Levites, according to their divisions, every man according to his task, for the priests and for the Levites. (2 Chron. 31:2)

What all have in common is that an obvious distinction has been made between priests and levites. The distinction comes from warfare: warfare between the Aaronid priesthood and the Mushite priesthood. The distinction is introduced and maintained in literature belonging to the Aaronid tradition. It is never located in E or D source stratum material. Friedman wrote of the situation which brought this division about: "Solomon had removed the Shiloh (Levite/Mushite) priest Abiathar

[95] 1QM II (II:1-2).
[96] 1QM VI (a)VII:8; (b)VII:10; (c)VII:11; (d)VII:12.
[97] 1QM XVI:2-9.
[98] 1QM XVIII:2.

from Jerusalem and had given authority in the Temple entirely to the Aaronid priest Zadok."[99] This had occurred in the tenth century B.C.E. (ca. 966). P wrote at the court of Hezekiah during his attempt at religious reform. One major plank in his reform platform was centralizing the priesthood at Jerusalem. Thus Friedman's statements: "King Hezekiah was the best thing that ever happened to the Aaronid priests" and "Hezekiah followed Solomons priestly preferences,"[100] and the 2 Chronicles 31:2 account provide sufficient information and reason for the bifurcation within the seventh century and later priestly ranks in Jerusalem in particular. Later material such as the D source stratum will not maintain this distinction, at least it will not reflect such a division literarily.

The priest/levite division is maintained in 1QM. It reveals a group of descendants of the Aaronid/Zadokite line wrote this material. Thus, the beginning of the Manual of Discipline For The Future Congregation of Israel from Qumran should not surprise the reader:

> This is the rule for the whole body of Israel when, in the future, they lead their lives in the manner of the sons of Zadok, the priests, and of those associated with them . . .[101]

Obviously, one of the "associated groups" was understood to have been Levites.

The Balaam material quoted within 1QM has a tradition connection with the P recension of the Numbers Balaam cycle. Any entry into the *arcana mundi* of why only these three Numbers passages from the Balaam cycle were employed must be approached from the standpoint of that P trajectory. The three "footnotes" demonstrate how severely the Balaam tradition within the P trajectory had been altered by the time of the writing of the War Scroll. Balaam the figure and Balaam the type no longer serve as foils against other priestly outsiders. At Qumran no nebulous outsider is held up as a paradigm, neither to be emulated, nor to be spurned. The Balaam of the recensions has all but disappeared: has become blended into the background of the Qumran P program. At Qumran the words ascribed to Balaam in poetically-written *mshlym* "footnotes" of Numbers have been severed from the one who supposedly uttered them. Balaam has been demoted: his words have been promoted. Words of a gazer (*ẓofeh*/teleologist) have been lifted from one body of literature which depicts a wartime situation (Israel camped in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho, and following the Yahweh/holy war itinerary), and purposefully imbedded by gazer/apocalypticists in another body of literature which depicts another wartime situation. The reputed utterances of the propriediv Balaam at Qumran did not become dead letters once they were written down. A new living tradition about Balaam's words was generated among the P tradition, and new life was breathed into that word. The "footnotes" are written proof of that.

3. The Text Traditions of the Samaritans

As soon as one considers the issue of the origins of the Samaritans, one is immediately cast into the continuing row between groups of priests. The Chronicler's (identified as an Aaronid priest) theological interpretation of the return from

[99] Friedman, *Who?*, p. 211.
[100] Ibid., pp. 211-212.
[101] 1QS 1:1.

Babylonian exile is considered an idealized one, although much factual historical material is also imbedded in his account. It would have the reader accept that only a handful of vinedressers and farmers remained in the territory of Judah to ensure a continued crop of wine and basic foodstuffs (Chron. 36:20f.). Allied views contained in Ezra and Nehemiah paint a limited picture of what was going on in the territory of the former Kingdom of Israel, the administrative center of which continued under the Assyrians to be Samaria. There are those who take this idealized picture to serious task.[102] They argue that the Deuteronomic circle (to which Jeremiah belonged) was still active and influential during the seventy years of the Exile. It is certainly now known that accounts of the final days of the Kingdom of Judah and events several years later, bear the stamp of this circle.[103] This view tells us that only a small number of people (about 4,600) were taken into Babylonian exile.[104]

Bad blood between the North and the South has thus been seen as the major underlying reason for the separation between Jews and Samaritans. This bad blood has been traced traditionally to the period of Assyrian domination, and then as having been maintained during the following periods of Babylonian and Persian domination. 2 Chronicles 13 has been viewed as literature which gives voice to this situation. In the mouth of Abijah the king of Jerusalem, the Chronicler places the statement: ". . . we are keepers (*shomerim*) of the charge of Yahweh our God, but you have forsaken him." The charge was directed toward Jeroboam I king of Israel. M. Delcor in "Hinweise auf das Samaritanische Schisma im Alten Testament,"[105] suggested that: "particular emphasis of the speech was on the true priesthood being maintained at Jerusalem, whereas Northern Israel had illegitimate priests serving false gods." Priesthood legitimacy and what constituted that legitimacy were at root of whatever issues animated 'Jews' against 'Samaritans' and vice versa.

The ancient cultic center of Shiloh, which had provided critique for both Samarian (Bethelite and Danite) and Jerusalem priesthoods (either from without or within) was still active during the exilic period. Thus, one reads in the exilic-period-edited Book of Jeremiah at 41:5 (writing of events ca. 583 B.C.E.): "eighty men arrived from Shechem and Shiloh and Samaria, with their bodies gashed, bringing cereal offerings and incense to present at the temple of the Lord." Shechem and Shiloh were old Levite priestly centers, while Samaria, the former Israelite capital, was then the administrative center of the Babylonian overlords. Laden with such goods, it would appear that priests were enroute to the (remainder of the) temple to engage in sacrificial offering there. Some "official" priesthood officiated there. If the Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah texts can be trusted, some priests (and Levites!) remained in the

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[102] Cf. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered,* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), pp. 56, 66; P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration,* (London, 1968), p. 150, note 50; and the discussions in M. Noth, *The History of Israel,* (2d ed.) (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); and John Bright, *A History of Israel,* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959).

[103] Friedman, *Who?,* pp. 136-149; Brian Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History,* Harvard Semitic Monographs (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 21-68; Jeremiah; and Lamentations.

[104] Cf. Ezra 2; 2 Kings 25:26; 11-12; 24:11-16.

[105] Cf. M. Delcor, "*Hinweise auf das Samaritanische Schisma im Alten Testament,*" *ZAW* 74 (1962), pp. 238ff.

territory of Judah. Apparently they carried on sacerdotal functions there although the political administrative machinery had been set up at Mizpah under Gedaliah. Ezra 9:1 refers to "the people of Israel, and the priests and the Levites" who had not "separated themselves from the people of the lands." These, too, appear to have been people who had not experienced an exile, although they could have been those priests and Levites who accompanied either Sheshbazaar or Zerubbabel. Mushite priests visited (ruined) Jerusalem to sacrifice. Priests and Levites remained in Judah as well and mixed with the other populations. We get the picture of busy priestly groups in an area where, according to the returning-from-Exile priests, there was a sacerdotal wasteland. Still, according to Coggins,[106] after performing an analysis on all of the TaNaK materials relevant to possibly identifying the Samaritans, the evidence was: ". . . never better than ambiguous and may well be nonexistent." Even the polemical enemies of the Samaritans associate them with a northern tradition. The problem is that most (whether ancient Jewish or modern multipartisan scholarly) researchers still identify Samaritan with Samarian. And there is no evidence for this. Samarians were those who lived in Samaria (whether indigenous from the time of Omri, or those foreigners who occupied it later). Samaritan must be derived from the term *shomerim* (guardians, keepers, observers, watchers [of the correct observance of the dictates of *torah*]).[107]

Since literary research into the identity and origin of the Samaritans yielded nothing conclusive, investigators turned to archaeology to augment continuing studies. As to the occupation of Shechem, archaeological data puts "a community which we may properly describe as Samaritan . . . at Shechem during the third and second centuries, . . ."[108]

What may scholars conclude from the foregoing? In the period between the third century and the beginning of early Christianity and early rabbinic Judaism, Judaistic was multifaceted and polymorphous. The MT materials and the Qumran Scrolls discussed thus far provided evidence of two groups within pre-Christian era Judaism who disagreed on ideas of priesthood and number (and wording!) of certain books. What their respective canons imply is that both agreed that the Pentateuch was pivotal in importance. Add to this the picture of the Sadducees,[109] whose origins are not earlier than Hasmonean times (anymore than those of Qumran), and one becomes aware of three priestly groups who, by the literature they cherish most, agreed that the Pentateuchal traditions were primary in importance.

Recent studies of the Samaritans have seen fit to step out of the mainstream of traditional studies of the Samaritans and to take a fresh look at their origins and

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[106] Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 100.

[107] Cf. the discussion on page 234, and note 689 on that page, in S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, Studia Post-Biblica (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977).

[108] Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 115.

[109] Cf. Lee Lavine, "The Political Struggle Between Pharisees and Sadducees in the Hasmonean Period," *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Schalit Memorial Volume*, ed. Aaron Oppenheimer et al. (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1981), pp. 61-83; Elias Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees*, (New York: Schocken, 1962); Abraham Geiger, *The Bible and its Translations*, (Jerusalem, 1949), pp. 69-102 (in Hebrew); Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 3rd ed., 1962), vol. 2, pp. 637-753; Rudolf Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer*, (Berlin: Meyer & Mueller, 1912); and Jean Le Moyne, *Les Sadduceens*, (Paris: 1972).

beliefs.[110] While much of what they believe comes from studies of Samaritan works produced by them much later than the period with which this work is concerned, it is now becoming generally acknowledged that the Samaritan community of the post-third century to the pre-Christian first century comprised one of several sub groups within the diversity of Judaism. They manifested a particular intra-Judaism conservatism, a part of which identified the sanctuary of the true (for them) Jewish priesthood on Mount Gerizim.

By the second century B.C.E. there was unquestionably a Mt. Gerizim-based Samaritan community over against a Jerusalem-based Jewish community "The rivalry between them, affecting as it did both the interpretations of the holy traditions and the claims of different sanctuaries with their priesthoods . . . .[111] Nowhere in their pre-Christian era literary traditions is that rivalry more evident than in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

a. Balaam in the Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) preserves a text tradition somewhat different from the Massoretic Text (MT).[112] There are numerous points of agreement between SP and MT as well, but for studies in the interpretation of the Balaam figure, the differences are noteworthy.

1) The Text Characteristics. The Samaritan Pentateuch is not a familiar document to many readers. Thus some discussion of its characteristics are necessary before examining how the Balaam figure is presented in this material. The available texts of the SP are written in an archaizing Canaanite alphabetic script. A major characteristic of the text is that two forms of writing the consonantal text are employed: what are often termed *plene* (full, marking long vowel sounds), and *defectiva* (defective, i.e., not marking long vowel sounds). In Semitic languages a word containing the stem or root (*shoresh*) *QRB*, 'nearness,' may be read several ways if the text is written

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[110] Cf. Moses Gaster, *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrine and Literature*, (Sweich Lectures, 1923, London: The British Academy, 1925); John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, (New Testament Library, London: SCM Press, 1964); James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect: Their History, Theology and Literature*, (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston, 1907); Yishaq Ben-Zvi, *spr hšmrwnym: twldwthm, mwṣbwtyhm, dtm wsprwtm*, (Tel-Aviv: '.y. stybl, 1935); James D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968). For a more recent treatment which critiques the conclusions of the foregoing works, see R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered*, (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975).

[111] Coggins, *Samaritans Reconsidered*, p. 100.

[112] James D. Purvis, *Origin of the Samaritan Sect*, pp. 16-87; S. Talmon, "The Samaritan Pentateuch," *JJS* ii (1951), pp. 144-150; Ernst Wuerthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, (New York: Macmillan, 1957) which mentions an edition by A. von Gall, *Der hebraische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, produced between 1914 and 1918, and informs the reader that: "The oldest known manuscript in *book-form* is in the Cambridge University Library." (p. 32).

without some means of recognizing the inflected form of the *shoresh*. And in many ancient texts that is typical.

> The adjective *qrb* means near.
> The noun *qrb* means relative (i.e., near kin).
> The verb *qrb* means he approached (i.e., drew near).
> The noun *qrbn* means sacrifice (i.e., that brought near the altar).
> The noun *qrb* means a fight/battle (i.e., approach, draw near in a hostile manner).

The problem with such a writing convention is that vocalization (a clue to meaning) is difficult and uncertain. The SP employs four consonants 'a (*alepb*), h (*beb*), w (*waw/vav*), and y (*yod(b)*) to mark certain long vowel sounds. It is a good attempt at better vocalization, but it is far from perfect. 'a marks the phoneme /a/ at the beginning of words. h marks the phoneme /a/ at the end of words. w marks the phoneme /u/. And y marks the phoneme /i/. That seems simple and reasonable enough. But 'a also marks /o/ (as in *l'a=lo* [no!]). The diphthong /ey/ in *bereysbit* (in/when beginning) is also marked by 'a. h also marks the phonemes /o/ in *'ayfb* [eyfo] (=where), and /eh/ in *mwrb* [moreh] (=male teacher). w marks the phoneme /o/ also (like h on occasion). And y marks two diphthongs as well: /ey/ and /ay/ in *byt* [pronounced bait] (=house of), and *lfny* [lifenai] (=before me) respectively. These four letters are known as *immot bakkriyyah*: mothers of reading. SP employs these "mothers" just as MT employs them. There appears to be no specific pattern of use of the *plene* spelling, however. SP is less consistent in its application of them to militate against ambiguity of meaning. More will be demonstrated concerning this below.

SP differs from MT in the title of the scroll in which the Balaam cycle appears. SP's fourth book is entitled *bamidbar ṣinay* (In The Sinai Wilderness). MT's traditional Hebrew-written title is simply *bamidbar*.

Numerous points of difference characterize the two texts. Exponents of both "higher" and "lower" criticism would have a field day analyzing the fifty (50) places where SP diverges from MT in Chapter 22 of *bamidbar ṣinay*. Chapter 23 of SP is in dissonance with MT at fifty one (51) places. Following at a close third in terms of number are the forty-four (44) points of difference in Chapter 24.[113] These points of dissonance exhibit characteristics which I have grouped and studied under three headings:

1) Spelling Differences
2) Grammatical Differences
3) Deliberate Word-Choice Differences.

Since all three appear in each chapter of the SP Balaam cycle, I shall exploit their characteristics using Chapter 22 as a model demonstration text.[114]

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[113] According to Wuerthwein: "The problem of the Samaritan Pentateuch is that it deviates from MT in about 6000 instances," and that "Some deviations from MT must be regarded as alterations which the Samaritans Introduced in the interests of their own cultus." (p. 31).

[114] The text differences between SP and MT are highlighted in *ḥmsh ḥwmsy twrh: sfr bmdbr: hnwsh hmṣwrtyh whnwsh hswmrwny* by Avraham and Ratson Ṣadaqa, (Jerusalem: Reuben Mass, 1965), pp. 38-43. The MT and SP texts are presented side-by-side and the variations are presented in bold print.

a) Spelling Differences. Nowhere better does SP differ from MT than in the convention of spelling. Moreover, a focus on spelling points up the numerous inconsistencies in spelling (*plene* over *defectiva*, *defectiva* over *plene* [and in the same sentence to boot!]) within SP itself. This is not to suggest that MT is trouble free on this issue: my focus is merely on the SP. Eighteen (18) occurrences of differences appear in Chapter 22. When MT has a superior spelling over SP, an asterisk follows the line. Different possible meanings are separated by a diagonal line.

	MT	SP	Meaning
1. 22:5	*'amw*	*'amwn*	his people/Ammon
2. 22:5	*mmly*	*mmwly*	opposite me
3. 22:10	*tzpr*	*tzpwr*	bird
4. 22:11	*bnh*	*bn*	something important is about to follow/they (f.) are
5. 22:14	*wyqwmw*	*wyqmw*	and they rose*
6. 22:18	*ml'a*	*mlw'a*	filled
7. 22:18	*gdwlh*	*gdlh*	large/he grew large*
8. 22:20	blank	*ml'ak*	messenger
9. 22:23	*lhttb*	*lhtwtb*	to turn her
10. 22:24	*bms'awl*	*bms'al*	in a narrow path*
11. 22:25	*lhktb*	*lhkwtb*	to strike her
12. 22:26	*wywsf*	*wysf*	and again*
13. 22:26	*wsm'awl*	*wsm'al*	and to the left*
14. 22:28	*lbl'am*	*'al bl'am*	to Balaam
15. 22:31	*slph*	*slwph*	drawn (sword)
16. 22:31	*wysthw*	*wysthwy*	and he fell
17. 22:32	*slws*	*sls*	three*
18. 22:37	*bl'a*	*blw'a*	is it not . . . ?

Although SP generally improves upon the spelling of MT through use of the *immat hakkriyyah*, here we note six instances where MT provides a clearer text. In one instance (22:31) the addition of a y (*yod(h)*) to this word renders it nonsensical. It is probably a scribal error.

b) Grammatical Differences. Grammatical differences between SP and MT point up (1) the state of preservation of the text tradition employed by the Samaritans; (2) the level of knowledge and competence of the scribal groups handling and reproducing the scrolls of the SP; (3) the program and expected goals of the Samaritan intellectuals, and (4) how the Balaam figure facilitated their self-perceived purpose and program. The differences in Chapter 22 are:

1. 22:4	MT	*b'at hbw'a*	at that time
	SP	*b'at hby'a*	at that time

[Change of demonstrative pronoun *that* from MT masculine to SP feminine. MT is grammatically correct here.]

2. 22:5	MT	*bnb*	what follows is important!
	SP	*wbnb*	and what follows is important!

[SP adds a conjunction to this particle usually translated *behold*, probably for emphasis.]

3. 22:6	MT	*w'ašr t'ar yw'ar*	and whoever you curse is cursed
	SP	*w'at 'ašr t'ar wy'ar*	and (object marker) whoever

[SP adds an object marker (*'at*) which produces a better grammatical sentence.]

4. 22:7	MT	*wqṣmym*	and divinations
	SP	*wqṣmybm*	add their divinations

[SP adds the possessive pronominal suffix for clarity.]

5. 22:11	MT	*bnb b'am bytz'a*	and the people who came out
	SP	*bn 'am ytz'a*	they, a people, came out

[SP prefers the indefinite mode of presentation here. MT prefers to employ a definite mode and the use of a relative pronoun.]

6. 22:11	MT	*'atb*	now
	SP	*w'atb*	and now

[SP adds the conjunction *and*, again probably for emphasis.]

7. 22:12	MT	*l'a*	not
	SP	*wl'a*	and not

[SP adds the conjunction *and*.]

8. 22:10	MT	*l'avr*	to cross/transgress
	SP	*'a'avr*	I shall (not) cross/transgress

[SP casts this in the first person singular imperfect, while the MT form is the infinitive.]

9. 22:22	MT	*ky hwlk hw'a*	because he is going
	SP	*ky hlk hw'a*	because he went

[SP prefers the past tense to MT's participle.]

10. 22:28	MT	*lbl'am*	to Balaam
	SP	*'al bl'am*	to(ward) Balaam

[SP prefers the full form to MT's shortened preposition.]

11. 22:30	MT	*hbskn*	was I ever accustomed
	SP	*hskn*	I was accustomed

[SP omits the interrogative particle which MT includes.]

12. 22:32 MT *lstn ky yrt bdrk* — to be an adversary because the way is perverse . . .

[Mt's rather oblique presentation is replaced by the more forceful method of *direct discourse* here signalled by the two possessive pronominal suffixes in SP.]

SP *lstnk ky hr'a drkk* — to be your adversary because your way is evil . . .

13. 22:33 MT *lfny* — before me
SP *mlfny* — from before me

[SP prefers to add the preposition *from* here.]

14. 22:38 MT *bykl* — am I indeed able . . . ?
SP *bywkl* — will I indeed be able . . . ?

[SP prefers the imperfect passive form of this question to MT's present interrogative.]

15. 22:38 MT *bpy* — in (a) mouth
SP *bpyy* — in my mouth

[SP provides a second *yod(h)* in the form of a possessive pronominal suffix.]

16. 22:41 MT *wyr'a msm . . qtzh h'am*
SP *wyr'a msm ('at) qtzh h'am*
and he saw from there (object marker) the nearness of the people.

[SP adds the untranslatable *object marker.*]

c) Deliberate Word-Choice Differences. There is evidence of conscious and deliberate change of wordings in SP over against MT. Oftentimes the changing provided an attempted fine-tuning of a given text to reflect the Samaritan community's point of view. Any major clues as to the Samaritan community's use of "Balaam" must be expected and sought in the manner in which the thinkers deliberately deviated from the underlying Palestinian text tradition from which SP is derived. In Numbers 22 there are six (6) noteworthy examples.

1. 22:20 MT *'alhym* — deity/deities
SP *ml'ak 'alhym* — messenger of deity/deities

2. 22:22 MT 'alhym — deity/deities
SP *yhwh* — Yahweh (the specific deity)

3. 22:33 MT *'atkh hrgty w'awth* — I would have slain you and let her live.
SP *'atk hkyty w'ath* — I would have waited for you and her I would let live.

4. 22:35 MT *tdbr* — you will speak
SP *tsmr ldbr* — will be careful to speak

5.	22:38	MT	*bpy, 'atw . . . 'adbr*	in a mouth with which I shall speak . . .
		SP	*bpyy, 'atw . . . 'asmr*	in my mouth that I shall guard to say . . .
6.	22:39	MT	*wyb'aw*	and they came to/arrived
		SP	*wyby'abw*	and he (Balak) brought him (Balaam) . . .

With the deliberate word choice phenomena one intuits a specific worldview concerning the Samaritan community's interpretation of Balaam, and how it used the tradition(s) concerning him. The text and its contents present another trajectory of interpretation of the Balaam tradition.

2) Analysis. The program of all Samaritan hermeneutics may be traced to three major and important deviations of SP from MT. 1) In SP Exodus 20:17 there is a command to build a sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. 2) In Exodus 11:30 one reads that at the end of this verse in the MT (which ends ". . . beside the oak(s) of Moreh?") SP adds *mwl škm*, opposite Shechem. 3) And Wuerthwein states that there are nineteen passages in Deuteronomy: ". . . where the choice of the holy place is set in the past and the reference to Shechem is made clear (in the formula *hmqwm 'ašr ybḥr yhwh*),"[115] the place which Yahweh will choose [MT]). SP changes the tense to read *'ašr bḥr yhwh*, (the place) which Yahweh chose. The argumentative program is that produced by priests. Key words (and thus concerns) such as sanctuary (=temple), opposite Shechem (an ancient religious sanctuary and center for the Israelite amphictyony during the period of the judges), meaning on holy ground, and the place which Yahweh chose (to be the meeting place between heaven and earth) betray priestly concerns.

Throughout Chapter 22 we must bear in mind my arguments about the recensions of the entire cycle. SP Chapters 22-24 constitute yet another recension, but one must work hard to uncover its meaning and use of the Balaam figure and type. In order to accomplish this, I shall present the major issues of each chapter in heavy letters. Between them I shall then present the relevant SP deviations from the MT, sometimes citing both SP and MT texts where helpful to make the SP deviation stand out in relief. Then I shall present an analysis of these data and their significance for these Balaam studies.

Chapter 22

verses 2-21 *In Fear Of Israel, Balak Sends For Balaam To Curse Them*

(These examples are distilled from the above 3-part analysis of SP text characteristics. Here no MT material is highlighted.)

(5) Ammon is specifically named (Spelling)
(7) and *their* divinations in their hands (Grammatical)
(11) *they, a* people, came out (Grammatical)
(18) I shall not transgress/rebel against (Grammatical)
(20) messenger/angel of the deity (Deliberate Word-Choice)

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[115] Cf. Wuerthwein, *Text*, p. 31.

22-35 *Balaam Is Rebuked By His Ass*

(22) because he went (Grammatical)
(22) Yahweh (the specific deity) (Deliberate Word-Choice)
(30) I was accustomed (Grammatical)
(32) because *your* way is evil (Grammatical)
(33) I would have waited for you and let her live (Deliberate Word-Choice)
(33) *from* before me (Grammatical)
(35) you will be careful to speak (Deliberate Word-Choice)

36-41 *Balak Welcomes Balaam*

(38) will I indeed be able . . . ? (Grammatical)
(38) in *my* mouth that I shall guard to say (Deliberate Word-Choice)
(39) and he (Balak) brought him (Balaam) (Deliberate Word-Choice)

Chapter 23

(Here I offer a somewhat fuller analysis with explanation, but in line with the presentation of the evidence from Chapter 22. Both (SP) and (MT) materials will be juxtaposed in order to highlight importance differences.)

1-6 *Balak Makes Preparation For Curse*

(1) (SP) make (not build for me of MT) (Deliberate Word-Choice)
(3) (SP) stand by your wickednesses/wrongs (this word *'awlh* also means burnt offering, sacrifice, holocaust). (MT) has *'alh,* sacrifice. (This may or may not be a Deliberate Word-Choice) MT *'altk:* SP *'alwtk.*
(3) (SP) perhaps Elohim (not Yahweh of MT) will come to meet me (Deliberate Word-Choice) Perhaps Yahweh did not meet propriedivs.
(4) (SP) And the angel/messenger of Elohim (not Yahweh) *found* (not appeared to) Balaam (Deliberate Word-Choice)
(5) (SP) And the messenger/angel of Yahweh (not Elohim) put a *word* (not to be understood as oracle) in the mouth of Balaam. (Deliberate Word-Choice)
(6) (SP) and he (Balak) stood by his wickednesses/wrongs (MT) is singular and reads sacrifices. (Deliberate Word-Choice)

7-10 *Balaam's First Mashal*

(10) (SP) substitutes the form *mrb'at ysr'al* (a construct form) for (MT) *'at rwb'a* (the stock). (Deliberate Word-Choice) Both meanings are uncertain. RSV offers 'fourth part' for *rwb'a,* but states that it might also mean 'dust clouds.' (SP) would then mean either 'fourth part *of*' or 'dust clouds *of*.
(10) (SP) reads *yš'arym* for (MT) *yšrym.* That is, direct ones for upright, straight, honest ones, respectively. (Deliberate Word-Choice) But these are probably variants which might have been employed by contemporaries simultaneously.

11-17 *Balaam, Disappointed, Makes More Elaborate Preparations*

(12) (SP) reads *brkt brwk* (you have blessed the (already) blessed) over against (MT) *brkt brk* (you have indeed/surely) blessed them. both renderings are powerful. (SP), however, consciously manipulates this verse to add more power and punch to those who are (once again) blessed! (Deliberate Word-Choice)

(13) (SP) what Yahweh puts in *my mouth* (*bpyy*), as opposed to the less forceful (MT) *bpy* (in a mouth). (Deliberate Word-Choice and Grammatical Difference)

(13) (SP) omits (MT) another place *from which* you will see them. Apparently the relative pronoun *'ašr* carried no weight in (SP) (Grammatical Difference)

(16) (SP) and the *messenger* of Yahweh called to Balaam differs from (MT) and the Lord met Balaam. (Deliberate Word-Choice) This is preceded in v. 16 by the differences "stand here while I *meet* the Lord yonder" (MT) over against (SP) "stand here while I *call* . . ."

18-24 *Balaam's Second Mashal*

(20) (SP) I received a command to bless, I shall bless and not revoke it, is countered by (MT) I received a blessing and I blessed. The tense shift by (SP) shows (Deliberate Word-Choice as well as Grammatical Differences).

(21) (SP) I shall not observe/see vanity/sinfulness in Jacob (MT) He did not observe/see . . . . . (Grammatical Difference and Deliberate Word-Choice)

25-24:2 *Balak, Angered, Makes New Preparations*

(25) (SP) Neither are they cursed, nor blessed at all (MT) Neither curse them at all nor bless them at all (Deliberate Word-Choice and Grammatical Difference)

(26) (SP) which *the deity* (*h'alhym*) will say, over against (MT) which Yahweh will say (Deliberate Word-Choice)

(27) (SP) Balak did that which Balaam "*spoke*" . . . upon the altar (MT) Balak did that which Balaam "*said*" . . . *at* the altar (The Deliberate Word-Choice of spoke (*dbr*) over said (*'amr*)

Chapter 24

3-9 *Balaam's Third Mashal*

(4) (SP) consciously omits the (MT) The oracle of one who hears the words of deity (Deliberate Choice To Omit Words=Deliberate Word-Choice)

(8) (SP) El *leads/guides him out* of Egypt (*nhbw*) (MT) El *brings him out* of Egypt (*mwtry'aw*) (Deliberate Word-Choice)

10-14 *Balak Is Provoked And Balaam Explains*

(10) (SP) you have blessed the blessed (MT) you have blessed (Deliberate Word-Choice)

(11) (SP) three times (*rglym*) (MT) three times (*p'amym*) (Deliberate Word-Choice)

(13) (SP) Yahweh *my God* will say (MT) Yahweh will say (Deliberate Word-Choice)

(13) (SP) I shall say *it* (MT) I shall say (Deliberate Word-Choice)

15-17 *The Doom of Moab*

(17) (SP) and people will bow and prostrate themselves (*qdqd*) (i.e., all the sons of Sheth (MT) and people will be mowed down, made level (*qrqr*) (i.e., all the sons of Sheth (Deliberate Word-Choice)

18-19 *Mashal Concerning Edom*

(18) (SP) *'asw* (unknown word) (MT) *s'ayr* (Seir the country) (A Deliberate Word-Choice) probably attempting to restore a damaged tent [both words contain the common letters *s* and *'a*, and *waw/vaw* and *yod(h)* which in many ancient texts (such as those from Qumran) may be confused.] But this is very tentative here.

20 *Mashal Concerning Amalek*

21-22 *Mashal Concerning The Kenites*

23-24 *Mashal Concerning Assyria*

Many historians have believed that the Samaritans *seceded* from contemporaneous Judaism during the fourth century B.C.E.[116] A group of priests determined that the situation concerning what it meant to be the people of Yahweh and who constituted these people was at hand, and acted forcefully and decisively to establish that people. Yet, oddly, no argument has been forwarded that they were apocalypticists, like the Qumran covenanters. We've already seen that (later) the people who established the Qumran community made similar decisions. At an even earlier time, Onias IV of the Aaronid/Zadokite line will also act in such a manner by establishing a temple to Yahweh in Heliopolis in Egypt.[117] This group of priests who preserved the text of the Pentateuch and other literature, and who provided leadership for the Samaritan community obviously were at odds with the general priestly leadership within third century B.C.E. Judaism(s). "Balaam" in this material must be pursued within the framework of that with which we've become thoroughly familiar, priestly warfare. We've demonstrated with the Balaam cycle just how vicious such warfare could and did become. The very fact that the Samaritans preserve and rework the Pentateuchal material suggests that intra-priestly interpretive differences existed. Let us see whether the old wars and positionings of the earlier priesthoods were still alive and well as we consider the Balaam cycle in SP Numbers 22-24.

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[116] Cf. Purvis, *Origins*, pp. 98-118; Wuerthwein, *Text*, p. 32; and Coggins, *Samaritan Origins*, pp. 105-115.

[117] Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book XIII: 3:1-3; *Wars*, Book I: 1:1; Book VII: 10:2-3 provide information concerning Onias IV's flight to Ptolemy at Heliopolis, and his receipt of permission to build a "New Jerusalem" there. This included a new temple.

One sees with the (SP) that numerous points of difference between (SP) and (MT) exist. Although numerous spelling differences were demonstrated to exist, they didn't affect the meaning of the text severely, with most of them being nothing more than full versus ancient spelling conventions and practices. What is much more noteworthy are the grammatical conventions and deliberate word-choices made by the preparers of the (SP). Anyone who works with ANE scrolls knows that such drastic and dramatic divergences signal profound hermeneutical statements (whether within biblical texts or without). The above analysis has demonstrated that deliberate word-choices outnumber any other type of deviation for pointing to hermeneutical differences.

One thing is immediately apparent: the *shomeronim* saw in Balaam a dangerous figure. He is manipulated by them (through conscious word-changes) to look like a pawn; like someone who is never really in charge of anything. They controlled when it was appropriate for Balaam to *speak* with the deity directly. Thus, they employed the deliberate word-choice 'angel/messenger of the deity' to produce an entrepreneur whose function it was to maintain distance between deity and propriediv. The argument for the importance of 'keeping, guarding, watching, observing (*shamar*) the word of the deity, as opposed to (any)one having such power independently, is also stressed. It may be inferred from this convention that the *shomerim* considered themselves guardians of the COVENANT. They employ four names of deity in their Balaam cycle: 1) Yahweh, 2) Elohim, 3) El, and 4) (the) Deity. They do this, however, in no discernible pattern, and in the same sentence, two forms may be employed. Emphasis on what is spoken by Balaam is apparent in that he is constantly depicted as exercising caution about what it is that he will say, what is placed by deity in his mouth. The sacrifices of Balak are (by deliberate word-choice) downgraded to the status of the result of wickedness and wrongs, bespeaking an attitude toward sacrifices offered by any priests other than themselves. In an attempt to "defang" the propriediv type with whom they understood themselves to be at odds, the expression *brkt brwk* makes light of any possible possession of power-of-the-spoken-word on the part of Balaam by implying that he was only *blessing the already blessed,* thus doing nothing! This position is stated once again in 23:25 where one reads: "Neither are they cursed, nor blessed at all." But one of the most damaging pieces of evidence is the complete omission by (SP) of the words: "The oracle of one who hears the words of deity" (24:4). *Prima facie* this would appear to be a barb hurled at the office of the prophet. Moreover, when one combines this occurrence with others in the (SP) Balaam cycle mentioned above, it becomes apparent that (SP) presents a front against those who are reputed to have spoken (especially directly) with a deity. It is through the middle agent (the messenger/angel) of the deity that communication takes place. One may not be certain, however, just who this messenger is. Later Samaritan thinkers will reflect on this and conclude that the messenger is Moses and none other. Thus, 24:8's: "El leads/guides him out of Egypt would appear to precurse this view. But that is not all. Anyone who subscribes to a belief in the efficacy of these peoples' actions (including speaking oracles) will suffer disappointment. Their sacrifices (or directions to others to sacrifice) produce wickedness. Even a situation such as 23:13 ("what Yahweh puts in *my* mouth), which at first sight appears to validate that Balaam is indeed a *bona fide* prophet, must be seen as anti-prophetic. It points more to the power of Yahweh than to the power of Balaam. Their argument would go something like this. "If Yahweh wanted to speak through your mouth as he did through the mouth of the ass, he has the power to do so, but nothing that you say on your own,

and no oracle which Yahweh does not speak through your mouth is of any importance. Therefore, you, Balaam, are of no importance!" As a priestly-led group, it is understandable why *BaMidbar Sinai* 22-24 would contain anti (other) priestly polemics, and why the sacrifices attempted by them would not be useful in divination. Yet agreement with other priestly groups is much more evident in (SP) as a whole. But why does the (reputed) speaker of the word of deity come off so very badly at their hands?

The office of prophet in ancient Israel (and the *shomerim* must be included in this group) was a limited one. Although its beginnings are obscure, and signs of development within the office are evident at a later time (Amos 7:14 ff.), the death knell is delivered to it in Deutero-Zechariah 13:2 ff:

> And on that day, says the Lord of hosts, I will . . . remove from the land the prophets and the unclean spirit. And if anyone again appears as a prophet . . . his father and mother who bore him shall pierce him through when he prophesies. . . On that day every prophet will be ashamed of his vision when he prophesies; . . . but will say, I am no prophet, . . . '

This demise of the prophetic office took place sometime during the fourth century [118] Unlike (MT)'s Balaam cycle which shows no hostility to the prophetic office as a whole, (SP) is openly hostile toward the office. This is one clue to the appearance of the Shomerim at a time later than the fourth century. The textual analysis has produced a text which denies that the deity spoke to the archprophet type represented by Balaam.

In the third century B.C.E. Aaronid/Zadokites were still in charge of the Jerusalem cultus. We do not know to what extent these Aaronids controlled the scribal priestly/political apparatus. Since it took later Aaronids (the Qumran group) much later to secede gradually from the main priestly group in Jerusalem during the days of the Maccabee/Hasmoneans, it is likely that the Samaritan priestly leadership consisted of a priestly elite who were at odds with the controlling Aaronids. Beyond this point the waters of interpretation become extremely murky. One is tempted to rush headlong and proclaim that once again Mushites and Aaronids reached some specific sacerdotal impasse, that some Mushite sympathizers found it impossible to live with this impasse, and decided to leave. We shall not give in to this temptation, but shall recall the caveat contained in the excellent study of Coggins instead.

Below in the section which discusses the Asatir, arguments are forwarded that the Samaritan writers engaged in attempts at harmonization. I find it odd that exegesis which was engaged in to set up a new (and thereby only correct place to establish it) was directed toward the end of achieving harmony. I find in my research no attempt on the part of the Samaritan leadership to harmonize anything! Even a perusal of their writings discounts such thinking. These people attacked, they were not interested in accommodating anyone, nor did they retreat. What their works will demonstrate is that they attacked, especially the image and type which had been known as the prophet. Because of the notoriety and previous uses of the Balaam type, the producers of the (SP) recension of Numbers 22-24 focused on the Balaam figure to make their anti prophetic case. The so-called prophetic material of the Hebrew Scriptures was not employed by them as a corpus to attack. The Samaritan

[118] The demise of this office is discussed in Greene, *The Role of the Messenger and Message*, pp. 172-174.

writers will employ some works belonging to the Deuteronomic History to produce commentaries and chronicles which mirror their own worldview. Some works will be ancient, some will belong to the first Christian century and even later. Balaam was not forgotten by these other Samaritan writers either.

b. Balaam in Samaritan Material Outside the SP

Balaam and a figure based on the Balaam figure and type appear in other Samaritan literature. All, however, are based on the Balaam figure of the Samaritan Pentateuch as described above.

1) The Balaam of the Samaritan Book af Joshua. A work known as the Samaritan Chronicles[119] recasts the contents of several books contained within the Nevi'im section of the TaNaK to tell a Samaritan story. It has as one of its main functions to demonstrate that (and why) Moses was the only prophet in Israel. All other so-called prophets as depicted in the prophetic material of the Hebrew Scriptures (and other traditions with which the Samaritans disagreed) were gross phonies! The Chronicles also paint a picture of a group of schismatics led by, of all priests, Eli the chief priest of Shiloh. And they were at odds with the descendants of that group. A part of the Chronicle collection is known as the Book of Joshua.[120]

The Book of Joshua, Chapters 3-4, deal with Balaam and the Moabites, and not with Joshua at all. "Chapters 1-8," says Bowman, "may be from a different source, . . . , because only Chapter 9 begins 'The beginning of the Book of Joshua the son of Nun.'"[121] Although this work contains mention of Balaam, the work is dated to medieval times (though supposedly containing material which dates much earlier) and is therefore not to be included (except by honorable mention) in this study.

2) The Discourse Concerning the Angels. This discourse attempts to describe angels as having five (5) charactertistics; mobility, articulation, the organs of speech, hearing, and sight. The writer then continues:

> In the Angel which appeared to oppose Balaam He proved standing up, and (the having) two hands, according to His saying in the story concerning Balaam, "And he saw the Angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his drawn sword in his hand." (Numbers 22:31)[122]

3) The Asatir, the Samaritan Book of the Secrets of Moses. The Asatir Chronicles I also mention Balaam and cause a great deal of speculation about exegesis in general. Vermes writes, for example: "It has been claimed that the story of Balaam may lead

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[119] J. Macdonald, ed., *The Samaritan Chronicle II* (or *Sepher Ha-Yamim*), (Beihefte ZATW 107), (Berlin: 1969); A. Neubauer, "Chronique samaritaine, suivie d'un Appendice contenant de courts notices sur quelques autres ouvrages samaritains,": *JA*, 6e ser., t. 14 (1869), pp. 385-470; Coggins, *Samaritanism Reconsidered, 116-131.*

[120] Coggins, *Samaritanism*, pp. 117-120; John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, pp. 44-49; John Bowman, *Samaritan Documents*, Pittsburgh Original Texts and Translation Series (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1977), pp. 63-85.

[121] Bowman, *Samaritan Documents*, pp. 63-85.

[122] Bowman, *Documents*, pp. 248-251.

us back to the "scriptural origins of the Aggadah," or, in other words, that the primitive exegesis may "coincide with that of the last redactors" of Scripture."[123] But to demonstrate just how much harmonization effort had gone into the Samaritan treatment of the Balaam type for their purposes, S. Lowy wrote concerning the Samaritan detailed analysis of origins and a general pattern which emerged from Samaritan literature: "As compared with the exegesis of other groups utilizing Scripture like Micah vi, 5 and Nehemiah xiii, 2 that of the Samaritan, of course, relies on the Pentateuchal sources only. But in these sources alone there is quite enough material for creating a harmonized picture of Balaam."[124] For this reason, Lowy argues that: ". . . Balaam is depicted as the arch-villain. This, however, does not prevent either group from utilising his 'oracles' as prophecies of the future. The two contradictory portraits seem to cause little conflict in the minds of the ancient exegetes."[125]

In the Asatir one finds a fine example of how biblical phrases were utilized by the Samaritans to provide (desired) exact dates for certain occurrences. One is based on the Numbers xxv 1-9 account of the rebellion of the Israelites at Shittim. Vermes comments: "Many details are added, including the exact date and hour of this happening, which resulted, according to the Asatir, from Balaam's advice to Balak. Balaam knew that God hates defilement; he accordingly advised Balak to make his people "commit whoredom."[126] Major literature on the Asatir includes Moses Gaster. Asatir, *The Samaritan Book of the Secrets* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), and Ben-Hayyim. "Sepher Asatir," *TARBIZ*, xiv-xv (1943-44): pp. 13, 29.

4) The Birth Story of Moses and Balaam. It is not without import that this story contains references to Numbers 24:17: ". . . a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; . . ." The birth text holds:

> For I have seen the star of Israel in the ascent, and his kingdom growing strong. Nigh is the apostle that is sent to them and the way of his star is on high, and at his hand shall be redemption for them.[127]

After the conception of Moses the writer continued:

> And after 19 days, evidence was established that the child from his father had been begotten in the womb of his mother. A star showed his glory in the heavens, and the Egyptians were astonished at his appearance, . . .[128]

The reference to the star of Jacob is contained within one of four *meshalim* depicted as Balaam oracles within the Balaam cycle. Only the Balaam materials contained in the Pentateuch (SP or MT!) are used by the Samaritan writers. Other Balaam figures and types they do not appear to know even though later writings of the Samaritans belie they did possess those traditions contained in the Nevi'im

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[123] G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 127ff.
[124] S. Lowy, *Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, p. 43.
[125] Ibid., p. 43.
[126] Lowy, *Principles*, p. 188, and also note 512 of this page.
[127] Bowman, *Documents*, p. 286.
[128] Ibid., p. 287.

section for example.[129] Within the Pentateuchal Balaam traditions, only the Balaam of the cycle is known to them. They assumed that all references to Balaam (Numbers 31; Deuteronomy 23:4-5) were in reference to that Balaam. The Balaam(s) of Micah and Nehemiah, for example, were either totally unknown to them, or were totally unimportant.

The literature about the birth of Moses is organized around the theme of light. As such, it tends to affirm the "light motif" of the Numbers 24:17 *mashal,* but focuses on:

> Amram 1. ". . . and the light shines from his face, . . .
> Moses 2. ". . . apostle shall proceed from him and shine forth."
> Moses 3. "But to every stranger he gives light, . . ."
> Amram 4. ". . . because from him shall arise the light."
> Moses 5. "For I have seen the star of Israel in the ascent."
> Moses 6. ". . . and the way of his star is on high, . . .
> Amram 7. ". . . and God aided him and the light from God passed from Amram."
> Jochebed 8. "But she became pregnant with Moses and was great with child, and the light was present."
> Moses 9. "A star showed his light in the heavens, . . ."
> God 10. "And God said to the Hosts of Heaven: . . . ."
> Galaxies 11. "The Galaxies were shown to be in exceeding about Moses great joy, and all of them did obeisance to him for his light was the origin of theirs."
> Amram 12. "The house of Amram were dwelling in light, and the fullness (of the light) was directed on him."
> Moses 13. "The mother of light has come." (i.e., Moses as the light of the first day.)[130]

With the immediately-above in mind, one may approach another nebulous (but somehow familiar) figure introduced into this particular material. The story informs the reader: "Now there was with the wicked Pharaoh a sorcerer who had come into contact with the knowledge of the *Book of Signs;* and he knew the science of divination and omens."[131] In a note to this sentence, Bowman explains:

> It is this sorcerer (diviner) who makes reference to having "seen the star of Israel" and "A star showed its glory in the heavens." The sorcerer/diviner is identified in the text as a man named Pilti. This Pilti is mentioned nowhere else, and the rabbis, especially, never heard of him.[132]

Pilti shares many characteristics in common with the Balaam figure available in the cycle. In fact, Pilti does not make sense except in light of what the reader knows

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[129] Cf. *Asatir, The Chronicles,* for example, in Moses Gaster, *The Asatir, the Samaritan Book of the 'Secrets of Moses' Together With the Pitron or Samaritan Commentary and the Samaritan Story of the Death of Moses,* (London: 1927).

[130] Bowman, *Documents,* p. 289.

[131] Ibid., p. 285.

[132] Ibid., p. 291, note 14.

about Balaam-of-the-cycle. Pilti is in essence a figment of the imagination of the Samaritan scholars who crafted a story about their hero, Moses, around the contents of one of the *meshalim* attributed to Balaam in the cycle. Their linking mechanism is the "light motif" mentioned above. Thus, a radical thesis would trace the leadership of the Samaritan community to a group extremely sympathetic to the views of Moses espoused by the earlier-mentioned Mushite priesthood of earlier interpretation, and which was centered on Shiloh. This is worth pursuing further. About Pilti and Balaam one reads that:

1) Both make oracular statements concerning the successful future of Israel (in Pilti's case through Moses, in Balaam's case through the people led by Moses).

2) Both are presented as diviner/sorcerers plus, and have reputations which precede them, and which cause monarchs who believe themselves and their countries to be threatened by the leadership of Moses.

(a) "yea, this man is strong, and the light shines from his face, and a faithful upright apostle shall proceed from him and shine forth. Then there shall be release from oppression for the people of Israel and the kingdom of the Egyptians shall be of no worth . . ."[133] and:

(b) "Respect belongs to this man for he will have much honor, because from him shall rise the light from which the heavens and earth are illuminated. For from his loins will come forth the chosen apostle; and at his hand shall his people be relieved from all affliction."[134]

3) Both are summoned before (other) monarchs to do their bidding.

4) Both are depicted as having great and celebrated oracular skills which when encountering the will of God (i.e., Yahweh) contain no efficacy at all.

Replying to Pharaoh's distress at his divinations, Pilti states:

> Banish your fears. Hearken to the replies of your question. If what I say is right, the destruction of your kingdom is near, and you and your council shall perish.[135]

Like Balak at the hands of Balaam (Numbers 24:10), so is Pharaoh at the hands of Pilti:

1) "When Pharaoh heard this word he arose in haste, and was afraid, . . ."[136]

2) "What you declare affrights me."[137]

3) "And violently he arose and was angry the whole of forty days."[138]

4) "So after this (i.e., the conception of Moses) Pharaoh convened an assembly and he called every wizard and sorcerer and magician and was violent concerning the reports of this affair."[139]

Pilti is presented in this material as a seer, an enchanter, and a diviner. As a seer he states:

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[133] Ibid., pp. 285-286.
[134] Ibid., p. 286.
[135] Ibid., p. 286.
[136] Ibid., p. 286.
[137] Ibid., p. 286.
[138] Ibid., p. 287.
[139] Ibid., p. 288.

> Only I have seen something about the wondrous event of it; my knowledge is faint. For I have seen the Apostle . . .[140] and:
>
> This is the vision which tells and shows that Israel shall be cast into the sea.[141]

As an enchanter:

> He (i.e., Pharaoh) ordered Pilti the enchanter; bring out from where you are a speaker; . . .[142]
> [But against the will of God he could not stand.][143]

And in his depicted role as diviner (and seer!):

> Now this diviner was called Pilti.[144] and:
>
> Well have you answered and well have you seen that I might know.by your divination.[145]

Pilti is cast in this material, then, as an individual extremely familiar with, and able to travel through, the *arcana mundi* with great facility and with efficacy; a Balaam type.

Although Pilti is reputed to have many divining and allied skills, his reputed power to curse (like that of Balaam) is overturned by the will of God. Thus we read:

> Israel shall be cast into the sea; (the intended curse) while fire and water are scattered by him, and in the midst of the sea his people stand. (The overturning of the curse by God) This is the vision which tells and shows that Israel shall be cast into the sea.[146]

[This is based obviously on the same idea as the play on words [*brk* vs. *brk*]. This literary device seen in the Pilti account expands this idea. Once again a divination is performed, and its intended results have been turned into "clover" for Israel.] And likewise:

> . . . let him (a speaker under Pjlti's enchanting control) say that men of Israel are to be prevented from approaching a woman, lest he (Moses) he born.[147] (The overturning of which is seen in) By his [Pharaoh's] excellence and power, this is the thing which he did . . . But against the will of God he could not stand. And by the hand of the Lord the Helper a man went and joined together Amram and Jochehed; . . . and Amram knew his wife and God aided him and the light of glory passed from Amram; and all the wizards were in haste (to report to Pharaoh).[148]

The text is anti wizard, diviner, odd prophet, outsider mantic, seer, enchanter, gazer,

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[140] Ibid., pp. 286-287.
[141] Ibid., p. 287.
[142] Ibid., p. 287.
[143] Ibid., p. 287.
[144] Ibid., p. 286.
[145] Ibid., p. 286.
[146] Ibid., p. 287.
[147] Ibid., p. 287.
[148] Ibid., p. 287.

magician, and perceiver, because it makes a big issue of presenting them and their reaction to what has been perceived by Pharaoh to be a challenge to his rule and leadership, on the one hand, and to their divining skills to relieve him of his anxiety as their employer and patron on the other. The text demonstrates its (and its producers') disdain for them by having them leave the story abruptly, and replacing them with Israelite midwives. No sorcery, etc. is able to solve Pharaoh's quandary: recourse to the *arcana mundi* does not work. A practical approach is set upon. Thus one reads further: "The midwives (a practical solution) were summoned by Pharaoh to do what diviners could not do." They, too, however, failed.[149] Note here how the attitude toward prophets seen in the analysis of (SP)'s Balaam cycle is still maintained in dealing with types.

Thus, the Balaam type, Pilti, is hurled backwards into the framework of "history," a history which now precedes the very birth of Moses, to tell the "rumblings" of a story which anticipated Yahweh's actions not only at the birth of Moses (protection of the birth of a savior, or perhaps messenger), but on the trip from Egyptian bondage to the occupation of the land of Canaan. This new story told of a day when Moses (and those whom he led) would be saved once more from another propriediv, wizard, magician, seer, and enchanter: Balaam the son of Beor at a much later time along the route which characterized the wars of Yahweh. One notes, then, that the theme of war is still alive in this material. The Samaritan thinkers appropriated the same *Book of the Wars of Yahweh* itinerary, but having a different hermeneutical program, employed the Balaam figure as a way of achieving the aims of their program. At Shechem Balaam the figure met, and was married to Balaam the type. We observed with the Qumran materials that Balaam the figure was not considered as important as Balaam the type, whose words were infused with new meaning and purpose at a later time to tell a different story, and to spearhead a different *Weltanschauung*. That *Weltanschauung* was Aaronid/Zadokite. The Samaritan *Weltanschauung* appears to be Yahwistic and Shilonite/Mushite-influenced. This is not to suggest, however, that a direct line from the earlier-mentioned Mushites to the Samaritans can be traced or demonstrated. But instead of employing Balaam the figure always, they employed the Balaam type in a way which anticipated the appearance of Balaam the propriediv as they continued to tell their story. If all this is correct, the Samaritan materials (and especially those which focus on the Balaam figure and type) find once again the strand of Mushite/Shilonite/Levite priestly tradition which was believed to be either lost during the JE and D source strand periods of priestly conciliation in Judah any time after 722 B.C.E. (but up to the time of Hezekiah, or the D worldview heyday under Josiah). This does not suggest that the Samaritan community in its distinct form appeared at such an early time. The Samaritan interpretation(s) hold(s) alive a hope by those who study the intellectual history of the Israelite priesthoods that the literature of each trajectory concerning priestly legitimacy (either Mushite or Aaronid) is still demonstrable long after the fourth century B.C.E., and long before the peculiar late Zadokite/Aaronid/Qumranite viewpoint of history written by a priestly group whose arguments for legitimacy began centuries before, but whose thought came to literary fruition centuries later. The Birth of Moses does not exist among the Samaritan thinkers by accident. Balaam not only lived in the recast Numbers 22-24 Balaam cycle of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but elsewhere in Samaritan thought as it groped with its essentially priestly-

[149] Ibid., p. 288.

presented, religio-traditional written materials which continued to reflect priestly debates over sacerdotal legitimacy in ancient Israel. With this in mind, one can now discern the distinct outlines of the continuation of a priestly argument which, after the fourth century B.C.E., still clung tenaciously to the argument and belief that through them, and only through them, priestly sanctification would came to Israel. Moses, their (priestly) ancestor (not Aaron), had been threatened with formidable enemies (in the form of Pharaoh and Pilti), had survived not only them, but also had survived the practical approach of employing midwives to destroy certain children (whether by miraculous birth or not!). Moses had survived Balaam and his awesome powers during his time in Balak's service, and had survived all that to found a priesthood in the land of the Canaanites to the unblemished worship of Yahweh, and by the legitimate priestly leadership of the Mushite faction of the Israelite priesthood. It is possible that the Samaritans viewed themselves as the continuators of that Mushite priesthood. If so, they had earned this distinction because they were the heirs of the greatest survivor of all time, Moses their ancestor! But of course, at present this is mere speculation. More research is necessary before definitive statements could be made about definite links between the Samaritans and the Mushite/Levite/Shilonite trajectory.

5) Memar Marqah (The Sayings of Marqah)[150]. Discussing the phenomenon of hapaxlegomena, S. Lowy wrote of how Marqah built a midrash on the interpretation of the word Chemosh, the name of the god of the Moabites (Numbers 21:29).[151] Actually, the full name of this deity is Chemoshmelek, information derived from the celebrated Moabite Stone.[152] Marqa, however, understood this word to consist of the preposition *k* (as, like), and the word for yesterday, *'ams* (pronounced *emes*). This produced for Marqa the expression "like Mosh" around which Marqa built one of his famous interpretations. Taking as his point of departure reasons why the Moabites feared the Israelites (itself a part of deliberations on Exodus 15), Marqa held:

> The leaders of Moab trembling seized them (Ex. xv, 15). Where did Moses get this knowledge? If it had not been for his Prophethood, he could not have said it then. Thus the True One recorded what Balaam said about Israel: It shall crush the corners of Moab (Num. xiv, 29) There was knowledge of the destruction underlying his saying: "You are undone, O people, like yesterday"

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[150] Some of the most often consulted sources are E. Baneth, *Des Samaritaners Marqah an die 22 Buchstaben den Grundstock der hebräischen Sprache anknüpfende Abhandlung.* Heft i. (Berlin: 1888); M. Hildesheimer, *Marqah's Buch der Wunder nach einer Berliner Handschrift,* (Berlin, 1898); J. Macdonald, ed., *Memar Marqah* (6 Books in 2 Vols.), Beihefte zu ZATW 84 (Berlin: 1963); D. Rettig, *Memar Marqa,* (Bonner Orientalische Studien. Heft 8.), (Stuttgart, 1934.); and I. Szuster, *Marqa-Hymnen aus der samaritanischen Liturgie uebersetzt und bearbeitet,* (Bonn: 1936).

[151] Lowy, *Exegesis,* p. 366.

[152] Cf. James B. Pritchard, ed. *The Ancient Near East: Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 209-210, and see illustration number 74, p. 274.

(ibid.). Yesterday was Moses' saying, "Woe to you"; here (i.e., in the Song of Moses) it is complete destruction.[153]

Once again the reader notes how the words of Balaam were separated from any Balaam activity by Marqa, and pointed in a different direction, putting Marqa on a hermeneutical par with the Qumran thinkers of 1QM.

6) Summary. The Samaritan materials are a gold mine af literature concerning both Balaam and the Balaam type. Although some of it is admittedly later than the time limit set for the present analysis of pre-Philo works, it demonstrates that the issues of prophecy and divination, priesthood and diviner continued to be of concern to this community. Balaam as a type was employed by them to lambaste and lampoon the 'prophetic,' not the 'priestly,' however, regardless of the fact that they were a priestly-led group themselves who were at odds with other priestly groups. Samaritan materials outside of the SP present a program of interpretation which does not attack the exactly "priestly." Instead, it attacks every other function associated with mantics: prophets, gazers, diviners, wizards, seers, magicians.

Text traditions vary widely in the Samaritan material. Although there have been numerous attempts to identify them on the basis of text tradition studies such as those of Cross and Purvis, McDonald and Gaster.[154] The 'theory of local texts' remains an hypothesis to be fleshed out by sustained treatment by Cross and Purvis.[155] It is for this reason that although the general term Hebrew Scriptures is used frequently in this work, I also refer to the TaNaK often and in those cases where it was impossible to argue for which type of text was in the hands of various groups interpreting the Balaam figure or type. And McDonald must still complete his study of the Chronicles.[156]

On the basis of the present state of research, it is impossible to reduce the appearance of the Samaritans to a sudden dispute ending in an equally sudden schism. Since no suddenness is evident it is also impossible to specifically identify the Samaritans as descendants of any specific one of the known warring priestly groups previously discussed, whether pre-exilic or post-exilic, although this is tempting. Their anti prophetic stance is also an area of study which deserves more attention. One thing is certain, that stance corresponds with the age which followed the general decline of prophecy as reflected in Deutero-Zechariah 13:2ff., and the (SP) Balaam cycle certainly reflects that sentiment.

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[153] Lowy, *Exegesis,* p. 366.

[154] Cf. notes 110 and 112, plus the discussion of the SP in Macdonald, *Samaritanism Reconsidered,* pp. 151-152, especially note 72 at the bottom of page 152 where he states: "It has not been worked out in a major study, but Cross has devoted a series of articles in journals to his views. See especially 'The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Hebrew Text,' *IEJ,* 16, 1966, pp. 81-95."

[155] Cf. Purvis, *Origin of the Samaritan Sect,* pp. 16-87, and notes 5, 8, 49, 55, 58, 83, 84, 88, 94, 107, 110, 111, 112, 116, 135, 137, 139, 142, 143, 144, 146, 149, 150, therein which demonstrate his dependency on the work of Cross, his mentor, on this subject.

[156] Cf. Coggins, *Samaritanism Reconsidered,* pp. 117-118, where discussing Chronicle II, he states: "Two sections have so far been published: the book known as Samaritan Chronicle II, edited by Professor Macdonald, . . ." and note 129 above.

3. Deir 'Allā and Balaam

Archaeological research in present-day Jordan produced a text which contained another account about a Balaam the son of Beor.[157] Scholarly consensus dates it to sometime during the eighth-century B.C.E. If that is an accurate dating, the text is contemporaneous with the E recension of the Balaam cycle of the TaNaK.[158] It manifests three different text characteristics. 1) Unlike all of the previously-discussed texts which were written on scrolls, and in an identifiable Semitic script,[159] the Balaam text of Deir 'Allā presents scholars of inscriptions with some difficulties. They are able to recognize the script as northwest Semitic, but then things become understandably muddled. Andre Lemaire's succinct statement of the problem is honest and symptomatic. Of the attending language recovery issue he writes:

> This inscription, as we have reconstructed it, provides us with what is probably the best example we have of the appearance of an eighth-century BCE northwest Semitic manuscript in *Aramaic, Phoenician,* or *Hebrew.* [emphasis mine] At that time, the differences among these three scripts were minimal. . . .[160]

2) Another text difference involves the *type* of text. Instead of being written on a scroll, the Deir 'Allā text was written/painted on a plastered surface which had covered a wall. And 3) The text had been written in two colors, black and red.

This northwest-Semitic script, written on plaster, in bicolor, was written on a wall! Exactly what purpose Balaam-of-the-wall served, scholars are uncertain.[161] The Balaam text occupied one of four large rectangular columns located side-by-side on that wall. Each rectangular column was outlined and separated from the others by one of the two colors; red. Within the second outlined column was a partial text, for it did not bill that second column of space. This text does not discuss Balaam, and will not come under discussion herein. The third and fourth columns of space were apparently empty. Within the two columns which contain written material, black was utilized for writing the majority of the text, while red appears to have been used for titles and key words which the scribe(s) desired to have stand in relief.[162] The wall formed part of a building. The building may have served as part of a school complex.

All of this information comes from reconstructions of rubble and from the position of at least two mounds of that rubble which earlier had constituted the wall covered

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[157] Cf. Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Allā,* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980.)

[158] The recension is discussed at length in Greene, "Balaam," pp. 70-76, and in the summary above concerning the Numbers 31 and Balaam study.

[159] The Hebrew Scriptures in Canaanite-Phoenician; Qumran texts (mostly) in Herodian script; and Samaritan materials, especially SP, in modified archaic Canaanite-Phoenician script, for example.

[160] André Lemaire, "Fragments from the Book of Balaam Found at Deir 'Allā," *BAR* (Sept.-Oct. 1985) Vol. XI No. 5, p. 39.

[161] It has been suggested that the text was located in a scribal school, and that it possibly served as a text for copying exercises. This is pure speculation, however. The same was proposed for the Gezer Calendar also.

[162] Cf. Lemaire, "Fragments," p. 39.

with plaster on which the two texts had been written. If one imagines standing and facing southward and seeing a wall running from east to west, and then imagining four large rectangular spaces with the longest sides running from top to bottom side-by-side, the western-most of the rectangles right margin was coterminous with a corner of the building, a side of which was this wall. The Balaam text was written on this western-most column. But had collapsed. Two mounds of rubble had been discovered, one south of the wall line, in a sort of recess, and the other north of the wall line, and just below what would have been the northwestern corner of the building. Scholars designate these two mounds Combination II and I respectively. Combination I, therefore, contained the collapsed-into-rubble Balaam text. It came to light in March 1967, and interpretive battle has raged over it ever since. A number of scholars have set themselves to the task of reconstructing and translating the text, as well as to identifying the specific script and language. These separate activities and exercises have informed each other.[163] The work continues.

The Balaam figure of the reconstructions has in common with the Balaam-of-the-cycle his identification as Balaam the son of Beor. Balaam-of-the-cycle and Balaam-of-the-wall have the same pedigree. The Balaam of Deir 'Allā is also designated as a *ḥzh*, a seer/prophet. This is perhaps one of the most important occurrences of this term for understanding why Balaam (the nebulous insider/outsider) was included, in the first place, in an Israelite propaganda piece imbedded in the scheme of the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh:* the Balaam cycle. Any lexicon of the Hebrew/Aramaic language will reveal a fascinating fact regarding *ḥzh*. In addition to this *shoresh's* (i.e., root's) meanings of dividing/sundering (something to *see* within), discerning (one looks, but not always discerns while looking), gazing (but not always perceiving), beholding (even a vision from a deity), perceiving (Job: 17), and, figuratively, prophesying, Isaiah (himself an eighth-century priest/prophet) utilized *ḥzh* at 28:15 to mean *covenant.*[164] This covenant connection is significant for understanding each of the recensions as well as for understanding the trajectories which moved through time anchored to the recension(s) core. All of these recensions and trajectories share a connection with the theme of war, i.e., *Book of the Wars of Yahweh.*

But this development has never explained why Balaam was employed as the propriediv figure in Israelite materials. For centuries Balaam has been lambasted and lampooned, taken for granted and been thoroughly misunderstood, and believed to be an outsider who was a pretender to Israelite priestly/prophetic respectability. Deir 'Allā's Balaam is helpful in that by his designation as *ḥzh*, even Israelite priest/prophets of, say, the tenth-century B.C.E. (the period of the United Monarchy) could easily employ Balaam's *type* as a Mosaic covenant-respecting figure who ultimately exemplifies the traits of one who "knows" (*yd'*) Yahweh covenantally, and who therefore conducts himself as one who lives by the "knowledge of Yahweh" (*d't yhwh*).[165] This term has been demonstrated to have been a part of covenant/treaty

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[163] Among the scholars involved are Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text;* P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., "The Balaam Texts From Deir 'Allā: The First Combination," *BASOR* 239 (1980), pp. 49-60; and Lemaire, "Fragments," pp. 26-39.

[164] Cf. Benjamin Davies, ed., *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon,* (Boston: Bradley & Woodruff, 1875), p. 201.

[165] Cf. Hosea 4:1,6; 6:6; Malachi 2:7; as well as the expression "You only have I *known* of all the families of the earth." (Amos 3:2) for such technical, covenant language.

language.[166] Without explicitly stating such, the Balaam cycle's contents intimate that Balaam is a prophet, a priest, a diviner (a propriediv), a seer, and (especially when one remembers the scheme of Balak taking him higher and higher up mountains so that he may either have a view of all of encamped "Israel," or of only specific portions of the group) a gazer (i.e., *tzofeh*, scoper [as in Mt. Scopus, the mountain from which gazers gazed!]), all of whom engaged in mantic activity. Deir 'Allā's Balaam, and only the Balaam understood by its inhabitants, who were to have read the account about Balaam-of-the-wall, was reputed to have been associated with a deity by covenant.

Even the recensions which provide the Balaam cycle make more sense now. Each presented a value judgment for or against Balaam as a propriediv figure and type in a manner analogous to the value judgments presented for each of the monarchs of Israel and Judah in the Book of Kings. *Hozpriediv* may prove to be a more accurate acronym. "Balaam's" malefactors and benefactors alike are intelligible when their typologies of him are understood to have been crafted against the simple criterion of exemplifying behavior conforming to or opposing the concept of the Yahwistic covenant. The Yahwistic covenant, not the covenant of El-berit, is understood to be operable throughout the Balaam cycle material.[167] And those who embrace the legitimacy of a Davidic Covenant! are the chief architects of the earliest recension of the Balaam cycle material. What is different is that Balaam-of-the-wall is said to be *š ḥzh 'lhn*, the man who was a seer of the gods.[168] Since the allusion is to more than one deity, this Balaam must have been understood as having been involved in a covenant arrangement with a council of deities. This Balaam belongs to yet another hermeneutical trajectory. What will be difficult for researchers to accomplish, however, will be to determine just how old this trajectory was by the eighth-century. It is generally agreed that the text of Deir 'Allā is a copy of a much older text.[169]

Since the text is not generally known, I include a portion herein:

> The account of [Balaam, son of Beo]r, who was a seer of the gods. The gods came to him in the night, and he saw a vision (2) like an oracle of El. Then they said to [Balaa]m, son of Beor: "Thus he will do/make [ ] hereafter (?), which [ ]." (3) And Balaam arose the next day [ ] from [ ] but he was not ab[le to] and he wept (4) grievously. And his people came up to him [and said to] him, "Balaam, son of Beor, why are you fasting and crying?" And he

[166] Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), George Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, (Pittsburgh: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955); "Covenant," in George A. Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreters' Dictionary of the Bible*, A-D (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 718; and Delbert Hillers, *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).

[167] Cf. the important discussion in H. Keith Beebe, *The Old Testament*, pp. 141-142, who writes: "The Old Testament preserves a strong tradition of covenant making at Shechem, where religious and legal traditions were recited, preserved, and renewed. The Canaanite god was Baal-berith, "Lord of the Covenant" (Judg. 8:33), but the Israelites called him El-berith "God of the Covenant" (Judg. 9:46). Canaanites had revered this shrine for generations, but Israelite traditions gradually laid claim to it."

[168] Cf. Lemaire, "Fragments," p. 35.

[169] Ibid., p. 38.

sa(5)id to them: "Sit down! I will tell you what the Šadda[yyin have done.] Now, come, see the works of the gods! The g[o]ds gathered together; (6) the Šaddayyin took their places in the assembly.[170]

This account shows Balaam having much in common with several ninth-century to sixth-century prophets mentioned in the TaNaK. 1) He sees visions which are like oracles. 2) He responds to bad tidings by not eating, and by weeping, because he must retail these tidings to his people, and he, too, is subject to any coming calamity he must proclaim. 3) He [through his vision] gained entry into the assembly of the gods. The superscription to the prophetic books of the TaNaK may be likened to the first characteristic. Jeremiah 36:24, Isaiah 20:2-4, and Isaiah 37:1-2 show similar responses to the second commonality. The third puts Balaam in a class with Michaiah the son of Imlah of 1 Kings 22:19-22, Isaiah 6:1-4, Jeremiah 23:18; 23:22, Psalm 82:1; 89:7, Job 15:8 (and the picture painted by Job 1:6-12).[171] This last observation may be enlarged. Following the last above-quoted sentence of the Balaam text, the sentence reads: And they said to Š[ ]: "Sew up, bolt up the heavens in your cloud, ordaining darkness instead of (7) eternal light!"[172] It appears that the gods give a directive to one of their number to initiate the calamity which will punish Balaam's people. Through a series of images such as "the deaf hear from afar" and "a fool sees visions" (lines 13 and 14 of the text), existence is depicted as topsy-turvey.[173] That this sole deity's name begins with S, and that deity is depicted as playing a "spoiler's role" opposite humankind, it is tempting to see a connection here with another figure in a similar role in the Prologue of Job: the satan. The Balaam text from Deir 'Allā, then, though new, is rooted in images which have long been familiar to the reader from the prophetic and wisdom literature of the TaNaK. Rebellion against the gods by humans and the gods' reply by cosmic conflagration allow one to see that the themes of covenant and war are combined in

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[170] This portion of the translation of the reconstructed text is the work of Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text From Deir 'Allā*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1980), p. 29.

[171] The Council of Yahweh receives treatment in Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," *JNES* XII (1953), pp. 274-279; W. Hermann, "Die Goettersoehne," *ZRRG* XII (1960), 242-251; Edwin C. Kingsbury, "The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh," *JBL* LXXXVIII No. 3 (1964), pp. 279-286: H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Council of Yahweh," *JTS* XLV (1945), pp. 151-157 in *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946); and the discussion in Simon J. DeVries, *Prophet Against Prophet: The Role of the Michaiah Narrative (I Kings 22) in the Development of Early Prophetic Tradition*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 7; 5; 40-42.

[172] Hackett, *Deir 'Allā*, p. 29.

[173] Cf. the same type of imagery in the complaint of the Egyptian wise man of the Egyptian Early Intermediate Period, Ipuwer. Contemplating the disasters which had befallen Egypt—especially anarchy—wrote: "The possessor of property is now one who has naught. Behold, servants have become masters of butler; He who was a messenger now sends another." The example is derived from T. E. Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia: Egypt's Contribution to the Literature of the Ancient World*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 118.

the text. The ancient Israelites and Judaites would not have found its contents foreign, and if known, might have appropriated them.

4. The Book Of Enoch (I Enoch) And The Balaam Type

The influence of one Balaam trajectory is immediately seen when one reads the first vision of Enoch.[174] The Prooimium and central theme is the great judgment. Because this is the same theme just noticed in the Deir 'Allā text, though in fragmented (text) form, it is appropriate to examine the Enochic theme at just this juncture of my study. The Enochic type brings together a number of strands of interest observed in earlier studies of material and groups producing it in which Balaam the figure or type appears. The work's beginning "(1) The words of blessing, according to which Enoch blessed the righteous elect who, on the day of tribulation, are to destroy all the godless."[175] recalls the *Weltanschauung* of the Qumran covenanters. These, one remembers, incorporated three "footnotes" which had been borrowed from the Balaam cycle into a fleshed out vision of their own which saw them as the righteous elect engaged in a war of wars which would bring on a day of tribulation for their godless enemies by effecting their utter defeat.[176]

Verse (2)'s contents, some of the most relevant for my study, will be displayed side by side with their Hebrew Scriptures counterpart for immediate clarity.

Enoch 1:2	**Numbers 23:15-16**
And he took up his discourse and said: '[Oracle of Enoch], a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God, and who saw a vision of the Holy One in heaven, which the angels showed me, and from the words of the [watchers and] holy ones I heard all; and I understood what I saw; not for this generation, but for a generation remote do I speak.[177]	And he took up his discourse, and said, "The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor, the oracle of the man whose eye is opened, the oracle of him who hears the words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High, who sees the vision of the Almighty, falling down, but having his eyes uncovered:

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[174] The literature on Enoch is prodigious. Cf. Nathaniel Schmidt, "The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch," *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, ed. R. F. Harper et al. (Chicago, 1908), Vol. ii, pp. 329-349; Edward Ullendorf, "An Aramaic "*Vorlage*" of the Ethiopian Text of Enoch," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Academia dei Lincei. Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 48)*, (Roma, 1960), pp. 259-267; and for a most recent exhaustive study which was designed to upgrade the celebrated work of R. H. Charles, Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch, Studia In Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* (Leiden: Brill, 1985). All quotes from I Enoch herein are from Black's work.

[175] Cf. Matthew Black, *I Enoch*, p. 25.

[176] See above, notes 3 and 56 on the War Scroll.

[177] Black, *Enoch*, p. 25.

The reaction to the Numbers 23:15-16 by the Qumran community was to include the contents af verses 17ff. in its apocalyptic scheme of holy war. The author of Enoch ennobles the Balaam type, as it were, by appropriating characteristics attributed to him, and by boldly casting him in the light of such a credentialed seer/gazer. The enemies of the Numbers text are Moab, Sheth, Edom and Seir. These, we saw with the Qumran War Scroll, were the same enemies which would be defeated first in that apocalyptic war. The Enoch text which follows 1:2 combines the concerns of both Qumran and Deir 'Allā; Qumran in that the enemies of the elect will be destroyed, Deir 'Allā in that the destructive conflagration will be meted out to a kind of heretofore elect who had rebelled against the gods. One can weave in and out of all three texts with facility and intuit just how easily one text can affect the others as one moves toward the first century B.C.E.

The same formula borrowed from Numbers 24:15 occurs twice more in the Enochic materials; Chapters 93:1-2 and 93:3ff. Chapter 93:1-2 is short enough to present in its entirety:

(1) And after he had given over his Epistle (to Methuselah), Enoch took up his discourse, saying:
(2) Concerning the children of righteousness
and the eternal elect
Sprung from the plant of righteousness
and uprightness,
These things will I recount and make
known to you, my children:
I, Enoch, was shown in a heavenly vision,
And from the words of the watchers and
holy ones I came to know everything,
And from the tablets of heaven I read
and understood everything.

Once more the themes of righteousness, the elect, and uprightness connect the Enochic text with themes from Qumran self-concepts encountered in the War Scroll while themes of having been shown a heavenly vision, and words from the (multi-meaning) holy ones, directly connects the Balaam propriediv/*ḥozpriediv* type. Only the reading from heavenly tablets with full (visionary) comprehension is foreign to both themes.

Chapters 93:10; 91:11-17 comprise *The Apocalypse Of Weeks.* It (the apocalypse) begins:

> (93:3) And then Enoch took up his discourse and said: I was born the seventh in the First Week; And till my time justice was delayed.

Thereafter ten weeks (or ages, epochs) follow during which various advances and setbacks to human history are laid out briefly. Themes familiar from the War Scroll are read in 93:10 (". . . in the Seventh Week, a perverse generation shall arise, . . . And at its close the elect shall be chosen, . . ."); and in 91:11 ("And they [the elect] will uproot the foundations of oppression, And the structure of falsehood therein to destroy it utterly."). The war theme involving the righteousness continues in 91:12 where during the Eighth Week (a week of righteousness) judgment is meted out to the wicked, for "a sword will be given to all of the righteous." The Ninth and Tenth Weeks will be weeks of righteous judgment both on humans and on the

watchers, at the end of which "the first heaven shall pass away, And a new heaven shall appear," (91:16). "And thereafter there shall be many Weeks; to all their number there shall be no end forever," (91:17). Such, then, is the fruit of the Balaam type's vision.

Enoch as a Balaam type keeps company with Pilti of the Samaritan material. Both types demonstrate the powerful appeal of the Balaam figure as groups following trajectories of interpretation of his character and significance continued through ancient Israelite history. The Samaritans, an essentially prophet-hating group, fabricated out of the Balaam figure of their *euberarbeitete* (=over worked, over laid, reworked, recended) Pentateuch a negative type whose function was to pre(curse), literally and figuratively, the appearance of a propriediv who, during the sojourn of Israel on the periphery of Moab, appeared as the best possible agent against that Israel, and was made to look stupid and ineffective by the power of Yahweh. It was a most negative view of all who engaged in what would have been understood to have been the prophetic consciousness.

The trajectory out of which the Enochic Balaam type emerges is (attitudinally) more allied with the Qumran covenanters than with the Samaritans as described above in the present study. For this apocalyptic trajectory, the Balaam figure served as the perfect type through which the goals of revealed knowledge could be mediated. Whereas the Samaritans manufactured the type and then hurled it into the past to set up the individual responding to the prophetic impulse (other than Moses their hero), the Enochic trajectory manufactured the type and depicted the figure as "not for this generation, but for a generation remote do I speak."[178] This figure was hurled into the future.

Whether directly or indirectly influenced, Enoch the book derives two other characteristics from the Balaam figure, type, and materials. Chapters 37-71 are termed the Parables of Enoch, while Chapters 83-90 became known as The Dream-Visions of Enoch. 1) Concerning the parables, there are three located at 37-44, 45-57, and 58-69. In the Aramaic version found at Qumran and known as 4Q En., at Chapter 1, verse 2, the word rendered *mtlh* (=*matlah*), by the standard phenomenon of consonantal shifts in the Semitic languages, is rendered by *mshl* (=*mashal*) in Hebrew. The reader might recall that I made the decision to employ this term consistently throughout my analysis of the literature which made the Balaam cycle.[179] Rather than employ such terms as 'discourse,' 'parable,' 'gnome,' 'aphorism,' 'oracle,' 'oration,' or 'discourse,' I thought it best to render the Hebrew term only. Due to the possibility of an inaccurate rendering of the term now in the Enochic material, I continue to adhere to this decision, now on the basis of the Aramaic *mtlh*. Enoch, like Balaam, delivers *msblym* (=*meshalim*).

From Balaam is also borrowed the practice of entering the world of dream-visions. According to Black, they represent "the longest and the most self-consistent part of the Book."[180] In a zoomorphic history of the world set within the framework of Enoch's instructions to Methuselah his son, he presents "a series of visions in which the principle protagonists are symbolized by animals, . . ."[181] These visions, which

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[178] Ibid., p. 25.

[179] Cf. Greene, "Balaam," pp. 62; 65-67; 68-70; 72-76, and on Enochic material see "Mašāl in the Similitudes of Enoch," *JBL* 100/2 (1981), pp. 1193-1212.

[180] Black, *Enoch*, p. 19.

[181] Ibid., p. 19.

Enoch shares typologically with the Balaam of Deir 'Allā, cover a period from the Deluge to a Last Judgment sometime following the period of the Maccabean Revolt. Be it known, however, I focus only on the "agency" of the Balaam type's knowledge, not on the "contents." Balaam as figure, type, and actor in the hands and hermeneutic of the Enochic school had proved to indeed have been a man for all (their) seasons.

C. Balaam Beyond Philo: A Look Forward

Beyond Philo's time, interest in the Balaam figure and type did not wane. Since Berchman[182] and others have tied this present study to Philo's treatment of Balaam, anything I could write herein on that subject would be both out of my area of competence as well as repetitious. It would be instructive, however, to look to the post-Philo period to pick up some continuing hermeneutical strands. This exercise—though summary in form—, combined with the pre-Philo study contained herein, serves the purpose of not presenting and trying to understand Philo-on-Balaam in a literary-historical-hermeneutical vacuum.

1. Balaam In The New Testament

With the millennium change from B.C.E. to C.E. interest in Balaam does not cease, and his figure and type do not receive rest from hermeneutist detractors. Three such detractors contributed the New Testament works of Revelation, Jude, and 2 Peter.

At Revelation 2:14 (one of three apocalyptic works [Qumran and Enoch being the other two] which incorporate the Balaam figure or type), part of a critique to the "angel" of the church at Pergamum, the writer holds:

> But I have a few things against you:
> you have some there who hold the
> teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak
> to *put a stumbling block before the*
> *sons of Israel, that they might eat*
> *food sacrificed to idols and practice*
> *immorality.*" (Emphases are mine)

These practices are serious enough for the writer to hold that "He who has the sharp two-edged sword" (Rev. 2:12) will "come . . .soon and war against them (the Balaam-like teachers) with the sword of (his) mouth" (Rev. 2:16). This indictment contains the same complaints mirrored in Acts 15:20 and 15:29; that of food sacrificed to idols, and immorality. "Balaam" here serves as the type who opposed such restrictions and actually reflects the attitude of the writers of Romans 14:14; 20-21; and Acts 10:28. At any rate, this Balaam is fabricated on the loom of those who are embroiled in the issue of requirements for proselytes coming into various Greco-Roman forms of Hellenistic Judaism(s). To be sure, Balaam-of-the-cycle is associated with sacrifices.

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[182] Cf. Robert M. Berchman, "*Arcana Mundi:* Between Balaam and Hecate: Prophecy, Divination, and Magic in Later Platonism," *SBL Seminar Papers* 28, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 114-117; 122-124; 128-130. Berchman also includes in his study Clement and Origen of Alexandria's views of Balaam, pp. 124-127; 130-133.

On more than one occasion he gives instructions to Balak to sacrifice. But not to idols! Rather, he sacrifices to Yahweh. And even though the writer of Numbers 31:8ff. is thoroughly irate, the charge against Balaam is not immorality. He "tempts" the males of "Israel" to rebel (against the covenant), not to be immoral! This is Balaam dressed in later hermeneutical garb to be the fall guy for other problems encountered by a later "Israel."

The writer of the little epistle of Jude 1:11 packs a lot of complaints into one line of text. Reviling "heretics" and "false teachers" of all kinds, he argues that they: ". . . walk in the way of Cain, and abandon themselves for the sake of gain to Balaam's error, and perish with Korah's rebellion." The themes of jealousy/murder/guilt (Cain), greed (Balaam's accepting fees for mediating Yahweh's word, thus making it a commercial venture [this was certainly not the equivalent to tithing, the acceptable "insider" method of accepting fees for mediating Yahweh's will!]), and punishment (in the case of Korah, for rebelling against the proper leadership of the people "Israel" [i.e., Mosesj]). Evidently for him, Balaam's guilt was false teaching, and he is viewed by this writer as one of three past archetypes.

2 Peter is possibly the (chronologically) latest work in the New Testament. In addition to containing all of Jude (and being written by a different author than 1 Peter), it argues against all "heresies" especially those which deny the coming of Christ. At 2:15, Balaam is implicated in influencing people to forsake the right way. Specifically: "they have followed the way of Balaam, the son of Beor, who loved gain from wrongdoing, but was rebuked for his own transgression; a dumb ass spoke with human voice and restrained the prophet's madness." Like the writer of Jude, 2 Peter's author understood that Balaam accepted gratuities, and that this had been wrong. In addition, the writer stressed Balaam's humiliation at the mouth of the ass who shares billing with the Balaam-of-the-cycle.

2. The Balaam Of Josephus' Antiquities

For Josephus, Balaam was the greatest of the prophets, raised to great reputation because of the truth of his predictions (Book IV: VI:2). He adds a few twists to the account contained in the Balaam cycle, such as:

1) a statement that Balaam was afraid of having incurred God's wrath after the speaking ass incident, and prepared to return to his homeland instead of continuing on to Balak.

2) a speech by inspiration in VI:4 characteristic of history writing of the period, and certainly characteristic of Josephus' writings.

Other details are shown by way of comparison. In the Balaam cycle, Balaam goes to meet Balak because Yahweh wanted him to go: he goes as Yahweh's agent. Josephus, like the author of the text underlying Balaam-of-the-wall, understood Balaam to have been a partner in a covenant: Balaam-of-the-wall with the gods, Josephus' Balaam with Balak (cf. "But then Balak was displeased, and said he (Balaam) had broken the *contract* he had made . . ."(VI:5). Also, Josephus' Balaam makes only *twl* attempts to fulfill his contract: the second only because he had a sense of professional duty. Then, like Balaam-of-the-wall, Balaam foretells calamities (the former, to befall his people, the latter, to "befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities" (VI:5). For Josephus, Balaam's predictions had been verified by

history up to his (Josephus') time, and the remainder would come to pass in coming events (VI:5). And after failing to curse Israel for Balak and his associates (= blessing Israel at the direction of Yahweh), Balaam-of-the-cycle departs for home (Num. 24:25). Josephus' Balaam also departs for home after the second attempt to curse, but just before crossing the Euphrates he summons Balak and his associates and tells them how they may deliver small setbacks to Israel but can never affect a curse on them. In another "speech" recalling the Deuteronomist's rehearsal of the ups and downs of Israel's history, Josephus' Balaam reviews the history of Yahweh's people up to the first century C.E. (i.e., to Josephus' time). The major agent of the setbacks (for Balak's time) will be the Midianite women. The short account of Balaam's connection with these women in Numbers 31:6, 2 Peter 2, Jude 11, and Revelation 2:14 is extended into a large account in Josephus (VI:6-13), a trait which he shares with the writer of the Samaritan Chronicle and with Philo.

3. Balaam In The Talmud

At some time later than the mid first-century C.E., "Balaam" was employed to refer to someone else! Here we have the reversal of someone else being employed to refer to Balaam: Pilti of the Samaritan material. Without getting lost in the labyrinthine volumes of the Talmud Bavli, I solicit instead the statement concerning early Christianity and its background in the first note on Chapter 2 of Samuel Sandmel's *We Jews and Jesus.* He writes:

> There are a few direct mentions of Jesus in the Talmud, and a few passages about one Balaam which some have interpreted to be cryptic, and hence indirect, mention.[183]

The Use Of Balaam During The Middle Ages

Herein I have already mentioned one work on Balaam which is probably datable to the Middle Ages: The Samaritan Book of Joshua wherein Chapters 3-4 deal with Balaam and the Moabites.[184] This work is known as Chronicle IV, and is dated by Macdonald to the fourteenth-century C.E.[185] This work is written in Arabic.

Chronicle VI was compiled from several Samaritan works, among which were portions of Chronicles II-IV. The Abul Fath compiled historical work covers history to 756 C.E. Later compilers brought the works contents up to 1853 C.E.[186] The use of Chronicle IV material may reveal another Balaam figure or type. As of this writing, I have been unable to acquire this text.

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[183] Samuel Sandmel, *We Jews and Jesus,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 28.

[184] Cf. note 121 above.

[185] Cf. Macdonald, *Theology,* pp. 13, 46ff., and 118.

[186] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

4. Balaam In Islamic Material

The work known as *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i*[187] contains a story about Balaam. It contains several of the features known from the Balaam-of-the-cycle. It differs from the cycle text(s) in several respects. In my previous work I summarized the differences in the final note.[188] It suffices to reproduce a portion of that summary here:

> Among these (i.e., the differences) are Balaam's wife (who, after Balaam is refused permission to go the first time, persuades him to ask for permission again); viziers (as opposed to simple messengers, or even princes): a winged angel whose wings block the East and West; gifts for Balaam's wife; Iblis interpreting the significance of the angel's sudden departure, allowing Balaam to continue his journey; combined stories of how Balaam's counsel included using the Moabite women as bait for the Moses host (stories which, in the Numbers book, are spread over more material than chapters 22-24); a "certain book" which the "children of Israel" read, the precepts of which if not followed, will cause calamity to befall them; Balak will be established because "Israel" will rebel against the deity; a man of Simeon having sexual congress with an especially beautiful Moabitess, both of whom were impaled together on a spear wielded by a faithful man of Judah; routing of Balak's army, and his and Balaam's subsequent death.

It will be remembered that the story of the man of (the tribe of) Simeon is contained in Numbers 25:6-18, and Balaam's death is (gratuitously) included in a list of (Midianite!) kings killed in battle against the Moses host in Numbers 31:7-8. Although they stand outside the Balaam cycle, they are not totally new features to the overall study of Balaam-of-the-Hebrew Scriptures.

5. Balaam In Modern Literature

Balaam has not escaped the attention of modern writers. The storyteller Joel Chandler Harris, famous for stories about Uncle Remus and Brer Rabbit, authored an anthology of stories under the title *Balaam And His Master.*[189] The Balaam of his story was a Black slave born on the Cozart plantation. The Balaam figure, the theme of war, and a number of "hints" borrowed from the cycle are evident in the story.

As to the figure, Chandler's Balaam is charged with his (senior) master's orders: "Balaam," said Mr. Cozart, "this baby will be your master. I want you to look after him and take care of him" (pp. 11, 26). A special relationship develops between Balaam and his (younger) master which lasts a (short) lifetime. Berrien Cozart grows up to become a "wild ass" of a man. He is dismissed from college and returns home to Billville where the family estate is located. His father refuses to allow him to

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[187] Cf. W. M. Thackston, Jr., *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i,* Library of Classical Arabic Literature (Boston: Twayne Publishers for G. K. Hall & Co., 1978), pp. 244-245.

[188] Greene, "Balaam," p. 104.

[189] Joel Chandler Harris, *Balaam And His Master. And Other Sketches And Stories,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1891).

remain at home, but sends him back to college to redeem himself and the family honor. Balaam returns with him. As the pair are leaving the valley in which the estate is located, "On the high hill beyond the "town branch" Balaam leaned out of the back [of the wagonl and *looked back* at Billville." (p. 24) The image of the *tzofeh* is thus captured. Balaam "sees" something that Berrien Cozart does not. The next time either of them sees Billville, it is the last thing that either sees.

But instead of going back to college, the son takes his father's money (divinations in his hand?) and begins a gambling career in several southern states. Balaam watches over him and protects him at all costs. When the young Cozart loses all, he devises a scheme to "sell" Balaam for a sizeable sum. It is all a "skin game" and scam, however, for Balaam, after being sold, is to gain freedom by escaping, and by the aid of a carefully-written letter to be kept in his possession, he is (theoretically) able to travel in the open unhindered and to rejoin his master in a prearranged city, only to repeat this skam as often as Berrien Cozart needs the "divination services" (=more money to bankroll himself after having lost everything in a poker game) of Balaam. Never forgetting his charge, Balaam replied to his master's proposed scheme in *mashal*-like fashion: "you kin sell me, but de man dat buys Balaam will git a mighty bad bargain." (p. 25), "You kin sell me suh, but I ain't gwine stay wid um." (p. 25), and "I been 'long wid you all de time, an' ole marster done tole me w'en you was baby dat I got ter stay wid you." (p. 26) These statements may be compared with those made by Balaam-of-the-cycle in reply to Balak's statements and complaints.

After escaping, Balaam, alias someone else, is picked up on the road by a man known as the Judge. Although Balaam thinks that he has made an "ass" of this man by denying that he resembles Berrien Cozart's slave, a statement the Judge continues to make as they travel, the Judge, a gambler himself who knows Balaam's true identity, allows him to accompany him to a town close to where Balaam is to meet his master. The Judge then allows Balaam to continue on to meet Berrien Cozart. He does this because of a female cousin Cozart likes, and because he admires Cozart's rascality.

Berrien Cozart had paid Balaam fifty dollars (more divinations in the hand) "in specie" in order to get Balaam to go along with the skam (p. 28). The escape was announced in a local paper called the "Intelligencer" but no response was ever made (p. 29). And Balaam finally was rejoined with his master after crossing "the River." In this case it was the Tennessee River.

War characterized the entire life of Berrien Cozart. He was at war with everyone in the world except Balaam. As a professional gambler/college dropout, Cozart waged war by dealing from the bottom of the deck, and engaging in every activity designed to relieve his opponents of their cash. This led often to brawls and to several deaths at Cozarts hands. Once, onboard a river steamer, Cozart was engaged in his incessant war, was accused of cheating, killed a man, and had to run for his life. Hiding among a group of barrels on the lower deck of the steamer after having thrown a heavy object into the muddy river to give the impression that he had jumped overboard, believing this, the dutiful Balaam sprang into the river in search of his charge and master. The master did nothing to make Balaam think otherwise.

After a search through several states by legal authorities, Berrien Cozart is chased and finally captured very near Billville. Having shot a pursuing lawman through the head, he was finally incarcerated in Billville. The last one reads of prisoner Berrien Cozart he is lying dead on the floor of his cell. A large hole in the outer wall of the jail building, which at first had given the observer the idea that Cozart had attempted

to escape, was seen to have been the entryway for someone to have joined Cozart. Balaam had broken into the jail to be with his master, and was also found dead on the floor beside his master. He had not relinquished his charge. He had done nothing his master had not dictated. Here the Balaam figure was cast as the archetypical faithful man (i.e., servant of his master also).

The final modern example of continuing concern with Balaam themes and types is provided by Moshe Leshem.[190] For him:

> The Enlightenment and emancipation, the twin secular godheads that drew the Jews out of the ghetto, forced the Children of Israel to seek an answer to a difficult question: How could they maintain a Jewish identity while assimilating European culture and values that were not merely alien to Rabbinical Judaism but often irreconcilable with its teachings? Many Jews wrestle with the problem to this very day as individuals; so does Israel in its vocation as the Jewish state. (p. 10)

Leshem's main focus is on Israel the Jewish state, and its status as one nation "among the nations," but separate from them. He argues that since the establishment of Israel as a state, it has sought to be counted among the nations, especially the United Nations. But as one of the "Nations" it has not received the same treatment as other charter members. Its major problem is being viewed by other members as fair to its most immediate neighbors, the Palestinians. The Palestinians are politically in the same situation, as for example, the Kurds, the Lithuanians, the Letts, and the Estonians, all national groups without truly free and unquestioned borders. The difference, Leshem maintains, is that nobody cares about the Kurds. And were he writing today, he would know that all three Baltic states are indeed involved in the task of declaring their national independence once again. But at the time of his writing, his assessment that the international political community didn't care about them either was accurate. Of all these groups, however, the Palestinians are unique, because they and Israel came into existence at the same time, and now, as a result of a number of political moves and the fortunes or lack thereof of war, Israel appears strong in the eyes of the world, while the Palestinians are viewed as those who have been pounced upon unfairly by the aggressive Israelis. Thus, holds Leshem, when Israel engages in politico-military activity engaged in by other member nations of the United Nations, such as the Soviet Union's actions toward the Baltic States, or Libya's occupation of large portions of Chad, no loud voice is raised in the Security Council in outraged protestation. Israelis acquisition of the West Bank and large portions of Egyptian territory as a result of the 1967 war, or the ill-fated invasion of Lebanon in 1982 have been met by vitriolic barrages of declamation by Nations members. Whether fairly or unfairly, Israel is now in a situation where it realizes that it stands virtually alone, whether it does exactly the same thing as other nations or not, whether it reaches out to other nations or not: Israel is politically damned if it does, and damned if it does not.

For Leshem, this predicament recalls Numbers 23:9, the so-called Blessing of Balaam: "Israel is a people [that] shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." It should be remembered that the *shoresh brk* has the double meaning of "cursing" and "blessing." This *Zweideutigkeit* or doublemeaning is evident in the

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[190] Moshe Leshem, *Balaam's Curse: How Israel Lost Its Way, And How It Can Find It Again*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989).

Balaam cycle and gives the story of Balaam some of its powerpunch. Leshem's analysis of modern Israel's political predicament utilizes once more the ambiguity of this potential *Zweideutigkeit* to raise the questions: Has the *brk* of Balaam turned finally, and after all these years, into the *brk* which Balak originally requested?, and has Israel brought this *brk* upon itself?

One of Leshem's strongest statements concerning Israel's present situation is summed up thusly:

> Whatever the correct interpretation of Balaams curse after 1967 it was cited by religious nationalists as proof that Israel's isolation was preordained, and therefore was not the result of any "sin" of commission or omission of which the Jewish state might be guilty in the eyes of the world. "Dwelling alone" was thus hailed As the normal condition for the Jewish state—though it surely was not the kind of normality Zionism's founding fathers had in mind, nor what the Yishuv had worked so hard to create. (p. 246)

Although religious Jews, Leshem argues, may find solace in this development, and may increase their ever strong embracing of the contents of Jewish Scriptures and their traditional interpretations, the orthodox should be dissuaded from their attempt:

> to move Jewish history in a circular route back to the self-centered security of faith that is possible only in a ghetto. Such may be a valid route for an individual, but it is not a road on which the vehicle of the nation-state can travel. For if Israel were to dwell alone, the danger is that it won't ere long dwell at all. As the American poet Robert Frost reminds us: "Before I'd build a wall I'd ask to know/What I was wailing in or walling out." (p. 263)

We have not read or heard the last of the resilient Balaam image.

Conclusion

This study has examined thirteen pre-Philo interpretations and uses of either the Balaam figure or the Balaam type, and has pointed to six post-Philo interpretations and uses of figure and type as well. This was done in order to place Philo's interpretations of Balaam within a broad historico-hermeneutical framework, and to facilitate studies of his interests in prophecy and divination, presented with a middle Platonic bent. All nineteen "Balaams" show just how sustained was the interest in prophecy and divination from the eighth-century B.C.E. to present times, and how Balaam ben Beor continued to dominate the thoughts of those scholars who sought and (as far as they were concerned) found the archetypical propriediv/*ḥozpriediv*. All were considered within the light of a thesis established concerning the reasons why the sustained story of Balaam in Numbers 22-24 existed. I referred to that corpus as the Balaam cycle of texts, and argued that its present form was the result of several overlays or recensions of a basic story about a Balaam ben Beor (i.e., results of hermeneutical arguments and applications of hermeneutical conclusions) produced between the tenth and eighth-centuries B.C.E. Therein, I maintained, several hermeneutical recensions existed which demonstrably corresponded to (and were the fruit of deliberations which produced) the hypothesized J, E, P, D and R. documents of Pentateuchal criticism studies.

The Hebrew Scriptures about Balaam outside of Numbers 22-24 grew out of that

cycle of stories, and followed two trajectories. One trajectory led to a line of reasoning which viewed Balaam in a negative light. He was an enticer of Israel in the incident at Peor, responsible for the "plague" coming into the midst of its camp, and who, along with royal enemies of Israel, was slain with the edge of the sword. The other trajectory knew nothing of a Peor incident. Therein, Balaam was merely a type whose machinations had come to naught. He had failed to disadvantage Israel because Yahweh had so ruled, and had simply returned home. Before the end of the period during which the Hebrew Scriptures were produced, Balaam had been reduced from a major archetypical figure to be either emulated or spurned (tenth to eighth-centuries B.C.E.) to being an insignificant figure and type mentioned only in passing (fifth to fourth centuries B.C.E.).

When the Hebrew Scriptures material was utilized by the covenanters of Qumran at a later time, Balaam as either figure or type was not seen to have been important to them. Instead, circumstances surrounding the decision of Balak to call upon the services of Balaam were what were considered to have been of more importance. The circumstances war and the purpose of victory by those who understood themselves as having been counted among the righteous. Excerpts from *mshlym* reputedly uttered by Balaam, lifted from their cycle context, and imbedded in an apocalyptic account of a war to be fought between the Sons of Light (the camp in which the writer(s) considered themselves located) and the Sons of Darkness. Balaam's oracular utterances had been reduced to three "footnotes" utilized by others to present a "war tale," and his influence was now only indirect.

Just as the Qumranite leadership had consisted of a body of priests who decided to separate themselves from the main, urban-based, priestly body of Judaism, so had the leadership of those known as Samaritans. For the archfigure and type of propriediv/*bozpriediv*, Balaam, they had neither respect nor use. A careful linguistic analysis of the recension known as the Samaritan Pentateuch, their chief representative document, demonstrated their disdain for anyone other than Moses, their hero, claiming to manifest the ability to prophesy. Balaam, and all he represented, was for them an object of derision.

When the Samaritans did decide to engage in more interpretive exercises such as the *Book of the Secrets of Moses*, a Balaam type named Pilti was employed to serve as the archchallenger to the very birth of Moses. All of Pilti's divining machinations were shown to have been less effective than the ordinary work of committed midwives. The Samaritan Pentateuch's recension of Numbers 22-24 and the story of Pilti together say all about prophecy and divination that the Samaritans wished to say. Balaam as figure and type had no place within their world-view.

It is still uncertain just why Balaam-of-the-wall existed, but the text underlying that reconstructed version had no qualms about presenting Balaam as a seer of a pantheon of deities. That expression alone divorced this Balaam from all the others examined to that point in my study. This Balaam ben Beor had much in common with the other Balaams studied such as having visions during dream sessions at night, and being an acknowledged diviner. What was different is that this *bozpriediv* had to retail the contents of a dreaded vision about the impending destruction of his own people. Deir 'Allā's Balaam did not have the luxury of cursing or foretelling the destruction of other people with whom he had had little or no connection. Like any of the prophets of the Hebrew Scriptures who uttered doom oracles upon their fellow members of the covenanted community, Balaam-of-the-wall kept company with them in that he realized he was pronouncing potentially his own doom as well. Of

all the Balaam figures, this Balaam was presented as the most sensitive.

The Balaam type encountered in the Book of Enoch served as a sort of propriediv/*ḥozpriediv* point of confluence for several earlier Balaam strands. The expression "And ---- took up his discourse," which the writer of Enoch borrows from Chapter 24 of the Balaam cycle, provides one such strand, while the apocalyptic presentation of the contents of a vision recalls both the vision of the open-eyed one of the cycle as well as the *ḥozeh/ẓofeh* of Deir 'Allā. Thus, two more strands are provided. But more than this, Enoch's writer shared some of the apocalyptic outlook of the writer(s) of the Qumran War Scroll as well. Although where the Balaam type is concerned this strand is the most nebulous, the link between the two is nevertheless maintained intact by the theme of apocalyptic warfare. Enoch's writer's appropriation of certain Balaam themes renders this work important for any writer studying the history of pre-Philo hermeneutics of prophecy and divination employing "Balaam" as a test case.

The preceding analyses and studies allow one to not have to study Philo's consideration of Balaam within a hermeneutical vacuum. Although the ability to demonstrate from just where (text tradition-wise) Philo's Balaam figure and type came still remains a challenge for future research, enough pre-Philo analysis has been documented and presented to render the analysis available in Philo's work intelligible and useful for Philo scholars. Considerable comparative and contrastive work has now been facilitated by the foregoing study.

The look forward from Philo's work provides additional framework material. One purpose for its inclusion is to demonstrate that work on Balaam continued and following what kinds of trajectories. Another is to suggest other avenues of studying the phenomenon of renewed interest in prophecy and divination studies during the latter half of the middle Platonic period, and from then to present times. The Balaam of Deir 'Allā and the Balaam of al-Kisa'i have in common a tradition about Balaam which appears to be directly unrelated to the strands woven through the Hebrew Scriptures, Qumran, Samaritan and Enochic materials. Demonstrating why this is so will solve two problems: 1) the direct origins of the immediate tradition about Balaam which Philo knew and employed, and 2) explaining why the name and figure Balaam ben Beor animated ancient Near Eastern scholars inside and outside of ancient Israel for such an extended period of time. If for no other reasons, it is hoped that this study has stimulated continued interest into the extended belief in prophecy and divination as integral parts of the human exercise of problem solving and providing what for some were considered self-evident truths.

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The One God Topos in *Spec. Leg.* 1.52

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Introduction

The affirmation that "there is One God" was a hallmark of Jewish, and for that matter Christian, exclusivism to the eyes of the Hellenistic Gentile world. This acclamation as expressed by pious Jews and Christians contained an implicit rejection of all other gods and as such called into question the authenticity of the religious convictions of more than ninety percent of the people of the Roman Empire. The assertion of the One God and the concomitant polemic against the many gods were recurrent themes with both Jewish and Christian apologists. Whereas the One God topos in ancient literature most often functions to sanction the exclusion of the "outsider" the thesis of this paper is that in *Spec. Leg.* 1. 52, Philo employs the topos to encourage the full acceptance of the proselyte into the Jewish community with rights and privilges equal to that of the native born member. An examination of the uses of the One God Topos in the contemporary literatute will underscore the distinctiveness of its function in *Spec. Leg.* 1. 52.

Hellenistic Jewish Apologetic Uses of the One God Topos

As Erik Peterson long ago observed, the One God topos appears infrequently in Biblical and other ancient Jewish literature except for Hellenistic Jewish apologetic literature.[1] The topos, however, expressed not only a central creedal element of Judaism which its apologists sought to promote against prevalent polytheistic and

[1] Cf. Eric Peterson, *Eis theos: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926). Eric Peterson examined the uses of the εἷς θεός formula in early Christian as well as non-Christian epigraphic material. Peterson argued that the Christian use of this formula is not derived from the OT or Jewish sources but rather from Hellenistic religious usage. Peterson specifically rejected the thesis that the Christian usage of εἷς θεός was dependent on Deut 6:4 which, he points out, reads εἷς κύριος, not θεός. The formula is similarly lacking in both The Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. It is strange that Peterson omits any reference to Mal 2:10 in his discussion.

idolatrous beliefs and practices, but also provided these same apologists with a bridge between their religion and the growing theological consensus among contemporary educated gentiles of the Hellenistic period. The Greek philosophers from Xenophanes, Plato and onwards had criticized both the anthropomorphism and polytheism of the popular religious thought and practice of their time.[2] Hellenistic Jews such as Aristobulus, and later Philo and Josephus could join their voices to this chorus. However, there were differences between the Greek philosophers' theoretical affirmation of monotheism and the Jewish apologists' avowal of the One God who was to be worshipped in continuity with the tradition of their forefathers. In brief, Hellenistic Jewish apologetic uses of the One God topos were primarily for one of two ends: (1) to criticize idolatry and proclaim the one divine source for all creation as alone worthy of human worship and (2) to propagandize for the superiority of Mosaic legislation over all alternative religio-socio-political worldviews.

One God and the other Gods. Sibylline Oracles 3.8-45 provides a clear example of the apologetic use of the One God topos criticize polytheism, idolatry, and to affirm that God is the source of all things.[3]

vss 8-16

> Ἄνθρωποι θεόπλαστον ἔχοντες ἐν εἰκόνι μορφήν,
> πίπτε μάτην πλάξεσθε καὶ οὐκ εὐθεῖαν ἀταρπὸν
> βαίνετε ἀθανάτου κτίστου μεμνημένοι αἰεί;
> Εἷς θεός ἐστι μόναρχος ἀθέσφατος αἰθέρι ναίων
> αὐτοφυὴς ἀόρατος ὁρῶν μόνος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα
> ὃν χεὶρ οὐχ ἐποίησε λιθοξόος οὐδ' ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ
> τέχνης ἀνθρώπου φαίνει τύπος οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος,
> ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνέδειξεν αἰώνιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
> ὄντα τε καὶ πρὶν ἐόντα, ἀτὰρ πάλι καὶ μετέπριτα.[4]

This passage is typical of Jewish propaganda for monotheism and employs the apologetic theme of the spiritual nature of God in accord with Hellenistic philosophy:

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[2] As e.g., Plato, *Republic* 2.378. Before Plato, note Xenophanes' critique of the Homeric gods *frgs.* 23 and 26 *Diels.* See Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers* (2 vols.; Glasgow: MacLehose 1904) esp., 1.58-79.

[3] These verses are widely considered not to be originally integral to the main corpus of *Sib. Or.* 3. See Lanchester, H. C. O. "The Sibylline Oracles" (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) *APOT,* 2. 371. John J. Collins "Sibylline Oracles," in James H. Charlesworth, *The O. T. Pseudepigrapha,* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983) 1.359-360. Johannes Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902) 13. Valentin Nikiprowetsky, however, argues for the unity of the third book of Sibyl (*La Troisième Sibylle,* Paris: Mouton, 1970) 217-225. On the matter of the apologetic character of *Sib. Or.* 3 See Hans Conzelmann, *Heiden–Juden–Christen* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981) 211-14.

[4] "Men, who have the form which God molded in his image,/ Why do you wander in vain, and not walk the straight path/ ever mindful of the immortal creator?/ There is one God, sole ruler, ineffable, who lives in the sky,/ self-begotten, invisible, who himself sees all things./ No sculptor's hand made him, nor does a cast/ of gold or ivory reveal him, by the crafts of man,/ but he himself, eternal, revealed himself/ as existing now, and formerly and again in the future."

eternal (3:15), self-begotten and invisible (3:12, 17). Idolatry is false because it denies the unity and uniqueness of God and refuses to acknowledge the hegemony of the One God who is the sole ruler (3:11: Εἷς θεός ἐστι μόναρχος). This passage bears striking similarity to Sibylline Fragments 1 and 3.[5] As in *Sib. Or.*, frgs. 1 and 3, the εἷς θεός formula in 3.11 is placed in an immediate context (vss 8-11) which represents God as Creator. Human beings are described as having a form which God made in his own image: ἄνθρωποι θεόπλαστον ἔχοντες ἐν εἰκόνι μορφήν.[6] An anthropomorphic conception of God is not intended but rather the theomorphic nature of humankind is here emphasized. This clause prefaces the admonitory question of vs 9: "Why do you wander in vain, and not walk the straight path?" Verse 10 ends this question with another participial phrase ἀθανάτου κτίστου μεμνημένοι αἰεί and thus reiterates the theme of God as Creator. The opening words of the next verse, "εἷς θεός έστι—there is one God," is followed by six predicates: μόναρχος, ἀθέσφατος, αἰθέρι ναίων, αὐτοφυὴς, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶν μόνος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα which are typical of Hellenistic Jewish theology.[7] The oneness or unity of God is directly correlated to the affirmation of the unity of all creation which is derived from a single source. Verses 13-14 move to a description of God *via negativa* in the vein of traditional Jewish polemics against idolatry.[8] Verses 15-16 combine the attributes of God's eternity and God's self-revelation: ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνέδειξεν αἰώνιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν (cf Rom 1:20). Verses 17-20 emphasize the difference between mortals and God—τίς Θνητὸς and θεός. Verses 20-28 reiterate the two concepts of God as creator and fashioner already mentioned in the initial three verses of this passage, namely God as κτίστης or ποιητής (cf. vss 20, 28) and God as πλάστης (see vss 24, 25, and 27). Then vss 29-45 utilize polemical topoi against specific traditions of idolatry: vs 30 refers to Egyptian idolatry, vs 31 offers a critique of idols, and vs 32 targets the Isis cult.[9] Verses 36-45 exhibit the traditional polemic against idol-makers and worshippers as immoral: "Alas for a race which rejoices in blood, a crafty and evil race of impious and false double-tongued men and immoral adulterous idol worshippers who plot deceit" (36-38).[10] Thus, in *Sib. Or.* 3.8-45 as well as in frgs. 1 (vss 7-12)

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[5] Collins believes that *Sib. Or.* 3:1-45 and fragments 1-3 are all part of the lost book two ("Sibylline Oracles") 360-61, 469. He suggests a date in the late Hellenistic or early Roman periods and the provenance as most likely Egyptian.

[6] The notion of μοργὴ θεοῦ is prominent in the Hermetic and other speculative gnostic literature. The ἄνθρωπος (primal man), the son of the πατὴρ πάντων, is of the same form as God: οὗ ἠγάσθη ὡς ἰδίου τόκου· περικαλλὴς γὰρ ἦν, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνα ἔχων· εἰκόνα ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἠγάσθη τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς (Corp. Herm., I, 12; see Behm, "μορφή," *TDNT 4*, 747). Marmorstein points out that the rabbis vehemently opposed the gnostics' use of the first person plural in Gen 1:26 to deny the unity of God, *Studies in Jewish Theology*, (Freeport: New World, 1972) 98-99.

[7] Nikiprowetzky, *Sibylle* 71.

[8] In Paul as well as in much Jewish theology, the critique of idolatry and idol making turns on the accusation of the inversion of positions wherein the created being presumes to "create" the Creator (Rom 1:23,25; cf. also Wis 13:10-19; Isa 40:18-23). Paul is not concerned with atheism as a theoretical objection to the existence of God but rather with an "existential" atheism which manifests in the individual's refusal to express praise and gratitude to God. See 1 Cor 8:4-6a.

[9] *Sib. Or.* frgs. 1.5; 2.3.

[10] The traditional Jewish critique against idolatry is that immoral behavior leads

and 3 (vs 3) the One God formula is linked to the "God as Creator" theme. The primary function of these passages is to combat idolatry and to affirm monotheism.

Philo is also able to use the One God topos with similar intent as in *Op. Mund.* 171 where he contrasts Moses' teaching (ὅτι θεὸς εἷς ἐστι) with polytheism (διὰ τοὺς εἰσηγητὰς τῆς πολυθέου δόξης). Likewise in *Decal.* 65, Philo explains the first commandment with frequent reference to the One (a word which, of course, is not to be found in Ex. 20): "Let us, then, engrave deep in our hearts this as the first and most sacred of commandments, to acknowledge and honor one God (ἕνα . . . τιμᾶν θεόν) Who is above all, and let the idea that gods are many (δόξα δ' ἡ πολύθεος) never even reach the ears of the man whose rule of life is to seek for truth in purity and guilelessness." Philo's emphasis on ἀλήθεια here is repeated in *Ebr.* 45, where the many falsely called gods are contrasted to the true God and the ignorance of the One generates the illusion of the many who in reality (πρὸς ἀλήθειαν) do not exist.

One God and the Confirmation of Judaism. Josephus provides us with a fine example of the second use of the One God topos as he develops its political implications and argues for Judaism as offering the best form of government in *Contra Apionem* 2.164-167. *Contra Apionem* 2.149-245 is an apology for the law which utilizes Hellenistic theological and ethical concepts.[11] The section is introduced as a reply to the attack on the Mosaic Code by Apollonius Molon (2.147-49). Josephus propagandizes for the Mosaic law with an argument from the oneness of God (2.164-167). He puts into the mouth of Moses the thoroughly Hellenistic (Jewish) definition of God as: "One, uncreated and immutable to all eternity." (2.167)[12] Here the first place positioning of the predicate εἷς (ἕνα) is emphatic. Josephus argues for the superiority of Jewish doctrines, praxis and political constitution primarily on the basis of their universality and comprehensiveness. Josephus boasts that the Mosaic law covers all aspects of human life (*C. Apion.* 2.156). The endless diversity (ἄπειροι αἱ διαφοραί) of customs and laws in the world is noted. This observable diversity, particularly of laws, is contrasted to the law of Moses that suffices for all human situations (*C.Apion.* 2.151). Accordingly, Josephus maintains that Moses is unimpressed with the alternative political systems, of which he selectively names monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy (*C.Apion.* 2.164)[13] and then proceeds to coin the term theocracy to

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to idolatry (Wis 14:12) and God's retribution. As is well known, Paul in Romans 1 inverts the traditional moral interpretation of idolatry and understands God to hand over idolators to an immoral life.

[11] See Ehrhard Hamlah, "Frömmigheit und Tugend: Die Gesetzes-apologie des Josepheus in c. Ap. 2,149-295, 220-232," in *Josephus-Studien, Untersuchungen zu Josephus; dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974). See also Geza Vermes, "A Summary of the Law by Josephus," *NovT* 24 (1982) 290-93.

[12] Adolf Schlatter, *Wie Sprach Josephus von Gott?* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1910), and R. J. H. Shutt, "The Concept of God in the Works of Flavius Josephus," *JJB* 31 (1980) 171-89. Note that Josephus is quick to follow this affirmation with the denial that the οὐσία of God is knowable (2:167).

[13] The list, of course, is indebted to the classical interpretations of politics beginning with Plato's *Republic.*

describe Moses' concept of government (*C.Apion.* 2.165).[14] Josephus allows that for God's reign to be effective, Moses must convince everyone that God is indeed the author of rewards and punishments (*C.Apion.* 2.166.) and capable of total surveillance: God is all-knowing, and no human thought or deed escapes notice (*C. Apion.* 2.166-167).[15] In this context, the "God is One" topos promotes a single divine rule and implies rejection of the Stoic view that a number of forms of government are warranted to accommodate the particular characteristics of the various local societies.[16] By proposing that there is one ruler capable of knowing everything (i.e. the One God), Josephus seeks to affirm the universal validity of the Mosaic constitution which is derived from this God. In advancing this proposition, Josephus adopts for his own ends a traditional topos which ridiculed academics and contrasts the philosophers who speak only πρὸς ὀλίγους to Moses who communicates effectively to the masses (εἰς πλήθη—*C.Apion.* 2.169).[17] Josephus states that Moses' success in convincing others to abide by the law is directly related to his refusal to subordinate religion to ethics: "for he did not make religion (εὐσεβείᾳ) a department of virtue, (ἀρετή) but the various virtues—I mean, justice, temperance, fortitude, and mutual harmony in all things between the members of the community—departments of religion." (*C.Apion.* 2.170). For Josephus, religion needs no raison d' etre in its support of morality, although he allows that the ethical well being of society is dependent on religion: those believing that the laws are the expressed will of God live according to them so as not to offend God (*C.Apion.* 2.184). Religion is the teleological sanction for ethics but the converse of this thesis is flatly rejected. Josephus disdains religious pluralism and asserts that the superior moral life of Jews is promoted by their purported uniformity in conceiving of God whereas the relative decadence of Gentiles is abetted by their contradictory and equivocal views of God (*C.Apion.* 2.179-180).[18]

In *C. Apion.* 2.185 Josephus raises the rhetorical question "Could there be a finer or more equitable polity than one which sets God at the head of the universe?" Josephus believes that the theological principle of monotheism should be reflected on the historical plane both in terms of political institutions as well as individual human behavior. It is this conviction which motivates his apologetic reasoning and argumentation throughout *C.Apion.* 2.149-245. Josephus enunciates this operative principle clearly at *C.Apion.* 2.193: "There is but one temple of the one God, for like ever loves like, common to all as God is common to all."[19]

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[14] "Placing all sovereignty and power in the hands of God, he named his constitution a theocracy."

[15] "He knew that no one would be able to hide from him one thought nor deed."

[16] In *De Josepho* 28-31, Philo contrasts unfavorably the "diverse" national polities and laws to the "one" cosmic polity and Law.

[17] Josephus may be deflecting accusations against himself of pandering to Roman interests possibly levied by more conservative Jews.

[18] Recall that Plato was also troubled that the unrestrained theological discourse of the poets would exert a corrupting influence on society. Josephus, however, constructs the fiction of Jewish unanimity as part of his *apologia pro lege.*

[19] In *Spec. Leg.* 1.67 Philo also employs the One God topos on behalf of temple propaganda: ". . . there should not be temples built either in many places or many in the same place for he judged that since God is one, there should be also only one temple." In *Spec. Leg.* 1.68-71 Philo proceeds to explain that the existence of only

Spec. Leg. 1.52

In *De Specialibus Legibus,* Philo attempts to discuss all the particular commandments of the Mosaic legislation under the rubrics of the "decalogue," which he has treated in a previous treatise by that title. As has been often noted, *Spec. Leg.* 1. 1-11 is peculiar in that it opens the treatise by violating this principle of organization as Philo discusses circumcision before mentioning the first commmandment (12-20). A striking feature of this presentation of circumcision is that Philo speaks favorably of the Egyptians whom he descibes as a "race regarded as pre-eminent for its populousness, its antiquity, and its attachment to philosophy" (1.2).[20] Richard Hecht thinks that the distinctiveness of the argument in *Spec. Leg.* can be explained by Philo's intention to present Judaism as a universal religion and that he seeks to capitalize on the favorable image of things Egyptian in Roman society of the last half of the I b.c.e. and I c.e. and thus takes advantage of the historiographical tradition that linked Jewish and Egyptian practices.[21] I shall return to this matter later and suggest another reason for the different attitude toward Egyptians in this treatise. After providing six reasons for recommending circumcision, Philo moves on to discuss the first (12-20) and second (21-31) commandments. *Spec. Leg* 1.32 introduces the philosophical questions of the existence and essence of God which occupy Philo's attention through 1.50 (33-35: the design argument for the existence of God; 36-40 on the essence of God; 41-50 Ex 33:13-23 as proof of the incomprehensibility of God's essence). In the imaginary dialogue between Moses and God, the request for knowledge of the divine essence is given two responses: "Know thyself" (1.44) and "contemplate the universe" (49). Moses is heralded as the quintessential philosopher: "When Moses heard this, he did not cease from his desire but kept the yearning for the invisible aflame in his heart" (1.50).

It is this ideal of Moses' dedication to the philosophical pursuit of truth which Philo proposes as the touchstone for membership in the Jewish πολιτεία.[22] By affirming the ideal of philosophical contemplation, "proselytes" may be affirmed as equal in status to native-born Jews.[23] Proselytes gain entry to the "godly

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one temple provides the occasion to transcend geographic and ethnic boundaries. For Philo, the One God justifies the One temple which leads in turn to ὁμονία among strangers and foreigners (1.71).

[20] In *Quaes Gen.* 3.48, Philo differentiates Jewish circumcision from that of the Egyptians and claims the former to be superior.

[21] Hecht mentions Herodotus, *Historiae* 2. 104. 1-3 and Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 1.28.1-3, 1.55.5 and Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.22. See Richard D. Hecht, "The exegetical Contexts of Philo's Interpretation of Circumcision" in Frederick E. Greenspahn, Earle Hilgert, and Burton L. Mack, *Nourished With Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel* (Chico: Scholars, 1984) 76-77. I, incidentally, am not convinced that "Egyptomania" did sweep Roman society in the period mentioned.

[22] The word is used by Philo to refer to both the organized community of the Jews and the rights enjoyed by its members. See Peder Borgen, "Philo of Alexandria," *ANRW,* II:21:1, 108-111.

[23] The biblical text that Philo is "commenting" upon is Lev. 19:33-34 (LXX): "When a stranger (προσήλυτος) sojourns with you in your land, you shall not do

commonwealth" by virtue of rejecting their culture's "mythical fabrications" and embracing "pure truth" (1.51). There is a fundamental change in orientation and commitment of the proselyte now that distinguishes him/her from the past. The change, to be sure, is not only internal but also social. By virtue of their new religious identity, they are severed from their previous sphere of social relations: "they have left, he says, their country, their kinsfolk and their friends for the sake of virtue and religion." (1.52) Philo's real reference point is, undoubtedly, the new converts to Judaism in Alexandria, who would, indeed, find it difficult if not impossible to preserve former family and social ties. Both the dietary and religious practices would now make the old society prohibitive. The decision to join the "new" community (1.51) necessarily entails breaking with the convert's previous social matrices. Philo's repeated pleas that the "native-born" (οἱ αὐτόχθονες), the "old nobility" (εὐπατρίδαι) give equal rank and privileges to the newcomers suggest that there was considerable resistance to this view: "Let them not be denied another citizenship or other ties of family and friendship, and let them find places of shelter standing ready for refugees to the camp of piety." (1.52) An Alexandrian Greek or perhaps, the exceptional Egyptian[24] who had severed his ties with family and acquaintances would very likely fit the description of a refugee in need of shelter. The question of whether this need would be fulfilled is really the question of whether the new bonds of affection forged by common religious devotion are sufficient to overcome the quite considerable racial antagonisms evident in first century Alexandria.[25] Philo seeks to coax the native-born to embrace the proselyte wholeheartedly: "to honor them not only with marks of respect but with special friendship (φιλία) and with more than ordinary goodwill" (1.52).[26] Philo's conception of a Jewish commonwealth whose affective

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him wrong. The stranger (προσήλυτος) who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native (ὁ αὐτόχθων) among you, and you shall love him as yourself; for you were strangers (προσήλυτοι) in the land of Egypt."

[24] In Alexandria, the appellation of "Egyptians" refers to a broad class encompassing all except the Roman citizens, Greeks, and the Jews. They were mostly poor but there were a rich few and even fewer who would have acquired Roman citizenship before 212 C.E. See Naphtali Lewis, *Life In Egypt Under Roman Rule,* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983) 18-19.

[25] Alan Mendelson believes that Philo has no interest in improving relations with contemporary Egyptians and that even in *De Specialibus Legibus* the concern to appear fair is directed to only the authorities. He also explains the inclusion of proselytes in the beneficient laws in *Virt.* 102-103 as motivated by a response to the charge of misanthropy. Alan Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* (BJS 161; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988) 121, 112. It is interesting to note that in *Virt.* 108, Philo discusses the hypothetical case of Egyptians joining Jewish community.

[26] Our review of Philo's postion on proselytes indicates that he is concerned with the perspectives of several audiences. As a member of a minority community, he is sensitive to any undue provocation of other communities. At the same time, Philo seeks to make room in the Jewish community for potentially the most offensive phenomenon—the Gentile convert to Judaism. Philo wants to assure that those converted will find in the Jewish commonwealth a substitute community. Philo's audience is not only the outsider; he must make a special plea to the conservatives of his community that they extend the proper hospitality to proselytes and admit them to full rights of citizenship in this community. For this reason, Philo has

embrace includes both native-born and proselytes is warranted by a theological rationale: "For the most effective love-charm (φίλτρον), the chain which binds indissolubly, the goodwill which makes us one (ἑνωτικῆς), is to honor the one God" (ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς θεοῦ τιμή) 1.52.[27] The One God is the effective guarantor of the unity between proselyte and native-born Jews.[28]

Spec. Leg. 1.53 continues the discussion of proselytes but the issue is different: concerning the proselytes firmly ensconced in community and having been granted "equal privilege and rank."[29] The scenario envisaged is one of overzealous converts who are profaning the religious convictions which they formerly confessed as their own. The expressed reason for the admonition is to protect the true God and his commonwealth from retaliatory abuse: "lest they on their part be moved to utter profane words against Him who truly is" (1.53). Philo generously provides a psycho-sociological explanation of the tenacity with which others hold to their theological errors, namely early training and cultural re-enforcement and thus effectively lessens their accountability. In his use of the One God topos in *Spec. Leg.* 4.157, Philo is commenting on Deut 17:15, which directs against the appointment of a foreigner as a leader over the Israelites. Philo finds in Deut 17:16-17 (4.158) a negative reason for this exclusionary rule, namely to diminish the likelihood of establishing a rapacious ruler who would exploit his subjects. Having found in Scripture these cautious remarks concerning the foreigner, Philo next offers a positive reason for the biblical injunction to appoint to leadership only those native born, namely, that the solidarity which results from political and religious as well as ethnic bonding offers the best assurance for securing responsible government: "For he (i.e., Moses) assumed with good reason that one who was their fellow-kinsman related to them by the tie which brings the highest kinship, the kinship of having one citizenship and the same law and One God who has taken all members of the nation for his portion, would never sin in the way just mentioned" (*Spec. Leg.* 4.159). Philo uses a triple formula of πολιτεία, νόμος and θεός (where the first and the third term is modified by εἷς

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emphasized the philosophical qualifications for membership in the community. In addition, it is probable that the decidely positive attitude towards Egyptians may in part be due to the need to decrease the hostility towards Egyptian proselytes. Incidentally, it would take only one case of abuse to confirm the stereotype of Jews as misanthropes in the minds of an ill-disposed public.

[27] Beginning in 1.54, Philo brings the discussion of membership in the Jewish commonwealth full circle as he treats the case of the apostate who betrays "the honor due to the One (τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς τιμήν). Just as the proselyte is to be granted the full privileges of membership in the community on the basis of his/her honor of the One God so the apostate is to receive the harshest punishment on account of his betrayal of the same.

[28] *In Virt.* 102-104 wherein Lev 19:33-34 is again discussed, Philo confirms this position with respect to proselytes and gives the same rationale: ". . . they have taken the journey to a better home, from idle fable to the clear vision of truth and the worship of the one and truly exisiting God." (*Virt.* 102).

[29] Even without preserving the ἐπηλύταις, one can determine that Philo is referring to proselytes as the ἰσονομιαν and ἰσοτέλειαν, indicating that the equality which he advocated in 1.52 for them and now affirms is granted on the basis that they have "denounced the vain imaginings of their fathers and ancestors." The note in the Loeb edition is best ignored.

[μία] and the middle term by ὁ αὐτός) and thus affirms that the real basis of kinship is not ethnic identity but the law and the One God who is described as having "designated" all members of the nation. In addition to its bonding function, Philo is also aware of the "separating"[30] function of the One God topos, as is evident in *Spec. Leg.* 3.29 where he admonishes:

> do not enter into the partnership of marriage with a member of a foreign land, lest some day conquered by the forces of opposing customs you surrender and stray unawares from the path that leads to piety and turn aside into a pathless wild. And though perhaps you yourself will hold your ground steadied from your earliest years by the admirable instructions instilled in you by your parents, with the holy laws always as their key-note, there is much to be feared for your sons and daughters. It may well be that they, enticed by spurious customs which they prefer to the genuine, are likely to unlearn the honour due to the One God (τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς θεοῦ τιμήν), and that is the first and last stage of supreme misery.[31]

Philo understands that the One God topos may serve to define community by the dual functions of enhancing internal social bonds as well as excluding "outsiders." Philo elsewhere charges the "Arabians" in ancient time with attempting to seduce them away from "honoring the One, the truly Existent, and to change their religion to impiety" (*Virt.* 34). As is clear from the rest of the paragraph, Philo emphasizes the internal community building (over against the "separating from foreigners") function of the One God topos:

> You see how unlimited is the number of the Hebrews, but their number is not so dangerous and menacing a weapon as their unanimity and mutual attachment. And the highest and greatest source of this unanimity is their creed of a single God (ἡ περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς θεοῦ δόξα), through which, as from a fountain, they feel a love for each other, uniting them in an indissoluble bond (*Virt.* 35).[32]

Thus the One God functions here in Philo both to guarantee unity and harmony among believers as well as to distance the community from undesirables.

In Hellenistic Jewish apologetics, the Abraham figure, often in conjunction with the One God topos, functions to legitimize the inclusion of Gentiles in the Jewish community. Philo explicitly uses Abraham as a warrant to affirm the dignity of the proselyte before his own kinspeople: "Abraham is the standard of nobility for proselytes who, abandoning the ignobility of strange laws and monstrous customs which assigned divine honours to sticks and stones and souless things in general, have come to settle in a better land, in a commonwealth full of true life and vitality, with truth as its director and president."[33] In line with this correspondence of the functions of the One God topos and the figure of Abraham is the tradition that Abraham was

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[30] See Lawrence A. Hoffman, "Censoring In and Censoring Out: A Function of Liturgical Language," in Joseph Gutman, *Ancient Synagogues* (Brown Judaic Studies 22; Chico: Scholars, 1981) 2.

[31] In this digression in explanation of Ex 34:16 and Deut 7:3, Philo approaches the use of the topos in Mal 2:10, the only instance of the One God topos in the *LXX*.

[32] Note the close parallelism with *Spec. Leg.* 1.52.

[33] *Virt.* 219.

the first to believe in the One God. As Josephus unequivocally states: "He was the first boldly to declare that God, the Creator of the universe is one, and that, if any other being contributed aught to man's welfare, each did so by His command and not in virtue of its own inherent power."[34] Similarly, Philo says of Abraham: "And, therefore, he is the first person spoken of as believing in God, since he first grasped a firm and unswerving conception of the truth that there is one Cause above all and that it provides for the world and all that is therein" (*Virt.* 216). Philo pointedly says of Abraham in the section of *Virt.* just before the previous quotation that "The most ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldean by birth, the son of an astrologer" (212). In apologetic Hellenistic Judaism, Abraham is used internally to promote the dignity of proselytes and to help to overcome the stigma of their past religious and ethnic affiliations and externally to present Abraham as the master of all sciences and the teacher of other peoples.[35] In sum, both Abraham and the One God topos in Philo serve equivalent sociological functions i.e., to legitimate the inclusion of converts as equal members of the Jewish community.

Conclusion: In accord with the highly flexible nature of the topos, Philo, as we have already discussed, employs the One God formula in *Spec. Leg.* 1.52 to promote the acceptance and even privileged treatment of proselytes. Thus in Philo we have come to the use of the One God topos in a context which encourages full inclusion of proselytes and also a reasonable tolerance towards gentiles.[36] Whereas in Hellenistic Judaism and certainly in Hellenistic philosophy at large the primary concern was the pursuit of a theoretical basis of unity, the reconcilability of seemingly differing theological systems and discourse, Philo was far more concerned to articulate the social implications for unity which the shared acceptance of One God afforded.

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[34] *Ant. 1.155.* Both Josephus and Philo allege that Abraham came to knowledge of the One God after the study of astrology. See: *Ant.* 1.7.1 and *Gig.* 13ff. On the historical situation which prompted this apologetic tradition see W. L. Knox, "Abraham and the Quest for God" *HTR* 28 (1935) 55-60.

[35] See Alexander Polyhistor from Eupolemus *Prep Ev* 9.17-18.

[36] See Moriz Friedlaender, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Apologetik* (Leipzig: 1906; Amsterdam: Philo, 1973) 222-225. In *Rewards and Punishments,* Philo states straightforwardly that a faithful proselyte will be welcomed by God whereas the unvirtuous Jew will be eternally damned: "The proselyte . . . has won a prize best suited to his merits, a place in heaven firmly fixed, while the nobly born who has falsified his high lineage will be dragged right down and carried into Tartarus itself and profound darkness . . . . God welcomes the virtue which springs from ignoble birth, that He takes no account of the roots but accepts the full-grown stem, because it has been changed from a weed into fruitfulness" (*De Praemiis et Poenis,* 152). Philo emphatically denies the assurance of eternal reward on the basis of ethnic origin.

The Death of Jesus and the Trial of Israel in Luke-Acts

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Luke's narrative of the death of Jesus is a theodicy, a justification of God's ways in the history of Jesus, Israel, and the early church. The same may be said generally of all Christian accounts of the crucifixion, but the term is more specific when applied to Luke-Acts because of its similarity in mode and genre to various histories of its day. These authors interpreted what had happened in terms of human and divine necessity, justice, virtue, mercy, and freedom. Luke joined a class of writers who drew upon sacred traditions and eyewitness accounts to legitimate and interpret the significance of "the things which have been accomplished among us" (1:1-4). Luke's theodicy may be compared first with those narratives which testified to the benediction of the gods on the victories of the Greeks and Romans. Hellenistic historiography had its own understandings of "salvation history."

Luke's theodicy also belongs within "the old Jewish literary tradition."[1] This narrative imitates the prose of the scriptural histories and displays close dependence on the deuteronomistic understanding of history as the arena of repentance and restoration.[2] Israel's scriptures are distinctive in their convictions about how God works in history, not least because the law, prophets, and writings were largely composed and collected in the era of the exile when the triumph of the adversaries was evident. Among the hellenistic histories, Luke's narrative imitates and draws upon literary and theological traditions which are particular to Israel's past.[3]

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[1] See Henry J. Cadbury, "The Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History," *The Beginnings of Christianity*, F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., 1922, vol. 2, pp. 7-29, see also p. 121.

[2] See David P. Moessner, "Luke's Preview of the Journey of the Prophet like Moses of Deuteronomy," *JBL* 102 (1983), 575-605. Moessner, "Paul in the Acts: Preacher of Eschatological Repentance to Israel," *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament*, Studies in Honour of G. B. Caird (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986, eds. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright).

[3] Cf. Thomas Louis Brodie, "Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke's Use of Sources," *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 26-34. William S. Kurz, "Hellenistic Rhetoric in the Christological Proof of Luke-Acts,"

To describe Luke's project as a theodicy requires further analysis of the literary conventions, theological traditions, and social setting of the narrative. The force of any theodicy is immediately tied to the values, convictions, and interpreted experience of particular communities. Thus Luke's place among the hellenistic historians must be discerned with great care lest the content of this theodicy be misappropriated and misinterpreted. The dangers of perverting the social implications of Luke's narrative are real, especially if "Luke-Acts is a Jewish Christian story that fell into gentile hands."[4]

An assessment of Luke's distinctive theodicy provides a critical perspective on a cluster of issues which have been heavily debated in Lukan interpretation: the saving significance of Jesus' death in Luke's account, Jesus' death and the fate of Jerusalem, and Jesus' reign and the promise to Israel.

The Saving Significance of Jesus' Death

Luke's theology of the death of Jesus is distinct from the other gospels. Interpreters have taken particular notice of Luke's neglect of traditional Christian emphases on the expiatory value of the crucifixion.[5] Those who use the standard of Mark or Paul to judge Luke's presentation of Jesus' death regularly find it to be deficient for proclaiming the forgiveness of sins. Reginald H. Fuller grasped Luke's soteriology more adequately by emphasizing the theodicy of Jesus' execution: "the remission of sins is the consequence of passion and resurrection . . . Luke invariably interprets the resurrection as vindication.[6]

Luke's narrative no longer leaves Jesus' death shrouded in the Markan mysteries of its efficacy and Jesus' identity. Even Mark's messianic secret has been transformed. In Luke, Jesus' identity and mission are clear, and he dies knowingly obedient to God's will. The only secret is why the Messiah must die at all. Many have argued that Jesus' death has been reduced either to a martyrdom or to a sadly unavoidable prelude to exaltation. In either case, Luke's emphasis on the resurrection appears to some to be more of a theodicy of glory, vindicating the Christian triumph, than a confrontation with the depth of human sin or the powers of evil.[7]

But Luke is not merely a revision of Mark, and more is at stake than a displacement of Mark's theology of the cross. Richard Gloeckner has explored Luke's emphasis on God's mission of exalting the lowly, demonstrating that God's

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(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1972, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, 9).

[4] David L. Tiede, "'Glory to Thy People, Israel': Luke-Acts and the Jews," *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 327.

[5] Cf. Hans Conzelmann, "Nor is there any direct soteriological significance drawn from Jesus' suffering and death." *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), 201.

[6] "Luke and the Theologia Crucis," *Sin, Salvation, and the Spirit* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1979, ed. Daniel Durken), 216-217.

[7] Jerome Kodell provides an excellent summary of this discussion which has persisted since the work of Dibelius, Conzelmann, and Käsemann in "Luke's Theology of the Death of Jesus," *Sin, Salvation, and the Spirit,* 221-230.

determined will is a force with which the self-righteous content in this narrative. This conflict between divine and human wills reaches its climax in the death of Jesus.[8] Jerome Kodell shows further that Jesus' death is not a mere martyrdom. It "has meaning in itself as the confrontation of human sinfulness by lowliness, which in God's plan is the state of openness to divine salvation."[9]

Confrontation, contention, and rejection persist from the beginning to the end of Luke-Acts. Norman Petersen insists that "the rejection of God's agents by God's people in connection with God's sanctuaries (synagogues and temple) is the plot device by which the movement of the narrative as a whole is motivated."[10] In fact, the protagonists (God, the angels, Jesus, the apostles) uncover and prompt both rejection and reception.

The angelic visitations to Zechariah and Mary are divine initiatives, provoking differing responses of disbelief and faith (Luke 1). Simeon's oracles both reveal God's determined will to save and glorify Israel (2:29-32) and disclose the rejection which awaits the infant Messiah (2:33-35). Jesus' declaration of his mission in Nazareth immediately prompts rejection and hostility (Luke 4:14-30). The mild reproof of Jesus by "certain Pharisees" at his arrival in Jerusalem evokes a harsh oracle of judgment for not knowing the "time of your visitation" (19:38-44), and the disagreement among Paul's fellow Jews in Rome causes him to invoke a severe prophetic judgment (Acts 28:23-29).

The speeches in Acts explicate this plot with a strong emphasis on God's initiative. The wise Gamaliel perceives the danger of harassing the apostles and cautions the Sanhedrin, "If it is of God, you will not be able to overthrow them. You might even be found opposing God" (5:39). So also Peter must accede to God's will in the conversion of Cornelius because, "Who was I that I could withstand God" (11:17), and Paul recalls his confrontation with the exalted Lord as a consequence of his "opposing the name of Jesus of Nazareth" (9-20).

The problem of history for Luke is anchored in the conviction that God's determined will encounters rejection and faith in the arena of human history. This theodicy is not original with Luke. Abraham Heschel says of Israel s prophets, "History is where God is defied, where His judgment is enacted, and where His kingship is to be established."[11] So also in 2 Maccabees, divine vengeance is an inescapable consequence for those who have tried God's justice by killing the righteous because God's righteous reign is an active force. The sixth son who is martyred does not claim to be guiltless, but he warns his executioners, "Do not think that you will go unpunished for having tried to fight against God" (7:19).

In Luke's story, God's determined will and plan is never an abstract determinism, nor is it merely a moral appeal to a quality such as lowliness. Robert J. Karris has written a perceptive study of the centurion's verdict on Jesus death in which he argues that "*dikaios* does not mean innocent, but means righteous."[12] Of course Jesus was a

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[8] *Die Verkündigung des Heils beim Evangelisten Lukas* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1976, Walberger Studien, Theologische Reihe, 9) 155-195.

[9] Kodell, 229.

[10] *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 83.

[11] *The Prophets* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 190-191.

[12] "Luke 23:47 and the Lucan View of Jesus' Death," *JBL* 105 (1986), 65-74.

model of lowliness and innocence, but more critically he was the agent of God's righteous rule.

Those who attack the righteous are also testing God. The logic is explicit in Wisdom 2:17-24 where the ungodly test the righteous who is God's son with insult, torture, and shameful death only to discover that they have been ignorant of God's secret purposes and now are contending with God. As Richard J. Dillon says, "the centurion's *dikaios* is, in fact, the *messianic victor* about to be vindicated by God in spite of human onslaught against him (Acts 3:14-15)."[13]

The saving significance of Jesus' death in Luke is not invested in its expiation for sin. This death is rather portrayed within God's strategy for Israel, revealing both God's judgment and saving rule. The crucifixion is a predicted consequence of God's anointing "Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power" (Acts 10:38). This salvation of this "Savior" is directly linked to God's initiative, which surpasses the reign of the Roman emperor or any other benefactors of humanity who claim divine authorization for their mighty acts in history (see Luke 2:11; Acts 5:31; 13:23).[14]

God's initiative in the reign of this Savior is not immediately salvific in the crucifixion. Jesus' death is a confrontation, in which God's will is tried. Those who resist the king's reign (see 19:11-27) or kill the royal heir (20:9-19) place themselves in grave peril, testing God's forbearance. Even Peter's announcement that in the resurrection "God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified" is heard first as threat (Acts 2:36-37). Luke's theodicy insists that God's righteous rule was profoundly challenged in the death of the "Messiah of God, his Chosen One . . . the King of the Jews" who was truly "the righteous one" (Luke 23:35-38, 47).

Jesus' Death and the Fate of Jerusalem

Only Luke relates Jesus' dire oracles as he wept for the fate of Jerusalem on his arrival and rejection (19:41-44, see also 13:34-35) and to the "daughters of Jerusalem" who bewailed and lamented him on his way to be executed (23:27-31). The literary significance of these oracles is to alert the reader that Jesus is not tragically blind or ignorant to what lies ahead, but those around him are, especially his own disciples, and the people.[15] The Messiah explicitly identifies the focus of greatest anguish to be not on him alone as he dies, but on the peril of his death for all those who surround him. Jesus will die in the assurance of committing his spirit to the Father

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[13] *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (Analecta Biblica 82; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978) 101.

[14] See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (Anchor Bible, New York: Doubleday, 1981) 222-223. See also Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982. Jerome Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke* (New York: Paulist, 1985) 129-155, offers helpful comments on Jesus' obedience and faith as a "saved Savior" in his death. Neyrey, however, sees only the exemplary character of Jesus death to the neglect of Luke's testimony to God's righteous reign and rule being established in this "Savior" who is obedient to God's determined will.

[15] See David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 65-125.

(46), but his prayer will be for those who crucify him, because they do not know what they do (34).[16]

One of the most poignant lines in the narrative distinguishes "the people" who "stood by watching" from "the rulers" who "scoffed at him saying, 'He saved others, let him save himself, if (or sarcastically "since") he is the Messiah of God, his Chosen One" (23:35). The rulers are strictly adversaries, filled with blind rage, but ironically identifying Jesus correctly. In Luke's view, they have misunderstood the consequences of his identity and therefore have not understood the "utterances of the prophets" and have "fulfilled these by condemning him" (Acts 13:27).

The opposition of the rulers is not simple ignorance. They gather Israel in opposition "against the Lord and against his Anointed" (see Acts 4:26-27, Ps. 2:1-2). The tragedy, therefore, grows deeper because these rulers have also implicated "the people" or "those who live in Jerusalem" (Acts 4:27; 13:27). The complicity of the "people" is culpable in Luke, but much more passive. Just as Judas' active betrayal (see 22:4, 22) may be distinguished from Peter's denial (22:31-34, 54-62), but both are guilty. So the failure of the people to continue to defend Jesus before Pilate's court is not the same as the plots on his life by the temple leadership.

As the people stand by "watching" at the cross, they have not yet truly "seen" what is happening, but neither are they crying out against Jesus, as they did three times when their will to protect him (see Luke 19:48, 20:6, 26; 22:2, 6) was tried in Pilate's court (see 23:14-25). Like Peter who was warned by Jesus, yet denied him three times, and went out and wept bitterly (22), the people bewail and lament him as he goes to his execution (23:27), watch the specter in silence (23:35), and return home at his death "beating their breasts" (23:48).

When Jesus dies, the reader shares the privileged position of the narrator and God, observing all the human actors in various levels of ignorance and insight. Only the Centurion and Jesus' followers who stood at a distance have truly "seen" (47,49: *idon, orosai*), but the multitudes who had assembled to "see the sight" (35, 48: *theorein*) have now at least observed enough to return home beating their breasts. The risen Messiah will be required to open the scriptures before even his followers will fully understand (24:13-35), but at his death the multitudes do not gloat. Whatever they have "seen," they already know that it requires their repentance (23:27, 28, 35, 48).

Within the narrative, Luke's theodicy is an exposition of the "visitation" of God's reign in Israel. The purpose of this divine initiative was prophetically discerned as God's salvation unto the forgiveness of Israel's sins (1:67-79). But the tragedy which evokes the tears of the Messiah is that Jerusalem (Israel) "did not know the time of your visitation" (19:44). The first consequence of the initiation of God's reign in the Messiah's mission, therefore, was lamentable for Jerusalem and Israel.

Within the real world of Luke's era, this message could never be merely a tale well told. It was a diagnosis of why Jerusalem had been destroyed. This theodicy was a social commentary, justifying God's ways in the horrendous "days of vengeance" in which Jerusalem was "trodden down by the Gentiles" (21:22, 24). Luke's presentation

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[16] The textual authenticity of verse 34 remains a difficulty, but Luke's repeated comments on the "ignorance" of Israel broaden the base of this interpretation (see Acts 3:17; 13:27; 17:30; and 7:60). The argument for the inclusion of verse 34 will rest on internal grounds, but it is worth noting that its omission fits well with the anti-Judaic bias of the western text. See E. J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Catabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge, 1966).

of Jesus as the Savior, Messiah of God, God's Chosen One, and King of the Jews had to explicate the twin mysteries of why the Messiah had been crucified and why Jerusalem had been destroyed. Both were brutal facts. Neither could be understood without reference to Israel's scriptural understanding of history as the arena of repentance and restoration.

Jesus' Reign and the Promise to Israel

Israel's understanding of history was imbued with repentance, but even the prophetic and deuteronomistic interpretations of the Babylonian exile debated its exact content. Various Jewish groups in the era of Roman occupation offered differing definitions of faithfulness, from proper observance of temple ritual, to courageous revolt against the oppressor, to fidelity to the Torah, to fidelity to the reign of the Messiah from Nazareth. Once Jerusalem had been destroyed by Rome, all who read Israel's scriptures could agree that restoration could only follow repentance.[17] But of what must Israel repent? And does this theodicy of deserved divine judgment hold any hope of restoration even with repentance?

In Josephus' account of Titus' speech to besieged Jerusalem, the Roman general indicts the Jews for sins against Roman generosity (*War* 6:333). Titus insists that Vespasian graciously gave them time for repentance for such offenses against virtue (6:339), but now their fate was governed only by the laws of war and reprisal. Josephus affirmed Titus' severe theodicy, observing the convergence of "the power of God over unholy men and the fortune of the Romans" (6:399, see also 433).

2 Baruch was also written after the Roman destruction, projected back on the scriptural stories of the Babylonian triumph. 2 Baruch, however, was confident God took no pleasure that "the idols in the cities of the nations are happy and the flavor of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness of the Law has been extinguished everywhere in the region of Zion" (67:6). The hope was that "after a short time, Zion will be rebuilt again, and the offerings will be restored, and the priests will again return to their ministry. And the nations will again come to honor it" (68:5-6), but first there must be repentance. The content of this repentance is not respect for Roman virtue as Titus insisted, but return to the observance of the law of Moses, relying upon the mercy of the Mighty One (84:10). This is the way to full restoration (85:4), but even the time of repentance will have its end (85:12).

The content of repentance for Luke was faith in the Messiah, "this Jesus whom you crucified . . . whom God raised from the dead" (Luke 24:46; Acts 2:36-38; 3:12-15, 19-24; 4:10-12; 5:30-31; 10:39-43; 13:28-39). The resurrection of Jesus was God's gift of repentance unto faith, providing the means of forgiveness of sins (Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38; 3:19; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38-39; 26:18). The end of this divinely initiated process of repentance unto faith and forgiveness was "the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4-8), the fulfillment of God's promises to Israel, and finally the "restoration of all" (Acts 3:21; see also 2:38-39; 10:44; 11:18).

Luke's conviction that Israel was contending with God in her history was thoroughly unremarkable in Jewish sources. Even understanding the destruction of Jerusalem as a divine verdict on sinful Israel was commonplace before and after the

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[17] See David L. Tiede, *Jesus and the Future* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Roman conquest. But the identifications of Israel's sin and the definitions of Israel's required repentance diverged sharply. Luke's judgment that the trial and death of Jesus was Israel's tragically defiant rejection of God's will and reign illumines the dying Messiah's oracles about the dire fate of Jerusalem. Most remarkable, however, is Luke's confidence that in this trial of Israel, God's will is indeflectably determined to accomplish Israel's salvation and restoration of her mission.

Luke's theodicy is not simply wrought at Israel's expense, as Titus' speech in Josephus. It goes beyond 2 Baruch's reliance upon God's mercy by stressing God's action in raising Jesus as direct proffering of repentance unto forgiveness. In contrast to Mark, Luke declined to invest Jesus' death with expiatory efficacy. Like both 2 Baruch and Mark, Luke saw the destruction of Jerusalem as an event of apocalyptic significance in the divine scheme of history, but Luke interpreted the death and resurrection of Jesus as God's means to fulfill the scriptural promises in the face of human opposition.

For Luke, the destruction of Jerusalem was a sign of divine vengeance (see also Luke 21:22) for Israel's rejection of the reign of God's Messiah, requiring repentance. Because "those who live in Jerusalem" had tragically failed to "know the time of your visitation" (Acts 4:27, Luke 19:44), God was justified in judgment. But the present time was an era of renewed promise, restoring Israel's glory and vocation of preaching "repentance and forgiveness of sins . . . in his name to all nations, beginning in Jerusalem" (Luke 24:47).

Luke's theodicy did not merely vindicate the Roman triumph or portend the wrath to come. This testimony to God's determined will was confident of God's promises to Israel, even when messianic Israel often received a better hearing from Gentiles than from Jews (Acts 28) and even after Jerusalem had been "trodden down by the Gentiles . . . until the times of the Gentiles" were fulfilled (Luke 21:24). The problem of history for Luke was not merely to justify God's vengeance, but to understand God's determined will to bless. In Jesus' death, Israel had indeed been "found opposing God," for which repentance was required. In raising Jesus from the dead, however, God was contending for Israel's restoration.

"The Christ Must Suffer," The Church Must Suffer: Rethinking the Theology of the Cross in Luke-Acts

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At the end of Jesus' extended conversations with the twelve at table before his arrest and consummating his long journey to Jerusalem, Luke places a poignantly ironic if not sobering summary of his entire public career on Jesus' own lips (Luke 22:37): "For I tell you that this which stands written must (*dei*) come to its completion in me: 'And he was reckoned with the lawless' (LXX Isa 53:12d). For indeed that which is written concerning me (*peri emou*) is now reaching its intended goal." Similarly at the end of another journey, this time away from Jerusalem, Luke again has Jesus summarize his entire public presence to the Emmaus disciples who are wondering out loud whether Jesus was the only visitor to Jerusalem in these last days who was unaware of the things that had taken place "concerning (*peri*) Jesus of Nazareth": "You foolish folk, stubborn to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary (*edei*) that the Christ suffer these things and (thus) enter into his glory?" (24:25-26). Yet a third time within the Gospel's closing chapters Jesus will present a capsule of his public ministry and tie the entire tripartite Scriptures to the suffering, resurrection (glory), and now the preaching of the release (*aphesis*) of sins to himself as *the Christ* (24:44-48; cf. *peri emou*, 24:44b). Clearly in each of the three summaries the suffering of Jesus is centrally constitutive to his public significance and comprises a critical component of a God-given necessity as expressed in the Scriptures.

Yet the ironic if not sobering conclusion of much of critical scholarship on Luke-Acts is that the suffering or death of Christ in itself plays no constitutive role in effecting the salvation that is proclaimed in Luke's second volume. "There is no trace of any Passion mysticism, nor is any direct soteriological significance drawn from Jesus' suffering or death. There is no suggestion of a connection with the forgiveness of sins."[1] Conzelmann's judgment has by and large remained in force some forty(+) years

[1] H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960) 201; cf. U. Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte* (WMANT 5; (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974³) 216; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (MeyerK; Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1971) 91-92; for surveys, F. Bovon, *Luc le Théologien. Vingt-cinq ans de recherches (1950-1975)* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1988²) 175-81; J. A.

later with only slight modifications. The divine necessity of the Christ to suffer is attributed to the comprehensive "will of God," and Luke's use of traditional formulae in the Last Supper longer reading, 22:19b-20, and in Acts 20:28 reflects his own willingness to admit some association, however muted, of Jesus' death with the cultus of sacrifice. Kümmel's survey and modification of Conzelmann's position is representative of much contemporary sentiment: "While Luke by no means entirely removes the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus he does not stress it."[2] This evaluation would seem particularly pertinent in light of Luke's two quotations from the Servant of Isaiah passages. Neither in Jesus' own quotation from Isa 53:12 at the Last Supper nor in the reading from Isa 53:7-8 of the Ethiopian finance minister in Acts 8:32-33 do the citations continue or include lines from the immediate contexts in which a vicarious atoning death is explicitly predicated of the Servant. It would seem almost as if Luke is going out of his way to avoid soteriological linkage to this Servant figure. I. H. Marshall sums up popular appraisal of Luke's use of the Servant theology in both Luke and Acts: "In the Servant . . . we see the supreme case of a person who goes to suffering by the will of God and is subsequently vindicated by God . . . there is no evidence that he [Luke] himself has positively evaluated the Servant concept in terms of redemptive suffering."[3] Indeed for many it is this "Servant pattern" which points to the real saving events in Lukan *Heilsgeschichte*, viz. the resurrection, ascension or exaltation of Christ. Whether the death of Jesus be accorded some saving significance or none at all, the sentiment prevails that Luke lacks a deeper or profounder understanding of the cross in the more pristine Pauline or Markan sense. As Käsemann put it, "the Cross of Jesus is no longer a scandal but only a misunderstanding on the part of the Jews which the intervention of God palpably and manifestly corrects."[4]

But does Luke make sense of all that climaxes at the "place of the Skull" only by a powerful *deus ex machina* at Easter? Is a more provocative, scandalous *theologia crucis* diluted or even replaced by Luke with a *theologia gloriae* with the result that through the mighty resurrection and enthronement of Christ the great release of sins is finally triggered and the "word of this salvation" now triumphs from Jerusalem to Samaria, and on to the ends of the earth?

It is the contention of this study that when questions of plot, characters, and 'point of view' are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the death and resurrection of Jesus together constitute one inseparable, two-fold atoning event; but it is upon the death of Jesus where Luke places the greater accent in his schema of the saving

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Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981) 1.22-23, 219-27; W. G. Kümmel, "Current Theological Accusations Against Luke," *ANQ* 16 (1975) 134, 138.

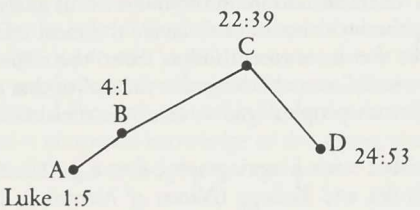
[2] Kümmel, "Accusations," 138; similarly, but more emphasis on cross, Fitzmyer (*Luke*) 1.221: "Luke may in the long run attach more saving significance to the resurrection of Jesus, but that is not because he regards it as a corrective of the misunderstanding of some Jewish leaders. Rather, through it Jesus became the "leader of life."

[3] I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970) 172.

[4] E. Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (SBT 41; London: SCM, 1964) 92.

"plan of God" (*hē boulē tou theou*)[5] for the whole world. Though Luke does not articulate the effects of Jesus' death in the atonement terminology of a Mark[6] or Paul, nevertheless, it will be seen that "the release/forgiveness of sins"[7] is Luke's characteristic expression of the saving, atoning action of God, and that this formulation is peculiarly forged to the suffering or death of Christ.

Consequently, in seeking the role of the death of Jesus it will be helpful to keep in mind the dynamic quality of Luke's two volumes as this movement is perceived as a function of the story's *plot*. Utilizing Aristotle's discussion in his *Poetics* and some contemporary critical reflection on his categories, we can define plot as, 1. a combination of temporal succession and causality involving actions/events and characters, with, 2. a beginning, middle, and an end in which an initial equilibrium is upset through complications and tensions which "move" the story to its resolution or a closing equilibrium.[8] Though this rudimentary "definition" of plot is taken essentially from Aristotle's analysis of tragedy and epic and clearly does not describe the more complex plots of later narrative developments such as the novel, it nevertheless has proved useful in delineating that *dunamis* which brings coherence to the overall length and structuring of a "complete" narrative, i.e. a story.[9] This conventional notion of plot has been represented as an inverted "v," as derived from Gustav Freytag's depiction.[10] AB represents the opening equilibrium, B the introduction of the conflict/complications, BC the developing conflict/complication or "rising action," C the climax or significant "turn" of the action, CD the resolution or dénouement, and D the achieved or final equilibrium. The diagram below illustrates this development with the Gospel of Luke where B (the temptations by the "Slanderer"/*diabolos*) would appear to represent the first significant test or complication for the final equilibrium of the waiting for the world-wide mission of the release/forgiveness of sins in 24:52-53 (cf. 24:44-49) as we shall argue below.



[5] Luke 7:30; Acts 2:23; 4:28; 13:36; 20:27; cf. Acts 5:38.

[6] Luke, for example, does not express Jesus' death as a *lutron* ("ransom"/"manumission sum"), Mark 10:45; but cf. Acts 7:35.

[7] For the OT (LXX) background of this phrase, see Fitzmyer (*Luke*) 1.223-24.

[8] Aristotle, *The Poetics* (all citations from LCL) esp. chaps. 6-8, 10-11, 14-18, 23-24, 26; cf. e.g., 6.12 where plot (*muthos*) is described as "the arrangement of the incidents" (*hē sustasis tōn pragmatōn*).

[9] See, e.g., W. Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1986) 81-129; R. Scholes and A. Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (New York: Oxford, 1966) 207-39; on the history of interpretation and influence of Aristotle's *Poetics*, see, e.g., M. Fuhrmann (*Einführung in die antike Dichtungstheorie* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973] esp. 185-308).

[10] See, e.g., Martin, *Narrative*, 81.

In his *proemium*, Luke 1:1-4, our author has told the reader that his narrative summary or account (*diēgēsis*)[11] entails "fulfilled events/actions" (1:1) and that his "order" or temporal-sequential arrangement (*kathexēs*, 1:3) is important for ascertaining the import, particularly the "credibility" (*asphaleia*, 1:4) of the events of which some (Theophilus) have already been informed. Clearly then the sequential presentation of the various narrative parts and their relation to the whole (fulfilled events) according to a plot is critical to an informed reading of this narrative summary. For it is precisely in this relation that *causality* (of fulfillment) emerges without which "plot" would be little more than a static string of (perhaps) interesting but unconnected anecdotes or annals without meaningful order[12] or *dunamis*. Without this kind of syn-chronic reading, the answers we are seeking for the relation of the rejection, suffering, and death of Jesus to a decisive release of sins will inevitably elude us. Why is there a divine "will" or "necessity" that Jesus must suffer or die? While the answer for Luke may lie ultimately in the inscrutable will of a deity as posited in authoritative scriptures, we must not *a priori* rule out more immediate or organic connections and causes as well, *if* Luke's carefully woven sequence indicates such connections are to be made. In other words, we cannot either begin with nor ultimately rely upon macro- or microscopic comparisons of Luke(Acts) with Mark or any other text; Luke's own *intra*textuality must first be investigated.

Moreover, since "ignorance" is a theme from Acts 3:17 and 13:27 (cf. Luke 23:34) often cited as a human cause of Jesus' death but which is subsumed to a greater divine will and intervention, it will be expedient for us to take into consideration characters and varying points of view as essential components of the dynamic, integrative plot. Aristotle already argued convincingly for the inseparability of ignorance and knowledge on the part of the characters as crucial elements in the movement of the plot, as for instance in the "discovery" and "reversal" of both tragedy and epic. It is significant that he discusses "characterization" in the midst of his analysis of the writer's ("poet's") skill in *ordering* the incidents so as to create the most effective response of fear and pity and to make the dénouement follow from "the result of the plot itself and not produced mechanically" as with "the god in the car" or *deus ex machina* (*Poetics* 15.10b–LCL).[13] Is the Jewish people's ignorance of the messianic identity of Jesus

[11] On *diēgēsis* as associated with historiography, see, e.g., Lucian (*How to Write History*, 48, 55); cf. Scholes and Kellogg (*Nature of Narrative*) 211: "In historical narrative . . . a subject must be discerned in the past and cut off from the irrelevant matters with which it has only a temporal connection"; cf. Martin, *Narrative*, 124.

[12] Cf., e.g., Scholes and Kellogg (ibid., 211) on annals and chronicles: "In records of this kind we usually feel the lack of two elements essential to narrative art: selectivity and movement."

[13] Although Aristotle emphasizes the priority of plot over character in tragedy and epic (e.g., "character study [*ta ēthē*] is included for the sake of the action" [*dia tas praxeis*], 6.13, see also 6.12, 19-21), he also insists that characters should be drawn *mimetically*, i.e. consistently according to what is "probable" or "inevitable" given their basic "character traits" (*ēthē*). Their *actions* as well as their words, therefore, are "probable" or "inevitable" when "true to character" (15.10-11 8.4-6). Cf. Henry James' more extreme expression of the interdependence of plot and characters in his blurring of the categories: "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character?" (from "The Art of Fiction," cited by Scholes and Kellogg [ibid., 160]); cf. Martin, *Narrative*, 116-22. For the relation of "discovery"

organically connected to the release/forgiveness of sins (including the sin of their rejection of Jesus), or is release conceived essentially as by-passing the cause-effect chain of ignorance-Jesus' death as a consequence from "outside," viz. God's intervention to overturn the result of that chain?—such questions shall form the center of our investigation which will unfold in two parts.

I

The eschatological release/forgiveness of sins is effected through—not despite—the rejection, suffering, and death of the Christ.

1. Luke 2:29-35, 36-38. *The Simeon Oracles.* Simeon's dual oracles and Anna's confirmation significantly transform anticipations from among the pious of Israel of the mission of Israel's Messiah and provide a proleptic focus of the thickening or complications of the plot.

(1) In Simeon's first oracle (2:29-32) God's "saving act" (*sōtērion*), which Simeon "sees" and holds in his arms (2:28, 30), is described as a "light" of "revelation" and "glory." These depictions thus echo the angelic announcement to the shepherds in the shining "glory" of the Lord of a "savior" (*sōtēr*), "the Christ, the Lord" (2:9-11), and the annunciations of Gabriel to Zechariah and Mary and their inspired songs which speak of God "my Savior" (*sōtēr,* 1:47) who will "put down the mighty from their thrones" (Mary, 1:52) and of a "horn of salvation" (*sōtēria*) in the house of David that will bring "salvation (*sōtēria*) from our enemies" and from "all who hate us" according to his "holy prophets of old" and of the "oath to our father Abraham" (Zechariah, 1:69, 70, 71-73).

(2) This passel of nationalistic hopes and anticipations of political overthrow of human oppressors according to Scriptural promises is radically qualified by Simeon's second oracle (2:34b-35) in two ways: (*i*) Jesus as the Christ will "reveal" a conflicted core of Israel's life in the light of God's "revelation" of peace for all peoples. Moreover, this "controverted sign" is part of a larger divine plan as it is "set" or "established" (*keitai*) by God (2:34). As we shall see, this notion of a special fore-ordained "plan" will recur frequently throughout Luke-Acts; (*ii*) Unlike Zechariah or Mary, the narrator endows Simeon (and Anna) with special knowledge of this saving plan by aligning their point of view with the divine omniscient vantage point[14] which the narrator himself

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and "reversal" in tragedy to gospel genre, see J. B. Tyson (*The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* [Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina, 1986] esp. 9-47). We of course are *not* arguing that Jesus is portrayed as a tragic hero like Greek tragedy. "Discovery" and "reversal" (*Poetics* 11) take place on the part of the disciples and the people in the "unravelling" or "dénouement" (e.g., Luke 24; Acts); nor does Jesus make a decision that proves to be a "tragic" mistake and thus reveals an imperfection or character flaw; see n. 44.

[14] R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981) 155-77; cf., e.g., M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Indiana Literary Biblical Series; Bloomington: Indiana Univ., 1985) 84: "For one thing the narrator has free access to the minds ("hearts") of the dramatis personae, not excluding God himself. . . . For another, he enjoys free movement in time (among narrative past, present, and future) and in space (enabling him to follow secret conversations, shuttle between simultaneous happenings or between heaven and earth). These two establish an unlimited range of information to draw upon or, from the reader's side, a

purports to give: (*a*) Not only does our author "slip" behind the narrator from 1:5 to 24:53 and assume an omniscient third person mode as he moves his readers "from above" from one locale to another (e.g., from the Temple to the hill country of Judea, 1:24; to Galilee, 1:26), reveals angelic pronouncements in heavenly visitations (e.g., 1:11-23, 26-38), quotes private thoughts (e.g., 1:25; 2:19), and cites prophetic interpretations of "interior" and supraterrestrial events (e.g., 1:41-45, 46-55, 67-69); he also presents God's voice directly (e.g., 3:22b; 9:35), interprets the "word of God" as a direct spokesperson for God (e.g., 3:2-6), and declares im-mediately how the disciples misunderstood God's intention in the words of Jesus (e.g., 9:45; 18:34). In brief, our narrator aligns his point of view with the perspective of God; (*b*) but this *divine* omniscient perspective is definitely denied Zechariah as this first great "worthy" of the story is struck "dumb" by Gabriel ("who stands in the presence of God," 1:19b) for "unbelief" (1:20). Though his tongue will later utter "inspired prophecies" (1:67) when God's announcement of a child is fulfilled, nevertheless his knowledge of God's intentions and means of salvation is severely limited; (*c*) Simeon, however, is given special credentials. He has received a specific revelation (*kechrēmatismenon*, 2:26), a "word" (*rhēma*, 2:29b) of the Lord (cf. 3:2) "by the Holy Spirit," and is guided "by (in) the Spirit" (2:27; cf. 4:1, 14 of Jesus) to the Temple precisely when the "word" is to be fulfilled. Moreover, he "blesses" Mary, the recipient of a "word" "from God" (1:37-38), and more importantly, reveals to her what role her child will have in God's pre-determined plan (2:34) and even what *her own role or experience* in this plan will be like (2:35a). Though Mary is portrayed from the beginning as a role model of faith ("Blessed is she who believed there would be a fulfillment of what was spoken to her by the Lord," 1:45—Elizabeth), yet her knowledge of the saving act of God is restricted as she too, like Zechariah, is filled with "fear" (1:50) or consternation" (1:29) at the divine promise and must "ponder or store up all "these things in the heart" (2:19).[15] Now she must *learn* that her child who will be called "Son of God" or "Son of the Most High" and reign as king upon the throne of David forever (Gabriel to Mary, 1:32-33) in order to bring "peace" to "folk of God's gracious favor" (2:14), will do so through a "sword of discernment" which will cut conflict into the heart of the "many" in Israel and even through her own life; (*d*) Anna confirms Simeon's omniscient "voice" to those like Mary or Zechariah who are awaiting liberation for Jerusalem (2:38; cf. 24:11). In chiastic sequence she thus offsets and redefines the literal, nationalistic-political messianic expectations of Mary (cf. 1:46-55), as Simeon does for Zechariah's hopes (cf. 1:68-79).

To sum up: Simeon's (and Anna's) voice is aligned with the omniscient perspective of God (and of the narrator). Consequently the triumphalist notions of a political, national defeat of enemies through an anointed son of David are transmuted into nearly their opposite, viz. an "anointed" "king" who will reign by being opposed and by sparking conflict in the heart of his people. The narrator thus guides the reader into the plot of this peculiar peace of the saving act of Jesus Messiah through *control of point of view*. This means then that not all voices speak equally or representatively for God in declaring or understanding God's set plan. And this also means that as the story proceeds, the reader will already have been alerted to the fundamental irony

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supernatural principle of coherence and intelligibility. For the narrative provides us with an assortment of plot-stuff that would normally be inaccessible."

[15] Cf. also Elizabeth, 1:24; the Judean hill country residents, 1:63, 66; 2:18; and the *laos* outside the sanctuary, 1:21.

in the discrepancy between what the righteous of Israel are awaiting in God's salvation and what the saving action of God will actually bring into effect.[16]

2. Luke 3:1–4:30. *The "Baptism," Genealogy, Temptations, and Nazareth Preaching.*

(1) Our narrator wastes no time in dovetailing John the Baptist's calling into the oracles of Simeon. The prophetic "word of God" which comes to John in the wilderness (3:2) constitutes his call to proclaim a "baptism of repentance/change of posture resulting in a release/forgiveness (*aphesis*) of sins" (3:3) and which the narrator interprets *directly* as John fulfilling the role of the "herald"/"voice" of the "saving act" (*sōtērion*) of God of (Deutero-) Isaiah as quoted in Isa 40:3-5 (Luke 3:4-6). Not only do the notions of a "way" or "journey" of salvation and "preparing that way" (Luke 3:4c-5 – Isa 40:34) hark back to the prophecies of Gabriel and of Zechariah, they also link up more specifically with Simeon and his two oracles: (*i*) The dynamic "saving act" of God will be "seen by all flesh" (Isa 40:5–Luke 3:6) or "be prepared in the presence of all peoples" (Luke 2:31), unlike the narrower, more focused ethnic salvation in Mary and Zechariah; (*ii*) John will "prepare" (*hetoimazo*) this "way"/"journey of the Lord" (Isa 40:3 – Luke 3:4c) as Gabriel had declared to Zechariah ("and he [John] will go before him [the Lord] . . . to prepare [*hetoimazo*] for the Lord a transformed/prepared people" [1:17a, d]) and as Zechariah had declared ("for you will go before the Lord to prepare [*hetoimazo*] his ways" [1:76b]). But whereas in 1:17a, d the "Lord" is unambiguously the God of Israel and in 1:76 less unambiguously so, now in Luke 3:4 (Isa 40:3b) "Lord" appears to refer primarily to Jesus, i.e. "God's saving act" (*sōtērion*). As Luke's readers already know, Jesus, the Christ, as God's "saving act" is the subject of Simeon's two oracles; (*iii*) The new exodus imagery in Isa 40:3-5[17] invokes the "consolation" and "peace" associated with that saving act in Isaiah 40–55.[18] Simeon is introduced by our narrator as one anticipating the "consolation (*paraklēsis*, of Israel," and Simeon describes the "saving act" in his arms as "peace" (Luke 2:29); (*iv*) Moreover, the universal saving act in both Isa 40:5 (Luke 3:6) and Simeon's oracle (2:31) echoes the mission of the Servant of Isaiah who is himself the means or God's saving act as "glory" for Israel (Isa 43:4, 7, 10; 52:13; cf. 52:14) and "light to the nations" (42:6; 49:6; cf. 52:10). Simeon's second oracle of one opposed and creating division is additional evidence that the "saving act" in Luke 2:30 and 3:6 is pointing to the Servant. In any case, what is essential is that John's mission as voice or proclaimer is subsumed to the Isaianic prophecies of Simeon. Consequently our omniscient narrator has also redefined John's mission of giving "knowledge of salvation" to Israel "in the release (*aphesis*) of their sins in terms of Simeon's "saving act of God" (1:77 – Zechariah; 2:30; 3:3, 4-6).

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[16] 16. Cf., e.g., Scholes and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 240, on point of view: "The narrative situation is thus ineluctably ironical. The quality of irony is built into the narrative form as it is into no other form of literature." On Luke 2:41-52, see D. P. Moessner ("The Ironic Fulfillment of Israel's Glory," *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People. Eight Critical Perspectives* [ed. J. B. Tyson; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988] 40-41).

[17] See esp. B. W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962) 177-95.

[18] *parakaleō*, Isa 40:1, 2; 41:27; 49:10, 13; 51:3, 12, 18, 19; 54:11; *eirēnē*, 41:3; 48:18; 52:7; 53:5; 54:10, 13.

(2) That John himself has expectations for the "Christ" conceived along the lines of Mary and Zechariah becomes clear in Luke 3:15-17 when the "baptism of fire" of the coming "mightier one" is depicted as the "fire" which consumes the "chaff" and the "dead wood" of the enemies of God's salvation. Our narrator would once again seem to distance John's view from a divine, omniscient perspective by his almost bizarre use of flash-forward or prefiguration in 3:19-20: John is "shut up" in prison by Herod *before* the description of all the *laos* being baptized (by John) and Jesus being baptized (by John) in solidarity with them (3:21-22). When the "voice (*phonē*) from heaven" sounds in 3:22b–"You are my beloved, my Son in whom I have great pleasure"–the reader has been "distanced" from the actual words of John' s proclamation in 3:7-17 in order to hear more resonantly the voice of the divine perspective: Jesus is the Isaianic Servant, the one of Isa 42:1 in whom God "delights" or "accepts" and "upon whom" God has put "his Spirit" (*ep' auton*, Isa 42:1b; Luke 3:22a). With this utterance from "heaven," Gabriel's naming of Jesus as "Son of God" who "will be called holy" (1:35) and Simeon's prophecies have been fused into one omniscient voice. And might it not also be that John's imprisonment and eventual execution (9:9) forms the crux of his role as the "voice" of "God's saving act" (3:4-6)?

(3) Jesus' "name" is traced through 77 generations[19] to "Adam, son of God" (3:38, 23-37). God's "good pleasure" in Jesus is related to the whole sweep of human history and beginnings of the human race. And it would appear that our narrator is also commenting on the heavenly voice's approval of Jesus' identification with the sinful generation (*laos*) of Israel through Jesus' acceptance or participation in a "baptism of a change of mind/repentance leading to the release of sins." For immediately the Slanderer (*diabolos*) sets about to define Jesus' name, "Son of God" (4:3, 9). He gives Jesus the opportunity to repeat the miraculous feeding in the wilderness, the conquest of the kingdoms, and the fulfillment of worship at the central place according to the summary *credo* of the Exodus release in Deut 26:5-11.[20] In each setting, Jesus could perform unequivocal signs of God's power in establishing himself as the new deliverer, precisely the kind of new Exodus liberator which would fulfill the hopes of a Mary or Zechariah ("put down the mighty from their thrones . . . and filled the hungry with good things . . . that we being delivered from the hand of our enemies might worship/serve him without fear";[21] cf. Ps 91:11-12 [quoted by the Slanderer] a psalm of the "faithful" who "trust" in God).[22] But both Jesus and the omniscient narrator regard this way for God's saving act as a slanderous perversion of Jesus' calling to be Son of God, as in fact, "tempting the Lord your God"/"every temptation" (4:12, 13; cf. 4:2). Whatever else Jesus undergoing a "baptism . . . leading to the release of sins" might mean, this release will not match the points of view of the pious or the "quasi-divine" Slanderer (cf. 4:6-7).

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[19] See W. S. Kurz, "Luke 3:23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies," *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. C. H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984) 169-87.

[20] On the unity of worship at the central place in Deuteronomy, see, e.g., E. W. Nicholson (*Deuteronomy and Tradition* [Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1967]). Interestingly, all of Jesus' citations come from Deuteronomy.

[21] Luke 1:52a, 53a; 1:74.

[22] Cf. the "Egyptian" in Acts 21:38 and Josephus' description of "Exodus" deliverers, *Ant.* 18.85ff.; 20.97-98, 169ff.; *War* 2.258ff.; 7.437ff.

(4) In Jesus' preaching in Nazareth, his "home town," the clash of points of view continues to its first eruption. Now for the first time the reader learns of Jesus' own (adult) perspective on his calling and of the people's response to that understanding. After Jesus declares the words of Isa 61:1-2 (58:6) to be fulfilled, they all "marvel" their approval (4:22a), just as Jesus has already been "glorified by all" in other Galilean villages like Capernaum, according to our narrator's summary introduction (4:14-15). But Jesus himself characterizes their response as slanderous, as tantamount to placing Son of God on the same level as "son of Joseph" (4:22b—as our narrator has already told us "was supposed," 3:23!). Their enthusiastic response, Jesus warns, is fundamentally no different than previous generations of Israel who, rather than repent/change their mind, would demand demonstrable proof of the prophets' divine authority, uncontestable signs of Yahweh's presence in their mission ("heal yourself . . . all that you performed there, do here . . . no prophet is acceptable . . . as in the days of Elijah . . . and Elisha the prophet," 4:23-27). Instead, God will go outside Israel with his salvation. The pious, worshipping congregation's rage-filled response seems understandable enough since Jesus, one of their own, has taken their genuine feelings of gratitude to God and changed them into an idolatrous perversion. But can Jesus' point of view possibly be justified/declared right (cf. Luke 7:29, 35)? We the readers already know the reason for this seemingly unbridgeable discrepancy. Jesus has just proclaimed himself to be the "anointed" Servant-prophet[23] of Isaiah 61 in which, by enriching 61:1-2 with Isa 58:6, Jesus has emphasized the mission of "release" (*aphesis*) that he has been sent to do. During the period of the prophecies in Isaiah 40–66 the "poor," "captives," "blind," the "crushed" described those exiles who were in desperate need of release both from foreign oppressors and the actual judgment/punishment of their corporate sin. Yet also the mysterious mission of the Servant to "restore" them through a new Exodus (Isa 48:20-22; 49:1-6, 7-13) is met by many with rejection and death. The irony is of course that it is ultimately *through* their rejection and his death that they are to be released from their sin ("We saw him, but he had no respect . . . we reckoned him to be in trouble. . . . Yet he was wounded because of our sins . . . the chastisement resulting in our peace was upon him . . . the Lord delivered him over (*paredōken*) for the sake of our sins" (LXX Isa 53:2b, 4b, 5a, c, 6c). Jesus perceives, then, in the approving reactions of the pious congregation the same temptations of the Slanderer which would destroy the mission of release which he had been anointed to perform. When, therefore, the townsfolk take him to the brow of the hill to destroy him, it would appear that our narrator is again demonstrating how the divine perspective of release/forgiveness of sins is being fulfilled precisely through his rejection and suffering.[24]

To sum up: In Nazareth Jesus reveals that his own point of view of his public mission matches the divine omniscient vantage point of the voice from heaven and of the narrator, even as this perspective is revealed in advance in the prophecies of

[23] For Isaiah 61 read in the context of Isaiah 40-55, i.e. as a "Servant" passage, see, e.g., C. Westermann (*Isaiah 40–66. A Commentary* [London: SCM, 1969] 364-67); in 11QMelchizedek the "anointed prophet" of Isaiah 61 is identified with the "herald of good tidings" of Isa 52:7.

[24] In the "synoptic" outline, Luke 4:16-30 corresponds to Mark 1:14-15 par. Matt 4:17: "The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe in the gospel." In Luke the fulfillment "today" comes in God's reigning through the rejection of Israel's anointed Son.

Simeon. Moreover, marvelling enthusiasm on the part of even the pious of Israel which is divorced from this perspective is reduced by Jesus to the same distortion of his mission as the temptations from the Slanderer. Jesus has come to fill the mission of the Isaianic Servant, and it is through the complications/conflict caused by temptations to and marvelling approval of a different way of release that our narrator begins to "tie up" or "ravel" (*desis*)[25] the plot, even as he shows how this plot is beginning to unfold.

3. Luke 4:31–8:56. *Release in Galilee.* From 4:31 the narrator presents Jesus as fulfilling the sending of Isaiah 61. The "poor" are having "good news of the Reign of God" preached to them,[26] those "captive" to infirmity and disease are being released,[27] and those oppressed by social marginalization and ostracism are being set free.[28] Thus ironically Mary's and Zechariah's visions are being fulfilled as "those of low degree" are "being exalted.[29] That Jesus' preaching and healing are tied integrally to the release/forgiveness of sin is made clear in two pivotal scenes. In 5:17-26 in the frame of Jesus' customary teaching/preaching in the synagogues (5:17a) when "the power of the Lord was with/upon him to heal"(5:17b), Pharisees and lawyers "from every village of Galilee and Judea and Jerusalem"[30] have stationed themselves as an unofficial 'inspection team' to pass verdict on Jesus' public influence: "Who is able to release/forgive sins, except God alone?" . . . "But in order that you may come to know that the Son of Humankind has authority upon the earth to release sins . . . I say to you, get up, pick up your bed . . ." (5:21b). In 7:18-50 the developing lines of submission and opposition to Jesus are tied together. John, presumably in prison (3:19-20), begins to doubt whether Jesus is the anointed mightier one who "is coming," even or especially when he hears of Jesus' healing and extolling of a Gentile's faith and a "raising from the dead" (7:18). Jesus' response to his emissaries indicates that John's posture is at base no different than the Nazareth congregation's as Jesus continues to perform these same works (7:21), cites passages/phrases from Isaiah which match the eschatological descriptions of Isaiah 61 (7:22—4:18-19), and then adds "blessed is the one who does not take offense at me" (7:23). Moreover, those who within the domain or perspective of God's eschatological reign are "the least" are more significant than John! (7:28b). The reason becomes manifest in the narrator's following comment (7:29-30).[31] When the *laos* and tax collectors in the larger crowds hear Jesus' comments on John, they "justify/declare God to be right," since they were the ones who had submitted to the "*baptism of John.*" These *laos* can hardly be coterminous with the crowds Jesus is addressing since Jesus goes on to castigate these crowds for impugning John with demon possession and regarding himself as a gluttonous, drunken friend of social sinners, including the tax collectors (7:33-34). The leaders of the crowds, however, the Pharisees and lawyers[32] who have

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[25] See *Poetics*, esp. chapter 18.

[26] Luke 4:42-44; 6:20-49, esp. v. 20b.

[27] Luke 4:31-37, 38-39, 40-41; 5:12-16, 17-26; 6:6-11; 7:11-17, 21; 8:2, 26-39, 40-56.

[28] Luke 5:27-39; 6:20-22; 7:34-35, 36-50; 8:2-3, 43-48.

[29] See further my "Ironic Fulfillment," esp. 40-46.

[30] Precisely those areas where Jesus' fame has already spread (4:14, 37, 44).

[31] See already the narrator's foreglimpse in 6:16b.

[32] Cf. 11:43-44, 46, 52; 20:45-47; D. P. Moessner, "The 'Leaven of the Pharisees'

murmured against Jesus' association with such sinners and tax collectors (5:30) and some of whom have begun to scheme how they might take Jesus to "legal proceedings"(6:7), are those who have "rejected the plan of God (*hē boulē tou theou*) for themselves, since they had not been baptized by him" [John] (7:30). Furthermore, after Jesus chides the crowds, Pharisees are again criticizing Jesus' behavior with sinners and challenging his authority to release sins (7:39, 49). The foil, then, of 7:29-30 is quite distinct. There are those "poor," handicapped, infirm, women, sinners, and tax collectors who are repenting or submitting to Jesus' authority and experiencing release according to the eschatological mission of the anointed prophet of Isaiah; there are, however, also those who are opposing this mission who are portrayed as rejecting the "plan of God" as it was already taking effect in the preaching of John's baptism to prepare a people to receive the release of sins. Thus it is that Jesus' announcement in Nazareth is being enacted according to Simeon's oracles—a "saving act" of God through an opposed sign in the conflict of the falling and rising of the many.

To sum up: The attempt to kill Jesus at Nazareth is not an erratic block in an otherwise Galilean springtime of Jesus' public career. Nor is it an ingenious literary mnemonic device which will merely spark for the reader a sense of *déjà vu* when the people of Israel as a whole cry out for Jesus' death—again at a place of worship—or when a Stephen or Paul similarly are met with violent opposition at sanctuaries of the Jewish people. Rather, in the worshiping congregation Jesus confronts expectations of liberation and release that are opposed to the suffering means of salvation that he is anointed to fulfill. This clash of view points, between an omniscient plan of God and the hopes of pious worshiping folk, leads to a demand on the part of the crowds, their leaders, and even John the Baptist for demonstrable, "God"-verifying signs of Jesus' authority to proclaim and effect eschatological release. "*If* you are the Son of God" forms the banner unfurled across the entire panorama of the Galilean mission (see 10:13-15!), even as the demons' cry—"we know who you are, you Son of God" (4:34, 41; 8:28)—becomes emblematic of the reign of God in this opposed sign.

4. Luke 9:1–19:44. *The Journey of Rejection.* Nearly 40% of Luke's Gospel is devoted to a journey to Jerusalem (9:51–19:44, with intro. 9:1-50) which is characterized as a "fulfillment" of Jesus' "exodus" ("death"/"departure") which he discusses on the mountain in *glory* with the rejected and persecuted prophets of the Exodus-Horeb theophanies, Moses and Elijah (9:28-36, esp. v 31). Though this "journey" follows no itinerary nor detailed geographical progression, yet the response of the Nazareth synagogue continues to thicken through the burgeoning crowds' (11:29; 12:1; 14:25) increasing misunderstanding or failure to repent/change their thinking about Jesus' mission. As a consequence, Jesus announces he must die.[33] What emerges as a critical element, however, harking back to Simeon's pre-set pattern, is that Israel's "faithless and perverted" response (cf. 9:41) is part of a larger divine plan to encompass Israel's entire history of disobedience, on the one hand, but also that this failure of recognition is part of a fore-ordained determination of God to effect an eschatological "end" to this disobedience precisely through Jesus' rejection (and exaltation), on the other. Space allows only a couple of highlights.

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and 'This Generation': Israel's Rejection of Jesus according to Luke," *JSNT* 34 (1988) 21-46, esp. 28-41; idem, *Lord of the Banquet* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 187-207.

[33] Cf. already Luke 5:35 as a "passion" prediction by Jesus.

(1) After the twelve return from mission in Galilean cities (9:1-6, 10), and as a sequel to Jesus' feeding five thousand of the *laos* in the wilderness (9:12-17), our narrator has Peter speak for the disciples in proclaiming Jesus to be "the anointed one of God." Jesus' immediate command to silence and the accompanying prediction of the suffering, rejected, killed, and raised up Son of Humankind takes on new "perspective" when it is seen how the disciples' "confession" is blended by the narrator into the larger stream of Israel's failed response:

(*i*) The disciples' own "point of view," though 'formally' correct,[34] is shown to be 'materially' unenlightened, in fact misguided: (*a*) While Jesus speaks about his impending exodus-death with the prophets who by their death (Moses) and "taking up" (Elijah) anticipate the "death" (9:31) and "taking up" (9:51) of the "chosen Son" (9:35), the disciples sleep (9:32). When with pregnant irony Peter finally responds–"It is good we are here . . ."–our narrator hardly need add: "not knowing what he was saying" (9:33); (*b*) When Jesus and the three disciples return to the base, they learn that the other disciples were "unable" to exorcise a demon. Jesus' reaction is to lump his disciples with the entire disobedience of Israel by echoing Moses' lament at the base of Horeb and in his "Song": "you faithless and perverted generation! How long must I be with you and put up with you?" (9:41; cf. Deut 1:9, 12; 32:5, 20);[35] (*c*) Our narrator emphasizes in four phrases the disciples' total lack of comprehension of a rejected, dying Christ or Son of Humankind (9:45): "But they were not understanding this matter and it was being concealed from them so that they should not perceive it, and they were afraid to ask him about this matter"; (*d*) Rather than inquire, the disciples argue which of them is the greatest in the context of trying to prevent someone from "outside" their number from *successfully* exorcising demons *in Jesus' name* (cf. 9:40). Jesus must tell John (of the mountain) and the rest that there are "others" who are exercising God-given authority and power with respect to the mission of Jesus (Luke 9:49-50). These others are the "childlike," the "least" who are the "greatest" (9:46-48; cf. 7:28-30, 35!).

(*ii*) Jesus' response in the face of his disciples' "understanding" (9:20-21) and of the crowds' marvelling reaction to his powerful deeds (9:43) is to announce that he must die and be raised (9:22) or be delivered over into human hands (9:44). In both "predictions" there is a divine must (*dei*, 9:22) or compulsion (*mellō*, 9:44). But is this God-ordained necessity some arbitrary, inscrutable divine fate or will which comes into Israel and Jesus' mission so inappositely, as Aristotle would say, like a "god in the car"?[36]

(*a*) The structure and sequence of 9:1-50 mark it as a clear literary watershed. Herod's question sparked by Jesus' disciples' activities flashes the reader back to 7:18-50 where Jesus' activities rouse John's question and to chap. 3 where John's significance and own point of view, as we have seen, are compared and contrasted to Jesus'. We also learn that John has been decapitated by Herod, this one who wants

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[34] Cf. Luke 2:11–"the Christ, the Lord" [angelic host]; 2:26–"the Christ of the Lord" [narrator, for Simeon]; 4:18–"the Spirit of the Lord . . . has anointed me" [Jesus].

[35] Deut 1:6, 19 indicate a telescoping of Num 10:11-36; 11:1-23; cf. Exod 18:13-27.

[36] *Poetics* 15.10c. The *mēchanē* was a kind of "crane" with pulley to lower a "god" or hero onto the stage. Cf. W. H. Fyfe's annotation in his LCL translation, p. 56 n.c: "Weak dramatists thus introduced a car to "cut the knot" by declaring the dénouement instead of unravelling the plot by the logic of cause and effect."

now to "see" Jesus. The astute reader will eventually see that Herod will eventually "see" Jesus and that this seeing in 9:9b is described in 23:8 as desiring a *sign* because of reports he had heard, parallel to John's desire for some convincing sign after he has heard of all the things being done by Jesus. The inversion of 3:19-20 and 3:21-22 is hardly happenstance or literary fluke! But 9:7-9 functions as a flash-forward in another way as well. Jesus' refusal to meet Herod's "desire" leads Herod and his soldiers to "treat Jesus with contempt" (*exoutheneō*, 23:11) and to "mock" (*empaizō*, 23:11) him, actions which repeat the treatment of Jesus at the high priest's house (22:63—*empaizō*) and will be repeated again at the cross (23:35-36—*empaizō*). But these expressions fulfill in a general way not only his first explicit prediction (9:22) but also more explicitly Jesus' last passion prediction (18:31-34) before he arrives in Jerusalem (*empaizō*, 18:32; cf. *hubrizō*, 18:32 with *exoutheneō*). Herod's "seeing" then is not unlike the Nazareth congregation's marvelling which "leads" Jesus to the brow of the hill! For Herod becomes friends of Pilate "on that day" (23:12) and thus fulfills Jesus' prediction in 18:32 that in Jerusalem he would "be delivered over to the Gentiles." Moreover, as Israel's leaders, Herod, and Pilate link hands (9:44) to mistreat and kill Jesus, their voices join symbolically at the cross (*hoi archontes*, 23:35) in a mock echo of the voice on the mountain (his "chosen One!," 9:35—23:35), of the disciples' confession ("the Christ of God," 9:20—23:35), and Jesus' own words ("whoever would save one's own life, will lose it," 9:24—"he saved others?!, let him save his *own* life!," 23:35)—all following Herod's desire to "see" Jesus (9:7-9). Consequently with respect to the plot, 9:1-50 "ties up" the Galilean, Journey, and Jerusalem passion sections into one thickening story, while John's "early" arrest in 3:19-20 is now shown to be a foreboding of Jesus' arrest as well;

(*b*) Jesus' announcements of his suffering and death are tied intertextually to Israel's history of their misreception of God's messengers-prophets of salvation, especially in the texts of the Exodus (Exodus—Deuteronomy). The voice on the mountian along with the omniscient narrator's comments provide the heavenly vantage point for these comparisons and link them together in illuminating the meaning of Jesus' death: (I) *Luke 9:1-6, 10.* Jesus sends out "twelve" messengers who return with a report of how they were received (9:4-5, 10) similar to Moses sending out twelve men, one from each tribe, who return with a report (Num 13; Deut 1:22-25; cf. Luke 10:1-20!); (II) *9:7-9.* Herod"s question relates the activities of Jesus' emissaries not only to John the Baptist but also to Elijah's "appearance" and to a "prophet from initial or the first days who has been raised up" (*anistēmi*). In Deut 18:15-19 Moses prophesies of a prophet "like me" whom God will "raise up" (*anistēmi*). Elijah a prophet of the return to the Exodus-Horeb covenant (see 1 Kings 19) did not die and thus could "appear," especially to prepare for a new Exodus (Mal 3:1; 4:4-6); (III) *9:10-17.* In a wilderness (9:12b) Jesus feeds more than 5000 of the *laos* of Israel, using the "twelve" to distribute the food, similar to Moses commanding the twelve tribes in the wilderness to eat the "bread from heaven" (Exod 16; Num 11:7-15; cf. Deut 8:3);[37] (IV) *9:18-27.* The crowds of Israel are linking Jesus' mission to that of John the Baptist or to Elijah's or to a "prophet's from the initial or first days who has been raised up" just as Herod has heard! (9:7b-8). Thus we see again that the crowds of Israel have expectations of liberation that match those of Mary or Zechariah, the congregation

[37] Cf. the "bread" and "meat" along with the "cloud," the "tent," and the "elders" in Numbers 11 and Luke 9:10-17, 28-36.

at Nazareth, John the Baptist himself, and even Jesus' own disciples.[38] But Jesus immediately transforms this notion of a mightier *Christos* (9:20; 3:15-17) by enlisting from disciples *and* crowds alike those who will journey with him to death, each bearing in solidarity with him their own cross on the way to Jerusalem (9:23-27). What is essential, Jesus warns, is that suffering, rejection, and death is central to saving life; without that *means* there is no "raising up" (9:22) or glory (9:26b). What is more, whoever tries to secure life through promoting or seeking life will in fact forfeit life. Nor is Jesus uttering some eternal metaphysical maxim. The saving of life comes only through losing life "for my sake" (*beneken emou*, 9:24b) and following him in this path of suffering and death. In part Jesus echoes Moses' wish to "be killed" rather than continue to contend with a murmuring people who are not satisfied with manna but demand meat as well (Num 11:1-15) or Elijah's request that Yahweh "take his life" rather than contend with Jezebel and the generation that has bowed the knee to Baal (1 Kgs 19:4-8). But more fundamentally he resonates the situation of Moses in Deuteronomy's recounting (1:19-46) of Numbers 13–14. When the twelve emissaries return, the people's refusal to proceed on their journey for fear of losing their lives leads to the Lord's swearing of an oath that Moses himself *must* die. "Because of" (*dia humas*, Deut 1:37) the sin of this generation (1:35), Moses must die and only in this way can the children (*paidion neon*, 1:39; cf. Luke 9:48) enter into the land (see also Deut 3:25-26; 4:21-22); (V) *9:28-36*. On the mountain, one of the prophets from the first days, Moses (Deut 34:10), along with Elijah who appears (*ophthentes*), speaks with Jesus about his own exodus which he must complete in Jerusalem (9:30-31). While Peter utters the disciples' point of view, a cloud comes and overwhelms them and from the cloud heaven's point of view resounds. Jesus is: i) God's ("my) Son," sc. the first phrase of Luke 3:22b except that now the message is directed to the disciples and not to Jesus himself (cf. *su–houtos*); ii) "my chosen One" instead of "my Beloved"; Jesus is again described as the Servant of Isa 42:1 (*ho eklektos*); iii) to "hearken to him" instead of "in you I take pleasure" (cf. Isa 42:1c). Now in diction and sequence Deut 18:15b rings out. The disciples are to heed the authority of the prophet like Moses. The divine omniscient perspective thus corrects the disciples' stuporous vantage point while simultaneously tying Jesus to the great Exodus liberation and its prophets Moses and Elijah. To be sure, Jesus' "exodus" will be continuous with the journeys of death and rejection of Moses and Elijah who both accomplished their missions through suffering at the hands of an unrepentant Israel. Yet all three figures speak in *glory* of a fulfillment of their missions in Jesus' journey. He is the prophet like Moses who will be raised up like Elijah in fulfilling the eschatological exodus liberation of the Servant of Isaiah. Therefore *when* the voice utters this divine perspective, Jesus is "found" to be "alone" (9:36a). He alone brings saving life through death (a cross, 9:23-25) and consequently our narrator is careful to link Jesus' sayings on his journey of death-life (9:23-27) to the omniscient utterance from the "glory of the Father and the holy angels" (9:26b) "about eight days after these sayings" (9:28a, 31-32). It is also curious that Jesus closes these sayings on life through death by adding that some with him then would soon "see (*horaō*) the Kingdom of God." Again our narrator's irony is pungent, especially when this "seeing" will be linked to "saving himself" as king in the mocking "at" as well as "from" the cross: "If you are the king of the Jews, save yourself!" . . . "The king of the Jews, this one!" "And all his acquaintances and the women who had followed (*sunakoloutheō*, cf. 9:23) him from Galilee

[38] See n. 22.

stood at at distance, seeing (*horaō*) these things" (23:37-38, 49); (VI) *9:37-45.* Jesus' cry of desperation and lament at the "obdurate generation" he confronts at the base of the mountain (9:41) resonates Deuteronomy's telescoped rehearsal (1:9-18) of Num 11:10-17, 18-38, especially Deut 1:9, 12 par. Num 11:11b, 14. Fed up with manna and Moses' inability to provide meat, the people are grumbling, while Moses can no longer bear their burden and strife. "Faithless and twisted/perverse generation" echoes Moses' "Song" about Israel's entire stance from the day they came out of Egypt (Deut 32:5b, 20b). Because of the people's refusal to hearken to the voice of the Lord through Moses, Moses must die. Jesus announces to his disciples who are unable to exorcise a demon (cf. 9:1, 6) that as Son of Humankind he must be delivered over into human hands; (VII) *9:46-50.* The story of the people's murmuring strife in Numbers 11 continues on in Luke, as well, as the disciples are at strife over who is the greatest and one of the disciples of the mountain prevents further manifestations of Jesus' power in healing the demon-possessed, similar to Joshua's preventing Eldad and Medad from further prophesying in the spirit which had been placed upon Moses, since they were not with those whom Moses had gathered (cf. Luke 9:10b).

To sum up: Jesus' announcements that he *must* suffer and die are a consequence of a generation's desire to "see" a powerful liberator and to accredit him with the "signs" of his divine mission. But Jesus,' the narrator's, and "heaven's" voices join together once again to fuse this point of view to Israel's history of stubborn refusal to hearken and to receive God's messengers of salvation on God's own terms. Whether marvelling at Jesus' divine power or preventing others from sharing in it, Jesus' generation is like that of Moses or of Elijah, where "seeking life" leads to death. Jesus' death, however, will "end" this history of disobedience in two ways: 1) Jesus' journey to Jerusalem will complete the suffering Exodus journeys of Moses and Elijah through Jesus' own suffering and death; 2) But Jesus suffers and dies as the chosen Son, the Servant of Isaiah, the one whose rejection and death brings eschatological life/glory for those who reject him. Parallel to the Servant's mission in Isaiah in which both an individual and a smaller group or remnant are joined, Jesus calls for those from disciples and crowds who would join him in this mission of "death" which produces "life."

(2) The days of Jesus' "taking up"[39] have already begun as Jesus sets out for Jerusalem (9:51—*sumplēroō* linked to *plēroō,* 9:31). The varied responses that confront him amid the swelling crowds of Israel—marvelling approval of divine power, praise for the day of his birth, "testy" requests for a "sign from heaven," even charges of alignment with Beelzebul (11:14-28)[40]—Jesus reduces to the charge of an "evil generation" (11:29), "hypocrites" (12:56), "killers of the prophets" (11:49-51) who seek a sign (11:29). But no sign shall be given except the "sign of Jonah." For the Ninevites repented/changed their mind in response to Jonah's preaching. The folk of that generation will rise at the final judgment to condemn "this generation" who are failing to change their mind/repent at the preaching of one who is greater than Jonah (11:30-32). Indeed as Jesus draws nearer to the city that stones the prophets, he pronounces judgment on a nation that refuses to be gathered—even as throngs of Israel crowd around him in pilgrimage to the nation's center (12:1; 13:31-35; 14:25). Yet

[39] Cf. *analambanō* (and cognates) in Luke 9:51; Acts 1:2, 11, 22 and 4 Kgdms 2:9, 10, 11.

[40] See, e.g., S. R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 43-46.

our narrator also joins these pronouncements with Jesus' need, even compulsion to die, to be "baptized," to receive the prophets' fate, *because of* the hardness and "denseness" of the crowds and disciples alike vis-à-vis the reign of God in their midst (e.g., 11:37-52–53-54; 12:35-48–49-53; 13:22-30, 31-33–34-35; 14:16-24–25-27; 17:1-10, 11-19, 20-24–25). As the entourage approaches Jericho Jesus declares to the twelve that all that is written by the prophets about himself as the Son of Humankind will be fulfilled, viz. delivered over to Gentiles, ridiculed, humiliated, spit upon, beaten, killed, *and* raised up on the third day (18:31-34). As in 4:1-13, 16-30 it would appear that Israel's Scriptures are a telling template for the whole of Jesus' movement from Galilee to Jerusalem as well. Yet this overarching plan is still unknown, unfathomable, and concealed from the disciples' "eyes." As Jesus overlooks the city of Israel's destiny (19:41-44), it is true that he has fulfilled Simeon's prophecy of bringing division, of falling and rising, as a smaller stream of "Wisdom's children" have "today" repented and received eschatological release.[41] Yet Jesus weeps for a nation that as a whole has had eschatological peace hidden from them because they have failed to recognize the time of salvation in their exodus visitation from God (*episkopē*, 19:44; cf. 1:68!, 7:16b–Gen 50:24, 25; Exod 3:16; 13:19).

To sum up: The Journey is laced with "passion predictions" by Jesus and bound up in his own anointed consciousness with the whole history of Israel's rejection of God's messengers, on the one side, but also with God's overarching plan or necessity to effect eschatological salvation *precisely through his rejection*, on the other.

5. Luke 22:1–23:56. *Jesus' Passion.* Our narrator ravels the plot almost to the breaking point when one of the twelve representatives of all Israel joins with the Slanderer—who in the meantime has been active as the adversary ("the Satan") of Jesus after his vision of God's "saving act" was soundly rebuffed by Jesus—to arrange to "deliver him over" to the Temple authorities (*paradidonai*, 22:46; 9:44; 18:32; 20:20!). At table with these twelve Jesus knows that his "suffering many things" (9:22; 17:25) is about to reach its finale as he describes the "hand of the one who will deliver him over" that is at table with him (22:21) and adv'ises the rest that they might as well join the swords of the arresting party by buying their own swords (22:35-38, 52). "For," as he continues, "I tell you in truth, that this which is written *must* (*dei*) be fulfilled in relation to me: 'and he was reckoned as one of the unrighteous/those without the law' (Isa 53:12d). For indeed that which is written concerning me (*peri emou*) is now coming to its intended goal" (22:37). This concluding statement of the fourth Song is placed by the narrator at the conclusion of Jesus' public career as Jesus own *summation of its entire nature and purpose.* Jesus knows well that the twelves' "faith" will fail, that Satan will sift them like wheat, that Peter will deny (correctly!) that he "knows" Jesus (22:31-34). Though they have been those very ones who have stayed with Jesus throughout his entire mission of trials and opposition (22:28; cf. 9:23-25; 14:27), now they in their own way will blend fully with this generation so that Isa 53:12 will be consummated. Thus it is especially fitting that with the hands of betrayer and denier with him at table, Jesus *sig*nifies to them that his impending death is a voluntary giving and shedding of his body and blood "on behalf of"/"for the sake"/"benefit of *you*" (*to huper humōn didomenon . . . to huper humōn ekchunnomenon*, 22:19b-20). To them Jesus is giving through his rejection/death the Kingdom that "my Father has given me, in order that you might eat and drink at my table in my

[41] E.g., Luke 10:21-24, 38-42; 13:10-17; 14:1-6; 17:2, 11-19; 18:15-17, 35-43; 19:1-10.

Kingdom and sit upon thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel" (22:29-30). The twelve will one day share the same perspective on the reign of God as Jesus and assume roles of discernment in that *same* Kingdom. Here the paradox of the Nazareth good news of release in the foreboding clash of views could not be more palpable as they are reconciled in the self-giving death "for you." This death "for you" will in fact involve these—who again are at strife over who is the greatest in light of Jesus' impending death!—in repentance/turning from their own participation in Jesus' rejection (22:32) just as forgiveness/release will be integrally connected with repentance/change of mind/turning in the preaching in Acts (cf. 22:21-22, 23-27, 32; 9:44-45, 46-48). But already, pivoting around Jesus' vicarious death for them, Jesus promises forgiveness to Peter and the rest, even though Jesus knows that when the Son of Humankind goes as it is pre-ordained to his trial (22:22a), Peter will be ashamed of him and of his words! (9:26a; 22:34, 61!).

Jesus "goes" (22:39), one of the twelve leads the arresting party, the rest of the twelve strike with the sword, even as Jesus "heals" one of those who represents the "authority of darkness" (22:53b; cf. 1:79; 11:35!). The "council of the laos" echoes the voices from heaven (3:22; 9:35) but with the same "question" as the Slanderer (cf. 22:3): "You are the Son of God?!" (22:70a—4:3, 9). "From this moment on," Jesus declares, this denial of heaven's perspective has actually brought about the exaltation of the Son of Humankind at the right hand of the power of God (22:69). This saving power which is enthroned by means of the Son of Humankind's rejection and death is powerfully demonstrated as Jesus is mocked upon the cross by one of the "evil doers"/"malefactors" who continues to echo Ps 22:8 in the taunt of Israel's leaders (23:35):[42] "If you are the Christ save yourself and us." The other malefactor, however, repeats the confession of Isa 53:3-6: "It is not he who is suffering justly (*dikaios*), but rather we; he is just and we are the ones who deserve the punishment" (23:41). This second "evil doer" recognizes that Jesus needs no saving and, in fact, is the one who is in the position to "save" him—"when you come/enter into your kingdom" (23:42b). But Jesus has already declared that he is enthroned in his kingdom! Thus as he dies from Israel's rejection, he pours out his life "today" to one of the lawless. In the "today" of "paradise" (cf. Isa 51:3) from the cross the "today" of fulfillment of release brought by the anointed prophet-Servant of the Nazareth announcement rings loud and clear (4:21). The "paradise" of God's saving act in the new Exodus (51:4-6, 9-11) rejection and glorification of the Servant becomes a reality for this "sinner" who repents (Isa 51:3). Not by accident Jesus utters the cry of hope of the righteous, suffering servant of Ps 31(30)[43] against the backdrop of the veil of the sanctuary ripping open "down the middle," while a Gentile "glorifies" God in declaring Jesus to be "righteous" (*dikaios*, 23:47—Isa 53:11).

6. Luke 24:13-35, 36-53. *"He Was Known in the 'Breaking of the Bread.'"* Some women from the disciples recount to the apostles and the rest heaven's point of view on all that has taken place: Jesus' words in Galilee about the Son of Humankind's rejection, death, and raising up have indeed come true (24:4-10; cf. 9:22, 44!). Two

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[42] Ps 22:18 is already quoted by the narrator in Luke 23:34b, and the "looking on" (*theoreō*) of the *laos* and the "mocking" (*ekmuktērizō*) of the leaders in 23:35 also reflect the "staring" (*theoreō*) and "mocking" (*ekmukterizō*) of the taunters of "David" in Ps 22:7-8.

[43] Ps 30(31):16.

of these who hear this report appear to start a new anti-(climax) plot as they set out for Emmaus. In essence, however, they begin a mirror image of the main plot to produce the dénouement. Instead of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, they journey away from Jerusalem. Instead of disciples joining Jesus to journey there, two disciples are joined by Jesus. Now rather than Jesus admonishing those around him for not knowing the "signs" of the events taking place in their midst, the two admonish Jesus for "alone not knowing the things that have taken place" in Jerusalem. Moreover, instead of Jesus uttering passion predictions when the disciples do not "know" the meaning of Jesus' words, now the two disciples summarize the career of Jesus "a mighty prophet" by giving an account of his passion and death and even "report" a vision that he is alive right when the living Jesus appears not to know "what things?" they are talking about. But when the two give their own *point of view* on all these things—"but we had been hoping that he was the one who was going to redeem/liberate (*lutroomai*, cf. 1:68; 2:38!) Israel"—this mirror image quickly shatters as they finally "know" the *true significance of Jesus' death.* Only a generation stubborn in their own point of view could possibly not know that Israel's Christ "must suffer all these things," Jesus avers, since he had not only told them before—as the women *remembered* (*mimnēskomai*, 24:8)!—but also all the Scriptures, beginning with Moses and all the prophets, pointed to this same necessity. Yet these Scriptures "are not opened" until their "eyes are opened" "through/in the breaking of the bread" (24:31a, 32b, 35). Why is this? Already "on the way" their sluggish "hearts" were being "fired" by Jesus' "opening up" to them the central thrust of all Scripture that the Christ must suffer and only in this way enter into his glory (24:25, 32b). But it was not until they heard and saw Jesus against this backdrop "*break* and *give* the bread" that they "*remembered him.*" But this is precisely the means, Jesus had told his apostles earlier at table, through which they would call him to memory (*ana-mnēsis*, 22:19b). By breaking the bread they would recall his whole significance, his life, by signifying his broken body, his death "for you." The meaning of the entire rejection and suffering that culminates in Jesus' death "for you" is the key that unlocks and "opens up" the divine perspective on the whole plot of the anointed prophet's mission. Rather than pull Jesus down as a "god in the car" to reverse and retrieve some meaning to this "tragedy," our narrator releases the dénouement, the unravelling, precisely as a consequence or result of the tightening episodes themselves.[44] Indeed the necessity of

[44] See *Poetics*, esp. chapters 9-11, where Aristotle argues that the worst writers of tragedy write "episodically" in which the "episodes do not follow each other probably or inevitably" (9.11). Moreover, if the dénouement does not actually "unravel" (*lusis*) what has been ravelled or tightened (*desis*) as *a cause and effect chain*, then the "end" is not really satisfactory, i.e. an end as a *necessary* consequence (probable or inevitable) of the tightening of the beginning and middle: "for there is indeed a vast difference between what happens *propter hoc* and *post hoc*" (10.4; see also chaps. 16, 18). On Aristotle's notion of "end," see esp. A. Horn ("Ueber den Sinn und eine mögliche Form des aristotelischen Endes," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 54 [1980] 529-46) who develops N. Hartmann's notion of "*Wesensnotwendigkeit*" as distinct from "*Kausalnotwendigkeit*" to elucidate Aristotle's notion that an "end . . . is that which is inevitably or, as a rule, the natural result of something else but from which nothing else follows" (6.5). The mimetically given "nature" of the characters and their actions within a "single" action or plot dictate consequences (inevitable or probable) issuing from that endemic nature and action, i.e.

the dénouement has been intertwined with the actions and sayings of all the characters through the narrator's divine omniscient point of view from the very beginning. What is more, our narrator closes his first plotted sequence of all that Jesus began to do and to teach by linking this divinely motivated plot and dénouement *directly* to the "release"/"forgiveness of sins" that has thus been effected eschatologically for Israel and for the nations (24:44-49). "Then he opened their mind (*nous*) to comprehend the Scriptures" (24:45). The "saving act" prefigured in Simeon's oracles and announced at Nazareth has indeed been "fulfilled in their ears."

II

The rejection, suffering, and death of Christ, along with the resurrection/exaltation form the critical center of the overarching salvific "plan of God" for the whole world. It is upon the death of Jesus where the accent in this plan particularly falls.

The phrase, "the plan of God" (*bē boulē tou theou*), which we encountered in Luke 7:30 occurs five times in Acts in the sense of a comprehensive saving act of God. In addition, we have seen in the Gospel that a divine *necessity*, often expressed by the impersonal verb *dei*, underlies this plot. Space permits only a thumbnail sketch of some of the more important passages without analyzing correlative terminology such as *pro-* compounds and related stems (e.g., *pro-horizō; pro-cheirizomai; pro-gnōsis; pro-kataggellō; pro-cheirotoneō*) and other associated ideas.[45] Nor does our scope allow a tracing of the plot of this "plan," as we have attempted for Luke's first volume.

1. *Acts 1:15-26.* Peter tells the gathered "120" that Scripture "had to be fulfilled" (*dei plērōthēnai*) with respect to Judas as a "guide to those who arrested Jesus" (1:16b) and to fill this "office" with another who will become with the eleven a "witness to the resurrection" (1:21-22). In Ps 68(69):26, cited in Acts 1:20, the one(s) whose "dwelling"/"cottage"/"cabin" is to become desolate are those who have persecuted and

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something *wesensnotwendig*. "*Kausalnotwendigkeit*," on the other hand, is a chain of probabilities and necessities representing the wider lifelike world of cause and effect analogous to the real world of the author, but *not necessarily or probably a consequence germane to the "character" and "actions" of the characters themselves* (see esp. pp. 542-46). We are arguing that the meaning of Jesus' death in Luke as salvific/atoning is a "*Wesensnotwendigkeit*" defined by the divine omniscient point of view of the "character" of Israel and the long history of "actions" of disobedience vis-à-vis God's saving gestures *and* of the divine "plan" or "character" to "reverse" this sin through that very character of disobedience of Israel. The death of Jesus as effecting release of sins is thus *wesensnotwendig* relative to God's "character" and Jesus' full obedience to that "character" and not just *kausalnotwendig* to produce a Jesus who must be dead before the saving release of resurrection power can take place. Rather, Jesus' solidarity in baptism with the sinful *laos* of the whole nation and his association with "sinners" is *wesensnotwendig* to God's character and the release/forgiveness of sins issues as an "inevitable or probable" result of that association (cf. the Servant of Isaiah). The "breaking of the bread" at Emmaus unravels as "discovery" the "tightening" plot of Jesus' *divine* self-giving for sinners which he had summed up at his "Last" Supper in the "breaking of the bread"; cf. nn. 13, 36.

[45] See, e.g., J. T. Squires, "The Plan of God in Luke-Acts," Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, 1988) esp. 1-104; C. H. Cosgrove, "The Divine *Dei* in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 26 (1984) 168-90.

tormented a righteous servant (*pais*, 68:17) who has suffered reproach for God's cause. Moreover, the "desolation of their habitation" is to take place since they have wounded the one whom God himself has *smitten* (68:25-26). Peter, in other words, appears to be looking back and describing the "things that have happened" (Luke 24:18) in terms of a *plot* found in Scripture. Judas is identified in the script as a persecutor of a (God's) righteous, suffering servant (cf. also the offering of "vinegar" (*oxos*) as part of the *suffering*, Ps 68:21 and Luke 23:36!). This identification is confirmed by the citation of Ps 108(109):8 which immediately "enriches" Psalm 68. His "office"/"position of overseer" refers to *one* who in particular (108:6-19) out of a larger group of adversaries (108:2-5, 20, 25, 28-31) has "falsely accused" (108:4, 20) a suffering, righteous servant (*doulos*, 108:3b, 28-29) and is even thinking to put to death this one who has become pricked/pained in the heart but who continues *to pray for his accusers* (108:4b-5; Luke 23:34!). Judas' "office" of leading the accusers against Jesus, God's "righteous one" (Luke 23:47) was dictated in Scripture by a divine necessity and must be filled by one who has witnessed this whole drama "from the time the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the *baptism of John* (cf. Luke 7:30!) until the day he was taken up from us" (1:22a). "Witness to the resurrection" thus means one who has him/herself participated in the whole plan of events in Jesus as outlined in Scripture.

2. *Acts 2:14-40.* In the center of his speech at Pentecost (2:14-36), Peter summarizes the career of Jesus: from Nazareth, attested/appointed by God through powers, wonders, and signs, killed/executed by Israel ("you") by the agency of law-less folk, and raised up by God from the pangs/cords of death (2:22-25). What is emphasized in this sketch is the resurrection of Jesus to fulfill David's prophecy, Ps 15(16):8-11, of God's "holy one" who would not "see decomposition/corruption" (2:25-35). What is identified most closely, however, with the "predetermined plan and foreknowledge of God" (*horismenē boulē kai prognōsei tou theou*) is the "delivering up/over" of Jesus by the people to execution/crucifixion by "affixing him," which forms the framework for Peter's discussion of Jesus' resurrection and enthronement (2:23-24, 36b). Jesus' death is highlighted again through the people's response to Peter's second charge, v. 36b, that "you crucified Jesus" when they, "pricked/pained to the heart" (Ps 108:16!), are told to repent/change their perspective on what has happened and what they did, and become baptized in the name of Jesus Messiah for the release/forgiveness of sins and gift of the Holy Spirit (2:38). As in the Gospel it is again clear that repentance is an integral component of eschatological release, but now it is directed particularly toward the rejection or killing of Jesus in the necessary plan of God.

What role then does the resurrection/exaltation play in this plan? The phrase, "pangs of death," from which the resurrection has "loosed" Jesus occurs *only* in Ps 17(18):4 [=2 Kgdm 22:6][46] and Ps 114(116):3 in which David or an anonymous giver of thanks is presented as a righteous sufferer who is saved by the Lord. In Psalm 17 David is an anointed (*christos*) servant (*pais*, 17:1, 50) who identifies' with the lowly (*tapeinos*, v. 27), is "raised up"/"exalted" (*hupsoo*, v. 48) over unrighteous enemies who hate him (vv. 17, 40), and will thus be saved by God from the "pangs of death" (v. 4)[47]

[46] 2 Samuel 22 serves to sum up David's significance similar to Peter's summary of Jesus' career utilizing a key phrase from 2 Samuel 22.

[47] Cf. I. H. Marshall (*The Acts of the Apostles* [Tyndale; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980] 75-76) quoting F. Field: "a remarkable mixed metaphor, in which death

"because God has pleasure/delights in him" (v. 19) and in "his offspring forever" (v. 50). In Psalm 114 one who is "lowly" or "childlike" (*nēpios*, v. 6) has been "humiliated" (*tapeinoō*, v. 6) but is saved from the "pangs of death" (v. 3) by the Lord who "will take pleasure in him in the land of the living" (v. 9). Psalm 15(16) depicts David as one who, in solidarity with all the persecuted "saints" (*hoi hagioi . . . tas sunagōgas auton ex haimatōn*, v. 4), sees the "Lord" "always before him" and is therefore confident that the Lord will not abandon his soul/life in Hades nor will the Lord let his "holy one" (*ho hosios*, v. 10) "see" the "corruption"/"decomposition" of the grave (v. 10). Now the emphasis on the resurrection of Jesus is clear. Jesus is the righteous sufferer, God's holy one, who has been saved/vindicated by God before the very people who rejected and killed him. Peter is thus expounding on the role of the resurrection in this pre-set plan of salvation (see *sōzō*, 2:21, 40) especially as it relates to their killing of Jesus and their accompanying need of repentance. It is manifest from Psalm 15 that David could not be speaking of himself as the Lord's "holy one" since he himself died and saw corruption (Acts 2:25-29). Moreover, in another psalm (109[110]) the Lord addresses another (David's) "Lord" who has been raised/exalted to the right hand and given power over all his enemies in the midst of the *splendor of the saints* (vv. 1-3). David, then, a prophet (Acts 2:30), not only prefigures the Christ in being delivered from his unrighteous enemies, i.e. from death, as he dwells in hope, he also fore-sees the fate of the Christ, one of his "offspring" (2:30b-31), that the Christ also would be delivered from his unrighteous accusers but by being spared the decomposition of the grave and being exalted as Lord to God's own "throne" (v. 30b). Thus Peter is able to come full circle back to the Joel text (2:17-21) and his explanation of how it is that the Holy Spirit is being poured out by Jesus, this one whom "you crucified." In declaring that "God has established this Jesus as both Lord and Christ" (2:36), Peter sums up the whole "predetermined will and foreknowledge of God" (2:23). Therefore repent/change your whole understanding and be joined to this eschatological *release of sins!* (2:38-39).

3. *Acts 3:12-26.* Whereas in Peter's first speech both the rejection/death and resurrection/exaltation of Jesus are placed squarely in the center of God's saving plan with special emphasis on the scriptural significance of the resurrection in that plan, all emphasis in this second speech is on the scriptural or divine import of the denial/death of Jesus. Peter opens (3:12-13) by linking the name of "the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob" as revealed to Moses at his call or sending to Israel (Exod 3:6, 15-16) to God's servant (*pais*) Jesus whom the people ("you") delivered over and denied and God glorified; he closes with the affirmation that these same people are the children/offspring of Moses and all the prophets and of the covenant to Abraham of blessing to all the nations because God has sent to them *first* this same servant (*pais*) to "turn each of them from their evil" (3:25-26). That by *pais* Peter is referring to the atoning effect of the Servant of Isaiah as well as to the pattern of the righteous servant in general is certain: (1) Several of the distinctive vocabulary of the Isaiah Servant passages cluster about the pais here—*doxazō*,[48] *paradidomi*,[49] *dikaios*,[50] *martus*,[51]

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is regarded as being in labour and unable to hold back its child, the Messiah."

[48] Isa 49:3, 5; 52:13; (44:23).

[49] Isa 53:6, 12(2x).

[50] Isa 53:11.

[51] Isa 43:9, 10, 12; (44:8).

diathēkē,[52] *diatithemai*,[53] *ponēros*;[54] (2) It is the Servant who goes first to Israel with the mission of restoration from sin but in so doing also becomes Yahweh's means of salvation to the nations (Acts 3:26); (3) As in the Gospel where ignorance of God's means of release of sin is linked to Jesus' suffering/death, so again "not knowing" is linked to God's necessity that his "Christ" must suffer (3:17-18); (4) As also in the Gospel, all of the Scriptures point to a fulfillment in a suffering Messiah (3:18, 22-24); (5) As in the Gospel, a "change of mind"/"repentance" or "turning" is an integral part of the saving release/"expunging" of sin through suffering/death (3:19); (6) Furthermore, as the suffering *Christos* Jesus is preeminently the "prophet like Moses," spoken of by Moses, as the voice from heaven in the Gospel had already echoed in the midst of Jesus' discussion of his "exodus"/"death" with Moses and Elijah (3:18, 22-24); (7) Finally, as in the Gospel, the rejection, suffering, and death of the Christ has led to "glory" in "heaven" (3:13, 21). We have then again as in Peter's first speech the blueprint of the plan or necessity of God's salvation which encompasses both the death and the resurrection of the Christ for the forgiveness/release of sins. This is the same pattern we have seen throughout the Gospel and the early chapters in Acts. Here, as in the Gospel, it is the rejection, suffering, and death that is singled out in this plan.

4. *Acts 4:23-31.* Like Acts 2:23, 4:28 speaks of God's/the Lord's (the *despotēs*) predetermined/ordained "plan" (*boulē*) and fuses it directly to the Lord's "anointed" "Servant" Jesus *in his rejection.* Already in Psalm 2 David, the Lord's *anointed pais* (v. 2; Acts 4:25), had spoken about the violent rejection of Jesus, the Lord's *anointed pais* (Acts 4:26-27), and David's words continue to describe the harsh treatment of Peter and John, the Lord's *servants* (*douloi*, 4:29), at the hands of Israel's leaders (*hoi archontoi*, 4:25-28). This fluctuation between an individual servant (*pais*) and a larger group of the servant (*doulos*) who are sent to restore Israel through suffering is found already in the second Servant song, LXX (*doulos* as "Israel," 49:3, 5, sent to gather Israel and yet in features also characteristic of an individual called, named, formed from the womb, hidden, protected as one among many, 49:1, 2, *pais*, v. 6). The early Jerusalem community prays that the Lord would continue to use Peter and John through the threats of the leaders by continuing the bold preaching and powerful signs and wonders through the name of the Lord's holy Servant Jesus (4:29-30). Their prayer is thus for the continuing *mediation* of eschatological life through suffering on behalf of the whole *laos* of Israel. It is curious that our narrator places this prayer of the "filled" or "anointed" servant community (4:31) between two persecutions of the apostles-witnesses and their calls for the rest of Israel to change their mind (*metano-ein/ia*, 3:19; 5:31) and turn (*epistrephō*,, 3:19; cf. 4:12) to the plan of God in Jesus their Anointed One (3:12–4:22; 5:17-42; cf. Isa 49:6, *epistrephō*, and the Servant's mission to "turn" the scattered Israel "back" to the Lord and the message of "changing their mind" and "turning" throughout Deutero-Isaiah: 46:8, *metanoein* and *epistrephō* [to Israel]; *epistrephō*, 44:22 [to Servant as all Israel], 45:22 [to nations], 55:7 [to Israel]).

In Acts 5:30-31 Peter and the apostles repeat God's basic scheme that effects release from sin: "God . . . has raised Jesus upon whom you laid violent hands by hanging

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[52] Isa 42:6; 49:6, 8.

[53] Isa 61:8.

[54] Isa 53:9.

him upon a tree. This one, the leader of life and Savior,[55] God exalted at his right hand, granting repentance and release of sin to Israel." Gamaliel's response, contrary to the rest of the Sanhedrin and council (5:21b), is to compare the movements of Theudas and Judas the Galilean – not unlike those expectations of liberation/redemption of the pious in the Gospel (cf. the "Egyptian," Acts 21:38!) – with that of Jesus and to caution that the latter could, ironically, be of the "plan (*boulē*) of God.[56] Peter and the apostles, "released" by Gamaliel's point of view, count themselves honored to be the *suffering mediators* of the "name" of this plan (5:41).

5. *Acts 8:26-40.* "On the way" *from* Jerusalem the Ethiopian finance minister, upon reading Isa 53:7-8 (LXX), asks the question the Emmaus disciples should have when a stranger likewise came up to join their journey. Like Jesus, Philip begins with the Scriptures of a suffering anointed one in declaring the present "good news about Jesus" (8:35) which leads directly to the chamberlain being baptized (8:36, 38). What is featured in the citation is the Servant who endures injustice, persecution, and death without protest for the sake of his mission. Philip himself is one who was forced to flee Jerusalem because of the persecution initiated against Stephen's witness (8:1-2). Stephen, in solidarity with Jesus "the Righteous One," the prophet like Moses (7:37, 52), the Son of Humankind in glory (7:55-56), had exemplified one who like Jesus did not strike back but even prayed for the forgiveness of those who were persecuting him (7:60; cf. Luke 23:34). Our narrator, then, demonstrates again how the mediation of the release of sin effected through the suffering-death and resurrection-exaltation of Jesus Messiah continues on to Israel and beyond. Through Stephen's rejection by Israel and suffering mediation Philip takes the Servant gospel to non-Jewish Samaritans in fulfilling the mission of Isa 49:6 to "(re)-establish the tribes of Jacob and to turn back the diaspora of Israel." The chamberlain is probably to be identified as a God-worshiping eunuch and therefore "marginal," i.e. not unlike the "tax collectors and sinners" in the Gospel, prevented by the law from entering into the Temple and therefore from becoming a full worshiping member of Israel (e.g., Deut 23:1). If so, his full inclusion now represents the fulfillment of Isa 56:3-5, similar to Samaria representing the strangers whose inclusion fulfills the "gathering of the dispersed of Israel" as "servants" in 56:6-8 (*ho allogenēs,* 56:3, 6; cf. Luke 17:18!).[57] In any case, Acts 1:8 (Isa 49:6b) is being realized as the eunuch's baptism anticipates the baptisms of Saul and Cornelius and the mission to the nations.

6. *Acts 9:1-18.* The narrator first introduces Saul/Paul precisely when Stephen is suffering from the "threats" of the Sanhedrin (cf. 4:29). Later the narrator will have Paul present a summary of his entire calling to Israel when Paul himself is nearly killed by the people of Israel (21:22-40) and invokes the "blood of Stephen your [Jesus'] witness" whose "murder" Paul had once been "actively approving" (22:1-16, 17-22). This link is hardly fortuitous. For in Paul we see one of the most dramatic examples of a radical shift in point of view.[58] All three accounts of his call underscore

[55] Cf. syntax as in Acts 7:35b; 2:23, 32, 36b; cf. Vulgate (1843 ed.): "*Hunc principem et salvatorem Deus exaltavit . . .*"; 1979 edition: "*Hunc Deus principem et salvatorem exaltavit. . . .*"

[56] Like ironically Paul, the opposer of Jesus and yet "student" of Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), will be (see below).

[57] Acts 15:3 indicates clearly that Samaritan conversion is not regarded as the Gentile mission.

[58] As imaged, e.g., in the ironic use of "to bind" (*deō*): Paul who is zealous to *bind*

the fact that his persecution of those who call upon the name of Messiah Jesus (9:14, 21-22) was actually a persecution of Jesus himself (9:4-5; 22:7-8; 26:14-15). This solidarity in suffering between Jesus and the community makes explicit what was all but stated in 4:23ff. as we saw, where suffering for the sake of the name is linked to the name which is present to grant repentance and release of sin as well as healing. Like 4:23-31, the Servant mission of Isaiah, especially 49:1-6(7), is peculiarly programmatic. This conception of the "divine must" for God's saving act is substantiated in the details of Paul's call: (1) Paul, like Jesus the chosen/elect Son, is a "chosen instrument"/"agent" (*skeuos eklogēs*, 9:15) of the Lord's (Jesus') purposes. "Chosen/elect vessel" calls to mind such passages as Jer 18:3-6, Isa 54:17-18 in which a prophet, a smaller group of Israel, or Israel as a whole is chosen by God to be an agent of restoration through God's re-molding/saving activity (cf. also Acts 22:14; 26:16; Gal 1:15; Rom 1:1); (2) Paul is to "bear my name" before the "nations, kings, and the people of Israel." These three categories match the three audiences of the Servant's (individual and corporate) call in Isa 49:5-7 and 52:15–53:6.[59] The "name of the Lord/Jesus" is the presence of Jesus the Christ himself for "salvation" (2:21; 4:12), the "release of sins" (2:38), "healing" or "signs and wonders" (3:6, 16; 4:10, 30), and the authoritative presence by which one is empowered to speak or act (4:7, 17, 18; 5:28, 40) and to *suffer* (5:41; cf. 4:30) for those tasks; (3) Paul's "bearing" of the name is inseparably tied to suffering for the sake of that "presence." It is a "divine must" (*dei*, 9:16) that suffering be the means or agency through which the name of Christ is effective. *To sum up*, Paul is called to open his eyes and to "see the light" from heaven's point of view, that the light of revelation may shine through suffering upon Israel and the nations to thus fulfill Simeon's prophecy for the Servant-Christ. It is no "wonder" then that Paul in Damascus begins to preach "immediately that this Jesus is the *Son of God*" (9:20; cf. Luke 3:22; 9:35!), "confounding the Jews" in the synagogues that "*Jesus is the Christ*" (9:22; cf. Luke 4:16-27), and like Jesus receives the prophets' reward at the edge of town (9:23-25; cf. Luke 4:28-30).

7. *Acts 13:13-52.* From Acts 13 our narrator orders all his material to present Paul's calling within the "Lord's" larger plan and places a speech near the beginning of Paul's activity in the Diaspora (Antioch of Pisidia) which, like Acts 2 and Luke 4, becomes emblematic of all that follows. In rehearsing God's dealings with "this people Israel" Paul is concerned to point everything to David's significance in bringing from his offspring (*sperma*) a "Savior" to Israel (v. 23b): (1) David is one after God's "own heart" since "he will do everything in accordance with my will" (*thelēma*) (v. 22b); (2) This *will* is linked to a descendant of David "according to promise" (*kata epaggelian*, v. 23). This promise must then refer to a passage such as 2 Sam 7:12-16 which speaks of the time after David "sleeps" (*koimaō*) when the Lord will "raise up" (*anistēmi*) his "seed" (*sperma*) to reign forever as "my son." As we saw, this notion of God's eschatological reign in a Davidic ruler is sounded at the beginning of Luke-Acts for Jesus by Gabriel's annunciation (Luke 1:32-33) and is interpreted by the law-abiding righteous of Israel as the fulfillment of liberation through a mighty Davidic deliverer (Luke 1:47-55, 67-75; 2:38); (3) God's "will" and "promise" are linked further to

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all those who call on the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts 9:2, 14, 21; 22:5) becomes preeminently the one *bound* by his fellow Jews (24:27; cf. 28:20), even as he is *bound* "in the Spirit" (20:22) to be *bound* in Jerusalem (21:11, 13, 33; 22:29).

[59] On Isa 49:1-6(7) as a "prophetic call," see K. Baltzer (*Die Biographie der Propheten* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1975] 171-77).

John's "advance preaching of a baptism of repentance/change of mind" (Acts 13:24). But Paul does not speak of "forgiveness of sins" in this preaching and alludes to Luke 3:15-17 in which the *laos* are wondering whether John might be "the Christ." John himself made it clear that he was not the one. Rather, like those before him John had a limited "course" in the "way of salvation" (13:25; cf. 16:17); (4) This "will" and "promise" is then summarized in verse 26 as "the message/substance of this salvation" which "has been sent to us"; (5) Verses 27-29 expound on "this salvation" by depicting Jesus' rejection ("condemnation") by "the residents of Jerusalem, their rulers," and "Pilate"–sc. parallel to the groups "assembled against the Lord and his anointed" in Acts 4:25-27–as fulfilling (*plēroō*) the "voices of the prophets." As in Acts 3 and the Gospel, we again find the paradox of a larger divine scheme of salvation being fulfilled by *means of* the execution of Jesus through a people "not knowing" the Scriptures (vv. 27-28); (6) This death of Jesus at the critical center of salvation in God's will is again emphasized in the very next verse as a "consummation/completion (*teleō*) of all that is written concerning him" (cf. Luke 18:31; 24:25-27, 44-46). The climax then of "*all that is written*" is "the tree" (v. 29b; cf. 5:30; 10:29).

But Paul immediately continues with God raising Jesus from the dead and then speaks of the "promise" (v. 32; cf. v. 23) being "fulfilled (*ekplēroō*) by this raising up" (*anistēmi*, v. 33). What role then does the resurrection play in God's overall will/salvation? Again as in chapter 2 Scripture citations primarily from the Psalms fuse the two parts of fulfillment into one united whole. But now a "new" element emerges as well. (7) Paul cites Psalm 2 in giving evidence of the fulfillment of the promise through resurrection: "You are my Son, today I have begotten you" speaks of resurrection, whereas in the psalm itself this line describes the "ordinance of the Lord" when the Lords established the speaker ("I"=David) as king upon Zion and promised to give the nations (*ethnē*) to the king as "your inheritance" (*klēronomia*), "even the ends of the earth as your possession" (Ps 2:7-8); (8) Developing the notion of resurrection further, Paul cites Isa 55:3 in showing that it was to be an ultimate reality in which there is no return to corruption: I will give "you the firm/trustworthy holy things of David." Within Isaiah 55 this phrase is embedded in a promise of the Lord to Israel (exiles) of an everlasting covenant (*diathēkē*) in which David, who as "witness (*marturion*), ruler, and commander of the nations" (*ethnē*) had prefigured the eternal fulfillment when these "nations shall flee for refuge to you [Israel] for the sake of the Lord your God" (55:3b-5). Moreover, this coming "witness" and "rule" over the Gentiles is the result of the Lord having "glorified" Israel (55:5b). Consequently, Isa 55:1-5 refers to the same promise given to the suffering exiles in the Servant passages, that through the Servant's suffering witness as a covenant (*diathēkē*) resulting in light to the nations (42:6; 49:6, 8), Israel will convey to all nations the true worship of the Lord which will redound to their own glory;[60] (9) Paul adds another psalm citation in arguing ("therefore") that the resurrection of Jesus to incorruptibility was already spoken by God: "You will not let your Holy One see corruption/decomposition" (Ps 15[16]:10).

The only citation of the three Scriptures that conceivably has anything to do with a resurrected, non-decomposed body/person is the last, as we have seen already from

[60] On Isa 55:4-5, cf. O. Eissfeldt ("The Promises of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1-5," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage* [ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962): "there can be no doubt that Israel is here given the same promise which is found elsewhere in Isa. 40-55, particularly in the 'Servant Songs'" (p. 206).

Peter's argument in Acts 2. How can the first two together with this third convey any coherent thrust, let alone persuasion concerning the resurrection of Jesus? The answer is again to be found in the basic pattern or structure of the "plan of God" (13:36) that we have encountered throughout Luke-Acts. (10) The first two passages within their larger but immediate contexts speak of David's role or legacy for Israel in "inheriting" the Gentiles (Ps 2:8b-as the "*christos*"; Isa 54:17, 3). In Psalm 15 David is in grave danger from enemies, ties this predicament to the suffering/persecution of all the saints in the land in whom the Lord takes pleasure, and glimpses the time of his deliverance as not being abandoned to the place of death (Hades). This preview of the "Lord always before me," where "delights are at his right hand forever as the ways/paths that bring life" (Ps 15:8, 11), are David's *inheritance through the Lord's deliverance.* Now the thread that weaves these three passages with Paul's context can be delineated. It is certain that David did not see his inheritance at the right hand of God, for he died and his body decomposed (13:36). Thus it is also clear that David did not live to see an eternal covenant of rule over the Gentiles (Isaiah 55) "according to promise" (13:23, 32), nor as the Lord's *christos* did he "inherit all the ends of the earth" (Ps 2:8). Rather it is the Lord's Holy One (*ho hosios*) Jesus who by virtue of being raised up (*anistēmi*) from the realm of the dead has inherited these firm/trustworthy holy things (*ta hosia*) promised to David. What is more, this one who was condemned and hung on a tree by the "people," "rulers," and a "king of the earth" (Ps 2:1-2) *was delivered by* resurrection from death/Hades to become the king in whom the promise of kingship, "you are my Son, today I have begotten you," becomes fulfilled. David, on the other hand, by anticipation "served the plan (*boulē*) of God with respect to his own generation and died (*koimaō*) and saw corruption" (13:33-37); (11) But Paul does not immediately launch into the way Jesus has received the promise of "rule" over the Gentiles in seeing the Lord before him continually. He concludes, rather ("therefore," v. 38), first of all, that the fulfilled promise of perpetual rule by a descendant of David through raising up has led to the *release/forgiveness of sins.* It is significant that this release is *not* tied directly to the act or process of being raised up any more than it is linked to his rejection and death. Both fulfillments, rather, are critical to the way or "plan" in which God has "led to Israel a Savior" (v. 23b), bringing the forgiveness of sins. What is tied to the raising up is the *proclamation* of the release of sins which must be joined with repentance (vv. 40-41) before the plan of God is realized for the hearers ("therefore . . . *through* [*dia*] *this one* release of sin *is proclaimed* to you, v. 38). In other words, the first climax of the "message of salvation" (v. 26b) is that the one who was killed on a tree and raised up to God in perpetual reign is the one present proclaiming the forgiveness of sins. Paul and Barnabas therefore are *mediators* of this presence.

The outline above of "the plan of God" is confirmed a "week later" when "the Jews" "filled with zeal/jealousy" begin to "speak against the things being said by Paul and revile him" (v. 45). (12) Paul thus becomes a "sign spoken against" (Luke 2:34), and by no accident interprets what is occurring in their rejection by again quoting Scripture, Isa 49:6b: Now the "Lord" (*kurios*) who "has commanded us" refers to the Lord Jesus and the "you" (*se*) is Paul and cohorts who are the (corporate) Servant fulfilling the mission of mediating the light of the "word of salvation" to the nations, even to the end of the earth (Luke 2:32; Acts 1:8b). It was a divine *necessity* (*anagkaion*, v. 46; cf. v. 26) that the "word of God" be spoken *first* to Israel (cf. 3:26—*prōton . . . ton paida . . . apesteilen . . . apostrephein . . . ponērion!*). Since they *en bloc* reject it, Paul and companions "turn toward the nations." We have once again the Servant pattern that

is constitutive of the plot of Luke-Acts. Jesus, the anointed, rejected-enthroned Servant-Son is present proclaiming light through his servants who mediate this presence *as salvation* (*se eis phōs . . . tou einai se eis sōtērian*) of unending life[61] to Israel and the nations. The firm/trustworthy holy things promised to David are coming true. Our narrator hardly need add that "the nations" (*ta ethnē*) "glorified this word of the Lord" "when they heard" Paul (cf. Luke 7:29!; see Isa 42:10, 12; 45:24-26; cf. 43:4, 7, 23; 44:23; 46:13; 49:3, 5; 52:1; 55:5!) but that "the Jews" "stirred up persecution against Paul and Barnabas and drove them out of their district" (cf. Luke 4:16-30; Acts 9:23-25). But "the disciples were being filled with joy and the Holy Spirit" (13:50-52).

8. *Acts 15:1-21.* Certain Pharisees from among the believers in Jerusalem claim that "the door of faith opened" to the Gentiles (14:27b) includes the divine necessity (*dei*) of circumcision with its obedience to the law of Moses (15:5). James provides the clinching rebuttal in his fusion of three citations from the LXX. All three envision the time of Israel's eschatological restoration after its judgment/destruction of 587 B.C.E. Jer 12:15, as an introduction to Am 9:11-12, speaks of the Lord's "returning" (*epistrephō*) to the Gentile nations once he has punished them to re-establish them and to "build" (*oikodomeō*) them into the midst of "my people" (*tou laou mou*) if they "turn"/"return" (*epistrephō*) to the Lord and swear by his name. Am 9:11-12 speaks of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty as in "ancient days" (*hēmerai tou aiōnos*, v. 11) which will include all the nations, upon whom the Lord's name is called, seeking the Lord through that restored rule in Israel. The MT unlike LXX expresses this inclusion as Israel "possessing" the nations, a clear reference back to the promises to David such as Ps 2:8. Isa 45:21 speaks of the Lord doing in the final days of salvation that which he declared "from the beginning" (*ap'archēs/aiōnos*) namely, that all nations "shall turn (*epistrephō*) to me and be saved (*sōzō*) from the end of the earth" (*ap'eschatou tēs gēs*). Moreover, this final salvation of the nations is introduced by the Lord's "anointed" (*ho christos mou*), Cyrus, returning (*epistrephō*) the captive Israelites (*aichmalōsia tou laou;* cf. Luke 4:18—*aichmalōtois aphesis*) and building (*oikodomeō*) my city all for the glory of Israel and their God, Israel's "Savior." It is not certain what time framework "from the beginning" in Isa 45:21 or "from of old" in the Acts 15:17c citation is referring to. In any case, the will or plan of the Lord to include the Gentiles in the final salvation conceived as the restored and eschatological rule of the line of David is certain "from of old" (cf. Acts 15:21). Therefore, James concludes, it is not necessary for Gentiles turning to (*epistrephō*) God to become members of Israel through adherence to Torah. At least in its formal or structural aspects, James' view is "in harmony" with Paul's construal of the "plan of God."

9. *Acts 26:1-23.* Before Israel's "king" and his "excellency Festus" (26:2, 25; cf. Luke 1:3; 21:12b!) Paul gives his autobiographical defense of the accusations brought by Jews from Jerusalem. In this his final speech Paul sums up his entire calling in terms of his original call as well as the response to it by the people of Israel. In both respects, the eschatological mission of the Servant of Isaiah has been determinative:

(1) *The Call.* Paul introduces his call by stressing his background as an ardent Pharisee that has continued up to that very moment (26:4-11). Though he changed from a rabid persecutor of "the name of Jesus of Nazareth" to an obedient servant

[61] For the image of "light" as an expression of "life," see K. F. Euler (*Die Verkündigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht. Aus Jes 53 in der griechischen Bibel* [BWAT 14; Stuttgart-Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1934] 122-25).

of that Jesus, he has remained throughout devoted to the "hope of the promise made by God to our ancestors" in solidarity with all the twelve tribes as they like Paul worship (*latreuō*) night and day in the Temple (vv. 6-7; and also like Anna, Luke 2:36-38). It is because of his zeal for this hope, Paul claims, he is being accused by Jews (v. 7b). (*i*) In 26:8 Paul specifies this hope as hinging on "whether (*ei*) God raises the dead." But Paul has not previously in Acts been charged by Jews of propounding a belief in resurrection nor has his advocacy of the name of Jesus been tainted with the accusations that Paul believes this Jesus to have been raised up. Rather, the accusations against Paul are parallel to those against Jesus in Luke–against Moses (God/law/Temple), the people (agitation, false teaching), and Caesar (another king Jesus). The overall sentiment that unites these "three" and provokes the nearly successful "lynching" in the Temple is that Paul "is teaching apostasy from/forsaking of Moses to all the Jews among the nations, namely, that they should not circumcise their children nor follow the "customs" (21:21; cf. 26:3; 28:17). Thus Paul is not defending himself against the specific charge that he believes in resurrection in general or that Jesus has been raised; (*ii*) When Paul is placed by the Roman tribune before the Sanhedrin to answer the accusations brought by the raging crowds (23:1-9), he takes advantage of the mixed group of Sadducees and Pharisees and pits the former against that which he and the other Pharisees have in common, viz. the hope of resurrection from the dead. In other words, Paul realizes that the essence of the matter against him is the *interpretation of Scripture* with regard to *God's eschatological reign* and that in this regard he is much closer to his Pharisee brethren in teaching Moses and all the prophets than the Sadducees could ever be. Thus his appeal to the resurrection is not just a strategic maneuver to "save his skin"–although it has that temporary effect–nor is it a "trick" to make it appear that his view of the hope is no different than that of the Pharisees. And certainly it is not an attempt to single out the most or even the only critical element that effects the forgiveness/release of sins. Rather, Paul knows that as the critical *pivot* of the interpretation of eschatological hope *in Scripture* resurrection of the dead is also the *point of departure* in presenting the fulfilled "plan of God" that effects release in the final reign of God. As we saw in his argument from Scripture in his seminal "word of exhortation" accompanying the "reading of the law and the prophets" in Pisidian Antioch (13:15-16), it is the resurrection hope that makes possible the fulfillment of the eschatological reign of God promised through the line of David. Appeal to the resurrection hope, then, in chapter 23 is an appeal to Scripture for the adjudication of the charges against him. Certainly this is the way this appeal functions in his next defense before Felix in 24:10b-21 as he prefaces his "hope in the resurrection of the just and unjust" by appealing to "everything written according to the law and the prophets" (24:14-15) and concludes by repeating 23:6b. Again in his defense in chapter 26 Paul climaxes his appeal to resurrection (26:8) by "appealing" to Agrippa's "belief in the prophets" (v. 27) and summarizes his total presentation with "nothing other than what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass!" (26:22b); (*iii*) A light (*phōs*) brighter than the sun "shines" and from that light a voice tells Paul to "stand upon your feet" in order that he might be a "servant" (*hupēretēs*) and "witness" (*martus*) of all that Paul is seeing now in/from the "Lord Jesus" and "of the things in which I will appear to you" (26:16). Paul is to be "sent to the people (*laos*) and the nations" (*ethnē*) in order that their eyes might open and they might turn (*epistrephō*) from darkness (*skotos*) to light (*phōs*) and from the authority of Satan to God so that they might receive release of sins" (26:18). But this "seeing" and "turning" is accomplished only as Paul is "rescued from the people

and the nations"! (v. 17a). What Paul is "seeing" on the Damascus road is a Jesus who is being persecuted by Paul, and what the people of Israel and the nations will "see" when they "turn" is a Jesus suffering in solidarity with a persecuted Paul (cf. 4:23-31). Paul's witness as a servant is thus focused on a suffering Jesus Messiah. Many of the images used in this description reflect the vocabulary and substance of the calls to Ezekiel and Jeremiah.[62] But it is particularly the call of the Servant in Isa 42:1-6 and 49:1-7 that is reflected in Paul's mission of shining light to those who are in darkness, whether the blind of Israel like Paul himself[63] who go from darkness to light (Isa 42:7; 50:10; cf. 42:16; 49:9) or the nations who through the suffering witness will receive the light of salvation (Acts 26:23; 13:47; Isa 42:6; 49:6; 50:10; 51:4-5; 53:11; cf. 45:7; 49:9). Paul's "seeing" and "turning" thus becomes the most potent example of one who, though waiting earnestly for the hope of the twelve tribes, had to be released[64] from the vantage point of Satan in order to "worship the Lord your God" and to "serve (*latreuō*) him only" (Luke 4:8—Acts 26:7; cf. Acts 24:11, 14-15, 17!).

(2) *Israel's Response to the Call.* Paul continues his defense by linking the response of Israel and the nations (26:19-23) to his call to serve the hope of Israel (vv. 4-18). It is because of his repeated proclamation of the necessity to "change their point of view/repent" and to "turn to God" and demonstrate this changed perspective that the Jews have seized Paul and are trying to kill him (vv. 19-20). The reason for their volcanic reaction is stated succintly in Paul's summary of the heart of his/God's (and the narrator's) point of view which he has been expounding as the center of the Scriptures (the prophets and Moses, v. 22b): "whether (*ei*) there is to be a suffering Messiah and whether (*ei*), being the first of the resurrection of the dead, he (the Christ) is to proclaim light to the people (*laos*) and to the nations" (v. 23). The syntax of the indirect question points to the heart of the questions, the great debates from Scripture that Paul has been carrying on with his fellow Israelites in their synagogues throughout his calling, as our narrator has been at pains to illuminate. It is this three-pronged center of all the Scriptures that constitutes the "plan of God" for salvation, as we have seen, for example, in Acts 13 and is Jesus' own summary of his entire role in fulfilling Israel's Scriptures for salvation (Luke 24:44-49) as announced in advance by Simeon and foreshadowed in Jesus' synagogue "debate" at Nazareth: (*i*) Throughout all his journeys from Damascus to Jerusalem and Judea as well as among the nations (v. 20), Paul has been contending that Israel's Messiah is a *suffering* Messiah and that as raised from the dead Jesus *is* that Messiah. In that argument from Scripture, as we have seen in Pisidian Antioch, the resurrection of Jesus is the decisive pivot which unites both the suffering/death of Jesus as Messiah and Jesus Messiah's proclamation through continued suffering in his witnesses to Israel and the nations. In Paul's "first" journey of chapters 13 and 14 our narrator has Paul, on his return to every city, summarize to the new *disciples* the hostility and persecution meted out to him and his cohorts from Jews in those same cities as, "it is a divine *necessity* (*dei*) that we enter into the Kingdom/Reign of God through (*dia*) many afflictions" (*thlipsis*) (14:22) (cf. Pisidian Antioch, 13:14-52; Iconium, 14:1-5; and Lystra, 14:8-20); (*ii*) From the apostolic

[62] Cf. Jer 1:5, 8; Ezek 2:1.

[63] Cf. "Bar-Jesus" (Acts 13:6-12) and Luke 11:17-23, 33-36; on "conversion," see, e.g., J. Dupont ("Conversion in the Acts of the Apostles," *The Salvation of the Gentiles* [New York: Paulist, 1979] 61-84); B. R. Gaventa (*From Darkness to Light* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987]).

[64] Acts 22:16: "Arise, be baptized, and wash away your sins."

assembly to Paul's final journey to Jerusalem announced in Ephesus (19:21), the narrator focuses on Paul's "arguing (*dialegomai*) from the Scriptures" in the synagogues from one city to the next. Similar to chapter 13, the first appearance in a synagogue, in Thessalonica (17:1-9), sets the agenda for the subsequent debates: "arguing with them from the Scriptures for three weeks, opening (*dianoigō*) them up and demonstrating that it was necessary (*edei*) for the Christ to suffer and rise from the dead and that this Jesus whom I proclaim to you *is* that Christ" (*dialegomai:* 17:2; 17:17 [Athens]; 18:5-6 [Corinth]; 18:19 [Ephesus]; 19:8-9 [Ephesus, second visit]; *diakatelegchomai:* 18:28 ["utterly confute," of Apollos in Corinth]; cf. already in Damascus, *sugchunnō* ["confound"], 9:22; *suzeteō* ["dispute"], 9:29 in Jerusalem).[65] The point of view of this 'new hermeneutic' is so diametrically opposed to the reading in the synagogue (cf. Luke 4:16-30) that it requires a special "opening" (*dianoigō*) as the Emmaus disciples had to discover and as Jesus had repeated for the apostles and gathered disciples back in Jerusalem as well (Luke 24:32, 45). It is once again not surprising that Paul's teaching is described as "turning the world upside down," "saying that there is another king, Jesus" (17:6b-7) and that as in Damascus, Paul and cohorts have to be slipped out of the city, at night! because of the enraged Jews. In Corinth the third prong becomes explicit when Paul amid reviling declares he is innocent in proclaiming that "the Christ is Jesus" (18:5b): "from now on I shall go to the Gentiles" (18:6), while in Ephesus his arguing in the synagogue is about "the things concerning the Reign/Kingdom of God" (19:8); (*iii*) Because of the "plots of the Jews" in Greece (20:3) and the fury against Paul in Ephesus, Paul bypasses the latter on his way to Jerusalem and meets with the Ephesian elders in Miletus (19:8-9, 23-41; 20:16, 17-38). Parallel to Jesus' passion meal before he suffers in Jerusalem, Paul gives encouragement to the leaders of the church before he suffers in Jerusalem, even as he announces that some from their rank will "rise up" to pervert the rest of the disciples (Luke 22:21-22—Acts 20:30). What may appear, *prima facie,* incongruous with the lengthy and vivid depiction of the riot in 19:23-41 is that Paul describes his whole period of "serving (*douleuo*) with humiliation (*tapeinophrosunē*) and tears and trials" in Asia as a persecution, *not* from the fanatics of the Artemis temple, but from "the plots of the Jews" (20:19b). But the narrator has already developed this "plot" as we have seen through the skein of outrage expressed in one synagogue after another, and Paul declares that the "Holy Spirit has been testifying to him in every city (*kata polin*) that bonds and afflictions (*thlipseis*) await" him in Jerusalem (20:23; cf. 14:22). Later the narrator will tell us that it was Jews from *Asia* who fomented the crowds' rage at the Temple, crying out, "This is the man who is teaching folk everywhere against the people, the law, and this place" (21:27-28). Paul again articulates why this is so. Despite the crushing pressure of opposition, he has—in his preaching of "the Kingdom" and "of change of point of view toward God to both Jews and Greeks" (20:21, 25; cf. 19:8)—"*not shrunk back* from declaring the *whole plan of God*" (*bē boulē tou theou,* 20:27; cf. vv. 20-21). It is in response to this plan that Paul is innocent of the charges (blood) against him by all the Jews (v. 26). Therefore since they will no longer "see his face" (vv. 25, 38), they must be all the more diligent to understand the "price" entailed in "caring for" and "exhorting" this whole will or plan of God for the church which God "purchased through/by means of (*dia*) the blood

[65] Beroea (Acts 17:10-15) is the one exception; for the plot of Acts and role of the suffering Messiah in the theology of Luke-Acts, see my forthcoming *The Christ Must Suffer. The Cross as the Hermeneutical Center of the Theology of Luke-Acts.*

of God's Own (Beloved/Son)" (vv. 27-28; cf. v. 31–"admonishing with tears"). It is for the great cost of this plan of God that Paul will have to pay with his life (vv. 23-25).

Acts 26:22-23 thus climaxes Paul's defense by encapsulating his call and Israel's response to it. It is the raised up, crucified-suffering Messiah who proclaims the light of the saving release of sin through Paul's and his companions' suffering to both the people and the nations. Once again it is the proclamation of the light of this salvation to Israel and the nations through the solidarity of the messengers-servants with the Servant who suffers that constitutes the eschatological vision of Deutero-Isaiah in 49:1-6 and 52:13–53:12 in particular. In Acts, it is Paul's mission, our narrator tells us, that climaxes the risen Servant's "witness to the ends of the earth" (Luke 24:44-49; Acts 1:8).

We can now *sum up "the plan of God" for Luke's two volumes:* The rejection/suffering/death of Messiah Jesus, his raising up to the power of God, and his preaching this light to Israel and the nations constitutes the three "necessary" components of God's saving action. Jesus' resurrection forms the hinge which unites the suffering-crucified one to the suffering-exalted one who preaches through his apostles-witnesses to the ends of the earth. This pivotal fulfillment is emphasized in the mission speeches as a point of departure in arguing that the promise or hope of the twelve tribes in the eschatological reign of God through the line of David has indeed been fulfilled through the *crucified, suffering Messiah who is Jesus* and who brings the life of the *final release of sins* to Israel and the nations. In this argument from Scripture David is the premier prototype of Jesus' resurrection/exaltation as a suffering servant of the psalms who was delivered from the death of his enemies and perpetual abandonment to Hades. It is, however, the suffering or death of Jesus that is the fulfillment of Scripture tied most closely to "the plan of God" which results in the release of sins. In this argument it is Moses the rejected ruler and deliverer who preeminently prefigures the death of the "prophet like" him. Howevever, both "David" and "Moses," both the death and the resurrection of Messiah are *inseparably* combined in *one* plan or necessity in fulfilling the divine saving act for Israel and the nations in Jesus, the beloved and chosen suffering Servant of God.

Direct Statements Concerning God's Activity in Acts

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Many statements in Acts explicitly identify God as the divine agent who acted in various ways. Such direct statements occur, for example, in the words "the Lord said to him" (7:33), "God will raise up for you a prophet" (7:37) and "God had called us to proclaim the good news to them" (16:10). Each of these direct statements has an explicitly identified "divine subject" ("Lord" or "God") which is the grammatical subject of an active or middle verb. Acts contains about seventy such statements, including fifty which have the subject "God" (*theos*),[1] at least seven which have the subject "Lord,"[2] three which have the subject "the God of our fathers" (3:13; 5:30; 22:14) and eight which have other divine subjects.[3]

Acts contains about sixty other statements which also explicitly refer to the activity of God. A divine subject may be the subject of two or more verbs and/or the referent of one or more participles. The divine subject "the God of this people Israel" in 13:17, for example, is the subject of several third person verbs in 13:17-19 and the referent of a participle in 13:19, while the words "God says" in 2:17 identify God as the subject of several first person verbs in 2:17-19. God is also identified as the divine agent by several passive statements (e.g., 10:42) and certain other statements (e.g., 3:20).

We will refer to all of these statements concerning God's activity as "direct theological statements"[4] or simply as "direct statements." This paper will examine the direct theological statements in Acts. The first section will discuss the direct statements concerning God's activity in various events which chronologically preceded the first event narrated in Acts, including the creation of the world, various events in the story of Israel and various events in the story of Jesus. The first section will also survey the direct theological statements concerning God's activity in the

[1] 2:17, 22, 24, 30, 32, 36; 3:15, 18, 21, 25, 26; 4:10; 5:31, 32; 7:6, 7, 9, 17, 25, 35, 37, 42, 45; 10:15, 28, 34, 38 twice, 40; 11:9, 17, 18; 13:21, 23, 30, 33, 37; 14:27; 15:4, 7, 12, 14; 16:10; 17:24, 30; 19:11; 21:19; 23:3; 26:8; 27:24.

[2] 2:34; 7:33, 49; 12:11, 17; 15:17; 16:14.

[3] "The Father" (1:7); "the Lord our/your God" (2:39; 3:22); "the God of Abraham and (the God) of Isaac and (the God) of Jacob" (3:13); "the God of glory" (7:2); "the Most High" (7:48); "the God of this people Israel" (13:17); "God, who knows the heart" (15:8).

[4] The adjective "theological" is being used in the limited sense as pertaining to "theo-logy" or "theology proper."

future. The second section will examine the direct statements concerning God's activity in the events narrated in Acts, including such events as the giving of the Spirit on Pentecost, the conversion of Lydia, and Paul's shipwreck. After surveying the direct theological statements which do not refer to events, the third section will provide a concluding overview.

Other references. In addition to direct theological statements, Acts contains various other statements which refer less directly to divine activity. Indirect theological statements occur, for example, in passages which contain a "divine passive" (e.g., 4:31) or employ the verb *dei* ("it is necessary") when referring to divine necessity (e.g., 3:21). Unlike direct theological statements, these indirect statements do not explicitly refer to God. The examination of such indirect statements lies beyond the scope of this study, though the discussion of certain indirect statements will be necessary. Acts contains various phrases like "the word of God" and "the grace of God" which have a genitive reference to God, and many of these phrases implicitly point to divine activity. The examination of such phrases also lies beyond the scope of this study. Acts also contains many references to the acts of Jesus, the Spirit and other supernatural agents. This study will briefly survey these references in order to compare them with the direct theological statements concerning God's activity.

The goal of this study is the examination of the direct theological statements in Acts. Expressed in another way, the goal of this study is the examination of one form of speaking about God's activity in Acts, namely, the form of speaking provided by direct statements which explicitly indicate what God did, is doing and will do.[5]

I. Past and Future Events

More than half of the direct theological statements in Acts refer to God's activity in various events which chronologically preceded the first event narrated in Acts. These events include the creation of the world, various events in the story of Israel and various events in the story of Jesus. Acts also contains a few direct statements concerning the divine role in future eschatological events.

Creation. Several direct theological statements declare that God "made" the world. An early Christian prayer addresses the Lord as the one "who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and everything in them" (4:24), and Paul used nearly identical wording when responding to the pagans at Lystra (14:15). Stephen cited a quotation from Isaiah in which the Lord asks the rhetorical question, "Did not my hand make all these things?" (7:50). Paul declared at Athens that "the God who made the world and everything in it" was the Lord of heaven and earth (17:24), and he added that

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[5] The author is not aware of any study which has focused exclusively on the direct theological statements in Acts. For overviews of Lukan theology, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (2 vols.; AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981-85) 1.143-270; R. F. O'Toole, *The Unity of Luke's Theology* (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1984); F. Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-Three Years of Research (1950-1983)* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1987). F. Bovon ("Le Dieu de Luc," *RSR* 69 [1981] 300) observes that, apart from discussions of Paul's speech at Athens, recent studies have tended to neglect "the theme of the person of God" in Luke-Acts.

God "made" humanity "from one," presumably Adam (17:26a).[6] All of these statements are in direct discourse, and all except 4:24 are in speeches.

Israel. More than two dozen direct theological statements refer to the divine role in the story of Israel. Stephen declared that God appeared and spoke to Abraham (7:2-8, 17), rescued Joseph and gave him favor and wisdom (7:9-10), spoke to Moses and sent him to the people (7:25, 31-35, 44),[7] turned away from the people during their wilderness wanderings (7:42) and drove out "the nations" during the days of Joshua (7:45).[8] Stephen also asserted that David "found favor before God" (7:46).[9] No reference to God's activity occurs in the statements about Jacob and Joseph's brothers in 7:12-16 or the statements about Aaron (7:40) and Solomon (7:47). God is the subject of virtually every verb in Paul's summary of the story of Israel in his speech at Pisidian Antioch (13:17-22). Paul claimed that God "chose our fathers" (13:17), led the people out of Egypt (13:17), bore with[10] them during their wilderness wanderings (13:18), effected the conquest of Canaan (13:19), gave the people judges (13:20), chose and later removed Saul (13:21-22) and "raised up" David (13:22). Other direct statements concerning God's role in the story of Israel include Peter's declaration that God had sworn to David "with an oath" to seat one of his descendants on his throne (2:30), Peter's reference to the covenant which God had made with the fathers (3:25) and Paul's references to the promise which God had made to the fathers (13:32; 26:6). Various speakers also referred to prophecies which God had spoken through the prophets (e.g., 3:18, 21).

The author of Acts did not always employ direct theological statements when referring to Israel. Stephen did not explicitly associate God with various events in the story of Israel, as noted above. Some of Acts' references to OT prophecies refer to the Spirit rather than God (1:16; 28:25), and others do not refer to either God or the Spirit (e.g., 3:24; 8:30-35). But due to the large number of direct theological statements in Stephen's speech and Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch, Acts contains about as many direct theological statements concerning God's role in the story of Israel as in the story of Jesus.

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[6] Since the verb "made" (*epoiēsen*) in 17:26 probably means "created" rather than "caused," it presumably refers to an act of God the Creator. See H. Conzelmann, "The Address of Paul on the Areopagus," *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. L. E. Heck and J. L. Martyn; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 222; J. Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981) 261; G. A. Krodel, *Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986) 333. God is the referent of the participle "having determined" in 17:26b; given its context, this participle may also refer to an act of the Creator. Verse 17:25b will be noted below in Section III.

[7] Do the words "the one who spoke to Moses" in 7:44 refer to God, as claimed by F. F. Bruce (*The Acts of the Apostles* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951] 174), or to an angel, as claimed by R. Pesch (*Die Apostelgeschichte* [2 vols.; EKKNT 5; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986] 1.256)?

[8] Note also the first person statement in 7:43d.

[9] This statement does not meet our definition of a direct theological statement.

[10] Concerning the textual uncertainty, see B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 405-06.

Jesus. Many direct theological statements refer to God's role in the story of Jesus. The following paragraphs will survey the direct statements concerning God's role in 1) the sending of Jesus, 2) the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth, 3) the death of Jesus and 4) his resurrection.

Several direct statements seem to refer to God's role in sending Jesus. During his second speech, Peter quoted Moses' prophecy that "the Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet" (3:22). This statement appears to refer to the sending of Jesus, though it may also refer to his resurrection.[11] Later in this speech, Peter stated that "God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first" (3:26). This statement may refer to the sending of Jesus, though it may also refer (or may refer instead) to his resurrection.[12] The Mosaic prophecy quoted by Peter in 3:22 was also quoted by Stephen in 7:37. Paul's declaration that "according to promise, God has brought (*ēgagen*) to Israel a Savior, Jesus" (13:23) seems to refer generally to the "bringing" of Jesus.[13]

Peter twice declared that God empowered the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. Peter claimed in his sermon on Pentecost that Jesus was "attested to you by God with deeds of power and wonders and signs which God did through him" (2:22), and he declared to Cornelius that God had anointed Jesus "with the holy Spirit and power" and added that Jesus "went about doing good and healing . . . , for God was with him" (10:38). Both of these passages refer twice to God.[14] In addition, a prayer affirmed that the Lord had "anointed" Jesus (4:27), possibly a reference to Jesus' baptism.[15] In contrast with these references to God's activity in the ministry of Jesus, none of Acts' references to John the Baptizer states that God acted through John.

Although many passages in Acts refer to Jesus' death, only a few of them explicitly refer to God. Peter declared in the portico of Solomon that "God thus fulfilled what he foretold through the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ would suffer" (3:18), and Paul stated at Miletus that God had obtained the church with "the blood of his own" (20:28), presumably "the blood of his own Son."[16] These statements are

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[11] The former alternative is supported by E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 209; I. H. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity, 1980) 94-95; G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2 vols.; HTKNT 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1980-82) 1.327; and Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte,* 1.157-58. R. F. O'Toole ("Some Observations on *anistēmi,* 'I Raise,' in Acts 3:22, 26," *ScEs* 31 [1979] 85-92) and Krodel (*Acts,* 106) argue that 3:22 also refers to Jesus' resurrection.

[12] Haenchen (*Acts,* 209-10); J. Roloff (*Apostelgeschichte,* 78); and Pesch (*Apostelgeschichte,* 1.157-58) claim that 3:26 refers to the sending of Jesus, but O'Toole ("Some Observations," 85-92) concludes that this statement cannot be limited to Jesus' earthly life. Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte,* 1.330) and Krodel (*Acts,* 108) relate 3:26 solely to Jesus' resurrection.

[13] M. F.-J. Buss (*Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus im Pisidischen Antiochien* [FB 38; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980] 46-47), who prefers the reading "raised," claims that 13:23 refers to both Jesus' coming and his resurrection.

[14] God's role in these verses is correctly stressed by E. Kränkl, *Jesus der Knecht Gottes* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1972) 100-01.

[15] Cf., e.g., Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte,* 1.359.

[16] Cf. H.-J. Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede des Paulus an die Kirche Apg 20,17-38* (SANT 35; München: Kösel, 1973) 88-89, who notes that 20:28 is the only verse in Acts

the only statements concerning Jesus' death which make God the subject of an active or middle verb. Two other statements associate Jesus' death with God's "plan." Peter claimed that the "delivering up" of Jesus was in accordance with "the definite plan and foreknowledge of God" (2:23), and a prayer asserted that Jesus' opponents had gathered together to do what the Lord's "hand" and "plan" had "predestined" to occur (4:27-28). Although many passages claim that Jesus' rejection and death were foretold by the scriptures (4:11, 25-26; 8:32-35; 13:27-29; 17:2-3; 26:22-23), many other passages which refer to Jesus' death do not mention either God or the scriptures (2:36; 3:13-15; 4:10; 5:28, 30; 7:52; 10:39).

Acts contains many direct theological statements which declare that God raised Jesus. These statements occur in five of Peter's speeches and two of Paul's speeches. All of these statements contain the core assertion that God raised Jesus, though some use the verb *ēgeiren* ("raised," 3:15; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30, 37)[17] while others use the verb *anestēsen* ("raised," 2:24, 32; 13:34) or the participle *anastēsas* ("raising, having raised," 13:33; 17:31).[18] Five of these statements indicate that God raised Jesus "from the dead" (3:15; 4:10; 13:30, 34; 17:31), another says that "God raised him, having loosed the pangs of death" (2:24), and another states that "God raised him on the third day and made him manifest . . . to witnesses who were chosen beforehand by God" (10:40-41). Peter's statements in 3:22 and 3:26 may also refer to God's role in the resurrection, as noted above.[19] Peter and Paul also quoted various OT passages to support the claim that God had raised Jesus and was preserving him from corruption (2:25-31; 13:33, 34, 35). Acts contains many more direct theological statements which refer to God's role in Jesus' resurrection than in any other event in the story of Jesus.

The passages which refer to the divine role in the exaltation of Jesus will be considered in Section II.

Future events. Only a few statements speak of God's promised role in future events. When the risen Jesus told the disciples, "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has set by his own authority" (1:7), he testified to the Father's sovereign authority over the future. Peter's quotation of Joel in 2:19 states that God will provide "wonders in heaven above and signs on the earth below, blood and fire and smoky vapor."[20] Whether or not these "wonders" and "signs" refer to the wonders and signs mentioned later in Acts (e.g., 2:22, 43),[21] the words "blood and fire and smoky vapor" and the contents of 2:20 refer to apocalyptic portents which

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which contains the concept of the "Sühnetod." Cf. also F. Prast, *Presbyter und Evangelium in nachapostolischer Zeit* (FB; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1979) 127-29.

[17] Cf. also 26:8.

[18] For the argument that 13:33 refers to the resurrection, see E. Lövestam, *Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13,32-37* (ConNT 18; Lund: Gleerup; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1961) 8-10; R. F. O'Toole, "Christ's Resurrection in Acts 13,13-52," *Bib* 60 (1979) 364-68; Buss, *Die Missionspredigt*, 89.

[19] See notes 11 and 12.

[20] Concerning the translation "smoky vapor," see BAGD 120.

[21] For differing conclusions, see Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1.269, and R. C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986-90) 2.31-32.

are not narrated in Acts. In his second speech, Peter appealed to his Jewish audience to repent "so that times of refreshing may come from the face of the Lord" (3:20). These "times of refreshing" will presumably stretch into the future.[22] Peter also referred to the "times of restoration of all which God spoke" through the prophets (3:21), and the restoration of "all" which God spoke surely lies in the future.[23] Several direct statements identify the divine role in Jesus' promised eschatological activity. Peter declared that God will send Jesus (3:20), and he claimed that Jesus is "the one appointed by God" to be judge of the living and the dead (10:42). Paul asserted that God will judge the world by a man whom God "has appointed" (17:31).[24]

These direct theological statements concerning God's role in future events represent a relatively modest collection of statements. Acts contains many more direct theological statements which refer to past events than to future events.

The Spirit and angels. Only a few verses refer to the activity of the Spirit and angels in past events, and none refers to their activity in future eschatological events. Several passages indicate that angels took part in various events in the story of Israel (7:30, 35, 38, 53), and one passage states that God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Spirit (10:38). Several other passages declare that the Spirit spoke through various OT prophets, as noted above. Acts contains many more references to the activity of God than the activity of the Spirit and angels in past and future events.

Overview. Many direct theological statements refer to God's role in the creation of the world, the story of Israel, the story of Jesus and future eschatological events. All of these direct theological statements are in direct discourse, and most of them are in the speeches of Peter, Stephen and Paul in Acts 1-17. While a relatively large number of these direct statements proclaim what God did in the story of Israel and in the resurrection of Jesus, a comparatively small number proclaim the divine role in the creation of the world, in Jesus' coming, ministry, death and eschatological activity, and in other eschatological events.

II. Events Narrated in Acts

More than half of the direct theological statements in the book of Acts refer to events which chronologically preceded the first event narrated in Acts. A smaller number of direct theological statements refer to the divine role in the events narrated in Acts. These statements can be divided into four groups: 1) statements which follow narratives of events and refer more explicitly to God's role in these events than these narratives do, 2) statements which occur in the Cornelius episode and the later references to this episode in Acts 11 and 15, 3) statements which precede narratives of events which lack such direct statements and 4) summary statements.

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[22] Cf. W. S. Kurz, "Acts 3:19-26 As a Test of the Role of Eschatology in Lukan Christology," *Society of Biblical Literature 1977 Seminar Papers*, ed. P. J. Achtemeier (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 310; Krodel, *Acts*, 105.

[23] Kurz, "Acts 3:19-26 As a Test," 310. Verse 3:21 makes God the subject of only the verb "spoke."

[24] Even though 24:15 refers to both God and the general resurrection, it fails to meet our definition of a direct theological statement.

Statements which follow. Several direct theological statements follow the narratives of events and identify God's activity in these events more explicitly than these narratives do.

The story of the ascension (1:9-11) never explicitly refers to God. The opening verse of this story says that Jesus "was lifted up, and a cloud took him from their sight" (1:9), while the closing verse identifies Jesus as the one who was "taken up from you into heaven" (1:11). Neither verse explicitly claims that God lifted up or took up Jesus. Although the reference to the ascension in 1:22 also fails to make such a claim,[25] a few direct theological statements identify God's role in the exaltation and enthronement of Jesus. The speech of Peter and the other apostles to the council claims that "God exalted this one (Jesus) to his right hand as Prince and Savior" (5:31).[26] This exaltation presumably includes the event which the disciples viewed from an earthly perspective as the ascension. Other statements concerning the divine role in the exaltation and enthronement of Jesus occur in Peter's speech in 2:34-36 and perhaps in other speeches.[27] Explicit statements concerning God's role in the exaltation and enthronement of Jesus therefore occur not in the story of the ascension but in subsequent speeches.

Although the story of the reception of the Spirit on Pentecost (2:1-13) says that "a sound came from heaven" (2:2), that "tongues as of fire" appeared to the disciples (2:3), that they were filled with the Spirit (2:4a) and that they spoke in other tongues "as the Spirit was giving them utterance" (2:4b), no verse in this story explicitly declares that God gave the Spirit. In his subsequent speech, however, Peter cited a quotation from Joel in which God twice promises, "I will pour out from my Spirit" (2:17, 18). Peter also declared in the same speech that Jesus had "poured out" the Spirit after having received the "promise" of the Spirit "from the Father" (2:33).[28] Explicit statements concerning God's role in giving the Spirit on Pentecost occur not in the narrative of the event but in Peter's subsequent speech. Several chapters later, Peter and the other apostles directly stated that God "gave" the Spirit (5:32).

A similar pattern occurs in the story of the reception of the Spirit in Samaria. Although no verse in the narrative of this event (8:14-17) says that God gave the Spirit, a reference to "the gift of God" occurs in Peter's subsequent words (8:20).[29] A comparable pattern occurs in Acts 10-11, as will be seen below.

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[25] Cf. also 1:2. Concerning the textual and interpretive problems associated with this verse, see M. C. Parsons, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987) 126-34.

[26] The words "the right hand" in both 2:33 and 5:31 probably represent datives of place rather than instrumentals. Cf. G. Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu* (SANT 26; München: Kösel, 1971) 226-27.

[27] Concerning the possible reference to Jesus' exaltation in 3:13, see note 30. Certain other passages (e.g., the OT quotation in 13:33) may view Jesus' resurrection and exaltation as a single event. Cf. Buss, *Missionspredigt*, 93-94; Krodel, *Acts*, 240; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2.170-71. Cf. also 2:30.

[28] Cf. the phrase "the promise of my/the Father" in Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4.

[29] Although Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.494) observes that the phrase "the gift of God" seems to refer to the authority which Simon sought in 8:19, he claims that the narrator was primarily thinking of this gift as the Spirit. Pesch (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.276) simply defines the gift as the Spirit.

The story of the healing of a lame man (3:1-10) provides a more complex example of this pattern. After commanding the lame man to walk "in the name of Jesus Christ" (3:6), Peter raised him up and he was healed. This story twice refers to God, for it twice states that the healed man praised God (3:8, 9); nevertheless, no verse in this story directly states that God healed the man. Peter opened his subsequent speech by claiming that God had "glorified" Jesus (3:13). Assuming that this statement refers at least in part to God's role in the healing of the lame man,[30] it asserts that God had effected this healing. The prayer petition in 4:30 expresses a similar understanding. After praying that God would extend the divine hand "for healing," the disciples prayed that signs and wonders would occur "through the name" of Jesus. This petition assumes that God is the ultimate source of healing.[31]

Although the story of Peter's escape from Herod's prison says that an angel of the Lord effected Peter's escape, a subsequent reference to this escape refers to the Lord but not to the angel. The narrative of the escape reports that the angel struck Peter, spoke to him and led him out of the prison (12:7-10). The only reference to the Lord which occurs in these verses is the reference in the phrase "angel of the Lord" (12:7). Immediately after escaping, Peter declared, "Now I truly know that the Lord has sent his angel and rescued me from the hand of Herod" (12:11). Note that this statement refers to both the Lord and the angel. Six verses later, Peter described to the disciples "how the Lord had led him out of the prison" (12:17). Unlike his words in 12:11, these words refer to the Lord but no longer refer to the angel. The angel obviously functions in 12:7-10 as an agent of the Lord; however, though these verses claim that the angel effected Peter's escape, Peter's subsequent description of his escape in 12:17 refers only to the Lord.

Consider also the two-verse story of Paul's vision of the Macedonian man (16:9-10). Although the former verse describes the vision and reports the words of the Macedonian man, it does not refer to God. The latter verse, however, indicates that the missionaries concluded that God had called them to preach in Macedonia.[32]

We have identified various statements which more explicitly testify to God's role in previously narrated events than the narratives of these events do. Most of these narratives contain one or more references to a supernatural agent or power, either the Spirit (2:2-4; 8:15-17), the name of Jesus Christ (3:6), an angel (12:7-10) or a man who spoke in a vision (16:9). Most of the direct theological statements which refer

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[30] Haenchen (*Acts*, 205), Kränkl (*Jesus der Knecht Gottes*, 104), Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.317) and Pesch (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.153) argue that 3:13 refers to the healing. According to O'Toole ("Some Observations," 86-87), this glorification includes Jesus' resurrection or exaltation; cf. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2.53. Roloff (*Apostelgeschichte*, 74) relates this glorification solely to Jesus' exaltation.

[31] The intervening narrative twice associates Jesus' name with the healing of the lame man (3:16; 4:10) and once says that the people praised God "for what had happened" (4:21).

[32] The curious pattern associated with 22:14 must also be mentioned. When Paul told the story of his conversion to the crowd in Jerusalem, he claimed that Ananias had said to him, "The God of our fathers has appointed you . . ." (22:14). Such a statement does not appear in the first recital of Paul's conversion, which refers instead to Paul's selection as "a vessel of choice" by the Lord Jesus (9:15). But the third recital of his conversion claims that *Jesus* had appointed Paul and even employs the same verb as 22:14 (*procheirizomai*) when asserting this claim.

back to these narratives occur in direct discourse (2:17-18, 34-36; 3:13; 4:30; 5:31; 12:11; cf. 8:20).[33]

Cornelius. The Cornelius episode in Acts 10 and the references to this episode in Acts 11 and 15 contain a series of direct theological statements as well as a series of references to the activity of the Spirit and various other supernatural agents. The Cornelius episode indicates that an "angel of God" (10:3) spoke to Cornelius in a vision (10:3-6, 22, 30-32), that an unidentified voice spoke to Peter in a vision (10:13-16) and that the Spirit spoke to Peter while he was reflecting on the vision (10:19-20). This story repeatedly indicates that the angel commanded Cornelius to send men to Peter (10:5, 22, 32), though it once indicates that the Spirit sent them (10:20). When Peter told the story of these events to "those who were circumcised," he stressed that a voice had spoken to him in a vision (11:7-10), that the Spirit had also spoken to him (11:12) and that an angel had spoken to Cornelius (11:13-14). When referring to the events of Acts 10 at the Jerusalem conference (15:7-11), however, Peter did not mention the angel or voice and did not claim that the Spirit had spoken to him.

The story of the "Gentile Pentecost" says that the Spirit "fell upon" the Gentile hearers (10:44, repeated in 11:15) and was "poured out" on them (10:45), with the result that they spoke in tongues and extolled God (10:46). Like the story of the reception of the Spirit on Pentecost (2:1-13), this story does not explicitly declare that God gave the Spirit.

Although Acts 10 contains many statements concerning God's activity, most of these statements are in Peter's speech (10:34-43). Most of these statements refer to events in the story of Jesus and have already been discussed above in Section I. The other references to God's activity in Acts 10 possess a different character. The angel who spoke to Cornelius announced that Cornelius' prayers and alms had "ascended as a memorial before God" (10:4). This announcement employs biblical language to indicate that Cornelius' prayers and alms had been remembered by God.[34] Cornelius later rephrased the angel's message with the words "your prayer has been heard and your alms have been remembered before God" (10:31). Both 10:4 and 10:31 refer to an "event" which occurred "offstage" in heaven. Another reference to God occurs in the words, "What God has declared clean[35] (*ekatharisen*), no longer consider unclean" (10:15, repeated word for word in 11:9). Since these words were announced by a voice speaking during a vision, they also appear to refer to an act which took place "offstage." Although the Spirit, angel and voice directly participated in the events narrated in 10:1-33, the references to God in 10:4, 10:15 and 10:31 occur in announcements of celestial events.

After entering Cornelius' house, Peter declared that "God has shown me that I should not call anyone common or unclean" (10:28). Since this statement apparently refers to the words spoken by the unidentified voice in 10:15 (or to the whole vision in 10:11-16), it implicitly identifies God as the agent behind the voice and vision. We

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[33] The statement in 8:20 does not meet our definiton of a direct theological statement.

[34] H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 81; Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2.66; Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1.337. The statement in 10:4 actually fails to meet our definition of a direct theological statement.

[35] Concerning this translation, see BAGD 387.

have noted above that various direct theological statements in direct discourse (such as 2:17, 18; 12:11) refer back to the narratives of earlier events and more explicitly identify God's role in these events than the narratives do. Like these other statements, the statement in 10:28 occurs in direct discourse and refers back to an earlier narrative; unlike these other statements, 10:28 refers back to a narrative in which a voice uttered a direct theological statement. Yet there is an important difference between 10:28 and this earlier narrative, for, while this earlier narrative focuses on animals and food, 10:28 refers to people.[36]

Peter opened his speech by declaring, "I truly understand that God is not one who shows partiality, but in every nation the person who fears God and does righteousness is acceptable to God" (10:34-35). Various connections are established between this statement and 10:1-33 by the words "I truly understand (now)," the words "every nation" and the parallels between Cornelius and the person described in 10:35.[37] This statement represents an interpretation of the significance of the events narrated in 10:1-33.[38]

Several direct theological statements in Acts 11 and 15 refer back to the events narrated in Acts 10. We have already noted that Peter's statement in 11:9 exactly repeats the language found in 10:15. Later in his speech to "those who were circumcised," Peter stressed that God had given the Spirit to the Gentiles (11:17). As in Acts 2, the claim that God gave the Spirit occurs not in the narrative of the reception of the Spirit (10:44-48; cf. 11:15) but in a subsequent speech. After hearing Peter's words in 11:17, the Jewish Christian audience concluded that "God has granted repentance to life also to the Gentiles" (11:18).[39] This conclusion represents an interpretation of the significance of God's gift of the Spirit to the Gentiles rather than a repetition of any statement in 10:1-11:18.

Peter referred again to the events narrated in Acts 10 during his brief speech at the Jerusalem conference. When he declared that "God made choice among you that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe" (15:7), he identified God as the ultimate agent who had guided the events in the Cornelius episode.[40] In the next verse, Peter asserted that "God, who knows the heart," gave the Spirit to the Gentiles (15:8). Like 11:17, this verse more explicitly identifies God's

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[36] When speaking to Peter in 10:33, Cornelius referred to "all things which have been commanded you by the Lord," presumably God. When were these "things" (presumably Peter's speech) "commanded" by God?

[37] Cf. G. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 127.

[38] Cf. Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 171; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2.131. Verse 10:36 refers to the "word" which God "sent to the sons of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ." H. Riesenfeld ("The Text of Acts x. 36," *Text and Interpretation* [ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1979] 191-94) argues that 10:36 is in apposition with 10:34-35, and his interpretation has been accepted by Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, 2.76) and Krodel (*Acts*, 196). Haenchen (*Acts*, 352), Roloff (*Apostelgeschichte*, 172) and Pesch (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.342) claim that the "word" is the message of salvation, while C. Burchard ("A Note on ῾PHMA in Josas 17:1 F.; Luke 2:15, 17; Acts 10:37," *NovT* 27 [1985] 290-94) identifies the "word" with the angelic message in Luke 2.

[39] Concerning the divine granting of repentance, see also 5:31.

[40] Cf. M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (London: SCM, 1956) 94-95.

role in the giving of the Spirit than the narrative of the event does.[41] In the next verse, Peter claimed that God had cleansed the Gentiles' hearts by faith (15:9). This statement represents an interpretation of the significance of one or more of the events in the Cornelius episode.[42] James' reference to God's visitation (15:14) and his citation of an OT quotation in which the Lord speaks in the first person (15:16-18) provide additional direct theological statements concerning God's activity in the events narrated in Acts 10.[43]

There are striking differences between the references to God and the references to the Spirit and the other supernatural agents in the Cornelius episode and the speeches of Peter and James in Acts 15. The narrative in Acts 10 presents the Spirit, an angel and a voice as active participants in the events being narrated. Each of these supernatural agents is the subject of one or more active verbs, and each of them speaks. The speeches of Peter and James in Acts 15 never mention the angel or the voice, and they mention the Spirit only when emphasizing that God gave the Spirit (15:8). Although the lengthy narrative in 10:1-33 contains several direct theological statements, the brief story of the "Gentile Pentecost" (10:44-48) does not contain any direct theological statements. The relatively brief speeches of Peter and James are filled with direct theological statements, for God is the subject of three successive verses in Peter's speech (15:7-9), the opening statement in James' speech (15:14) and five clauses in the subsequent OT quotation (15:16-18). This concentration of direct theological statements is reminiscent of the concentrations of such statements in earlier speeches which refer to the story of Israel (e.g., 13:17-22) and the story of Jesus (e.g., 10:38-41). The fact that the speeches of Peter and James in Acts 15 contain such a concentration of direct theological statements underlines the claim that the Cornelius episode merits a prominent place in the story of the acts of God.

Statements which precede. A direct theological statement can also precede the narrative of an event which lacks such a statement. A striking example occurs in Acts 27. While sailing on the storm-tossed sea prior to the shipwreck at Malta, Paul declared that an angel had said to him, "God has granted you all who are sailing with you" (27:24). Although the lengthy subsequent narrative of the voyage and shipwreck

[41] The other references to the gift or presence of the Spirit do not explicitly refer to God. Some passages claim that people were "full" of the Spirit (6:3, 5; 7:55; 11:24) or had "received" the Spirit (8:15, 17, 19; 10:47; cf. 2:38; 19:2), and others say that the Spirit "fell upon" (8:16) or "came upon" people (1:8; 19:6). None of these passages explicitly attributes the presence of the Spirit to the activity of God. The risen Jesus declared that the apostles "will be baptized" with the Spirit (1:5; 11:16), and several verses indicate that people "were filled" with the Spirit (2:4; 4:8, 31; 9:17; 13:9, 52) or were "given" the Spirit (8:18). Whether or not these passive verbs are divine passives, they occur in clauses which lack explicit references to God.

[42] While Conzelmann (*Acts*, 117) refers to 10:9-16 and Tannehill (*Narrative Unity*, 2.184-85) to 10:15, Roloff (*Apostelgeschichte*, 230) and Krodel (*Acts*, 277) refer to the gift of the Spirit.

[43] James' words in 15:14 explicitly refer to Simeon's (i.e., Peter's) summary of the Cornelius episode, while his words in 15:15 declare that "the words of the prophets" cited in 15:16-18 "agree with this." Krodel (*Acts*, 281) observes that "Luke never says everything at once, but expands and unfolds earlier themes as he moves step by step from one episode to another."

(27:27-44) reports that Paul and all who were sailing with him reached Malta without loss of life, no verse within this narrative attributes their deliverance to God or any other supernatural agent.[44]

The same pattern occurs in the story of the blinding of Elymas. Paul warned Elymas that "the hand of the Lord is upon you, and you will be blind" (13:11a). The words "the hand of the Lord" presumably refer to the hand of God.[45] Although Paul's warning indicates that "the hand of the Lord" will be responsible for Elymas' blindness, the subsequent description of his blinding (13:11b) does not refer to the Lord.

Another example may occur in the story of the choice of Judas' successor. After selecting Joseph and Matthias as candidates to replace Judas, the disciples prayed, "Lord, who knows the hearts of all, show which one of these two you have chosen" (1:24). Although this prayer expresses the conviction that the Lord had already chosen Judas' successor, the subsequent description of the casting of lots does not refer to the Lord. It is unclear, however, if the title "Lord" in 1:24 refers to God or to Jesus.[46]

A similar pattern occurs at the conclusion of several speeches. When appealing to the persons who heard his speech on Pentecost, Peter spoke of "the promise" which was "for . . . as many as the Lord our God shall call" (2:39). When closing his speech at Pisidian Antioch, Paul cited a passage from Habakkuk in which God speaks in the first person about "a work which I am working" (13:41).[47] And when calling upon his Athenian audience to repent, Paul declared that God "commands all people everywhere to repent" (17:30). Each of these direct theological statements precedes a brief report of the audience reaction (2:41-42; 13:42-43; 17:32-34), and each of these subsequent reports lacks direct theological statements.[48]

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[44]The only reference to God in 27:27-44 occurs in the statement that Paul "gave thanks to God" before eating (27:35).

[45] Cf. G. Schneider, "Gott und Christus als *kyrios* nach der Apostelgeschichte," *Begegnung mit dem Wort* (ed. J. Zmijewski and E. Nellessen; Bonn: Hanstein, 1980) 163.

[46] Haenchen (*Acts*, 162), Schneider (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.220) and Pesch (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1.90) argue that the Lord is God, but Marshall (*Acts*, 66), R. F. O'Toole ("Activity of the Risen Jesus in Luke-Acts," *Bib* 62 [1981] 476) and Krodel (*Acts*, 67) identify the Lord as Jesus. Another possible example should be noted at this point. When leaving Ephesus, Paul promised he would return "if God wills" (18:21); however, the subsequent story of Paul's return and lengthy stay in Ephesus (19:1-20:1) does not explicitly associate his return with God's will. The statement in 23:3 should also be mentioned. When appearing before the chief priests and the council, Paul warned the high priest that "God is about to strike you" (23:3); however, the subsequent narrative does not report that God or any other supernatural or human agent struck the high priest.

[47] The divine "work" which God was "working" was presumably the Christian mission based on the preaching of forgiveness and justification through Jesus (13:38-39), a mission which would be accepted by many Gentiles and rejected by many Jews. Cf. Buss, *Missionspredigt*, 132; Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 208-09; Krodel, *Acts*, 243.

[48] The only reference to God which occurs in these verses is Paul's admonition to the converts at Pisidian Antioch "to continue in the grace of God" (13:43). The ambiguous statement in 20:32 (does the articular participle modify "God" or "the

Summaries. Several direct theological statements are in summaries. One of these summaries refers to the signs and wonders which God did through Paul and Barnabas (15:12), while another, which refers to the miracles which God did through Paul (19:11), precedes several examples of these miracles (19:12). Three other summaries refer more generally to what God did "with" Paul and Barnabas (14:27; 15:4) or "through" Paul (21:19), and one of these summaries precedes the claim that God "opened a door of faith to the Gentiles" (14:27). All five of these summaries refer to God as *theos*, and all five identify what God "did" (*epoiēsen*, 14:27; 15:4, 12; 21:19) or "was doing" (*epoiei*, 19:11). A more rhetorical summary occurs in Paul's declaration that "to this day I have had help from God" (26:22). The summary in 2:47, which claims that "the Lord" was adding day by day to those who were being saved, probably also refers to God.[49]

Other supernatural agents. Many passages declare that Jesus, the Spirit and other supernatural agents participated in the events narrated in Acts. Jesus appeared and spoke not only prior to his ascension but also after his ascension, most notably in the three recitals of his appearance to Paul on the Damascus road (9:4-6, 10-12, 15-16; 22:7-8, 10, 18, 21; 26:14-18). According to these accounts, Jesus directed the actions of Paul and Ananias (9:6, 11, 15, 17; 22:10, 18, 21; 26:16) and appointed Paul as a missionary to the Gentiles (9:15-16; 22:21; 26:16-18). The fact that two of these accounts are in Acts 22-26 gives a special prominence to Jesus' activity in these chapters; it is interesting to note that these chapters possess comparatively few direct theological statements. Two other passages state that Jesus appeared and spoke to Paul (18:9-10; 23:11), and other passages claim that Jesus (9:34) or the name of Jesus (e.g., 3:6, 16; 16:18) effected healings and exorcisms. Various other passages testify to other activities of the exalted Jesus.[50]

Many passages identify the activity of the Spirit. The Spirit snatched Philip away from the Ethiopian eunuch (8:39), sent out Barnabas and Paul on a missionary journey (13:4), forbade Paul, Silas and Timothy from preaching in Asia (16:6) and blocked them from entering Bithynia (16:7).[51] Peter asserted that the Spirit was a "witness" of the "things" which he was preaching (5:32), and Paul declared that the Spirit had made the Ephesian elders overseers of the church (20:28). The Spirit also participated in the determination of the so-called "apostolic decrees" (15:28). Other passages claim that the Spirit spoke to people (8:29; 10:19-20; 11:12; 13:2; 20:23;

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word"?) should also be mentioned, for it stands near the conclusion of a speech and precedes an audience reaction (20:36-38) which does not refer to God. The statement in 13:47 was not included in this discussion, for its reference to the Lord probably refers to Jesus. See Buss, *Missionspredigt*, 137; O'Toole, "Activity of the Risen Jesus," 477; Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 209.

[49] Cf. Schneider, "Gott und Christus," 168. Cf. also 5:39 and 11:21. The summary in 14:3, which refers to the activity of "the Lord," probably refers to the activity of Jesus rather than the activity of God. Cf. O'Toole, "Activity of the Risen Jesus," 477-78; Krodel, *Acts*, 252-53.

[50] Cf. G. W. MacRae, "Whom Heaven Must Receive Until the Time," *Int* 27 (1973) 160-65; Kränkl, *Jesus der Knecht Gottes*, 176-86; O'Toole, "Activity of the Risen Jesus," 471-98.

[51] The reference to the Spirit in 16:7 contains the words "the Spirit of Jesus."

21:11), filled people who spoke (4:8, 31; 6:10; 13:9-10), and caused people to speak in tongues (10:46; 19:6; cf. 2:4), while other passages state that people spoke "through the Spirit" (11:28; 21:4). Many other passages assume the presence of the Spirit.[52]

Several other supernatural agents also spoke and acted in Acts. Angels led the apostles (5:19-20) and Peter (12:7-10) out of prison, smote Herod (12:23), and spoke to Philip (8:26), Cornelius (10:3-6, 22, 30-32; 11:13-14) and Paul (27:23; cf. 23:9). "Two men in white robes" spoke to the apostles who witnessed Jesus' ascension (1:10-11), a voice spoke to Peter in a vision (10:13-16; 11:7-10) and a Macedonian man spoke to Paul in a vision (16:9).[53] The Spirit and other supernatural agents appear much more frequently in the events narrated in Acts than in Acts' references to the creation, the story of Israel, the story of Jesus and future eschatological events.

Although most of these references to Jesus, the Spirit and the other supernatural agents appear within the narratives of events, most of the direct theological statements which report God's activity in these events either precede or follow the narratives of these events. Many of the references to Jesus, the Spirit and the other supernatural agents are in narrative comments like "the Spirit said to Philip" (8:29), "the Lord (=Jesus) said to him in a vision" (9:10), "the holy Spirit fell on all who were listening" (10:44) and "an angel of the Lord appeared . . ." (12:7). Many other examples could be cited. In contrast, most of the direct theological statements which report God's role in these events are in direct discourse. The exceptions include a number of summary statements (e.g., 2:47; 14:27; 15:4, 12) but only a few statements which indicate what God did in a specific event (12:17; 16:10, 14). The most notable exception occurs in the story of Lydia's conversion. After introducing Lydia, the story indicates that "the Lord opened her heart to respond to the things being spoken by Paul" (16:14). If, as generally assumed, this reference to the Lord is a reference to God,[54] this verse provides a rare example of a direct theological statement located in material other than direct discourse which reports God's action in a specific event. The statements in 12:17 and 16:10 possess a different character, for the former statement occurs in a reference to an earlier event ("he described to them how the Lord had led him out of the prison") while the latter statement occurs in a conclusion ("concluding that God had called us . . .").

Overview. Most of the direct theological statements which report God's activity in the events narrated in Acts can be assigned to one of four groups.

1. Several direct theological statements (2:17-18, 34-36; 3:13; 4:30; 5:31; 12:11, 17; 16:10) follow the narratives of events and more explicitly identify the divine role in these events than these narratives do. Most of these narratives refer to the activity

[52] See note 41. Concerning the wording of Acts' references to the Spirit, see R. L. Mowery, "The Articular References to the Holy Spirit in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts," *BR* 31 (1986) 31-36.

[53] In addition, various passages report the actions of Satan and the unclean/evil spirits (e.g., 5:3, 16; 19:12-16).

[54] Cf. J. C. O'Neill, "The Use of *kyrios* in the Book of Acts," *SJT* 8 (1955) 171; Marshall, *Acts*, 267; Schneider, "Gott und Christus," 163, 171-72; Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 245; Krodel, *Acts*, 307; Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2.105; B. Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988) 148-49. Jesus is the subject of the same verb in Luke 24:45.

of a supernatural agent or power, either the Spirit (2:2-4; 8:15-17), the name of Jesus Christ (3:6), an angel (12:7-10) or a man who spoke in a vision (16:9). The subsequent direct theological statements provide the first explicit claims that God acted in these events. Most of these direct theological statements are in direct discourse.

2. The Cornelius episode and the later references to this episode in Acts 11 and 15 contain many direct theological statements as well as many references to the activity of the Spirit and other supernatural agents. The narrative in 10:1-33 emphasizes the activity of the Spirit, an angel and a voice, while the story of the "Gentile Pentecost" focuses on the Spirit. Although Peter's speech in Acts 11 continues to stress that the Spirit, angel and voice participated in the Cornelius episode, the speeches of Peter and James in Acts 15 fail to mention the angel and voice and do not indicate that the Spirit spoke to Peter. Explicit declarations that God gave the Spirit occur not in Acts 10 but in two of Peter's subsequent speeches (11:17; 15:8), and the speeches of Peter and James in Acts 15 contain a notable concentration of direct theological statements. All of the direct theological statements in Acts 10, 11 and 15 are in direct discourse, and most of those in Acts 11 and 15 are in speeches.

3. A few direct theological statements (1:24 (?); 13:11a; 27:24) precede the narratives of events which do not contain such direct statements, and several direct theological statements which conclude or follow speeches (2:39; 13:41; 17:30) precede narratives of audience reactions which do not contain such direct statements. All of these direct theological statements are in direct discourse.

4. Several direct theological statements are in summaries. Especially notable are the five summaries which review what God did through Paul and Barnabas (14:27; 15:4, 12) or through Paul (19:11-12; 21:19). None of these five summaries is in direct discourse.

Finally, the statement that the Lord opened Lydia's heart (16:14) is one of the few direct theological statements located in material other than direct discourse which reports what God did in a specific event narrated in Acts.

III. Concluding Comments

Although most of the direct theological statements in Acts refer to God's role in events, a few such statements have a more "timeless" character. Some of these statements are negative statements located in Stephen's speech and Paul's speech at Athens. Both Stephen and Paul declared that God does not dwell in buildings "made with hands" (7:48; 17:24; cf. 7:49), and Paul stated that God does not need anything (17:25a). Paul claimed that God is "not far from each one of us" (17:27), and he added that the divine is not like gold or silver or stone (17:29).[55] Other direct theological statements refer rather generally to past and present events. Paul claimed at Lystra that God had permitted the nations to go their own ways (14:16) and that God had

[55] Cf. also 10:34; 14:17a. The negative statement in 7:5 differs from these other negative statements, for it concerns God's relationship with a specific individual, Abraham. Another negative statement probably occurs in the 28:27, whose final clause contains the words *iasomai autous* (literally, "I will heal them"). This clause probably does not convey a positive promise, for it appears to be under the influence of the negative conjunction *mēpote* ("lest"). Cf. H. J. Hauser, *Strukturen der Abschlusserzählung der Apostelgeschichte* (AnBib 86; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1979) 37, 73.

provided providential gifts (14:17), and he declared at Athens that God gives "life and breath and everything to all" (17:25b).[56]

Events. Unlike these statements, most of the direct theological statements in Acts identify God's role in events. More than half of these statements refer to God's acts in events which chronologically preceded the first event narrated in Acts, including the creation of the world, various events in the story of Israel and various events in the story of Jesus, especially his resurrection. Only a few statements identify the divine role in future events, including the parousia. Nearly all of these statements are in speeches in Acts 1-17.

A smaller number of direct theological statements identify what God did in the events narrated in Acts. Most of these statements are in direct discourse, and most of them either follow or precede the narratives of the events to which they refer. Some of these statements follow narratives of events and refer more explicitly to God's role in these events than these narratives do. Other statements precede the narratives of events which lack such direct statements, and others are in summaries. Only a few direct theological statements which are not in direct discourse refer to God's acts in specific events. In contrast, many narrative comments refer to the activity of Jesus, the Spirit and other supernatural agents in specific events.

Luke-Acts. Since it is widely assumed that the same author wrote both the Gospel of Luke and Acts, it would be useful to compare the patterns identified above with the patterns found in the Third Gospel. Such a comparison would uncover certain parallels; both the Gospel and Acts, for example, associate the Father with the promise of the Spirit.[57] A comparison of the Gospel and Acts would also identify certain differences, such as the contrast between Acts' repeated claim that God raised Jesus and the Gospel's avoidance of such a direct claim.[58] A detailed comparison of the patterns found in the Gospel and Acts will have to await the availability of a study of the direct theological statements in the Third Gospel.[59]

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[56] According to Haenchen (*Acts*, 522), the present participle *didous* ("giving") indicates that God's creative act (17:24) continues into the present.

[57] Luke 11:13; 24:49; Acts 1:4; 2:33.

[58] Although many references to the resurrection of Jesus (and of other persons) occur in the Third Gospel, none of these references explicitly identifies God as the subject of this action. Cf. Luke 7:14, 22; 8:54; 9:7, 22; 11:31 (?); 18:33; 20:37; 24:6 (?), 7, 34, 46. The verb *dei* ("it is necessary"), the verb of divine necessity, appears in two of these passages (Luke 9:22; 24:7), and references to what "is written" occur in two others (Luke 18:31; 24:46); however, none of these verses explicitly identifies God as the divine agent who effected the resurrection.

[59] The author is not aware of any study which has undertaken this task.

Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis

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Introduction

This Outline is an expansion and elaboration of the Synoptic Chart with Explanation first published by J. J. Griesbach.[1] As such, it is hoped that it will become a point of departure for those interested in studying the composition of Mark on the basis of the Two Gospel Hypothesis (formerly "Griesbach Hypothesis"[2]).

Our guiding aspiration in creating this Outline was to identify the technique of Mark's compositional activity. In seeking to realize this goal we did not limit our analysis to technical, literary considerations but continuously searched for evidence of Mark's moral and theological agenda as well.[3]

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[1] See J. B. Orchard and T. R. W. Longstaff, eds., *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976* (Cambridge 1978) pp. 108-110.

[2] For the most recent description of this hypothesis, see D. L. Dungan, "The Two Gospel Hypothesis" *Anchor Bible Dictionary, s.v.* forthcoming, 1992.

[3] An earlier version of this outline of the Markan redactional procedure was prepared for the 1984 Jerusalem *Symposium de interrelatione evangeliorum* by the Two Gospel Hypothesis Team (named above). It was subsequently revised and expanded during 1989-90. We view this team approach as superior to synopses created by individual text critics who were intent on matching words and phrases, with little attention to the theological features in the narrative. Our approach is multi-disciplinary Farmer: history of the synoptic problem, specialized analyses of the texts, history of the patristic discussion, Luke's relation to Matthew; Dungan: history of synoptic arrangements, genre considerations; McNicol; specialized analysis of the Synoptic Apocalypse and other passages, New Testament theology; Peabody: methodology of stylistic analysis; Shuler: genre of Hellenistic biography, New Testament theology. It is our hope that this multidisciplinary approach will result in an understanding of Mark that is more useful for redaction criticism and New Testament theology.

Our first step was to identify the pericope divisions as understood by the final author of the Gospel. To discover these smaller divisions, we divided Mark up using as division markers (a) the successive occurrence of certain concepts or phrases, such as the very common παλιν retrospective construction that functions to link together two or more narrative units located in different contexts,[4] and (b) scene or place changes that appear to function as demarcators of minor narrative units.

Secondly, we grouped these small narrative units (pericopes) into larger "part" divisions by looking for (a) theological or symbolic themes that seemed to echo through several pericopes tying them together in a theological message, and (b) *inclusio* structures. After accomplishing these two steps in a provisional way, we had achieved a preliminary impression of Mark's narrative procedure.

Then we placed Matthew and Luke along either side and began to examine points of similarity and difference between each of the three narratives. As we compared all three, we repeatedly found it necessary to recast the preliminary pericope divisions we had made in the narrative of Mark in order to get a better "fit" between Mark's pericopes and the pericopes of his alleged sources. This was a particularly exciting part in our analysis as we frequently found ourselves discovering minute Markan revisions (causing the so-called "minor agreements against Mark") that would reveal a theological or moral viewpoint. Such discoveries seemed to us to lend credence to the Two Gospel Hypothesis. One major revelation came in our discovery of the precise and detailed way Mark skirted Matthew's Sermon on the Mount at Mk. 1:21, and yet put details from Matt. 4:23-25 in Mk. 1:39 and again in 3:7-12. This has led successive generations of synopsis editors to place Matthew's Sermon on the Mount next to all three locations: Mk. 1:21 (Griesbach, Neirynck); Mk. 1.39 (Huck); and Mk. 3.19 (Lagrange, Aland, Benoit/Boismard, Orchard).[5] But which is correct? With the key of the Two Gospel Hypothesis, we believe we can see where it should properly be *according to Mark's own thinking,* namely, after 1:20.[6]

As the following outline chart indicates, we see Mark incorporating every story that came up in the same relative order in his sources. This is indicated by the *single line* to either side. Again, it is equally clear that, as he adds story to story, he is closer in form and wording to one source than the other. This closer dependence is indicated by the *double lines.* By following these double lines indicating closer dependence, it is possible to see Mark move back and forth from one to the other of his sources "for reasons that are easy to understand" (Griesbach). Our Chart will attempt to make these reasons explicit throughout the entire Gospel. In the comments which follow, the first observation will describe what Mark's narrative, theological and symbolic concerns seem to be at that point. The second observation [in brackets] comment on source-critical and literary phenomena.

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[4] See D. Peabody, *Mark as Composer* (Macon: Mercer University Press 1987).

[5] See the discussion of this phenomenon in F. Neirynck, "The Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel Synopsis," *Eph.Theol.Lov.* 52 (1976) 350-357; see also comparative charts in Dungan "Synopses of the Future," *Biblica* 66 (1985) 465-470.

[6] We have had numerous discussions with our colleague J. B. Orchard in an attempt to reconcile the differences between his synoptic outline and the one offered here, without success. Orchard's outline was first set forth in *Matthew, Luke and Mark* (Manchester: Koinonia Press, 1976); cf. the critical review by D. Dungan in *Biblica* 59 (1978) 584-587.

Part One:
The Appearance of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.
Mk 1:1-15

Introduction. Mk 1:1-3

Mk's famous opening verse identifying this writing as "the Gospel of Jesus Christ" is unlike Matt and Lk where "Gospel" never means a writing and always refers to salvation in the Kingdom of God, not "Jesus Christ." This usage is much closer to the Pauline.

[Mk adds the Mal. 3:1 quote about John in Mt 11:10//Lk 7:27 to the quote from Isa. 40:3 here at the beginning in his sources on the principle that these are both prophecies about John. Thus the very opening words of Mark reveal him to be a conflator. In the process, he creates an important "minor agreement." Structurally, Mk 1:1 is an *inclusio* which ends at 1:14-15: "And after John had been imprisoned Jesus went to Galilee preaching the Kingdom of God . . . saying repent and believe 'The Gospel.'" In general, Mark's structure at the beginning of his narrative is identical to Luke, who also ends the opening section of his narrative with the story of John's imprisonment, after which come the stories of Jesus' Galilee ministry.]

Mt 3:3b-6,11-12 < = = = = Ministry of John. Mk 1:4-8 -----> Lk 3:2b-3b, 3a

John the Baptist functions as the alter-ego, Christ's counterpart in the early rising action of Mk.
[In general, Mk is closer to Mt but he conflates from both Mt and Lk to create one coherent narrative of Jn's ministry.]

Mt 3:13-17 ----- Appearance of Jesus; Baptism. Mk 1:9-11 = = = = Lk 3:21f.

Moving to the momentous baptism scene, following Lk's lead Mk avoids Mt's potentially misleading dialogue; he also uses Lk's version of the Voice from Heaven.

Mt 4:1-11 ----- Temptation. Mk 1:12-13 ----- Lk 4:1-13

Mark severely curtails the story of the tempting of God's Son, or rather he recasts it as a martyrdom scenario that could well be familar to Roman Christians: facing the "wild beasts" in the Coliseum while being strengthened by angels.
[The reference to "wild beasts" is a minor agreement. The ending "angels ministered unto him" Mk gets from Mt not Lk, and he follows Mt for the next two stories.]

Mt 4:12-17 < = = = = Jesus Begins Ministry. Mk 1:14-15 ----- Lk 4:14-15

The opening theme is here repeated as a conclusion to Part One: John is imprisoned, Jesus begins to proclaim "the Gospel of God" and urging people to "believe in the Gospel."
[Mk follows Lk's abbreviation of the Matthean original, adding his own very Pauline phraseology and causing some important minor agreements.]

Part Two:
Jesus the Great Teacher and Healer.
Mk 1:16-45

Mt 4:18-22 <====Call of Four Disciples. Mk 1:16-20 (cf. Lk 5:1-11)

Jesus soon calls four disciples who "immediately" follow him.
[Mk 1:16 (calls disciples by the sea) used as the previous referent for the παλιν retrospective reference at Mk 2:13. This story brings Mk to the introitus to Mt's Sermon on the Mount 4:23ff. which Mk desires not to repeat in his narrative, preferring Lk's dramatic healings as a way of continuing the thread of Jesus' early activities.]

(Mt 4:24-7:29 Sermon on the Mount)(Lk 4:16-30 Sermon in synagogue, Nazareth)

(Mt 4:13 Capernaum) Jesus Teaches/Heals in Synagogue.
Mk 1:21-28==>Lk 4:31-37

(4:23 synagogues; 7:28-29 astonished at his teaching)
Jesus preaches with authority in the synagogue and "immediately" is confronted by a demoniac who openly attacks him. Jesus casts out the demon; his fame begins.
[This passage is tied into a number of later events in Mark: "going to Capernaum" becomes the referent for the παλιν retrospective at 2:1; "into a synagogue" becomes the referent for the παλιν retrospective at 3:1; "was teaching" becomes the referent for παλιν retrospective at 2:13, 4:1-2 and 10:1b.]

(Mt 8:14f.) Heals Simon's Mother-in-law. Mk 1:29-31====>Lk 4:38-39

The fast-paced narrative continues. Jesus "immediately" enters Peter and Andrew's house "with James and John" [a Markan addition] and heals Peter's mother-in-law.

(Mt 8:16-17) Heals Many Sick. Mk 1:32-34====>Lk 4:40f.

Jesus' fame is astonishing; "the whole town gathers at his door" [a Mkan additional detail] and he heals many sick.
[This Mkan summary passage begins with a famous "duplicate expression" vs. 32 composed of halves from Mt and Lk; vs. 34 is another example of weaving together words from Mt and Lk.]

(Mt 4:23) Preaching/Healing Tour. Mk 1:35-39=====>Lk 4:42-44

Jesus leaves Capernaum on a preaching-healing tour of "all Galilee."
[Although Mk is following Lk's order, he may have gotten "throughout all Galilee" from Mt 4:23 although "Galilee" in A Δ Θ φ it vg syP is probably original in Luke 4:44. Then, since Lk next has the call of the first three disciples 5:1-11, Mk skips to Lk 5:12-16, the Cleansing of the Leper, which Mt also has immediately after the Sermon on the Mount at 8:1-4. This configuration of parallels has induced Huck to locate Mt's Sermon on the Mount immediately following Mk 1:39 and prior to Mk 1:40, incorrectly in our judgment. Mk continues to follow Lk's order for one more conflict story: the Healing of the Leper.]

(Lk 5:1-11 Call of Three)

Mt 8:1-4 ----- Healing of the Leper. Mk 1:40-45 = = = = = > 5:12-16

Actually, there should be no pericope break at this point in the Markan narrative, since this vivid story (which Mark gets from the Lkan outline) is part of the tour described in vs. 39. This is an example of the difficulty of dividing all three Gospels into similar-sized pericopes; what is one story in Mk consists of two accounts separated by a third (which Mk has skipped over) in Lk.
[This story contains classic evidence of Mk's procedure in conflating his sources Mt and Lk. Words and phrases are woven together into a number of "duplicate expressions." In the process Mk adds or omits numerous tiny details thus creating the familiar pattern of "minor agreements" (both positive and negative) against Mk; note especially the famous "moved with pity" in vs. 41a. Basically, he follows Lk's form and works in Mt's details. Mk 1:45 "crowds gather" is the first of numerous παλιν retrospective references to "crowds gather again" later on: 2:1, 2:13, 3:20, 4:1-2, 8:1, and 10:1.]

Part Three:
Jesus' Conflicts with the Scribes and Pharisees.
Mk 2:1-3:6

(Mt 8:5-34 Various stories located elsewhere in Lk//Mk)

Transition Passage. Mk 2:1-2

Jesus returns "again" to Capernaum to "his home"; the crowds gather and he speaks "the Word" to them.
[Mk 2:1 "Capernaum again" = παλιν retrospective passage, cf. 1:21.]

Mt 9:1-8 ----- Heals Paralytic. Mk 2:3-12 = = = = = > Lk 5:17-26

These stories depict a series of clashes between Jesus and Pharisees which gradually intensify until they begin to plot to kill him.
[Mk is carefully following Lk but he works in details from Mt, with expansions, which cause the cluster of minor agreements we can see, particularly in vss. 6,8 and 9.]

Mt 9:9 ----- Call of Levi. Mk 2:13-14 = = = = = > Lk 5:27-28

The opening verse is replete with Mkan redactional characteristics that are completely missing in the two parallel accounts: Jesus goes out "again" "by the sea" (cf. 1:16) where "the crowd" comes "and he teaches them" (cf. 10:1b). By the sea he calls Levi to be his disciple (cf. 1:16-20).
[The additional "son of Alphaeus" 2:14 is missing from Mt and Lk = minor agreement.]

Mt 9:10-13 ----- Eating with Sinners. Mk 2:15-17 = = = = > Lk 5:29-32

The series of conflict stories continue. A scene change: Jesus "sits at table in his house" indicates the start of another controversy story. [Minor agreements occur in vss 15,16.]

Mt 9:14-17 ----- Controversy over Fasting. Mk 2:18-22 = = = = = > Lk 5:33-39

A fourth dispute erupts because Jesus and his disciples do not fast. Jesus' answer is an ominous "dark saying."
[Mk's additions to his sources causes an important minor agreement (omission) in vs. 19.]

(Mt 9:18-11:30 Various stories located elsewhere in Lk.)

Mt 12:1-8 ----- Working on the Sabbath. Mk 2:23-28 = = = = > Lk 6:1-5

In this and the next conflict story, the theme is Jesus' superior grasp of the true meaning of Sabbath observance. Mk's additions to the accounts in both sources are negligible until we come to the major added comment in vs. 27, which is Mk's attempt to clarify the ambiguous Son of Man saying in his sources. The effect heightens Jesus' status as one who is above petty Jewish/Gentile demarcations, showing him to be the universal savior.
[Mk basically accepts Lk's abbreviation of Mt, but note the common agreements caused by the additions in vs. 26 and the change in word order in vs. 28.]

Mt 12:9-14 ----- Healing on the Sabbath. Mk 3:1-6 = = = = = > Lk 6:6-11

The controversy series constructed by Luke continues and Mk follows Lk's lead (except for the ending). Jesus goes "again" "into a synagogue" (Mkan redactional characteristics, cf. 1:21) and heals a man.
[Mk basically follows Lk's alterations of Mt although his additions in vss. 4-5 increase the dramatic tension. The addition of "immediately with the Herodians" in vs. 6 is a Mkan addition (cp. 12:13) causing a minor agreement. At the very end, Mk shifts back to Mt's conclusion of the account: "and they took counsel how they might destroy him" (cf. Lk 6:11). With this, Mk next fashions a complex transition passage, bringing the rising action in Part 3 to a rousing end.]

Great Crowds, Great Healings, Jesus' Fame Spreads

Mt 12:15-16 (cp. 4:23-25) < = = = = = = Mk 3:7-12 (Lk 6:17-19)

Jesus goes back "to the sea" and "great crowds" gather from all directions and he heals them all. The whole transition scene has been carefully composed to prepare the way for the next momentous story: in the midst of the ominous atmosphere of hostility all around him, Jesus now "makes" (Mk's term; cf Mt//Lk) twelve closest disciples to constitute the true Israel for the New Age.
[At this point, Mk moves across to Mt for the brief healing summary in Mt. 12:15-16, the same summary found a few verses later in Lk 6:17ff. However, for his version he has provided a typical Mkan location: "by the sea" "in the boat" (cp. Mk 4:1) "on

account of the crowds" (cp. Mk 2:4). He has combined the list of cities and regions in Lk 6:17 with others taken from Mt 4:25 to produce an even more powerful impression of the extent of Jesus' fame. But Mk omits (with Lk) the continuation of Mt's summary (Mt. 12:17-21), a lengthy O.T. quote.]

(Mt 12:17-21 O.T. quotation)

Part Four:
Jesus Creates a Brotherhood of Twelve Closest Disciples to Whom He Openly Teaches the Mystery of the Kingdom of God.
Mk 3:13-6:6a

(Mt 10:1-4) Choice of Twelve. Mk 3:13-19a= = = = >Lk 6:12-16

Another scene change, "he went up on the mountain" (the precise wording is closer to Mt 10:1 cp. Lk 6:12), introduces the next event, which Mk takes from Lk's order: the choice of Twelve Disciples. Using very carefully chosen terminology Mk emphasizes that Jesus personally "called those whom he desired" and "made" twelve disciples "to be with him" (vs. 14, cf. 5:18). From this point on, Mk will portray Jesus regularly giving this inner circle of "brothers" secret instruction—a feature Mk stresses unlike either of his sources (see Peabody 1987, chart 120 p. 181; chart 204 p. 271; chart M p. 393; and discussion on pp. 365-369).
[The list of names in vss. 14-19 is slightly different from both sources, with the famous minor agreement in vs. 17. Mk has come back from Mt to get this story from Lk, but next in Lk's order comes Lk's Sermon on the Plain (6:17-49). The combination of the healing summary in Mk 3:7-12 followed by the reference to his disciples in 13-19a, at which point Mk encounters Lk's Sermon on the Plain, has prompted Aland, Lagrange, Benoit and Orchard to locate Mt's Sermon on the Mount opposite this point in the Mkan outline, opposite Lk's Sermon on the Plain. However, Mk has long since left Mt 5-7 behind and is now moving through the stories in Mt 12. We agree with Neirynck (cf. also Greisbach's Chart) that Mt's Sermon on the Mount should be located between Mk 1:20 and 1:21. Mk then moves back to Mt and rejoins his narrative at precisely the point where he left it, i.e., 12:21 (skipping over the lengthy O.T. quote (Mt 12:17-21). Mk then picks up the thread of the narrative with Mt 12:22ff, the Beelzebul Controversy.]

(Lk 6:20-49 Sermon on the Plain)
(Lk 7:1-8:3 Various stories located elsewhere in Mt.)

Jesus' Own Family Think He is Insane and Come to Take Him Away.
Mk 3:19b-21

Jesus' no sooner creates his own inner "family" than he returns "home" to find his real family ready to lock him up because he has an unclean spirit and the religious authorities ready to execute him because this unclean spirit is none other than Satan/Beelzebul (use of black magic being a capital offense). Jesus rebuffs both, the Pharisees with a "parable" (a detail not in his sources; meaning that Mark's "parable

chapter" begins *here*, not at 4:1) and his family with a "hard saying"–vs.35 the other half of the *inclusio* that began in vs. 19b.

[Opening this pericope is a scene change "then he went home" followed by another Mkan παλιν retrospective reference to "crowds coming together again" (cf. 1:45, 2:1-2, 2:13, 4:1-2, 8:1, 10:1) "so that they could not even eat" (3:20, cf. 6:31). These Mkan redactional additions (see Peabody, p. 120 and Table 105 p. 69) are missing in Mt and Lk. As the parallel statement in 3:31 makes clear, οἱ παρ αυτου in vs. 21 means "Jesus' *family*." Although the theme of the rejection by his family is explicit in both sources later on, Mk introduces the idea here in vs. 21 to create an *inclusio* for a complex scene of double rejection: (a) by his family ("a spirit has him"–insanity), and then (b) by the religious leaders ("Satan has him"–black magic) ending with his saying about his "true family" (vs. 31), harking back to the brotherhood of twelve that he has just "made."

Mt 12:22-37< = = = =Beelzebul Controversy. Mk 3:22-30 (Lk 11:15-23)

We divide the text here only because Jesus' answer to the Pharisees is one thing, his answer to his family another (next pericope); but actually, in Mark's narrative, the whole of 3:19b-31 is one complex story on the theme "Jesus' True and False Family." Going over to Mt 12:22 Mk incorporates the anecdote of the Pharisees' slander about Satan and Jesus' riddling reply. Mk has Jesus say, in a detail missing in both sources, that Jesus answered them "in parables" (vs. 23), i.e., using mystical language the opponents could not possibly understand. Mk's version of the Beelzebul controversy has caused Two Document Theorists considerable difficulty because it contains a massive "minor agreement" against Mk, causing Streeter for example to postulate a "Mark–Q" overlap. But when Mk 3:20-35 is viewed as a unit on the hypothesis that Mk is combining material from Matt and Lk, it is simple to see what Mk is doing.]

Mt 12:46-50< = = = = =Jesus' True Mother, Brothers.
Mk 3:31-35 (Lk 8:19-21)

The story begun in 3:19a comes to a climax as Mk (skipping over Mt 12:38-45) comes back to the mention in his sources about Jesus' mother and brothers who are standing outside calling him to come out. Perceiving their ominous intentions, Mk says Jesus looks around at "the crowd seated around him" (Mkan addition) and asks "Who are my mother and brothers and sisters? . . ." Thus Mk adds the pendant to a narrative theme begun in 3:13 with an extraordinary ironic twist: the contrast between Jesus' true and his false family.

Jesus' Public Teaching and Private Explanation of the Parables

Mt 13:1-9< = = = =Jesus Teaches in Parables. Mk 4:1-9 ------ Lk 8:4-8

Following a typical Mkan παλιν scene change: "again he began to teach them beside the sea" (cp. Mt 13:1), Mk portrays Jesus as intentionally concealing the message of salvation from "those outside" by speaking to them only "in parables." In this first parable Mk enunciates the major theme of mysterious election that will run through

all of these parables, viz., the hardening of "those outside" while "you" are given the "secret of the Kingdom of God" clearly and plainly.

[Mk 4:1 is a transition filled with Mkan stylistic characteristics: "And he began to teach" cf. 1:21, 2:13; this passage is the referent for the παλιν at 10:1b. "Beside the sea," cf. 1:16, 2:13, 5:21. "a large crowd gathered," cf. 2:1, 2:13, 3:20, 4:1-2; this is the referent for the παλιν at 5:21, 8:1 and 10:1a. Although the first mention of "speaking in parables" occurs back in Mk 3:23, Mk 4:2 "And he taught them many things in parables" is the beginning of an *inclusio* construction that finishes with 4:33-34. Mk reverses the numbers in Mt's ending of the Parable of the Sower to bring out the miraculous growth of the Kingdom.]

Mt 13:10-23 < = = = = Jesus Explains the Parable to His Disciples.
Mk 4:10-20 ----- Lk 8:9-15

Mk's familiar scene-change in vs. 10 is a typical redactional addition to his sources: public teaching in parables followed by secret interpretation to his disciples. We may be certain that the other parables in Mk's collection also had secret (oral) interpretations not included here.

[Mk follows Mt's order but he adopts Lk's abbreviation of the story, omitting the lengthy O.T. quote. He adds details causing minor agreements in omission, e.g., vs. 13. Mk notes that Mt next has the redundant Parable of the Tares, so he moves across to the collection of mystical sayings in Lk 8:16.]

(Mt 13:12) Hidden Sayings on Light/Seeing.
Mk 4:21-25 = = = = > Lk 8:16-18

These sayings add the two dominant metaphors of seeing and hearing to Mk's central theme of the mystery of election. Hidden things will be manifested . . . *to those inside.*

(Mt 13:24-30 Parable of Tares)

The Seed Growing Secretly. Mk 4:26-29

Mk adds another parable of growth, not in either of his sources, continuing the theme of the mystery of God's ways.

Mt. 13:31-32 < = = = = Mustard Seed. Mk 4:30-32 (Lk. 13:18-19)

Mk returns to Mt for another "seed" parable, making some minor changes in it (all "minor agreements," see vss. 31,32). Mk's additions are the hints which reveal his understanding of it: to him it is a miniature scenario predicting the miraculous growth of the Christian community from "the smallest 'seed' on earth" to become "the greatest of all shrubs," "putting forth large branches" so the birds of the air can make nests in its "shade."

(Mt 13:33 Parable of Leaven)

Mt 13:34-35< = = = = = =Conclusion. Mk 4:33-34

Skipping Mt's Parable of the Leaven, which Mk does not need, Mk finds a summary passage in Mt 13:34f. and converts it into the second member of the *inclusio* looking back to the opening lines in 4:1. This concludes Mk's description of Jesus teaching "the word" (term not in Mt) to the crowd followed by private explanation to his disciples.

[Mk omits the rest of Mt's parables (Tares Explanation, Treasure, Pearl, Dragnet), and switches to Lk, going to the exact point where he left him, namely at 8:18, and resumes there. However, the next story in Lk is about Jesus' True Mother, etc. (8:19-21) and he has already told that, so he moves forward to the next story, Stilling the Storm (Lk 8:22-25).]

(Lk 8:19-21 Jesus' True Mother/Brothers)

(Mt 13:36-52 Various parables)

Christ's Divine Power Shocks and Terrifies. Mk 4:35-6:6a

(Mt 8:23-27) Stilling the Storm. Mk 4:35-41= = = = >Lk 8:22-25

Mk resumes the narrative of Jesus' mighty deeds, except that each new miracles increases in divine power and magnitude.

[Mk has added numerous details to the story in his sources so that this story abounds in minor agreements (both positive and negative), as Mk retells the story with the vivid eyewitness verisimilitude of Peter's memory. Mk 4:35 "to the other side" is the referent for the παλιν retrospective at 5:21.]

(Mt 8:25-34) Gerasene Demoniac. Mk 5:1-20= = = = >Lk 8:26-39

The Christ can heal a whole "herd" of demons, utterly beyond the power of mortal healers.

[Continuing on with Luke (using his change in place name) Mk works in a few words from Mt and adds numerous details (creating many minor agreements) which heighten the dramatic vividness of the whole story. Mk 5:1 "to the other side" is the referent for the παλιν retrospective at 5:21.]

(Mt 9:18-26) Jairus' Daughter, Bleeding Woman.
Mk 5:21-43= = = = >Lk 8:40-56

Two amazing healings in quick succession.

[Mk begins this story with another παλιν phrase. The two stories were already combined in Mt whence Lk got them, but Mk adds numerous details (creating a whole pattern of minor agreements). Mk 5:21 "to the other side *again*" harks back to 5:1, 4:35.]

Mt 13:53-58< =Retrospective Passage on Jesus' Wisdom and Miracles.
Mk 6:1-6a (Lk 4:16-30)

The story focuses on his hometownsfolk inability to grasp anything of what has been

happening: "what is the *wisdom* that has been given to him?" (cf. Mk 3:23-4:34) and "from whence are such *miracles* that are wrought by his hands?" (cf. Mk 4:35-5:43). At this point in Lk's outline, Mk comes to the story of the Sending Out of the Twelve. Mk/Peter sees this event as the beginning of the most glorious period in Jesus' Galilee ministry. In his ironic, contrapuntal style, however, Mk first interposes Mt's account of the contempt and unbelief still prevailing, despite everything, in Jesus' home town. Interrupting his use of Lk, Mk moves over to Mt to the end of the Parable Discourse (13:52) and relates the sad story of the hardness of heart in Jesus' own hometown.]

Part Five:
Initial Mission of the Twelve, Execution of John the Baptist.
Mk 6:6b-6:33

(Mt 9:35; 10:1-14) Sending Out of the Twelve.
Mk 6:6b-13 = = = = > Lk 9:1-6

Mk now begins describing the glorious final days in the region of Galilee and beyond, leading up to the Confession of Peter followed by the first warnings about Jesus' imminent death.
[Mk moves back to Lk for this (and the next) story, working in details from Mt and adding features of his own (e.g., vs. 8). It is a striking example of a Mkan "zig-zag." Noteworthy is Mk's version's exclusive mention of the instructions to the Twelve to cast out demons, omitting any proclamation of the Kingdom of God mentioned in both Mt and Lk. Mk/Peter may have considered it a potentially misleading concept to his Roman patrons.]

Mt 14:1-2 ----- Herod's View of John. Mk 6:14-16 = = = = = > Lk 9:7-9

Mk's contrapuntal style continues as he now harks back to the grim ending of John the Baptist, the "precursor" to Jesus. Mk dramatically relates the details of this brutal, decadent court, foreshadowing Jesus' own eventual doom at the hands of Gentiles. [Mk relies mostly on Lk's account, but continues on without the slightest pause to add Mt's version of the death of John, which is not in Lk. Like the Beelzebul Controversy, this is a vivid illustration of Mk's "zig zag" *within* a single story. Conversely, how did each take just one-half of Mk's story?]

Mt 14:3-12 < = = = = = Death of John the Baptist. Mk 6:17-29

Mt's spare account is vividly amplified by Peter/Mk because the story of John the Baptist's death forms a sharp contrast to what Jesus next does right in Herod's territory.

Mt 14:12-13 ----- Return of the Twelve. Mk 6:30-33 = = = = = = > Lk 9:10

Mk returns to Lk to pick up the detail of the return of the Twelve and emphasizes that they had "done *and taught*" many things, harking back to 6:12-13. Mk's narrative is unique in that it accentuates "The Twelve" in a three-fold series: Calling, Sending, Return, symbolizing the Church's missionary activity.

[Mk 6:31 is a sentence redolent of Markisms ("coming and going, no leisure even to eat"; see Peabody 1987, charts 48, 63, 105, 122) to bridge back to Mt's "lonely place apart," where Mk resumes with Mt's account of the Feeding of the 5000, working in details from Lk.]

Part Six:
The Food that Satisfies.
Mk 6:34-8:21

Mt 14:13-21 < = = = = = Feeding of the 5000. Mk 6:34-44 ----- Lk 9:11-17

In the sharpest possible contrast to the story of the beastly murder of John the Baptist, Mk portrays Jesus in a series of vignettes intended to reveal a series of fundamental truths about his final ministry in Galilee. Here, surrounded by death and danger Jesus is able to provide this feast from "nothing"; mysteriously, Jesus can always "feed" his own. The disciples do not understand anything. The remnants filled "twelve" baskets.
[Although Mk relies more on Mt here, he is also in step with Lk and his account is a skillful blend of details from both, with numerous expansions and additional "eyewitness" details; vss. 34b, 37b-38, 40. The "great crowd" in vs. 34 is a referent for παλιν retrospective at 8:1 and 10:1.]

Mt 14:22-33 < = = = = = = Jesus Walks on the Water. Mark 6:45-52

"Immediately" the scene changes in Mk and the disciples set out by themselves on the Sea of Galilee without Jesus, headed toward Bethsaida. But later in the night they see Jesus walking toward them on the water and become terrified, thinking they have seen a ghost. They are obviously completely confused. Jesus gets in and calms them down. Mk's version adds a final comment (vs. 52) that is extraordinarily revealing of his own point of view: to Mk, this story is a pictorial representation *of the meaning of the previous story* from the point of view of the disciples, who still do not understand "about the bread" (nor can they "for their hearts were hardened" a Mkan addition), viz., about Jesus' miraculous power in the midst of the howling seas at midnight (=terrifying danger) to come to and "give bread" to his own.
[Mk/Peter skips Mt's detail about Peter walking on the water, because he sees this as a story about the disiples fear and lack of faith. For Mt, this could have been a pictorial representation of Peter's confession.]

Mt 14:34-36 < = = = = = = Healings at Gennesaret. Mk 6:53-56

Once they reach shore, the people there "immediately knew him" and carried sick from everywhere to be healed. This is a contrapuntal vignette (contrast the "unseeing" disciples).
[Mk is following Mt but greatly heightens the reaction of the people.]

Mt 15:1-20 < = = = = = = Clean and Unclean Foods. Mk 7:1-23

Continuing on with the theme of "eating bread" Mk immediately shifts into a story about the Pharisees' attack on Jesus' disciples for eating bread with dirty hands.

Following Mt, Mk quotes Jesus who once again hurls the "hardness of heart" quote at them (Isa 29:13 LXX) with the terrible saying "In vain do they worship me!" (Mk 7:7//Mt 15:9). Mk is preparing to shift the focus of the story toward the Gentiles and their reaction, above all with his striking addition to Mt's version: "Thus he declared all foods clean" (7:19), and the redefinition of defilement as that which comes out of one's heart (followed by a typical Hellenistic vice list amplified by Mk, cp Rom. 1:28f, 1 Cor. 5:10, etc.).

[This passage is famous for the Mkan additions to the Matthean version that are obviously motivated by the need of his Roman Gentile audience for fuller explanations (see vss 2-4,9-10a, 11, 13b-, 19b). Mk 7:17 Jesus goes into a house and his disciples question him (cf. 9:28) is the referent for the παλιν retrospective at 10:10 (cf. 4:2).]

Mt 15:21-28< ==The Syrophoenician Woman Is Satisfied with Crumbs from Jesus' Table. Mk 7:24-30

This Gentile woman sees clearly enough to be willing to eat "bread crumbs," i.e., a healing, off the floor under Jesus' table. He is amazed at her. In Mark's view, this story foreshadows the willing reception of the Gospel by Gentiles (which is the point of this story as well as the Feeding of the 4000 in a few verses).

[Note that Mk has omitted the harsh saying in Mt 15:24 as incompatible with the way he understands this story. Mk 7:24 "regions of Tyre" is the referent for the παλιν retrospective at 7:31.]

Mt 15:29-31< ======Jesus Heals Many Others. Mk 7:31-37

Jesus returns to Galilee via a peculiar (if taken literally) geographical route whose real purpose (it is not in Mt) is to portray Jesus spending considerable time in Gentile territory, ending in the Decapolis, where Mk focuses Mt's generalized healing summary into a single healing (presumably a Gentile). Jesus physically unobstructs the man's ears and tongue so that he can hear and speak "plainly" (vs 35), a pictorial representation of the preparation of Gentile missionaries. Continuing the thoughts contained in the Healing of the Syrophoenician's daughter, this story's conclusion points clearly to the Gentile Mission.

[Note: Mk omits Mt's reference to the "God of Israel" at the end. Mk 7:31 "and again leaving the regions of Tyre" cf. 7:24.]

Mt 15:32-39< =====Feeding of 4000. Mk 8:1-9

"A great crowd" gathers "again" (cf 6:34) and is "fed"; "seven baskets" are left over. As the retrospective dialogue in 8:19-20 clearly reveals, this "feeding" foreshadows the Gentile mission.

[Mk 8:1 is a typical παλιν redactional phrase: once "again" the "crowds" have nothing to eat (see Peabody 1987 charts 112, 161).]

Mt 16:1-12< =====Pharisees' "Bread" is to be Avoided. Mk 8:10-21.

Following a geographical scene change, Mk describes an attack on Jesus by some

Pharisees who demand a "sign" (of legitimacy?). Jesus rejects their demand out of hand and leaves "Dalmanutha" (Mt "Magadan"). Getting "into the boat again" (8:13) they "set out for the other shore" (away from the Pharisees?). While in the boat (a Mkan addition) the disciples find they only have one loaf of bread to eat. Jesus says in an obvious symbolic counter-point: "avoid the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod" (Matt: Sadducees). They stupidly repeat, "We have no *bread*." Jesus becomes furious. Mk's version of Jesus' angry series of questions inserts the Isaianic theme of blindness/deafness (vs. 17b-18) which is missing in Mt. Then in striking contrast to Mt's vague final questions about the leftovers (16:9-10), Mk concludes Jesus' diatribe with an obviously *symbolic* backward look at two preceding stories: "How many baskets of fragments were left over after first feeding?" They reply, "Twelve." "After the second?" "Seven," they answer. Then Jesus says, giving a huge wink, "*Now* do you understand? Do you *still* think you don't have any 'bread?" With this pregnant question hanging in the air, Mk's Jesus is ready to leave the Galilee and turn toward Jerusalem. The two "feeding" stories concluded by this symbolic pericope seem intended by Mk to depict the spiritual meaning of Christ's mission to Israel and the Gentile mission of the Church. With this pointed summary ("The Church will never lack for Jesus Christ's living 'bread' no matter what the external circumstances."), Mk prepares to embark on the next major part: Christ on the way toward crucifixion and resurrection.

[On the specific sense intended by "twelve" and "seven," cp. Acts 6:2-3; "twelve"= Hebrew mission, "seven"=Gentile mission.]

Part Seven:
On the Way: Preparation for Death and Transfiguration.
Mk 8:22-10:52

Mk 8:22-26 Healing of a Blind Man in Bethsaida

Mk begins and ends this part telling about Christ "on the way" with two stories of blind men. The first, which is unique to Mk, is the first of twin stories emphasizing the theme: the blind see clearly while the "sighted" (especially the disciples) are still blind (the second story will come at 10:46-52). The two stories are an *inclusio* around a series depicting Jesus "on the road" to Jerusalem. As in Luke, this section contains a series of regulations for the governing of the Christian community. The curious two-step healing in this story, seeing vaguely and incorrectly and then "everything clearly," is a symbolic lead-in to the very next story, where Peter's "sees" only in part, i.e., even Peter still had to be fully healed by Jesus.

Mt 16:13-20< = = = = =Peter's Confession. Mk 8:27-30= = = = = >Lk 9:18-21

In the midst of confused speculations, Peter partly "sees" who Jesus is.

[Mk's version is almost perfectly balanced between Mt and Lk. Mk adopts Lk's shorter version, leaving out the promise to Peter (Mt 16:17-19) but adopts Mt's wording over Lk's at several points, above all the harsh ending (see next section). The text of Sinaiticus should not be omitted at Mk 8:29b.]

Mt 16:21-23 < = = = = =First Prediction of Jesus' Passion;
Peter's Rebuke Mk 8:31-33

Mk's additional words in vs. 33 "turning and seeing his disciples," suggest that Mk/Peter is at pains to explain that the rebuke Jesus leveled at Peter actually applied to them all, not just Peter (an impression possible from Mt's version). Note that Jesus "teaching them" is to both crowd and disciples. Note also that Mk stresses that he said this "plainly" (8:32a not in Mt).
[Mk 8:31 "and he began to teach them" is the referent for παλιν retrospective in 10:1b.]

Mt 16:24-26 < = = = = =The Costs of the Gospel. Mk 8:34-38 ----- 9:23-26

After an emphatic opening (vs. 34), Mk sets out the theme of Christian discipleship. The prophecy enunciated in Mk 9:lf. "some standing here will not taste death before they see the power of the Kingdom of God" is fulfilled "six days later," i.e., the very next vignette. [Mk is in step with both of his sources, but despite some conflations, is more influenced by Mt's version. 8:34 "calling" either the crowd or his disciples "to him" in order to teach them is a familiar Mkan characteristic; cf. 3:23, 7:14, 8:1, 10:42 and 12:43.]

Mt 16:28-17:13 < = = = = =Seeing the Kingdom. Mk 9:1-13 ---- Lk 9:27-36

We propose to divide the pericope at 8:38/9:1. Jesus' prophecy in Mt 16:28// Lk 9:27 (cf. Mk 9:1) is clearly part of the foregoing teaching material. Then both Mt and Lk follow this with a time break (Mt "after six days," Lk "after eight days") signifying a pericope change. However, Mk has introduced the words "And he said to them" in Mk in 9:1a (a minor agreement) which suggest to us that Mk intended to link this striking saying with the following story as its fulfillment. Thus Mk's understanding of "some" "will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God come with power" is immediately fulfilled "six days later" (Mk//Mt; Lk "eight"). However, it is obvious that although Peter and James and John are privileged to see the Kingdom come with power, they still do not see/understand and are terrified. "Coming down the mountain" Mk portrays a curious dialogue that begins with the disciples wondering what "resurrection from the dead means" so they ask Jesus in a seeming non sequitur about *Elijah.* Their question should be translated "Do the Scribes say . . . ," and Jesus' answer is basically, "Yes, Elijah does come first and he restores all things [to God]." The next sentence should be read as a counter-question from the disciples: "Well then, how come [you Jesus say that] it is written about the Son of Man . . . that he should suffer etc.?" Jesus' reply then harks back to John the Baptist: "Well 'Elijah' did come and they did it to him just as it was prophesied; so also prophecies about the Son of Man will be fulfilled." Mk's version has moved past Mt in the interpretive grasp of OT prophecy regarding both Elijah and the Messiah; both are now being reinterpreted in the light of Isa 53 and parallels. Thus interpreted, Mk's text says: Watch! What happened to John the Baptist also happened to Jesus Christ. But that was not be the end of the story for them. You ("disciples") don't understand resurrection from the dead? Consider this story . . . And Mk launches into an illustration of resurrection from the dead.

[All three Gospels are in step as regards order of pericopes; Mk is closer to Mt in content.]

Mt 17:14-21 < = =The Meaning of Resurrection from the Dead.
Mk 9:14-29 -- Lk 9:37-43a

This story is Mk's elaborate answer to the disciples' debate over "the meaning of resurrection of the dead." Massively revising and adding to his source material, Mk/Peter goes out of his way to emphasize the severity of the boy's affliction – he was virtually dead (vs. 27). Then occurs the very heavy term (not in Mt or Lk): "Jesus *raised* him up" (εγειρω). The classic cry of despair of the father, "I believe; help thou my unbelief!" is the focus Mk's version of the story: *Even so Jesus will raise you; have faith!* [The usual explanation of joint coincidental omissions by Mt and Lk of Mk's "verbose" story collapses completely when confronted by the kinds of "details" Mt and Lk allegedly simultaneously omitted. Mk's version is a vivid, brilliantly crafted Hellenistic wonder story containing a theme basic to the whole Gospel. Furthermore, there are prominent Mkanisms missing in Mt and Lk, e.g., vs. 28a "when he had entered the house"; see Peabody 1987, charts 42,70, L, M.]

Mt 17:22-23 < = = =Second Prediction of Crucifixion/Resurrection.
Mk 9:30-32 --- Lk 9:43b-45

Going on with the theme of resurrection from the dead brought out in the previous story, Mk emphasizes that Jesus *secretly* taught his disciples (cp. Mt 17:22); "the crowds" do not get this teaching. Again the disciples do not understand and are afraid to ask. This statement sets the stage for formal instruction on church regulations. [With the final statement vs. 32//Lk 9:45, Mk shifts over to Lk for this and the next story.]

Mt 17:24-27 Temple Tax

Mt 18:1-5 < = =A Series of Community Regulations. Mk 9:33-50 = = >Lk 9:46-50

The pericope begins with a scene change: "they came to Capernaum" and go "into a house" (Mkan stylistic detail) where they discuss various issues, causing Jesus to instruct them *ex cathedra* on a range of issues: vss. 36-37, the greatest must be like humble children; vss. 38-41, avoid in-group arrogance; (vs. 41 is a great leveler, cp. Mt 25:40); vss. 42-48, do not cause any offense whether by hand, foot, eye – i.e., by anything. The summary comes in vs. 50: "Be at peace with one another."
[Mk/Peter has composed a speech for Jesus that focuses on community regulations, which is precisely what Mt has here in ch. 18. The construction is as follows. Mk's opening 9:33 comes from Mt's place detail in 17:24a (after which Mk omits the rest of Mt's story as of no purpose in the Gentile Mission context). Mk then follows Lk for two short accounts in Mk 9:33-41, after which he rejoins Mt at Mt 18:6 because he does not intend to follow the order of Lk's Central Section. Note that all of the themes in Mt's ch. 18 are covered in Jesus's speech in this pericope of Mk. This section has numerous "minor agreements" including the famous: "because you are of Christ" in 9:41.]

Mt 19:1-15 < = = More Regulations: marriage/divorce/children.
Mk 10:1-16 (Lk 18:15-17)

10:1 is another major παλιν retrospective redactional verse, setting the scene for continued community regulations regarding marriage/family. Mk's version of the divorce/celibacy teaching in Mt 19:1-12 has been revised with the Gentile Mission in mind. Mk has altered the careful legal language contained in Mt's version to turn it into a blanket prohibition of divorce (vss. 2-12), followed by a plea for humane treatment of children (vss. 13-16//Lk 18:15-17). Then Mk omits Mt's celibacy teaching in 19:10-12.
[There are several Mkan characteristics in 10:1: "crowds gather" cf. 1:45, 2:1, esp. 2:13, 3:20, 4:1-2, 5:21, 8:1 *et passim;* "and *again, as was his custom,* he taught them" cf. 2:13, 4:2. Mk 10:10 "And in the house the disciples asked him *again*" is another Mkan characteristic addition to the story, cf. 4:10, 7:17, 9:28.]

Mt 19:16-30 < = = = Teachings on Wealth. Mk 10:17-31 = = = > Lk 18:18-30

Mk concludes the regulations section with a lengthy story, full of details woven together from Mt and Lk, focusing on the issue of wealth.
[It is often alleged that Mk 10:18 *cannot conceivably* be dependent upon Mt 19:17. As L. Cope shows in *A Scribe Trained for the Kingdom* ([CBQ Monogr.ser. 5] Washington: CBA 1976), the evidence in fact points in the opposite direction. At the end of this story, Mk is once again close to Mt 19:30. Mt's next parable is skipped and Mk resumes at Mt 20:17.]

Mt 20:17-19 < = = Third Prediction of Suffering/Resurrection.
Mk 10:32-34 – Lk 18:31-34

Mk 10:32 is a redactional verse positively overflowing with unique Mkan stylistic phrases e.g., "summoning his disciples to him *again.*" Mk ends this section with the third explicit warning by Jesus about what will soon happen to him followed by two stories vividly revealing the disciples' "blindness" (a theme Mk emphasizes with Lk at this point).
[On the unique Mkan aspects of 10:32 (especially another major use of παλιν retrospective), see Peabody 1987 charts 67, 70, 102, 178, 184, 221. Then comes a remarkable zig-zag: vs. 33 is closer to Mt 20:18-19a, while vs. 34 is closer to Lk 18:33. The next verse in Lk is omitted (vs. 34, which is Lk's summary of the story in Mt 20:20-28) because Mk wants to tell the story as a lead-in to the Healing of Bar Timaeus.]

Mt 20:20-28 < = = = = Response of the Sons of Zebedee.
Mk 10:35-45 (cp Lk. 22:24-27)

In a vivid ironic touch, Mk/Peter next includes with Mt the story of the quest for ultimate glory by the sons of Zebedee. Striking however is the particular twist Mk puts on Jesus' answer (vss. 38-39). In Mk/Peter's version, Jesus balances Baptism and the Eucharistic Cup as sacraments of Death/Rebirth-Eternal Life. The story ends with another rebuke of the arrogance of The Twelve.

Mt 20:29-43 ---- Healing of BarTimaeus. Mk 10:46-52 = = = = = > Lk 18:35-43

This story harks back to the beginning of this part: the healing of the blind man in Bethsaida. These twin stories highlight Mk's (Isaianic) theme of seeing/understanding and the incorrigible blindness of The Twelve. Here it is a "blind beggar" who indeed "sees" who Jesus is and identifies him—from a distance! Mk concludes with Lk's theme: "your faith has saved you" (cf. Lk 18:42) significantly adding (what is not in either source) he saw immediately and followed him *"on the way."*
[Mk now joins up with Lk's order of events. However, he is presented at the outset with contradictory place references in his sources. Mt 20:29 says "And as they went out of Jericho" and Lk 18:35 says "as he drew near to Jericho." Mk's solution is classic: "And they came to Jericho and as he was leaving Jericho . . ." He goes on to give a carefully conflated story drawing fully on Mt and Lk throughout. There are important "minor agreements" in Mk 10:46 esp. the famous: "Bar Timaeus . . . the son of Timaeus," and all of vss. 49-50.]

Part Eight:
The End of the Temple Era.
Mk 11:1-13:37

Mt 21:1-9 < = = = = = Entry into Jerusalem. Mk 11:1-10 ----- Lk 19:28-40

With this story Mk prepares a monumental section in his narrative containing a culminating series of vignettes, prior to the graphic account of Jesus' arrest, trial, torture, death and resurrection, that present Jesus' appraisal of every essential aspect of Palestinian Judaism.
[Mk's account of the "triumphal" entry account is a skillful blend of elements of both Mt and Lk. He omits Mt's reference to two animals with Lk as well as the quote from Zech. 9:9. Then he omits Lk 19:37 blending Mt's conclusion to the story and Lk's, with one amazing addition, vs 10, a "minor agreement" missing entirely in both Mt and Lk.]

Mt 21:10-22 < = = Cursing the Fig Tree = the Old Temple.
Mk 11:11-25 --- Lk 19:45-48

Mk's account of the cursing of the fig tree has always been a *crux interpretorum* (not least for Two Document Theorists). Moreover it has proved to be a *skandalon* to all who interpret it literally. Indeed, it is noteworthy that these two stories were problematic already to Lk, who severely truncated one and omitted the other (John ignores *both*). Using the Two Gospel Hypothesis, we clearly discern Mk's intentions and see what he is trying to tell his audience in the way he has revised these two stories. To begin with, Mk, diverging from the order in *both* of his sources, has split into two parts both stories of the "cleansing" of the temple and the cursing of the fig tree. Then he wove the four parts together into a single story that expressed a single point: *the era of Second Temple is done, finished.* Part (a), Jesus enters the Temple and merely looks around one last time (11:11). Part (b), the next day on his way back to the Temple from Bethany he sees a fig tree with no figs and curses it; Mk explains (what is not in Mt's account) "it was not the season for figs." Part (c), entering the Temple, Mk intensifies and expands the accounts in Mt and Lk, adding a very

important phrase: "he would not allow anyone to carry anything through the Temple." In other words, by halting all carrying activity Mk implies that Jesus stopped all sacrificial activity, i.e., all worship activity; he stopped the whole temple cultus; *he "withered" it,* because "it was not [any longer] its season." Mk then skipped over Mt's reference to healings in Mt. 21:14 and the rest of Mt's version in order to restrict the focus to "the end of the Temple." Part (d), the next day on their way back to the Temple again, Peter points out the withered fig tree. Jesus' reply, "Have faith in God," is incomprehensible unless it is interpreted in the context of the whole story, particularly Mk's ending on forgiveness and prayer. Where Mt has treated the fig tree as a "nature miracle," Mk has transformed it into a unified story expressing *Jesus' rejection of the old Temple cultus and its replacement by the Christian Church.* This interpretation is suggested by Mk's unique conclusion, where Jesus instructs the disciples about prayer; i.e., because the "season" of the Temple is finished, *now, "when you pray . . . "* and he gives instructions using material from Mt's Sermon on the Mount (Mk 11:25//Mt 6:14-15).

In short, Mk has taken the Mthean account of both incidents and intertwined them, wrapping the fig tree incident around the Temple "cleansing"–which, in Mk's account is not a cleansing but a decisive withering. The Jerusalem Temple/Fig Tree is no longer viable; it no longer is in "season"; "*in vain do the worship me . . .*" Now is the time for faith, forgiveness and prayer in the Christian Church (11:20-25). [This double vignette is a gem when viewed from the Two Gospel Hypothesis perspective. Out of many possible items to mention, we begin first with the utterly striking "and Peter remembered" vs. 21 (cp. 14:72). Rightly was the Gospel of Mark later known as the "Memoirs of Peter." Equally striking is the Mkan addition in Jesus' Scripture quotation in the Temple "My house shall be called a house of prayer *for all nations*" (Isa 56:7 LXX), which is missing from both Mt and Lk; an extraordinary "minor agreement," but clearly revealing Mk/Peter's theological agenda.]

Subpart Eight:
Series of Conflicts with Jerusalem Factions.
Mk 11:27-12:37a

Next comes a tableau composed of five vignettes in which Mk parades representatives of the Jerusalem factions in a series of disputes with Jesus in the Temple: the Chief Priests, the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Scribes, culminating in the climax, a contrast-vignette about a poor little widow whom Jesus approves because she gives "her whole life."

Mt 21:23-46 < = = By Whose Authority Did Jesus Act?
Mk 11:27-12:12 --- Lk 20:1-19

This subsection opens (vs 27) with παλιν retrospective which harks back to 11:15, back to 11:11, back to 10:32-33. This is the third and climactic "entry" into Jerusalem and the Temple. Each of the subsequent challenge-response vignettes expresses perfectly the love of the Hellenistic mind for sharp debates, possibly functioning originally in the Roman Church's Passover/Eucharist Seder (Daube). First come the central champions of the Old Order, the High Priests of the Temple. Against their demand to know by what authority Jesus "does these things," Jesus invokes the spectre of John the Baptist, knowing full well of their guilt in that affair. For the final time

Jesus' and John the Baptist's paths cross *and merge* in Mk's narrative; what you did to John, says Jesus in the bitter parable he tells on the High Priests (12:1-12), you will very soon do also to me. Only your fear of the crowd prevents you from doing it now (Mk 11:32; 12:12).
[Mk rejoins the order of Mt//Lk for this story, although he follows Lk in skipping Mt 21:28-32, a parable that is much less forceful than Mt 21:33-46. Mk also follows Lk's version of the Parable of the Wicked Tenant Farmers, occasionally conflating details from Mt. Mk then skips Mt 22:1-14 which is another parable dealing with the same general theme (a parable that Lk has kept and located elsewhere). Mk has finished with the High Priests; he is now ready to describe the debate with the Pharisees.]

Mt 22:15-22 < = = = = Did Jesus Preach Treason? Mk 12:13-17 ----- Lk 20:20-26

Temporarily balked of their prey, the High Priests put forth a cat's paw in the guise of some Pharisees and Herod's servants who try to trap Jesus into committing treason. If they succeed at this, then the High Priests won't need to worry about what the crowds might do, they can simply let the Romans arrest and execute him (a detail Lk explains in 20:20). Nevertheless, Jesus outwits them.
[Mk skillfully conflates his sources in each of these stories; note that vs. 14 contains a "duplicate expression": each half is drawn from Mt and Lk respectively.]

Mt 22:23-33 < = = Do You Really Believe in the Resurrection?
Mk 12:18-27 — Lk 20:27-40

The classic middle eastern scholarly tableau of the visiting scholar jousting with various questioners in the Temple precincts continues as Sadducees walk up and attempt to ridicule his teaching about resurrection, again to no avail.
[Mk clearly prefers Mt's version, although there are numerous details taken from Lk, and a clarifying phrase in vs. 21 that is a "minor agreement." Mk's addition in vs. 27b renders Jesus' negative judgment on the "Sadducees."]

Mt 22:34-40 < = = = What is the Greatest Commandment?
Mk 12:28-34 (Lk 10:25-28)

Finally, a Scribe is introduced who asks Jesus to name the most important commandment of all, obviously a traditional *topos*. Mk concludes by declaring that Jesus had successfully shut them all up: "after that no one dared to ask him any question" (cp Mt 22:46).
[Confronted by two drastically different versions of the same story, Mk has chosen simply to repeat them in turn, Mt's first and then Lk's.]

Mt 22:41-46 ----- On David's Son. Mk 12:35-37a < = = = = = Lk 20:41-44

Jesus now turns the tables on his accusors by asking them a question. The question implies that the Son of Man is greater than David himself, further distancing Jesus from traditional Jewish ties toward a universal concept.
[Mk is carefully conflating the two accounts.]

Mt 23:1-6 ----- Watch Out for Scribes! Mk 12:37b-40< = = = = =Lk 20:45-47

[Mk closely follows Lk but is giving the gist of Mt's attack on the Pharisees. Vs. 37b is a Mkan compositional phrase (cf. 6:20) "watch out for Scribes" in his transition to Lk 20:45-47.]

The Widow Who Gives Her Whole Life. Mk 12:41-44= = = = = >Lk 21:1-4

The final vignette in this subpart (before Mk turns to the awesome and terrifying prophecy of doom concerning the Jerusalem Temple) begins with a detail not in Lk, namely, that Jesus "sits down opposite the Temple treasury" (cp. Mk. 13:3) in order to inspect what is happening. Despite all of the wealth pouring into the collection boxes, Jesus approves only a poor widow's "penny" because it is "her whole life," heightening Lk's "everything she had" with overtones of martyrdom.
[It is striking to observe Mk going out of his way to conclude this series of Mthean vignettes with a uniquely Lkan story in which a little old woman is shown to be superior to all of Jerusalem's wealthy, learned men. This speaks volumes about Peter/Mk's view of women and social agenda. The Latinizing explanation "that is, a *quadran*" is a classic example of a Mkan explanatory addition to his Lkan source, as well as a tell-tale sign of Mk's Roman provenance. The subtle alteration in Mk 12:44b of Lk 21:4b puts a striking final twist on the story.]

Matt 24:1-2< = = = =The End of the Temple. Mk 13:1-2= = = = >Lk 21:5-6

Jesus walks out of the Temple, an action which completes the series of judgments against Jerusalem and the Temple establishment that commenced in 11:27. The Temple has outlived its usefulness and will be destroyed.
[Mk has utilized several favorite literary usages in the composition of this transition passage. For example, "behold!" used to introduce an independent clause (cf. Peabody, Table 88), "teacher" (Table 125), "and coming out" to start a section (Table 217). Opening with a genitive absolute clause is also characteristic.]

Part Nine:
Jesus Warns: Watch! The End of History Is Almost Here!
Mk 13:3-37.

Matt 24:3< = = = =When Will the End Come? Mk 13:3-4 ---- Lk 21:7

With the Temple now a thing of the past, Jesus sits down with the inner core of the Twelve "opposite the Temple" and answers the Church's main question: when will the End come and our Deliverance be manifested? In his longest speech in Mk, Jesus paints the full drama of the catastrophies soon to come.
[Mk opens by following carefully the Matt reference to the Mount of Olives as the locale for Jesus' last discourse. In the phrase "opposite the Temple" recalls 12:41. For other mentions in Mk to an inner core, cf. 1:16; 1:29; 3:17; 13:3. In the two-fold form of the question Mk follows both Matt and Lk, omitting Mt's common term "parousia" with Lk.]

Matt 24:4-8< = = = =The Beginning of the Final Tribulation.
Mk 13:5-8 ---- Lk 21:8-11

By the time the Gospel of Mark was written, the Christian congregation in Rome would have heard of nothing but "wars and rumors of wars" for at least ten years. The last years of Nero's reign witnessed the clash of "nation against nation" as Palestine and North Africa rebelled against Rome in 67-68, requiring major mobilization of Roman forces to suppress it. Civil war erupted in the capital itself in 68 following the not-unexpected assassination of Nero.

[In this unit Mk follows both Matt and Lk carefully although manifesting a preference for the wording of Matt. The influence of Lk is seen in 13:7a: "when you hear of wars and rumors of wars," the reference to earthquakes as the first of the woes. This passage is significant for several Minor Agreements: cf. "he said" (Matt 24:4//Lk 21:8) instead of "he began to say (Mk 13:5), which is a Mkan characteristic (Table 67). "Birthpangs" is a Jewish messianic *terminus technicus* that Mark keeps from Mt's account.]

Matt (10:17-24)24:9-14< = =Persecution Will Increase.
Mk 13:9-13 --- Lk 21:12-19(12:11-12)

In this section the persection and death of many Roman Christians, but particularly Peter and Paul, may be alluded to, as well as a possible breakdown of Roman Christian solidarity during the Neronian persecution (Tacitus *Annals* 15.44.2-8).

[In composing this passage, Mk found before him not two but four accounts of persecution during mission in Mt and Lk. Mt's text has two accounts of persecution during mission, the parallel here at Mt 24:9-14 and an earlier parallel at 10:17-24. Luke combined these two accounts in 12:11-12 and also here in the parallel at 21:12-19. Mk comes to this parallel context (Mt 24//Lk 21) and notes some discrepancies. Where Mt and Lk *agree* is Mt 10:22//24:9//Lk 21:17, so Mk uses this at 13:13. This takes him back to the context of Mt 10 where he finds other parallel language and uses it also, note especially Mt 10:18//Mk 13:9 (the theme of preaching is important to Mk, cf Table 11) and 10:21//Mk 13:12. The striking twin doublets Mt 10:18b//24:22b and Mt 10:22b//24:13 are used in the composition of Mk 13:10. In general, Mt 10:19-22 is the closest parallel *in wording* to this pericope in Mk. No existing synopses show these complex interrelationships.

Matt 24:15-25= = = =The Final Sacrilege. Mk 13:14-23 --- Lk 21:20-24

The dreadful prophecies reach their climax with something so terrible that it is only mentioned obliquely: "when you see the *desolating sacrilege* (RSV; KJ "abomination of desolation") immediately followed by the tip-off: "let the reader understand." Understand what? Scholars have long scratched their heads over this strange echo from the prophecies of Daniel 12:11 (cf. Dn 11:31). Given the historical context in which we believe the Gospel of Mark was written, namely, the immediate post-war period (i.e., 69-79), this could well be a veiled allusion to something the soldiers of Titus when they captured the Temple in Jerusalem: they set up their military standards in the Holy of Holies. Such an act of intentional desecration would hark back directly to the Danielic prophecies. Curious however is Mk's alteration of Mt's neuter participle "standing" to a *masculine* participle "standing." Could he have known

of a male statue of some kind? Or could Mk be alluding to the immense golden statue of *Nero* erected in Rome immediately after the great fire of 64, a catastrophe which led directly to so much Christian suffering and death? Note that Mk not only uses the masculine "standing" but also changes Mt's specific location of the "desolating sacrilege" "in the Holy Place" (24:15) to the vague: "standing where it ought not be" (Mk 13:14). In Rome?

[Mk has followed Mt 10:17-22 closely. By use of the word "and whenever" (Mt 10:23a/Lk 21:20) he returns to following the order of Mt 24 in sequence "whenever therefore" (Mt 24:15). What is striking in this unit is that Mk removes references to the end of Jerusalem (or the Temple) that he finds in his sources (Matt 24:15, Lk 21:20-24). All that is left of this language is a passing reference to Judea (13:14). In particular, for his Hellenistic audience Mk omits obvious Jewish references: from his Mthean source material e.g., "except on the Sabbath" (24:15). The *inclusio* featuring the recurring theme: "watch" Mk 13:9, 23, rounds out Mk's description of the final age of horrors.]

Matt 24:26-31 <====Deliverance with the Son of Man.
Mk 13:24-27 ---- Lk 21:25-28

The glorious conclusion finally arrives. Jesus Christ the Son of Man will then appear and gather in the Elect no matter where they are.

[Mk is now following Mt 24 closely. He has finished his description of the time of horrors and thus decides to omit Mt 24:26-28 as there is no parallel in Lk 21 (but cf. Lk 17:23-24, 37d). Thus Mt's reference to the sign of the parousia, the mourning of the tribes of the earth etc., are omitted (Mt 24:30 cf. Mk 13:26) as well as some of Lk's special material (cf. Lk 21:25b-26,28).]

Matt 24:32-36 <====Learn The Parable of the Fig Tree.
Mk 13:28-32 ---- Lk 21:29-33

Mk optimistically likens the time remaining before the appearance of the Son of Man (now that the height of blasphemy has just taken place) to the short time period between flowering and fruit of the fig tree; that is, *one month.* Here we clearly glimpse Mk's own sense of chronological date.

[The three accounts are very similar throughout. There is a minor agreement in 13:30 "until."]

Matt 24:37-26:30 <==Conclusion: So Watch!
Mk 13:33-37 ==>Lk 21:34-36 (Lk 12:37-38,41,44)

Using phraseology which reflects the Parable of the Servants in the Night (Lk 12:37-38//Mt 24:42-44) and the Parable of the Talents (Lk 19:12-27//Mt 25:14-30) and the Ten Virgins (Mt 25:1-13), Mk's Jesus speaks a final warning to "all" (13:37 answering Peter's question in Lk 12:41). The concluding reference to "finding you sleeping" carries overtones of the disciples at Gethsemane who slept when they were supposed to be *watching.*

[As in other places, Mk concludes a major section with a complex summary; cf. 3:7-8; 4:33-35; 6:6; 9:49-50; 13:33-37.]

Part Ten:
The Arrest, Crucifixion and Resurrection.
Mk 14:1-16:8

Matt 26:1-5 < = = = =The Conspiracy Continues Against Jesus.
Mk 14:1-2 = = = = >Lk 22:1-2

The great speech concluded, Mk alludes to the gathering of Jesus' enemies.
[This unit is an extraordinary example of Mk's compositional "zigzag" within a single pericope. After following his usual habit of omitting Matt's stereotyped redactional phrase on Jesus finishing his sayings (Mt 26:1), Mt takes Mt's and Lk's reference to the Passover, adds Lk's reference to "Unleavened Bread" and conflates Mt's reference to "after two days." Mk 13:1b follows Lk 22:2 and in 14:2 Mk returns to Mt.]

Matt 26:6-16 < = = = =A Woman Anoints Jesus; Judas Betrays Him.
Mk 14:3-11 (Lk 22:3-6)

Two utterly contrasting events are told heightening the tension of the final hours of Jesus' life. First a woman in the home of Simon the Leper in Bethany boldly interrupts the dinner to anoint Jesus' body for death and causes an uproar. (Mk adds the detail: "using myrhh costing 300 denarii.") In Mk's contrapuntal style, he immediately goes on to tell of the treachery of Judas even though he is "one of the Twelve."
[The story of this woman Mk found only at this point in the Mthean order (Mk passed over Lk's similar account at an earlier point in Lk's order). We recall that the incident of the widow at the treasury, who gave "her whole life" (Mk 12:44), Mk found only in the Lkan parallel. Mk is intentionally selecting stories that portray women who illustrate true discipleship, stories that will be told and retold wherever the Gospel is preached.]

Matt 26:17-19 < = = = =The Preparation for Passover.
Mk 14:12-16 = = = = >Lk 22:7-13

The central theme of this story is preparation. As Jesus prepared for the entry into the city (11:1-7), now he prepares to enter into the last meal with the disciples on the last day of his life.
[Note the close similarity in structural features between Mark 11:1-7 and 14:12-16, such as the use of "just as he said" (14:16//11:6; Table 229), and the phraseology of sending the disciples "two by two" (14:13//11:1b-2a; cf. 6:7).
[Mk conflates Matt and Lk for this account, adding Lk's more vivid details.]

Matt 26:20-29 < = = = =The Last Supper. Mk 14:17-26 ---- Lk 22:14,21-23

It is announced that one at the table would be the betrayer (14:18). Simultaneously, Jesus invites his disciples to share his fate through common participation in the bread and the wine.
[Mk resumes his general practice of following the order and wording of Mt very closely. There is a major textual problem about the Lkan version so that it is very difficult for us to determine what text of the Lkan version of the Supper account Mk had before him. Differences in phraseology of the words of institution between Mt,

Mk, and Lk may reflect eucharistic practice in their respective churches, except where Lk 21:19b-20 indicates conflation between Lk and Paul.]

Matt 26:31-35 < = = = = Peter's Denial. Mk 14:27-31 ----- Lk 22:31-34

Jesus promised at the Supper to go the course to his death. Now the focus moves to the disciples—especially Peter. In 14:31, Mark adds "vehemently" to accentuate the full shame Peter's denial which is soon to be described. This passage may reflect a post-Neronian situation in Rome where some, coming back into the Church after denying Jesus, needed forgiveness.
[The term "vehemently" is found only in Mk, cf. Tables 149+176.]

Matt 26:36-46 < = = = = Gethsemane. Mk 14:32-42 ----- Lk 22:40-46

Gethsemane shows the contrast between the brave words of the disciples (14:27-31) and their performance. The disciples had been asked to share the cup of suffering (10:38). They take the cup at the supper; but in anticipation of what will finally happen, when Jesus himself is struggling with the cup of suffering (14:36), the disciples fail to watch (14:38) three times and fall asleep in violation of the instructions to watch and not sleep in the earlier pericope (13:36; only in Mk).
[Mk continues to follow Matt's account (but note the parallel with Lk 22:46 in Mk 14:37). The wording of Mk 9:6 and 14:40b is unique to Mk.]

Matt 26:47-56 < = = = = Arrest and Abandonment of Jesus.
Mk 14:43-52?? Lk 22:47-53

Mk relates the turbulent arrest scene with unique details. "Scribes" come out with Pharisees (Mt) and Judas' kiss is the signal to attack. Mk follows Lk's inclination to distance the person who cuts off the High Priest's servant's ear from Jesus: "one of those with Jesus" (Mt) becomes "one of them" (Lk), becomes in Mk "someone of those standing, loitering about." Jesus' claim in Mt. 26:52-54 to have heavenly military power worried both Lk and Mk, who omit it. For the rest of the story Mk follows Mt except at the ending where Mk inserts a reference to a mysterious "young man" (an angel?) who flees, leaving Jesus in the clutches of his foes, to reappear only at the Empty Tomb (16:5).
[Mark again follows Matthew as his major source. He emphasizes the abandonment of Jesus, an image burned into the imagination by the unique reference to the fleeing "young man" 14:51-52.]

Matt 26:53-75 < = = = = The Preliminary Trial.
Mk 14:53-72 — Lk 22:54-57(56-62); 63-65

The centerpiece of this extensive unit is the appearance of Jesus before the Sanhedrin, where he is questioned by the High Priest. False and inconsistent witnesses say Jesus claimed he would destroy the Temple. But it is not until Jesus (according to Mk's version) says he is "the Christ, the Son of the Blessed" and adds the dire threat warning that He would soon return as the Son of Man in judgment (cf. Dan. 7:13-14) that the High Priest flies into a rage and accuses Jesus of blasphemy, whereupon those standing around begin to beat him. In familiar contrapuntal style, Mk's vivid

narrative continues to tell of the despicable behavior of Peter whose betrayal frames the story of Jesus' courage (53-54; 66-72). An extraordinary amount of space is devoted to the account of Peter's shameful actions,—an unusual occurrence in the Gospel tradition, perhaps indicating Peter's own reminiscence (cf. 14:72, 11:21). In 14:67, (cf. 14:54 and Lk 22:56), Mk conflates Matt with Lk, but adds details to describe Peter warming himself by the fire. Only in Mk, in fulfillment of prophecy (14:30), does the cock crow twice (14:72). If it be true that this Gospel came from Rome, it could be assumed that this account had practical lessons for Christians who were called before the authorities to give an answer for their Christian faith.
[The order of composition of this material is different in Matt and Lk. Following his usual procedure Mk follows the order of Matt but sparingly conflates with Lk for added detail (Mk 14:70//Lk 22:59), e.g., "spitting" from Mt, "slapping about" from Lk, "beating" from Mt. The reference to "I am" in Mark 14:62 is a Mkan compromise in view of two very different accounts of Jesus' reply to the High Priest in Mt and Lk. There is a famous minor agreement at Mk 14:65: both Mt and Lk have "Prophesy! Who is it who strikes you?" (Mt 26:68//Lk 22:64). Assuming the Two Document Hypothesis, it is hard to see why both Mt and Lk would independently add this sentence at this precise point.]

Matt 27:1-2; 11-14< = = = =Jesus Before Pilate Mk 15:1-5 —— Lk 22:66-23:5

Jesus is silent before Pilate. The "you say so" means "I will not respond to your question" (cf. Origen, *in Matt.* ad loc). Jesus' silence is a powerful evocation of the silence of the Suffering Servant (Isaiah 53:7).
[Mk continues to follow Matt closely but omits Matt's account of the fate of Judas (27:3-10) because it is inconsistent with the Acts account of the fate of Jesus. Mk adds "scribes" in 15:1 (cf. Lk 22:66) which conforms to his customary three-fold reference "chief priests, scribes and elders" (Table 187).

(Jesus before Herod Lk 23:6-12)

Matt 27:15-16< = = = =The Barabbas Incident. Mk 15:6-15 — Lk 23:13-25

This story creates a scene of great pathos. Pilate ironically releases a guilty man and bows to the will of the mob by condemning an innocent man to his death. These actions of Pilate would resonate powerfully within a post-70 context in Rome. The unruly and violent Judaeans pictured in Mk's account would correspond perfectly with recent Roman military experience. Likewise, Pilate himself had been recalled by the Roman Senate for gross incompetence and dereliction of duty. Hence this text could evoke a powerful response from all who had to contend with corrupt Roman officials. Mk's account focuses all attention on this cynical Roman and Jesus' astonishing bravery, omitting Lk's reference to a trial before Herod, Pilate's and Herod's motives (22:13-26), as well as Mt's anecdotes on Pilate's wife's dream (27:19), the washing of Pilate's hands (27:24) and the acceptance of guilt by the crowd (27:15).
[Mk gives details to describe the release of the guilty man (15:7). The servant motif of Isaiah 53 is in the background.]

Matt 27:27-32< ====Mocking of the Soldiers and Carrying the Cross.
Mk 15:16-21 — Lk 23:26

Again the theme of Jesus' hidden kingship is brought out by Mk. Jesus is given "the purple cloth" (15:17; cf. Jn 19:2) in mockery. This cloth is usually worn by those who exhibit meritorious service to the emperor. But, ironically, in his savage beating (accentuated in 15:19 by Mk), the true nature of Jesus' kingship, as the one who claims the allegiance of his followers by suffering service, is revealed.
[Mk follows Matt closely as his only source for this story. In 15:19 the use of "which means" as a formula for translation is a linguistic characteristic of Mk (Table 103). "Spitting" is a theme that is heightened in Mk (cf. 10:34 and 14:65). The extra biographical detail added in 15:21 is a minor agreement that may have been an item of interest to Mk's readers.]

Matt 27:33-44< ====The Crucifixion. Mk 15:22-32 --- Lk 23:33-43

The emphasis continues to focus on Jesus' suffering. In 15:23 accepts his suffering by refusing to take the sedative (wine mixed with myrhh; cf. Mt "bile mixed with wine"=a form of torment). Jesus fulfills the role of the true disciple who "drinks the cup" Mk 10:38-39.
[Is the position of the two thieves to the left and right of Jesus an echo of the request for the places of honor by the sons of Zebedee in Mk 10:40? The translation formula "which is being translated" 15:22 is a Mkan redactional feature, cf. 5:41 and 15:34 (Table 103). The reference to "they crucified him" in 15:24 is repeated in 15:25 "they crucified him in the third hour" which is a minor agreement.]

Matt 27:45-54< ====The Death of Jesus. Mk 15:33-41==== >Lk 22:44-49

Mk avoids Lk's softened version of Christ's crucifixion and follows closely Mt's grim and brutal scene.
[Mk substitutes an Aramaic form of "My God, My God" (cf. Psalm 22:1) for Mt's Hebrew, thereby causing a difficulty with the subsequent reference to Elijah (Mk 15:35b) which cannot be derived from "Eloi, Eloi" (cf. Mt. "Eli"). Mk's "which is, being translated" is a Mkan expression (Table 103). Mk omits Mt's reference to the "resurrection of the Holy Ones" (Mt 27:51b-53).

Matt 27:57-61< ====The Burial of Jesus. Mk 15:42-47==== >Lk 23:50-56

Mk's account is unique in that it has Pilate ascertain Jesus' *death* from the Centurion present at the scene, perhaps reflecting later apologetic need to combat disbelief that Jesus died at all (or that he could have died so suddenly; crucifixion was notorious for being a slow painful death).
[The translation form is a Mkan characteristic; cf. Table 103. Mk has created a large minor agreement with the reference to Pilate (vs. 44). The additional detail reflects recurrent Mkan language "calling the centurion" (Table 107). Mk continues to use the transliterated Latin term for the Roman officer. Note also two minor agreements: in 15:46a he uses a unique word for "wrap" and in and 15:46b he uses a different word for "bury."]

(27:62-66 Guards at Tomb)

Matt 28:1-8 < = = = =The Empty Tomb. Mk 16:1-8 = = = = > Lk 24:1-9

The two Marys and Salome find the tomb empty and see the "young man" (cf. 14:51-52) who assures them that Jesus is risen. They are terrified.
[Mk follows Lk in locating this event on Sunday, the "first of the week." Mk underlines the time by adding "after the sun had risen." There is a minor agreement "who will roll away the stone" 16:3. The advice of the "young man" to "go tell the disciples that you will *see* him in Galilee *as he told you*" is not something Jesus ever foretold previously in Mk's narrative. *This prediction does occur in Mt 28:10.* Thus the "young man's" command in Mk requires knowledge of Mt's narrative to be comprehensible.]

(Mt 28:9-20) Resurrection of Jesus. Mk 16:9-20 (Lk 24:13-53)

[To be considered later.]

Theological Perspectives in 2 Corinthians: Some Notes

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I. Preamble and Presuppositions

1.1 Style and Genre of 2 Corinthians

The following is intended to be no more than an initial probe into the task of constructing a statement of Paul's theological outlook in 2 Corinthians. In a way, merely to express one's aim in such a fashion is to run the risk of indulging in the style of paradox that is so evident in this letter. To remark on "theology" is to conjure up ideas of a fully integrated and comprehensive corpus of Christian belief. 2 Corinthians is the last book of the New Testament where one would expect to find such a dispassionate and objective program. All the commentators note Paul's intensity of writing in this epistle, often regarded as the most personal and self-revealing of all his correspondence.[1] The repeated occurrences of the personal pronoun *egō* (especially in the last four chapters) is a noteworthy feature; and broken syntax, grammatical solecisms, emotional language, and plerophoric expressions in several of the autobiographical passages, especially 1:11; 8:4; 10:11-16 and 11:12, 22-29, are to be observed. Such a style of writing does not easily lend itself to the formulating of theological propositions which are, by definition, measured and restrained.

This conclusion still stands even if we grant the force of recent studies in Paul's literary method. According to this approach to a document such as 2 Corinthians, Paul is seen (in spite of the disclaimer in 11:6) as constructing his letter as an epistolary apologetic, using the literary conventions that belong to the world of the spoken rather than the written word.[2] A major part of education in Greco-Roman

[1] M. Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul.* Tr. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 69. In the Notes I have tried to limit myself to references appearing subsequent to the 1986 publication date of *2 Corinthians* (Word Biblical Commentary 40. Waco: Word Inc.), or else overlooked in that volume.

[2] See G. A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); G. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography. Toward a New Understanding* SBL Diss. Series 73 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); C. H. Talbert, *Reading Corinthians. A Literary and Theological Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (New York: Crossroad, 1987).

society was training in speech and the questions of what made a person educated in this area were much discussed, sometimes with comical interludes. Aristophanes pours ridicule on Socrates (notably in the *Clouds*) and has the philosopher suspended in a basket and greeting Strepsiades who comes to inquire, What do you want? Strepsiades replies, To learn to speak.

Rhetorical criticism and attempts to place Paul in dialogue with a middle class, rhetorically trained audience at Corinth make it feasible that his letter will adopt some of the literary conventions of the day.[3] Young and Ford[4] have recently submitted that 2 Corinthians falls into four parts, based on the format of Aristotle, *Rhetoric* and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, and illustrated by Demosthenes (*Ep* 2. "About his own Restoration" speech to the Council and Assembly in Athens, composed in exile 324-322 BCE). This proposal has the merit of simplicity and obvious coherence with the text: (i) The Introduction, intended to gain attention and win support; (ii) Narrative, a recital of events and facts on which a case is to be built; (iii) Proofs, including the evidence of witnesses and refutation of charges brought, and entailing some digression; (iv) Peroration, contrasting in emotional tenor with the sober exordium yet recapitulating the defense and appealing to the audience directly. This analysis is suggestive, except that Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3.2.1) makes the primary requirement of good oratory the feature of lucidity (*saphēneia*) (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lysias* 4), which hardly characterizes 2 Corinthians.

In this way, canonical 2 Corinthians looks to be a unity, which is one possible reason why the editor so arranged the chapters, if as is likely Paul did not write the letter at one time.

Even with this designation of 2 Corinthians as apologetic speech there are other major roadblocks in the way of any attempt to compose a theology of Paul based on this document.

1.2 Theology Shaped by Contingencies

The hermeneutical principle stated by J. C. Beker and modified by C. C. Rowland gives us a starting point in our approach to Paul's thought and comes into its own in 2 Corinthians.[5] Although their choice of terminology varies, both interpreters concur that Paul's theological method is best understood as a bringing together of his basic presuppositions and convictions, called "coherence" or "system," and the contextual setting in which Paul expressed himself in the face of pastoral, theological and ethical issues raised by his congregations. The latter factor is dubbed "contingency" or "situation." The value of this principle is that it reminds us how Paul's theological perspectives were both governed by his heritage and his experience (with due recognition of his debt to and use of traditional and liturgical formulations) and shaped by the changing patterns of pastoral and didactic responsibilities laid upon

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[3] P. Marshall, *Enmity at Corinth: Social Convention in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians*. WUNT 2:23 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987) has the fullest discussion of such conventions in relation to 2 Corinthians.

[4] F. Young and D. F. Ford, *Meaning and Truth in 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 36-40. Cf. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography* (as in note 2) 24-27.

[5] J. C. Beker, "Contingency and Coherence in the Letters of Paul," *USQR* 33 (1978) 141-150; C. C. Rowland, *Christian Origins* (London: SPCK, 1985) 203-207.

him as he took seriously his "concern for all the congregations" (11:28). It is this interplay of Paul's convictional "center" and his adaptable responsiveness to given needs and situations as they arose, notably at Corinth, that makes it difficult to get a fix on his theology at any one time. As our discussion proceeds, we shall have occasion to observe what Paul seems to have regarded as the heart of his gospel (or the gospel). But the scene changes with often bewildering, kalaedoscopic rapidity, and it is not an easy task to tie Paul down in any formulaic statement. Such theological conclusion as we may infer has to be viewed in the light of an emotionally charged and passionately interested manner of writing.

1.3 Theology in Conflict

A consensus has agreed that much of the letter(s) that make up our canonical 2 Corinthians arises directly out of Paul's engagement (often simultaneously) with two sets of audiences/readers and yields a pastiche of writing that is either defensive or polemical. More than one modern commentator entitles chapters 10-13 "a conflict letter," and the exultant tones of parts of chapters 1-7 (a letter of reconciliation) are shot through with reminders of debate, expostulation and persuasion. Once again, such a background against which Paul is fighting for his life and for his gospel—an *apologia pro vita suo et evangelio suo*—is hardly conducive as a setting for sober theological thinking to take place. The use of a wide variety of rhetorical forms, especially metaphor,[6] irony, parody, diatribe, comparison,[7] invective[8] and above all paradox, betrays the intensity of a writer in his engagement with the implied readers (the Corinthians) and with the third party opponents who are never explicitly named and whose veiled identity has been claimed as a ploy used rhetorically as a way of denouncing them.

The place of paradox in 2 Corinthians holds something of special importance (as in the quasi-poetic section of 6:8-10). The more obvious examples are quickly listed: weak/strong (12:10; 13:4-5); treasure/poverty (4:7; 6:10); sowing/reaping (9:6-7); slavery/triumph (2:14).[9] These paradoxical juxtapositions carry a (usually) plain sense, and are part of Paul's overall debating strategy based on the assumption that things are not always what they seem to be (see 4:16-18; 5:7 for the theologically significant axiom of sight/faith in paradoxical relationship). The more significant set of paradoxes comes in the use of reconcile/reconciliation, which is often overlooked. The issue is posed when we observe how in the parenetic call "Be reconciled to God" (5:20) Paul is employing the language of evangelism side by side with factual statements that represent God's reconciling the world as a past event (5:18-19). The tension point is to know how to bring these two types of sentence together in unison. It seems that Paul is paradoxically setting in close proximity (i) the indicative

[6] D. F. Ford, *Meaning and Truth* (as in note 4) chap. 6.

[7] C. Forbes, "Comparison, Self-Praise and Irony: Paul's Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric," *NTS* 32 (1986) 1-30.

[8] P. Marshall, "Invective: Paul and his Enemies in Corinth," in *Perspectives on Language and Text.* Fest. F. I. Andersen, edd. E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987, 359-373.

[9] On 2:14 see now S. J. Hafemann, *Suffering and the Spirit: An Exegetical Study of II Cor 2:14-3:3 within the Context of the Corinthian Correspondence.* WUNT 2:19 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986) 18-39.

statement of reconciliation as an accomplished deed, and (ii) the imperative appeal to those at Corinth who were still disaffected with and alienated from his gospel and apostleship and to whom he directs the appeal of 6:1, "Do not receive God's grace in vain." Thus, in Paul's dialectical thinking, reconciliation can embrace what is true of God and his saving deed (God has achieved the world's reconciliation) and also what should be (the Corinthians need to live within that new relationship by reaffirming their loyalty to Paul the apostle and refusing to hold out against his affectionate yet authoritative appeal, 5:20; 6:11-13).

God has reconciled the world in Christ; but the task of proclaiming the reconciliation goes on and, adds Paul, it must be applied to concrete human situations. So sure is he of the rightness of what he is doing in this move to secure full restoration of relationships at Corinth that he can call upon God as his ally (6:1) and build on the fact that God is "working together" (*synergountes*) with him as he is with God in this endeavor. There are no hard feelings on his side (6:11); there should be no continuing resistance on theirs (6:12; 7:2-4) as he works toward a complete reconciliation.

The situation, then, that stands in the background of the letter is one of conflict and tension, both relieved (e.g. 2:14; 7:4) and unrelieved (chaps. 10-13, especially 13:5, 11). Two issues are mandated for consideration: (i) the nature and focus of the conflict, i.e., what may we discern from Paul's writing about the points of debate?; and (ii) what does the sequential flow of the argument require us to say about the arrangement of the letter as we now have it in its canonical shape? This latter question, for our purposes, can be more easily disposed of, since the emerging consensus (broken now by Young and Ford[10]) is that chapters 1-7 are a unity, with or without 6:14-7:1 and chapters 8-9, while chapters 10-13 represent Paul's later response to fresh troubles subsequent to the sending of earlier letter(s).

1.3.1 As we are still setting down our presuppositions, it will suffice to state, in brief and reportorial form, the chief issues of discussion between Paul and his implied readers. It must be borne also in mind that there is a third member in the triangular network of conversation partners and debaters, namely the so-called opponents whom Paul, from time to time, turns aside to include in his horizon of address. The summary list of topics under debate runs as follows:

a. Apostolate. Who is the true apostle and by what tokens (*semeia*, 12:12) is the authentic apostolic ministry validated? And what is its authority? (see 10:18; 13:10). This is the issue between Paul and the Corinthians, and it may well be carried over from 1 Corinthians (chaps. 3, 9).

The nub of the discussion which polarized the apostle Paul and his opponents in 2 Corinthians, however, is somewhat different. The locus of the debate has changed. When we move into 2 Corinthians the few hints in 1 Corinthians (e.g. 15:8-9) that Paul's apostleship was under suspicion have taken on—in his eyes—a more ominous cast. His entire mission to Corinth as an "apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God" (2 Cor. 1:1) is being seriously questioned and denied. The matter under consideration turns on the "principle of legitimation" (*Traditionsprinzip*, in Käsemann's term) by which the claims of the true apostle are certified to the congregation. This argument over "criteria of legitimacy" is plain in 13:1-6 and according to Käsemann is

[10] F. Young and D. F. Ford, *Meaning and Truth* (as in note 4), 28-36.

central to the apologetic argument in 2 Corinthians chapters 10-13. Georgi[11] put a sharper point on this, while H.-D. Betz[12] has given it an even clearer definition with his setting of the issue of *dokimē* (testing, proof, or perhaps validation) in the framework of the philosopher-sophist encounter. The opponents' appeal to their charismatic powers and their claim to be the mouthpiece of divine revelation are the central matters underlying Paul's response as he seeks to defend himself and his ministry against the charge that it is ineffectual (10:10; 11:6) and (ironically) lacking in the very gifts on which they prided themselves (12:11-12).

In the lengthy section 2:14-7:4 this is the major theme, with central discussions in 2:16-17; 3:1-18; 5:13; 6:3-10. The rhetorical questions, "Who is adequate for this [kind of ministry]?" (2:16) is answered (at least obliquely) in 3:4-6, "Our adequacy comes from God, who indeed gave us our adequacy to be servants of a new covenant."

b. Territoriality. By this term is denoted the controversy outlined in 10:12-16 as to whether Corinth lay within the missionary sphere of Paul and/or the preachers whose appearance on the scene is not indicated until 11:4 but whose presence, influence and opposition to Paul may surely be seen in 11:13-15. The heart of his debate is found in Paul's claim registered in 11:10, offered as a counterclaim to those who disputed the legitimacy of his apostolic/mission preaching in Corinth and cast doubt on his service in all its forms (10:7), even perhaps insinuating that he had no Christian standing at all.

The most plausible interpretation of the phrase *to metron tou kanonos* is that Paul is defending his "sphere of service" demarcated by the decision of Galatians 2:7-10.[13] He is insisting that he has every right to be in Corinth which was the *Missionsgebiet* of his "preaching to the Gentiles." But while Paul is on the defensive and is resisting the charge that he is no genuine apostle, he is content to grant that there is a proper sphere of service which "another" (10:16) may rightfully occupy, and he will respect that allocation. That "division of labor," again reflecting the working agreement in Galatians 2, is important for Paul because only as his mission at Corinth is seen to be valid and its competency (*bikanotēs*, 2:14-3:6) respected can he plan to venture out in further missionary work to the Gentiles (10:16).

We may trace here the awareness in Paul's mind of the strategic importance of Corinth as a power base from which he intended to launch a westward extension of the Gentile mission as prelude to the end-time. The obverse side of this missionary strategy is the fact that he had become alienated from Antioch and had lost the support of fellow believers in both the Syrian province and the holy land of Israel. His energy devoted to raising the "collection for the saints" (chaps. 8-9) may be understood on this basis, namely as a fervent effort on his part to cement relations between his congregations and the mother church, and a plea for his acceptance by the Jewish wing of early Christianity, as he came to Jerusalem bearing gifts (8:12-15; Rom 15:25-33).

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[11] D. Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (ET Philadelphia: Fortress 1986).

[12] H.-D. Betz, "Paul's Apology: II Corinthians 10-13 and the Socratic Tradition." The Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture. Colloquy 2 1970 (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies, 1975).

[13] R. P. Martin, "The Setting of 2 Corinthians," *Tyndale Bulletin* 37 (1986) 3-19.

c. Christology. Closely linked with (a) and (b) is the matter of christological emphasis. The arrival of some kind of delegation (heralded in 11:4) brought with it a proclamation of "a rival Jesus, whom we did not proclaim . . . a different spirit, which you did not welcome [in our message] . . . a different gospel, which you did not accept [as our gospel]." This text is set in a quasi-versified form as three *cola*, with a rhythmical, rhetorical, and climactic appeal. The precise nature of this message introduced to Corinth is hard to determine but several items stand out. (i) There was a serious christological dispute which Paul had to engage and which led to the fierce denunciations of these intruders in 11:13-15. (ii) The presence of the intruders represents an actual, not hypothetical case since Paul is not likely to have expressed himself so vehemently over imaginary opponents and in 11:19-20 he remarks on the surprising but nonetheless real way in which the Corinthians have given hospitality to these men. (iii) The main terms in the list—Jesus, spirit, gospel—are all interconnected; and if this is the case, it is less likely that Paul is opposing a strictly doctrinal christology (whether gnosticizing, docetic, ebionite or nationalistic) and more probable that the allusion to *pneuma* is not to the holy Spirit as a person (as if their pneumatology were bizarre: e.g., *Gospel of the Hebrews*, frag. 3) and the rival message is not a judaizing tendency (since the word *nomos* is conspicuously absent from 2 Corinthians). Rather, the gravamen of Paul's charge against the preachers is that their version of the kergyma put forth a lordly figure (typified in Moses?—chap. 3) as setting a norm for Christian existence and a justification for their attitude to the congregation (11:20). That was the "spirit" they displayed, in contradiction of Paul's strength-in-weakness teaching and practice. Their "gospel" is self-condemned in Paul's eyes as a misnomer and more like *dysangelion.* In sum, it is a christological distinction (as Georgi noted) separating Paul and the opponents. But it is applied christology, not speculative.

d. Eschatology. The mention of some dispute over *pneuma* does, however, bring to light the discrepancy in eschatological perspectives that marked off Paul's teaching from the position debated in 4:18-5:10. The polemical center lies in 5:7: "for we live by faith, not by sight," with key terms representing two attitudes to life. The issue is less concerned (in 5:1-10) with the right way of conceiving a future existence, and more with relating the kerygma to present experience. *Pistis* and *eidos* mark the distinction between living out of a trustful obedience to God in life and death and the opponents' evident claim that their hope rested on what they saw in ecstatic vision, dubbed by Paul the outward, "what is seen and not what is in the heart" (5:12). They failed to grasp the provisional nature of the present, in which the Spirit is (but) a first installment, "a pledge" (5:5). With an eschatological outlook that is content to await the future consummation denied, they based their pretension to power (12:12) on what they saw now (contrast 4:18). For them, the present and the visible offered the form (*eidos*) of reality. Paul contradicts this, since faith is not yet realized in vision (cf. 1 Cor. 13:12). He thereby relativizes the value of their ecstatic experiences and unifies the human person (as in 12:2,3), refusing to separate the "pure" soul from the "imperfect" body. For Paul the human person is one and indivisible, and dualistic separation into body and soul is no part of his anthropology. His teaching on the Spirit is, as we shall see, designed expressly to preserve the eschatological proviso that holds in tension what is true now and what will be only in the future. But once again the essentially practical and pastoral dimension of this distinction is to be seen. The visionary experiences and knowledge of mystical secrets

(12:1-10) support their apostolic claims to a present "glory," modeled on Moses' role as a larger-than-life figure in 3:7-17 and which, taking their cue from the present possession, they have no compunction in imposing on the congregation. Paul views "glory" as a kerygmatic quality i.e. it is consonant with his message of strength-expressed-in-weakness (4:7) and essentially provisional (3:18) against the day of its full realization (4:17). So his colleagues reflect Christ's glory now (8:23) as a character reference when their lives proclaim not themselves but Christ Jesus in whom God's glory shines out in the servant Lord (8:9; 13:4).[14]

1.4 The Contribution of History

Our perception of Paul's theological responses in the letter will—at least in part—be influenced by the way we view the setting of that letter. Only a sketch of this topic is possible here, but it is a needful—if tentative—first step, since it is axiomatic that Paul's epistles did not appear *in vacuo* and need to be set in a historical frame, as best as we may judge. This procedure stands at odds with Hickling's negative response to the question in the title of his essay, Is the Second Epistle to the Corinthians a Source of Early Church History?[15] He is willing to grant the influence of "personal factors that emerge strongly in the confrontation" between Paul and the Corinthians. But when he denies the force of "doctrinal" issues separating Paul and his readers, with the opponents forming a third member of the triangle of relations, he cuts himself off from a valuable source of information. He does not allow the setting of the letter to come to the aid of exegesis. We may concede that Hickling's caution in refusing to get caught in an "exegetical circle" is praiseworthy. Nonetheless when he concludes that "we must remain largely in ignorance of the doctrinal position or tendencies of Paul's rivals . . . [and that Paul's] magnificent theological assertions are enumerated not principally as polemic but as a positive support for his exposition of the meaning of his apostleship," he is correct in what he affirms but wrong in his unnecessary denials. Paul's personal history and chiefly his self-understanding as apostle cannot be separated from the ongoing theological debate with his detractors. His self-identity—and its theological undergirding—was sharpened and refined precisely because he was called on to defend it in the face of his opponents' attacks, notably at Corinth.

A starting point is the encounter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14), pitting Paul against the Jewish Christian mission and its influence on Peter. The modern consensus is that Paul lost his case, with the result that he had to come to terms with alienation from Antioch. The consequences of his defeat after this confrontation may be tabulated in summary form: (i) it sharpened the focus of his gospel to the point where justification apart from the works of the law became a pivotal issue; (ii) Paul's stance set him in inevitable opposition to the "pillar" apostles, whose authority he then proceeded to challenge, partly in pursuance of his loyalty to the "truth of the gospel" which he felt they had betrayed and partly in response to the insinuation that began to appear from this segment of Jewish Christianity that he was in fact no true apostle;

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[14] On *doxa* in 2 Cor, see N.T. Wright, "Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18" in *The Glory of God in the New Testament* Fest. G. B. Caird, edd. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright (Oxford: OUP 1987) 139-150.

[15] In *ZNW* 66 (1975) 284-287.

indeed, that he was no apostle at all. This denial sets the agenda for his *apologia* in 2 Corinthians chapters 3-7, 10-13. They demonstrate what he came to regard as his valid credentials over against the opponents who sought to base their apostolate on the figure of Moses and who appealed to their self-styled "super-apostles" (11:5; 12:11) as authorities to justify their standing as "servants of Christ" (11:13).

(iii) Paul's isolation from Jerusalem at this point of his life put him in an ambivalent position. He still professed concern for national Israel, and was willing to reach out in compassion and in practical ways to aid the "poor saints" in the holy city (chaps. 8-9). Nevertheless he soon felt the cool winds of suspicion and hostility, blowing not only from the *Urgemeinde* in the person of James (Acts 21:18-25) but also from Antioch. For the church center at Antioch favored Barnabas (Acts 15:36-41) and moved increasingly in the direction of a rapprochement with Jewish Christianity in its acceptance of the primacy of Peter (according to Matthew's Gospel) with its openness to Christian nomism and particularism (cf. the epistle of James).

Paul's disaffection with regard to Antioch as a base of missionary operations meant that he was temporarily without a spiritual *Heimat* and thus vulnerable, since he could be regarded by his detractors as an itinerant preacher doing solo work and without benefit of a legitimating "home" base. The "letters of recommendation" (3:1-3) carried to Corinth by his rivals have to be seen in this light. "Thus they always represented some specific Christian community. Paul did not."[16] Paul therefore felt it incumbent to interiorize his credentials, seeking them in the lives of his Corinthian converts (cf. 1 Cor. 9:1-2).

(iv) So by this circuitous route, we reach the occasion of 2 Corinthians and its *Sitz im Leben* in Paul's missionary career. Not the least consequence of the train of events which led to his stand against Jewish Christians, and especially his confrontation with the emissaries he opposes in chapters 10-13, was a new expression of his confidence in his own apostleship and a new definition as he reformulated it in a surprisingly novel way. The pressure of events which intervened between the composing of 1 Corinthians and the writing of those pieces of Pauline correspondence we call 2 Corinthians in its canonical shape—the so-called "intermediate visit" and "tearful letter"—served to polarize him further from Jewish Christian preachers who claimed authority in Corinth and brought him under a cloud of suspicion with the result that he was virtually ousted from his place as apostle in that community. It became inevitable that he would define his role as a suffering apostle whose authority is seen in his frailty and inherent weakness (4:7-12; 12:9-10; 13:3,4,9). He appeals to the inner reality rather than the tangible and evidential (3:1-18; 4:16-18; 5:12; 13:3). This self-evaluation is the natural corollary of Paul's new insights into soteriology, with the cross taking on a new dimension as the place of divine humiliation and self-giving expressed in Christ's surrender of all he had or could be (8:9; Phil 2:6-11).

The genesis of Paul's teaching on Christ's cross as the locus of divine strength-in-weakness and of his own ministry as "weak in him" (13:4) may go far to explain the statistical phenomena of his use of *astheneia*. Of a total use in Paul of this word numbering 44 times, 29 examples are in 2 Corinthians, with 14 occurrences in chapters 10-13. The contingent factors of Paul's isolation, the nature of the Corinthian crisis which took on a more menacing character once the emissaries arrived at Corinth (11:4), and his need to redefine the gospel in terms of a clear distinction

[16] G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity. Essays on Corinth*. Tr. J. H. Schütz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) 50.

from Judaism and Jewish Christian ideology (see in 3:1-18) are all there in the setting of the letter.

A "theology of the cross," as Paul came to understand it at this stage in his missionary life, became the *esse* of Christian existence (5:14-21; 13:1-4) and the decisive criterion of the issue, What does it mean to be Christ's person? (see 10:7). Jesus' death is seen not as a mere fact of past history or an episode that was soon to be swallowed up in the glory of the risen one. It was the hallmark of all that characterized Jesus' historical person and saving significance. To proclaim him is to proclaim the cross—a dictum that is carried over from 1 Corinthians (1:18-2:5). Now, in the new situation behind 2 Corinthians, the practical application of this cross-kerygma is made to the church's nature and the apostolic ministry. It is seen—for the first time by any Christian leader of whom we have record—that the *esse* of the church is its role as a suffering people and that the title to service is written in Paul's own self-designation as "dying with Christ" (4:10-11; 5:14-15; 13:4). "The past dying with Christ and the present dying with Christ in suffering are not two unrelated things, but the same thing taking place on two different levels."[17] When the application is made to the apostolic ministry, the effect of the cross-kerygma is to redefine the nature of authority. The latter still carried weight (10:8; 13:10), but it is viewed as power harnessed to the service of love in seeking to build up, not pull down, and enlisted to encourage people to grow in the maturity of faith (1:24).

[*Excursus.* The above reconstruction of the effect of historical development and new theological pressures on Paul's thought is, of course, only one way to access the setting of 2 Corinth. If a wider treatment were possible, it would need to encompass ideas set out, e.g., in E. A. Judge's interesting study on social conventions.[18] He pinpoints "two fault-lines that run through the Corinthian correspondence, and throw up repeated shocks in his relations with his own converts at Corinth."

The first has to do with Paul's public speaking which was disdained (10:10) as unprofessional and that of an amateur (*idiōtēs*, 11:6). Paul, for whatever reason, rejected the rhetorical style, and chose to parade his own weakness, boasting "as a fool" (11:21-29). It caused him distress to do so (12:11), since it repudiated one of the fundamental principles of the Greek status-system, "the belief that fine form is congruent with truth" and a means of legitimating one's social standing. Moreover, it was seized upon by his opponents as yet one more way to denigrate his apostolate.

The other point of conflict is in the field of cultural anthropology. Paul's refusal to accept monetary support was tantamount to a decline of friendship, and was seen as a hostile disposition and act. Here Paul offended against a system of the Roman patron-client nexus which entailed giving and receiving as a species of reciprocity. In refusing the patronal system, Paul opted in favor of (if I understand Judge) a new construction of social values by which he accepted the protection of well-connected households at Corinth, especially women, yet reinterpreted those values by his teaching on the congregation as a body.]

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[17] R. C. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ* BZNW 32 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967) 77.

[18] E. A. Judge, "Cultural Conformity and Innovation in Paul: Some Clues from Contemporary Documents," *Tyndale Bulletin* 35 (1984) 3-24.

II. The Character of God as Norm

The leading ideas of the letter have already been touched on in our overview of the presuppositions that inform our approach. It is time to look at the theological issues raised by this survey, and to gather the allusions, often disparate and scattered, into something like a constructive statement, with the renewed caveat that this is essentially a construct made after the event.

A key to viewing Paul's perspectives on the divine action and purpose is seen in the observation—if we may anticipate our conclusion—that Paul's mind reasons from who/what God is and what he has done to how his people and servants should respond and act. We shall meet the same connection in regard to christology and soteriology. Here we focus on theology in its strict meaning of "discourse about God."

"The letter is about two closely related things. One of these is the glory of God, the other is the reputation of Paul. Crucial to the whole is the relationship between these two themes." So writes Frances Young, using the term *doxa* to mean both "glory" and "reputation."[19] This intimate link between God's character and the way his servants are to reflect it gives the clue to the heart of Paul's theological thinking in this letter. The linkage is seen in three ways:

1.1 The God of Paul is, by definition, the God of Hebrew scripture and the Jewish-Pharisaic belief. He is to be praised as eminently worshipful (11:31). Hence the exordium of the letter opens on the note of exultation (1:3): "Blessed (be) the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all encouragement." The appellations bring together the liturgical tradition of the synagogue and its worship with Paul's distinctively Christian name of God made known in Jesus Christ as his image (4:4-6). "Father of mercies" is patterned on the synagogue prayer, "O our Father, merciful Father" spoken to introduce the shema', and the liturgy at Qumran. The acknowledgement centers on God who is the source of mercy/compassion, and the giver of divine "encouragement" (*paraklēsis*, a key word in the opening period in which noun and verb occur ten times in 5 verses). The appropriateness of paracletic help (whether as comfort or strength) is apparent in view of Paul's recent trials in Asia (1:3-7); it serves too a rhetorical function, namely to clear the ground of misunderstanding, to lift prejudice from the readers' minds, and to call attention to what is to be developed later. The style, however, is dictated by the eulogistic form drawn from the Old Testament-Jewish liturgical tradition, employing the standard forms of *liturgica*, e.g., participial clauses and fullness of expression. The introductory thanksgiving, moreover, states the epistolary theme and quickly moves into the way God's acts spill over into the authors' and readers' lives and enable them to reproduce the same beneficial effects. The bridge term is *koinōnoi* (v 7), implying that sharing in apostolic sufferings leads to a share in the *paraklēsis* Paul and his associates also have known.

The divine character acts as an impetus to both author and readers to reciprocate what God has given. This becomes clear in 7:6-16, a period of *narratio* designed to persuade the readers to come over to the author's side, with the rehearsal of events, the calling of witnesses (in this case, Titus) and the assurance of Paul's personal interest. He had been wronged at Corinth (2:2-5), but that episode is in the past since

[19] F. Young and D. F. Ford, *Meaning and Truth* (as in note 4) 12.

he has forgiven the wrongdoer and the church has acted in discipline (2:7-8). It is time to forgive (2:10; 7:12) and to retell the story of God's dealings which are in character with his action in encouraging and raising up the downcast (7:6). Titus becomes the mouthpiece of the divine consolation, as Paul hears from his colleague the account of how the "tearful letter" (2:4) has worked effectively and produced a desirable result (7:7-13a). In addition Titus himself has been encouraged and Paul's own confidence in the Corinthians is vindicated (7:13b-16). The point is established, that God's work of *paraklēsis* is extended and made visible in the lives of his human co-workers who not only receive his beneficence but embody it in dealing with others. Paul and Titus are encouraged . . . to encourage each another and the congregation.

1.2 The same nexus is clear in the matter of giving and receiving (chaps. 8-9), a topic which is patterned on the hellenistic model of benefaction and reciprocity (8:14),[20] but equally supported by Hebrew scripture (8:15; 9:9-10) and current business practices.[21] The divine character is expressed in 9:8, 15 as one of unmeasured generosity and self-giving, a biblical axiom reinforced for Paul the Christian by an incarnational buttress (8:9). In the light of such an understanding of the divine, the corollary as it touches on human responsibility to give is natural (9:11). This kind of giving is more than just reciprocal and perfunctory; it shares in God's bounty and extravagance (cf. the example of the Macedonians, 8:1-5) with illustrations drawn from the farmer's labors (9:6, 10) and, possibly, the eschatological motif (8:14, if Israel's "surplus" looks ahead to Paul's hope of a future outlined in Rom. 9-11).

The divine standards set the pattern for others to follow. The Corinthians are urged not only to emulate the Macedonian churches but to rise to even greater heights. The glory of God is the master motive in the apostolic service (8:19); and it is seen reflected in his servants such as Titus who bring "honor" (*doxa*) to him as they are people of integrity, probity and concern to represent a generous congregation, as Paul hopes his readers will be. Christ's heavenly splendor (3:18; 4:4-6) is seen displayed in human vessels like Paul and Titus (4:7) who are his faithful agents (12:16-18), unlike the servants of 11:13-15 who are dominated by self-seeking and avarice (11:20).

1.3 The characterization of God in the letter is rooted in the belief that the God of both testament ages is faithful and trustworthy. He is eminently known as the God of resurrection and new life-out-of death (1:9-10), seen par excellence in raising his son (4:14). He will raise his people by the same power (4:14). He is to be relied on and his covenant promise is sure (1:18-20). He is the creator (4:6) who brought light out of darkness (Gen 1:3) and the Lord of the harvest field (8:10) whose promise of seedtime and harvest (Gen 8:22) stands.

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[20] F. W. Danker, *Benefactor. Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982), 363-364, 437-438; also Danker, *II Corinthians* Augsburg Commentary (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) ad loc.: S. C. Mott, "The Power of Giving and Receiving. Reciprocity in Hellenistic Benevolence" in *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation*, ed. G. F. Hawthorne. Fest. M. C. Tenney, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 60-72.

[21] H.-D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*. Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress) 1985.

Paul calls God's faithfulness as a witness (1:23) in the defense he makes of his decision to change travel plans. He finds it needful to rehearse the reasons why he altered his plan to visit Corinth (1:15-22). The charge leveled at him was that he was not to be trusted since he had acted with "fickleness." The implication is that he acted either out of expediency or (if Young's reconstruction is preferred[22]) as a person who made plans and changed them purely on a human level as if the decision rested with him alone as a worldly person (interpreting *kata sarka* in the light of 10:1-6 with A. J. Malherbe[23]). In reply, Paul responds to the allegation of his vacillating attitude that he is a single-minded apostle, intent on following God's plans. As always his appeal is to the divine character which is the bedrock of his faith and calling. Paul's "yes" is validated by the divine affirmation in the message he brought to Corinth and certified by the baptismal actions veiled in the verbs of 1:21: guaranteeing, anointing and sealing with the Spirit. The single point is the one he needed to make, namely that behind his ministry and its fruit in the Corinthians' response to the message (alleged to be as unreliable as the messenger who brought it) is the character of God who is utterly reliable. As God is trustworthy, so Paul's work is defended as sharing in the same "firmness" (based on the semitic root *'-m-n*) that he finds in the divine character.

III. Kerygma and Ministry

In an epistle rich in metaphor one example may be said to be highly revealing. It comes in 4:7: "but we have this treasure in clay pots." First the setting must be observed. After a statement (2:14-17) of the claim that Paul's ministry is marked off from its rivals, he returns at 4:1-6 to that theme. The literary device is that of "ring-composition," that is, his author's exposition reverts to an earlier statement and so completes the circle. The links in terminology between 2:14-17 and 4:1-6 indicate this. Paul's ministry is marked by "confidence" (3:4) which leads to his forthrightness in speaking out the message of God (3:12). He claims he is different from the teachers who corrupt the message (2:17) and whose activities evidently are exposed in 4:2. On the contrary, his ministry (4:1) looks back to 3:8-9 as a ministry of the Spirit that leads to righteousness and is sanctioned by Christ's commission (2:17b; 3:4). But there is a shadow side to this claim that could be dismissed as effrontery. Two sets of circumstances presented Paul with a challenge so that his bold stance of confidence (akin to Rom 1:16) might well be shaken and lead to his discouragement. One is the strength of the opposition, traced to satanic sources (4:3-4; cf. 6:14-15; 11:13-15); the other is the recognition of his own feebleness and exposure to danger and death (1:8-11), especially at this time in his life (1 Cor 15:32). He is led to a recital of his woes in the rhetorical device of listing *peristaseis* (4:8-10) which are brought in to make clear what his self-evaluation in 4:7 really means.

The backgrounds to 4:7 are various. "Clay pots" are either vessels or lamps known to be cheap, fragile and expendable, or instruments taken up into the divine service (based on Jer 18:1-11). The metaphor combines the ideas that the apostolic ministry has no inherent and impressive credentials but that, equally, it is the vehicle by which God's action in human life may be displayed, "to show that the preeminent power

[22] F. M. Young, "Note on 2 Corinthians 1.17b," *JTS* n.s. 37 (1986) 404-415.

[23] A. J. Malherbe, "Antithenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War" now in *Paul and Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 91-119.

belongs to God, not us." Its value derives from the "treasure" it holds, explained as God's glory made visible in the person of Jesus Christ (4:4-6). Paul proclaims, therefore, not himself but Christ as Lord with the messengers seen as Jesus' servants—and the congregation's slaves (*douloi*). We may contrast 11:20 which uses the verb "enslave" (*katadouloi*).

The "treasure"—a term which unites both the message and the messenger, since both God's messiah (3:18; 4:4) and his servants (8:19, 23) are his glory—consists in the manifold ways Paul understood the kerygma he proclaimed in concert with his colleagues in his initial evangelism at Corinth (1:19). These ways may be listed:

1.1 Its theme centered in Jesus Christ as son of God (implying his sentness as messianic agent and filial redeemer) and incarnate presence (8:9) come to earth. Such condescension revealed his "meekness and gentleness" (10:1) as well as his "grace" (13:13/14) which in turn becomes an incentive to Christian giving (8:7; 9:12-14). The "signs and wonders and mighty works" (12:12) may be an allusion, capitalized by Paul's charismatic opponents from Palestinian Christianity, to Jesus' ministry with the attendant "signs of the kingdom" appealed to as a legitimating factor in their credentials. If so, the way they apparently preempted the role of Jesus as wonder worker in their own interests may explain the larger question why Paul singularly passed over the earthly ministry in any detail and was driven to express rather the total impact of his messianic ministry from the standpoint of the risen "life of Jesus" (4:10-14; 5:15; 13:4). But that ministerial life is clearly known for Paul to be one of self-effacing humility and service to others.

1.2 "Crucified in weakness" (13:4) seems to reflect an acquaintance with the lowly submission of the Lord in his death. It is complemented by the traditional statement that "he died . . . and was raised" (5:15), and so "lives by the power of God" (13:4). Paul sees in this event a sign of Christ's love (5:14) which motivates him for service. But at a deeper level it is the story of the passion and triumph that becomes the believer's story as the summons of "dying to live" is heard and responded to (5:14-15). The cross sets the pattern not only for Christian living but marks out the boundaries of Christian-apostolic service. That ministry carries the hallmarks of Jesus' dying (4:10-12), implying that the vocation to apostleship is a hard road with the "catalogue of crises" (6:4-10; 11:21b-33 in the Fool's Speech) becoming its most obvious feature. The weakness of Christ is paradigmatic for the weakness of his messengers as Paul turns the *topos* of self-praise on its head and in his "comparison" section climaxes the *cursus honorum* in a surprising narrative parody, namely by celebrating his unceremonious exit down from the city wall in a humble fish-basket.

1.3 The Pauline kerygma focused not only on the cross and resurrection seen as "events" to be proclaimed and reenacted in explication of the apostolic ministry (cf. Schlatter's dictum, "The apostle not only proclaimed the passion story; he also lived it").[24] In this epistle a theological rationale, one of the fullest Paul has left on record, is provided (5:18-21).

The pericope (5:18-21) functions in several ways. It explains how, in Paul's mind,

[24] A. Schlatter, as cited in G. Friedrich, "Die Gegner des Paulus in 2 Korintherbrief" in *Abraham unser Vater.* Fest. O. Michel. edd. O. Betz, M. Hengel & P. Schmidt (Leiden/Köln: E. J. Brill, 1963) 189.

the new aeon entered history (5:17; 6:2) at the behest of God (v 18). Its keyword is reconciliation which is accomplished both "in" and "through" Christ. If the prepositions are not synonymous, the difference will be that Christ was both the divine agent through whom God acted and his personal presence (v 19). The background is traced to human need as sinful and (in consequence) estranged from God. The divine response is outlined (perhaps by a borrowing of traditional categories of soteriology) as "God appointed him (who was without acquaintance with sin) to be a sin-offering on our behalf, that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (v 21).

Paul is moved into this disquisition by pastoral and polemical needs at Corinth. He opens with a statement which lies at the center of this correspondence: things are not what they seem to be (v 16). Outward appearance (going back to the debate in 5:1-10) are misleading when what we "see" ousts the function of faith (4:16-18; 5:7). Christian vision, for Paul, is adjusted to the new age which has brought with it a new epistemology and a new network of relationships in the Christian community. Unhappily these relationships are strained at Corinth, with Paul having to defend his apostolate, and with some of his children estranged from him. Hence the soteriology of reconciliation exactly meets the case. In rehearsing the message in these terms (by an appeal to common ground in the catechetical materials) Paul draws out both the role he sees for himself as a "messenger of reconcilation" (v 20) and a statement of ministry in precisely those terms (v 18). Then he launches into an impassioned plea to his alienated "children" (6:11-13) to come back, for all is forgiven (2:7-10; 7:8-16). There is no barrier on his side; nor on God's side, whose representative he is. To receive the grace in vain (6:1) is to remain obdurate and to range oneself with the unbelieving, satanically-dominated world (4:4) and to deny the exclusive claims of Christ and his apostle in the new Temple community (6:14-7:1). This is an outcome Paul strives to prevent in his bid for complete reconciliation at Corinth in the "day of salvation" (6:2). In this role God as reconciler and Paul his agent are linked (6:1).

1.4 The close identity between God's cause and Paul's apostolic person (to be more fully delineated in the last four chapters, in the face of a new threat at 11:4) leads him to one of his most remarkable utterances on the apostolic ministry. The "message of reconciliation" is what Paul proclaims as God's ambassador (a rare term for Paul), "with God making his appeal through us" (5:20). It is not only that Paul voices God's word as his mouthpiece and messenger; the sentence is turned around to claim that God is present in Paul's words. Not that Paul is acting and speaking for God, but that God himself is the chief actor, working and speaking through Paul. The exigencies of the situation drove Paul to this audacious claim, given the seriousness of the opposition at Corinth, the vulnerability of his own standing, and the sense of isolation from human support he felt at this juncture in his apostolic career.

At a later phase in the relationship of Paul and Corinth this self-understanding will assume a yet more pointed significance. When other preachers arrive on the scene with evident "missionary awareness," as having been sent (10:13-16), Paul debates with renewed vigor his apostolic calling and how he interpreted it. And he will set his message over against a rival version of the kerygma in starker terms (11:4, 13-15).

IV. Apostolic Service in Contention

The grounds on which Paul's *apologia* took on a new configuration are clear in chapters 10-13. The identity of the preachers who came in the (postulated) interval beween chapters 1-7 and 10-13 is still a matter of debate but, for the purposes of this presentation, there is no need to decide whether Paul's rivals were the Twelve themselves as "pillar" apostles, "Judaizers" with or without an attachment to Peter as one of the "highest-ranking apostles," or "Hellenists" with whom Paul finds it expedient to debate on rhetorical grounds and who may have taken their model from itinerant "holy men" in Greco-Roman society or fashioned their role in imitation of OT worthies such as Moses or, nearer to the data presented in the NT, early Christian leaders like Stephen and a hellenistic circle around him. Obviously this is a widely canvassed field, and there is a summary of some recent discussion elsewhere.[25]

The present assumption is that, following Käsemann and Barrett, there were two groups in Paul's mind: the so-termed "highest-ranking apostles" identified with the Twelve, and the "false apostles" of 11:13-15 who are directly in Paul's sights as rivals. The thrust of his argument in addressing the Corinthians is to appeal to—but only in a limited way—the authority of the Twelve over the heads of the "false apostles" in order to (i) retain good relations with Jerusalem (otherwise the rationale of the collection in chaps. 8-9 loses it point); (ii) speak respectfully of the "pillar" leaders, mindful of their status and cognizant of the claim they have to occupy their mission sphere (10:13-18); (iii) answer the implied accusations that he is inferior to the *Urapostel* whom he is using to defeat the real enemy, namely the proponents of a message and lifestyle as "apostles" he regards as antithetical to his own.

The springboard into our perception of his resistance is found in a difficult statement (11:12): "The course I have taken I will keep to, that I may put an end to the opportunity of those men who are seeking an opportunity to be regarded in what they boast of, as just like us." It is apparent that these men whose coming and message are heralded in 11:4 and whose "way of life" merits, in Paul's eyes, the severe condemnation of 11:13-15 were putting a bid for "legitimation" on the score that they "resembled" Paul. Hence the allusion to Satan resembling an angel of light, which Paul treats as a disguise and a species of deceit, (11:3 going back to the Genesis 3 story). Obviously Paul cannot abide such a comparison, but focuses the gravamen of his countercharge on what apparently they did have in common, namely a sense of mission. They claimed to be sent by some external authority, the Jerusalem Twelve. The one item Paul can invoke in self-defense of his ministry is the territorial agreement in Galatians 2:7-9 which he invokes tacitly in 10:12-18. But in a deeper sense he is precluded from any appeal to external authority because he has no sending church and would well be regarded as a maverick "apostle." So he invokes the interior evidence of the Spirit at work in his ministry (3:1-18) and the credentials of his care for the congregation (11:28).

The issue turns then on the question of what kind of ministry produces what sort of results. Under that rubric his opponents are painted in the darkest hues: their rhetorical finesse only serves to promote themselves in a highminded fashion (10:5), whereas Paul does not proclaim himself, only Jesus Christ the Lord (4:5); their

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[25] R. P. Martin, "The Opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians: An Old Issue Revisited" in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* Fest. E. E. Ellis. edd. G. F. Hawthorne with O. Betz (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 279-289.

charismatic gifts, inferred from his countercharges in 11:6, 18, and exalted status as domineering over the congregation (11:20) and imposing financial pressures for their own ends (11:7) are offset by the role he assumed as a plain speaker (10:10; 11:6, if *idiōtēs* means non-charismatic and/or non-obscure, as recently proposed[26]) and a failed healer who could not cure himself (12:1-10). He ran risks and was not protected from peril, as his "litany of trials" (11:23-28) makes clear; and their christology chimes in with their lifestyle, for Paul's counterarguments in 13:1-4 would lack pertinence unless they were directed at a picture of Jesus who was viewed as an all-glorious figure.

The ultimate test of valid ministry lies in the role assigned to the Spirit. Both sets of disputants claimed to be *pneumatikoi.* The issue to be determined was, To what effect, in understanding and behavior as well as status-seeking, is the power of the Spirit being applied?

V. The Function of the Spirit

This section can be brief since there is elsewhere[27] an extended discussion of the relevant passages in the letter where the Spirit is alluded to. The principle places are 1:21-22; 5:5; 3:1-18; 13:13/14, along with some texts where the allusions are either doubtful (6:6; 12:18) or applicable to an alien spirit (11:4).

It is maintained that such exegetical soundings as were possible in an extended treatment yielded a consistent result regarding the role of the Spirit in 2 Corinthians. Whether the theme is Paul's claim to valid ministry, or his insertion of the eschatological proviso to oppose a false dichotomy of soul and body, or the activity of the Spirit as actualizing the power of the new age in Christ, or the opposition to an alien gospel, Paul invokes the holy Spirit with one chief aim in view. He is seeking to establish the presence of the Spirit as the authentic sign of the new aeon, already begun but not yet realized in its fullness; and he is building his case on the readers' participation in the Spirit as the hallmark of their share in both the new world of God's righteousness (5:17-6:2) and the Pauline apostolate that represents it (2:17-3:18).

Indeed, we may say that these twin and related statements sum up the chief theological emphases of the pastoral-polemical letter of 2 Corinthians. The arrival of the new age, at least in proleptic form, rests upon God's gracious activity in securing the world's reconciliation in Christ, with the promise of its completion at the end-time. The present reality of the Spirit of Jesus in human lives is a token of the character of that new age, as exemplified in the incarnate Lord and in Paul and his team whose way of life and apostolic service mirrors the gospel they proclaim in word and action. Persons showing a "different spirit" (11:4) serve as a foil so that Paul's own claim to authentic ministry, it is said, reflects God's glory (8:23) made

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[26] C. Forbes, "Early Christian Inspired Speech and Hellenistic Popular Religion" *NovT* 28 (1986) 257-268.

[27] R. P. Martin, "The Spirit in 2 Corinthians in Light of the 'Fellowship of the Holy Spirit'" in *Eschatology and the New Testament.* Fest. G. R. Beasley-Murray. ed. W. H. Gloer (Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson, 1988) 113-128.

visible preeminently in the person of the Lord (4:4-6) who became poor (8:9) to enrich others, just as Paul's work was designed to do (6:3-10).[28]

[28] What J. T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel. An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardship in the Corinthian Correspondence.* SBL Diss. Series 99 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 207 concludes about the *peristaseis* lists neatly sums up the letter's theological setting: "[They] represent the convergence of several traditions and reflect [Paul's] own personal experiences of suffering and divine power. They take us to the center of Paul's understanding of God and his own self-understanding, yet anchor him in the culture and conventions of his time."

The Shaping of Theology in 2 Corinthians: Convictions, Doubts, and Warrants

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In 2 Cor 10:3-6 Paul writes

> (3) For though we live in the world we are not carrying on a worldly war, (4) for the weapons of our warfare are not worldly but have divine power to destroy strongholds. (5) We destroy arguments and every proud obstacle to the knowledge of God, and take every thought captive to obey Christ, (6) being ready to punish every disobedience, when your obedience is complete. (RSV)

In this passage Paul assumes the role of a militant writer, whose goals are as definite and aggressive as those of any soldier or general. His purpose is to argue in such a way as to lead the readers into full obedience to God and Christ. Anything—meaning any line of thought—that gets in the way of that obedience is to be targeted for assault. Paul thus at the outset of chapter 10 announces a hardball approach to communication. He writes in order to conquer.

We may also infer that the Paul's ultimate objective is not to promote an abstract dogma but rather to lead (or restore) the Corinthians to "complete" obedience to Christ. Since Paul's arguments in 2 Corinthians, especially chapters 10-13, have often been characterized as a defense of his apostolic ministry, it is well to notice that Paul indicates here that he will be fighting not for himself but for the Corinthians' relationship to God and Christ. The references to proud obstacles and capturing thoughts (or minds) suggests that the battle is to be fought not simply with reason but also with emotion and appeals to willing or deciding. Nevertheless, Paul makes it clear that he is confronting cognitive issues and will be fighting to overcome ideas. Finally, we note that he insists that he will not be using "worldly" (σάρκικα) weapons but rather ones possessing divine power, although he does not directly explain the meaning of this distinction.[1]

My aim in the following pages is to clarify the nature of the argumentative

[1] George A. Kennedy urges that by "worldly arguments" Paul means rational rhetoric, as opposed to intuitive rhetoric based on religious authority and revelation; he thinks the combination may have disturbed the Corinthians but that Paul claims that in his case both rhetorical styles come from God (*New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984] 93-96).

theology of 2 Corinthians. I call it "the shaping of the theology" of the epistle because I think we do well to think of the theological thought of Paul as developing as he acts, thinks and writes in relation to specific situations.[2] Theology as Paul practices it is an activity, an ongoing process. I wish here to analyze the theological activity that is 2 Corinthians in terms of three dynamic components: convictions, doubts, and warrants. By "dynamic" I mean that the components are interrelated, continually interacting, and are not absolutely fixed, even within a single letter (let alone with an amalgam of letters, such as 2 Corinthians presents). By speaking of "the activity that is 2 Corinthians" I mean to suggest that it is useful and possible to focus on the text of 2 Corinthians as "theology in the making," without inquiring into Paul's theological thinking in other epistles or apart from any extant Pauline writings.[3] I thus focus on theologizing in the form of arguments stated in the text of the epistle.[4]

"Doubt" is a term with multiple meanings. As I use it in this essay I will be thinking about "underlying problem or concern." I do not plan, however, to approach the issue by trying to piece together an overall position advocated by Paul's opponents, hints of which are scattered through 2 Corinthians.[5] Of course the historical situation behind 2 Corinthians must be considered, but I propose here to limit myself quite severely to doubts directly expressed or implied in the letter, without assuming that all the doubts were tucked into a "system" or that Paul was facing a single coherent pattern of doubt.

In his very stimulating essay, Kraftchick suggests that we follow Stephen Toulmin in distinguishing "warrants" from three other elements in arguments: data, backings, and claims.[6] I suspect this line of analysis will not fit Paul very well because in his arguments "data" conceived as "facts we appeal to as a foundation for the claim" cannot be tidily disentangled from interpretations which function as warrants. Likewise, the idea of a neat distinction between warrants and more fundamental "backings" (defined as "assurances, without which the warrants themselves would possess neither authority nor currency") is hardly one which study of Paul's paragraphs will encourage. It seems more likely that the warrants Paul brings forward to support his contentions fit together into a more or less harmonious group; some are mentioned more than others, but the picture of a hierarchy of primary and secondary warrants seems inappropriate.[7] On a later page Kraftchick proposes that we attend

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[2] Cf. the concerns of Jouette M. Bassler, "Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither?," *SBLSP* 1989: 418-23 and Steve Kraftchick "A Response to 'Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither" (SBL 1989 Pauline Theology Group Session 20 November 1989) 10f., 29f.

[3] Of course Paul probably had some "unpublished" theological ideas, but we can only speak of them insofar as they can be inferred from our written evidence. What Paul writes in 2 Corinthians can and must at some levels be interpreted in the light of his other writings; but we can analyze how its theological arguments develop without much reference to his other writings, and this procedure allows us to see more clearly some distinctive features of this epistle.

[4] In this respect I feel close to the approach of Victor Furnish, "Theology in 1 Corinthians: Initial Soundings," *SBLSP* 1989, 247-48.

[5] See, e.g., J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 294-302, building on the work of Georgi.

[6] Kraftchick, "Response," 15.

[7] As an alternative to applying the logical theory of Stephen Toulmin to religious

to Perelman's notion of "agreements" as "the starting points of arguments . . . to which the speaker believes her hearers will adhere from the start."[8] This may be relatively useful in analyzing a letter like 1 Thessalonians, where doubts about Paul's authority are only occasionally suggested; but in 2 Corinthians such doubts have a central place, and this means that Paul is forced to argue with little in the way of a sense of assured points on which he can assume the Corinthians agree with him. He often seems to argue as Eliza crossed the semi-frozen Ohio River, with a definite idea of the shore he wants to reach but having to step where the ice may crack beneath his feet at any moment.

Yet there are some fundamental convictions that Paul maintains throughout, some of which he assumes and does not argue for, others for which he argues strenuously so as to persuade the readers to embrace or re-embrace them. For our purposes a "conviction" may be understood as a self-evident truth, bearing in mind that what is self-evident to one person may not be so to another.[9] Of course a conviction can also be deliberately used as a warrant if the writer thinks his readers probably or certainly share it.

What is desirable, then, is a close study of the workings of all the individual arguments in 2 Corinthians. As a first move in that direction, I offer an analysis of the kinds of convictions, doubts, and warrants expressed in those arguments.[10] I will not attempt a general systematization of Paul's thought in the epistle or its putative constituent letter fragments, but some effort will be made to identify primary and recurring elements.

We must further bear in mind that "Paul" in this paper means generally "Paul as he presents himself to the readers in 2 Corinthians" (implied author), while the readers are really "the implied readers." Paul may not be so certain of everything as he presents himself as being, and the original readers of 2 Corinthians probably differed somewhat from Paul's implied portrait of them in 2 Corinthians (and there must have been many differences among individual church members as well).[11]

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discourse, I find more persuasive the approach of John H. Whittaker, *Matters of Faith and Matters of Principle: Religious Truth Claims and Their Logic* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1981). Such statements as the following are suggestive for analyzing Pauline arguments: "Even when the air is full of reasonable suspicions and some defense of a principle is badly needed, a truly fundamental principle can never be justified as an inference from prior, more certain grounds. The only defense of such principles is a counter-argument against the reasoned grounds for unbelief, so that the capacitating effect of a principle can be left to believers and potential believers to judge for themselves" (p. 144).

[8] Kraftchick, "Response," 18.

[9] The definition is taken from Daniel Patte, *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 11. Patte remarks that 2 Corinthians 10-13 "aims at converting the Corinthians from their new idolatry and thus at freeing them from the power of their system of convictions" (313).

[10] It will be obvious that the analysis is illustrative rather than exhaustive and that many exegetical details could be debated.

[11] In contrast to 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians hardly suggests the congregation is marked by divisions. Yet every congregation has differences; that Paul does not stress this point in 2 Corinthians is no reason for us to ignore the probability that there were pronounced variations on all sorts of issues in the Corinthian church.

Finally, there is the difficult question of the literary integrity of 2 Corinthians. I am at this point inclined to think that it is a pastiche of Pauline letter fragments: 1:1-6:13+7:2-16; 6:14-7:1; 8-9; 10-13. My approach in this study does not, however, essentially depend on any particular decisions about the history of the formation of 2 Corinthians, although it may shed light on the problem. The doubts, convictions, and warrants vary in different parts of 2 Corinthians, but a single general concept of Christian knowing seems presupposed throughout; and this suggests that all parts of 2 Corinthians were written within the same general period of Paul's career.

Convictions

Convictions are certitudes, things held without doubt. They are, then, the antithesis of doubts, but they also give doubt meaning and support. If everything were doubted, nothing believed beyond doubting, the meaning of doubt itself would become obscure.

The language of conviction includes words like βέβαιος as well as terms for knowing (οἶδαμεν, γινώσκετε, etc.). Convictions may be divided into two classes, those that are taken for granted and not argued for at all (hence things that both Paul and the Corinthians agree on as beyond question) and matters about which Paul is sure but knows the Corinthians are not.

Sometimes Paul may use the language of certitude, and yet do so in a way that suggests serious doubt. Such is the case with his expressions of confidence in the Corinthians, especially in chapters 8-9 (9:2, 11-15). Paul has boasted of their readiness to contribute (9:3). His expression of conviction involves implicit exhortation, demanding that the Corinthians live up to his expectations or hopes.

What are Paul's working assumptions in 2 Corinthians? We may begin by noting that he everywhere presupposes that God exists and acts (or has acted) in a decisive and reconciling way in Jesus, especially through his death (5:14-15, 18, 21). Paul further assumes that believers look forward to a bodily resurrection and divine judgment according to works (5:10). Paul also takes for granted an involved history of previous interactions between himself and the Corinthians, including communications via associates and agents. He assumes that the Corinthians recall much about his previous preaching and conduct in their midst. Paul throughout assumes without argument things about the Jewish scriptures which are most interesting: that they have continuing authority for Christians, and that the Corinthians can recognize all or many of his references to those scriptures (and perhaps to special exegetical traditions). He assumes that the Corinthian church is functioning and has a general sense of Christian purpose and appreciation of its ties (some of obligation) with other Christian communities (especially those elsewhere in Greece, in Macedonia, in Judea, and in the location from which Paul is writing). He assumes that some forms of church discipline exist, including exclusion or excommunication.

On the other hand, there are convictions that Paul holds firmly but which he thinks some or all of the Corinthians doubt. These are the convictions for which he argues. These include Paul's apostolic authority, which comes from God, his sense of being nothing and of the folly of comparing apostles, his probity and good conscience in relation to all his interactions with the Corinthians, and his profound love for them.

Perhaps we should place in a special category the emphatic assertions, in various

sectors of the epistle, that cluster around the principle of divine power revealed in weakness. In 1:8-11 and 12:8-10 Paul implies that in the past he was not himself certain of the truth of this principle (or aware of all its applications), but that it has over time become more and more meaningful to him through his own experiences (including experiences of prayer). Clearly he also wants the Corinthians to become sure of this principle.

Closely related to this is the concept of appearance in contrast to reality. What appears weak, contemptible, sinful (10:10; cf. 5:21 and 11:7!), transient (4:18) or false to human eyes and minds is not necessarily so in God's sight; and what finally matters is reality as God sees it. Paul assumes, without argument that the Corinthians will understand this general principle.[12] What he argues about with them is particular cases in which appearances may be or are deceiving.

In 2 Corinthians Paul himself is in center stage, the arguments center on him. The epistle itself is a self-portrait. Yet at the last Paul steps aside and says, what matters is not what you think of me, but whether you are truly obedient to Christ.[13] The Christ Paul has preached is, however, well represented not only by the proclamation but by the life of Paul himself, not least as it is now re-presented to the Corinthians in Paul's letters; hence a decision against Paul implies a rejection of the Jesus and the God whose ambassador Paul is. This accords with Paul's insistence that he is an earthen vessel and, in himself, nothing at all; nevertheless he demands that the Corinthians acknowledge the power of God active in his ministry. So it is in a dialectical sense that Paul repeatedly and confidently stresses that he himself is not the issue.[14]

Doubts

Probably the most important single expression of doubt appears in the *peristasis* catalog of 4:7-12:

> But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us. (8) we are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; *perplexed, but not driven to despair* (ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι); (9) persecuted, but not forsaken (ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι); struck down, but not destroyed; (10) always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. (11) For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. (12) So death is at work in us, but life in you.

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[12] Both pagan and Jewish traditions would support the general idea. On the latter, see my article (centered on Gal 2:6), "Paul's Indifference to Authority," *JBL* 88/1 (1969) 36-44, esp. 39-42.

[13] This point is well worked out in contrast to traditional rhetorical guidelines in J. Paul Sampley, "Paul, His Opponents in 2 Corinthians 10-13, and the Rhetorical Handbooks," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee* (ed. J. Neusner, et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 162-77, esp. 172-75.

[14] Cf. John Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* (SNTSMS 26; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 178, 183f.

The term ἀπορέω has the general meaning of "being uncertain."[15] In Gal 4:20 (Paul's only other use of the term) the apostle writes "I wish I could be with you now and change my tone, for I am *perplexed* about you (ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν)." In that passage Paul makes it clear that his doubts pertain to the Galatians, but he does not specify a precise object of his doubting (the whole letter of Galatians suggests he had multiple doubts about the Galatian Christians). In 2 Cor. 4 Paul does not indicate at all the object of his doubting. The succeeding clause about "persecuted but not abandoned" suggests Paul has in mind specifically doubts raised in his mind by experiences of suffering, in line with 1:8-9. In that passage we find the only other use of ἐξαπροράομαι in the NT:

> (8) For we do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself (ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν). (9) Why, we felt that we had received the sentence of death; but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead; (10) he delivered us from so deadly a peril, and he will deliver us. . . .

What exactly does "despaired of life" mean in this context? Presumably Paul thought his physical death was imminent and this caused him to feel "utterly, unbearably crushed." But how could the threat of physical death drive into total despair one who speaks so buoyantly about Christ's victory over death and the Christian hope of resurrection, e.g., in 5:1-6? How can Paul have been in absolute despair if he believed in a "God who raises the dead"? Perhaps the language of despair here is meant to recall the LXX's solitary use of the verb (Ps 87:16): "I have been poor and troubled since my youth; having been exalted, I have been humbled and caused to despair (ἐξηπορήθην)." It is also noteworthy that in the context Paul speaks about remembering to trust in God rather than himself and of being *certain* that God will provide deliverance in the future. This certainty, which should bring comfort to the Corinthians as it does to Paul (1:7), consists in confidence that God will offer Paul (and other Christians—"us") deliverance even after or in spite of physical annihilation. The general point of 1:8-11, then, is to inform the Corinthians that Paul suffered terribly at some point in Asia but that his despair was overcome by a specific event of deliverance and by Paul's remembering to trust in God absolutely.[16] That he had to learn anew to rely on God suggests that for Paul every day can offer a fresh occasion to believe—or to doubt. The confidence in deliverance he now announces to the Corinthians is open-ended: God will always in the future deliver Paul (and presumably the Corinthians). This confidence is partly warranted by Paul's experience of deliverance in Asia (and by other past events, presumably, above all the

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[15] It occurs four times in the NT apart from the Pauline letters, each time with a fairly specific indication of an object of doubt: Mk 6:20 (Herod was greatly perplexed when he listened to John the Baptist); Lk 24:4 (the women were *perplexed* at discovering the body missing); Acts 25: 20 (Festus was *at a loss* about how to investigate the charges against Paul); John 13:22 (the disciples *were uncertain* of whom Jesus spoke). The single use of ἀπορία in the NT (Lk 21:25) gives it the meaning "perplexity." In the LXX the verb occurs 14 times, in each case with a fairly clear indication of a source of doubt (or distress).

[16] Cf. C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) 64-66.

events concerning Jesus of Nazareth); but this hope of future deliverance clearly goes beyond all past experiences of narrowly avoiding death.

It is noteworthy that Paul's description of his time of despair is framed by assurances to the Corinthians (1:3-7, 12-22). He intends that they should recognize, first, that God's comforting of Paul implies a promise that they, too, are and will be comforted (both by Paul's deliverance and by the security they themselves have in Christ). Paul expresses himself as perfectly confident of the purity of his conduct toward the Corinthians; he implies that their doubts of him arise from their failure to understand him fully (12-14). Then he describes how he intended to visit them, sure of giving them a double pleasure, and then changed his mind. They are inclined now to view the change as a token of ambivalence on his part. He insists, however, that his conduct and attitude toward them have always been "Yes," just as and just because God's word to them in Christ is consistently Yes. The implication is that the Corinthians must learn to trust in a Yes despite all ambiguity and apparent ambivalence on the part of Paul (and the God Paul has proclaimed to them). Later on (12:7-10) Paul will explain how in another situation he learned to be content (to say Yes) despite suffering because the Lord taught him that divine power comes not instead or or in spite of but through experiences which humans might interpret as only evil.

In 4:8, the affirmation is "perplexed, but not driven to despair." The thought may be that Paul suffers perplexity but, since God does not abandon him,[17] he does not fall into despair. The object or objects of the doubting are not stated, and he may be thinking about a kind of general uncertainty that marks his ministry. On the other hand, there is no suggestion here or elsewhere that Paul has any doubts about the kerygma or his apostolic mission. Probably we should think of the kind of physical suffering alluded to in 1:8ff. and the dangers and sleeplessness mentioned in 11:26-27,[18] but the doubting probably also includes worried uncertainty about the condition of the churches (μέριμνα, 11:23), not least the church in Corinth. We may reasonably guess that part of Paul's frustration and anxiety in writing 2 Corinthians stems from uncertainty about exactly what the experiences of the Corinthians have been with the false or superlative apostles and their partisans.

At all events, Paul suggests in this passage that doubt is his constant companion, like affliction and persecution; it manifests his vulnerability, weakness, and participation in the death of Jesus. He does not enjoy it, but has learned to bear it. He does so not out of his own powers of endurance but by the miraculous power of the God who does not abandon him (4:9).[19] Does this passage reveal in Paul an ability to tolerate doubts and ambiguity, a "negative capability" in Keats's sense? He may not bear uncertainty with delight (any more than he does his "thorn in the flesh"), but he at least has learned to accept the fact that some so-called Christians consider him

[17] So Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians* (Anchor Bible 32A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1984) 255, 280-82.

[18] R. P. Martin *2 Corinthians* (Word Biblical Commentary 40; Waco: Word Books, 1986) 86; John T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel* (SBLDS 99; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 175: Paul and his cohorts "may be distressed as a consequence of being oppressed (θλιβόμενοι) but they are not desperate or in despair!"

[19] Cf. Fitzgerald, *Vessel* 174f.; Rudolf Bultmann, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* (Meyer; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976) 116: "in allem Schlimmen geht es uns letzlich und eigentlich nicht schlimm."

a fraud. He has also come to realize that he must live with uncertainties about the Corinthians' loyalty to himself and to Christ, uncertainty about how well they will support him in the future and how much they will contribute (if at all) to the collection for the Jerusalem church.

In any case, it seems most likely that we should interpret both 1:8-11 and 4:8-9 in relation to the rhetorical needs of which Paul is conscious. In the first chapter he wishes to convince the Corinthians that suffering (his and perhaps theirs) leads to receiving of divine comfort; in the fourth he is concerned to argue the validity of his apostolic ministry, as attested in part by his sufferings. The point in neither case will be to emphasize Paul's doubt in itself but rather to stress how divine glory and life are manifest in the midst of his experiences of human and apostolic weakness. Perhaps a special concern with doubt while writing 2 Corinthians led Paul to insert the theme into the *peristasis* passages in 4:8 and 11:27-28.[20]

Occasionally Paul expresses some doubt about himself. In 12:2-3 he stresses that he does not know if his heavenly vision took place while he was in or outside his body. This expression of doubt accompanies and supports what he says he is certain about, that God granted him an ascent into paradise where he received secret revelation.[21]

When Paul speaks of himself as "losing heart" (4:1,16), can this mean he was sometimes himself tempted to "timid orthodoxy"? Is not *confidence* (as opposed to being ashamed of the Gospel—Rom 1:16) essential to faith for Paul, and does not confidence in faith for him involve full assurance of the truth of what is believed? Paul never accuses himself of sin (including sinful doubt) in this letter; he has a "robust conscience" as an Apostle and is sure that God approves of him and that the Corinthians would if they could see things truly. Nevertheless, passages like 1.8ff and 4.1,16 suggest that Paul wishes the Corinthians to realize that he himself is not above doubting, and the intent may be one of pastoral psychology: just as I have had to struggle against despair despite my special revelations and commission from Christ, so you in spite of your doubts can "improve" in the sense of moving toward greater and more adequate faith (13:9).[22]

Apart from 4:8 and 1:8ff, the language of doubting in 2 Corinthians varies greatly. Doubt can be expressed directly in a question or statement of concern. It can be implied in a Pauline assertion or string of arguments.

Quite often Paul seems not to define a doubt very specifically. This may in part be a rhetorical tactic, reflecting a desire not to give undue attention to opponents' opinions.[23] But in part it probably reflects the diffuseness of doubting in Corinth: there were probably many different doubters and doubts in that church, and not all their doubts may have been crystallized or defined in terms of discrete propositions.

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[20] The theme of Paul's own doubts is not directly expressed in the other Pauline *peristasis* paragraphs.

[21] James D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986) 121. Furnish (*II Corinthians*, 545) thinks Paul stresses his uncertainty on the point because he doesn't care about it (whereas presumably some Corinthians do).

[22] Cf. Philo's insistence that even Abraham's faith could falter, since he was only human (*De Mutatione Nominum* 181-87).

[23] Sampley, "Paul, His Opponents," 176 n.8 (citing Quintilian 5.13.27). Perhaps for a similar rhetorical reason Paul does not *name* his opponents.

Likewise Paul's doubts about the Corinthians extend beyond a series of specific worries or questions. Cognitive disbelief and personal distrust slide into one another. There are specific and general doubts.

The doubts of the Corinthians seem to have dealt mainly with Paul. They doubted his love for themselves (1:24; 11:11), his knowledge and speech as an apostle (especially by comparison with other leaders 11:5-6), they questioned his integrity and candor, particularly in relation to money (1:18; 4:2; 6-8; 8:20; 10:9-11; 11:7-12; 12:13-16). They felt his weaknesses and sufferings rendered his apostolic claims dubious (4:7-11). They wondered if he were sober or ecstatic enough (5:13) and if he had sufficient charismatic proofs of charismatic power (12:12; 13:3). They questioned what they perceived as his arrogance (2:4, 16; 3:5). They raised doubts about his self-commendations (3:1; 4:5-6; 5:12; 10:9; 11:16; 12:19) and thought he needed letters of recommendation from others (3:1). Perhaps we may infer from 3:7-18 that some in Corinth had doubts about the Christian message, especially insofar as it claimed superiority to the Mosaic revelation. Yet for the most part the Corinthians' doubts converge on Paul. In their own minds they did not doubt God or Christ. But they did not completely trust Paul or respect his claim that Christ was speaking to them through him.

Paul's doubts about the Corinthians extend further. Of course he knows their doubts about his legitimacy as apostle and ongoing spiritual guide for the church (1:24; 2:4). He also doubts their love for himself (6:11-13) and his associates in mission. He doubts that they have understood him in the past, especially in his previous letters (1:13; cf. 5:11). His expresses doubts about their readiness to participate in the collection (9:3-5).[24] If he wrote 6:14-7:1, he seems to have thought their association with non-Christians would lead into moral impurity and perhaps loss of faith. When he appeals to the Corinthians to be reconciled with God or not to receive grace in vain (5:20; 6:1), he seems to be thinking that their faith regarding Christian fundamentals is in jeopardy.[25] The anxious uncertainty expressed in 1:12-23 and 7:5 probably pertain to the Corinthians' response to Titus as Paul's representative.[26]

But, especially in in chapters 10-13, he indicates grave doubts about the Christian faith of some or all in the church. He tells them they may not pass the 'test' of faith (13:5). He says he fears they have been seduced and corrupted by Satan (11:3, 13-15). He says they readily accept "another Jesus," "a different Spirit," and a "different gospel" (11:4), and he seems to imply here (as in Gal 1:8-9) that this means apostasy and damnation (cf. 11:15). Doubt carried to the extreme of rejection of Christ is mentioned in 4:3, and is ascribed to the "god of this world" (cf. 2:15-16; 3:14), just as the work of the false apostles is said to be at the behest of Satan (11:14; cf. 11:3). In good measure he sees the Corinthians' doubt of himself as a rejection of Christ. In such passages there seem to be virtually no limits to Paul's doubts about the Corinthians.

Yet Paul in chapters 12 and 13 emphasizes his plans to return to Corinth soon

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[24] The length and variety of arguments brought forward throughout chapters 8-9 suggest that he thought he had strong reasons to doubt their readiness.

[25] As opposed to viewing the expression as simply a standard component of Paul's missionary message. See Furnish, *II Corinthians* 341; Martin *2 Corinthians*, 166f.

[26] So Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 170-72, 394.

and exercise his authority there to discipline offenders.[27] Although he expresses fear that the Corinthians and he will be mutually disappointed (12:20-21) and says he hopes he will not have to use his authority severely (10:2; 13:10), Paul seems sure he can wield effective power over the church once he arrives (13:1-4). He says he will be exercising the power of Christ (13:3-4), but on a social level he will need the backing of many, probably a majority, in the congregation to make good his threats of discipline.[28] So Paul, despite his many doubts about the Corinthians, seems confident (or at least hopeful) that he can count on the support of many in the church.

He also ends the letter with an exhortation "Heed my appeal!" alongside blessings and greetings. He could be "whistling in the dark," but I think it better to assume that Paul expects a large number in Corinth to "come around" to his way of thinking. So Paul's doubts about the church, while serious enough to prompt passionate and sustained argumentation, do not seem to lead him into despair. Perhaps this is part of of the meaning of 4:8.

In several passages (esp. 4:1-12, 5:16; 6.8-10) Paul writes as though Christian faith is a 'point of view' or 'way of seeing things'—as opposed to a human (κατὰ σάρκα) view. In these passages he pits faith against unfaith as antitheses as though there are only two options, assuming a binary logic or rhetoric.[29] The apostle emphasizes how faith leads him to think one way rather than another (3:5; 10:2; 11:5) and that his readers must choose to think in one way rather than another (λογίζομαι—10:2, 7, 11; 12:6). Those who engage in worldly comparisons are choosing to think mistakenly (10:12, 18). The thorn in the flesh was given him lest he think wrongly about himself (12:7). In all such passages faith is construed as a way of thinking or reckoning that involves a deliberate repudiation of one or more opposed ways of thinking or perceiving. Faith assumes doubt—or at least the possibility of doubt. Faith intrinsically involves an element of "nevertheless."

Does a person choose the faith way of seeing things? In 4:3-4 Paul suggests that unfaith is forced by the blinding activity of "the god of this world" (cf. the predestination overtones in 2:14-15). But Paul's appeals to "Be reconciled" imply the opposite, that after all the Corinthians and others are free to choose. Bultmann's view of faith as a decision that must be made over and over fits many passages of exhortation in 2 Corinthians,[30] and that implies that all Christians are recurrently offered the option

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[27] Note that he does not tell the Galatians he expects to visit them and bring rebels into line there. Does he doubt his ability to exercise authority in that church?

[28] Cf. Thomas W. Overholt, *Channels of Prophecy: The Social Dynamics of Prophetic Activity* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989), esp. 69-72. Cf. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 464 (on 10:6); Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 124; Bengt Holmberg, *Paul and Power* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 76f. Otherwise: Bultmann, *Korinther*, 245: Paul's third visit will result either in the repentance of the Corinthians and the excommunication of some individuals or, if the community is obdurate, Paul will hand over the entire church to divine punishment.

[29] Recently a number of British and American philosophers of religion have discussed religious faith as a distinctive way of interpreting or seeing the world. See John Hick, *Philosophy of Religion*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall 1990) 100-108.

[30] See Bultmann, *Korinther*, 165f.

(or temptation) of disbelief (doubt in its most radical form). Faith's recognition of the power and love of God in Christ is a judgment (5:14) made in the face of ambiguous evidence.[31]

What does one do with doubts? Some cannot be resolved, at least in this world (such seems the case with Paul's doubts in 12:2-3).[32] Others must be resolved by events: a deliverance by God in 1:8ff.; a demonstration of acceptance by other people (e.g., the Corinthians welcoming Titus—7:5ff.). But other doubts can and, in Paul's view, must be met by argument: they are obstacles to be overcome, negative thoughts to be taken captive for the cause of Christ.

Warrants

The concept of warrants is central to the concept of argument—or it presupposes the idea of arguing toward a conclusion. It also presupposes a framework of convictions (which define what will be a persuasive warrant) and doubts (which occasion the arguments).

There are indications in the epistle that Paul has reflected on the general nature and value of verification in relation to Christian faith. He tells the Corinthians to "Give proof" of their commitment to the Collection. He promises that when he comes again he will give proof of his authority to those who doubt it. Paul also says he needs no letter of recommendation to or from the Corinthians. They themselves are a letter from Christ to humanity that somehow offers a good reference statement about their founding apostle. But of course 2 Corinthians as a whole (in all its parts) is a long and strenuous letter of self-recommendation offering a stream of warrants intended to convince the readers that Paul is indeed the apostle they should trust. He says he is not commending himself again, and adds that all his deeds commend him. He points out that the only commendation that counts is not self-commendation but commendation from God. He argues to persuade the Corinthians that he is not at all inferior to the 'superlative apostles,' but then adds that he is really nothing and that all these arguments have been 'foolish.' He asks, "Have you been thinking all along that we have been defending ourselves before you?"(12:19)

In his debate with opponents, especially in chapters 10-13, Paul clearly demands that his readers reconsider what constitutes real "proof of apostleship."[33] He urges the Corinthians to "test" themselves, evidently assuming that they know some

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[31] Cf. 5:7 and J. Louis Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: 2 Cor. 5:16," in *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (ed. W. R. Farmer, et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 269-87, esp. 286f.

[32] A general principle of the limitations of Christian knowing before the eschaton is offered in 1 Cor 13:12. See Paul W. Gooch, *Partial Knowledge: Philosophical Studies in Paul* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), esp. 142-61.

[33] So Furnish *II Corinthians*, 579. Furnish goes on to remark "For Paul, apostles are legitimated only by the word they bear—and not by the form in which it is conveyed or by the amazing feats which may accompany it, but by the way it takes effect in the lives of those to whom it is addressed." But this suggests that Paul's apostleship would in Paul's view be nullified if the Corinthians failed to recognize his apostolic authority or accept his word as that of God (cf. Furnish, 578: "their obedience

true criteria for testing Christian faith. Then he goes on to suggest the possibility that they may "flunk" Paul by their standards but that doesn't matter so long as they themselves "do what is right" and "improve" (13:5-9). The implication is not that Paul will in reality have failed but only that the Corinthians may perceive him as ἀδόκιμος. He says that on the basis of faith he seeks to persuade others that salvation comes through Jesus, but he readily admits that to some people his preaching has the stench of death, that some cannot respond to what he preaches because the god of this world has blinded them.

The upshot of all this is that a letter full of argument sets serious, not quixotic or simply paradoxical, limits to the value of argument. Paul does not pretend that his warrants will work with all readers. Yet he presents them with care and vehemence.

The terminology for warranting or verification varies considerably. One major term is συνίστημι (3:1; 4:2; 5:12; 6:4; 7:11; 10:12, 18; 12:11). Also of special interest are δοκιμάζω, δοκιμή, and δόκιμος (2:9; 8:2, 8, 22; 9:13; 10:18; 13:3, 5, 7). The warrants are not piled up woodenly. Paul's language is often metaphorical (consider 11:3!)[34] and his use of warrants (e.g., his references to the Jewish scriptures) can be evocative as well as denotative.[35] Yet most of 2 Corinthians consists of very serious arguments designed to convince the addressees.

The various warrants can be grouped on the basis of content. Some might be called kerygmatic, pertaining especially to Christ (5:14-21; 8:9; 10:1, etc.). Others involve scriptural quotations or allusions. Many warrants refer to the apostolic authority and the conduct of Paul, past and present. Still others involve the Spirit and the Corinthians' experiences of its presence. It is worth noting, however, that all these warrants are directly related to Paul's implied claims to be an authoritative interpreter. It is Christ as Paul interprets him, the Jewish scriptures as Paul interprets them, Paul's authority and the Christian experiences of the Corinthians as seen through Pauline "spectacles." We cannot expect the apostle to step outside his skin when he presents these warrants, but we can well suppose there were Corinthians who said in effect, "We recognize the authority of Christ and the scriptures, and we remember what's gone on between ourselves and Paul—we just don't look at these things the way Paul does!" None of Paul's warrants in 2 Corinthians would likely persuade readers absolutely disdainful of his authority. So it seems fair to infer that Paul imagines that his words still have some weight with the Corinthians, even though not so much as he would like. Even in chapters 10-13 he writes to persuade the only partly unpersuaded.[36]

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constitutes the only valid proof both of the genuineness of their faith and of the legitimacy of his apostolate." I would be inclined to guess that Paul would feel his apostolic authority nullified only if *all* the churches rejected him. In Galatians I think he seriously accepts the possibility that the churches he addresses may permanently repudiate him; but he does not for all that suggest that this would bring his apostleship to an end! Cf. Bultmann *Korinther*, 250: the real measure of truth and of Paul's authenticity is simply the Gospel.

[34] Cf. Stephen B. Heiny, "2 Corinthians 2:14-4:6: The Motive for Metaphor," *SBLSP* 1987: 1-22

[35] As is forcefully demonstrated in Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[36] Cf. Meeks *Urban Christians*, 137: we have limited evidence about how Paul's

In relation to the kerygma, Paul gives an authoritative interpretation of it in 5:14-6:1. It is one which overtly claims that God not only was in Christ but is in Paul and his associates as they preach reconciliation through Christ. Another key emphasis in the epistle is on Christ's death and resurrection as a paradoxical paradigm of true Christian authority, a pattern exemplified in Paul's ministry (4:7-11). This Christological paradigm seems to underlie 6:8-10 and is central (or presupposed) to the ironic argument in chapters 10-13. It is interesting, however, that Paul does not make this explicit till quite late in those chapters (13:4).

About 28 passages refer to Christ in important ways as a warrant. Often the point is to argue that Christ speaks through Paul or that Paul bears authentic witness to Christ. Paul's apostolic authority derives from "the Lord" (1:1; 10:7-8; 13:10). Paul preaches Christ, not himself (4:5-6) and Christ speaks in him to the churches (2:14-17; 3:2; 5:19-6:1; 11:4, 10; 12:19; 13:3). Just as Christ is the Yes to God's promises, so Paul's communications to the Corinthians fundamentally have been a consistent Yes (1:18-20). Paul carries out his ministry in such a way as to be vindicated by Christ at the Parousia and Last Judgment and to be joined then with the Corinthians in Christ's presence (1:14, 4:14; 5:9-11).[37] Paul's experiences of weakness and suffering mirror Christ's death and resurrection (4:7-11). Christ gave up wealth to become poor so that Christians might be made rich (8:9). Evidently this explains how "the grace of God" has recently been manifested in the Macedonian's generous contributions despite poverty and suffering (8:1-2). In 10:1 Paul says he speaks to the Corinthians "by the meekness and gentleness of Christ." This prepares us for the paradoxical assault on opponents for the sake of Christ (10:5-6) carried out with emphasis on weakness, since Christ's grace is perfected in weakness (12:9, a special revelation to Paul and, through Paul, to the Corinthians) and his power manifested in relation to his crucifixion (13:4—just as Paul is weak in Christ but will show strong authority in dealing with the Corinthians). Paul arranged the church's betrothal to Christ (11:2), and Christ will remain in the church so long as it is faithful (13:5; cf. 1:2).

The will of God is cited as undergirding the gift of the Macedonians, which arose from prayer and which helps to warrant Corinthian generosity (8:5). God is appealed to directly as a warrant for generous giving in 9:6-11. In that passage his will is understood especially through a formal quotation of Ps. 111:9LXX in v. 9, but there are quite clear allusions to other scriptural passages as well: Prov. 11:24 (v. 6), Prov. 22:8aLXX and Deut 15:10 (v. 7), Isa 55:10 and Hos 10:12LXX (v. 10). 2 Corinthians indeed offers a very considerable number of scriptural allusions and quotations, often presented as unquestionable warrants for the conclusions Paul seeks to draw. When Christ is said to fulfill God's promises in general (1:18-20), the promises are probably understood to be largely defined in scripture (cf. Rom 9:4). Sometimes scriptural quotations are introduced directly as warrants with a formula like "God says"or "It is written" (4:13, 6:2, 16; 8:15; 9:9; cf. 4:3). Twice quotations are offered

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letters were received, but there are hints (e.g., in the preservation of his letters) that the problems in Corinth diminished and that his authority was honored.

[37] Cf. Furnish *II Corinthians,* 286 on 4:14: "To the resurrection credo (14a) Paul has added a comment about God's presentation of *us* with *you* (14b)" . . . "this being together with his converts in the presence of the Lord will be the crowning evidence not only of the authenticity of their faith but also of the authenticity of those by whom they have come to faith." Cf 1:14 and Phil 2:16; 1 Th 2:19.

without introduction (10:17; 13:1). The interpretation of the story of Moses in 3:3-16 assumes the permanent validity of the scriptural account, not least because Paul argues that Moses's self-veiling points to the superiority of the ministry connected with the new covenant.[38] In 11:3 an allusion to the story of Eve and the serpent warrants Paul's warning that the Corinthians may be corrupted. Obviously the apostle can assume that the Corinthians consider the Jewish scriptures authoritative and know them quite well. His readily boasts that he, too, is a descendant of Abraham (11:22) and this, together with his apparent concern to exhibit mastery of scriptural interpretation, suggests that Jewish credentials had high prestige for at least some Corinthians.[39]

Paul is an apostle by God's will and empowerment (1:1; 2:14-17; 3:5-6; 4:1, 6-7; 5:19-20; 6:4, 7:10-13; 13:4) and his Gospel is God's (5:19-20; 11:7). God's Spirit attests Paul's ministry (1:22; 3:6, 8,17-18; 5:5). Paul mentions special revelations given him (12:1-10)[40] and miracles he has performed (12:12) as though they are strong evidence of divine authorization (which is not to say that he thinks of revelations and miracles in exactly the way his opponents do). All that he does and writes is done out of reverential awareness of acting in the sight of God (4:2; 5:11; 8:21; 12:19)—and the Corinthians should recognize their own relation to God's omniscience and judgment (7:12). Paul repeatedly affirms his integrity as something known to God (1:23; 5:11, 11:11, 31).

Many warrants stem from Paul's own experiences and style of ministry. His missionary labors and successes (not least in Corinth) are fundamental warrants (6:5; 11:23, 27; and especially 10:13-16).[41] His standing before God is directly influenced by the spiritual standing of his congregations (1:14; 3:2-3; 12:21), although he points out twice that the disbelief with which some respond to his message does not disconfirm his apostleship (2:15-16; 4:3).

Paul also argues for the legitimacy of his authority from his love of the Corinthians (2:4; 6:6; 7:3; 11:3; 12:14-15, 19; cf. 2:5-11) and the fact that he consistently acts for the good of the church (1:7; 11:7, 28; 13:9-10). His expressions of confidence in the church (1:15, 24; 2:3, 17; 3:2; 7:4, 11-16; 8:7; 9:1-2, 13-15; 10:15) and his boasting about them to other Christians (7:14; 8: 24; 9:2) further attest his good will. Purity, candor, and honesty (including financial honesty) are additional warrants (1:18; 2:6, 17-18; 4:2, 13; 6:6-7, 11-12). In line with this, he does not seek to give the Corinthians unnecessary pain (1:21; 2:1,4), but demands that they acknowledge his authority over them for their own good (1:14; 12:19; cf. 5:12). They ask for his power to be demonstrated, and he claims that he will demonstrate it in a way

[38] Some scholars have gone further and discerned in this passage a view of Moses as a direct witness to the glory of Christ. See now Hays, *Echoes*, 142-53.

[39] Though Paul also points out he has been persecuted for his apostolic efforts by Jews (11:24, 26).

[40] On the subtleties and irony in Paul's claims, see Tabor, *Things Unutterable*, 53 n.79, 120-21.

[41] In a recent study, Scott Hafemann goes so far as to say that the existence of the church in Corinth is "the decisive divine attestation of his [Paul's] claim to authority as the Corinthians' apostle"; it is "*objective* evidence of divine activity" and constitutes "the only canon of commendation that Paul recognizes" ("Self-Commendation' and Apostolic Legitimacy in 2 Corinthians: a Pauline Dialectic?," *NTS* 36/1 (1990) 83.

that will surprise them when he visits the church and punishes all offenders (12:21-13:4). His letters are powerful evidence of God's judgment, and his visit will confirm that judgment.[42]

The theme of reversal of the Corinthians' notions of legitimation is prominent. The distinction between appearance and reality is assumed as a basis for arguing that Paul's authority is better than the Corinthians may imagine (5:12, 16; 6:8-10). Paul's irony or sarcasm itself is a rhetorical device to support his claims, especially when he speaks of his "folly" (10:12; 11:1, 16, 21; 12:11, 13). His weakness and suffering, which are the objects of criticism or ridicule on the part of opponents, are really witnesses to his authority (1:4-7; 2:4; 4:7-11, 16-18; 6:5, 9; 12:8-10) since it is a platform on which God's power is revealed and because it shows forth Paul's likeness to Christ (13:3-4). His financial policy toward the Corinthians, taken by them as an occasion for suspicion, really proves his parental love (11:7-10; 12:13-15). He attacks his opponents, sometimes bitterly, and this demonstrates his courage and willingness to pass judgment when necessary (2:17; 5:12; 11:12-15, 18-23; 12:11).[43] He points out the purposes and devices of Satan to support his exhortations (2:11; 4:4; 11:3, 14-15; 12:7).

Paul appeals to the Corinthians to let their own consciences judge him (5:11; cf. 4:2), and he reminds them of experiences in which they recognized his authority (3:2-3; 7:12, 15; 12:17-18). Sometimes Paul expresses general warrants in proverb-like form, perhaps thinking of them as general Christian principles, perhaps regarding them as principles which right-minded people in general would consider reasonable (4:18c; 7:10; 9:6, 7; 10:18; 11:14; 12:14c). He shows some concern for maintaining a good reputation with non-Christians as well as Christians (4:2; 8:20-21). He implies that bad believing leads to bad morals (6:14-7:1; 12:20-21). He can also mention the actions and opinions of other Christians as supporters of his position or concerns (1:1; 7:6, 13-15; 8:1-7, 16-24;[44] 9:2, 13-14; 11:9-10; 12:17-18; 13:13).

A few general theological principles recur and might be described as primary warrants. The notion that divine power is revealed in human weakness is connected with Christ and Paul in passages like 4:7-11, 6:2-10, 12:8-10, and 13:3-4 and seems a special case of the appearance/reality distinction. The affirmation that God seeks equality is articulated most prominently in the rationale for contributions in 8:13-15. But these two ideas may in Paul's mind have been joined since he apparently intends to teach that all Christians, not just apostles, should share in Christ's poverty and weakness in order that others may be enriched (cf. 6:10). Related to these two warrants is a third, to which both seem subordinate: the claim of 5:14-21 that the Gospel centers in a proclamation of God's love revealed through the death of Jesus, a love that then invites humanity to be reconciled to God and causes those who accept the invitation to share Christ's death and resurrection, his love, weakness, power and glory (5:14-15; 3:17-18). Paul and the Corinthians are equally subjected

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[42] 10:9-11. Furnish (*II Corinthians,* 575), following Bultmann, argues persuasively that the "two or three witnesses" of 13:1 are a combination of Paul's visits and the letter of chapters 10-13.

[43] On the rhetorical tradition presupposed, see Sampley, "Paul, His Opponents," 169-70.

[44] On the complex church diplomacy implied in this passage, see esp. Hans D. Betz *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 70-86.

to the Word of God revealed in Christ. Equality is not identity, however: just as Paul is not identical with Christ, so the Corinthians are not called to share exactly Paul's experiences of death and resurrection. Their experiences do not precisely parallel those of the Macedonian Christians or the Jerusalem saints. But they and all who live in faith are equally summoned into the same sphere of obedience (5:14-15).

Conclusion

Paul's arguments throughout 2 Corinthians are complex and of various types, but this reflects not only his own complex personality[45] but also a complex set of doubts to which he was responding. Doubts provide the occasion for the letter fragments that make up 2 Corinthians, and to greater degree than is the case even in Galatians the central focus of doubting is Paul himself. Paul emphasizes, however, that, if the Corinthians have doubts about him, he also has doubts about them. The warrants he uses include bold and sometimes "foolish" assertions of his authority, reminders of past events and communications, appeals to the right understanding of the kerygma and the Jewish scriptures, expressions of affection, and harsh attacks on opponents. The particular conclusions he wishes the Corinthians to draw shift from one part of 2 Corinthians to another, but the fundamental one is that the Corinthians are insufficiently reconciled to God.

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[45] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 93, 96. I should be more inclined than Kennedy seems to stress the complicated pattern of doubting Paul faces as the explanation for the varied character of his arguments.

A Re-Hearing of Romans 10:1-15

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I. Werner Kelber and the Battle of Technologies

With the exception of my own dissertation,[1] only Werner Kelber has attempted to bring the recent discussion of orality to the writings of Paul.[2] Kelber agrees that Paul's gospel is an oral phenomenon, which aims at "interiorizing the essentially invisible" not at objectifying.[3] For Paul life is allied with sound/hearing. The gospel "is . . . operationally defined in oral terms, not by association with writing and reading."[4] Kelber correctly notes that the gospel is to be linked primarily with its effect upon its hearers. Indeed, Kelber makes a most important connection between πνεῦμα and sound:

> In the background lurks the phenomenological connection between sound and spirit or breath, although Paul has not consciously reflected on it. . . . spoken words owe their very existence to spirit, the breath of life. . . . speech is fluid, hence living, and not subject to the written regimentation of textualization.[5]

It is in keeping with Kelber's assessment of the NT writings he treats in *The Oral and the Written Gospel* that he would juxtapose the vitality of the oral with the "regimentation" of the written. As I shall attempt to demonstrate I would regard this distinction as anachronistic. While the oral/written distinction is important for Paul, it is not made in regard to twentieth century interpretative issues. On the contrary, the distinction has merit for Paul because it expresses concisely two different ways of transcendence. For Paul it was a question of how power was to be conveyed and what sort of access people might have to it. The written mode was not impotent; it was exactly the opposite in the understanding of the ancient world. A new technology was being heard from. A comparison with Philo's understanding of the internalization of law as embodying the political/philosophical ideals of the day will help focus these points.[6]

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[1] Arthur J. Dewey, "Spirit and Letter in Paul," (Harvard University Th.D. Dissertation, 1982). Forthcoming from Edwin Mellon Press.

[2] Werner Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.

[3] Ibid., 142.

[4] Ibid., 144.

[5] Ibid., 145.

[6] Dewey, *Spirit and Letter in Paul,* 88-107.

Kelber also makes some rather seminal remarks about social effect of an oral performance. Spoken words create an audience.[7] A "tense world of personal loyalties and betrayals" is part and parcel of this cultural situation. Indeed, the appearance of opposition will have a divisive effect, since there is a competition for acoustic space. This would bring one to the question of competitive dissonance. In sum, the intent of Paul's message is to create an ethos of participation, an "orbit, a sphere of influence," or, in Walter Ong's terms, "an acoustic field."[8]

In contrast to this acoustic realm Kelber sets up the "written law."[9] He contrasts Abraham's inward hearing of faith with the "externalization" of the Word of God. I would simply point out that this contrast might well be based upon chirographic distinctions (where surface and sub-surface occur) and not upon oral experience. While Kelber also rightly makes the important connection between writtenness and Law and notes that this does not refer to some legalistic character, but to the sense of written totality and complexity, he fails to bring in the fundamental issue of tradition and the power conveyed through this written tradition. The reason for this is that Kelber attempts to explain the oral/written dialectic in Paul according to the modern category distinctions of Ong.[10] But that does not work. The written text in the ancient world was not silent; rather, it was read aloud, and in so doing actually increased the potential of conveying a tradition. Again, the question is not simply one of orality versus writtenness but of two different perceptions of how power was to be conveyed and augmented.[11]

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[7] Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel,* 147.

[8] Walter J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970) 111-175. As Walter Ong has noted, an oral performance produces an interior response quite distinct from a chirographic experience. The world of sound is experienced as *going on.* It delivers an interior or interiorizing experience which is percussive not superficial. The actual underlying or interior relationships determine the effect the sound has. Sound reveals the interior without the necessity of physical invasion. Sound situates people in the middle of actuality, in a world with echoes, both past and to come, in a world of voices. In light of this, one can begin to see that even space takes on a different sense. Acoustic space is apprehended in terms of sounds and echoes, which are not spread out in front of the listeners but are diffused around them. The hearer is situated in the center of the acoustic field not in front of it. Acoustic space is in a way a vast interior in the center of which the listener finds oneself together with one's interlocutors. This means that space is not the neutral environment of Newton but a kind of vast interiority, a cosmic echo chamber. Time also has a different ring to it. For one can exist in this acoustic realm without time limit as long as the conversation is going on.

[9] What I have demonstrated in my dissertation, Dewey, "Spirit and Letter in Paul," 52-69, 127-134, 196-200, Kelber notes, namely, the association of hearing/faith/proclamation of righteousness/blessing/promise of Spirit. See Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel,* 152.

[10] Ibid., 154-155.

[11] It is interesting to note that Kelber misses the oral properties of curse and the function of the Law as curse in Gal 3. Neither does he touch on the rhetorical display in 2 Cor 3, nor for that matter the personification employed in Rom 7. Ironically, Kelber notes that "spoken words personify." But he does not see how Paul uses both the ἐγὼ to personify, that is, to let the forces beyond the individual's control speak

Finally, Kelber speculates as to whether Paul has admitted the disjunctive force of writing into the fiber of his own theology, insuring what eventuates as the "rupture of the oral synthesis?"[12] Again, this speculation misses the mark. It is simply anachronistic to oppose these two cultural technologies. It is also somewhat misleading since it does not take into account the dialectical relationship which occurs whenever there is a mix of technologies. Georgi has documented quite well the positive use of the written tradition in Hellenistic Judaism as a conveyance of power.[13] In my own work I have argued for a dialectical employment of both oral and written media[14] to convey the power of the πνεῦμα. Once a new medium has made its cultural appearance, the old medium does not die out, nor does it exist independently of the new; on the contrary there now exists the possibility to use the old in light of the new and vice versa. Just as in the electronic age one can use the skills of the typographic culture to direct and to shape the electronic communication, so also the oral can determine the shape of the chirographic, thereby allowing the oral medium to perform in ways not possible within a totally oral environment. Moreover, the use of a more "conservative" medium may well signal not the presence of an oral traditionalist in the sense of a political reactionary. Instead one may wonder whether the use of an "oral stance" would signal an alternative or even utopian vision.[15]

II. Rereading Romans 10

Kelber has called Rom 10:14-17 the *locus classicus* of the oral hermeneutics of sound, where "the oral gospel partakes in the itinerant mode of apostolic action."[16] There is, however, much more to be mined in Rom 10 beyond citing vv. 14-17 as an oral *locus classicus*. Indeed, it is imperative that we listen once more to this chapter in order to begin to pick up some of the oral and social nuances of this material. It is quite significant that Paul even brings in the "written world." It is not simply a sharp dichotomy of orality vs. literacy. On the contrary, a fascinating dialectic is underway. Indeed, the sounds we pick up may well be echoes of cultural forces, reverberations of social relations.

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for what they are. cf. Dewey, "Spirit and Letter in Paul," 248-260. All of these factors are overlooked by Kelber as he distinguishes the written Law from the hearing of faith. Indeed, he is quite aware of Georgi's contribution regarding the high appreciation of the written tradition in Hellenistic Judaism. Yet, he fails to see what Paul is doing within that cultural matrix. At best for Kelber, Paul serves as a cultural conservative, setting an oral performance against the externalities of a chirographic culture. He arrives at an understanding of Paul as "an oral traditionalist" who objects to the Law not on legal but ultimately on linguistic grounds.

[12] Kelber, *The Oral and Written Gospel*, 168-169.

[13] Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

[14] Dewey, "Spirit and Letter in Paul," 88-153.

[15] For more on Paul's utopian vision see my "Social-historical Observations on Romans (15:23-24)," *Proceedings*, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies 7 (1987) 49-57.

[16] Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 149.

Chapter 10 resumes Paul's dialogue with his Roman correspondents (Ἀδελφοί) V. 1 allows us to see the inside of a first century dyadic personality, whose innermost wishes and prayer are known only in God's sight (ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας καὶ ἡ δέησις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν).[17] Of course, the main burden of ch. 9-11 is maintained, for Paul's fondest wish is for his kinfolk's well-being (ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν). In fact, this declaration of his intention has a public or forensic character. V. 2 (μαρτυρῶ) confirms this public pose by Paul, along with attempting to explain why the discrepancy among his kin exists. Paul asserts that his people have the zeal (ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν) but not the acquaintance or discernment (ἀλλ οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν). In effect, they have established their own situation instead of perceiving the correct order under God (v. 3). In light of the use of δικαιοσύνη it would seem to indicate that Paul's kin were unaware of what Paul saw as the proper social relationship, namely the patron/client relation, where this particular patron is infinitely superior. V. 4 makes it clear what Paul understands to be the correct understanding of this relationship. From Paul's perspective genuine acquaintance comes through recognizing Christ as the point of the tradition (τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην). What should not be lost on us is that this issue was not a simple literary one; rather, it was a matter of access to the true patron/client relationship which could guarantee fundamental stability in a world where there were few "safety nets." Moreover, παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι would indicate universal access to this primordial relationship.

It is only after the true point of the tradition is affirmed that Paul cites a text (ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς) under the rubric of the written tradition (Μωϋσῆς τὰρ γράφει). He does so in order to make a distinction between ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ [τοῦ] νόμου and ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη. One can see in this a resumption both of Gal 3:6-12 and Rom 2:13 (see also Rom 9:30-32). Certainly the correction delivered by personified δικαιοσύνη (v. 6: ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει) sharply contrasts with v. 5. As is the case in Gal 3:8 (where ἡ γραφή is personified as foreseeing the fruition of the promise to Abraham), so here we have a new voice to the tradition, which transforms the understanding of the written tradition. Indeed, one might even read v. 5 in a utopian vein, whose promise comes to reality in the following oral experience (vv. 6-11). Furthermore, it should be underscored that the citation of the written tradition was an evocation of power. And only a stronger force, personified δικαιοσύνη, would have been able to speak more authoritatively.

It is quite significant that the words upon the lips of δικαιοσύνη come from Deut 30:12-14. In its original context we can discern a remarkable transcending of limitations so that the Covenant of God can be kept. As we shall see below, Deut 30 figures prominently in the Hellenistic Jewish mission. In effect, the outreach already present in the Deuteronomic material was taken up again by first century interpreters. Indeed, in vv. 6-8 we can note two essential points. First, there is an immediate interpretation or application of the Deuteronomic verses. Second, this application is tied in with the experience of the early Jesus mission. Not only do we have an interactive interpretation going on, but there is a concrete connection with the very message that Paul is delivering. This, in turn, reverberates in the oral and interiorized experience of the believers (v. 9), to which even the written tradition echoes (v. 11). More closely, we can see that δικαιοσύνη personified speaks directly to the individual (μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου) to deliver enlightenment. The worries

[17] Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981) 64-67.

from Deuteronomy continue to resound and to need clarification in the present vocabulary of the community. Thus τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν is immediately interpreted by τοῦτ ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν. And τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον receives a further note τοῦτ ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν. Paul then resumes the voice of δικαιοσύνη in asking what does *she* say [mean] (ἀλλὰ τί λέγει;) by ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου. To which a response is given that echoes the very message of Paul: τοῦτ ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν.

V. 9 continues this resounding of communal experience. Both κύριον Ἰησοῦν and ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν may well come from common liturgical language (note ὁμολογήσῃς). If so, then Paul not only would be echoing their own experience but would be demonstrating inductively that δικαιοσύνη herself is speaking from the midst of their own situation. Thus, we are not simply dealing with a recitation of creedal formulae. Rather, the utterances on the lips of Paul and of the community are manifesting the genuine inner relationship (δικαιοσύνη). In an oral situation people are placed in the buzz of things. At the center of the acoustic field the Pauline audience would find themselves in the midst of these various echoes. They would discover that they are part of what is going on and what is going on is this genuine relationship called δικαιοσύνη. The true sound (Χριστός) reveals the interior of tradition (νόμος) without the need to submit to chirographic distinctions. In fact, once this point is *felt*, then the community can recognize that everything and everyone can resound with this sense. Even the written tradition can be overheard proclaiming this: λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.

This universal echo has universal implications in regard to access. Even Scripture points this out by speaking of "everyone" (πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων). There can be no social distinction (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή) since this is the manifest relationship of the true patron of all. In vv. 11-12 we have a complete reevaluation of social distinctions. The utopian dream of Alexander has become an effective possibility (cf. Gal 3:28). Everyone (πᾶς) can call upon, that is, petition the Universal Patron, who gives generously and freely upon the establishment of this relationship. A surplus enters the cosmic economy. It is extended to all, not just to an elite or a privileged group. In addition, v. 13 is not simply a citation of Joel 3:5. Once again we have the written tradition voicing a basic possibility for those within its hearing. The utopian vision of Joel 3 reverberates in the experience of the Roman communities. In fact, the phrase ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα would carry with it the commonly perceived experience of an appeal to a superior by someone who has been empowered or initiated to do so.[18] Of course, in any patron/client relation it was vital to use the proper address for effective access. In v. 9 we have noted the proper name. Moreover, the continued advance of this universal message is brought about through the agency of missionaries like Paul (vv. 14-15). V. 14 once more demonstrates the interdependent reality of this mission, while v. 15 once again employs the written tradition in so far as it is realized by the actual mission effort. The beat goes on. And on.

It is rather evident from what I have noted in Rom 10 that Paul is quite vigorous in his employment of oral experience. Rom 10 needs to be read aloud as a

[18] S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, clients and friends: Interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 58. The *applicatio* to the patron for help established a form of clientalism.

performance in the truest sense, for Paul apparently wants an interplay between the performer of the letter and the audience. The very language is set to echo the experience of the community. Thus, this material can be viewed as a contrapuntal or antiphonal piece, which plays the words of the congregation and of scripture on a variety of lips. An echoing ef fect is created which confirms and legitimizes one another's experience. Perhaps, it may be better said that the true experience of relationship is discerned and felt in the very oral interaction. I have also pointed out how Paul has included the written tradition within the orbit of the oral phenomenon. Moreover, we have begun to see that Paul was not preoccupied with linguistic distinctions but with the more substantial problems of power and access. It would be helpful now to see how another Jewish thinker handles both the Deuteronomic tradition and the questions of power and access. We shall now turn to Philo who presents another utopian perspective.

III. Philonic Strains

In a short exhortation to repentance (*De Virt.* 175-182) Philo entreats "everyone everywhere" to the life of piety and justice (εὐσεβεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη). While the call to true citizenship in the best of commonwealths is for Jew and gentile alike, the brunt of this piece is intended for the prospective proselyte (οἱ ἐπηλύται). The summons to repentance (εἰς μετάνοιαν) is not separated from other concerns in life; the Creator/creature relationship is directly connected with the question of good government (180). True worship of the One who is brings the proselyte to true citizenship/virtue. Political life is embedded in this fundamental relationship. And in moving into this relationship, the proselyte moves from "ignorance to knowledge . . . , from senselessness to sense, . . . from injustice to justice, from timidity to boldness."[19] It is in counselling a reformation of one's life, that Philo introduces Deut 30:11-14:

> He tells us that the thing (τὸ πρᾶγμα) is not over great not very distant, neither in ether far above nor at the ends of the earth, nor beyond the great sea, that we should be unable to receive it, but very near, residing in three parts of our being, mouth, heart, and hands, thus symbolizing words and thoughts and actions, for the mouth is a symbol of speech, the heart of thoughts and intentions, the hand of action, and in these three lies happiness. (*De Virt.* 183) [Loeb trans.]

It is quite significant that Philo so easily paraphrases Deut 30:11-14. We should not overlook the inclusive sense of the first person plural (καθ' ἡμᾶς), nor the explanation accompanying the paraphrase "that we should be unable to receive it," nor the interpretation of mouth, hands, and heart as symbolizing the totality of a person. Indeed, enactment of this exhortation is in full accord with the divine oracle (ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο).[20] Here written tradition speaks to confirm what is

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[19] *De Virt.* 180. ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν, . . . ἐξ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαισύνην, ἐξ ἀτολομίας εἰς θαρραλεότητα.

[20] Note also the *oral* feature of *De Virt.* 184: ὅθεν εὖ καὶ συμφώνως τοῖς εἰπημένοις ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο· "τὸν θεὸν εἵλου σήμερονεῖναί σοι θεόν, καὶ κύριος εἵλατό σε σήμερον γενέσθαι λαὸν αὐτῷ."

offered the prospective repentant.[21] At the same time, Philo has introduced explanations which go beyond mere memorization. A thoughtful application is called for. It is further pointed out that God anticipates the true worshiper, who is appropriately characterized within the patron/client relationship.[22] From this relationship the true worth of the worshiper becomes clear. In fact, the terms used (δυνάμει; ἰσότιμος) would convey economic undertones.[23]

In *Quod Prob.* 62-73 we find in a Philonic contrast between the spheres of virtue and vice a most interesting connection with Deut 30:11-14. Before the introduction of the Deuteronomic notes, we hear a description life lived according to the extractive economy of the time:

> As it is, for the sake of money we ransack every corner and open up rough and rocky veins of earth, and much of the low land and no small part of the high land is mined in the quest of gold and silver, copper and iron, and other like substances. (65) [Loeb trans.]

Note how this continues with allusion to Deut 30:11-14.

> The empty-headed way of thinking, deifying vanity, dives to the depths of the sea, searching whether some fair treasure to delights the senses lies hidden there. . . . But for wisdom or temperance or courage or justice, no journey is taken by land, even though it gives easy travelling, no seas are navigated, though the skippers sail them every summer season. Yet what need is there of long journeying on the land or voyaging on the seas to seek and search for virtue, whose roots have been set by their Maker ever so near us, as the wise legislator of the Jews also says, "in thy mouth, in thy heart and in thy hand," thereby indicating in a figure, words, thoughts and actions. (66-68) [Loeb trans.]

We need to consider not only the manifest but the latent function of this material. On the surface we have an argument which contrasts the virtuous with the empty-headed. Indeed, the contrast fits well the meaning of ancient dialectic, which forced the speaker to become clear as to the assumptions upon which his statement was based. One can begin to see that there is an economic reality underpinning this material, of which the first quotation gives us some indication. The assumption of a limited goods economy with the accompanying "plundering" characteristic of the ancient economic theory is contrasted with another vision of what constitutes not only the good citizen but the basis for such a vision, one which does not demand extraction or diminishing of resources, time, or energy. Instead, the possibility for attaining this relationship, this access, is *near.* Virtue can be attained by a genuine

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[21] In *De conf. ling.* 197 Philo cites Deut 30:4 to point out that the present proclamation (κήρυγμα) is made clear by the oracles (οἱ χρησμοί) in which it is declared (*again oral*) that the true commonwealth begins: "if your διασπορά is from one point in heaven to another, he shall gather you hence." [Loeb trans.]

[22] *De Virt.* 185 "Glorious is this reciprocation (ἀντίδοσις) of choice, when a human hastens to serve the Existing One, and God does not delay to take the suppliant on and anticipates the will of the one who honestly and sincerely enters into his service." [Loeb trans.]

[23] *De Virt.* 185; LSJ 452 (II.1-2); 840.

incorporation of what these words mean. The results can only lead to development both for the individual and society (69-70). Section 69 gives us a vocabulary of bountiful growth, never ceasing to bear fruit. In sect. 71 we are again brought to the point that this refers to potentialities within humanity (The smoldering sparks of wisdom which may eventually blaze into a commonwealth of true citizens).

What we have seen so far is capital for our investigation. For we have noted that the text from Deut 30:11-14 figures within the missionary propaganda of Hellenistic Judaism. This appeal to prospective proselytes is based upon a beneficial or surplus economic vision, quite distinct from what one would call a limited goods economy.[24] Moreover, this vision of virtue was a promise of access to the one patron who could deliver the goods. Indeed, the divine oracles, cited from the written tradition, confirmed the present appeals to repentance and reform. In effect, the citation of Deut 30:11-14 was a utopian exercise, offering a world view which differed from the present establishment. A different patron was presented who could effect what the present culture could only hint at. To enter into this tradition meant that the proselyte not only became a true citizen but was engaged in the construction of the finest commonwealth (πολιτεία).

Perhaps the best example of what I have called a "utopian exercise" is found in *De spec. leg.* 4.160-169. Although Deut 30:11-14 is not directly cited, the Deuteronomic momentum towards internalization is certainly there. In fact, we find here a primary instance of internalization through the process of writing. Here cultural progress and chirographic technique combine to provide the means for a reflective ego. The dream of the philosopher-king becomes a reality in the "kingly soul" for Philo. Beginning with section 160 we have an extended rewriting of Deut 17:18-20. When the royal person writes out in his own hand a summary of the laws, he begins to cement them to his soul. How does this happen? Unlike thoughts which are "swept away" from the mere reader (i.e., listener), what is written down is set fast and can be looked at again. This allows the royal soul to dwell on each point until it securely grasps it (160). He will achieve a constant and unbroken memory of God's ordinances. Such a description is quite in keeping with the establishment of writing as a communication technology. In contrast to an oral technology which exists in the embedded performances of body and tradition, a written technology enables the person to separate oneself from the acoustic crowd and to examine, perhaps for the first time, the grounds for such and such a statement. An autonomous rational personality emerges from the spell of oral memorization. Indeed, Philo illustrates this last point quite graphically as he continues:

> Further when he reads (ἀναγινώσκων) he will reason thus with himself (λογισμὸν ἔξει τοιοῦτον): "I (ἐγώ) have written these words . . . I write them in a book in order to rewrite them straightway in my soul, and receive in my mind the imprints of a script more divine and ineffaceable." (163) Loeb trans.]

From section 163 to 167 we have what might be termed an internal soliloquy. Actually it is the embodiment of the dialectic (λογισμὸν) that is brought about through reading (ἀναγινώσκων). What Philo presents in this text is exactly what ancient dialectic in its simplest form was meant to do, namely, to ask a speaker to

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[24] T. F. Carney, *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity* (Lawrence, KA: Coronado Press, 1975) 137-234.

repeat himself and explain what he meant.[25] The rewriting of the "kingly passage" in Deuteronomy causes a literal restatement of meaning, which is theoretically embedded now in the royal soul. Sections 164-167 continue this paraphrase of the psyche. The emergence of the reflective, rational person is indicated by the introduction of the first person singular. A more graphic illustration of the development of the chirographic personality could not be found. It should further be noted that as the royal ego continues to internalize the meaning of the scroll connections with the political reality of the world are not left behind. Proper internalization of the summary of the laws will enable one to live a life of equality, balance, and honor and to leave behind an immortal legacy.

What is so singular about this text is that one of the fondest dreams of the ancient world, the philosopher-king, becomes accessible to anyone who would truly read the Jewish laws. A written tradition is understood as a vehicle of power, conveying the energy and the vision for the culture. As one enters fully into this tradition, writing out the words, a different self emerges, which is free from the constraints of a sensate-bound present. The dialectic within, the internal argument, allows the space for a reasoning ego to appear. We have seen earlier that one who enters into the world of Deut 30:11-14 is a true citizen; now we see further that a literate citizen can become king. For Philo a chirographic culture is not a limiting situation. On the contrary, the written technology advances the oral tradition and brings out again the utopian dreams that have been present since Plato. Writing aids and abets the hope for a civilized and pious humanity.

IV. Utopian Sounds

We can now begin to decipher the movements of Philo and Paul. The consideration of Deut 30:11-14 is a canny selection on both their parts. For within a society where there is a decidedly weak sense of active participation,[26] both Philo and Paul take up a tradition which works in the opposite direction. Deut 30:11-14 challenges the listener to an active and immediate response. In a world where the control and labelling of resources are in the hands of a few, both Philo and Paul are declaring that access to power, the most profound and the most extensive, is right before the listener.

Yet there is a rather significant difference between Paul's approach to internalizing the Deuteronomic material and Philo's. While it must be pointed out that Philo's material would have been read aloud also, it is the case that Philo's material works beyond the protreptic to a dialectic, beyond the utterance and its confirmation of Jewish "oracles" to a reconstruction of the tradition by means of the emerging chirographic personality. For Philo the tradition becomes genuinely internalized when the individual utilizes the finest technologies at one's disposal and establishes a royal self separate from the masses. In so doing the person brings to life the dream of the philosopher-king. A fundamental image of the ancient society emerges and legitimates this process. At the same time, Philo's position is not so much subversive as it is an attempt to bring about the utopian possibilities of the world in an irenic and gradual manner. He does, of course, maintain a critical stance towards what one

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[25] Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) 208.

[26] Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons, clients and friends*, 206ff.

could easily term the commonplace economic behavior of the first century. Furthermore, it would seem that Philo considers this vision as possible within the institutionalized (albeit modulated through interpretation) and pluralistic lines of Hellenistic Judaism. In short, it would seem that Philo represents a movement of continuity, employing the best of his culture for the benefit of the world.

Paul, on the other hand, may well represent a counter-cultural position. Certainly his vision of the imminent end would suggest a stance of discontinuity. There is more here to suggest what would be an alternative perspective. Clearly Paul has bought into the universal dreams of the hellenistic world. On the other hand, the way in which these dreams are implemented differ from Philo's position in scope and means. The essential clue in Rom 10 is its fundamental orality. Here orality is not an indication of a social traditionalist. Rather, this orality signals a direction contrary to the basic directions of the established social lines and centers. It is much more a grass roots approach, an attempt at building a popular coalition, which would permit universal access to the source of genuine power. In that sense, Paul is cultural heir and co-conspirator with both the Cynic philosophers and the Pharisees. The sounds of Rom 10 play off the social possibilities of the relationship perceived and felt by the communities. Gifted with the πνεῦμα, that is, the capacity or basic resource for access and power, the communities can establish a new of trust pattern and participation. The lines of established patronage and kinship would be placed seriously into question. In light of this it is becomes understandable Rom is set the of Paul's why 10:1-13 within question kinfolk. For Paul is exploring the universal thrust of the Jewish mission while at the same time going beyond the conventional lines of relationship. In short, Paul is engaged in the process of a popular coalition building, transcending the various elitist structures and power conveyances of his day. He has taken up alternative means to the more valued and powerful technologies of his day. Furthermore, the contrapuntal performance of Rom 10, with its interplay between speaker and audience, effectively creates this alternate social vision and relationship. One does not step back but enters into what actually surrounds the listener. The voice of δικαιοσύνη emerges full-bodied in the corresponding sounds of all who believe. The proof of this is in the actual performance as the people "call upon the name of the Lord."

Pauline Voice and Presence as Strategic Communication

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As a historian of performance, I am interested in how "bodily presence" and "speech" became issues in Paul's conflict with the Corinthian "superapostles" in the 50s AD. From the information presented in 2 Corinthians 10:10 and 11:6, it appears that Paul was deemed ineffective in some form of public speech and that his inability to "perform" in this way placed his apostolic authority at Corinth in jeopardy. Of course, we will never finally know what mode of oral presentation is referred to here. But there are some things we *can* consider. First, we have a letter, we know that this letter was read aloud, *and*, through the discipline of Performance studies, we have an experiential understanding of what happens within the matrix of text, reciter, and audience when a letter is orally performed. I believe that the recitation of Paul's Four Chapter Letter (2 Corinthians 10-13) was a "counter-performance" through which Paul shrewdly and creatively re-established a powerful *parousia* in the Corinthian Church. This event formed the basis for reconciliation between Paul and the Corinthians by helping to refurbish Paul's credibility as a Christian apostle.

The group of itinerate missionaries who came to Corinth in the 50s AD attacked Paul's credentials on many fronts; perhaps the most devastating charge was a personal attack on his ability to communicate the Gospel. Paul actually quotes his opponents in 2 Corinthians 10:10: "They say, 'His letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech is of no account.'" (RSV) In the opinion of these rivals, Paul's *parousia*, that is, his very way of being in Corinthian church communicated "weakness"; his *logos*, his "speech" was empty or of "no account." Apparently these categories of oral performance were being established as criteria for evaluating Paul's effectiveness as a Christian leader.

Paul's Opponents in the History of Recitation

The identity of these opponents remains the subject of considerable debate. I will not review all of the attempts to link this group of missionaries with other figures in the early Christian missionary movement. Dieter Georgi's hypothesis as presented in *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* is best for highlighting the importance of oral performance in the struggle for apostolic authority at Corinth.

Georgi points out that since the missionary activity of the diaspora did not have a central organization, the service of worship in the synagogue was the magnet that drew potential converts.[1] The central feature of this public event was the oral reading and exegesis of scripture. Performance of sacred stories and oral interpretations of the traditions made the faith of Judaism accessible to "outsiders" and helped to assimilate "pagans" into the communities of worship. A loose network of oral "interpreters" was established to travel about and offer oral performances and interpretations of texts in the communities.[2] Georgi identifies the "superapostles" as part of this network.

One remarkable feature in the careers of these wandering preachers is that they were expected also to perform outside the synagogue. Synagogue officials saw the value in having a talented oral performer soliciting financial support just outside the synagogue. Such performances attracted the attention of potential converts. For the preacher, the attention brought financial reward, prestige, and reputation.[3] The wandering preacher would not only attract attention to his or her gifts as a performer, but also to the diety that she or he represented.

The centerpiece of these performers' repertoire was the oral intepretation of sacred scripture. These exegetes were:

> capable of setting free the spirit bottled up in the composition of holy scripture . . . Insofar as they themselves did not create the text which is to be interpreted, the source of the spirit, they are subordinated to it. But insofar as the spirit speaks through their exegesis, they were quite equal to the prophets of old.[4]

Public worship revolved therefore around this "release of the spirit" through the exegetes' oral interpretation.

The synagogue ceremony, with its focus on the oral reading and interpretation of scripture was the occasion for highly theatrical activity. Numerous people were included in the ceremony, even if they only accompanied the action with applause.[5] The synagogue became a "spiritual theatre." The taste for theatrical activity in synagogue worship encouraged architects to design appropriate structures. Epiphanius compares the architecture of one particular synagogue to a theatre:

> There is a prosenche in Sichem, which is now called Neopolis, outside the city on the plain, at about a distance of two milestones, built by the Samaritans, who imitate the Jews in all things, like a theatre in the open air and a spot which lies free under the sky.[6]

Even a closed synagogue's structure encouraged theatricality. "There was . . . an open area extending from the front into the center, a kind of stage where the participants in the liturgy could act."[7] It is clear from these sources that worshipers

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[1] Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 82.

[2] Georgi 86.

[3] Georgi 101.

[4] Georgi 112.

[5] Georgi 113.

[6] Quoted in Georgi 113.

[7] Georgi 50.

in these synagogues encouraged and even expected highly developed, oral presentations of Yahweh's Word. Oral performance provided immediate access to the spirit of the god; "true" worship depended on the release of Yahweh's spirit, which was achieved by the oral interpretation of sacred texts. Performers who possessed particular skill in this art were determined to be linked to divinity.

Paul's Opponents in the Context of Performance History

Georgi's profile of the "superapostles" helps to place them within the class of itinerate, professional oral performers who were influential figures in Hellenistic culture. First called "rhapsodes" in the late 6th and early 5th century BCE, these reciters orally "sewed together" various poetic lays or episodes into stories of heroes.[8] It has been difficult for literate cultures to reconstruct these performances. However, the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord has become the foundation for studying the performances of such "oral" poets. Parry and Lord studied epic singers in Yugoslavia to understand how epics were composed and transmitted in pre-literate cultures.

> Oral epic song is narrative poetry, composed in a manner evolved over many generations by singers of tales who did not know how to write. It consists of the building of metrical lines and half-lines by means of formulas and formulaic expressions and of the building of songs by the use of themes.[9]

"A formula," explains Parry, "is a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical idea."[10] The earliest rhapsodes (of which Homer was a prototype) were agents of composition, "poets" for whom singing, performing, and composing were parts of the same creative act. The oral singer accumulates throughout his career a vocabulary of these formulas and in the act of utterance, he or she is actually creating the epic. The singer's performance is conditioned by the context of the utterance. The oral singer varies the length and emphases according to the needs of the occasion. Walter Ong states that "All epics are are structured around certain themes; the summoning of the council, the arming of the hero, the description of the hero's mount." Ong goes on to explain that "each epic singer has his own massive store of these themes which he weaves together with ease. The oft-repeated formulas, 'rosy-fingered dawn', or 'wine-dark sea' are metrically manageable."[11]

To the modern ear, these performances might sound like "singing." However, singing carried a different connotation in that culture than it does today. Donald Hargis, a historian of performance, suggests that the best analogue in our culture to the rhapsode's performance is the "talk-song" from musical comedy.[12]

Evidence indicates that these rhapsodes were striking and charismatic figures in performance. Standing before an audience, usually performing in the open air, the

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[8] Donald Hargis, "The Rhapsode," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Communication* 56 (1970): 390.

[9] Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1960): 26.

[10] Lord and Parry 27.

[11] Walter J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1967): 24.

[12] Hargis 389.

rhapsode appeared on a slightly raised platform to recite in a gorgeous robe. If the rhapsode performed in a purple robe, he[13] would be reciting from the *Odyssey*. Purple was the color that symbolized the wanderings of Odysseus. A red or scarlet robe indicated that the rhapsode would be performing from the *Iliad*, red being the symbol for the blood of battle. Some pottery shards reveal that the rhapsode wore a laurel or golden crown as he recited. It is apparent that the rhapsode's effectiveness in performance depended largely upon his "presence" and appearance in performance. When the reciter took the stage, his neck was straight, not bent backward, so that his throat would be relaxed. His shoulders would be relaxed, not contracted or raised. The audience would get a clue to the reciter's attitude toward delivery by looking at the eyes. Quintilian teaches in his *Institutes for the Orator* that the "eyes would reveal the tempo of the mind, even without movement."[14] As he stood, the speaker would raise the thumbs of his hands and slightly curve his fingers, unless he was holding a manuscript. Audiences would note the reciter's natural charm and would be aware of his good character. Such traits were essential for the good performer; otherwise, "technique" was worthless.[15] Performers were skilled in evoking strong emotions in the audiences by first experiencing those emotions themselves. They were also guided by the structure of the pieces they presented. Quintilian wrote: "Artistic structure gives force and direction to our own thoughts . . . the study of structure claims the ear, but also stirs the soul . . . the 'secret power' in rhythm and melody is at its strongest in eloquence."[16]

In Quintilian's teaching, the voice and body are shaped by the emotional values of the piece in performance. Sound and movement are keys to what the speaker is experiencing himself. An audience will be able to determine degrees of sincerity and insincerity by listening to the tone of the voice and by watching his movement. "For the voice is the index of the mind and is capable of expressing all varieties of feeling."[17]

Gesture is adapted to suit the voice, though movements in themselves are full of meaning.[18] Quintilian insists on an integration between voice and movement. "If gesture is out of harmony with what is said, words fail to carry conviction."[19] Certain emotional attitudes stimulate corresponding patterns of movement in performance. For example, an arm, slightly extended, with shoulders thrown back, and fingers opening as the hand moves forward will highlight "continuous flowing passages."[20] Qualities of restraint and timidity are often conveyed by slightly hollowing the hand "as if making a vow," moving it to and fro alightly, and swaying the shoulders in unison. For wonder, the head turns upward and fingers are brought into the palm, beginning with the little finger first."[21]

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[13] I am consciously using the masculine pronoun throughout this article in reference to the rhapsodes and the oral professional poets of the Greco-Roman world. The evidence indicates that these reciters were male.

[14] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Loeb Classical Library Edition. Trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1963): 285.

[15] Quintilian 26-27.

[16] Quintilian 511.

[17] Quintilian 277.

[18] Quintilian 289.

[19] Quintilian 281.

[20] Quintilian 289.

[21] Quintilian 289.

The objective for the reciter is to fully understand what he read, so that he might determine where to pause for effect, when to breathe, where to sense beginnings and endings, and to internalize the words as much as possible. Readings must have "dignity and charm." In preparing to perform, then, the reciter must bring all of his "natural gifts" to bear. He must be thoroughly acquainted with his text, and work to internalize its performative values. Each letter had a particular sound that suited it; the natural voice should not be "over-laid" with a fuller sound. Vocal production should be supported from the lungs, not the mouth, and the final syllables of words should not be clipped.

Quintilian acknowledged that effective performance afforded power to the reader and enhancement to the text being read. He warns that sometimes the personality of the reader overshadowed the value of the text. Following the enthusiastic applause of an audience, "modesty prevents us from marking our opinions above theirs." Personal, private reading is perhaps a surer, critical facility for determining the value of a piece of oratory or literature, according to Quintilian. However, he notes that:

> . . . the advantages conferred by reading and listening to a text are not identical. The speaker stimulates us by the animation of his delivery, and kindles the imagination, not by presenting us with an elaborate picture, but by bringing us into actual touch with the things themselves.[22]

While Quintilian's *Institutes* were designed to train the orator of the first century AD, he does present principles which set the standard for the oral presentation of literature. Thus, Quintilian's "ideal" orator became the prototype for excellence in the Greco-Roman tradition of recitation in this era. Quintilian saw the oral reader as the instrument for embodying the images presented by the literature being performed. Through the skillful use of voice and gesture, the presentation of felt emotional values, and the thorough knowledge of the style and content of a given text, the oral reciter in Greco-Roman culture was able to powerfully render cherished documents.

The rhapsode or oral professional poet established his reputation by competing for awards and recognition in the festivals offered in various locations in the Hellenistic world. Each reciter was to memorize a particular section from either the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad.* Then the sections were performed in such a way that an audience could hear the entire text performed by a succession of competing rhapsodes. It is not clear from available evidence where the divisions were made or how the various parts were assigned yet Hargis speaks conclusively that the audience heard "a regulated text, spoken by rhapsodes in rotation."[23] Not only was the rhapsode judged on his ability to speak, but as the tradition developed, the rhapsode was expected to offer an allegorical interpretation of the given text. These interpretations were often given to support a point that the rhapsode himself was attempting to make:

> In a very real sense, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became the Greek 'Bible', which could be quoted book and line and then interpreted as support for the cause. Anything could be proved by twisting Homer to serve the purpose of the moment.[24]

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[22] Quintilian 11,13.

[23] Hargis 392.

[24] Hargis 395-96.

No hard connections can be finally made between the Hellenic rhapsode and the Christian missionaries who were Paul's rivals at Corinth. However, the durability and influence of this tradition of recitation in Greco-Roman culture is attested in a variety of sources. Alex Hardie has stated:

> A continuous line of Greek professional poets extended from the early rhapsodes through the Hellenistic period into the Early Empire and beyond. It showed two characteristic aspects, individual recitations and competitive activity in the circuit of Greek games. The evidence is mainly epigraphic.[25]

The Corinthians of the 50's AD lived near the site of the Isthmian games, one of the great festivals where oral poets, dramatists, musicians, and athletes had come every two years for centuries to compete for top awards and prestige. At the time of Paul's visit to Corinth, the Isthmian games were under Corinthian sponsorship and were being held in a newly restored stadium and theatre facility. There is evidence that suggests that one of the members of Paul's Corinthian congregation was a civic official named Erastus who made a substantial contribution to the renovation of the theatre.[26] The Corinthians had a healthy appetite for excellence in oral recitation! Missionaries who had appropriated cultural standards of excellence in rendering and interpreting sacred texts had the power to delight, to move and to empower an audience with such refined ears for the spoken word as the Corinthians must have had!

The evidence from the text of 2 Corinthians 10-13 strongly suggests that the apostle Paul was in danger at this point in his career of losing his following at Corinth to these charismatic missionaries. Apparently, they had made his ineffective speech and presence cause for the Corinthians' concern. If Paul could not himself render the "gospel," could he be deemed as an authentic bearer of the "Good News"? Paul's problem was how to establish a "presence" in the Corinthian community that recaptured their attention and loyalty. This is where the *reciter* of Paul's Four Chapter Letter plays a significant role in the politics of performance in the Corinthian church.

The Letter and "Presence"

Robert Funk has observed in "The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance"[27] that in the early Christian church, the apostle's means of exercising power and influence was dependent upon his establishing "apostolic parousia" in that community.

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[25] Alex Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons, and Epidexis in the Greco-Roman World* (Liverpool: Cairns, 1983): 15.

[26] Oscar Broneer notes in "The Apostle Paul and the Isthmian Games" *Biblical Archaeologist* 25 (1962):20 that in Romans 16:23, Paul salutes a man named Erastus. There is an inscription on the pavement of the road that leads up to the theatre honoring the contribution of a Corinthian freedman named Erastus sometime in the middle of the first century AD. There is a strong possibility that the man Paul addresses in Romans 16:23 is the same man who laid the pavement leading to the theatre. For a dissenting view see Henry Cadbury, "Erastus of Corinth," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 50 (1931):42-58.

[27] W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, R. R. Niebuhr, eds. *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge UP, 1967): 249-69.

Parousia or "presence" in a church during a time of crisis gave that apostle social visibility and political authority. Since early Christian missionaries were itinerate, it was not always possible for them to be physically present when difficult situations arose, so the early missionaries employed other means of establishing their "presence."

When the apostle could not visit the church himself, he would commission an emissary to represent him to the members of the congregation. This chosen envoy often carried a letter from the apostle which recommended that emissary as an authoritative substitute for the apostle.

Sending an emissary to read a letter aloud was one of the most effective ways of establishing parousia in the early churches. Paul, like other ancient epistolographers, was dependent upon trusted carriers to deliver their letters to recipients. Martin McGuire defines how important the letter carrier was to the writer in the 1st century: "The personal representative or messenger, the visitor or traveller, were almost the sole means of communication between nations and individuals."[28] Before sending the letter, the writer would "brief the carrier on the contents of the letters entrusted to them and also make supplementary reports on matters that were not set down in writing."[29] Receiving a "letter" meant hearing both a message conveyed on behalf of the sender and a written document. Letters, therefore, bore a kinship with oral messages; like oral messages, the sender's name was placed in the beginning. The written document authenticated the messages. The carrier could also provide information about the writer of the letter. The letter, then, as written and conveyed, was one of the ways Paul overcame the separation from his churches. "We gain a sense of the importance of his emissaries or letter carriers: they recieve authority to convey the letters to expand upon them, and to continue Paul's work."[30]

Paul intended that his emissary to Corinth would not only recite but "interpret" the contents of 2 Corinthians 10-13 to the Corinthians. Doty suggests that because of political intrigue and the vulnerability of the postal system, the letter writer was careful to entrust the *real* message of the letter with the carrier, not merely in the text of the letter itself.[31] Early Christian carriers were expected not only to deliver but also to expand upon the letters.

> Paul, who made such a point of indicating his trust in those carriers (co-workers), did not think of his written letters as exhausting what he wished to communicate. He thought of his associates, especially those commissioned to carry his letter, as able to extend his own teachings.[32]

Doty wonders further if the Pauline letters may not be seen as the essential part of the messages Paul had to convey, "pressed into brief compass as a basis for elaboration by the couriers." The subsequent reading of the letters in the primitive Christian communities were occasions for "full exposition and expansion of the sketch of the

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[28] Martin McGuire, "Letters and Letter Carriers in Ancient Antiquity," *Classical World* 53.5-6 (1960): 148.

[29] McGuire 185.

[30] William Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973): 37.

[31] Doty 45.

[32] Doty 45-6.

material in the letters."[33] In other words, the oral rendering and interpretation of the letters completes the apostle's logos for the church.

The church receiving the letter certainly expected the emissary to read it aloud to the congregation. Doty and other epistolary theorists state that the letters were "written by a Paul who was 'self-conscious' of his role as an apostle" and who fully intended these letters to be read aloud to the congregation.[34]

> A man read even a private letter aloud in a low voice. This practice obviously had great influence on epistolary convention and style. It also helped to make the letter addressed to an individual or a group an easy and natural vehicle for philosophical or religious discussion or exposition.[35]

Oral performance by a trusted emissary was certainly a part of Paul's design for presenting his letter. At Corinth, this performance of the letter has particular significance to the Pauline apostolate. Paul's "bodily presence" had been deemed weak; therefore, Paul establishes a new "presence," that of Paul-in-the-letter, which, when embodied by the reciter, gave Paul "visibility" in the community.

Performance and the Power of Embodied "Presence"

Alla Bozarth-Campbell's incarnational metaphor for performance helps explain how composers of texts become "present" when those texts are performed. Like all texts prepared for public reading, the letter achieves its entelechy in oral performance. The form of the letter is transformed into a "presence" when it is rendered orally, a presence which is embodied by the reader. Bozarth-Campbell explains what happens when texts are transferred from surface structures to oral space. "What was hidden, that which is invisible and inaccessible is rendered into that which is both visible and audible in a dynamic presence."[36] For Bozarth-Campbell, the oral performance of any text is a process which creates "a new being by bringing two separate beings together in an incarnation, a process which leads to the transformation of all who participate in it."[37] This process has several phases: the creation of the literary work (which she calls the "poem"), the "matching" between the poem and the reader (which she calls the "interpreter"), and the "communion" between the audience and the "new being," the incarnate "body" which is created by the matching of poem and performer.

Bozarth-Campbell's framework is the basis for discussing how the rendering of Paul's letter by a trusted emissary established a new, more powerful Pauline presence in the Corinthian church. She states that the primary task of the "interpreter" (hereafter referred to as "performer") of the poem is to "create a presence, and to create it so fully that it can contain and involve and audience."[38] Performers must "know" the poem, not just its parts in isolation, but the "feel" of the whole.

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[33] Doty 46.

[34] Doty 47.

[35] McGuire 150.

[36] Alla Bozarth-Campbell, *The Word's Body: An Incarnational Aesthetic of Interpretation* (Alabama UP, 1979): 3.

[37] Bozarth-Campbell 12.

[38] Bozarth-Campbell 18; See also Wallace Bacon, *The Art of Interpretation* (New York: Holt, 1972): 165.

For example, when Paul's reciter stood before the Corinthians to speak the letter, he would have a sense of "feel" of the writer. A trusted emissary would have internalized the contents of the letter and was prepared to interpret the whole of Paul's logos to the Corinthians. This reciter was probably Titus, given his relationship with the church of Corinth (2 Corinthians 8:16), or it could have been "the brother who is famous among all the churches for proclaiming the good news" (8:18). In any case, Paul must have carefully considered the ability of his reciter to render his text in accordance with the standards of excellence of the time. Titus or some other emissary, through the skillful rendering of Paul's letter, intended to guide the audience through an *experience* of the situation from Paul's perspective.

To effectively render Paul's text, the reciter would have to be a "natural," that is, he would have a good voice, a measure of charm, and good character. The reciter would have to effectively convey the emotional values of the letter and allowed those values to shape vocal production and physical movement. Only then would the text's presence be made visible to the audience. As the letter's performer allowed the body and voice to represent the passions invested in the piece, a process of transformation began:

> It is in this moment of existence that relationship between interpreter and text takes on the properties of vivid presence in the power of performance, when all things come together to effect a quality greater than the sum of them as separate.[39]

If the first act in creating "Paul-in-the-letter" was writing it, the second act was the performer's enfleshing the presence. Paul's word was transformed from silent surface structures into the mode of being known as "flesh." This was accomplished by the emissary's performance of Paul's word. "In making the word to become flesh the interpreter makes herself or himself into the word, takes the word as poem into her or his body, continues the creation process begun by the poet."[40] The purpose of performing a text is to allow the poem to achieve fullness through the performer's body. By performing Paul's letter, his emissary allowed it to become a "more truly present word, authenticated by a living voice."[41]

The challenge for Paul was exactly this: by means of an effective counter-performance, Paul could demonstrate his ability to be "present" in the same lively and authoritative way as his opponents. If they could bring the audience into sacred acoustical space by means of their recitation of texts, Paul could "show" a different, more powerful image of himself through the performance of his letter.

Bozarth-Campbell suggests that performers of texts become icons for the "new body" or "presence" created in performance. "Icons" she notes, "are associated with 'sacramental meaningfulness' and are capable of evoking the presence of the holy in a moment's perception."[42] Paul's opponents had become "icons" for the presences of such divine figures as Moses and Jesus. The performer of Paul's letter became an icon for the presence of "Paul-in-the-letter," a presence that was deemed powerful by both the Corinthians and Paul's opponents. The letter-in-performance "showed" to the

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[39] Bozarth-Campbell 37.
[40] Bozarth-Campbell 52.
[41] Bozarth-Campbell 75.
[42] Bozarth-Campbell 104.

Corinthians a different "Paul" that they had seen through Paul's poor self-presentations during his visit. Paul's emissary, as the icon of "Paul-in-the-letter," was able to put the audience in the presence of the holy in a way Paul's opponents did in their performances and thus placed the Pauline apostolate on equal ground with their rivals. The embodiment of "Paul-in-the-letter" was the basis for transforming the social structure at Corinth by collapsing the distance between performer and audience; the act of incarnation of the letter's persona transforms the Corinthian audience and establishes a new relationship between the church and Paul:

> Performance as icon . . . alters the very perception of being. One cannot look deeply into the eyes of an icon and ever see the world in exactly the same way again. The icon changes one by bestowing the vision of another world . . . to enter the world of the icon is to take on that world by spontaneous and largely unconscious response to it.[43]

The Corinthian audience changes by "seeing" the Apostle Paul in a new way. Titus "shows" the persona of the letter, a fool who is speaking with enormous power (2 Corinthians 11:1ff). This embodied voice lampoons the social order that the Corinthians have set up under the leadership of the rival apostolate. By looking at the "world" through Paul's eyes, the Corinthians perception of Paul's ministry changes. Paul's "legitimacy" as a Christian apostle is accepted and leads the Corinthians' reinstatement of Paul's apostolic authority.[44]

Conclusions

Alla Bozarth-Campbell's incarnational metaphor for the performance of literature grants us access to the process by which the Pauline apostolate successfully re-established an authoritative *parousia* in the Corinthian church. Paul created the word for the church; his "interpreter" (a sympathetic emissary) gave that word its "body" in the performance of Paul's letter. The creation of this "new body" can be viewed as a counter-performance to the effective recitations offered by Paul's rivals which implicitly demeaned Paul's presentations. What emerges in performance is the presence of "Paul-in-the-letter," a potent and powerful voice which disrupted and subverted the social structure imposed by Paul's "oral" opponents.

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[43] Bozarth-Campbell 118.

[44] I agree with those who say that 2 Corinthians 1-9 was written *after* the Four Chapter Letter. Paul refers to a letter in 2 Corinthians 7:8ff that led to the Corinthians' repentance. I take 2 Corinthians 10-13 to be the letter he is alluding to.

Jesus and the Temple, Mark and the War[1]

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Mark is an odd story. The hero's message is unclear, he evidently wants it that way (e.g., 4:10-12), and almost no one—including and especially chosen insiders—seems to understand him in any case. The author develops the malice and menace of the scribes and Pharisees almost from the opening of his gospel, but never capitalizes on this: when the denouement comes, it comes through the chief priests and Temple aristocracy.[2] Jesus apparently without ambiguity predicts the destruction of the Temple (13:2), but when this prediction resurfaces at the Sanhedrin trial, it is curiously recast and in some sense disowned (those who repeat it are *pseudo-martyroun*, 14:58). The reasons for Jesus' execution have nothing to do with the Jewish court's charges.[3] And, finally, the ending is oddest of all: an empty tomb, an enigmatic young man, and women too frightened to speak (16:8).[4]

I want to argue in this paper that these—and other—odd aspects of *Mark* can be explained by an appeal to traditions that the evangelist inherited from and about Jesus of Nazareth. I will argue, further, that these traditions, most especially those concerning the incident in the Temple around Passover (Mk 11:15-18), contain historically reliable information about Jesus that helps us to reconstruct his mission, his message, and the circumstances surrounding his execution. And I will argue, finally, that these historical traditions, taken together with events in the Jewish War of 66-73, can help us to understand when 'Mark' wrote *Mark*, and why.

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[1] This essay consolidates and slightly recasts an argument that appears, scattered, in *From Jesus to Christ, The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (New Haven, 1988) 44-52, 77-86, 96-125, 133-37, 171-89.

[2] See the chart in E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1985), 310-11: Mark allows for "scribes" and "elders," but the chief movers are the priests, and the Pharisees have dropped from view.

[3] "The [Sanhedrin] trial has no causal relationship to the trial before Pilate. . . . The trial itself leads nowhere in the story. The charge of blasphemy does not result in stoning; nothing is even said about making formal charges to Pilate based on what was decided at the trial," D. Juel, *Messiah and Temple* SBLDS 31 (Missoula 1977) 67.

[4] "The conclusion is either intolerably clumsy; or it is incredibly subtle," F. Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy* (Cambridge 1979) 68. On the integrity of the shorter ending, W. G. Kuemmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville 1975) 98-101.

Mark and the Son of Man

The issue of Jesus' identity seems crucially important both to Mark and to Mark's Jesus. The heavens themselves tear open when, baptized by John, Jesus emerges to the *vox caeli* announcing his divine sonship (1:10f.); the Temple's curtain tears at Jesus' death as the centurion confesses "truly, this man was the Son of God" (14:39).[5] The story that unfolds between these brackets is liberally studded with Christological titles: Jesus is "the Holy One of God" (1:24), God's Son (3:11 demonic recognition; cf. 9:7, the voice from heaven again; 14:61 Son of the Blessed), and the messiah (8:29; 10:47 [though the Davidic connection seems repudiated somewhat in 12:35-37]; cf. 11:9–10, where Jesus' entry into Jerusalem is associated with the coming messianic age; 14:61). And Mark places *the* Christological question—"Who do you say I am?"—at the structural and dramatic midpoint of his gospel, the Confession at Caesarea Philippi (8:29).

Mark's audience knows that these titles are apt, but they have an advantage that the characters in the story do not. Jesus nowhere overtly preaches who he is, and he routinely censures confessions of his identity. When Peter responds correctly to Jesus' solicitation ("You are the Christ"—a response unprepared by the narrative), Jesus does not acknowledge his answer but charges him to remain silent, as he had earlier commanded demons. And Mark himself is scarcely more helpful. While he and his community clearly held Jesus to be the Christ and the Son of God, Mark neither defines nor develops either concept. Is Jesus the Christ because, whether in life or death, his deeds conformed to certain messianic prophecies (cf. Mk 11:1ff.// Mt 21:1ff.)? Is he the Son of God because before his earthly life he existed together with God (cf. 2 Cor 8:9), or assisted in creation (cf. Jn 1:3), or reconciled God and man through his death (Rom 5:10)? Mark never says.

This reticence, the so-called "messianic secret," whatever strategic benefit it might have had for Mark in his historical situation, serves in the narrative to highlight the only designation that evangelist and protagonist straightforwardly embrace: Jesus is the Son of Man. Even here, Mark does little to clarify the obscurity of this term, which most likely originated in older Aramaic tradition. Beyond identifying the Son of Man with Jesus, Mark defines it not so much in terms of content as function: not what the Son of Man is, but what he does. Thus the Son of Man exercises authority in defiance of the norms of Jewish piety (2:2-23). He has authority on earth to forgive sins (2:10), and is lord even over the Sabbath (2:28). But the Son of Man is also an example of humility; he is not served, but serves, ultimately giving his life as a ransom for many (10:46). Suffering ignominy, and death are his lot: rejected by the Jewish authorities, he is handed over to Gentiles, mocked, scourged, and killed (8:31ff.; 9:12,31; 10:32), even as the scriptures had foretold. But the Son of Man fulfills his own predictions: he rises on the third day, and will come again in glory to redeem his elect and usher in God's kingdom (8:38-9:1; 13:26; 14:42). Jesus' experiences as Son of Man, in brief, define both the narrative structure of Mark's gospel and the content of its message.

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[5] 1:10 *schizomenos;* 14:38 *eschisthē.* The second event mirrors the first, especially in light of the fact that the Temple's outer curtain "portrayed a panorama of the heavens," Josephus, *BJ* 5.212,214; see David Ulansey, "The Heavenly Veil Torn: Mark's Cosmic *Inclusio*," forthcoming in *BAR.*

They also establish the pattern to which Jesus' "future" followers, Mark knew, would conform. The Son of Man will be delivered up (9:31); so will they (13:9,11). He will be brought before authorities and scourged (8:31; 10:33-34); so will they (13:9). Hatred and contempt is his lot (9:12) and theirs (13:13). He will be put to death (8:31; 9:31; 10:34), and whoever would follow him must be prepared likewise to take up his cross (8:35). Mark's gospel thus identifies the life of his church, through the replication of this experience of suffering, with the life of Jesus as Son of Man.

Not only the suffering, but also the glory; for Mark interprets the life of the Son of Man in terms of a traditional apocalyptic pattern, the suffering and vindication of the righteous. The Jesus who endured rejection, hostility, and persecution—that is, the earthly Jesus—was triumphantly vindicated (as he had predicted) at his resurrection. As with the Son of Man, so with his church: they too will be vindicated, provided they hold fast to their faith (8:38; 13:13; faith in or that what remains to be discussed),, when the Son of Man returns in glory, an event that will mrak the end of the age (9:1).

The hour of this final vindication, Mark and his Jesus assert—clearly in three places; more subtly, as we shall see, in his treatment of the resurrection—has dawned. Mark places the first such statement exactly between Jesus' first prediction of his own and his later disciples' passion (8:31-38) and the Transfiguration, when Jesus' glorious post-resurrection status as Son of God is manifest to Peter, James, and John (9:2-9): "Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see that the Kingdom of God has come with power" (9:1). Later, in Jerusalem, Jesus similarly concludes the "Markan apocalypse": "So also, when you see these things take place [i.e., the woes listed in 13:2-25, and the mission to the Gentiles, v. 10], you will know that he [the glorious Son of Man, 13:26] is near, at the very gates. Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away before all these things take place" (13:29-30). And at the climax of his trial before the Sanhedrin (the consequence of which is proleptically mourned and connected with yet another reference to the Gentile mission, 14:6-9), Jesus tells the High Priest, "You will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (14:62).

Thus the End will follow upon certain events, specifically the resurrection, wars fought by messianic pretenders, the mission to the Gentiles, and the Parousia. All these things, asserts Mark, will come to pass within the lifetime of those who first followed, or rejected, Jesus. Why, given the relatively late date at which he writes, would Mark make such a claim? And what makes him so certain? To answer these questions, we must first consider the ways that the motif of the Temple figures into Mark's story and, before that, into the mission, some forty years earlier, of Jesus of Nazareth.

Jesus and the Temple

The four gospels present Jesus beginning his public career after coming into contact with John the Baptist, and ending it crucified around Passover by Pontius Pilate.[6] John was an apocalyptic figure, and Pilate evidently perceived Jesus as

[6] John the Baptist: Mk 1:9-11//Mt 3:13-17//Lk 3:21-22, cf. Jn 1:29-34; Pilate: Mk 15:1-15, 43-45 and parr. These pass the first half of the criterion of dissimilarity: nothing in early first-century Judaism speaks of a baptized or crucified messiah. And,

in some way connected with messianic agitations.[7] The movement that formed after Jesus' death, in his name, was likewise apocalyptic, that is, it conceived of itself and its mission in terms of the imminent realization of God's redemptive promise to Israel.[8] Whatever we make of the various traditions about Jesus preserved in the gospels, they must make sense within this basic framework of Jewish apocalyptic hope.

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faute de mieux, reports of the two events survive in early Christian tradition, despite their being obvious embarrassments. The church, as evinced by all the various evangelical efforts to mitigate the awkwardness (e.g., John did not really want to baptize Jesus, but Jesus insisted; Pilate did not really want to execute Jesus, but the Jews and finally even Jesus himself insisted) was stuck with these two facts; they stood too firmly in the tradition to be dropped. Hence a corollary to the criterion: anything embarrassing (snide remarks about Gentiles, clear pronouncements of the imminent End, awkward encounters with the Roman imperium) is probably earlier.

[7] On John's orientation, Josephus, *AJ* 18.116-19, cf. Mt 3:2; I discuss these in *FJTC* 97f. See also Sanders' remarks, *JJ* 91ff. and literature cited.

[8] This would seem uncontested, even by those authors who see Jesus himself as non-eschatological (e.g., M. Borg, *Jesus: A New Vision* (San Francisco 1987): Jesus died because he sought to transform culture, and thus took a stance against 'conventional wisdom,' thereby offending those (Jews) in power, who manipulated Rome into disposing of him, pp. 150-204, esp 176ff., 182: "It was the conventional wisdom of the time—the 'dominant consciousness' of the day—that was responsible for the death of Jesus." Early Christians, on the other hand, did think of the Kingdom as imminent (p. 14), but they apparently reached this conclusion as a result of meditation on Jesus' resurrection, not from anything he himself may have said or done. See too the author's essay, "A Temperate Case for a Non-eschatological Jesus," *Forum* 2 (1986) 81-102: even the language of the Kingdom as it appears in the church's products is essentially a *façon de parler,* and implies no time-table (pp. 94-97).

I am in fundamental disagreement with such a construal, but will argue against it here only obliquely, inasmuch as I present my own reconstruction. The first generation's mission to the Gentiles, as we see it reflected in Paul's letters, seems to me unambiguous evidence of the immediacy of the ekklesia's expectations: the belief that Gentiles would be redeemed and participate in God's kingdom *without* conversion to Judaism (i.e., for males, circumcision) is a major motif of Jewish restoration theology that stretched from the classical prophets through the pseudepigrapha, various synagogue prayers, and later rabbinic literature. Paul holds it in common with James, Peter, John, and Barnabas—with everyone involved in the earliest mission, evidently, except the "circumcisers" whom he inveighs against in Galatians. See *FJTC* 145-56, 166f.; and "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," forthcoming in *JTS* (1991). I am committed in principle to the proposition that some direct relation informs the message of Jesus, the reasons for his execution, and the movement that formed subsequent to his death (on this historiographical point, *JJ* passim). As for Jesus himself, as James D. G. Dunn succinctly observed, "To set a non-apocalyptic Jesus between an apocalyptic John the Baptist on the one hand and an apocalyptic primitive Christian community on the other, is to strain the 'criterion of dissimilarity' beyond the breaking point," *Jesus and the Spirit* (Philadelphia 1975) 42.

Both the synoptic tradition and John depict Jesus in the final stage of his mission as going up to Jerusalem around Passover.[9] While there, he provoked some kind of incident at the Temple that earned him the mortal enmity of the chief priests. John places the Temple incident early in Jesus' ministry, where its significance is mostly symbolic: it sets the tone for Jesus' relations with 'official' Judaism and prefigures the Passion (Jn 2:13-22). In the synoptics, however, this is one of the dramatic events at the end of Jesus' career that leads to his crucifixion. Luke's abbreviated account says only that Jesus drove out "those who sold" (19:45-46). Mark and, following him, Matthew also speak of his overturning the tables of those who changed money and sold pigeons (Mk 11:15//Mt 21:12; so too Jn 2:15). How should we interpret this report?

Some historians argue that this incident never occurred, that it is a fabrication of Mark's.[10] Burton Mack, for example, points to the polemical mileage Mark reaps from the scene, observes (correctly) that no anti-Temple attitude can be imputed to Jesus or primitive tradition prior to Mark, and sees the episode as only flaccidly connected with ensuing events in the narrative.[11] Mark does use this scene to fuel his polemic against the Temple—indeed, against Judaism—but this fact does not mean of necessity that Jesus, had he actually overturned tables, would have similar intentions.

The synoptists, followed by many historians, provide one interpretation: Jesus' action was a protest against such commerce (money-changing and the sale of unblemished sacrificial animals) within the Temple precincts (Mk 11:17 and parr.; cf. Jn 2:15-17, an elaboration on this theme). Jesus was against religious externalities such as sacrifices, and so sought to reform or purify ("cleanse") the Temple cult. I consider this view to have been sufficiently and exhaustively refuted by Sanders, and will prescind from repeating his arguments here.[12] Against the lingering appeal of this interpretation, however, I will point to the counter-evidence of primitive Christian practice: apparently Jesus' own disciples continued to worship in the Temple after his death.[13] And Paul in Romans explicitly praises God for having granted to Israel the great privilege of the *latreia*, the cult of the animal sacrifices mandated by Torah and observed in Jerusalem.[14] True, the disciples do not appear as models of mental agility in the gospels; and Paul never knew Jesus at all. But it is surely incredible, had Jesus at such a dramatic moment and in such a dramatic way condemned so

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[9] The Synoptics present this as Jesus' unique trip during his public career; Jn, more probably, depicts Jesus as making several trips for various holidays (2:13 Passover; 5:1 a feast; 7:1-10 Sukkot; cf. 11:55 other Jews expect Jesus in Jerusalem at Passover).

[10] Most recently B. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence* (Philadelphia 1988) 291-92.

[11] "The lack of any evidence for an anti-temple attitude in the Jesus and Christ traditions [sic] prior to Mark fits with the incredible lack of incidence in the story itself. Nothing happens. Even the chief priests overhear the 'instruction' and do nothing. The conclusion must be that the temple act is a Markan fabrication," *Myth* 292.

[12] See *JJ* 62-76, and the literature cited 363-69.

[13] Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:12,42; cf. 21:23-36; Lk 24:53, at the finale of his gospel; Mt 5:23-24, where Jesus gives explicit teaching on how a Christian should sacrifice at the altar.

[14] Cf. the RSV's much weakened "worship," Rom 9:4.

central an aspect of Jewish worship as perverse or impure, that the disciples would have registered nothing.

Others conjecture that, by this gesture (the citations to Isa and Jer are all but universally attributed to Mark's editorial activity), Jesus was actually protesting the "nationalism" of which the Temple was a symbol (Borg) or, *à l'inverse*, that he instigated this demonstration at the Temple precisely as a call to national liberation (Brandon).[15] But given the size of the Temple compound and the lack of evidence for any significant disruption (the non-intervention of Rome at this point in particular), scholars increasingly tend to see Jesus' action as symbolic rather than practical, thus raising the question, "Symbolic of what?"

I concur with that stream of opinion that sees Jesus' action in the Temple as a prophetic gesture symbolizing its impending destruction. Mark's intercalation of this incident with Jesus' cursing the fig tree (11:11-20) certainly implies as much. The synoptic tradition further depicts Jesus as continuing to preach in the Temple compound as Passover approached, speaking inter alia of the Temple's destruction and the coming End of the Age (Mk 13 passim, esp. vv.1-3 and parr.). Later, during the Sanhedrin trial, he is accused by "false witnesses" of having threatened to destroy the Temple and to rebuild it—Mark adds "not with hands"—in three days,[16] an accusation jeeringly repeated by hostile passers-by at the crucifixion (Mk 15:29//Mt 27:40). The phrase "in three days" resonates obviously with the Passion Predictions; and in Jn 2:21, the connection between Jesus' gesture, the interpretation of its symbolizing the Temple's destruction, and his own death is made explicit ("but he spoke of the temple of his body").

That the evangelists combined these traditions of Jesus' death (and resurrection), the incident at the Temple, and his predictions of the Temple's destruction is irrefutable.[17] I want to argue that an actual prophecy of Jesus of Nazareth concerning the Temple's impending destruction stands behind these traditions and actually

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[15] Borg, *Jesus* 173-204; before that, his study *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (Lewiston/Queenston 1984): Jesus' action in the Temple was intended as "an indictment of the ideology which came to expression in militant separation from and resistance to the Gentiles," p. 177. I find this difficult. It requires a perspective on Jewish peoplehood in general and on the Temple (as the biblically-mandated center for worship and atonement) in particular that would be virtually unique in Jesus' period and culture; and it makes much more elaborate any connection between Jesus' action, the response of the priests, and Roman fiat. (The priests, if we can rely on Josephus, would and should have welcomed a prophet agitating *against* "national liberation.") The refutations of Brandon's particular reconstruction are familiar and generally accepted; what remains valuable is his perception of the natural liason in Judaism between God's redemptive, eschatological activity and the integrity of Israel's identity vis-à-vis "the nations"—to which Torah, the prophets, many of the writings and pseudepigrapha (not to mention Paul's closing arguments in Romans), much less the Temple per se, are monument. If seeing ritual as "external" and thus somehow inauthentic and "bad" requires the development of modern sensibilities and existentialist philosophy (cf. Sanders, *JJ*, 62ff.), seeing "nationalism" in this sense probably requires at least Bismarck.

[16] Mk 14:57-60; cf. Mt 26:60-62. Lk suppresses this accusation at the trial and displaces it to Stephen, Acts 6:14.

[17] See esp. Juel's analysis of these traditions in Mark, *Messiah and Temple*.

affects the ways that the evangelists shape them. While the evangelists provide their own interpretations of Jesus' action, his meaning in its contemporary context would have been sufficiently clear. By overturning these tables, Jesus symbolically enacted the impending *apocalyptic* destruction of the Temple.

But in the context of his ministry, and more broadly in the context of Jewish restoration theology, such destruction is not 'negative': it necessarily implies no condemnation of, e.g., the Temple cult, the Torah, Judaism, or anything else. In the idiom of Jewish apocalyptic, destruction implies rebuilding; and a new or renewed Temple—especially one not made by the hand of man—would imply, more directly, that the Kingdom of God was at hand. In sum: Jesus' gesture (overturning the tables) near the archetypical festival of "national" liberation (Passover) in the context of his mission ("The Kingdom of God is at hand!") would probably have been readily understood *by any Jew watching* as a statement that the current Temple was about to be destroyed (by God, not human armies, and certainly not literally or personally by Jesus himself) and accordingly that the present order was about to cede to the Kingdom of God.[18]

The gesture was more than eloquent: it was clever, its meaning clearer and more widely available than any spoken pronouncement could have been. The tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of Jews, together with interested Gentiles, gathered at Jerusalem for the feast would have come from everywhere, and spoken everywhere's dialects—"Parthians, Medes, Elamites," says Luke of Shavuot, "residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt, Lybia, and Rome" (Acts 2:5-12). In the confusion at the Temple-mount immediately preceding the holiday—visitors, tourists, worshipers, throngs of animals, overworked priests, and, ringed round them all, Temple police and Roman soldiers—chances are slight that many would have noticed a disruption in some corner of the outer court. But those who did would have received a message that pierced the language barrier of Aramaic. In a stroke, Jesus increased the circle of his audience from local Palestinian followers to international.

This interpretation of the "cleansing" also explains why the chief priests, so prominent in the Passion narratives, enter the story here. Mark and Luke foreshadow the priest' role in Jesus' death with this episode (Mk 11:17-18//Lk 19:46-47). Mark and Matthew, depicting Jesus before the Sanhedrin, suggest that the High Priest regarded his threat against the Temple as religiously offensive (Mk 14:57-60//Mt 26:60-62); modern scholars conjecture similarly.[19] Offense explains the priests' involvement and supplies their motivation. I do not find this explanation very persuasive. For one

[18] So too, e.g., R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple* (New York 1969) 65-71; Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (Philadelphia 1977); Sanders, *JJ* 66-90, N.B. 77ff., where he reviews other Jewish literature for evidence of a belief that the New Age would have its new Temple.

[19] E.g., Sanders, *JJ* 70: Jesus' action would have been perceived as attacking the Temple, so that "not just priests would have been offended, but all those who believed that the Temple was the place at which Israel . . . had been commanded to offer sacrifice"; 71: traditions about the action preserve "an accurate memory of the principle point on which Jesus offended many of his contemporaries"; 76 even if the meaning of his gesture (namely, that God was about to intervene definitively) was understood, "the action and saying [rebulding after three days] were still highly offensive." I do not agree.

thing, such warnings were traditional in classical prophecy. For another, the case of Jesus ben Hanan offers counter-evidence. This latter Jesus, according to Josephus, just before and subsequently throughout the seige of Jerusalem in 66-70, continuously bewailed the Temple's coming destruction. Both Jewish and Roman authorities flogged him for his disruptive and disturbing behavior; but during the seige, when Jewish authorities were completely autonomous, they took no steps against him (*BJ* 6.5,3). Were such prophecies intrinsically offensive, they would have; and considering the circumstances, their restraint is impressive.

So why would the priests have acted against Jesus if he publicly predicted the Temple's coming eschatological destruction? I think we are on surer ground if we take their involvement as the unobtrusive measure of the degree to which Jesus' gesture was comprehensible to—and comprehended by—his contemporaries.[20] To so openly, even flamboyantly, signal to a crowd, during such a holiday, after such a ministry, when an official such as Pilate was in Jerusalem,[21] that their liberation was at hand and that God's kingdom approached, *no matter how apolitically or nonmilitarily that Kingdom was conceived,*[22] was tantamount to shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theatre. The priests, ever the intermediaries between the populace and the Romans, were peculiarly responsible for maintaining public order. And if, as the synoptic gospels claim, Jesus continued to preach in the Temple area during the period before Passover (Mk 11:27-13:37 and parr.; cf. 14:49), and particularly about the signs of the End (Mk 13 passim), the priests' fears about his potential effect on the crowds—or, more likely, through imperial spies, on Pilate (cf. Lk 20:20)—would not have diminished as the holiday approached.

Did the total initiative come from the priests? Not impossible, but I would consider this unlikely. If anything like Jesus' entry into Jerusalem as depicted in the gospels occurred, Pilate would have been alerted already. Again, we must weigh evangelical presentation against known historical results: Rome did not immediately arrest Jesus and his followers, as surely it would have had a demonstration of overt messianic enthusiasm, with any significant number of participants, taken place. On the other hand, the simple fact that Jesus was executed by Rome as a messianic pretender strongly suggests that Pilate had a clear enough fix on Jesus' message. This is *not* to say that Jesus was actually an insurgent, like Judah the Galilean. *Nor* is it to say that Rome mistakenly thought he was: otherwise, Pilate would have arrested and crucified Jesus' followers too. But Jesus was an apocalyptic preacher, and the nature of

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[20] Sanders is more cautious about the public comprehensibility of Jesus' prophetic gesture, *JJ* 76, though cf. his much greater certainty about Jesus' pronouncements: "It is plausible that a threat of destruction would have been understood by many of Jesus' contemporaries as meaning that the end was at hand and thus that redemption was near"; and even if Jesus had only threatened destruction, "the emphasis would be odd but the statement would nevertheless be comprehensible. . . . The connection between disaster, God's chastisement, and the subsequent redemption of a remnant was so firmly fixed in Judaism that we should assume that even a bare statement of destruction would not be altogether misunderstood," p. 88.

[21] On Pilate's character, *BJ* 2.9,2-3; *AJ* 18.3, 1; Philo *ad Gaium* 38.302; also the discussion in Schürer-Vermes 1.383ff. Any of the pilgrimage festivals, and especially Passover, were potential trouble for Rome, which routinely garrisoned troops there during the holidays on special alert, *BJ* 2.12,1).

[22] On the nonmilitary nature of Jesus' movement, Sanders, *JJ* 74-75, 231-32.

apocalyptic is political. Its message of an impending new order at least implies a condemnation of the current one; it is in religious idiom the expression of a political critique. The distinction between Jesus or John the Baptist, on the one hand, and Judah and his sons, on the other, is thus not that the former are religious while the latter are political. The one is pacifist, expecting a miracle, the other, military; but both are political, and both are religious.

Both are also nationalist. Jewish restoration theology focuses on the redemption of a particular people, Israel; brought back from exile to a particular land, *ha-Aretz, the* Land. If other peoples participate in the Kingdom, they too come to Jerusalem, specifically to worship at the "house of the God of Jacob" (Isa 2:2-4). The gospels, despite their distance from and antipathy toward such views, preserve traces of Jesus' commitment to them: his calling twelve disciples to represent the twelve tribes of eschatological Israel; his intensification of the ethical norms embodied in Torah; his journey to Jerusalem at Passover to greet the coming Kingdom; his prophetic gesture at the Temple, in anticipation of the Temple not made by hand; his prophecies of the imminent fulfillment of God's promises to Israel. Thus, though Jesus may have proclaimed that this Kingdom would be established not by armed rebellion but divine fiat, Jesus' Jewish audience would have known—as would Pilate—that such a kingdom exalted Israel and precluded imperial dominion. In the tinderbox of early first-century Palestine, crucifixion of such a prophet would be a prudent Roman response.

The further fact that Jesus' followers, the shock of his death notwithstanding, soon after perceived, and then proclaimed, that Jesus had been raised tells us the degree to which he had forged his followers into a committed community and prepared them for an eschatological miracle. The one they all expected when they went up to Jerusalem was, most likely, the arrival of the Kingdom, the fulfillment of Jesus' message. Instead they got an unexpected miracle: their experience of Jesus' resurrection. This returns us to the matrix of these beliefs in the resurrection of the dead and vindication of the righteous, namely, the eschatological hopes of first-century Judaism.

The first time that the priests encountered Jesus, at the Temple court, he was actively broadcasting this message under the very noses of the Romans. Had Pilate been different, they might have felt less obliged to facilitate Jesus' arrest. As things stood, they did oblige, perhaps thereby avoiding the sort of large-scale punitive action for which Pilate was to have a reputation. The most prominent aspects of Jesus' story—his apocalyptic message, his "messianic" entry into Jerusalem at Passover, his sufficient (and perhaps growing) following, his subsequent death on the cross—do not require the hypothesis of priestly involvement, much less initiative, to cohere. But the prominence that the evangelists give to the priests, obvious apologetic intent aside, makes some sort of priestly involvement hard to discount. I incline, as do others, toward suspecting that John's scenario probably does least violence to the facts: Jesus was arrested by a mixed possee of Roman soldiers and Temple police (18:3,12); the priests had been concerned lest his message lead to wholesale Roman reprisals (11:48-51); on his way to Pilate, Jesus was short-stopped at the house of the chief priest, who questioned him "about his disciples and his teaching" (18:19). The first and most prominent time that this combination of factors (apocalyptic message, popular reception, priestly awareness, potential Roman involvement) comes together is the incident at the Temple. This event and this

prophecy, I would argue, stand at the beginning of the chain of events that leads ultimately to Jesus' execution.

If this is so, then one last thing follows: we should stop speaking and thinking of Jesus' final trip to Jerusalem as his deliberate confrontation with Judaism, the priests, the Temple-cult, or whatever else ends by placing him over-against his own people and religion. He went to confront no one—not Judean Jews, not the priests, and certainly not Rome. He went, perhaps, simply to be in the right place at the right time. He went up to Jerusalem that Passover because he expected the Kingdom to come that Passover, at or as the climax of his own mission.

How does this historical recontruction help us to further penetrate *Mark?*

The Son of Man, the Temple, and the End of the Age

We cannot know how long Jesus' followers continued to have experiences of him as raised. The evidence of Paul (1 Cor 15:4-7) and of Acts (1:3; 13:31) suggests that they extended over some period of time. This caesura between the disciples' perception of Jesus' resurrection and their proclamation of it is yet one more crucial "lost period" in the history of Christian origins, for which we have no direct sources. Mark's gospel simply stops just shy of this point, while the others conflate the resurrection Christophanies with the charge to evangelize the nations. Only in the opening chapters of Acts do we glimpse, behind Luke's mannered presentation, the community's agitation and excitement in this interregnum between Easter and the mission. The disciples and brethren gather together, experiencing the Risen Christ who for weeks speaks to them of the Kingdom (1:3); they pray together daily (1:14; 2:1), communalize all property, share meals, and worship together in the Temple (2:44-46). They were expecting not a world mission, but the Kingdom of God.

At some point, however, the community must have begun to reinterpret the eschatological significance of the resurrection. Clearly it could not in and of itself have signalled the approach of the Kingdom, because still the Kingdom did not come. What thus might have been a second, and equally fatal, disconfirmation of the faith of Jesus' followers (his execution being the first) instead became the occasion for a further reinterpretation that allowed the community to continue. If Jesus' resurrection were not his eschatological Parousia, then surely it could not be far away. And in this interim between Jesus' resurrection—a sort of Parousia *manquée*—and his definitive vindication with the coming of the Kingdom, the disciples evidently felt called to continue Jesus' mission, preparing Israel for the End that they knew, on the evidence of his resurrection, was fast approaching.

This kerygma of a crucified and risen messiah whose imminent *second* coming would immediately precede the Kingdom did not persuade many Jews. Already by mid-century, few accepted this message (Rom 9:27 only a remnant so far; 11:7 only the elect, but the rest God has hardened); as time went on, ever fewer. Long before Mark wrote, if we can trust the evidence of Paul, the demographic balance of the movement definitively lay with the Gentiles.

These first Jewish missionaries to the diaspora met with worse than skepticism or indifference. As Jews going to Jews, they also encountered the active opposition of synagogue courts and diaspora communities (e.g., Paul's own experience on both sides of this opposition, Gal 1:13; 2 Cor 11:24). Mark's own community, a generation later, lay outside the jurisdiction, and very possibly the concern, of these courts. But the traditions Mark preserved retained the memory of this earlier experience,

when (Jewish) Christians had been "delivered up to councils and beaten in synagogues" for preaching the Gospel (13:9a,10).[23] And the continued existence of contemporary synagogue communities further evinced the Jews' persistent refusal to receive the Christian kerygma, now proclaimed to them for the most part by Gentiles.

When Mark undertook to portray the public career of Jesus, he projected these divergent responses to post-resurrection Christian claims back onto Jesus' own lifetime. The centurion's instantaneous confession at the moment of Jesus' death—"Truly this man was the Son of God!" (15:39)—climaxes an extended series of episodes whereby Mark, despite preserving a tradition that Jesus had restricted himself to Israel (7:26-29), nonetheless carefully integrated sympathetic Gentile responses into Jesus' public ministry. His Jesus reaches out to Gentiles usually after some confrontation with Jews, be they his enemies or his own disciples. Thus, though the Pharisees plot to murder Jesus, multitudes stream out from pagan cities to hear him (3:1-8). His disciples' faith falters as they bear him to Gentile territory, but once there, Jesus preaches with great success (4:35-40; cf. 5:1-20, in the country of the Gerasenes). Jesus disputes with the Pharisees over the essentials of Jewish observance, and then quits their company for Gentile audiences (7:1-31). Most strikingly, it is to a Gentile that Jesus reverses his usual policy of demanding silence after a cure: "Go home to your friends and tell them how much the Lord has done for you, and how he has had mercy on you" (5:19). In such ways Mark argued that the Gospel had always presupposed a Gentile church—Mark's church—from the beginning.

So also with Jewish unbelief, which Mark situates as well in Jesus' lifetime. Christian frustration with Jewish hostility or indifference to post-resurrection claims about Jesus, Mark thereby explained, only recapitulated Jesus' own experience during his mission. Things had always been as they were now; the Jews had always resisted the Gospel.

But in proclaiming this Gospel through a construction of Jesus' past—a past Mark wove in part from strands of historical tradition going back ultimately, despite the vagaries of transmission, to the earliest followers of Jesus—Mark created an awkward problem. Was the Gospel rejected by Jesus' contemporaries the same as the Gospel rejected by Mark's? Did Jesus before his death and resurrection, in other words, proclaim as Mark's community did the post-resurrection Christ?

Mark's treatment of the post-resurrection titles *messiah* and *son of God* bespeaks both the historical tenor of the tradition that he had inherited and his own sensitivity to it. He seems implicitly aware that Jesus had not been so designated during his own lifetime, but after. Hence he associates Peter's confession of Jesus' messiahship immediately with the Passion (8:29-31) and thence the Parousia (8:38-9:1). And he follows Bartimaeus' proclamation ("Son of David!") with Jesus' departure for Jerusalem, the long-foreshadowed site of his sufferings (10:46-11:1). So also with the Transfiguration (9:2-8). Jesus "charged them to tell no one what they had seen [i.e., his glorious revelation as divine Son] until the Son of Man should have arisen from the dead" (9:9; cf. Rom 1:4). Only supernatural entities—God (1:11 and here, 9:7) or demons (e.g., 1:32; 5:7)—had so identified Jesus in the course of his ministry. The

[23] On the anachronistic quality of such passages, which recall an era already passed by the time the gospels are composed, see Douglas R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution in the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Cambridge 1967) 104-05.

two humans to call him "Son of God," the High Priest (14:61) and the centurion (15:39), do so only within the context of his Passion.

Mark's Jews, then—at least up to Jesus' confrontation with the High Priest (14:60-64)—do not reject Jesus on account of his Christology. On the contrary, so reticent is Mark's Jesus on this topic, usually demanding silence when someone or something divines his true identity (true, that is, in light of post-resurrection faith) as Christ or Son, that Jesus scarcely seems to pronounce a Christology in Mark. Then why did Jesus' Jewish contemporaries reject him? Having serendipitously avoided Christological anachronism, Mark at this point introduces a social one. For Mark imputes to the pre-resurrection Jesus, the earthly, "historical" Jesus, a critique of Jewish institutions and practices that undermines the Jewish understanding of Torah.

The true origins of this critique, certainly evident in Paul as well as in Mark, must be sought in the post-resurrection context of the mission to the Gentiles initially within the diaspora synagogues, and the debate thereby engendered among the first generation of apostles (e.g., Gal 2:11-21). But through Mark's narrative, Jesus *in his lifetime* becomes the authoritative source of the Gentile rejection of Torah. He criticizes Sabbath observance, fasts, and Temple sacrifice; he dismisses Jewish practice as "the traditions of men" (7:1-23; 11:27-33, etc.). Why, then did the Jews reject Jesus? Because, Mark answers, Jesus had already rejected them together with their religion, preaching with deliberate obscurity "lest they should turn again and be forgiven" (4:12).

This theme of mutual hostility and rejection builds to a climax during Jesus' final days in Jerusalem. Mark begins the story of Jesus' stay in the capital by intercalating two episodes that symbolically repudiate Judaism and foretell its coming demise: Jesus curses the fruitless fig tree ("May no one ever eat from you again"; 11:14; cf. vv. 20-21) and disrupts the operation of the Temple (11:15-17). Shortly thereafter, he confounds in debate all the representatives of Jewish learning—the chief priests, scribes, elders, and Pharisees (11:27-33; 12:13-17, 18-27). Worse than mere opponents, these men (as Mark has hinted at or asserted practically from the beginning of his gospel) will bring about Jesus' death (3:6; 8:31, cf. 9:31; 10:33; 11:18; 14:1, 10-11,43,55; 15:1-15,31). Thus, while the simple fact of crucifixion might implicate Rome, Mark's Passion narrative makes clear where the true responsibility for Jesus' death lay.

But for Mark, Jesus' crucifixion represents more than just Judaism's rejection of the Gospel. It also points ahead to the destruction of the Temple. Where his Jesus speaks directly of the Temple's destruction ("There will not be one stone that will not be thrown down"; 13:2), Mark only indirectly establishes its connection with Jesus' death. In this passage, Jesus states that the destruction will mark the approach of the End and thus the glorious *return* of the Son of Man (13:2-4,14,26-29). By implication, Jesus must have 'gone away' at some earlier point.

However, when Jesus stands before the Sanhedrin, Mark links this prophecy about the Temple directly to Jesus' death. He reports it in the more belligerent form of a threat, and attributes it to "false witnesses": "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'" (14:58; cf. 15:29). The formula "destroy/in three days rebuilt" immediately recalls Mark's Passion predictions ("The Son of Man must be killed . . . and after three days rise again"). Perhaps Mark's Christological interpretation of the prophecy explains his distancing Jesus from this form of it by assigning it to a perjuring third party. Since Jesus' death corresponds to the Temple's destruction, and since

Jesus cannot be the agent in his own death, neither can he directly be the agent in the Temple's downfall—an implication that Mark likewise suppressed when interpreting Jesus' action in the Temple courtyard as protest rather than prophecy.[24] Mark thereby enriches the irony of this scene because the resurrected Jesus, the temple not made by hand, his eschatological body, *is* 'built' in three days.[25] The Sanhedrin, thinking that they can destroy Jesus, only work to bring about the symbolic fulfillment of this prophecy, his own death and resurrection (cf. Jn 2:18-22).

This association of Jesus' death as Son of Man with the Temple's destruction broadened the theological implications of the crucifixion. By laying the blame for Jesus' death on the leaders of Judaism—indeed, by so shaping the dialogue between the High Priest and Jesus that the trial turns on *the* Christian confession of Jesus as messiah and Son of God—Mark argued that the Jewish rejection of the Gospel foretold and indeed resulted in God's definitive, historical rejection of the Jews: the destruction of their nation, their city and their Temple, all come about in Mark's own day. Thus, into his description of Jesus' final breath (15:37) and the centurion's confession (15:39), Mark intrudes the curious report: "The curtain of the Temple was torn in two"—another prophecy of its coming destruction.[26] By destroying Jesus, Mark argues, the Jews thus became the agents of their own destruction, and by that same action effected the transfer of the Gospel to the Gentiles (15:39).

But suffering is only one half of this cycle. Vindication follows. Jesus' suffering and death—his role as Son of Man—had led to his resurrection. Accordingly, Mark argued, the suffering of Jesus' true followers during that period marked by wars, false messiahs, persecutions, and the mission to the Gentiles—a period whose close would be signaled by the destruction of the Temple—would lead to their own vindication as the Son of Man returned, sent out angels, and gathered his elect (13:2-27). Thus for Mark and his community the downfall of the Temple meant more than the end of Judaism, more even than the vindication of the Gospel. Mark's story does make these polemical points, but its main message is both broader and more urgent. Mark writes, I think, in the near aftermath of the Jewish War. And he writes to use his inherited "historical" traditions about Jesus to assert, through his story about Jesus, the authority of the prophecy originally pronounced by Jesus and preserved in that tradition: "The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand."

Behind this message stand expectation and prophecy unfulfilled. For Jesus of Nazareth had expected to see the Temple destroyed, the Kingdom come, and the New Temple established in c. 30, at or as the climax of his own mission. Mark's community preserved the memory of Jesus' proclamation of these beliefs. But Mark also knew that Jesus' mission had ended in his death, albeit followed by his resurrection. And Mark knew that neither Jesus nor Jesus' generation had lived to see the Temple destroyed. *Worse: Mark's had. And still the Kingdom had not come.*

Mark thus writes his gospel to exhort his church to remain strong in their faith, despite this seeming disconfirmation of familiar and fundamental Christian prophecy. Hence he emphasizes the authority of Jesus' teaching, the importance of faith in Jesus specifically as the suffering and vindicated/to be vindicated Son of Man, and the need

[24] Jn 2:19 similarly transposes this tradition into the second person.

[25] Cf. Juel's argument, that the referent is the Christian community, *Messiah and Temple* 143-47.

[26] Whence the well-known comment in the *Clementine Recognitions* 1.41 that the Temple's curtains tore "as though mourning the impending destruction of that place."

to endure to the End. Mark ingeniously protects the authority of the threatened tradition precisely by deploying it, creating a story—the first one we have—about the public career of Jesus that establishes a prophetic synonymity between events circa 30 and events circa 70, between the fate of the Son of Man and the fate of the Temple. He demonstrates through his Passion narrative that this prophecy of the Temple's destruction and succession by another not made by hand on the third day had *already* been fulfilled, and exactly when Jesus had said it would be: at the end of his ministry, in Jerusalem, at Passover. The community knew what none of Jesus' contemporaries had known: the prophecy was fulfilled through Jesus' death and resurrection.

But Mark also preserved, thanks to recent events, the original apocalyptic content of Jesus' prophecy. For if "destruction/rebuilding" symbolically corresponded to the crucifixion and resurrection of the suffering Son of Man, then clearly the Temple's actual, historical destruction signaled the imminent fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy, the advent of the Kingdom. The Kingdom, then, had never been delayed. It was coming exactly when Jesus had said it would: following the destruction of the Temple. Its utter destruction—no stone upon another—indicated how close the glorious Son of Man was—indeed, already at the very gates (13:2-8,14,29).

This linkage of Jesus' death, resurrection, and Parousia with both the experience of the church and Titus' victory over Jerusalem also helps to account for the gravitational pull that the Passion exerts over Mark's entire story. Throughout his gospel, Mark trains his audience's attention on Jesus' inexorably approaching death. By so affirming the authority of his tradition by integrating, through the Passion, the fate of the Temple with the kerygma of Jesus the Son of Man, Mark also bequeathed to the future generations he never envisioned an enduring image of the past; an image, conveyed particularly through the Passion narrative, that fixed his depiction of Jewish perfidy and malice—and thus his hostility toward Jews and Judaism—at the heart of his gospel. For Jewish perfidy "explained" both the death of Jesus and the destruction of the Temple. It reinforced Mark's historicizing Christology, whereby Jesus became the founder of Mark's Gentile church. And this reinforced in turn his Christologizing of Jerusalem's defeat, which thereby became a major assurance that the church's eschatological vindication was, after all, at hand.

If my hypothesis be accepted—that Jesus actually prophesized that the Temple would be destroyed and the Kingdom come during his final Passover in Jerusalem; that Mark knew this tradition; and that the recent defeat of Jerusalem in combination with this prophecy had stimulated Mark to write—then we can account for several other characteristic oddities of his gospel. Because of the pressure of his circumstances, Mark operates on a two-generational model, that of Jesus' lifetime, c. 30, and that of his own, c. 70. His whole story about Jesus dramatically oscillates between these two generations and, thus, between Jesus' concealment and revelation: concealment during his ministry; revelation (though attenuated) c. 30 and most especially c. 70, with the expected Parousia. Hence the almost inexplicable dimwittedness if not hostility of virtually every Jew that Jesus comes into contact with during his ministry—the crowds who follow him, his own family, even his disciples. Even those who followed him, Mark says, had by and large failed to grasp his meaning, embrace its message of suffering as a necessary preliminary to redemption, or endure with constancy.[27] Jesus' generation had been a faithless generation (9:19). To

[27] E.g., 4:13-14, 39-40; 6:49-52; 7:18; 8:17-21; 9:6-10,19,32; 14:4-7,10,50; esp.

such a generation Jesus would grant no sign (cf. 8:12).

Rather, the sign of the impending apocalypse and redemption foretold by Jesus to his contemporaries had been granted only to those of Mark's generation. Only they had endured persecution for Christ's sake and brought the Gospel to all the nations (13:9-13). Only they had witnessed the false messiahs (Theudas? The Egyptian? The leaders of the revolt in 66?), the wars, and the abomination of desolation set up where it ought not be (Titus' military standard on the Temple mount? 13:26-37; cf. 15:32).[28] Accordingly, only they had seen the fulfillment of Jesus' great prophecy, the destruction of the Temple (13:2,14). Therefore it was they who would live to see the Kingdom of God come with power (9:1; 13:26-37; cf. 15:32).

Hence, finally, Mark's ending, the oddest part of all. By so emphasizing the proximity and clarity of Jesus imminent glorious revelation, Mark inadvertently imputes to the period between the resurrection and the Parousia—a period he firmly believed was drawing rapidly to a close (13:20)—a kind of lingering obscurity. His parallel presentations of the Transfiguration and the scene at the tomb ambiguously evoke both the resurrection and the Parousia. And both scenes (despite the angel's explicit injunction to speak in the latter case, 16:7) present three witnesses who respond with fear, silence, and lack of understanding (9:6,9//16:8). How then, and when, would Jesus' identity as Christ and Son of God be broadly and publicly proclaimed? Only when he returned as the glorious Son of Man (8:29-9:1; 14:61-62).[29]

Hence the absence in Mark's gospel of post-resurrection appearances, and his emphasis on the empty tomb: Jesus' resurrection, following his crucifixion (the destroyed temple/the temple not made by hand) merges with his Parousia, following the Roman destruction of Jerusalem's Temple. And where those of Jesus' generation had failed and fled, those of the first and final Christian generation, Mark's

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Peter's dull performance, 8:31-33; 9:6; 14:37,66-72. In Mark's gospel the disciples are last seen abandoning Jesus, and Peter denying him. They flee, witnessing neither the crucifixion nor the resurrection.

[28] Commentators more usually take this as a reference to Caligula's attempt c. 40 to place his own statue in the Temple, e.g. Denis Nineham, *Mark* 353. For the abomination as Titus' standard, Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (London 1957) 174, 231-32.

[29] The later synoptics, which necessarily alter this two-generational model, alter as well this eschatological identification of resurrection and Parousia that Mk had so carefully constructed. They, and John most extremely of all, depict a Jesus who does make known his Christological identity during his own lifetime, and who founds a church, again during his own lifetime, to continue his work of proclaiming the Christian Christ. For them, the resurrection serves cheifly to confirm Jesus' prior and public claims, while the Parousia recedes into the future. The period of intermediate obscurity between private and public revelations thus shifts back in time from that period between the resurrection and the Parousia (Mk), to that period between imputed biblical witnesses and Jesus' appearance on earth (Mt passim; Lk most especially in his birth narrative). The publicly revelatory event thus shifts from Jesus' resurrection/Parousia to his ministry. The Jesus of the later evangelists, in other words, obviates the Christological function of the Markan Second Coming. That function for them passes to the church, whose continued existence for an indefinite period they presuppose.

generation, stood faithfully: enduring till the End, awaiting salvation, keeping watch for the return in glory of the Son of Man.

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I like several things about this proposal. I like taking Jesus' prophecy of the eschatological destruction and replacement of the Temple as historical. It helps make sense of the incident in the Temple court at Passover non-anachronistically, and plausibly situates him within his culture and what we can reconstruct of his message. And it makes sense of the priestly involvement in his arrest, while allowing Pilate to remain the prominent—indeed dominant—factor that he must have been.

I like, further, how it can explain several perennially awkward issues in Markan exegesis, and not least of all the fundamental historical question: *Ma pi tōm?* What, all of a sudden? Why the historical "gospel genre"? Why the evangelist's interest—no matter how subsumed by theological concerns—in the "historical Jesus"? And why sometime around the year 70? This proposal cannot connect up all the dots—we still see through a glass, darkly—but it does hit quite a few of them.

But there are two things about the proposal that I really do not like. The first is that it activates my (almost aesthetic) aversion to theories of literary composition that are so much more complicated than the text they seek to explicate. True, we've all seen worse and more complicated (usually about the Gospel of John—but that's a more complicated gospel); and at least this proposal does not require, on our part or our author's, a thorough fluency in structuralism, deconstructionism, social anthropology, or psycho-sexual theory. It relies on Josephus more than Foucault, and its argument is historical rather than formally theoretical: Did Jesus say and so such? What would it have meant? What if Mark had known? etc. But it does require of Mark a compositional complexity and subtleness that his tone, to my ear, belies. This problem is not fatal, but it does make me nervous.

What bothers me a lot is that, if I am right, I should probably have to hypothesize a lost letter of Paul's. How could Jesus have made such a spectacular prophecy, which Peter, James *et alii* must have known; how could Paul have known them and thus it, written as much as he did about the impending end of the age and the Returning Lord, and never have mentioned it at all? Nothing in 1 Thes 4, nothing in 1 Cor 15, nothing in Romans 8, or from Romans 11 on (after 15:25 would have been a good place).

Since I cannot offer answers, let me proceed to observations and speculation. First, the phrase "Son of Man" could only have originated in the Aramaic-speaking matrix of the earliest movement, and has a reasonably strong claim to having been introduced (with whatever meaning) into the primitive kerygma through the teaching of Jesus himself. Paul never uses it. Perhaps this is because his use of *Jesus Christ* replicates the functional definition of Son of Man (one who suffered, was vindicated, will be vindicated and come in glory, and so on); perhaps he simply did not want to burden his Greek-speaking Gentile communities with an unnecessary neologism. But why not keep the phrase in Aramaic? He does not hesitate with "abba" (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15) or "marana tha" (1 Cor 16:22). My point, chiefly, is that scholars accept as ancient, and even authentic, other material originating in the Palestinian phase of the movement that is not attested in Paul.

Paul in fact scarcely speaks of the Temple at all. Where he does, it is with unreserved esteem and classic Jewish piety. God's Spirit dwells therein; it is holy; God

will destroy its destroyers (1 Cor 3:16-18).[30] Its rites (*latreia*) are one of the glories and privileges of Israel (Rom 9:4). So holy and Spirit-filled is the Temple that Paul invokes it as an appropriate metaphor for his Gentile converts, whose bodies through baptism have become members of the body of Christ (1 Cor 6:13-20). And Paul conceives of his own work as a "priestly service," bearing the "acceptable offering" of the Gentiles to Jerusalem (Rom 15:15-16,26-27,31).

I will note, further, that Paul in general strips away many of the traditional elements of Jewish restoration theology even as he presents to his Gentile audience many of its central ideas: God's justice, steadfastness and mercy; how he works redemption in human history; that he is about to bring time to a close. Jewish history and the Jewish commitment to God's moral nature as revealed in Torah had created the dynamics, and many of the details, of Judaism's apocalyptic eschatology. We see these reflected in the material on Jesus preserved in the gospels—whether there would be marriage and divorce in the Kingdom, drinking and eating, hierarchical power, physical bodies, the twelve tribes, a new Temple. Paul retains the dynamics of Jewish eschatology but avoids its historical particularity. His Lord fights not Babylon, but the cosmic archons of this evil aeon; bodies will be saved, but they are not physical; the Kingdom comes not in the land of Israel, centered around a glorious Jerusalem and a new Temple—imagery born of the old Babylonian idiom of redemption as return from exile. For Paul, the kingdom will be "in the air" (I Thes 4:17). No temple there.

Finally, even though Paul orients his gospel toward the coming final redemption at Christ's Parousia, he argues that the turning of the age, through Christ's resurrection, has *already* occurred. Thus neither Christ's coming in the flesh, nor his death on the cross, nor his imminent return, but rather the great fact of his resurrection to which Paul himself is witness, redeems believers from sin (1 Cor 15:17) and ensures the ultimate transformation of their bodies (1 Cor 15:42-48; Phil 3:10). No need, then, for the Temple's destruction to signal the dawning of redemption: that signal, for Paul, had already been granted in the resurrection of Christ.[31]

Was the Temple, then, of little account in Paul's eschatological perspective? Did the resurrection so divide him from the views of Jesus of Nazareth? I wonder. I wonder especially about the historical value of another Temple episode, reported but somewhat disowned by Luke: that Paul on his final trip to Jerusalem brought Gentiles past their boundary-point on into the Temple (Acts 21:28). A trajectory that we could draw from Paul's own statements in the closing chapters of Romans might confirm Luke's report. From ch. 9 on, Paul revises biblical history so that it conforms to the facts of the Christian mission mid-century. Jews actually were not supposed to receive the Gospel: God was hardening their hearts, in order to facilitate the Gentile mission. The Gentiles, not Israel, were to serve as the trip-switch of the eschaton (11:25-36). What would be more like him then—confident in God's promises, confirmed in his interpretation of events by the very success of his mission—than to attempt to inaugurate the Endtime by enacting a paradigmatic moment from the traditional scenario (E.g., Isa 2:2-4)? Though the resurrection had changed the expected order of events, the prophetic script remained.

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[30] In this passage Paul refers to the believer's body, but the point is that he imputes this degree of importance and holiness both to the Temple and to the person 'in Christ.'

[31] For a more detailed discussion, see *FJTC* 170-76.

I see Paul coming up to Jerusalem with the collection and, following through the logic of his own convictions, walking with his Gentile brother-in-Christ into the Temple. He knew that he lived in the very last days. And in those days, according to his tradition—that is, Judaism—God would redeem the nations from their idolatry graciously, without the works of the Law; in those days Jew and Gentile together would go up to the mountain of the Lord, to worship together at the house of the God of Jacob.

Jesus, the Kingdom, and Theopolitics

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The present paper seeks to advance our understanding of the public, historical Jesus in several ways. First of all, it offers a procedure for getting us out of the present impasse concerning Jesus' understanding of his 'kingdom' language. The procedure gets us out not completely, but to a limited extent, though less limited than may appear at first sight. It does so by an examination of the constraints inherent in occasional communication, such as occurred between Jesus and the larger public who, unlike the inner circle of disciples, heard him only from time to time with limited, if any, possibilities for extended two-way exchanges.

It then argues that, if we ask the right questions and make careful distinctions, we can make significant advances in our understanding of Jesus' aims. Cautious scholars are understandably wary of claims made in this area. Ever since B. F. Meyer focused our attention on the question of Jesus' aims[1] it has been clear that, being more comprehensive, this, rather than the question of his teaching, is the better question to ask. But, given the nature of the historical documentation available to us, it is legitimately feared that all efforts to gain access to Jesus' intentionality will be little more than unverifiable flights of imagination. The procedure offered here can make a claim to objectivity because it starts from, and remains close to, public facts, and advances by making controllable inferences from them.

In a brief final section the paper sketches an initial enlargement of the scope of the hypothesis concerning Jesus' aims in order to suggest its potential as a resource for further discovery and insight. The apparent 'optimism' of the hypothesis, its surface suggestion that what Jesus was engaged in should have been easily welcomed by his hearers, soon turns out to cover a much more ambiguous reality. If Jesus' aims and means were what the hypothesis proposes, then, to the extent that he was initially successful, he must have generated a powerful and complex dynamic that could go in very different directions and only with considerable difficulty be coaxed towards the goals he desired.

Bridging the Synoptic Quagmire

While it is generally agreed that Jesus did not merely use 'kingdom/rule of God' language on occasion, but made it the focus of his message, it is also widely

[1] B. F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus* (London, 1977).

recognized that it is difficult to reconstitute what exactly Jesus meant by this language. For instance, in his major study of the historical Jesus,[2] E. P. Sanders sees an obstacle standing in the way of including Jesus' kingdom-focused teaching as part of the certain material from which a well-organised search for knowledge of Jesus and his public activity should begin. The obstacle in question is the complexity and apparently irreducible diversity of the kingdom sayings material in our principal source, the Synoptic tradition. He finds there six different types of kingdom sayings.[3] To be able to work through this material to determine the meaning of the 'kingdom' for Jesus it would be necessary, he says, to "write a complete history of synoptic tradition."[4] This is something which even those who still hold one or other of the relatively simple solutions for the 'Synoptic Problem'—the Two Source theory or that of Matthean priority—would not claim they have done or are in sight of doing, and which seems impossibly remote to anyone who, like Sanders himself, is convinced of the need to develop more complicated solutions which allow for "some cross-influence among versions of all three gospels."[5]

If we recognise with Sanders that we are here confronted with a "quagmire"[6] into which scholars can easily disappear, never to be seen again; and through which we cannot expect to be able to go in the forseeable future, the urgency of finding some way to throw a bridge across it becomes clear.

In bridging this quagmire the key consideration is that Jesus' message was addressed not only to an inner circle of disciples with whom he could have ongoing two-way communications, but also to considerable numbers of occasional hearers. The proposal, then, is to proceed via the (range of) understandings of 'kingdom of God' language of the 'ordinary south Galileans' and other Palestinian Jews who made up the occasional hearers of Jesus' public message.[7] For successful communication with

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[2] E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[3] Sanders, 141-150.

[4] Sanders, orally, S.B.L., Chicago, 1989. See *Jesus*, 123, 131-133, 156.

[5] Sanders, *Jesus*, 399 n. 59. He probably has in mind authors such as M.-E. Boismard, of the Ecole Biblique de Jerusalem, to whom he refers several times. In his *Synopse des Quatre Evangiles*, II, (Paris, 1972) Boismard argues that an adequate theory must accept the existence not only of Q but also of a) three other source documents and b), dependent on them, an earlier version of each of the Synoptics, versions that in varying proportions influenced each of those 'final' ones that we have inherited. (Two of the three source documents were also used by John, as was proto-Luke, particularly for the Passion and Resurrection narratives.) It is surprising that this theory has not received more attention in recent discussions of the Synoptic problem, particularly in light of the demonstration of its possibilities through its systematic use in this second volume of the *Synopse*, which is a section by section commentary on the gospels. (It may be purely coincidental, but in 1988 the J.B.L. reviewed 31 books written in German but only 9 in French, in 1989 32 and 5.) Whatever about this, the need recognised by Sanders and Boismard to resort to complexity is a good indication of how substantial the Synoptic impasse continues to be after two hundred years of intense study.

[6] Sanders, *Jesus*, 131.

[7] Much current Jesus research seems to be proceeding on the incautious assumption that Mark, and the other two Synoptics, can be taken at face value when they limit Jesus' public activity to Galilee, with only a brief, final extension of it to Judea

occasional hearers, speakers have to find language that spontaneously evokes in these hearers the responses and understandings that they, the speakers, wish to see evoked. While they can focus on one or other area of the semantic field that words and phrases have for their hearers, and work them into original patterns, there are definite limits. They cannot give their words esoteric meanings if they wish to be understood. They have to be sure to use their hearers' language, and to do so skillfully, if they are to achieve good communication.

The question, then, of what Jesus meant by his 'kingdom' language begins to find its answer in what the occasional hearers of his public speaking spontaneously understood by this language, because that is what he had to start with. There is, of course, an alternative that has no doubt occurred to readers: simply that Jesus was mistaken and should not have used 'kingdom' language to communicate his message because his occasional hearers' understanding of the term was too incurably different from what he had in mind. This paper will proceed on the basis that he knew what he was doing when he made this choice.

Several problematic matters need to be addressed if we are to try to get a fix on how ordinary Galileans and other Palestinians of Jesus' time would have understood 'kingdom' language. First of all, there is the question of their religious culture, the question of the beliefs, knowledge and practices of the majority, even large majority, who did not have direct, personal access to any writings because, quite simply, they could not read. Even if there were few or no synagogue-buildings we can still assume that there were synagogue-assemblies, but who and how many frequented them? And what went on in them: regular (sabbath?) prayer and worship, or study and teaching, or both? And who had control of these activities? And what was their operative Bible? What biblical writings did they in fact study and expound? And what was their hermeneutic, and were there several competing ones? And what, if any, other religious writings were known to them and influenced their thinking—the Psalms of Solomon? the Testament of Moses? parts of the Enoch corpus? And what, if any, was the influence of the Qumran community and its writings?[8]

A similar set of questions can be asked about the Temple. What proportion of Palestinian Jews, and which ones, went to Jerusalem for the major festivals? And how often, given the fact that for south Galileans that meant a five-day journey one way, if they wished to avoid Samaritan territory? And what did they encounter when they got there? For instance, do we have any idea of how Passover was celebrated pre-seventy? Were appropriate scriptures read and commented upon by Temple

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(Jerusalem). Is there any reason to grant, 'a priori,' greater historicity to Mark's chronological/topographical framework than to that of the 4th gospel, with its repeated visits to Jerusalem, and its presentation of Jesus as giving priority to Judea and only withdrawing from it when forced to (see 4:1-3; 7:1; 11:53-54)? Sober scholarship recognizes that, when it wants to, the 4th gospel can give precise and accurate information about pre-70 Palestinian realities—can the same be said of Mark?—and that its reports that Jesus engaged in repeated and substantial public activity in Jerusalem need to be taken seriously.

[8] Current work on the Qumran documents and other Jewish writings of the Hellenistic-Roman period will continue to enrich our understanding of the public Jesus and his world, but only to the extent that we can determine how widely their ideas were spread among the ordinary Jewish people. We cannot jump directly from the texts to the historical situation we wish to clarify.

professionals? Were there traditional forms for the Seder? And what about those who stayed at home, did they also have ways of celebrating Passover and the other festivals?

This brings us to a more general set of questions concerning the modes of interaction between the religious professionals and the rest of the population. When the latter received instruction, interpretation of texts, exhortation, etc. from the former, in one setting or another, how autonomous were they in their appropriation of what was offered to them? Were there popular, non-literate religious traditions and practices?

What were the memories among the people of the Maccabean wars, and how were they interpreted? As holy wars of national liberation that had unfortunately gone astray, or as disasters?

In the absence of more specific information, a cautious, median position will be taken here that avoids exaggeration in either direction. It is based on some major convergences between Chronicles (see I Chron. 16; II Chron. 20, 29, 30 and 34) and the witness of the gospels. First of all it will be assumed that Passover was regularly celebrated as a pilgrim-feast, and that, when it was, its sacrifices were interpreted in relation to the exodus. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly for present purposes, as regards biblical texts, people would have been familiar in at least a general way with the contents of the Book of Psalms, the 'hymnbook of the Second Temple'—which, because of its accessibility, very probably was also widely used outside the Temple.

It is not necessary to postulate that everyone went to Jerusalem for Passover every year, simply that everyone knew its reference to the exodus. Nor that everyone knew all the psalms by heart. It would be sufficient, if, on hearing Jesus speak about the kingdom, there were generally some people present who could quote to the remainder verses from this or that psalm of YHWH's kingship (47, 93, 96-99).

Two other closely related points need to be addressed before a procedure for bridging the Synoptic 'quagmire' is outlined. The first follows on the reference just made to the psalms of YHWH's kingship. It can be addressed through a question, the brevity of which should not be allowed to mask its importance: to what extent is the modern investigation of the meaning of Jesus' kingdom language hampered by its failure to realize that it is largely operating with an unexamined generic concept of 'God,' and this despite the fact that we have Matthew's habitual use of the phrase "kingdom of *heaven*" to remind us that the God in question is YHWH, that it is with the rule of the God of Israel that we have to do.

Finally, we need to be aware of a second fall into anachronism that occurs when we incautiously import into our thinking about Jesus' world the modern understanding of the 'spiritual' as a realm separate from, and even contrasted with, another called the 'political'; a perception grounded in the reality of our modern segmented society but guaranteed to have us misunderstand everything about Jesus and his time and place, if we do not free ourselves from its control. Aware of the obstacle that this preconception places in the way of understanding biblical religion, Martin Buber coined the vigorous term 'theopolitical' to challenge it. It seems safe to say that he was rather more successful in the area of Hebrew Bible scholarship than in that of the New Testament, where the modern understanding of the separation of the two realms still seems fairly widely operative and unsuspected.

With conscious awareness of these three problem areas the following is presented as a procedure for throwing a narrow bridge across the Synoptic 'quagmire': Given

that the God of Jesus' occasional hearers was not the metaphysical God of either the Greek fathers, or the medieval scholastics, or the domesticated and anaemic God of modern privatised pietism, or some imaginary generic God, but YHWH, the God of Israel; and postulating that these hearers knew at least some of the essentials of the biblical tradition, e.g., the exodus story reenacted each year at Passover; and were familiar in varying degrees with biblical texts such as the psalms of YHWH's kingship; at least one point seems certain: whatever other aspects his message may have had, Jesus' occasional hearers, and therefore Jesus himself—unless he made a gross error in communication—understood it as referring to something that was in some essential way political, better, theopolitical.

The Aims of Jesus

The conclusion of the previous paragraph will probably strike some as anti-climactic. All we have arrived at is verification of what we could assume to be the case, once we free our minds from the control of modern concepts of the 'spiritual' as apolitical. However the passage from assumption, and even reasonable expectation, to verification is, when possible, a very desirable one in historical enquiry. Jesus could have been the exception. Today he is still thought to have been an exception not only by many church members, but also by scholars—though probably in decreasing numbers, at least in this country.

Further, it would be a mistake to imagine that the conclusion arrived at is a very limited one that leads nowhere; that the bridge may have got us across the Synoptic swamp at one particular point and given us access to one limited aspect of Jesus' thought, but that that is all. This is not the case. Given that for many of Jesus' Jewish hearers the alien Roman/Herodian power-structure must have been without legitimacy, it follows that they would have perceived their situation, including the various financial and economic losses, hardships and deprivations to which they were subjected, as one of oppression and exploitation. This would have been true across a wide socio-economic spectrum, from the destitute, through precariously situated small-holders, to those who were more or less affluent, but subjected to correspondingly heavy taxes and exactions.[9]

[9] Sean Freyne is quite insistent that the situation in Jesus' Galilee was "stable," and that this is reflected in the fact that Herod Antipas, unlike his brother Archelaus in Judea, lasted a long time (see *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels* Philadelphia, 1988). It might be more accurate to say that the situation was one of unstable equilibrium that could only be maintained by a combination of the threat of overwhelming force with constant watchfulness for the beginnings of dangerous developments. But, in any case, the surface calm did not mean that people there had no sense of being oppressed or exploited. Institutionalized violence can continue for decades without provoking any organised violent reaction, and when the latter comes it does not have to be in response to an intensification of the former. It is also an error to imagine that revolutionary dispositions are proportionate to degrees of destitution. The American Revolution was not led by beggars. Nor should we ignore the wider 'spiral of violence' in which the Galilee of Jesus was caught up. An enlightening account of this larger context of violence and instability can be found in Edward Luttwak's *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1977). At the time of Jesus two great expansionary systems, the Roman and the Parthian empires, had arrived at an uneasy

This means that Jesus' theopolitical message, focused on the rule of YHWH, presented some real danger of bringing his public activity to a premature end.[10] This danger was greatly increased thanks to several of the more specific points of his teaching, for which the language of the kingdom provided the general context. One of these was his strong critique of riches, greed, hoarding, heartlessness; another, as we shall see below, was his apparent articulation of a 'third way' program of forceful though, at least in his intention, non-violent resistance to oppression. Together, these components must have constituted a potentially explosive mixture in his socio-cultural situation.

The question then is: what did Jesus want to see result from his words and actions that made him feel compelled to run the risk of using precisely this language? The question can be made more incisive: given that less dangerous alternatives were available—for example YHWH as source of 'life' or 'shalom'; YHWH as father, husband, shepherd, etc., rather than as king or ruler—what made him feel obliged to use the most explicitly theopolitical language available as the focus of his message?

This question is intentionally framed to bring out its relative autonomy vis-à-vis another one in which it has often been buried; the question of what Jesus expected to see happen in the (near) future. Scholarship presently seems to be moving away from the idea of an 'eschatological' Jesus.[11] But even if Jesus did expect a catastrophic 'end of the world' for the near future, and made this part of his public message, the question would still remain of what he wanted to see *result* from his own words and actions. The National Weather Service's announcement of an approaching hurricane

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stalemate along the Euphrates, with four of Rome's twenty-five legions permanently stationed in Syria. The need for this concentration is shown by the fact that in 40 B.C.E. the Parthians had got to Jerusalem where they helped Antigonus, the last of the Hasmonaeans, to establish himself as king. The Romans' response was to back Herod, whom Luttwak sees as the sort of resourceful and ruthless man that they liked to use in critical areas as client king, thus economizing the direct use of their own power.

[10] Is critical scholarship today fully free from the influence of the gospels' theological view of Jesus' death which tends to see it coming exactly when it was meant to come, whereas from an historical point of view it was abrupt and premature, cutting short Jesus' mission almost as soon as it got started? We need to do some possibility thinking so that we will not woodenly assume that Jesus' mission would have continued just as it began. For instance, we need to envisage the possibility that in due course he would have sought to carry it to all the Jewish communities of Palestine. And perhaps eventually to the diaspora communities of Antioch and elsewhere. And if not we need to try to understand why.

[11] There are even some signs that it may finally be taking to heart Carmignac's proposal that the term 'eschatological' be retired from scholarly use for the time being. Having moved from being monolithic and cosmic with Weiss and Schweitzer, to being nebulous and confused in meaning today, it weakens the writings where it is called upon to play any significant role. The same goes for 'apocalyptic.' Presently it is itself still too much an object of enquiry for it to be able to serve as a good tool of enquiry. (What seems to be going on is an attempt to arrive at a scholarly-strategic decision about what sense to take it in so that it may best serve as a category of enquiry.) These terms are often asked to carry a load that is beyond their present capacity.

is not intended to produce the hurricane, but it is intended to produce something. It is not made gratuitously, but to alert people to the danger they are threatened with, and to get them to take appropriate action.

The precise question that we need to ask, then, is: what did Jesus want to see result from his teaching and other public activity that made him feel obliged to put this activity at risk by giving his message such a sharp political edge?

We are here seeking to enter the realm of intentionality; of Jesus' world-view, mindset, perception of the situation of his people and of what the really important issues were, his understanding of his own calling and task. Caution is in order, but our entry is done under the control of public facts: his use of the political ruler metaphor in preference to available alternatives. We gain access to his intentions on the assumption of an essential congruence between them and the specific difference between his ruler/kingdom language and the other available metaphors.

The proposal of this paper is not the familiar one that he was simply laying the ideological groundwork for an eventual (holy) war of national liberation, not even in a refined version where he expected to leave the role of military leadership to others who were yet to emerge. It is no great secret that much of the resistance to this hypothesis—as well as much of the favor it once enjoyed—has been ideological in character, rather than scholarly, as is shown by the alacrity with which many of its opponents, having demolished it—at least to their own satisfaction—hastened back to their anachronistic 'spiritual' Jesus, having learned nothing from the exercise. However, the picture of Jesus as advocate of a holy war does have some considerable problems: to start with, the impression, largely based on Acts, it is true, that no attempt was made to hunt down even the members of Jesus' inner circle of followers who, on the contrary, within a few weeks of Jesus' execution were able to establish themselves in Jerusalem and to engage in proclamation and other public activities. Quite apart from Acts, there is the total lack of tradition that any of them was killed by the Romans at that time.[12]

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[12] The public reemergence of the disciples in Jerusalem may not have occurred as early as the Pentecost/Feast of Weeks following the execution of Jesus and it may not have taken the dramatic form that Acts suggests, but is not the fact that the Romans did not hunt down at least the inner circle of Jesus' followers a strong argument against any and every political reading of his message and aims? If they had really thought that he represented a political danger would they not have wanted to be sure that they had completely removed the danger by killing not just him but also those close to him? One answer to this argument is that the disciples may simply have been lucky and have managed to escape and make their way back to Galilee where, with the change of jurisdictions, no one thought it worthwhile to pursue them, particularly if they lay low for a time. In this scenario the fact that none of the disciples was killed at that time would have little or no implication concerning the nature of Jesus' public activity. Another scenario starts from the fact implied by the gospels, and generally recognized, that the intelligence work was done not by the Romans but by the high priest's people. They might have been sufficiently well-informed and sophisticated to see that Jesus' operation was very much a 'one-man show' and that without him his followers presented no real danger. This would exclude the idea that they were bent on military action, but would be compatible with Jesus being a political or theo-political teacher.

In any case there is an alternative which also fits the basic requirement of theo-political intention on Jesus' part and which, perhaps, does so in more interesting fashion, promising a more productive perspective on the whole body of tradition concerning Jesus' teaching and other public activity.

The proposal is that at least one significant part of what Jesus wanted to see result from his public activity was the delivery of people from a burden of false guilt which was the consequence of an erroneous 'deuteronomic' interpretation of their situation; and that the need to effect this deliverance seemed sufficiently urgent to oblige him to take very considerable risks.

The presupposition here is that he perceived that (many of) his contemporaries had 'interiorized' their socio-political oppression as guilt, through the classical interpretation which saw their oppressors as instruments of divine justice through whom YHWH was punishing his people for their sins and infidelities. And, given that the prospects of ending Roman/high priestly/Herodian rule were remote in the extreme, the implied guilt must have seemed incurable. The result must have put a heavy damper on their ability to mobilize the necessary spiritual and moral energies to cope with their real problems, including their various real sins.

From the Exile on, this interpretation of Israel's misfortunes, which saw them as well-deserved punishment for the chosen people's infidelity, had been not only one of the central components of the biblical faith of the literate, but also one of its most efficacious constructs, one which was easily accessible to the general body of the people who were not religious professionals, but simply folk seeking to use the resources of their religious traditions to make sense of their lives, and thereby make them more bearable.

Jesus, then, saw the urgent need to free people from this burden of false guilt if they were ever to hear his message of reconciliation and of divine forgiveness for their real sins and blindnesses, and the divine call to covenant community. He sought to work this deliverance through a radical delegitimation of Roman/Herodian/high priestly rule. The difficulty of this task lay in the fact that he had to try to work this delegitimation without, ultimately, pushing people over towards the deeply-rooted traditional alternative of holy war under the leadership of YHWH, the 'Divine Warrior'; and, more immediately, without occasioning the sort of local, spontaneous violence that would have provoked the repressive reaction of the Romans, or their Herodian and high-priestly clients. He sought to do so in the only way possible; not by direct attack, but indirectly, through the constant evocation of the Reign or Rule of YHWH—characterised by the absence of oppression, by shalom, by mutual confidence and solidarity—*as an immediately relevant reality*, something caught precisely in the gospel formula: "the Kingdom is at hand." In a word, he needed to witness to the fact that, despite the oppressive political structure under which they labored, the will of God for his people was not primarily punitive, but liberating, reconciling, forgiving and life-giving.

Given the critical character of the situation it seems out of the question that Jesus would have explicitly attacked the alien power-structure, and equally out of the question that he would have resorted to anything as dramatic as Marcan kerygmatic proclamation of the Good News of the Reign of God. On the contrary, we need to envisage him using only low-profile forms of persuasion such as parables and wisdom teaching. But we should not underestimate the efficacy of these forms when accompanied by healings, open table-sharing, etc., with word and action interpreting and reinforcing one another. As various groups of occasional hearers exchanged

impressions they would have come to realise that the rule of YHWH, characterized by compassion and saving justice, was Jesus' constant theme. The implicit critique-by-contrast of the alien power-structure, with its rapacity and its cruelty, must very soon have begun to grow on people and to have become inescapable.

One recommendation of the proposal is that it is congruent with Walter Wink and Pinchas Lapide's impressive 'third way' interpretations of the Sermon on the Mount—i.e., the teachings of Jesus that lie behind this Matthean construction—which sees them as neither a recommendation of passivity nor a call to violent insurrection, but as a program for forceful yet non-violent resistance to oppression.[13] In fact it provides the general framework in which to situate their interpretations of this important component of the Jesus tradition.

The proposal could be further developed by applying it to the difficult question of Jesus and the 'Law.' Here too the essential for Jesus might be envisaged as the need to deliver people from false guilt and sense of personal worthlessness and to restore them to a sense of dignity and self-respect. This convergence with Marcus Borg's perceptive distinction between Jesus' 'politics of compassion' and the then widely prevailing 'politics of holiness' and exclusion, would be a further recommendation of the present proposal.[14]

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[13] W. Wink "Neither Passivity Nor Violence: Jesus' Third Way," *S.B.L. Seminar Papers 1988* (Atlanta, 1988) 210-224. Pinchas Lapide, *The Sermon On The Mount* (Maryknoll, 1986). *We* can see Jesus' program as a 'third way' which, if it had been widely accepted, might have saved the Jewish communities of Roman Palestine from the suicidal resort to insurrectionary violence a generation after his time. Luke apparently saw it this way (1.9:41-44). But have we any way of telling whether or not Jesus himself did? He may have simply focused on the task at hand: that of awakening the people from their passivity, etc. The violence that he had to avoid was that of hotheads within his movement or around its periphery, small-scale local stuff, but enough to bring repression both on the hotheads and on himself and his mission. It is interesting to compare this 'third-way' understanding of Jesus' aims with Eugene Genovese's portrait of the 'religion that the slaves made' when they took advantage of the segregation of their churches and the leadership of their own black preachers to appropriate the biblical heritage in ways that addressed their situation of oppression (see *Roll Jordan, Roll*, New York, 1974). "When the black slaves . . . made [Christianity] their own, they transformed it into a religion of resistance—not often of revolutionary defiance, but of spiritual resistance that accepted the limits of the politically possible. Paul Radin observes that whereas whites asked Jesus for forgiveness, the blacks primarily asked for recognition. The slaves' assimilation of Moses to Jesus represented a vital mechanism for that transformation. . . . The assimilation solved the problem of how to achieve spiritual freedom, retain faith in earthly deliverance, instill a spirit of pride and love in each other, and make peace with a political reality within which revolutionary solutions no longer had much prospect." (p. 254) This suggests how far you can get with a good hermeneutic, though, of course, they also had the advantage of not having so much to unlearn, that is, not nearly as much as any traditional white community, Protestant, Catholic or Orthodox.

[14] *Jesus: A New Vision* (San Francisco, 1987), 86-93, 129-141, etc.; *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1984), 27-72, 123-129, 133-134.

To conclude this point: Although it would probably be an exaggeration to use the language of Exodus and say that Jesus found himself encountering people who could not hear him "so crushed was their spirit and so cruel their slavery" (6:13), yet he did encounter a similar though more subtle obstacle. As he sought to break through to them he worked out of mainstream, oppression-focused biblical theopolitics, but gave this tradition a distictive new development in a situation where escape (exodus) was impossible, and Davidic or Maccabean war of liberation manifestly suicidal.

Retrospect and Summary

The argument of the first two parts of the paper is constructed around the following key elements:

1) The constraints of occasional communication;

2) Asking the 'right' question: why did Jesus feel obliged to risk using the dangerous theopolitical language of the 'kingdom,' given that less sharp-edged alternatives were available?

3) The distinction between what Jesus may, or may not, have expected to see happen, and what he wanted to see *result from his own activity;*

4) The answer to the 'right' question: the need to delegitimate Roman/Herodian/high priestly rule in order to destroy the oppressive false guilt resulting from its 'deuteronomic' interpretation as well-deserved divine punishment for the chosen people's infidelity;

5) The use of means appropriate to the situation: indirect critique of the 'established disorder' via constant evocation of the contrasting Rule/Kingdom of YHWH, marked by compassion and saving justice; (use of low-profile forms of speech, such as parables).

Enlarging the Scope of the Hypothesis

Two interconnected points will be made here briefly in order to suggest some of the possible reach of the hypothesis that, in his resort to risky theopolitical language, Jesus was seeking to remove a major obstacle to the renewal of hope and trust in God. First of all, while renewal of hope sounds like something that would be welcomed by his hearers, in reality the situation would have been quite complex. People would have been freed from the burden of false guilt only at a considerable cost: such liberation would have been achieved only by depriving them of an old and tried interpretation of their sufferings that at least gave some meaning to them. They would have had to learn to live with the same sufferings, now no longer mediated or mitigated by a screen of meaning.

Secondly, there was no guarantee that the removal of false guilt in this way would of itself give rise to renewed confidence in God. It could also produce a movement in the opposite direction through raising difficult questions about God. Their ongoing sufferings, now no longer seen as justified divine punishment, either are still seen as divinely willed, or they are not. In the former case God seems cruel, arbitrary, capricious; in the latter, either God is indifferent to their sufferings and just lets them happen, or God is not in control. Any of these alternatives of itself was calculated to diminish rather than increase confidence in God.

It thus becomes clear that the task of dissolving the people's 'deuteronomic' interpretation of their sufferings could only have been a necessary first step, with potentially ambiguous results. Success there would have given rise to a further task: to coax the ensuing movement of consciousness in the desired direction through offering positive perspectives that could prevail over the alternative negative considerations just mentioned. Rather than these perspectives being simply ones of individual righteousness, as has often been imagined, they may have taken the form of a call to reconstruct covenant community, with its solidarity and neighborly cooperation, in the restricted domain for action available under the alien power-structure.[15]

[15] See, for example, Richard Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (San Francisco, 1987), especially chapters 8 and 9, "The Renewal of Local Community," I and II.

The Martyrdom of James in Hegesippus, Clement of Alexandria, and Christian Apocrypha, Including Nag Hammadi: A Study of the Textual Relations

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The Christian accounts James's martyrdom are a classic case for investigation of relationships between early Christian writings. Eusebius of Caesarea already knew and drew on the reports in Hegesippus and Clement of Alexandria.[1] He seems to have thought that these two accounts were independent of each other and that this state of affairs lended additional credibility to the detailed report of Hegesippus.[2]

There can be no doubt that stories about the death of James the brother of Jesus were both current in the memory of some Eastern churches and of paramount importance to their understanding of themselves. When Hegesippus writes that the onslaught of the Romans immediately followed James's martyrdom, one is indeed confronted with the question of whether this motif was *later* transferred from James's martyrdom to the death of Jesus.[3] This question points toward a larger, fascinating complex of problems regarding the relations between the canonical martyrdoms and the martyrdom of James.[4] This complex of problems is not, however, the direct

[1] See the *Ecclesiastical History* (henceforth H.E.) 2.23.4-18 for Hegesippus and 2.1.5 for Clement. The editions employed in this study are Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, eds., *Eusebius: Werke*, vol. 2, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, vol. 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903-9), and William Wright and Norman McLean, eds., *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphili, 265-339, Bishop of Caesarea: Syriac Text, Edited from the Manuscripts in London and St Petersburg, With a Collation of the Ancient Armenian Version by Adalbert Merx and Variant Readings from Other Versions* (1898; repr., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975).

[2] See H.E. 2.23.19.

[3] One can actually observe Origen undertaking this transference in *Against Celsus* 1.47, 2.13. See also, e.g., Eusebius H.E. 1.1.2, 3.7.1.

[4] Recall in this regard the thesis of Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1949), 440-45, and see Hans-Werner Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit*, Forschungen

subject of the present paper; rather, the concern here is with the question of the relationship between the report of Hegesippus and the other Christian accounts of James's martyrdom.

Thesis

The thesis of this paper is that Hegesippus is the source of the other reports, and thus that the prevalent postulation of unknown or lost sources to explain the similarities among the accounts is both unnecessary and unwarranted. As a preliminary, it is perhaps worth asking what has hindered this—the simplest—solution from being adopted in research.

Preliminary Problems: The Text of Hegesippus

One hindrance to cutting the Gordian knot in this manner has been the respect or awe felt toward a thesis by Eduard Schwartz and perhaps also toward the work of H. J. Lawlor. Schwartz promoted the view that the text of Hegesippus available to Eusebius had already been redacted. He boldly reconstructed the original by eliminating numerous instances of "old interpolation" and other "nonsense" in the text quoted by Eusebius.[5] The purported intention of the pre-Eusebian interpolator was to bring the Christian version of the martyrdom of James (as reflected in Clement of Alexandria, see below) into line with the report of Josephus (*Antiquities* 20.199-203).[6]

Schwartz's extremely hypothetical reconstruction has been accorded blanket approval by some recent scholars.[7] Others have critically adopted the view that Eusebius's text of Hegesippus had been interpolated.[8] While others have briefly

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zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 54 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1938), 119-26, Karlmann Beyschlag, "Das Jakobusmartyrium und seine Verwandten in der frühchristlichen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 56 (1965): 149-78, and Wilhelm Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 139 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 252-55.

[5] Eduard Schwartz, "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4 (1903): 48-66, pp. 49-57; the quotations are from pp. 51 and 49. See also Schwartz and Mommsen, eds., *Eusebius: Werke*, vol. 2, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, pt. 3, *Einleitungen, Übersichten und Register*, CLIII.

[6] Schwartz, "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," 48, 59.

[7] Blanket approval is found in Gerd Lüdemann, *Paulus, der Heidenapostel*, vol. 2, *Antipaulinismus im frühen Christentum*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 130 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 233 n. 24 (English: *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity*, trans. M. Eugene Boring [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 298 n. 24), and evidently Donald Henry Little, *The Death of James, the Brother of Jesus* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1971), 15-29, 156.

[8] Slight hesitancy toward the total adequacy of Schwartz's proposal is displayed by Niels Hyldahl, "Hegesipps Mypomnemata," *Studia Theologica* 14 (1960): 70-113, p. 98 n. 80, and some critical sifting is performed by Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer*

expressed their dissatisfaction with Schwartz's thesis,[9] some scholars have just left Schwartz's thesis unmentioned.[10] Only a few, however, have outright rejected it.[11] The total effect of this situation is a sort of uncertainty about the text of Hegesippus—thus uncertainty about perhaps the crucial link in the chain of tradition regarding James. This confused situation is reflected in the fact that even those who

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und frühchristlicher Zeit, 121-24, and Herbert Kemler, "Der Herrenbruder Jakobus bei Hegesipp und in der frühchristlichen Literatur," partial printing of a revised dissertation (Göttingen, 1966), 16-18. See the acceptance of the notion that H.E. 2.23.4-18 "is clearly a corrupt text" (with reference to Schwartz) by Johannes Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples of the Lord in Papias: Exegetic Comments on Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, III, 39," *Harvard Theological Review* 52 (1959): 223-43, p. 241. A more thorough critical sifting of the supposed interpolations is carried out by Wilhelm Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 104-6.

[9] See, for example, a short comment by Martin Hengel, "Jakobus der Herrenbruder—der erste 'Pabst'?" in *Glaube und Eschatologie: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Erich Grässer and Otto Merk, 71-104 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), 76 n. 19.

[10] So Alexander Böhlig, "Zum Martyrium des Jakobus," in *Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, 112-18, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des späteren Judentums und des Urchristentums, vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), James Julius Scott, Jr., *The Church of Jerusalem, A.D. 30-100: An Investigation of the Growth of Internal Factions and the Extension of Its Influence in the Larger Church* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1969), 275-77, idem, "James the Relative of Jesus and the Expectation of an Eschatological Priest," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 25 (1982): 323-31, and Martin I. Webber, *'Iakobos ho Dikaios: Origins, Literary Expression and Development of Traditions about the Brother of the Lord in Early Christianity* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1985), 248-61. Scott Kent Brown, *James: A Religio-Historical Study of the Relations between Jewish, Gnostic, and Catholic Christianity in the Early Period through an Investigation of the Traditions about James the Lord's Brother* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1972), reviews Schwartz's thesis in his history of research (pp. 6-7) but evidently does not discuss this theory later in the body of his study.

[11] Léon Herrmann, "La Famille du Christ d'après Hégésippe," *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 42 (1936-37): 387-94, p. 388, does indeed present one instance. Herrmann wanted to turn Schwartz's thesis on its head by assuming that the passage in Josephus *Antiquities* 20.200 represents Christian redaction based on Hegesippus and Clement of Alexandria. Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, 2nd ed., rev. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 47-49, also (rather tacitly) rejected Schwartz's entire thesis of an interpolator. Earlier, Johannes Weiss, *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150*, completed by Rudolf Knopf, trans. ed. Frederick C. Grant (1937; repr. of Harper Torchbook ed., 1959; Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970), 713 in the note, remarked regarding Schwartz's thesis, "That Eusebius made use of an already interpolated account of Hegesippus is not so likely as that Hegesippus himself made still more confused a narrative in his possession which perhaps had been muddled already by abbreviations and additions."

accord Schwartz blanket approval have failed actually to follow his reconstruction of the text of Hegesippus when comparing it with the other reports.[12]

It is suggested here that the time has come to abandon Schwartz's thesis entirely. The repetitions in Hegesippus's account—which have always played a prominent role in the theories of interpolation—probably just belonged to Hegesippus's narrative style; Eusebius H.E. 4.8.2 explicitly states that Hegesippus wrote in a very simple manner.[13] The other main catalyst for the theories of interpolation is the hope of gaining a purer genealogy of tradition regarding James. Indeed, this seems to have been Schwartz's primary motivation. The present paper contends that the new witnesses to the tradition about James render Schwartz's thesis totally obsolete, though the persistent haze that originated with his theory has continued to cloud this new state of affairs. Some points in refutation of Schwartz will be developed below. Of course, the balance of the argument will, however, be swung by the positive power of explanation. Thus, this rejection of Schwartz's thesis can be left for the moment, and attention may be directed to the other theory that has served to obscure the text of the key link in the chain of tradition, namely, to H. J. Lawlor's studies of Hegesippus.

Crucial to Lawlor's work—and what simultaneously makes it so complex—is his thesis that Epiphanius (not just Eusebius) had direct access to a copy of Hegesippus, too.[14] Indeed, Epiphanius's copy was *better* than the one Eusebius had available.[15] This view provided Lawlor with a ready explanation of the surplus material on James in Epiphanius. Lawlor furthermore argued for the validity of of his thesis by appealing

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[12] For instance, when Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, summarizes Hegesippus on pp. 235-36 (*Opposition to Paul*, 171-72), he has failed to follow all of Schwartz's suggestions, e.g., the elimination of the scribes and Pharisees and of the question for James from the report; see Schwartz, "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," 54-55.

[13] See Theodor Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, pt. 6, *I. Apostel und Apostelschüler in der Provinz Asien, II. Brüder und Vettern Jesu* (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. [Georg Böhme], 1900), 252-53 n. 1, for a list of such repetitions and elements of simple style. Several of the scholars who have expressed criticism of Schwartz (mentioned in the preceding notes) have also made this observation; furthermore, see some insights by B. Gustafsson, "Hegesippus' Sources and His Reliability," in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 3, *Papers Presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959*, ed. F. L. Cross, pt.1: *Introductio, Editiones, Critica, Philologica*, 227-32 (Berlin: Akademie, 1961).

[14] Hugh Jackson Lawlor's views on Hegesippus are best studied in his essay "The *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus," in *Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea*, 1-107 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912). This supersedes particularly his "Two Notes on Eusebius," *Hermathena* 11 (1901): 10-49; see also idem, "Hegesippus and the Apocalypse," *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1907): 436-44. Complementary remarks are found, however, in the introduction and commentary to Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* by Lawlor and John Ernest Leonard Oulton, trans. with introduction and notes, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea: The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine*, vol. 2, *Introduction, Notes and Index* (1928; reprint, London: S.P.C.K., 1954)—Lawlor is largely responsible for the introduction and notes.

[15] "The *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus," 9.

to what he considered to be Eusebius's mode of citation in the *Ecclesiastical History:* Eusebius can omit portions of the text he is quoting without giving notice to his readers.[16]

This last argument, which would give Lawlor's thesis considerable support, cannot be investigated here in full detail. It is of great importance not only for the text of Hegesippus but also generally for the study of the *Ecclesiastical History* and the manifold quotations contained therein. While a recent investigator of Eusebius has largely merely rehearsed Lawlor's statements about the quotations in Eusebius, apparently with approval,[17] a review of the (non-Hegesippian) instances that Lawlor cited to support his argument[18] reveals that while Eusebius, ovbiously does sometimes and without notice omit a portion of the text he is citing, most of these "significant" instances can be explained as omissions of repetitious information, of discursive material not really relevant to Eusebius's point, or of theologically offensive statements.[19] In any event, it is noticeable that the types of omissions Lawlor presumed for Eusebius's citations of Hegesippus would form an inordinately exceptional case: "the omitted portions were apparently nearly as long as those which have been preserved, or even much longer; and in none [sc. of these cases] can we count them as of no importance."[20] This already seems somewhat improbable.

Examination of the surplus material on James in Epiphanius is another task that cannot be performed here in requisite detail. It should be noted that the precise genesis of the information he provides is an important question that has not yet been adequately addressed by scholarship.[21] Though a number of notable scholars both before and after Lawlor have supported the view that Epiphanius drew on Hegesippus,[22] the evidence seems rather to indicate that Epiphanius did not have a copy of

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[16] Lawlor, "The *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus," 20, and Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius: Introduction, Notes and Index,* 22. For a summary statement on Eusebius's citations of Hegesippus in particular, see Lawlor, "The *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus," 96-97, a portion of which is cited below.

[17] Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 140-41.

[18] Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius: Introduction, Notes and Index,* 22-23.

[19] Examples of the above classifications: repetitious information: H.E. 2.23.21; discursive material not really relevant to Eusebius's point: H.E. 3.8.4; theologically offensive statements: H.E. 4.11.5. The "omission" in H.E. 3.9.1, which is text-critically uncertain, may not belong to the original text of Josephus or may not have been in the copy Eusebius based his quotation upon. A number of the "omissions" Lawlor discusses are just conjectural, as is the case with Hegesippus; others, Lawlor admits, are unimportant and perhaps accidental (i.e, can be explained by transcriptional probabilities). See also the (critical) review of the evidence by Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples of the Lord in Papias," 242-43.

[20] Lawlor, "The *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus," 97.

[21] See, however, the comparatively detailed treatment recently by Josef Verheyden, *De Vlucht van de Christenen naar Pella: Onderzoek van het Getuigenis van Eusebius en Epiphanius,* Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, year 50, no. 127 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1988), 75-84.

[22] Mention may be made here merely of J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp: Revised Texts with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations,*

Hegesippus but rather drew on Eusebius[23] for the similar material.[24] Further, no real explanation has ever been given for why Epiphanius would have used Hegesippus but have never mentioned him by name.[25]

By disposing of the theories of Lawlor and Schwartz these preliminary remarks have cleared the path to the text of Hegesippus. It is to be found in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History.* Schwartz's edition of the Greek cannot, however, be regarded as the final critical text, for he neglected to give the Syriac and Latin versions adequate attention. Whenever these two versions agree, one can rest assured that their reading reflects a very primitive Greek text. It is unclear why Schwartz did not employ this principle. In his introduction Schwartz never adequately discussed the Syriac version (or the other oriental versions such as the Coptic) or the significance of its agreements with the Latin.[26] Schwartz also never stated exactly what his Greek text is supposed to represent, though one must assume (and Schwartz seems to imply) that it is supposed to be the oldest attainable Greek of the final edition.[27] Hence, one senses at this point a considerable deficiency (neglect of oriental versions) that is recently being felt with regard to many of the "standard" critical editions of ancient Christian writings. The text of Hegesippus can benefit in quite a few (even crucial) places from a critical review of the textual evidence. For example, when the Latin and Syriac read "Holy of Holies" in H.E. 2.23.6, one cannot understand why Schwartz refused to adopt this reading.[28]

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and Translations, pt. 1, *Clement,* 2nd ed. (1890; repr., Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981), 1:328-33, Zahn, *Forschungen,* 6:258-70, Herbert James Bardsley, *Reconstructions of Early Christian Documents,* vol. 1 (London: S.P.C.K., 1935), 261, and Brown, *James,* 267.

[23] See the explicit reference to Eusebius in this context in *Medicine Box* 29.4.3. It seems that Epiphanius refers also to "others" here because he knew that Eusebius said the material was from Hegesippus but he had not read Hegesippus himself and did not really know him.

[24] See the review of the evidence by Verheyden, *De Vlucht van de Christenen naar Pella,* 67-85. The use of Hegesippus by Epiphanius is denied also by, for example, Hyldahl, "Hegesipps Hypomnemata," 101, Robert M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 68, and Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition,* 103-4.

[25] Zahn, *Forschungen,* 6:262, suggested a possible reason: Epiphanius did not like what he read about the brothers and cousins of Jesus in Hegesippus. Yet Zahn has to admit that the excerpts in Eusebius do not contain any clear statements in this regard that would have to be rejected by Epiphanius.

[26] One also misses a discussion of the citations from Eusebius in the later ecclesiastical writers; see in this regard a brief remark of dismissal by Schwartz in his "Vorläufige Bemerkungen" that accompanied the initial publication of the edition of books 1-5. In these remarks Mommsen disparaged the value of the Latin too much by saying that it has "no independent value" in comparison with the "original."

[27] See Schwartz and Mommsen, eds., *Eusebius: Werke,* vol. 2, *Die Kirchengeschichte,* pt. 3, *Einleitungen, Übersichten und Register,* LIX.

[28] He dismissed the sentence as "nonsense" in "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," 49, and on p. 50 he spoke of the reading of the Syriac and the Latin as a "very old correction." In general, Schwartz's apparatus to the excerpts from Hegesippus reflects his theory that Eusebius employed an interpolated text of Hegesippus; this theory is,

Textual Relations

Clement of Alexandria

With these remarks about the text of Hegesippus out of the way, the thesis of the present study, that the text of Hegesippus is sufficient to explain a number of textual relationships in the tradition about James, may now be addressed and verified. One may start with the report of Clement of Alexandria *Outlines* 7 (*Hypotyposeis* 7, in H.E. 2.1.5). It was stated above that Eusebius seems to think that Clement is independent of Hegesippus. While Schwartz (strangely) tried to dismiss the issue by saying it did not matter,[29] most modern scholars believe that Clement is, in fact, dependent on Hegesippus.[30] Particularly the shared mention of James being thrown down from the *pinnacle* points to dependency; further evidence is found in the common reference to the *fuller's club* and to the plurality of Jameses.

Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1

There might be little argument with this view of the report in Clement of Alexandria.[31] This will not be the case, however, with the evaluation of Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* 1.27-71. Here the dominant view is that the source of this section of the *Pseudo-Clementines*[32] and Hegesippus are dependent on an earlier, lost source,[33]

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however, of little relevance for establishing the text of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. See, for example, the comments in the apparatus to H.E. 2.23.9 (p. 168 ll. 6-7) and H.E. 2.23.17 (p. 170 l. 16; compare "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," 56 n. 1).

[29] "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," 57.

[30] See, for example, Zahn, *Forschungen*, 6:272-73, Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius: Introduction, Notes and Index*, 59, Joachim Jeremias, "Die 'Zinne' des Tempels (Mt. 4,5; Lk. 4,9)," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 59 (1936): 195-208, p. 200, Edgar J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. and enl. Robert M. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 124, Brown, *James*, 267, and Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 234 n. 29 (*Opposition to Paul*, 298 n. 29).

[31] Clement's writings as a whole need to be checked with this theory (knowledge of Hegesippus's *Hypomnemata*) in mind. The view that Clement and Hegesippus are both dependent on a lost source has been promoted by, e.g., Adolf Schlatter, *Der Chronograph aus dem zehnten Jahre Antonins*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 12, no. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894), 82.

[32] See F. Stanley Jones, *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1.27-71: Early Jewish Christian Perspectives on the Nature and History of Christianity* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1989), 5-50, for a review of the scholarly discussion of this source.

[33] See, for example, Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, 415, 438, Beyschlag, "Jakobusmartyrium," 154, Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 236-37 (*Opposition*, 176-77), and Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 244-48, 254-55. Pratscher, ibid., 247-48, states that the assumption of a common written source is not justified. Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 236-37, 245 (*Opposition*, 176-77, 183), writes of an archetype and redaction thereupon, thus implying a written source, as postulated also by Schoeps. Brown, *James*, 267-68, however, is hesitant about postulating any (literary) relationship between the two. Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudo-klementinen*, 2d ed., rev., Texte und Untersuchungen zur

though a few scholars have promoted the view that this section of the *Pseudo-Clementines* is dependent on Hegesippus.[34] One reason that has hindered recent investigators from seriously considering this last possibility is the supposed date of the source of *Recognitions* 1.[35] Renewed consideration of the parallels seems to indicate that such chronology is in need of revision and that the material in *Recognitions* 1 is indeed dependent on Hegesippus:

(1) the listing of the Jewish sects and discussion with them (H.E. 4.22.7, 2.23.8; R 1.54-65);

(2) the notion that these Jewish sects were constituted against the Messiah (H.E. 4.22.7; R 1.54.1);

(3) mention of Simon and Dositheus in connection with these sects (H.E. 4.22.5; R 1.54.3, 5);

(4) the summons to discuss Jesus' messiahship (H.E. 2.23.10-11; R 1.43.1, 44.2, 55.1);

(5) the time as that of the Passover (H.E. 2.23.10, 11; R 1.44.1);

(6) the entire people being on the verge of believing in Jesus as the Christ (H.E. 2.23.10; R 1.43.1, 69.8);

Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 70 (Berlin: Akademie, 1981), 249-50, also minimized the correspondence.

[34] So Carl Schmidt, *Studien zu den Pseudo-Clementinen nebst einem Anhange: Die älteste römische Bischofsliste und die Pseudo-Clementinen,* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 46, no. 1. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1929), 325 n. 2. Alfred Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien: Ein Beitrag zur Literatur und Geschichte der Judenchristen,* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 37, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), 184-85, also stated that "the redactor" (evidently the author of the *Recognitions*) was influenced by Hegesippus in this section. Bernhard Rehm, "Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 37 (1938): 77-184, p. 146, similarly thought that the author of the *Recognitions* probably drew on Hegesippus in composing this section. Most recently, Josep Rius-Camps, "Sucesión y ministerios en las Pseudoclementinas," in *La potestad de orden en los primeros siglos,* by Mons. Capmany et al., 163-215, Teología del sacerdocio, vol. 9 (Burgos: Ediciones Aldecoa, 1977), 170 n. 12, has stated that the Pseudo-Clementine Basic Writing very probably was inspired by Hegesippus in this section.

[35] So, for example, Brown, *James,* 268. One would like to find a reason why Robert E. Van Voorst, *The Ascents of James: History and Theology of a Jewish-Christian Community,* Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 112 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), never discusses the parallels in Hegesippus at all; that is a serious flaw in this study. The title of this work is also very misleading; it is actually a study of *Recognitions* 1.33-71. Van Voorst's straightforward identification of the source of this material as the *Ascents of James* represents a step backwards in research; Van Voorst fails to (even attempt to) explain why approximately *eighty* percent of the very little we know of the *Ascents of James* (from Epiphanius *Medicine Box* 30.16.6-9) does not appear in *Recognitions* 1.33-71 at all. (For an appraisal of Van Voorst's entire contribution see Jones, *Recognitions 1.27-71,* 45-50.)

(7) James as in a high place where he is "visible" "to all the people" (H.E. 2.23.11; R 1.66.3);

(8) James as speaking concerning the parousia of Jesus (H.E. 2.23.13; R 1.69.4);

(9) the positive effect of James's speech (H.E. 2.23.14; R 1.69.8);

(10) James as thrown down from a height (H.E. 2.23.16; R 1.70.8);

(11) (no) beating of James with a piece of wood (H.E. 2.23.18; R 1.70.8);

(12) the cry "Stop! What are you doing?" (H.E. 2.23.17), found also in R 1.70.2 ("What are you doing?") as well as 1.70.5 ("What are you doing? Why are you delaying?"; the first question here is not witnessed by the Syriac);

(13) the notion that the Roman war against the Jews was connected with the rejection of the Christian message (H.E. 2.23.18; R 1.37.2 Syriac, 39.3).[36]

In view of these manifold, fairly detailed parallels, one properly asks why direct literary dependency has been denied. An old argument—and the strongest one—against the view that the source of *Recognitions* 1 is directly dependent on Hegesippus is the claim that Hegesippus secondary in mentioning the pinnacle (instead of the stairs) of the temple as the place of James's fall.[37] This traditional argument seems to be drawn into doubt by recent appraisals of new evidence: the stemma of the reports proposed by W. Pratscher, a modern proponent of this objection, runs into difficulty at this point, for the view that the *Second Apocalypse of James* derives from the same tradition underlying *Recognitions* 1 and Hegesippus means that two of the three independent witnesses to the source of the Jewish Christian tradition (Hegesippus and the *Second Apocalypse of James*) speak of the pinnacle as the place of James's fall. Pratscher is thus forced to invalidate his stemma by assuming that Hegesippus and the *Second Apocalypse of James* are additionally jointly dependent on another tradition later than the version reflected in R 1.[38] S. K. Brown, in contrast, correctly drew the conclusion that the "pinnacle" must have been mentioned in the underlying source.[39] (It will be argued below, however, that the *Second Apocalypse of James* is dependent on Hegesippus). Another telltale sign in Pratscher's setup is the fact that he leaves the origin of the tradition in Clement of Alexandria, who also mentions the pinnacle, unexplained; his stemma fails to connect Clement with *any* of the preceding witnesses.[40]

The real answer to this old argument, however, is the following: It is not difficult to assume that one author responsible for *Recognitions* 1—probably the Basic

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[36] Compare the lists of agreements in Brown, *James*, 214, and Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 246-47. Strecker did not give enough consideration to these parallels, and his remark to R 1.70 that the only common element between this text and the report of Hegesippus is the fall of James is a gross understatement (Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudo-klementinen*, 249-50; strangely similar: Hengel, "Jakobus der Herrenbruder," 76-77).

[37] See, for example, Richard Adelbert Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden: Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2, 2 halves (Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn [Wiegandt & Appelhaus; M. Bruhn], 1884-87), 2:244, Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, 415, and Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 245 ("with certitude secondary").

[38] *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 251.

[39] *James*, 182.

[40] *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 255; see pp. 178-79.

Writer[41]—simply omitted the reference to the pinnacle, just as he denied that the "enemy" smote James again after his fall (*Recognitions* 1.70.8); the Basic Writer thereby transformed the story of James's martyrdom into a preliminary encounter and was thus able to preserve James for the framework of his rather ingenious novel. The fall from the "pinnacle" either was unintelligible to this author, was too great a height for James to fall from and totally survive (with lameness in a leg or foot), or in his mind was reserved for James's actual martyrdom.

It is somewhat disconcerting to find that the other possible points raised against the original quality of Hegesippus's report are all quite speculative and not substantial enough to merit genuine refutation.[42] A simple explanation thus seems sufficient: the source of *Recognitions* 1.27-71[43] is dependent on Hegesippus; there is no need to postulate some other lost source.

Second Apocalypse of James

The case surprisingly seems to be the same with the *Second Apocalypse of James*. The standard opinion again is that the similarities in the martyrdom of Hegesippus and the *Second Apocalypse of James* should be explained by common dependency on a lost source.[44] Of primary concern here is only the second part of the *Second Apocalypse*

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[41] Compare Jones, *Recognitions 1.27-71*, 188.

[42] See two objections by Beyschlag, "Jakobusmartyrium," 151-53. Beyschlag, pp. 151-52, first considers it strange that the "enemy" in *Recognitions* 1 unites features of three figures in Hegesippus; in the light of this he considers it "improbable that the two traditions stand in a direct literary relationship with each other" (p. 152). This argument simply does not carry much conviction. Furthermore, why should the *Pseudo-Clementines* not have eliminated superfluous figures in its effort to concentrate on the "enemy," an individual who appears elsewhere in the Pseudo-Clementine corpus? In the denial that the "enemy" smote James again after his fall (*Recognitions* 1.70.8) one can actually see leftover evidence that the *Pseudo-Clementines* are eliminating the fuller. Beyschlag then asks on pp. 152-53 why the cry "What are you doing?" comes at the end of the report in Hegesippus but towards the beginning in the *Pseudo-Clementines;* answer: because the *Pseudo-Clementines* have eliminated the actual martyrdom of James along with his prayer for forgiveness of his murderers.

Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 245, considers it secondary in Hegesippus that the scribes and Pharisees proceed against James, instead of the enemy doing so. Yet this is just another aspect of the *Pseudo-Clementines* focusing on one of its peculiar central figures, the "enemy" (see above).

[43] See Jones, *Recognitions 1.27-71*, 130-94, for the isolation and identification of this material as a source of the Pseudo-Clementine Basic Writing.

[44] See Wolf-Peter Funk, ed., trans., and comm., *Die Zweite Apokalypse des Jakobus aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 119 (Berlin: Akademie, 1976), 173, Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 231-33, 236-37 (*Opposition*, 171-73, 176-77), and Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 241-44, 248-51, 254-55. Compare Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib, ed., trans., and comm., *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg Sonderband (Halle-Wittenberg, 1963), 64, Brown, *James*, 267-68, idem, "Jewish and Gnostic Elements in the Second

of James, which begins in 61.12,[45] for literary critical analysis of this writing has shown it to be probable that the narrative framework in the first part stems from a different source.[46]

The parallels to Hegesippus are again detailed and manifold; not all need be listed here.[47] Sufficient illustration is found in the following:

(1) *Second Apocalypse of James* 61.13-15 ("Come, let us stone the Just One") and Eusebius H.E. 2.23.16 ("Let us stone James the Just");

(2) the play on Isa. 3:10 LXX in *Second Apocalypse of James* 61.16-19 ("Yes, let us kill this man so that he might be removed from among us, for he will be of no use to us") and the citation of Isa. 3:10 LXX in H.E. 2.23.15 ("Let us take away the Just One, for he is of no use to us");

(3) *Second Apocalypse of James* 61.21-22 ("pinnacle of the temple") and H.E. 2.23.12 ("pinnacle of the temple");

(4) *Second Apocalypse of James* 62.7 ("You have erred") and H.E. 2.23.15 ("Even the Just One erred").

The significance of these parallels for research is perhaps evident by reference to the fact that Pratscher has to dismiss the first one as *independent* contamination from Josephus.[48] Without entering further into the fray of the debate, one may ask if the theory of a common source for Hegesippus and the *Second Apocalypse of James* is not just an outmoded thesis that has been passed along unquestioned too long.[49] Does anything actually speak against the view that the martyrdom in the *Second Apocalypse of James* is dependent on Hegesippus?

If one turns to the most recent thorough discussion of the problem, namely, Pratscher's, one finds that he can list only one element common to the source of *Recognitions* 1 and the *Second Apocalypse of James* that is not found in Hegesippus: mention of "stairs."[50] Yet even in the framework of Pratscher's own deliberations this observation can carry no weight, for the mention of "stairs" occurs in the *first* part of the *Second Apocalypse of James*, which (even according to Pratscher) derives from

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Apocalypse of James (CG V,4)," *Novum Testamentum* 17 (1975): 225-37, p. 227, and Clemens Scholten, *Martyrium und Sophiamythos im Gnostizismus nach den Texten von Nag Hammadi*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, supp. vol. 14 (Munster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1987), 48.

[45] Funk, *Zweite Apokalypse des Jakobus*, 197, discusses this possibility but prefers to place the seam at 61.15. Funk is misled in this decision by the assumption that the double cry to kill James reflects the merging of two traditions. Once the dependency on Hegesippus is seen, however, the double cry is readily understandable as a *compression* of the double cry and the citation of Isa. 3:10 in Hegesippus.

[46] Without reviewing the entire discussion and the development of this insight, I refer simply to Funk, *Zweite Apokalypse des Jakobus*, 193-98.

[47] For this, see Brown, *James*, 173, Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, 231-32 (*Opposition, 171-72), and Pratscher, Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 239-40, 248-51.

[48] *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 254.

[49] Lüdemann, for example, fails to list a single reason for not assuming that the *Second Apokalypse of James* is directly dependent on Hegesippus; this remark pertains to his n. 20 on p. 232 in *Antipaulinismus* (*Opposition*, 298 n. 20).

[50] Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 251.

a different source than the martyrdom.[51] Pratscher also thinks it is more original that the *Second Apocalypse of James* 61.16-19 does not cite Isa. 3:10 LXX, whereas Hegesippus does (H.E. 2.23.15).[52] But the version in the *Second Apocalypse of James* is readily understandable as a compression of the fulfillment citation in Hegesippus, which breaks the narrative context.[53] Nothing else speaks against dependency of the martyrdom in the *Second Apocalypse of James* on Hegesippus; this view, which carries important consequences for the dating of the *Second Apocalypse of James*, should be adopted as the simplest explanation of the tradition.

Other Texts

Another text that may be briefly considered is the *First Apocalypse of James*. It is sometimes neglected in this context.[54] Indeed, it is disputed whether the poorly preserved ending actually contained a martyrdom.[55] What needs to be said in the

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[51] Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 167, accepts W.-P. Funk's literary critical analysis (see some minor adjustments on pp. 249-50). The same argument must be applied against Pratscher's view (p. 248) that the mention of the "priests" as the opponents of James (*Second Apocalypse of James* 61.9) is older than the "scribes and Pharisees" in Hegesippus.

The investigation of the narrative framework of the first part of the *Second Apocalypse of James* is beyond the scope of the present study. Several features there (the secret priest, the stairs, the descriptions of the crowd, the prediction of the destruction of the temple) make it probable that this part is loosely dependent on the material of *Recognitions* 1 as found either in its original source, in the Pseudo-Clementine Basic Writing, or perhaps even in the *Recognitions*.

[52] Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 250.

[53] This observation also answers Brown, *James*, 179-80, who supplied Pratscher with his argument. It is unclear why Brown, *James*, 179, claims "out of our midst" (*Second Apocalypse of James* 61.18) is original.

None of Brown's other arguments (*James*, 173-87) for the priority of the *Second Apocalypse of James* and for dependence on a common source are convincing. For example, on p. 177 Brown writes that the "lack of distinction between Jews and Christians [sc. in each writing] forms one of the most compelling reasons to understand Hegesippus' report and the Second Apocalypse as closely linked to a common source." That is far from being a compelling reason for assuming a common source; it is not an argument in this regard at all but is easily understandable on the assumption of dependency on Hegesippus. The other points raised by Brown can also be readily accommodated to the view that Hegesippus is the source of the martyrdom in the *Second Apocalypse of James*.

[54] For example, Little, *The Death of James*, and Lüdemann, *Antipaulinismus*, (*Opposition*), do not mention it in their consideration of the martyrdom of James.

[55] For example, William R. Schoedel, "The (First) Apocalypse of James," in *The Coptic Gnostic Library Edited with English Translation, Introduction and Notes: Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, vol. ed. Douglas M. Parrot, 65-103, Nag Hammadi Studies, vol. 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 66, writes that James's "martyrdom was probably described in the concluding section, now almost entirely lost." Armand Veilleux, ed. and trans., *La Première Apocalypse de Jacques (NH V,3), La Seconde Apocalypse de Jacques (NH V,4)*, Bibliothèque

present paper is that there is no reason for denying that the *First Apocalypse of James* is dependent on Hegesippus.[56] This text is connected specifically with Hegesippus by the statement that the war will come immediately after James's departure (36.16-18; compare H.E. 2.23.18). It will be recalled that the connection of the war and James's death is also found in the text that Origen ascribes to Josephus.[57] Whatever the precise genesis of this "citation" may be, dependency on Hegesippus seems probable and should definitely be taken into consideration.

Finally, Clemens Scholten has drawn attention to an unevaluated Coptic text containing the martyrdom of James.[58] Examination of this martyrdom[59] reveals again (loose) dependency on Hegesippus (compare, e.g., the pinnacle of the temple and the fuller's club). It is possible that this text knows Hegesippus via the Coptic translation of Eusebius H.E.[60] In any event, ultimate dependency on Hegesippus seems assured.

Summation and Prospect

In sum, a simple explanation of the Christian tradition of James's martyrdom seems to be the best one. If there is anything in this paper that can be generalized for the study of textual relations among Christian apocrypha as a whole, it might be that

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Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi section "textes," vol. 17 (Québec, Canada: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986), 97, writes that the text probably concluded with a rapid mention of James's death but the focus was not on the martyrdom. Pratscher, *Jakobus und die Jakobustradition*, 229 n. 3, writes that there could have been a short martyrdom in this writing but that it cannot be fitted into the lacuna 42.24-43.14.

[56] Brown, *James*, 108-9, denies direct dependency without cause.

[57] The texts are conveniently collected (and discussed) in Schlatter, *Der Chronograph aus dem zehnten Jahre Antonins*, 66-75.

[58] *Martyrium und Sophiamythos*, 48 n. 5.

[59] I. Guidi, ed., "Frammenti Copti: Nota I[a]," *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 254, 4th ser., vol. 3, no. 1 (1887): 47-63, pp. 61-62.

[60] On this version see W. E. Crum, "Eusebius and Coptic Church Histories," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 24 (1902): 68-84. The precise origin of this text may well involve something more complicated than direct dependency on Eusebius. Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 10 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910), 93, classifies it as an epitome; he is comparing it with the version of the martyrdom of James in Armenian, Arabic, and Ethiopic. The Arabic (English translation in Agnes Smith Lewis, trans., *The Mythological Acts of the Apostles*, Horae Semiticae, no. 4 [London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1904], 143-46) and the Ethiopic (English translation in E. A. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Contendings of the Apostles Being the Histories of the Lives and Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and Evangelists: The Ethiopic Texts Now First Edited from Manuscripts in the British Museum, With an English Translation*, vol. 2, *The English Translation* [London: Henry Frowde, 1901], 82-89) are obviously the same account (the Ethiopic is apparently a translation of an Arabic text closely akin to what Lewis edited) and share numerous elements from Hegesippus not found in the Coptic; the Coptic does share with the Arabic and the Ethiopic some elements that are not found in Hegesippus or Eusebius. Further work will clarify the precise relations among these texts.

one must not hesitate to broaden one's perspective and to investigate the precise origin and viability of opinions that have dominated research for decades and even more than a century. Source criticism, and the accompanying postulation of "lost" sources to explain textual traditions, was a cutting edge of scholarship in the nineteenth century. Lipsius's shadow still fell quite powerfully even on the subject of this paper (see n. 37). The time has come not only for his edition of the apocryphal acts to be completely replaced but also for an *entirely* new synthesis regarding the textual relations among these writings to be propounded. Yet precisely this new synthesis can most often be achieved only by thorough consideration (and presentation) of the history of research.

Intertextuality in Simon's "Redemption" of Helen the Whore: Homer, Heresiologists, and *The Acts of Andrew*

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This paper illustrates the complexity of intertextuality in Christian apocrypha by analyzing a single page of a fourth century Coptic excerpt from *The Acts of Andrew*. I will argue that a comprehensive or "thick" analysis of its intertextuality requires one not only to describe its relationship to the now-lost *Acts of Andrew*, but also to trace traditions about Helen of Troy from Homer through Stesichorus and Plato to Simon Magus as depicted by Justin Martyr's *Syntagma*, which no longer exists except as it can be reconstructed from Irenaeus and Hippolytus. The diagram on page 337 maps the interrelationships to be treated. Items in squares indicate textual strata no longer extant. We will begin with Homer and work our way up the diagram.

Homer's Helen of Troy was the most beautiful of all Greek women and a widely distributed sexual commodity. She was courted by the best of the Achaeans, including Odysseus, Diomedes, Ajax, Philoctetes, Teucer, Patroclus, and, of course, Menelaus, whom Helen chose for his immense wealth. Paris of Troy came to Sparta, enjoyed Menelaus's hospitality, and coaxed his wife into escaping with him. After Paris died, she married Deiphobus;[1] soon thereafter she returned to Sparta with Menelaus. Others claimed that she later married Achilles.[2] Post-homeric tradition claimed that Theseus had kidnapped her even before she turned ten.[3] Although most authors supposed that when her bothers, Castor and Polydeuces, rescued her she had not been violated, Pausanius claims she had born Theseus a daughter, Iphigenia.[4]

Her beauty and host of lovers made her one of antiquity's most notorious sluts, "the Aegyan bitch."[5] Her reputation became so besmirched that rhetoricians tried to exculpate her in order to hone their skills of persuasion. Gorgias vindicated her in his *Helen* but admitted in the end that he was merely spoofing. Isocrates' exoneration of her in *Helen* was little more than a pretentious school exercise. To most ancients,

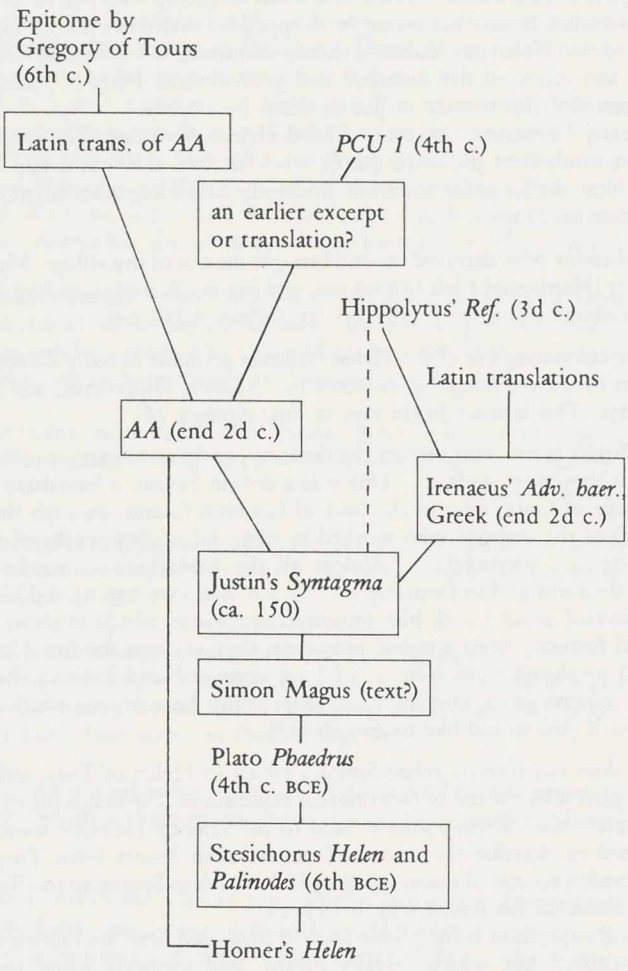
[1] E.g. Lycophron *Alexandra* 168. Cf. *Odyssey* 8.517 and Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 13.355.

[2] E.g. Pausanius 3.19.11-13 and Philostratus *Heroicus* 211-13.

[3] Apollodorus *Library* 3.10.7 and *Epitome* 1.23, Diodorus Siculus 4.63, Hyginus *Fabulae* 79, and Ps.-Lucian *Charidemus* 16.

[4] E.g. Pausanius 2.22.6, who cites earlier authorities. Cf. Plato *Republic* 3.391C-D.

[5] Lycophron *Alexandra* 850.



Helen remained a whore. Lucian traded on such sentiments in *Verae historiae* 2.25-26, where he claimed to have visited the Elysian fields and to have seen Helen still flirting, fleeing, and fornicating, and Menelaus still in hot, vindictive pursuit. When Menelaus overtook the lovers' ship, he bound Helen's lover and accomplices together by their penises "and sent them away to the place of the wicked."[6]

Christian authors enjoyed reminding their pagan readers that Zeus's daughter could not countenance continence. According to Clement of Alexandria, Paris' "clothing, luxury, and good looks corrupted the Spartan woman; barbarian foppery proved

[6] *Verae historiae* 2.25-26. Lucian also ridicules Helen of her amours in *Dearum iudicium* 13-15.

Zeus's daughter to be a whore."[7] When Menelaus caught up with her, he should have slain her; but when he saw her breast, he dropped his sword in order to fondle her.[8] Tatian too reviled Helen the adulteress (ἐκπορνεύσασαν), "who forsook flaxen-haired Menelaus, and followed the turbaned and gold-adorned Paris. . . . Euripides has wisely represented this woman as put to death by Orestes."[9]

Not all early Christians, however, villified Helen. According *The Exegesis on the Soul,* Helen symbolizes the soul, ψυχή, who fell into the world and became a prostitute. Now she longs for home and husband, like Helen, who lamented her ten year detention in Troy:

> It is Aphrodite who deceived me and brought me out of my village. My only daughter [Hermione] I left behind me, and my good, understanding, handsome husband [Menelaus]. (137.2-5, cf. *Odyssey* 4.261-64)

The most fascinating use of the Helen tradition germane to early Christian tradition obtains to Simon Magus as depicted by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and especially Justin Martyr. This is what Justin says in *First Apology* 26:

> after Christ's ascent into heaven the demons put forward various men who said that they were gods . . . . One was a certain Simon, a Samaritan from the village of Gitta, who in the time of Claudius Caesar, through the arts (τέχνης) of the demons who worked in him, did mighty works of magic (δυνάμεις . . . μαγικάς) . . . . Almost all the Samaritans . . . confess this man as their first god and worship him as such, and a woman named Helena, who traveled around with him (συμπερινοστήσασαν αὐτῷ) in those days, and had formerly been a public prostitute, they say was the first Concept (ἔννοια) produced from him . . . . I have compiled and have on hand a treatise (σύνταγμα) against all the heresies which have arisen, which I will give you if you would like to consult it.[10]

Justin here does not directly relate Simon's Helen to Helen of Troy, although he seems to suggest it by the use of two unusual expressions. The first is the exceedingly rare συμπερινοστέω, a compound related to the famous Homeric word νόστος, "return," used to describe the return of the Achaean heroes from Troy. Just as Menelaus made a successful *nostos,* bringing Helen back to Sparta, so too Simon used to wander about on his return with his Helen.

The second expression is the phrase loosely translated here "had formerly been a public prostitute," but which literally means "had formerly stood on a roof" (πρότερον ἐπὶ τέγους σταθεῖσαν). Scholars usually consider this expression

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[7] *Paidagogos* 3.2.13.1-2. Cf. *Protrepticus* 2.35.2.

[8] *Stromateis* 2.20.106-107.1, quoting Euripides *Andromache* 629. Vaseware frequently depicts Menelaus chasing Helen and dropping his sword as he does so. See also Quintus Smyrneus *Posthomerica* 13.385-405.

[9] *Oratio ad graecos* 10.3 (ANF). Tatian surely has in mind Orestes' attempt in *Orestes* 1105-1473, but he either misunderstood the text or intentionally distorted it. Orestes wanted to kill Helen and nearly did so, but just as he was about to plunge his sword into her neck, Apollo snatched her away. Moreover, Euripides was unusually sympathetic to Helen.

[10] *First Apology* 26, as translated by Cyril Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers,* 258-59.

metonymy for prostitution; indeed, τέγος of itself can mean "brothel." It is also possible, however, that Justin (and perhaps Simon before him) was comparing Simon's Helen with the famous scene in *Iliad* Book Three where Helen, atop the walls of Troy, points out to her captors individual Achaean heroes.

In spite of Justin's invitation to Antoninus Pius to consult his *Syntagma of All Heresies*, one can no longer do so; it no longer exists. Several scholars have attempted to reconstruct this work from later writings, especially from Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* and Hippolytus's *Refutatio*, but these reconstructions have met with little agreement. Even so, there can be little doubt that Irenaeus obtained his rather impressive information about Simon Magus from Justin. This is why:

1. Irenaeus's statements concerning Simon almost certainly derived from Acts 8 and some antecedent heresiological account. Irenaeus apparently had no personal encounters with Simonians, and, unlike Hippolytus who had access to the *Apophasis Megale*, he seems to have known no Simonian writing.

2. On the other hand, Justin, like Simon, came from Samaria and undoubtedly knew of Simonianism first hand, as one can detect from *First Apology* 26, quoted above.

3. The *Syntagma* surely gave considerable space to Simon; otherwise, Justin would not have invited the emperor to consult the work if he wished to know about this heresy in more detail.

4. Several correspondences exist between *First Apology* 26 and Irenaeus' discussion,[11] correspondences best explained by assuming that Irenaeus had read Justin's discussion concerning Simon in the *Syntagma* which contained points of contact with what Justin later wrote in *First Apology* 26.

5. Irenaeus acknowledges his dependence on Justin's *Treatise Against Marcion* (*Adv. haer.* 4.6.2), which perhaps increases the chances of his knowing Justin's *Syntagma* as well.

The Greek text of the relevant passage from Irenaeus no longer exists; what survives is in Latin translation. Fortunately, Hippolytus' *Refutatio*—undoubtedly dependent on Irenaeus and perhaps also directly on Justin's *Syntagma*—survives in a single fourteenth century Greek manuscript from which one can reasonably recover what Hippolytus' Greek text of Irenaeus contained. The following outline of Simonianism comes mostly from Hippolytus's *Refutatio*, but in nearly every case parallels exist in Irenaeus, who in turn depended on Justin's *Syntagma*.

Simon, who claimed to be a God, was merely adept at "the craft [τέχνην] of Thrasymedes" (*Ref.* 7.1), viz. magic. He taught that his first thought (Epinoia) created the physical world and its ruling powers, who then captured their cerebral mother,

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[11] Such as the reference to Simon's career during the reign of Claudius, his claim to be a god, Helen's standing on a roof, and her traveling about with Simon as his Ennoia. It should be obvious that Irenaeus could not have derived all of his information concerning Simon soley from Justin's *First Apology*.

continually trapping her in material bodies in order to prevent her escape to the realm of the divine. "She was the lost sheep." One of her manifestations was as Helen of Troy, who proved her divinity by punishing the epic poet Stesichorus after her death. Stesichorus, who reviled her in his *Helen*, lost his sight, but regained it by exculpating her in another epic, *The Palinodes*. (This reference to the poems of Stesichorus by Simon [or by Justin or by Irenaeus] undoubtedly derived from Plato's *Phaedrus* [243A]; the epics had vanished long before the first century CE.) As her last manifestion, Simon's Epinoia took the form of a whore, conveniently named Helen,

> standing on a roof in Tyre, a city of Phoenicia (ἐπὶ τέγους ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς Φοινίκης πόλει στῆναι). Once he had brought her down, he discovered her. He claimed that it was for the purpose of seeking out this first (thought) that he appeared (on earth)—namely, to rescue [ῥύσηται] her from bondage. (6.19.3-4)

Simon claimed that by redeeming Helen, he provided salvation to humankind (6.19.5-6). His followers practiced sexual promiscuity and issued aphrodisiacs, love-charms, demonic dream-inducers, and guardian spirits (6.20.1).

As we shall see, Xenocharides and Leonidas, the authors of *The Acts of Andrew* (*AA*), seem to have read such an account and to have transformed the story of Simon and Helen to conform with their own interests in transvaluing Homeric tradition. In a manuscript I have been preparing for several years, I argue that these self-professed philosophers wrote the *AA* as a Christian *Odyssey*, presenting Andrew—Mr. Manliness (ἀνδρεία) the erstwhile fisherman—as a Christian Odysseus. Thus, for example, the apostle is tied to his cross with ropes at the edge of a raging sea, like Odysseus tied to his mast sailing past the Sirens. Andrew's executioner is the proconsul Aegeates, "One-from-Aegae"; the Homeric home of Poseidon, Odysseus' divine foe, was Aegae. Maximilla and Stratocles, the wife and brother of the proconsul, are counterparts to Penelope and Telemachus. One also encounters transvaluations of Menelaus, Helen, Achilles, Patroclus, Heracles, Orpheus, Actaeon, Atalanta, Circe, Calypso, Nausicaa, Nestor, and several Olympians. It is in the context of this dominating literary strategy of the *AA* that we now will analyze the Coptic excerpt that is the real subject of this paper.

"The Act of Andrew" occupies the first fifteen lacunose pages of *Papyrus Coptic Utrecht 1*, a fourth century excerpt published for the first time recently by Roelof van den Broek.[12] According to this Coptic text, a hostile proconsul in Thessalonica sent four soldiers to arrest Andrew, one of whom, at the instigation of his resident demon, fell to the ground foaming at the mouth. The apostle commanded the demon to disclose how he came to possess the lad, and this is the demon's response.

> This young man whose body is convulsed has a virgin sister who is a great devotee of asceticism. I tell you truly that she is near to God because of her purity, her prayers, and her love. Now, to tell it without elaboration, there was someone living next door to her house who was a great magician [ⲘⲀⲄⲞⲤ]. Here is what happened: One evening the virgin went up on her roof to pray, the young magician [ⲘⲀⲄⲞⲤ] saw her at prayer, and Semmath entered into him to fight with this great ascetic. The young magician

[12] In Jean-Marc Prieur, *Acta Andreae*, CCSA 5-6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 655-71.

> [**ΜΑΓΟC**] said to himself, "Even though I have spent twenty years under my teacher before acquiring this ability [**ΤЄ̀ΧΝΗ**], this now is the beginning of my career [**ΤЄ̀ΧΝΗ**]. If I do not overpower this virgin, I will not be able to do anything." So the young magician [**ΜΑΓΟC**] conjured up some great supernatural forces [**N̄2ЄNNOϬ N̄ΔϒNΔMIC**] against the virgin and sent them after her. When the demons left to tempt her or to win her over, they acted like her brother and knocked at the door. She got up and went downstairs to open up, supposing it was her brother. But first she prayed fervently, with the result that the demons became like [. . .] <they> fell down and flew away [. . .] <the young> man [. . . .].

The manuscript breaks off here for two pages; when it resumes it would appear that the magician had sent the demon to possess the virgin's weaker sibling, the soldier. The virgin went to see a powerfully spiritual woman named Eirousia, who promised to send the youth to Andrew for healing.

Even though no Greek witness to the late second century *Acts of Andrew* attests to this episode, there can be little doubt that the Acts once contained it, for it correlates beautifully with an epitome by Gregory of Tours of a now-lost Latin translation of the *AA*. Gregory mentions the same proconsul and the exorcism of the soldier, but passes over the embedded story of the magician and the virgin, presumably because the bishop of Tours took exception to its insistence on celibacy.[13] Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to know the exact relationship of "The Act of Andrew" to the *AA*. Did someone exerpt and translate the passage into Coptic simultaneously? Or did someone exerpt it from an antecedent Coptic translation? Or did someone translate into Coptic an antecedent Greek excerpt? In any case, this story of the magician and the virgin contains striking similarities with Justin's depiction of Simon Magus.

Justin's *Syntagma*	*PCU 1* (=*AA*)
(in Irenaeus and Hippolytus)	
a. Σίμων ὁ μάγος	Young **ΜΑΓΟC**
b. Whore on a roof (to prey)	Virgin of a roof (to pray)
c. Magus "redeems" Helen as his	Magician tries to seduce
first saving act	Virgin as the beginning of his
("the τέχνη of Thrasymedes")	craft (**ΤЄ̀ΧΝΗ**)
d. Simonians use demonic seducers	Magus sends demonic seducers
e. Whore comes down from roof, sleeps with Simon	Virgin comes down from roof, rebuffs demons

[13] Prieur, *Acta Andreae*, 45.

f. Thus Simon rescues Helen (ῥύσηται αὐτήν)	Eirousia rescues the virgin (ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ)

Insofar as the authors of the *AA*, writing from Egypt around the year 200, could not have known Hippolytus' *Refutatio* (ca. 220), and probably did not know Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* (ca. 190-200 from Gaul), there exist five possible explanations for these similarities.

1. The similarities are mere coincidence. *Contra:* perhaps a few of these elements might be accidental, but hardly all of them.

2. The similarities derive from oral traditions about Simon. *Contra:* the Acts of the Apostles, *The Acts of Peter,* and *The Ps.-Clementines* suggest that popular traditions concerning Simon seemed rather uninterested in Helen. Moreover, an oral-traditional explanation would seem unable to account for the clever play on the phrase "stood on a roof," or the wordplay between "rescue" (ῥύσηται) in Justin and "Rescuer" (ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ) in "The Act of Andrew."

3. The similarities derive from a lost document. *Contra:* William of Occam.

4. The authors of the *AA* knew only Justin's *First Apology. Contra:* notice that only items "a" and "b" and by inference "e" and "f" appear in both the *AA* and in *First Apology* 26, which says nothing concerning Simon's redemption of Helen as his first saving act ("c"), says nothing concerning Simonian demonic seducers ("d"), and never uses a form of ῥύομαι, which seems to lie behind the Coptic (ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ).

5. *Ergo,* it would seem most reasonable to conclude that behind this passage was Justin's *Syntagma,* written around the year 150.

Conclusions

This paper has argued that an analysis of the intertextuality of "The Act of Andrew" in *PCU 1* requires (1) assessment of its relationship to the *AA,* its source, by comparing it with Gregory's epitome of a no longer existent Latin translation, (2) speculation concerning the relationship of the *AA* to Justin's lost *Syntagma* based on a comparison with statements about Simon and Helen in Irenaeus and Hippolytus, and (3) recognition of the literary traditions about Helen known to Simon (or at least to Justin), which lead back to Stesichorus via Plato. If this analysis holds, several conclusions follow.

1. Recent discoveries of apocryphal texts not only require serious reassessments of intertextuality among extant early Christian writings, but also promote speculations concerning lost writings, such as shadowy sources behind apocrypha, or intermediate stages in their textual transmission, or original versions of some apocrypha themselves.

2. Apocryphal texts, such as "The Act of Andrew," may be intertextual in numerous ways, all of which must be analyzed before one can achieve a "thick" intertextual description.

3. The *AA* stands closer to the mainstream of second century Christianity than many scholars have thought. Not only did Xenocharides and Leonidas use the writing of a heresiologist, they selected from the *Syntagma* a passage critical of a seminal gnostic thinker.

The Origin of the Miracle-List Tradition and Its Medium of Circulation

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I. Introduction

Christian apocryphal literature arose from and served a variety of milieux, and in assessing "inter-textuality" one must be sure that it was texts, in fact, which interacted.[1] The focus of the study of inter-textuality is the influence one text has upon others, what literary paradigms led to the creation of a new composition, the transmission of certain self-contained passages among texts, and scribal procedure itself. But focus can often become premise; in this case, we must be careful not to view apocryphal literature as a simple, causal network of texts, independent of their historical milieux of composition and performance.

A considerable number of recent studies, notably Paul Achtemeier's 1989 SBL address, have underscored the degree to which texts in the Greco-Roman world were composed out of, intended for, and subsequently "read" within a public, oral social context.[2] Dennis MacDonald himself has shown the predominately oral milieu to which the Acts of Paul responds, and M. Uytfanghe has described the degree to which a performative context of public reading affected the composition of early medieval hagiography.[3] While it would be an incorrect judgment to view the

[1] I am assuming that for the purposes of this seminar "intertextuality" denotes the influences of concrete documents upon others, rather than its more abstract connotation: the continual relationship among "domains of meaning" in discourse (cf. Susan Stewart, *Nonsense* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978], 13-16, 48-49).

[2] Paul J. Achtemeier, "*Omne verbum sonat:* The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109 (1990):3-27. The fountainhead of such studies is Josef Balogh's "'Voces Paginarum': Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens," *Philologus* 82 (1926):84-109, 202-40. See also William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1989), esp. 35-36, 224-33, 304-6; Ramsay MacMullen, "The Preacher's Audience," *JTS* n.s. 40 (1989): 503-11, esp. 508-9; and William A. Graham's discussion of the literary world of Pachomian monasticism in *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), chap. 11.

[3] Dennis Ronald MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), esp. 17-33; M. van Uytfanghe, "L'hagiographie et son public à l'époque mérovingienne," *Studia Patristica* 16, 2 (1985):54-62.

colorful tales of Christian apocrypha as "popular" (in contrast to some "élite" literature of the period), we must still balance literary influences on these texts with influences from oral lore, whose materials could be quite complex in the ancient world. Indeed, certain materials—stories, sayings, doctrines—shared by many texts did *not* depend on prior texts and literary exchange, but on memory, public teaching, and folklore itself—both local and widespread.

The brief lists of Jesus' miracles in the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, the Acts of Paul, the Testament of Adam, and throughout non-canonical and patristic literature of the first three centuries CE[4] are a case in point: are they inter-dependent, or derive from a common *tradition* of miracle-lists?

This paper will argue that the miracle-list in early Christian tradition circulated autonomously of both gospel accounts and traditional legends of Jesus' miracles. As a literary form the list continued directly from early Jewish lore of "the miracles of the age of the prophet like Moses," and in the first and second centuries CE circulated both orally and in the form of short, written "crib-notes" as missionary propaganda for Jesus. It was to "fulfill" such lists that the tradition and selection of Jesus' miracles evolved, and in reference to such lists that the Markan miracle catenae and the Johannine Semeia source were compiled. The fluid composition and circulation of such lists is demonstrated by their diversity across the apocryphal literature, while their fundamentally *oral* milieux of presentation, I will argue, is evident in the narrative scenarios of the apocryphal acts. But as the form of presentation of Jesus' miracles became increasingly textual, and their milieux of circulation increasingly text-centered, the composers of the lists tended to incorporate details (names, places, numbers) remembered from the gospel texts. Furthermore, while the traditional form of miracle-list continued to circulate and exercise influence in the second and third centuries CE, the explicit recollection of Moses in the selection of miracles recedes as the list comes to be associated with Jesus.

Insofar as miracle-lists derived from Jewish and early Christian folklore, only occasionally being set down in written format for specific circumstances, it is possible to understand the fairly limited set of *variations* in the miracle-lists (see Appendix), while at the same time questioning the idea that miracle-lists in apocryphal and patristic literature were interdependent.

The paper will proceed in six sections: first, the sources and ideology of the miracle-list; second, the assimilation of the miracle-list into propaganda for Jesus; third, the autonomous use of the miracle-list in early Christian apologetics and eschatology; fourth, hypotheses towards the reconstruction of the miracle-lists' *Sitze-im-Leben;* and fifth, the incorporation of gospel tradition into the miracle-lists.

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[4] APaul 10; AAndMatt 10; EpistApost 5:9; SibOrac 1:351-59; TAdam 3:1; Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum* 18.7; Tertullian, *Apology* 21.17; Justin, *1 Apology* 48.1-2; Cyprian, *Quod idol.* 13; TestTruth 32.22-33.9; ApostConst 5.7.27-28; Ps-Cl Hom. 1.6; ApocEl 3:5-10; and others. Most of these miracle-lists have been conveniently brought together by Julian Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum,* Harvard Dissertations in Religion 24 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1990), 38-44.

II. The Lore of the "Miracles of the Age of the Prophet like Moses"

The primary thesis of this paper is that in Greco-Roman Palestine (and undoubtedly beyond) there was a "lore" concerning the signs and the course of events which would distinguish the age of redemption, the eschaton, from the ordinary chaos of history, and that this lore tended to manifest itself (in literature or oral performance) in a strophic, "list" format. The particular *focus* of this lore of signs was the prophet after Moses, "promised" in Deut 18:15-19 to arise and lead the people in a new exodus and the re-establishment of Zion. That is, Palestinian Jews shared a common knowledge not only of the kinds of catastrophes and omens which might occur at the end of time, but also of the types of "signs" a redemptive prophet would perform to demonstrate his power and authority as the expected Mosaic prophet.[5]

The tradition of the "prophet after Moses" might be wielded both to *attain* popular authority (by a charismatic leader) and to *understand* the supernatural authority of a charismatic leader. I will henceforth call this tradition in its dual function the *charismatic paradigm* of the prophet after Moses (or, alternately, the *Mosaic archetype*). The Mosaic charismatic paradigm governs not only the implications of the prophet's existence and power for the advent of the new age, but also the intrinsic association between the prophet's authority, message, and power, and the performance of specific miraculous signs. The tradition of the Mosaic prophet figure was so deeply ingrained in Hellenistic Jewish culture that a general familiarity with his attributes and powers can be presupposed regardless of literacy or familiarity with the specific biblical proof-texts.

The biblical proof-texts, however, have some importance since they demonstrate the intrinsic relationship between the anticipation of the Mosaic prophet and the miracles he would perform as signs of authority. Achtemeier has pointed out the close relationship of the apocryphal Christian miracle-lists with the "new Israel" hymn of Isaiah 35:[6]

> Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened,
> and the ears of the deaf unstopped;
> then shall the lame man leap like a hart,
> and the tongue of the dumb sing for joy.
> For waters shall break forth in the wilderness,
> and streams in the desert.[7]

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[5] On the understanding of "sign" in Hellenistic Judaism see R. Formesyn, "Le Sèmeion johannique et le sèmeion hellénistique," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 38 (1962):856-81; and Otto Betz, "Miracles in the Writings of Flavius Josephus," *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: Wayne State, 1987), 222-31.

[6] Achtemeier, "Gospel Miracle Traditions," *Interpretation* 26 (1972):191. While Achtemeier sees the use of Isa 35 as a more general example of Jesus' fulfillment of Biblical prophecies in early propaganda (ibid.), I hope to show that this verse, as a delineation of Mosaic *semeia*, was *the* model and archetype upon which early Christian miracle-lists were written.

[7] Isa 35:5-6. All biblical, New Testament, and Apocrypha quotations are from the RSV.

The association between these miracles and Moses' miracles in the wilderness are evident in the last strophe (cf. Ex 17:1-6). Even more, the continuation of the hymn in vss. 8-10 speaks of a new "Holy Way" for the "ransomed of YHWH" to return, which is an explicit repetition of the Exodus/Conquest–led, as we recall, by Moses/Joshua.[8] These associations were evidently made already in early Rabbinic times, applying this passage not only to Israel before Sinai, but to the World to Come.[9] This Isaiah passage[10] not only suggests a *literary* prototype for miracle-lists referring to Jesus, it also implies a connection between a series of specific miraculous displays–healings–and the traditional typology of the prophet after Moses.

This implication gains probability with the addition of another Biblical passage, Exodus 4 (the most important scriptural proof-text for Moses' divinely-revealed magical powers). After the revelation and discussion of Moses' ability to perform authenticating signs before the Egyptians (4:1-9), Moses protests that he is unable to prophesy–to transmit the word of YHWH (4:10). YHWH answers with a fragment of a "wisdom" hymn reminiscent of those in the Book of Job and 4 Ezra 4: "Who has made man's mouth? Who makes him dumb or deaf, or seeing, or blind? Is it not I, YHWH?" (4:11). In the following verse YHWH explains that it will be He, God, who will be speaking through Moses' mouth, not Moses himself.

This small section of Exodus 4 implicitly associates the *authority* of prophecy through miraculous demonstration, the *nature* of prophecy as the divine voice itself, and *two kinds of miracle:* naturalistic performance (Ex 4:2-4, 9) and four specific healings–curing of leprosy (4:6-7), causing to speak, hear, and see (4:11). When we compare this verse again with Isaiah 35 we notice that the list of miraculous deeds has been expanded in Isaiah to include healing "lameness," while an eschatological or "redemptionary" aspect has been added, and the association with the Moses archetype explicitly maintained.

That the legend of Moses himself represented a paradigm for the articulation of a prophet's authority in classical Israel is evident already in the cycles of Elijah and Elisha; but that the Mosaic miracle-list circulated as a basis for eschatological signs in general can be shown by a late second-century (CE) passage from the eighth book of the Sibylline Oracles:[11]

> There will be a resurrection of the dead
> and most swift racing of the lame,
> and the deaf will hear
> and blind will see,

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[8] See Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1973), 170-74.

[9] See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: JPS, 1909-38), 3:78; 6:30, who cites *Pesiqta deRab Kahane* 12, 104a, 106a-107a, as the earliest Midrashic source.

[10] There are other references to eschatological miracles in Isaian hymns: 26:19 (resurrection); 29:18 (deaf and blind); 42:18-20 (deaf and blind); but these have less intrinsic relationship to a Moses archetype.

[11] The following quotation and all subsequent quotations are arranged in strophes to show the order and articulation of the signs or miracles. In the case of the Sibylline oracles this arrangement usually does not correspond to the original line arrangements.

those who cannot speak will speak,
and life and wealth will be common to all.[12]

These lines do not replicate Isa 35:5-6 exactly, but are certainly inspired (in a general sense) by its images of eschatological reversal. The addition of a general resurrection as a sign must be due more to current Jewish thought than to Isa 26:19, and most probably reflects the integration of the traditions of *Elijah* with the charismatic paradigm of the Mosaic prophet.[13]

Thus there is scriptural evidence for a typological list of "signs," stemming from traditions of the Mosaic prophet and the era he would inaugurate, which might be used either to develop a prophetic image of pre-eschatological events or as a "checklist" by which a prophet's pretenses to Mosaic authority might be compared to traditional expectations. Implicit in the nature of the list is that the *performance* of the listed miracles would qualify the performer as the new Moses or, more generally, "*the* prophet." It is interesting to note that when the paradigm of the Mosaic prophet in Deuteronomy 18 is combined with the images of Isaiah 35, the entire Mosaic paradigm takes on a more "millennialist" tone: the signs of the prophet after Moses now indicate a "New Age" and deliverance.

Scripture *by itself* is never sufficient evidence for an early Jewish "tradition," for it is unclear to what extent such texts represented popular belief. But the culture of early Roman Palestine was undergoing a crisis in the popular identification of legitimate leadership: did one follow Pharisees, one of any number of priestly sects, established charismatic leaders such as John the Baptist, or some new prophet who had recently arisen nearby with awesome promises and rumored miracles? Not surprisingly in such an historical context, there is considerable evidence that a popular folklore of the Mosaic prophet and his signs played a large part in Palestinian Jewish belief, determining both the types of performances prepared by would-be charismatic leaders, and the form of propaganda and rumors issued by their followers.[14] When Theudas led a mass of followers to the Jordan river claiming that he would divide it, when an Egyptian Jew led an even larger mob out to the desert and then back

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[12] SibOrac 8.205-8, tr. John Collins, *OTP* 1:423, who dates this section to ca. 175 CE (p. 416).

[13] On Elijah and resurrection see bSira 48:5 (cf. 1 Kgs 17:17-24); a similar tradition may be reflected in Mk 6:14-16, where Jesus is thought to be either Elijah or John the Baptist *redivivus* for his powers. On general resurrection as a stage in early Jewish eschatology see 4 Ez 7:32-37; SibOrac 4.181-82. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, Harvard Theological Studies 26 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1972), 138-43, who suggests that a general resurrection (vs. a sectarian resurrection of the "righteous"—e.g., Dan 12:1-3; Jub 23:27-31) is a later phenomenon in Greco-Roman Judaism.

[14] See esp. Howard M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, JBL Monograph Series 10 (Philadelphia: SBL, 1957); Ferdinand Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, tr. Harold Knight and George Ogg (London: Lutterworth, 1969 [1963]), 352-65; David Lenz Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, SBL Dissertation Series 1 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1972), 178-240. On the use of miraculous displays to express prophetic authority and legitimacy, see Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, "Relationships Between Miracle and Prophecy in the Greco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.22.2 (Berlin, 1980), 1470-1506.

again to enter Jerusalem, when still other charismatic leaders led crowds into the desert to anticipate "deliverance," it is apparent that an archetype of the Mosaic prophet was dominating both these leaders' actions and their followers' understanding of them.[15] The Mosaic archetype seems to have molded understandings of charismatic power and authority in the various Judaisms represented in Luke (Acts 3:22-26, 7:37), John (3:14, 6:30-34, etc.), Qumran (4QTest),[16] and the records of Samaritan tradition.[17]

Can we suppose further that the miracles associated with the Mosaic prophet actually *circulated* as lists (in any medium)? The biblical sources and their reflection in SibOrac 8.205-8 suggest indeed that a brief, strophic structure was characteristic of the presentation of these miracles even before they were applied to Jesus. It is likely that this structure allowed the "reversal" message in these miracles to be emphasized: the blind/see, the deaf/hear, lepers/are clean, the dead/rise, etc.

The list, moreover, is a characteristic sub-form of the eschatological discourse, a component of early Jewish apocalyptic literature. Such discourses present the "signs of the end" in brief, often enumerated lists, giving the impression to the reader or audience that amidst the chaos of the eschaton there would be a pre-ordained sequence of catastrophes by which the *cognoscenti* could locate themselves.[18] Any formulation of signs of the Mosaic prophet would certainly be related to these more general eschatological signs by their mutually related contents: i.e., all are materials relevant to the precise understanding of destiny in the midst of eschatological woes and rival charismatic leaders. It is not surprising that collections of such material would also share literary forms.

Pre-Christian sources thus give strong evidence of a circumscribed tradition of miracles (predominately healings) associated with the age of redemption and, most

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[15] Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.258-63; *Antiquities* 20.97, 169-70; cf. Acts 5:36-37. See Tiede, *Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 202-6; Richard A. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985):435-63; and Betz, "Miracles in the Writings of Flavius Josephus," 222-31.

[16] See N. Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses," *JJS* 4 (1953):158-75; cf. John Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman (Sheffield: Univ. Sheffield Press, 1990), 221-56.

[17] On the development of the exalted role of Moses in Samaritan tradition see Wayne Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, NTSupp 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), chap. 5; Jarl Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 36 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1985), 111-55. Josephus' description of a prophet-movement on Mt. Gerizim in the early first century CE (*Antiquities* 18.85-86) shows the early prominence of Moses in Samaritan Judaism.

[18] E.g., 4 Ezra 5:1-13, 7:26-27; 2 Baruch 27:1-14; Didache 16:6; cf. 1 (Ep) Enoch 93, 91:12-17; Matt 24:29-30. See Michael Stone, *Signs of the Judgement, Onomastica Sacra, and the Generations from Adam* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 14-18; Lars Hartman, "The Functions of Some So-Called Apocalyptic Timetables," *NTS* 22 (1976):1-14; and cf. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller, Jr. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 414-52.

specifically, with a prophet who would arise (following Deuteronomy 18) to initiate this age. This "prophet after Moses" would himself perform (or was supposed to perform) these miracles to demonstrate both his own authority and the imminence of the age of redemption. In addition to miracles based on those of Exodus 4 and Isaiah 35, this prophet might express the Mosaic authority inherent in the role of pre-eschatological prophet by demonstrating (or being credited with) such other "Mosaic" acts as sea miracles (Exodus 14-15) and feeding miracles (Exodus 17).[19]

The traditional corpus of miraculous signs which I suggest was associated with the "prophet after Moses" might be profitably compared to the Greco-Roman *aretalogy*. The performance of certain miraculous healings qualified Alexander of Abonuteichos (and even Jesus in some circles) as the "new Asclepius," since these healings conformed to Asclepian legends, and thus to an Asclepian paradigm of charismatic authority.[20] Similarly, there is strong evidence of a "Mosaic" aretalogical frame, essentially a check-list, whose fulfillment would warrant a figure with the authority of the Mosaic prophet, *and*, dialectically, would inform the specific *types* of miracles with which this figure would be credited in oral and literary tradition by his followers.[21]

III. Jesus as the Prophet after Moses: The Assimilation and Synthesis of the Miracle-List Form in Early Jesus-Propaganda

The recognition that the Mosaic prophet paradigm was one of the first "Christologies" in the Jesus movement is an old, though underemphasized, achievement of New Testament scholarship.[22] The point that has *not* yet been advanced is that a

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[19] The Mosaic paradigm for prophetic charisma and aretalogy had already influenced the legends of Elijah and Elisha (cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983], 71-77; Raymond E. Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," *Perspective*, 12 [1971]:85-104), such that while Elijah himself had certain distinct functions in the eschaton, the generic figure of prophet or prophetic precursor in early Judaism was essentially the Mosaic prophet (cf. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old,'" 438-43, 454-61).

[20] Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet* 43; on Jesus as Asclepius see Justin, *1 Apology* 54. In general on Asclepian aretalogy see Morton Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels, and Jesus," *JBL* 90 (1971):184-87.

[21] Cf. Tiede, "Religious Propaganda and the Gospel Literature of the Early Christian Mission," *ANRW* II.25.2 (Berlin, 1984), 1717-21. Obviously the Greco-Roman world saw mutual influences among the various traditional aretalogical paradigms of different cultures. For example in Acts 14:8-10 Luke considers it plausible that the inhabitants of a small town in Asia Minor might comprehend the healing of a cripple as the demonstration of a person's *divine* status—as Zeus or Hermes. But the miracle is an obvious multiform of Jn 5:2-9, which would originally have expressed the Mosaic archetype (see below). The implication is that the same miracle indicated different statuses in different cultures.

[22] See for example Franklin W. Young, "Jesus the Prophet: A Re-Examination," *JBL* 68 (1949):285-99; Teeple, *Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, 115-21 (a misguided attempt to delve into Jesus' self-image); Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, 372-87; and perhaps most recently, John Dominic Crossan, "From Moses to Jesus:

Mosaic aretalogy for demonstrating someone's status as this prophet actually *determined* the collection and publication of miracle stories attributed to Jesus. The miracle-lists themselves constitute an intermediary form between the Mosaic paradigm and the miracle collections; what evidence do we have that such lists circulated in written form and informed the selection of the miracles attributed to Jesus?

There seem to be reflections of the Mosaic miracle-list in both Mark and Q. Mark's reference is very spare, and certainly does not constitute evidence in itself: "And they were astonished beyond measure, saying, 'He has done all things well; he even makes the deaf hear and the dumb speak'" (7:37). While this verse indeed follows on the healing of a deaf-mute (7:32-36), the plural nouns in 7:37 suggest that the assertion derives from elsewhere, and may have led to the construction of the miracle narrative itself, rather than vice versa.

More certain evidence for the independent transmission of Mosaic signs appears in Q:

> Go and tell John what you have seen and heard:
> the blind receive their sight,
> the lame walk,
> lepers are cleansed,
> and the deaf hear,
> the dead are raised up, . . .[Q/Lk 7:22][23]

The presence of this passage in a "Sayings" source implies that it cannot be based on the miracle *narratives* in circulation at the time. As a text (albeit hypothetical), Q neither exhibits knowledge of miracle legends, nor supports conceptions of Jesus that focus on miraculous acts; and its compilers and editors certainly avoided Mosaic archetypes.[24] It is also quite doubtful that the editor of Q compiled the passage from Isaian quotations to fit the surrounding John/Jesus controversy dialogue (a rather sophisticated literary model—the testimonium—for a text generally agreed to lie fairly close to oral tradition).[25] Resembling SibOrac 8.205-8 and Isaiah 35 far more

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Parallel Themes," *Bible Review* 2, 2 (Summer, 1986):18-27; cf. Brown, "Jesus and Elisha."

[23] Cf Mt 11:4-6; the only differences lie in Matthew's use of present tense for the introduction and a series of *kai*'s to join the strophes. There is virtually unanimous agreement that this passage is Q; see John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988), 52-53. For the character of the Q passage overall, see now Ron Cameron, "'What have you come out to see?': Characterizations of John and Jesus in the Gospels," *Semeia* 49 (1990).

[24] Obviously Q's image of Jesus as Sophia's envoy corresponds to some contemporaneous understandings of Moses, such as those of Philo of Alexandria (see Helmut Koester, "The Structure and Criteria of Early Christian Beliefs," *Trajectories in Early Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971], 222-23), and later of the community of the Gospel of John. But in Q there is no implication of such a Jesus-Sophia-Moses connection.

[25] *Pace* Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (2 vols.) Anchor Bible 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 1:667-68. Cf. other, literary testimonia in Jn 12:37-41, 4QTest, and the oral use of Deut 18:15 in Acts 3:22-23: 7:37. On Q's

than the expanded miracle legends of the gospels, Q's list of Mosaic miracles in 7:22 more likely circulated originally *independently* of the oral miracle stories, as a rudimentary and prefabricated aretalogy for Jesus' fulfillment of the Moses paradigm.

In both Q and Mark, therefore, there is evidence that a Jewish tradition of the authenticating miracles of the Mosaic prophet circulated (primarily *orally*) in the form of a miracle-*list;* and that early in the development of Christian propaganda these lists were circulated as Jesus' own accomplishments (as much as to say that Jesus himself held the power, the authority, and the premillennial status of the prophet after Moses). The effect of these lists on the selection and arrangement of Jesus' miracles in their most primitive literary collections can be seen in both the Johannine *semeia* source and the miracle catenae from which Mark worked.

The *semeia* source of the Gospel of John would appear to be the closest formal analogue to a miracle-list, since the miracles of this spare collection seem to have been enumerated as discrete *signs.*[26] Furthermore, the Gospel of John betrays an interest in juxtaposing Jesus to a considerably exalted Moses; and the particular collection of miracles seem specifically to serve this purpose of casting Jesus as a "super-Moses."[27] It is likely that this gospel's literary roots go back further than simply the *semeia* source, to an actual list of enumerated signs by which an audience might recognize a prophet or holy man as *the* Mosaic prophet, and the era of his miracles

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proximity to oral tradition see James M. Robinson, "LOGOI SOPHON: On the *Gattung* of Q," *Trajectories through Early Christianity,* 71-113.

[26] See Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary,* tr. ed. G. R. Beasley-Murray (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971 [1964]). esp. 113-14, 213-14; Dwight Moody Smith, Jr., *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel* (New Haven: Yale University, 1965), 34-44; Robert Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1975), 13-38. On the historical plausibility of the genre of miracle-compendium, see Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," *Trajectories in Early Christianity,* 187-88. I am here assuming the "minimal" *semeia* source, of seven miracles and a conclusion in verse 20:30 (rather than the "maximal" theory of Robert Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1970], who assumes a "signs gospel" complete with introduction and passion narrative; for a synopsis of different theories of the *semeia* source see Kysar, ibid., 26-27). I assume that the "*semeion*" enumeration belongs to the source, and I follow Fortna's arrangement of the last five miracles: 21:2-8, 10-12 as the third, the feeding of the multitude *and* walking on the water as fourth (chap.6), the raising of Lazarus as fifth (chap. 11), the blind man healed as sixth (chap. 9), and the 38-year illness healed as seventh (chap. 5). I do not depend on specific verse divisions between the *semeia* source and the redactor, and so state no assumptions in this regard; I also leave open the relative historical relationship of the *semeia* source to the extant Gospel of John. In defense of combining the two miracles of John 6, however, it should be noted that we find the same two miracles juxtaposed in Mark 6, suggesting that these stories might have circulated in tandem (cf. Fortna, ibid., 100-108).

[27] E.g., 3:14, 5:45-47, 7:19-23, 9:29; and see Robert Houston Smith, "Exodus Typology in the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 81 (1962):329-42; W. Nicol, *The Semeia in the Fourth Gospel,* NTSupp 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 62-89; Meeks, *Prophet-King,* chap. 7; J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (2nd ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), 102-28.

as the prelude to redemption. The developed form in which the miracles now appear is obviously the result of extensive redaction and reorientation of the original legends.

But the Johannine *semeia* source is not the only evidence of primitive miracle collections compiled as aretalogies for Jesus. Achtemeier has isolated two miracle catenae from the Gospel of Mark, "identical in arrangement (sea miracle, three healing miracles, and a feeding miracle) but not in content."[28] The first consists of the stilling of the storm (4:35-41), the Gerasene demoniac (5:1-20), the woman with a hemorrhage (5:25-34), the resurrection of Jairus' daughter (5:21-23, 35-43), and the feeding of the five thousand (6:34-44, 53). The second includes walking on the sea (6:45-51), the blind man of Bethsaida (8:22-26), the Syrophoenician woman (an exorcism, 7:24b-30), the deaf-mute (7:32-37), and the feeding of the four thousand (8:1-10).[29]

Already we can make see some structural correspondences between these two catenae and the Johannine *semeia* source. First, both catenae (which situate their miracles in Galilee) and the Galilean portion of the *semeia* source (following Fortna's arrangement)[30] end with a feeding miracle. Now, it does not seem possible to understand the "miraculousness," the aretalogical significance, of these feeding miracles *except* as typological recollections of the Moses archetype (i.e., Exodus 16, Manna in the Wilderness); the Johannine redactor makes this association explicit in John 6 (e.g., 6:31-32), but I believe we can generalize over the three variants that they function to recall and fulfill one of the Moses archetype's constitutive demonstrations of power and authority.[31] The three "sea-theophany" miracles in Mark 4:35-41, 6:45-51, and John 6:15-25 can likewise be understood in such a typological framework, in terms of Exodus 15;[32] and the close association in John 6 of these two miracles (such that Fortna combines them in his reconstruction of the *semeia* source)[33] suggests that this sea-miracle functioned explicitly to recall Moses' sea

[28] Paul Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," *JBL* 89 (1970):290; cf. 265-91 and "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Marcan Miracle Catenae," *JBL* 91 (1972):198-221.

[29] Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation," 291.

[30] Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs*, 102-9.

[31] The use of this "multiplication" miracle already in the Elisha cycle—2 Kgs 4:42-44—probably itself derives from the Mosaic paradigm as it was current in pre-Exilic Israel. Cf. Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," 89-91, who seems to view Elisha as a distinct model. Achtemeier recognizes that the Markan catenae express a Mosaic paradigm ("Origin and Function," p. 202-5), while indicating reflections also of the Elijah/Elisha cycles. Bultmann (*History of the Synoptic Tradition*, tr. John Marsh [rev. ed.; New York, 1963], 229), on the other hand, dismisses the influence of Jewish prophet paradigms upon the Jesus-miracles even in the case of the feeding miracles, in favor of a putative miracle-working Messiah paradigm, a model which did not exist at the time.

[32] Julian Hills notes that "in the miracle lists [of the later Christian tradition], with few exceptions, the walking on the sea occurs precisely where the stilling of the waves is found" (*Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum*, 50), implying that sea-theophany miracles tended "naturally" to conglomerate in the course of continued oral tradition.

[33] Fortna, *Gospel of Signs*, 70, 101, 105.

crossing. The miracle in John 21, also, seems to be a type of "feeding miracle," and whether it was part of the *semeia* source (so Fortna) or from a separate tradition, I would see it as participating in the sort of typological collection discussed.[34]

While the feeding and sea miracles seem to be obviously reflective of a Mosaic paradigm (if not a conscious Moses typology), the healing miracles appear to be compiled idiosyncratically among the two Markan catenae and the *semeia* source; and indeed, these healing miracles include specific illnesses without traditional antecedents in the Mosaic charismatic paradigm (Mark 5:25-34; John 4:46-54). The miracle collections' incorporation of exorcism stories in particular seems to stray from the traditional corpus of miracles ascribed to the prophet after Moses. Yet it is not surprising that the editors of such collections would not adhere rigorously to prior miracle-lists in compiling legends. Not only were these editors dependent upon the idiosyncrasies of availability in oral tradition, the legends themselves would have arisen in expression of the immediate concerns of their tradents (and much disease was thought at the time to be possession).[35] The dramatic character of the exorcistic demonstration had an independent value in Greco-Roman aretalogy, to prove that the charismatic leader could even dominate evil spirits.[36] The inclusion of exorcism among most later miracle-lists may represent an "ecumenical" tendency in the evolution of the Mosaic paradigm: i.e., to portray the prophet's powers in terms of contemporary concerns and notions of healing. In fact, the constitutive healings of the Mosaic archetype's signs are scattered among the three miracle collections: blindness,[37] deaf- and dumbness, and resurrection.[38]

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[34] In fact it conveniently combines sea miracle with feeding miracle. See Fortna, *Gospel of Signs*, pp. 95-98, 103-5; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to John 1*, tr. Kevin Smyth (New York: Crossroad, 1987 [1965]), 65.

[35] See Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (Philadelphia: Fortress. 1973). 58-69. A principal example of the lack of explicit distinctions between possession and "natural" illness appears in Mt 12:22, where the decision to make the person's blind- and dumbness due to demons probably served to introduce the Beelzebub controversy following. At the level of the final redaction(s) of the catenae in the gospel of Mark, as Howard Kee has observed, the exorcism stories function to underscore a theme of apocalyptic warfare. Cf. Howard Clark Kee, "Aretalogy and Gospel," *JBL* 92 (1973):402-22; idem, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (New Haven: Yale University, 1983), 155, 161-62.

[36] This value was by no means exclusively Jewish (cf. Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana* 4.20), although an extensive popular Jewish demonology (Tobit; I En 15:8-12) may have given exorcism stories a more immediate attractiveness in Greco-Roman Palestine. Cf. also Gerd Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, tr. by Francis McDonagh, ed. John Riches (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983 [1974]), 255-59.

[37] The paradigmatic significance of making a blind person (from birth!) able to see is almost overstated in Jn 9:32-33; 10:21: we are meant to take this as no ordinary healing, but as typological and therefore a realization of the Moses paradigm in Jesus.

[38] The association of resurrection with the Mosaic paradigm is probably due *both* to contemporaneous eschatological tradition—e.g., Dan 12:2—*and* to the mutual attraction of the Isaianic oracles, so as to include Isa 26:19 with 35:5-6 (cf. SibOrac 1:355, 8:205).

Thus Achtemeier rightly observes that "the 'semeia-source' and the pre-Markan catenae mutually reinforce the idea that such miracle-sources circulated in the period prior to the writing of the gospels."[39] But while there is no evidence to link these three examples source-critically, it is quite probable that their *format* and *contents* were ultimately based on the traditional charismatic paradigm of the Mosaic prophet and its associated signs, which seem to have circulated in *roughly* similar lists. These three primitive collections served as the first attempts to express miracle-lists from the Mosaic tradition in the form of a literary cycle of legends which included location, *dramatis personae*, narrative action, and most importantly, the identity of a specific individual argued to be a divinely empowered prophet after Moses.[40]

IV. The Independence of the Miracle-List Form in Early Christian Tradition

We have followed the miracle-list tradition thus far in first-century Judaism and the nascent Jesus movement, observing a fairly continuous expression of the Mosaic charismatic paradigm in its uses. As we turn to the apocryphal Christian literature the most likely hypothesis for the continued appearances of these lists would be that they continued to express the traditional signs of the "prophet after Moses," although now under the specific aegis of Jesus, as his "prophet-aretalogy." Yet there is still the conventional scholarly explanation of these lists: that they were composed as deliberate *summaries* of the miracles recorded in the gospels or circulating orally.

This section will attempt to show the latter explanation to be untenable. In a predominately oral milieu, in which a burgeoning Christian folklore of Jesus extended the range and number of his miracles far beyond the few recorded in the canonical gospels, it is quite doubtful that the limited selection of miracles we find in the lists would have represented a meaningful "summary" either to early Christian missionaries or to their audiences. It is far more likely that these miracle-lists, now specifically attributed to Jesus, reflected a continued interest on the part of missionaries and their audiences in presenting Jesus within a traditional biblical charismatic paradigm.

Evidence that miracle-lists circulated as propaganda independently of gospel accounts comes in two forms: early church fathers' use of such lists specifically to express Jesus' *fulfillment* of biblical prophecy, and the use of the miracle-list to describe an eschatological *adversary*.

A. The Miracle-List in Early Christian Apologetics

Justin, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen all cite lists of miracles similar to those under discussion.[41] What is most important in their use of the list is the *context* in

[39] Achtemeier, "Origin and Function," 199.

[40] I believe that by acknowledging the Mosaic prophet archetype as the tradition behind these miracles (and as *the* dominant charismatic paradigm in early Judaism), one achieves a more nuanced interpretation of these miracle lists and collections than "Divine Man christology." The *theios anēr* is so typical in the Greco-Roman world as to be almost useless in understanding the *traditional* contexts of *particular* aretalogical propaganda. Cf. Kee, "Aretalogy and Gospel," *JBL* 92 (1973):402-22.

[41] See the synopsis of miracle-lists in the Appendix.

which it is, or is not, framed: biblical prophecy, rival miracle claims among Greco-Roman religions, or, strikingly rarely, fuller legends of Jesus' own accomplishments in Palestine.[42]

Both Justin and Origen draw upon Isaiah 35 as a prophecy *and description* of Jesus' miracles. That is, the context of using the miracle-list for these authors is the implications of its scriptural overtones. But only Origen quotes Isaiah 35 *verbatim* (*Contra Celsum* 2.48); Justin claims to quote a specific scripture passage, but actually gives a veritable collage of miracles only echoing those of Isaiah 35:

> Concerning the prophecy that our Christ should cure all diseases and raise the dead to life, hear what was spoken. Here are the exact words of the prophecy:
>
> 'At His coming the lame shall leap like a stag,
> and the tongue of the dumb shall be clear;
> the blind shall see,
> and the lepers shall be cleansed,
> and the dead shall rise and walk about.'[43]

The conglomerate character of the "quotation" (see appendix) suggests that Justin was not working from a text (as it seems Origen was) but from a *memorized composite of signs* associated with the Mosaic prophet and the age of redemption. The emphasis upon resurrection as a sign may, as in SibOrac 8.205-8, constitute additional evidence that the traditional list of prophesied signs extended beyond simply those in Isaiah 35, and that such *ad hoc* uses of the miracle list tended naturally to expand the corpus of miracles assumed to be Isaiah's. Origen, for example, cites Isaiah 35 as "proof" that Jesus healed the blind, deaf, and lame, but must spell out his reasons for asserting the resurrection miracle without recourse to the bible (ibid.).

Significantly, Justin anchors his assertion that a list of prophesied signs has been fulfilled not in a thorough acquaintance with miracle *legends*, but on an apocryphal text: "That Christ did perform these deeds you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate." This is a strange reference, for an Acts of Pilate such as the one which has come down to us would have concerned the events of the passion, rather than Jesus' miraculous accomplishments around Palestine (as would a miracle collection or gospel).[44] Indeed, it is not at all clear that Justin himself knew that an appropriate selection of miracle accounts might be found there.[45] It is likely that Justin appealed

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[42] Achtemeier aptly describes the early Christian apologists' view and use of the miracle tradition as qualified and largely *restricted* to such short references as the miracle-lists, "Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers in the Apocryphal New Testament," *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1976), 156-61.

[43] Justin, *1 Apology* 48.1-2, tr. Thomas B. Falls, *The Fathers of the Church* 6:85.

[44] The considerably later *Anaphora Pilati* does include a miracle-list (although one betraying considerable literary influence from gospels), framed as Pilate's report to "the Caesar in Rome." Cf. Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 43 n. 22. It is doubtful that Justin knew this text even in an earlier form.

[45] Cf. F. Scheidwieler, "The Gospel of Nicodemus, Acts of Pilate, and Christ's Descent into Hell." tr. R. McL. Wilson, in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols., tr. ed. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963-65). 1:444.

to an Acts of Pilate because he was not familiar with or confident of an oral "corpus" of miracle-legends, because it was a text and "therefore" (in an oral environment) the repository of historical fact, and finally because the *list* of Jesus' miracles circulated independently, and carried independent *significance*, from the oral legends of Jesus' miracles.

Like Justin, Cyprian presents a miracle-list as the fulfillment of scripture, but in even vaguer terms: "what had been previously foretold by the prophets."[46] The list is therefore *associated* with biblical prophecy rather than with fuller miracle legends from oral tradition or gospels; and yet Cyprian's concept of the miracle-list does not seem more specific than "by the prophets." Not surprisingly, then, the miracles which Cyprian cites extend considerably beyond Isaiah 35:

The list itself is a curious compilation of Isaianic echoes with exorcism, resurrection, and the domination of the sea:

> [Christ Jesus] drove out from men the demons
> by His word, and by the command of His voice
> nerved up the paralytics,
> cleansed the leprous,
> enlightened the blind,
> gave power of movement to the lame,
> raised the dead again,
> compelled the elements to obey Him as servants,
> the winds to serve Him,
> the seas to obey Him,
> the lower regions to yield to Him; . . .[47]

The particular conglomerate of signs shows that, while the Mosaic prophet tradition is the dominant paradigm (even in the domination of the elements), the list *as a tradition* is assimilating additional signs from popular aretalogical lore, particularly exorcism.

Since Cyprian demonstrates no certain knowledge of legends behind these miracles, and frames the list as biblical fulfillment, it does not seem that he knew more traditions than this miracle-list. Moreover, he *understood* the miracle-list as expressing a specifically "biblical" charismatic paradigm for Jesus' miraculous power (his acts were "foretold by the prophets"), a paradigm which he contrasts to the "Jews'" interpretation of him as a sorcerer.

Tertullian frames the miracle-list entirely in the context of a dispute over Jesus' legitimacy as a miracle-worker, without mentioning the signs' prophetic overtones. The Jews, he explains, considered Jesus "a *magus* by the powers he displayed"—that is, his performances were viewed *not* as divinely authoritative, but as deceitful or demonically motivated.[48] And as in Cyprian's list, Jesus' accomplishments are a conglomerate of "Isaianic" healings, plus miracles of exorcism, resurrection, and the sea's domination:

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[46] Cyprian, *Treatise on the Vanity of Idols*, 13.

[47] Tr. Ernest Wallis, *ANF* 5:468B.

[48] See Achtemeier, "Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers," 159-60; Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), 71-93.

> Expelling devils from men by a word,
> restoring vision to the blind,
> cleansing the leprous,
> reinvigorating the paralytic,
> summoning the dead to life again,
> making the very elements of nature obey Him,
> stilling the storms and walking on the sea[49]

In Tertullian's opinion, such acts proved that he was the Logos. Thus the miracle-list might be used as a spare recitation of specific miraculous displays, signs, whose precise meaning or tradition might be debated. Since Tertullian invokes neither Isaiah nor Moses explicitly, it appears that the aretalogical *significance* of the miracle-list (i.e., the local or cultural understanding of the power the list demonstrated) had assumed a wider context in the Greco-Roman world: a person credited with such a catalogue of miracles would be viewed as divine, even if the audience did not specifically recollect the signs of the Mosaic prophet.[50] Indeed, it may be said that the figure of Moses was receding into the background in some quarters of the early Christian mission.

Origen, Justin, Cyprian, and Tertullian demonstrate certain tendencies in the circulation and use of the miracle-list in early Christianity. Except for Origen, these authorities make little effort to quote the precise scripture that each believes is fulfilled with Jesus' miracles; rather, the list is ascribed to biblical authority only in a *general* sense. Probably for this very reason the authors provide a list of miracles which extends far beyond actual biblical "prophecy"—either from Isaiah or from Moses legends—and into contemporaneous Jewish and Greco-Roman signs of divine power (e.g., exorcism) and eschatological reversal (e.g., general resurrection). Finally, in the case of Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian, the miracle-list is presented as a series of signs of legitimacy, whose very performances might (to some people) appear as the work of demons (an issue, of course, which continues from the gospels themselves).

These tendencies cannot be explained by seeing the miracle-list either as a systematic exegesis of biblical prophecy or as a summary of contemporary miracle legends. The only cogent interpretations of the use and diversification of the miracle-lists must be a) that the primitive miracle-lists continued to circulate either orally or textually through the third century; and b) that oral tradition itself, with the necessities and conditions of transmission and performance, exerted the primary control over each writer's particular form of the list (see Appendix). Thus, in addition to the individual legends (or recitations of gospel lore) which obviously circulated in various quarters of the Mediterranean world, Jesus' miracles were also recited in the form of lists, whose traditional basis lay in a flexible list of "signs" of the prophet after Moses and the age he would inaugurate.

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[49] Tertullian, *Apology* 21.17, tr. S. Thelwall, *ANF* 3:35A.

[50] It is possible that the growing emphasis on domination of the sea reflects a growing mercantile and seafaring milieu for the use of these lists. Jesus' power over the storm at sea was a prominent theme in apocryphal acts and, later (in relation to saints' powers) hagiographies.

B. The Miracles of the Eschatological Adversary

The most important roots of the apocalyptic tradition of the eschatological adversary lie not in Jewish demonology (e.g., myths of Belial or the chaos monster), but in the warnings of a "false prophet" in Deut 13:1-3.[51] Like the Mosaic prophet this false prophet would perform "a sign or a wonder," but he would do so illegitimately. The image of a leader who demonstrated such *signs* of authority, while at the same time bearing no legitimacy (and even deceitful intentions), captured the paranoid imagination of various sects in early Judaism (e.g., 2 Thess 2:3-12, Rev 13:11-18), who sought to frame the advent of false leadership as an ordained stage in the eschatological time-table.

The legacy of the "false prophet" tradition can be seen in the continued reference to (or expectation of) the adversary's performance of "signs and wonders" (2 Thess 2:9-10; Mark 13:22; Rev 13:13-14). Indeed, just as one community's divine man was another's *magus*, in this case one community's legitimating signs of the Mosaic prophet were another's deceitful "signs and wonders."[52] The archetypes of legitimate and deceitful prophets, however, were so closely parallel as to be virtual inverses of each other;[53] and thus the tradition of the miracle-list, the signs of the prophet after Moses, had a corollary tradition in the miracle-list of the *adversary*—the false prophet and deceiver.

An early Jewish form of this "negative" miracle-list, found in the third Sibylline Oracle, emphasizes the power of the adversary (here named Beliar) in altering the cosmic order; however, the list includes some familiar signs of the Mosaic prophet:

> He will raise up the height of mountains,
> he will raise up the sea,
> the great fiery sun and shining moon,
> and he will raise up the dead,

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[51] *Pace* Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, tr. A. H. Keane (London: Hutchinson, 1896). esp. 142-44, 183-86; idem, "Antichrist," *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 1 (New York, 1905), 578-81; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 2:76-87. This is not to deny the *fusion* of these various Near Eastern and Jewish traditions in *certain* texts (esp. Revelation), but simply that a sect's perception of an illegitimate leader as an eschatological adversary should be seen from a primarily demonological standpoint.

[52] Cf. Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.259; *Jewish Antiquities* 20.168.

[53] Cf. Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York: Columbia, 1979), 17; David J. Halperin, "Ascension or Invasion: Implications of the Heavenly Journey in Ancient Judaism," *Religion* 18 (1988):60-61. The varying sentiments of the phrase "signs and wonders [*sēmeia kai terata*]" is a case in point: it is used at least as often to represent legitimate proof of divine authority (Wis 10:16; Pseudo-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities* 9.7; Acts 4:30, 5:12, 14:3, 15:12; Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12), as to denigrate the performance of miracles (Mk 13:22; Jn 4:48), but always in a "Deuteronomic" sense to signify authority as a prophet (see Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old,'" 455; cf. Formesyn, "Le sèmeion johannique et le sèmeion hellénistique," 881-94).

> and perform many signs for men . . .
> and he will lead astray many faithful, chosen Hebrews.[54]

The signs of the adversary are presented in the same brief, strophic structure, suggesting that the author, who was writing before the dawn of Jesus-propaganda, was drawing on a tradition parallel to that of the "legitimate" miracle lists.[55]

When we turn to the adversary tradition *within* the matrix of Christianity, where we *might* expect influence from the legends of Jesus' miracles, there is still evidence of a largely autonomous (although still parallel) tradition of miracle-list. The Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* explain the concept of these parallel traditions, in that the adversary will be able to perform beneficial signs only at the end of the world,

> . . . for then it shall be permitted him to mix up with his signs some good ones *as the expelling of demons or the healing of diseases;* . . . by the marks of signs being confused, even those must be disturbed who seem to be expert in discovering spirits and distinguishing miracles.[56]

This text seems to assume a catalogue of miraculous signs attributed to the adversary. But the negative significance of the adversary's miracles is not juxtaposed to Jesus' legendary feats *per se,* but to a "principle" of positive, beneficial signs—those associated with the Mosaic paradigm.

The collection of signs of the "Lawless One" in the Apocalypse of Elijah, a third-century Egyptian Christian pseudepigraphon, contains the earliest extensive miracle-list employed for the purpose of recognizing the eschatological adversary. The Lawless One, the text predicts in a section devoted to his appearance and activities,[57]

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[54] SibOrac 3.63-69, tr. J. Collins, *OTP* 1:363. He dates this passage to the aftermath of the Temple's destruction (p. 360). Valentin Nikiprowetzky notes that the whole miracle-list is built out of legitimate biblical miracles (*La troisième sibylle,* Etudes juives 9 [Paris: Mouton, 1970], 139).

[55] The currency of the miracle-list outside Jesus-propaganda emerges even more clearly in a medieval Jewish text from Yemen, whose references to Mosaic miracles are quite explicit:

> "He will make the dead come alive,
> and will set free the prisoners of the pit,
> and open the eyes of the blind.
> And he will bring manna down from heaven for them,
> and will make rivers of honey flow in the valleys . . .
> And he will reign forty days . . ." [Cambridge Univ. MS 890 add. 3381, tr. Raphael Patai, *The Messiah Texts* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1979), 162].

It is conceivable, although highly doubtful, that this list aimed to portray the adversary as a second *Jesus,* and was thus influenced by Christian miracle-lists. The physiognomic details and the lack of any *clearly* Christian details among the miracles suggest that this list, while late, derived from an autonomous miracle-list tradition.

[56] Ps-Clem. *Recognitions* 3.60, tr. Smith, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1867), 3:271.

[57] Sa^3 = P.Chester Beatty 2018 (Acc 1493), ed. A. Pietersma, S. Turner Comstock, and H. A. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah,* SBL Texts and Translations 19 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1983); Ach = Berlin, staatl. Mus., Abteilung 1862, ed. Georg Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899), 66-107.

. . . will say to the sun, "Fall," and it will fall;

Sa[3]	Ach
"Darken!" and it does so, "Shine!" and it does so,	He will say, "Shine!"—it does so, He will say, "Darken!"—it does so, He will say to the moon, "Become blood!"—it does so,

He will accompany them through the sky.

Saying, "Walk upon the sea and the rivers as if upon dry land."[58]	He will walk upon the sea and the rivers as if upon dry land.

He will make the lame walk,
He will make the deaf hear,
He will make the dumb speak,
He will make the blind see,
Lepers he will purify,
The sick he will heal,
The demons he will cast out—

He will multiply his signs and wonders in the presence of everyone. He will do the things which the Christ did, except only for raising a corpse—by this you will know that he is the Lawless One: he has no power to give life![59]

While the particular selection of miracles here does betray some evidence of "Jesus-" miracle-lists, these miracles have been interspersed with other, astrological signs,[60] and there is no juxtaposition, either explicit or implicit, between this list and the miracles of Jesus. Indeed, the rare insistence that the adversary will be *unable* to resurrect suggests that the author's "source" is considerably removed from those miracle-lists which included resurrection as a component sign, either for Jesus, the prophet after Moses, or the adversary.[61] It is quite uncertain, therefore, that the

[58] This miracle, of course, makes little sense as a command from the Lawless One *to* the sun (and moon).

[59] ApocEl 3:5-10 (my translation).

[60] Although the adversary's power to upset the heavens (cf. AscIs 4:5) is anticipated in Rev 12:4a and 13:13 (and before that, Iss 13:10; Ezek 32:7-8; and Dan 8:10), it probably belongs to a prior tradition associating astrological catastrophes with social doom and thus with pre-millennial woes (cf. 4 Ez 5:4-5; SibOrac 2.6-7; 3.796-807; 8.202-5; Mk 13:24-25; Rev 6:12-17, 8:1-13; Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 7.16-17). See in general Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), 202-3.

[61] Cf. SibOrac 3.66 (above), and other sources cited in Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, 176-77, 282, plus the Irish apocryphon on the Antichrist now translated in Maire Herbert and Martin McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark,

author knew that the list he was using (whether from text or memory) had originally represented Jesus' acts.[62] Considering the *Recognitions* passage above, it is *at least* equally possible that he used the miracle-list as a *typical set of signs* of a prophet with tremendous (although questionable) powers.

The miracle-lists of the eschatological adversary, like the church fathers' apologetic uses of miracle-lists, show that miracle-lists were circulating in the first three centuries CE without the manifest intent of *summarizing* legends or gospel narratives of Jesus' miracles. At the same time as such legends were in abundant and widening circulation, even becoming transposed to the early cycles of the apostles' achievements, the miracle-list as a traditional *form* continued to appear and function in altogether different settings: as proof of biblical fulfillment (and thus authority), as the ambivalent signs of an eschatological pseudo-prophet, and probably still as the typical aretalogy of the Mosaic prophet, whether Jesus or some other figure was advertised to hold this authority.

V. The *Sitz(e)-im-Leben* of the Miracle-Lists

A number of aspects of the miracle-list have emerged so far:

a) The traditional roots of its *ideology* permeated early Jewish culture rather than arising explicitly from scripture; and thus there was considerable flexibility in the relative emphasis upon a specific person or an "age" of redemption, the degree to which Moses himself was invoked, and what traditional signs were cited as criteria.

b) The tendency for the miracles of the Mosaic charismatic paradigm to arrange themselves in list format, from Isaiah 35 through Q/Luke 7:22 and SibOrac 8.205-8, suggests that people may have discussed the signs as a component of eschatological speculation, perhaps even compiling them in written form (cf. 2 Bar 27:1-14).

c) With the continued circulation of the miracle-list into early Christianity the "basic" miracles tend to expand with miracles—signs of divine power—that may have had a more general Greco-Roman than "biblical" dramatic effect (e.g., the language of the sea-domination miracles, Harrowing of Hell).[63]

1990), 149 (§3). The only texts I have found which specifically designate the adversary's inability to resurrect include pseudo-Ephraem's *De fine extremo* 9, 11 (in Bousset, ibid., 178-79, 277 n. 14, 278 n. 20), and an Irish apocryphon which likely knew the Apocalypse of Elijah: The Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven, in Herbert-McNamara, ibid., 21 (§8). Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 15.14; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* 4:234 (Aggadat Shir. 7.44), and a late midrash on Daniel edited by H. Zotenberg, "Geschichte Daniels. Ein Apokryph," *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* 1, 4 (1869):416-19.

[62] *Pace* Stephen E. Robinson's thinly argued claim that a miracle-list in the Testament of Adam (3:1) is the source of the ApocEl section under discussion (so as to provide a *terminus ante quem* for TAdam!), *The Testament of Adam*, SBL Dissertation Series 52 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 150-51; cf. idem, "Testament of Adam," *OTP* 1:990. The two lists bear no more in common than they do with any other miracle-list.

[63] Cf. Test. Truth (NHC 9:3), 32:22-33:9, which frames a miracle-list in the context of Christ's accomplishments in overturning the dominion of Hades. The tradition is also suggested in Cyprian's miracle-list (see above).

d) Even in historical periods and cultures where we might presume that legends of Jesus' miracles would have circulated in folklore or gospel media, the use and context of miracle-lists do not require or even suggest the authors' knowledge of these legends. The miracle-lists, that is, circulated autonomously.

The task, consequently, is to construct historically plausible contexts in which miracle-lists might have circulated, within the parameters of "oral" and "literary." On the oral "extreme" would be a scenario in which people were simply acquainted with the tradition whereby one who performs *certain* miracles is "the prophet" or the prophet after Moses, and his function will be to inaugurate the age of redemption.

A striking, although literary, example of this simplest oral context is John 9:17: "So they again said to the blind man, 'What do you say about him, since he has opened your eyes?' He said, 'He is a prophet'"—i.e., the prophet after Moses, who as charismatic *paradigm* assimilated miracles not traditionally ascribed to Moses into his battery of signs.[64] Indeed, almost immediately vss. 28-29 proceed to raise the question of Jesus' charismatic authority vis-à-vis the authority of Moses. If taken as an historically typical (or at least plausible) exchange, Jn 9:17 would suggest that the oral miracle-list existed in early Jewish popular culture as a matrix for understanding and articulating charismatic authority, and that in this context only one or two "signs" might be invoked, spontaneously, *in response to a particular situation.* Only in subsequent *literary* compilations of miracle-lists, perhaps, was there the attempt to bring together a veritable *catalogue* of signs.

The form of the miracle-list, however, is easily memorized, even in full "catalogue" extent, because of its short, identical strophes, reversal imagery, traditional symbolism, and quotidian relevance. Indeed, the particular variations among the miracle-lists suggest oral "multiforms" of a basic *ideology,* rather than variations of a canonical *text* (see Appendix). Thus it is entirely likely that if one were to ask a first-century Palestinian Jew about "the prophet," s/he would be able to list five or six of these miracles. The full miracle-list, that is, may have been a component of popular Jewish eschatological folklore.

A more sophisticated oral context would be the familiarity with certain images and phrases of scripture which would arise in a sectarian milieu whose central text was the bible and whose main activity was exegesis. Although they would probably be unable or uninterested in quoting such images and phrases precisely, members of this culture might assemble scriptural collages or testimonia out of memory to address particular situations. Of course, the situation, the cultural milieu, and the "author's" encounter with non-scriptural lore would control the form and implicit message of these scriptural collages, and in time the "quotation" might assume the form of an independent text. In this way miracle-lists could develop entirely out of familiarity with biblical prophecy and archetypes; their authors or speakers need not have been acquainted with anything more than the vaguest *tradition* that Jesus himself performed miracles. This context might pertain to the apologists.

The apocryphal Christian texts themselves suggest a performative context for the miracle-lists that lies somewhere between folkloric and literary milieux. In a number of texts, particularly the apocryphal Acts, the miracle-lists appear on the tongue of an evangelist, or otherwise informed speaker, in public delivery to an audience. In

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[64] Cf. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel,* 113 n. 172, 120.

the Acts of Paul, Paul recites Jesus' miracles in the course of a speech to the members of a Roman house-church:[65]

> And he did great and wonderful works, . . .
> as he raised the dead,
> healed diseases,
> cleansed lepers,
> healed the blind,
> made cripples whole,
> raised up paralytics,
> cleansed those possessed by demons, . . .[66]

In the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, Andrew speaks in conversation to the boat-pilot (in fact the disguised Jesus) while travelling to the land of the Myrmidons:

> Have you not heard the miracles which he did before them?
> He made the blind see,
> the lame walk,
> the deaf hear,
> he cleansed lepers,
> he changed water into wine;
> and taking five loaves and two fish,
> he made a crowd recline on grass,
> and after giving thanks he gave it to them to eat.
> And those who ate were five thousand men
> and their hunger was satisfied.
> And they took up what remained among them:
> twelve baskets of leftovers!
> And (even) after these things all did not believe in him![67]

The conversational mood of the delivery is maintained when the pilot, Jesus, responds: "Perhaps he did these *semeia* before the crowd and not before the high priests?" It is obvious that for this author the miracle-list had the explicit function of supplying signs by which divine nature and charismatic authority should be recognized, but that the recitation and the recognition of signs could be accomplished in as "informal" a setting as a sea-crossing.

The Acts of Phileas has a similarly conversational setting for the delivery of a miracle-list:

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[65] The narrative setting of the house-church may derive from the author's use of Lucan Acts for a literary model; but if taken as representative of an actual *Sitz-im-Leben* for the use of the miracle-list in public preaching this circumscribed location could imply that the miracle-list, and the charismatic paradigm for Jesus it conveyed, had particular force in this kind of social milieu. To speculate further, I would guess that a house-church setting would assure the preacher of a scripture-oriented and millennialist audience, while the audience would receive the list both as a reminder of biblical fulfillment and as the "ritual" recitation of the constitutive events of the new age.

[66] APaul 10, tr. W. Schneemelcher [E.T., R.McL. Wilson], *NTA* 2:382.

[67] AAndMatt 10, my translation from Maximilian Bonnet, ed., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1898), 77.

Culcianus said: "What did he do?"
Phileas said: "He
cleansed lepers,
made the blind see,
the deaf hear,
the lame walk,
the mute speak,
the withered to be well again;
he drove demons from his creatures at a command;
he cured paralytics,
raised the dead to life,
and performed many other signs and wonders."[68]

The Testament of Adam frames a miracle-list within the prophetic mood of the Testament genre, in this case the last words of Adam to his son Seth. "You have heard, my son," says Adam, "that God is coming into the world after a long time," and he allusively describes the incarnation. Then, he prophesies, God will be

. . . performing signs and wonders on the earth,
walking on the waves of the sea,
rebuking the waves and (they are) silenced,
beckoning to the waves and (they) stand still,
opening (the eyes of) the blind,
cleansing the lepers,
causing the deaf to hear;
the mute to speak;
straightening up the hunchbacked,
strengthening the paralyzed,
finding the lost,
driving out evil spirits,
casting out demons.[69]

The final example of an oral context in literary presentation appears in an allusively Christian section of the first Sibylline Oracle. While its "orality" is not established in narrative like the previous examples, the Sibylline Oracle genre was designed to appear like the transcribed prophecies of an ancient seer. Since in early Christianity there was no appreciable performative difference between prophecy and preaching,[70] the verses of the Christian Sibylline books probably represent a type of oral propaganda used throughout late antique Christianity.

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[68] APhileas 6, tr. Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 334-35, quoted in Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 41.

[69] T.Adam 3:1, tr. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam*, 58-61.

[70] Obviously the various forms of sacred communication could be distinguished by participants on the basis of their relative authority (cf. 1 Cor 12). In maintaining "performative" similarities for the purpose of using the Sibylline Oracles as evidence, I am drawing on Roger D. Abrahams' analysis of performative contexts in "Complex Relations of Simple Forms," *Folklore Genres*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas, 1976), 193-215.

Then indeed he will cure the sick
and all who are blemished, as many as put faith in him.
The blind will see,
and the lame will walk.
The deaf will hear;
those who cannot speak will speak.
He will drive out demons,
there will be a resurrection of dead;
he will walk the waves,
and in a desert place he will satisfy five thousand
from five loaves
and a fish of the sea,
and the leftovers of these
will fill twelve baskets
for the hope of the peoples.[71]

This passage is essentially a Jewish miracle-list in the model of Isaiah 35 and SibOrac 8.205-8. The miracle-worker is not named, and is not even instrumental to the five central miracles (blind, lame, deaf, dumb, resurrection). As in the earliest examples of the miracle-list, these miracles are "passive" and describe the character of the age rather than the achievements of an individual. The only indication of this list's Christian intentions—its "fulfillment" with the divine man Jesus—is the additional detail in the feeding miracle, to be discussed below.

In these five examples from apocryphal Christian literature the miracle-list appears in the context of an abbreviated *oral* discourse on the *arētai* of Jesus. It is a logical step to assume that the miracle-lists themselves were employed in such oral contexts, presumably missionary preaching. But would the lists then function in lieu of, or in implicit addition to, fuller legends of the same miracles? Because the lists appear in such consistent form, and yet with distinct variations, from earliest times through late antiquity, it is highly likely that they had independent function and significance in oral missionary propaganda. Presumably, their continuity implies the continued validity and power of the traditional charismatic paradigm (even if the figure of Moses himself has receded from the miracles' symbolism).[72]

The miracle-lists' form may also have lent itself to the public delivery of *fuller* legends of Jesus, as "crib-notes" for the organization of a lengthy "story-telling." Thus, while taking seriously the oral narrative settings of the apocryphal Christian miracle-lists, we might move into a *Sitz-im-Leben* of greater "textuality," in which the miracle-lists were carried around in written form as an outline for preaching an oral "miracle-gospel" or simply for telling a series of miracle-legends. The miracle-lists would then constitute an effort to rein-in and canonize the oral tradition of Jesus'

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[71] SibOrac 1.351-59, tr. J. Collins, *OTP* 1:343.

[72] The narrative contexts of these apocryphal examples of the miracle-list mirror the settings of the evangelical discourses in the beginning of Acts. Although themselves lacking miracle-lists, and using the title *christos* rather than *prophētēs*, the speeches of Peter (chaps. 2-3) and Stephen (chap. 7) do seem to convey a charismatic paradigm for Jesus that is rooted in the lore of the prophet: he is "attested . . . with mighty works and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst" (2:22); and he is the prophet after Moses (3:22-26, 7:37, 52, cf. 7:20-53 *passim*).

miracles, perhaps in an effort to direct audiences' understandings of such miracles towards a traditionally Jewish charismatic paradigm (as opposed to some other traditional paradigm of divine man).

These hypothetical miracle-list *texts* formally resemble another aretalogical genre apparently in circulation in the first-century Jesus movement, namely, the "letters of recommendation" carried by certain preachers around Corinth, whom Paul decries (2 Cor 3:1).[73] These letters apparently held the "*sēmeia* of a true apostle," which might be "performed . . . with signs and wonders and mighty works," (12:12), language which precisely recalls the tradition and aretalogy of the Mosaic paradigm (and the prophet-movements of pre-70 Judea). Indeed, Dieter Georgi has argued that Paul's opponents at Corinth had a special commmitment to a "Mosaic" paradigm for Jesus, his powers, and the extension of his powers into the community of believers (particularly the leaders).[74]

Georgi himself does not think the contents of such letters were simply miracle-lists, but rather fuller accounts of their bearers' miraculous displays—which may or may not have adhered to the Mosaic miracle-list. Yet in the *Recognitions* passage cited earlier the apostle Peter in fact uses a miracle-list of Jesus to legitimize *himself* (in competition with Simon Magus):

> [Jesus] gave sight to the blind
> and hearing to the deaf,
> raised up the feeble and the lame,
> drove away sicknesses and demons,
> raised the dead,
> and did other like things,
> as you see also that I [Peter] do.[75]

Indeed, throughout apocryphal Christian tradition the apostles were credited with performing "Jesus-type" miracles,[76] so it is certainly possible that missionaries used miracle-lists to compare their own powers to Jesus the Mosaic prophet—"Jesus did X, Y, and Z, and so have I!"

But even this "apostolic" use of miracle-lists has an oral context—public self-presentation and preaching—while the "letters of recommendation" are manifestly literary in form and composition. For our purposes, Georgi's arguments suggest that Corinth may have been a *typical* milieu for the Mosaic miracle-list of Jesus to have gained popularity and aretalogical value. Thus they might indicate *how* the charismatic paradigm of the Mosaic prophet might have held—independently of the gospels and the legends of Jesus—wide and popular importance in Roman Jewish culture and the Mediterranean world in general.

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[73] Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986 [1964]), 242-46: "The letters of recommendation thus were something like chronicles of the deeds of pneumatic power performed by the adversaries of Paul. The demonstrations of such power, the remuneration, and the letters of recommendation all confirmed their active possession of such gifts" (244). Cf. Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," 189-90.

[74] Georgi, *Opponents of Paul*, 236, 246-64: "The opponents were mainly interested in the earthly existence of Jesus as a figure comparable to Moses" (271).

[75] Ps-Cl *Rec.* 3.60, tr. Smith, *ANCL* 3:271.

[76] See Achtemeier, "Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers," 150-52, 161-77.

The most "literary" *Sitz-im-Leben* for the miracle-list is suggested both by the uses of the list in the Sibylline Oracles,[77] and by the presence of analogous lists in apocalyptic literature:[78] that is, literary eschatological speculation. It is entirely conceivable that such miracle-lists were assembled in the same "prophetic" mode as Isaiah 35 and Deuteronomy 18, to describe a miracle-working prophet who *would* arrive in the last days. The considerable lore which came to surround Enoch and Elijah's return in late antique Judaism and Christianity provides a context for the miracle-list's continued *eschatological* function in describing the advent of the Mosaic prophet.[79] Elijah himself, predicted to return as eschatological Precurser in Mal 4:5-6, largely takes over the role of last prophet in early and medieval Judaism, but this may be because the tradition of his return actually reflects (in a general sense) the Deuteronomic "promise" of a prophet after Moses.[80] In medieval Judaism it was a *Messiah* who was supposed to perform miraculous signs.[81] These diverse themes occupied Jewish literature throughout late antiquity as part of an entire domain of apocalyptic and rabbinic speculation. Thus the miracle-list, like other lists of eschatological "signs," could be integrated into the literature of eschatological speculation as an additional revelation of the last things.

I have suggested six *Sitze-im-Leben* in which the miracle-lists and their ideology could function meaningfully: a) the list had a subtle, virtually *latent* presence in early Jewish popular culture, such that people were familiar with the traditional significance of certain miracles; b) a fuller eschatological lore in early Jewish popular culture meant that whole miracle-lists of the traditional prophet after Moses were known and discussed; c) in more circumscribed (sectarian) groups oriented towards scriptural exegesis, a more explicitly biblical awareness of Mosaic typologies and prophecies led individuals to develop and discuss miracle-lists expressly as the fulfillment of scripture; d) the lists were recited orally as missionary propaganda, meant for such milieux as (a) and (b).

In these first four contexts it is not necessary that the people be Christian, that they be familiar with Jesus' miracles, or that they have even heard of Jesus. Even in (d) one could conceive of aretalogical propaganda for other popular Jewish leaders

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[77] On apocalyptic "lists" see above, n.18. Earlier I used SibOrac 1.351-59 as an example of oral context because of the genre's oral conceit—its self-presentation as a text. This does not contradict my current use of Sibylline miracle-lists to demonstrate their *literary* nature, because the Sibylline oracles are, in fact, literary texts manifesting such self-conscious literary traits as acrostics (8.217-50). The Sibyllines may thus be used as examples of both *oral* and *literary* media.

[78] See above, note 18.

[79] See Richard Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" *JBL* 95 (1976): 447-58.

[80] That is, Moses *himself* was not supposed to return, but rather a "prophet like" him. Elijah, however, was supposed to return. Elijah is already associated with the performance of signs in bSira 48:3-6 and SibOrac 2.187-89. See in general Joachim Jeremias, "HEL(E)IAS," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 2:928-41.

[81] See in general Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* 4:233-35; Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 3rd ed. tr. W. F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 502-17.

and prophets in Greco-Roman Palestine or Syria. The fifth alternative, however, may require a more developed and complex miracle tradition and missionary organization than (d): that is, e) missionaries carried miracle-lists in textual form as "crib-notes" for the oral delivery of full legends of Jesus' accomplishments, and these diverse fragmentary outlines found their way into the apocryphal acts. However, if this context were normative one would expect greater consistency among the lists.

Finally, f) the miracle-list was a component of eschatological speculation in apocalyptic literature, added to eschatological discourses as part of the complex literary endeavor of apocalypticism. This sixth alternative, also, does not require Christian influence or acquaintance with Jesus traditions, for the miracle-list would have value and function independent of Jesus lore.

VI. The Incorporation of Gospel Traditions

Thus we can account for the origin, nature, form, and diversity of miracle-lists without recourse to gospels or even to oral Jesus legends. From the very beginning these lists articulated a traditional charismatic paradigm, the Mosaic prophet, while their subsequent circulation—even as aretalogy for Jesus—reflected this paradigm and a *Sitz-im-Leben* in oral exchange or performance.

But the later literary record of the miracle-lists as revealed in the apocryphal acts of the apostles shows that they began to incorporate specific details of miracles from the gospel tradition. This incorporation seems to have occurred in two ways: a) details were added primarily to *feeding* miracles; or b) the miracle-list was itself incorporated into a creed or gospel epitome and augmented in this context.

The first form of the miracle-list's extension may be illustrated by SibOrac 1.351-59 and Acts of Andrew and Matthias 10, both quoted above.[82] Their use of additional detail for the feeding miracle is probably drawn from oral, rather gospel tradition, and meant to achieve a dramatic effect similar to that of the healing miracles. The "reversal" structure of the healing signs would not function in such a verse as "he fed many in the wilderness," and so the writers of these lists compounded the final amount of loaves and fishes versus the few that began, using numerical details from gospel tradition. The compounding technique resembles that used in the Markan catenae and the Johannine *semeia* source, but in this case the consistency of the numerical details suggests the authors' knowledge of the gospels themselves (rather than the idiosyncrasies of oral tradition).

While partly explicable by its dramatic effect, the writers' choice in SibOrac 1 and Acts of Andrew and Matthias to detail the *feeding miracle* is still highly significant. It is precisely this miracle which reflects most fundamentally a Mosaic typology, as the Gospel of John makes explicit (chap. 6). Thus we might conclude that even with their additions to the "spare" miracle-list, the authors of the Acts of Andrew and Matthias and this section of SibOrac 1 have maintained the traditional ideology of the miracle-list in reflecting the charismatic paradigm of the Mosaic prophet. This continuity of an explicitly Mosaic paradigm in second- or third-century miracle-lists

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[82] SibOrac 1.351-59 in fact belongs to an extensive prophecy of Jesus' advent and rejection; but the details are so abstract and independent of the gospels' literary influence that comparing it to the "epitomizing" miracle-lists does not seem to make sense.

is not so dubious an inference, for in a similar fashion the long poem on Christ in SibOrac 8.251-336 begins, "Moses prefigured him, stretching out his holy arms, . . . ," and then includes, predictably, special emphasis on Jesus' multiplication of loaves:

> He will stop the winds with a word.
> He will calm the raging sea by walking on it
> with feet of peace and with faith.
> From five loaves and a fish of the sea
> he will satisfy five thousand men in the desert,
> and taking all the leftover fragments,
> he will fill twelve baskets
> for the hope of the peoples.[83]

But generally those miracle-lists which have been integrated into (or composed as part of) a creed or aretalogical résumé of Jesus' life tend not to continue the "Mosaic" overtones of the traditional miracle-lists. The miracle-list in SibOrac 6, a Christian poem on Christ, includes only the following: "He will walk the waves; he will undo the sickness of men; he will raise the dead. He will repel many woes" (ll. 13-14). The Epistula Apostolorum has extended the miracle-list to conform to gospel tradition as part of a lengthy statement of theological doctrine:

> Then there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee.
> And he was invited with his mother and his brothers.
> And he made water into wine
> and awakened the dead
> and made the lame to walk;
> and for him whose hand was withered,
> he stretched it out again. . .
> Then he made the deaf to hear
> and the blind to see,
> and he exorcised those who were possessed
> and he cleansed the lepers. . .
> Then he walked on the sea, and the winds blew,
> and he rebuked them,
> and the waves of the sea became calm. . . .[84]

Julian Hills has pointed out that the opening details which frame the assertion, "he made water into wine," conform so explicitly to Johannine tradition and diction that they may well be the author's deliberate addition.[85] Indeed, without these details the miracle-list reads similarly to other, more primitive ones in the tradition. This suggests that the author indeed took a pre-existing *text* of a miracle-list, divided it (among vss. 5:2, 5:9, and 5:13) to conform to a biographical scheme, and supplemented it from his acquaintance with gospel literature, with full accounts of the miracles of the woman with the twelve years' flow (5:3-8; cf. Mark 5:25-34), the exorcism of

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[83] SibOrac 8.273-78, tr. J. Collins, *OTP* 1:424. There is an obvious literary source-relationship to SibOrac 1.357-59, although the direction of influence is unclear.

[84] Epist.Apost. 4.1-2, 9, 13, tr. Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 48, 49, 50.

[85] Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 48-49.

the demon "Legion" (5:10-12; cf. Mark 5:2-13), and the feeding of the five thousand (5:17-20; cf. Mark 6:32-44, John 6:1-13). The result, as Hills aptly notes, is an aretalogical discourse;[86] but the *tradition* behind the aretalogy—the charismatic paradigm determining the particular selection of miracles—is no longer the Mosaic prophet, and appears to be distinctly the author's invention.[87]

One miracle-list was clearly composed on the basis of gospel literature; and its formal indications of literary "summarizing" provide a point of comparison with the other miracle-lists examined thus far: Hippolytus writes,

> This is Jesus the Nazarene,
> who was invited to the wedding in Cana,
> and changed the water into wine;
> and reproves the sea which is tossed
> by the force of the winds.
> And he walks on the sea as on dry land,
> and makes a man born blind see,
> and makes Lazarus, a four-day-dead corpse, rise again,
> and performs all sorts of acts of power,
> and forgives sins and gives authority to his disciples.[88]

Exhibiting so much specific detail (Cana, Lazarus, four-days-dead), the passage obviously aims to reflect a "faithfulness" to scripture which we have shown to be fundamentally alien to early Christian miracle-lists, even those which circulated at the same time as the early gospels. Hippolytus has apparently composed this out of whole cloth (apparently the Gospel of John), either in ignorance of or rebuttal to the "Mosaic" lists.

In all instances of the miracle-lists' "expansion" and integration with creeds or gospel epitomes we can conclude that the author was connecting a miracle-list (whether oral or written) with additional traditions of Jesus' power, origin, nature, or biography. The miracle-lists continued to reflect a traditional *archetype* of charismatic power rooted in the image of the Mosaic prophet, although in general the authors of Christian apocrypha received them as specifically describing *Jesus'* achievements. Their editorial work consisted of creating an aretalogy which unmistakably and uniquely described Christ. The additional materials from which they synthesized this aretalogy reflected not only the authors' relative acquaintance with specific gospel texts (Epist.Apost.), but also the gradual sophistication (or even "canonization") of the oral tradition of miracle legends and the broadening influence of public readings from Christian texts in the Mediterranean world in late antiquity. The tradition of Jesus' miracles thus gathered more consistent and greater detail than in the first two centuries, when a large portion of Christian missions preached Jesus' power (and perhaps their own too) independently and often specifically as an expression or "fulfillment" of the Mosaic paradigm. We might conclude, therefore, that the re-synthesis of the miracle-list in connection with gospel traditions reflects the

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[86] Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 53-54.

[87] Cf. Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 65-66.

[88] Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, tr. Butterworth, *Hippolytus of Rome: Contra Noetum*, Heythrop Monographs 2 (London: Heythrop, 1977), 90-91, quoted in Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 40.

increasing "scribality" (or book-centeredness) of the Christian movement, which itself is related in turn to the process of literary canonization.

And finally, where at one time an audience would have recognized in the miracle-list the signs and fulfillment of the "prophet after Moses"—and hence believed themselves to be seeing the dawn of the new age—, the miracle-list in subsequent centuries (and more distant regions) had the effect only of preaching a *theios anēr* with magnificent and compassionate powers over both nature and physical infirmity. The traditional paradigm of the Mosaic prophet would have been lost on those unacquainted with Jewish eschatology.

VII. Conclusion

This attempt at writing a "history" of the miracle-list in early Judaism and Christianity has considerable bearing on the construction of the Apocryphal Acts and on the concept of "intertextuality" in late antiquity. The authors of these texts participated in an oral culture, whose lore and conventions affected the literary motifs and structures from which they assembled narrative. A component of this culture was the miracle-list and its underlying ideology of the Mosaic charismatic paradigm; indeed, the miracle-list, resonating with the archaic power of biblical prophecy, functioned particularly as *traditional* propaganda for "divine men." But inasmuch as the lists were announced and circulated orally, the ways in which they were remembered, recorded, and placed in the mouths of Sibyls and apostles necessarily *varied* tremendously. The power lay in the signs themselves, reported in brief strophes, rather than in some cohesive structure.

We have seen that very few lists exhibit knowledge of full gospels or even legends of Jesus' miracles; but no lists whatsoever parallel each other to the degree that we could infer a literary relationship. That is, the miracle-lists are an example of a literary element which was common to many early Christian texts but had no common source or lineage except the vagaries of folklore. What is striking about the miracle-list (in contrast to other motifs and forms drawn from late antique folklores) is its consistent *structure* and *range of images*. The miracle-lists thus serve to enhance our understanding of folklore itself, and of the Apocryphal Acts' less concrete sources.

APPENDIX

A Synopsis of Miracle-Lists

This synopsis represents a selection of only the earliest examples of the miracle-list. As a standard of comparison among miracle-lists I use Isaiah 35:5-6, which is the earliest example of the form, then the miracles attributed to Moses in Exodus chapters 4, 14-17, and then the resurrection miracle added to the tradition through the Elijah cycle (1 Kgs 17:17-24; cf. bSir 48:5). Thus A = blind/see; B = deaf/hear; C = lame/walk (for Christian lists, C_1 = cripples; C_2 = paralytics); D = dumb/talk; E = leprosy/cleansed (Ex 4:7-8; cf. 2 Kgs 5:1-14); F = sea/controlled (Ex 14-15); G = hungry multitude/fed (Ex 16; cf. 1 Kgs 17:10-16; 2 Kgs 4:42-44; for Christian lists, G_1 = water-to-wine);[89] H = resurrection. For Christian miracle lists the letter I

[89] It seems fairly evident that the water-into-wine miracle at the Cana wedding (Jn

will represent exorcism, while J will stand for a general healing of the "sick."[90] Q's miracle-list, as the earliest example of the form used as propaganda for Jesus, has been highlighted below.

Isa 35	A	B	C	D					
Ex 4					E				
Ex 14-15						F			
Ex 16							G		
Elijah Cycle								H[91]	
Elisha Cycle[92]	F	G	H	G	E				
SibOrac 8.205ff	H	C	B	A	D				
Q/Luke 7:22	**A**	**C**	**E**	**B**	**H**				
Mark Catena 1	F	I	J	H	G				
Mark Catena 2	F	A	I	B,D	G				
John-Semeia[93]	G_1	J	F,G	G,F	H	A	$A/C_1/C_2$[94]		
Justin	C	D	A	E	H				
Tertullian	I	A	E	C_2	H	F			
Cyprian	I	C_2	E	A	C	H	F		
APaul	H	J	E	A	C_1	C_2	I		
AAndMatt	A	C	B	E	G_1	G			
APhileas	E	A	C	B	C_1?	I	C_2	H	
TAdam	F	A	E	B	D	C_1?	C_2	I	I

[90] Jn-Semeia: the official's son *esthenei* (4:46) with *ho pyretos* (4:52); Mk Catena 1: the woman's flow of blood; SibOrac 1:351: *noserous iesetai;* cf. APaul 10 ("he healed diseases").

[91] The actual arrangement of miracles in the Elijah cycle would be: weather (1 Kgs 17:1-7); G (1 Kgs 17:11-16); H (1 Kgs 17:17-24); weather (1 Kgs 18:42-45); F (2 Kgs 2:7-8).

[92] See Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," 90-95. There are other miracles in this cycle (as there are in the legend of Moses); those that I have listed here are merely illustrative of the continuity of certain basic miracles.

[93] According to Fortna's arrangement; see above, note 26. The extant text of John would give miracles in this order:

G_1 J $A/C_1/C_2$ G,F A H G,F

[94] John 5:3 specifies the *asthenountoi* lying at the pool of Bethsaida as "blind, lame, paralyzed." The character whom Jesus cures presumably has one or more of these conditions.

SibOrac 1.351ff	J	?[95]	A	C	B	D	I	H	F	G
EpistApost	G_1	H	C	C_1?	B	A	I	E	F	

Eschatological Adversary

SibOrac 3.63ff	F	H							
ApocEl	F	C	B	D	A	E	J	I	[H]

[95] "Those who are blemished [*epimōmous*]."

Tradition, Redaction, and Intertextuality: Miracle Lists in Apocryphal Acts as a Test Case

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Introduction

Few forms are as persistent in early Christian literature as the "miracle list" or "catalogue of wonders." Miracle lists, to be distinguished from the *semeia* source widely held to have been a forerunner to the Gospel of John, and from the series of miracle *stories* or "miracle catenae" claimed to stand behind the Gospel of Mark,[1] are the most simple of miracle forms: summaries, as if by title or essential content, of mighty deeds.[2] A working inventory of miracle lists, gathered in the Appendix,[3] reveals that they are found within a wide variety of host genres, and in writings from the second century (e.g., Justin) to the sixth and later centuries (e.g., *History of St. John*).

The present study examines the miracle lists in selected apocryphal Acts as a

[1] See especially Paul J. Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," *JBL* 89 (1970) 265-91; idem, "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Marcan Miracle Catemae," *JBL* 91 (1972) 198-221. As for the relation between Marcan and Johannine sources, Achtemeier ("Origin and Function," 199) remarks that "the 'semeia-source' and the pre-Marcan catenae mutually reinforce the idea that such miracle-sources circulated in the period prior to the writing of the gospels, but there is nothing to link them, or indicate they owe their origin to a common source."

[2] In the sayings tradition there is an analogy in the summaries of Jesus' sayings, including parables, found, e.g., in the *Apocryphon of James* (NHC 1, 2) 8.4-10; and in the *Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC 3, 5) 53:139.8-11.

[3] This inventory, including bibliographical information for works quoted and cited below, is expanded from the selection of miracle lists in Julian Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum* (HDR 24; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 40-44. (Text-critical data for the variants cited is provided in the introductions to the editions listed in the Appendix; variant readings quoted below are those relevant to the discussion or illustrative of particular textual complexity.) A similar set of references is given in Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1909) 363-68, and in Achtemeier, "Origin and Function," 199 n. 2.

limited but clear-cut test case for questions of tradition, redaction, and intertextuality. Even at first glance a host of possibilities arise: Is there a core list, a thaumatological proof-text, as it were, that was transmitted independently of, if ultimately derived from, the NT gospels? Are the lists remnants of missionary propaganda, as their NT counterparts have been held to be?[4] Is their basic content fossilized, and hence essentially rhetorical rather than substantive? Or do the lists show the influence of more recent authorial, and therefore possibly communal, concerns? And finally, is any contribution to be made here to the issue of intertextuality—imitation by one text of another—or of any other kind of relationship between the lists and hence between their documents?

Each list, like each document, must of course be examined in light of its own editorial and compositional clues.[5] Hence at this stage no comprehensive theory will be sought to explain the presence and function of these lists. The purpose of this working paper is rather to present the seminar with evidence from a small group of Acts, to propose a specific range of explanations, and to suggest areas for further study.[6]

I. Miracle Lists: Typical Features[7]

(a) Reports and Narratives

Although the designation "list" aptly applies to each of the catalogues of wonders, it is possible to sub-divide the miracle summaries within the lists. The most common variety is what may be styled the *collective report*, i.e., a general statement of the healing of a specific group of sick people: "he made the deaf hear," "he made the blind see," etc. Next to these collective reports are what may be termed *individual reports:* "he made one see who was blind from birth," "he walked with his feet upon the sea," etc. Less common, but of importance for the an assessment of the lists' role and interrelation, are *narratives*, i.e., prose miniatures often including circumstantial or interpretive comments. Narratives are especially common in the later lists.

(b) Literary Settings

The lists show a marked diversity in the manner of their presentation. Where required, the miracle summary is given in the mouth of a first-person "eye-witness." Alternatively, as in the Abgar correspondence, Jesus as "you" is addressed. Most commonly, however, the lists are in the standard third person.

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[4] See Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) 2. 166: "It can be assumed that the earliest collections of miracle stories were produced as missionary manuals."

[5] This is stressed by François Bovon and Eric Junod, "Reading the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *Semeia* 38 (1986) 165.

[6] Set aside in this paper is the wider question of the relationship between miracle lists and hellenistic aretalogies, on which see Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 52-55, and the literature there cited.

[7] This section summarizes the material presented in Hills, *Tradition and Composition*, 38-39.

The lists are found as prophecy (e.g., in the *Sibylline Oracles*) or its fulfillment; as discourse, frequently in anti-Jewish polemic; and in biographical reviews of Jesus' career, in poetry or prose.

(c) Content

There is no certain case of a list reporting a miracle that is not found in some form in the NT gospels. However, no standard selection or order emerges, and the specific vocabulary of the lists often remains independent from that of the NT. In addition, the lists often include brief adverbial remarks, referring to the difficulty, the thaumaturgic technique, the effectiveness, or the marvelous nature of the wonder.[8]

II. Biblical Miracle Lists

As a preface to discussion of lists in apocryphal Acts, several biblical examples may be adduced as texts which are both formally analogous to their later counterparts and, arguably, literarily determinative for the widespread early Christian form:[9]

(a) Isa 29:18-19

18 καὶ ἀκούσονται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ κωφοὶ λόγους βιβλίου,
καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁμίχλῃ ὀφθαλμοὶ τυφλῶν βλέψονται·
19 καὶ ἀγαλλιάσονται πτωχοὶ διὰ κύριον ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ,
καὶ οἱ ἀπηλπισμένοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμπλησθήσονται εὐφροσύνης.

18 And on that day the deaf shall hear the words of a book,
and those in the darkness and the gloomy eyes of the blind shall see,
19 and the poor shall rejoice with great joy on account of the Lord,
and among humankind those in despair shall be filled with joy.

(b) Isa 35:5-6

5 τότε ἀνοιχθήσονται ὀφθαλμοὶ τυφλῶν,
καὶ ὦτα κωφῶν ἀκούσονται.
6 τότε ἁλεῖται ὡς ἔλαφος ὁ χωλός,
καὶ τρανὴ ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιλάλων,
ὅτι ἐρράγη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὕδωρ
καὶ φάραγξ ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ.

5 Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened,
and the ears of the deaf shall hear.
6 Then the one lame shall leap as a hart,

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[8] So already in the NT, e.g., Matt 8:8, 16; John 9:1. For these characteristics in the miracle tradition in general see Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 218-29.

[9] English translations of the LXX are my own; those of the NT are taken from the *RSV*.

and the tongue of the stammerer shall be clear-speaking,
for water shall break forth in the desert
and a gushing stream in parched land.

(c) Isa 42:18

οἱ κωφοί, ἀκούσατε, καὶ οἱ τυφλοί, ἀναβλέψατε ἰδεῖν.

Hear, you deaf, and look that you may see, you blind.

(d) Matt 4:23-24

καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ. 24 . . . καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ποικίλαις νόσοις καὶ βασάνοις συνεχομένους [καὶ] δαιμονιζομένους καὶ σεληνιαζομένους καὶ παραλυτικούς, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς.

And he went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and the preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every disease and every infirmity among the people. 24 . . . and they brought him all the sick, those afflicted with various diseases and pains, demoniacs, epileptics, and paralytics, and he healed them.

(e) Matt 10:7-8 (cf. Luke 9:2)

πορευόμενοι δὲ κηρύσσετε λέγοντες ὅτι
ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε, νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε,
λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε, δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλετε·

And preach as you go, saying,
"The kingdom of heaven is at hand."
Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons.

(f) Matt 15:30-31 (cf. Mark 7:37)

καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν χωλούς, τυφλούς, κυλλούς, κωφούς, καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς καὶ ἔρριψαν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς· 31 ὥστε τὸν ὄχλον θαυμάσαι βλέποντας κωφοὺς λαλοῦντας, κυλλοὺς ὑγιεῖς καὶ χωλοὺς περιπατοῦντας καὶ τυφλοὺς βλέποντας· καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ.

χωλ. τυφ. κυλ. κωφ.] *1 3 2 4* B *pc, 1 2 4 3* P Γ Θ *f*1.13, *1 4 2 3* C K *565*. 1010, *4 1-3* L W Δ *al, 4 2 1 3* 33. 892. 1241, *1-3* D *pc.*

And great crowds came to him, bringing with them the lame, the maimed, the blind, the dumb, and many others, and they put them at his feet, and he healed them, 31 so that the throng wondered, when they saw the dumb

speaking, the maimed whole, the lame walking, and the blind seeing; and they glorified the God of Israel.

(g) Luke 7:21-22 (cf. Matt 11:4-5)

ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς ἀπὸ νόσων καὶ μαστίγων καὶ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ τυφλοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο βλέπειν. 22 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ εἴδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε·

τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν,
λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν,
νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται·

line 2 τυφ. πολ. ἐχαρ.] τυφλοὺς ἐποίει D (c) e. *line 3* ἀπα. – ἠκου.] εἴπατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ εἶδον ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἃ ἤκουσαν ὑμῶν τὰ ὦτα D (e).

In that hour he cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits, and on many that were blind he bestowed sight. 22 And he answered them, "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard:
the blind receive their sight, the lame walk,
lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear,
the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached to them."

As John S. Kloppenborg has remarked, "The events listed in [Q] 7:22 are a pastiche of Isaiah's description of the coming time of peace."[10] However, since Isaiah makes no mention of the healing of lepers, the list seems to be have been composed in light of knowledge of Jesus' miracles.[11]

III. Miracle Lists in Apocryphal Acts

Lists, broadly understood, occur numerous times in apocryphal Acts.[12] It is therefore of some momentary surprise that the greatest wealth of *miracle* lists in the working inventory does not appear in apocryphal Acts. But on reflection this is consistent with the centrality of the *apostles'* wonder-working in the Acts.[13] So, for

[10] Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 107.

[11] Ibid., 108. For the rationale and compositional consequences of Matthew's placement of this speech, see ibid., 77.

[12] E.g., in *Acts John* 29 (virtues and benefits); 36 (the reprobate); 68 (hindrances to faith); 69 (dangers to the soul); 84 (anathemas to Satan); 98 (names of the cross; demonic forces); 103 (where the Lord is to be found); 106 (gifts of God); 107 (divine attributes); *Acts Pet.* 2 (virtues); 20 (divine attributes; titles of Jesus); *Acts Paul* 5-6 (macarisms); *Acts Andr., Mart.I* 14 (paean to the cross); *Acts Thom.* 27 (prayer at anointing); 47-48 (names and achievements of Jesus); 50 (eucharistic prayer); 80 (doxology of christological antitheses); 94 (macarisms); 123 (sevenfold direct address to God); 132 (sixfold doxology); 145 (petitions with negative imperative); 156 (titles and attributes of Jesus).

[13] This, of course, is only one of the five chief features of apocryphal Acts

example, the single instances in the *Acts of Andrew* and *Acts of Peter*, to be examined below, enumerate the miracles not of Jesus but of the apostles.

The following case-by-case review attempts to present sufficient evidence regarding *context* and *content* to support at least a provisional assessment of the *function*[14] of the lists in their respective Acts.

(a) *Acts of Andrew* (*Martyrdom I* 3)

καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν φήμη ἐξῆλθεν ὡς
ἄνθρωπος ξένος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν ἐπιφερόμενος εἰ μὴ μόνον
ὄνομα
ἀνθρώπου τινὸς Ἰησοῦ, δι' οὗ σημεῖα ποιεῖ καὶ τέρατα μεγάλα
καὶ νόσους θεραπεύει καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλει
καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρει καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρίζει
καὶ πᾶν πάθος θεραπεύει.

line 2 μηδὲ—μόνον] φησὶν ἔρημος διδύκων φησὶν C. ἀνθρώπου] *om.* C. *line 3* ποιεῖ] *om.* C. *lines 4-6* καὶ δαίμονας—θεραπεύει] *om.* C.

When [Andrew] entered the city (of Patras in Achaia) a report went out:
"A stranger has entered the city, borne forth by none other than the
name of a certain man, Jesus, through whom he performs signs and great
wonders,
and cures diseases and casts out demons,
and raises the dead and cleanses lepers,
and heals every suffering."

Context: In *Mart. I* 1 Peter addresses the apostles, assembled in Jerusalem after the ascension. Now empowered by the Holy Spirit, are they hesitant to go forth as evangelists? The apostles cast lots (2), and to Andrew, the last named,[15] falls the lot of Lacedaemonia and Achaia. The report of Andrew's miracles in chapter 3 prompts the proconsul Lesbios to charge that he is a magician and a deceiver, and to call for his arrest. An angel appears to Lesbios by night, and Lesbios receives instruction from Andrew.

Content: Mention of "signs and great wonders" is anticipated by Peter's reference in chapter 1 to the δυνάμεις τε καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (cf. Acts 2:22, of the works

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delineated in Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (WSA 3; 1932; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), summarized in W. Schneemelcher and K. Schäferdiek, "Second and Third Century Acts of Apostles," *NTApoc* 2. 175.

[14] The term "function" here includes any literary, theological, and communal observations arising from context and/or content.

[15] The list of eleven apostles follows Mark 3:16-19 exactly, except that (1) Andrew's name is held back, from fourth place until last ("after everyone else"); (2) "Lebeos," paired with Thaddaeus in mission to Beronikis, replaces James the son of Alphaeus; (3) Simon is styled ὁ Κανανίτης rather than ὁ Καναναῖος (cf. Matt 10:4; Mark 3:18); and (4) neither Judas Iscariot nor a successor (cf. Acts 1:26) is named.

of Jesus; 2 Cor 12:12) performed by the apostles. The specifics of Andrew's list, however, appear to be directly or indirectly indebted to the Matthean version of the commissioning of the Twelve; the vocabulary is not identical, but the categories correspond exactly to Matt 10:8. But the final phrase is without NT precedent, and is perhaps a general conclusion designed to match the opening phrase, "he cures diseases," itself verbally close to the *Lukan* commission: . . . καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν (Luke 9:1).

Function: The function of the list in *Mart. I* 3 appears to be the literary and theological demonstration that Andrew has fulfilled the biblical, dominical commission. Recourse to sources other than the NT gospels is unnecessary in this case.

(b) *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* 10[16]

καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν·
οὐκ ἤκουσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν;
τυφλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀναβλέψαι, χωλοὺς περιπατῆσαι,
κωφοὺς ἀκοῦσαι, λεπροὺς ἐκαθέρισεν,
ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον μετέβαλεν,
καὶ λαβὼν πέντε ἄρτους καὶ δύο ἰχθύας
ἐποίησεν ὄχλον ἀνακλιθῆναι ἐν χόρτῳ,
καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν·
ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἐσθίοντες πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν·
καὶ ἦραν τὰ περισσεύοντα αὐτοῖς δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων.
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ.

line 3 ἀνα.] βλέπειν CΣ. περι.] περιπατεῖν Θ *line 4* ἀκ.] ἀκούειν ΡΠΩ. ἐκαθ.] καθαίρειν C, καθαρίζειν E. *line 5* μετ.] ἐποίησεν BR. *lines 6-7* ἐποίησεν–καὶ] *om.* Π. ὄχλον] πολὺν *add* D. ἀνακλ.] ἀναπεσεῖν Ω. *lines 8-9* δ.–ἐχορτ.] see below. *line 9* πεντ. ἄνδ.] χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων *add* ΡΠ. *line 10* κ. ἦραν–κλασμ.] *om.* BDΩ. τὰ περ.] τὸ περισσευθὲν R, τὸ περισσεῦον C, περισσεύματα Π. κλασ.] *om.* A, πλήρεις *add* ΡΠ. *line 11* μ.–οὐκ] οὐδὲ οὕτως Π. μετὰ τ.] *om.* Ω.

Andrew said:
Have you not heard of the miracles which [Jesus] did before [the Jews]?
He made the blind see, the lame walk,
the deaf hear; he cleansed lepers,
he changed water into wine;
and having taken five loaves and two fishes,
he made a crowd recline on the grass,
and having blessed, he gave them to eat;
and those that ate were five thousand men, and they were filled:
and they took up what was over to them twelve baskets of fragments.
And after all these things they did not believe him.

[16] The relationship between the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* and the *Acts of Andrew* is disputed. See Dennis R. MacDonald, "The *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* and the *Acts of Andrew*," *Semeia* 38 (1986) 1-26, 35-39; and Jean-Marc Prieur, "Response," ibid., 27-33.

Context: Andrew, on his journey to rescue Matthias from the land of the cannibals, charters a boat. Jesus, the boat's pilot, interrogates Andrew, who does not recognize him; Jesus also has Andrew tell his (Andrew's) disciples some of the miracles he (Jesus) performed among the Twelve. After relating Jesus' stilling of the storm, Andrew commends Jesus on his skill as navigator (9). As chapter 10 begins the dialogue changes course abruptly. Jesus asks why "the unbelieving Jews" did not believe in him, "saying that he was not God but man." Andrew replies that Jesus was indeed God, for he was God's agent in creation. Perhaps, suggests Jesus, the Jews did not see his miracles. On the contrary, Andrew replies, he worked many miracles before them. The quoted list follows. In chapters 11-12 Andrew reports that *great* miracles (μεγάλα σημεῖα) were done in secret before the disciples; but these are neither narrated nor summarized. The dialogue concludes with an account of Jesus' encounter with the sphinx, and the continued disbelief of the Jewish leaders invited to witness Jesus' work.

Content: The sequence blind-lame-deaf-lepers is close to that of Luke 7:22 par. (blind-lame-lepers-deaf). But with mention of the changing of water into wine (line 5), reference to a specific canonical *incident* becomes clear, as is customary with "individual reports." However, the author or the source does not here quote the canonical *text;* neither the Johannine sign (John 2:1-11) nor its summary in John 4:46 (ἐποίησεν τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον) employs the verb μεταβάλλειν. This verb, which in standard hellenistic usage means "to turn into something," "to change one's mind,"[17] is used of the water/wine miracle in the list in Hippolytus *C. Noetum* 18.7, and in later centuries is found often in place of John's more prosaic ποιεῖν.[18] It is also found, at least from the time of Clement of Alexandria, with reference to the transformation of the eucharistic elements.[19]

The text-critical situation in the feeding account is highly complex. While the contribution of a specific NT gospel account can occasionally be identified in the choice of one word rather than its synonym (e.g., ἀνακλιθῆναι in line 7, from Matt 14:19), or in the presence of a particular phrase (e.g., "besides women and children," MSS RΠ, in line 9, from Matt 14:21; 15:38), usually no such precision is possible.[20] This is especially so in lines 8-9, where, in addition to the majority text, the following readings are found:

BD(O) Having said the blessing, he fed them, so that even the grass became bread; and five thousand men ate and were satisfied.

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[17] BAG, *s.v.* (510b).

[18] Cf. *LPGL, s.v.*, B.1.c. (848b-49a). As the apparatus to *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10 indicates, MSS *BR* conform the verb to John 4:46.

[19] References in *LPGL, s.v.*, A.2.d. (848b).

[20] Of the Johannine feeding account Ernst Haenchen remarks: "It is simply not conceivable that the Evangelist had the Synoptics before him and selected a word from this, a usage from that, and a feature of the other in composing his account" (*John* [2 vols.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 1.274). With *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10 a nearer, if still inexact, analogy is Tatian's *Diatessaron,* a harmony "combining distinctive phrases preserved by only one Evangelist with those preseved by another" (Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* [2d ed.; New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968] 89).

RΣ Having said the blessing, he fed five thousand men.
P Having said the blessing, he broke (the bread) and gave it to his disciples, once he had commanded the crowds to recline upon the grass; and he satisfied five thousand men.
C Having said the blessing, he satisfied five thousand people.

Function: Several clues allow the conjecture that the list in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10 evokes or alludes to the *catechetical* practice of the author's community: (1) Andrew is accompanied by his disciples, whom he addresses twice in chapter 7 as τεκνία μου, "My little children."[21] (2) The list, concluding with the water/wine and feeding miracles, has obvious eucharistic implications (see, e.g., on μεταβάλλειν above), especially in light of the exceptional length of the feeding "narrative." (3) The abrupt mention of the "unbelieving Jews" at the beginning of chapter 10 serves as a transition to the topic of Jesus' divinity. Immediately before the summary of miracles Andrew declares Jesus to be the one who "made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all that is in them." (4) Andrew's disciples have almost no role in the dialogue. Instead the hidden Jesus himself, whom Andrew finally addresses ὦ τέκνον ("O child," 11), is portrayed as the exemplary catechumen.[22]

(c) *Acts of Paul* (Greek frg.)

ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν·
ἀπολείπετε τὸ σκότος, λάβετε τὸ φῶς·
οἱ ἐν σκοτίᾳ θανάτου ἐκπεπηδημένοι
φῶς ἀνέτειλεν ὑμῖν.
καὶ ἐποίει μεγάλα καὶ θαυμάσια
ὡς ἐπιλέξαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν δώδεκα ἄνδρας
οὓς ἐν συνέσει χρεῖσις καὶ πίστει εἶχεν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ
νεκροὺς ἐγείρων· καὶ νόσους θεραπεύων,
καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρίζων, τυφλοὺς θεραπεύων,
καὶ κυλλοὺς ἰώμενος, παραλυτικοὺς ἐγείρων,
δαιμονιαζομένους καθαρίζων . . .

"The kingdom of heaven is at hand!
Forsake the darkness, receive the light,
you who live in the darkness of death!
A light has arisen for you!"
And he did great and wonderful works,
so that he chose from the tribes twelve men
whom he had with him in understanding and faith,
as he raised the dead, healed diseases,
cleansed lepers, healed the blind,

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[21] Cf. BAg, *s.v.* (808a) for "(little) child" used "by a Christian apostle or teacher of his spiritual children."

[22] The technical term, "neophyte," appears in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 32. A church having been built, the newly baptized urge Andrew: "Stay with us a few days, that we may be filled with thy fountain, because we are newly planted (ἡμεῖς νεόφυτοί ἐσμεν)."

made cripples whole, raised up paralytics,
cleansed those possessed by demons . . .

Context: Paul has arrived in Rome to strengthen the Christian community. Received into the household of Claudius, Paul teaches "the word of truth." His message is a selective review of the history of Israel up to the coming of the prophets, whom the Jews killed and hence "forfeited their eternal inheritance." But now "in these last times God for our sakes has sent down a spirit of power into the flesh, that is, into Mary the Galilean, according to the prophetic word." There follows a summary of Jesus' career, including his preaching and miracles, quoted above.

Content: W. Schneemelcher has suggested that the enumeration of miracles follows Matthew, and offers references to Matt 4:24; 10:8; and 11:5.[23] But none of the lists already examined, including the biblical examples, provides sufficient precedent to be considered the source of this list. Further help may eventually become available from the fragmentary continuation of the list. Although complete sense is lacking, the following lines clearly refer to a water miracle and to a haemorrhaging woman (γυνή and αἱμορροῦσα are certainly to be read; cf. Matt 9:20).

Function: The distinctive feature of this list is the depth of the background material with which it is introduced. The whole of Paul's speech leads up to the preaching and wonders of Jesus, and this suggests that it was conceived as a whole or constructed from a traditional framework. The latter possibility is supported by two roughly contemporary lists, *Ep. apost.* 3-5 and Melito *Pass. Hom.* frg. 15. In each of these the whole sweep of biblical history is encapsulated, particular mention being made of the prophets.

It is in a writing of Tertullian that the evidence is to be found which may suggest a communal setting for this framework. In *De praescr.* 13 Tertullian gives one of his several citations of the *regula fidei* or "rule of faith." The following extract includes several phrases reminiscent of the present list and its context:

> The Word, called [God's] Son, appeared in manifold wise in the name of God to the patriarchs, made his voice heard always by the prophets, and last of all entered into the virgin Mary by the spirit and power of God his Father, was made flesh in her womb and was born from her as Jesus Christ, thereafter proclaimed a new law . . . wrought wondrous deeds, ...[24]

Most striking here is the specific reference to miracles in this loose, quasi-credal formulation.[25] In the opinion of J. N. D. Kelly it is likely that "[Tertullian's] language reflects more or less stereotyped summaries of belief employed for the purposes of catechetical instruction"[26]—the same setting already suggested above, on other grounds, for the list in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10.

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[23] Schneemelcher, "Acts of Paul," *NTApoc* 2. 382 n. 6.

[24] Tertullian *De praescr.* 13, quoted in J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3d ed.; London: Longman, 1972) 85. Other passages where Tertullian summarizes the "rule" include *De Praescr.* 36; *De virg. vel.* 1; and *Adv. Prax.* 2 (Kelly, *Creeds*, 85-86).

[25] It is unlikely that Tertullian knew anyting amounting to a single authoritative creed (Kelly, *Creeds*, 87).

[26] Kelly, *Creeds*, 88.

(d) *Acts of Peter* (Coptic) frg.

> But on the first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, a crowd collected, and they brought many sick people to Peter for him to heal them. But one of the crowd ventured to say to Peter, "Look, Peter, before our eyes
> you have made many (who were) blind to see,
> and the deaf to hear and the lame to walk,
> and you have helped the weak and given them strength."

Context: This passage serves as a preface to an account of Peter's cure of his sick daughter and his reversal of that cure. The setting is reminiscent of Acts 5:14-16.

Content: The selection of miracles reported is close to that of Luke 7:22 par. and *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10, except that (1) the order is different, and (2) *Acts Pet.* lacks mention of lepers.

Function: Despite the limited context, it is safe to state that this brief miracle list serves only to establish the prowess of the apostle in the immediate narrative context. It lacks the element of biblical fulfillment seen in *Acts Andr.* (*Mart. I* 3). Any further ingredient relating to communal recitation or praxis is scarcely detectable.

(e) *Acts of Peter and Paul* 41

> καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν τυφλοὺς φωταγωγοῦντα, λεπροὺς καθαρίζοντα,
> παραλυτικοὺς θεραπεύοντα, δαίμονας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φυγαδεύοντα,
> νεκροὺς ἐγείροντα,
> ἀνέμοις ἐπιτιμῶντα, ἐπὶ κυμάτων θαλάσσης πεζεύοντα
> καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια,
> καὶ πάντα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντα.

line 2 δαίμ.–ἐγείρ.] *om.* C. *line 4* ἐπιτάττοντα O. *line 5* θαυμ.] θαύματα DEPQ.

> And they [*or:* I] saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers,
> healing paralytics, expelling demons from men,
> raising the dead,
> subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea,
> and doing many other wonders,
> and all the people of the Jews calling him Son of God.

Context: This is an extract from "the writings of Pontius Pilate," which Nero orders to be read as evidence in the dispute between Simon Magus and the two apostles Peter and Paul.[27] Earlier chapters refer to Simon's miracles, and to those of Peter: "Peter healed the sick by a word, by praying made the blind to see, put demons to flight by a command; sometimes he even raised the dead" (32-33). Now Nero,

[27] A Latin version of Pilate's report is in *Acts Pil.* 13 (29). An exact duplicate of *Acts Pet. Paul* 41, except for addition of the phrase "with dry feet" in the walking on the sea, is in *Mart. Pet. Paul* 20.

hearing Simon's claim to be the Christ, asks, "Who is the Christ?" (39) In response, Peter points to Pilate's testimony, which includes reference to the promises of God, the virgin birth, the miracles, passion and resurrection of Jesus. In the next few lines the Jewish "chief priests" are villified for their murderous envy.

Content: There is no precise correspondence between this list and the others cited. As in several other instances the blind are the first named, perhaps under the influence of Luke 7:22 par. But there are other indications that the list is not simply a patchwork of biblical phrases. In particular, three items of vocabulary stand out: (1) φωταγωγεῖν, of the blind, (2) φυγαδεύειν, of the demons, and (3) πεζεύειν, of the walking on the sea.

None of these verbs is used in the NT or LXX in a similar context.[28] The second is used of the expulsion of demons in *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 1.6,[29] and the third of the walking on the sea in *Orac. Sib.* 1.356 and 6.13.[30] Of greater interest is the first, because among its several meanings the present one, "to enable to see," is by no means dominant. Instead the word is characteristically used metaphorically, of conversion, instruction, and spiritual illumination.[31]

Function: The following data perhaps suggest that the same catechetical influence may be proposed for *Acts Pet. Paul* 41 as for *Acts Pet. Matt.* 10 and *Acts Paul:* (1) Pilate's report is produced in answer to the question, "Who is the Christ?" (2) The same range of materials is covered, as if from the same basic groundplan. (3) The terminology of "illumination" calls to mind baptismal instruction and the "enlightening" sacrament itself. (4) Nero's patient, even deferential, questioning hints at his narrative role as catechumen, even though at the work's conclusion (and in light of church tradition) he is constrained to have Peter and Paul executed.

(f) *Acts of Phileas* 6

Κουλκιανὸς εἶπεν· τί ἐποίησεν;
Φιλέας εἶπεν·
λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρισεν, τυφλοὺς ἐποίησεν βλέπειν,
κωφοὺς ἀκούειν, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν,
ἀλάλους λαλεῖν, ἡμιξήρους ὑγιεῖς ἐποίησεν,
δαίμονας ἀπὸ τῶν πλασμάτων κελεύων ἐξήλασεν,
παραλυτικοὺς ὑγιεῖς ἐποίησεν, νεκροὺς ἀνεζώωσεν,
καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐποίησεν.

Culcianus said: "What did he do?"
Phileas said:
"He cleansed lepers, made the blind see,

[28] The first, absent from the NT, is found in the LXX only in 4 Macc 17:5. The second is found in Psa 54(55):7; 1 Macc 2:43; 2 Macc 5:5; 9:4; 10:15; 14:14; the third in Acts 20:13.

[29] Reference in *LPGL, s.v.*, 1. (1492a).

[30] It is also used, e.g., by Dio Chrysostom of Xerxes's ability to walk upon the sea (cf. Bultmann, *History,* 236).

[31] References in *LPGL, s.v.* (1507b).

the deaf hear, the lame walk,
the mute speak, the withered to be well again;
he drove demons from his creatures at a command;
he cured paralytics, raised the dead to life,
and performed many other signs and wonders."

Context: Summoned a fifth time to interrogation by the prefect Culcianus, Phileas affirms the reasonableness of the Christian faith, the spiritual nature of Christian sacrifice, the resurrection of the flesh, and the legitimacy of Paul's teaching. In chapter 5 Culcianus abruptly asks Phileas, "Was Jesus God?" In response, Phileas declares that Jesus had no need to say that he was God, because he performed the works of God "in power and actuality." There follows the exchange quoted above. The next two speeches address the question of Jesus' death.

Content: The sequence lepers-blind-deaf-lame is close to that of Luke 7:22 par. and *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10. But while "(he made) the mute speak" in line 5 may reflect ποιεῖ . . . ἀλάλους λαλεῖν in Mark 7:37, the following clauses match no specific biblical verses and employ the non-biblical terms ἡμίξηρος and ἐξελαύνειν. As an exception to the lists reviewed here, but in line with Luke 7:22 par., the raising of the dead seems to be the list's climax, perhaps because of the discussion of resurrection in chapter 4. The concluding phrase, concerning "many other signs and wonders," is very common in miracle lists; indeed, it may be considered the standard conclusion (cf. John 20:31; 21:25).

The parallel in the Latin recension (4.3) has an addition after "he cured many illnesses": "A woman who had a flow of blood touched the fringe of his robe and was cured" (cf. Matt 9:20-22). This new item, a favorite among the lists' "individual reports,"[32] serves no apparent redactional purpose unless to anticipate Culcianus' later reference to another woman, Phileas' "miserable wife" (6.1).

Function: The miracle list and its context give the impression of being a christological summary. Each of Culcianus's two questions, "Was Jesus God?" (5) and "If he was God, how could he have been crucified?" (6) is answered with a collection of traditional statements, concerning the miracles and the passion respectively. Finally, in chapter 10 Phileas gives voice to "a long, almost liturgical hymn of praise,"[33] which unfortunately is fragmentary. From these few gleanings it is possible to say only that the situation is consistent with that proposed for *Acts Pet. Paul.* 41, *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10, and *Acts Paul*, i.e., that behind Phileas's testimony lies a catechetical outline, for the recitation of which the prefect's interrogation has provided an ideal literary prompt.

Summary and Conclusion

One almost inevitable outcome from the preceding review is that there is no single explanation for the variety of miracle lists preserved in apocryphal Acts. Even this brief exploration has shown that no two are identical in context, in content, or in

[32] Cf. *Ep. apost.* 5.3-8; *Anaph. Pil. A* 4; *Vindic. Salv.* 6. In the last of these the woman is given the name Veronica (see Bultmann, *History*, 241).

[33] Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 341 n. 13.

function. Nevertheless, several distinct types emerge, each of which has parallels in other texts collected in the inventory of lists.

First, in the Coptic fragment of the *Acts of Peter* it appears that the enumeration of Peter's deeds, while doubtless reminiscent of earlier examples, is an *ad hoc* compendium with a single editorial purpose: to justify the expectation of the crowd that Peter can heal his daughter. Even though the specific items are traditional, any traditional setting or function is irrelevant to the present context.

Secondly, the list in *Acts Andr.* (*Mart. I* 3) gives the impression of being a deliberate 'biblical' construction: the apostle has fulfilled the Lord's commission, according the particular categories of the text of Matthew's gospel. Again, evidence is lacking for some telling communal influence.

Thirdly, several of the lists suggest a more lively encounter between the miracle list tradition and the life of their communities; or rather, they suggest that the communities of transmission recognized the summaries of Jesus' miracles as part of their rule of faith. This possibility is very promising, but it calls for an immediate clarification of terms.

To speak of traditional materials as "catechetical" is to say both a lot and a little. In one sense everything taught and learned within Christian communities could be styled "catechesis,"[34] and without further delineation the term begs a number of questions. Therefore it is important to emphasize that the miracle lists in this third category share distinct characteristics, in content and context, which bring together (1) a *setting* evocative of catechetical instruction, including characters in the role of "teacher" and "student(s)"; (2) overtly theological questions; and (3) a broad summary of *doctrine*, of which the miracles are only an illustrative part. In several of the texts this combination seems to be the result of deliberate, and even disruptive, compositional choices. In addition, the fluid nature of the "rule of faith" or "canon of truth," as presented, e.g., by Irenaeus and Tertullian, provides a striking, external, analogy.

The question, then, is not whether these miracle lists and their contexts are themselves verbatim catechesis in the sense in which 1 Peter, for example, has been claimed to be a baptismal liturgy; clearly they are not catechesis dressed up in narrative. Instead it is whether they may offer convincing evidence of a *catechetical substructure*, part of the actual pre- and/or post-baptismal instruction of Christian converts. If so, then a bridge may be recovered, between the religious life of the communities of the apocryphal Acts, about which we know all too little, and typical, if not to say standard, 'Great Church' catechetical praxis, about which we know much.

There is a further question raised by these examples, which can only be lightly touched upon here: the implied relationship between the Christian communities and (1) the "Jews," and (2) Roman authorities. The concern of *Acts Pet. Paul* 41 to distinguish "the whole people of the Jews," who call Jesus Son of God, from the "chief priests," who are held to be responsible for Jesus' death, or of *Acts Andr. Matt.* 10-11 to insist that it was the Jewish *leaders* who had the opportunity to witness the most persuasive miracles, is symptomatic of a widespread attraction of the question of Jewish/Christian identity to the miracles. Similarly, the narrated recitation of Christian doctrine to Roman leaders at least suggests an apologetic motive, and again the role of miracles would repay further exploration.

In the miracle lists and their contexts we have access to a rich source of materials,

[34] Cf. *LPGL*, *s.v.* κατήχησις (733a).

to which the full range of text-, source-, form-, redaction-, and narrative-critical questions may usefully be addressed. The potential for signficant findings would appear to be far from negligible. Indeed, as this study has attempted to demonstrate in a preliminary way, the miracle lists have a distinctive contribution to make in the quest to determine "the relationship these Acts have with history, with their own times, with Judaism, with the incarnate Christ, and finally with the ecclesiastical circles attached to apostolic institutions."[35]

Appendix

An Inventory of Miracle Lists

Acts Andr. (*Mart. I* 3). Greek text in Richard Adelbert Lipsius, ed., Maximilian Bonnet, rev., *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (2 vols. in 3 parts; 1891-1903; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1959) 2/1. 47.

Acts Andr. Matt. 10. Greek text in Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 2/1. 77; ET in ANF 8. 519. See also *Acts Andr. Matt.* (Syriac) 10.

Acts of Paul (Greek). Text (*P. Mich.* 1317 and *P. Berlin* 13893) in Henry A. Sanders, "A Fragment of the Acta Pauli in the Michigan Collection," *HTR* 31 (1938) 30; ET in *NTApoc* 2. 382.

Acts of Paul (Coptic). Text in Carl Schmidt, ed., *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965) 1. 55*; ET in *NTApoc* 2. 382.

Acts of Peter (Coptic) frg. Text (*P. Berlin* 8502) in Carl Schmidt, ed., *Die alten Petrusakten* (TU 24/1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910) 3.

Acts Pet. Paul 41. Greek text in Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 1. 196-97; ET in ANF 8. 480.

Acts of Phileas (Greek) 6; (Latin) 4. Text and ET in Herbert Musurillo, ed., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 334-35, 348-49.

Acts of Pilate 13 (29). Latin text in Constantin Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia apocrypha* (2d ed.; 1876; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966) 413-16; ET in *NTApoc* 1. 477-78.

Anaphora Pilati A 1-5. Greek text Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 436-39; ET in ANF 8. 460. See also *Anaph. Pil. B* (Latin) 1-5.

Apoc. Elij. 3.8-10. Coptic (Sahidic) text and ET in Albert Pietersma, Susan Turner Comstock, and Harold W. Attridge, eds. and trans., *The Apocalypse of Elijah* (SBLTT 19; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981) 44-45.

Ps.-Clem. Hom. 1.6. Greek text in Bernhard Rehm, ed., *Die Pseudoklementinen I: Homilien* (GCS 42; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1953) 25-26. See also *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 2.34,2-3; *Recog.* 3.60,2; 5.10,1-2.

Commodian *Carm. apol.* 639-60. Latin text and Italian trans. in Antonia Salvatore, ed., *Commodiani carmen apologeticum* (Corona patrum 5; Turin: Società Editrice Internationale, 1977) 84-85.

Const. apost. 5.7.27-28. Greek text in F. X. Funk, ed., *Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum* (2 vols.; Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1905) 1. 261-63; ET in ANF 7. 442.

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[35] Bovon and Junod, "Reading and Apocryphal Acts," 171.

Cyprian *Quod idol.* 13. Latin Text in Wilhelm August Hartel, ed., *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani opera omnia* (CSEL 3/1-3; 3 vols.; Vienna: gerold, 1868) 1. 29; ET in Roy J. Ferarri, *Saint Cyprian: Treatises* (FC 36; New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958) 358.

Ps.-Cyprian *De rebapt.* 8. Latin text in Gerhard Rauschen, ed., *Tertulliani de baptismo et Ps.-Cypriani de rebaptismate recensio nova* (Florilegium Patristicum 11; Bonn: Hanstein, 1916) 55; ET in ANF 5. 671.

Ep. apost. 4-5. Ethiopic text in Louis Guerrier and Sylvain Grébaut, eds., "Le Testament en Galilée de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ," PO 9 (1913) 141-236; Coptic text in Carl Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* (TU 43; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1919) 1*-26*; ET in *NTApoc* 1. 191-227.

Hippolytus *C. Noet* 18.7. Greek text and ET in Robert Butterworth, *Hippolytus of Rome: Contra Noetum* (Heythrop Monographs 2; London: Heythrop College, 1977) 90-91.

Ps.-Hippolytus *frg. in Psalmos* 2. Greek text in PG 10. 609-10; ET in ANF 5. 170.

History of St. John in Ephesus. Syriac text and ET in William Wright, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904) 1. 17; 2.17.

Justin *1 Apol.* 48.1-2. Greek text in Edgar J. Goodspeed, ed., *Die ältesten Apologeten* (1914; repr. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 59-60; ET in ANF 1. 178-79. See also *1 Apol.* 22.6; *Dial.* 69.6-7; *De res.* 4.

Mart. Pet. Paul 20. Greek and Latin texts in Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* 1. 136-37.

Melito *Pass. Hom.* 508-512. Greek text and ET in Stuart George Hall, ed., *Melito of Sardis: On Pascha and Fragments* (Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford: Clarendon, 1979) 38-39. See also *Pass. Hom.* frg. 15.

Orac. Sib. 1.351-59. Greek text in Johannes Geffken, ed., *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902) 22-23; ET in *OTP* 1. 343. See also *Orac. Sib.* 6.13-14 and 8.273-78.

Pistis Sophia 2.110. Coptic text and ET in Carl Scmidt, ed., Violet MacDermot, trans., *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 278-79.

Teaching of Addai. Syriac text and ET in George Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (SBLTT 16; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981) 6-9.

Tertullian *Apol.* 21.17. Latin text in Heinrich Hoppe, ed., *Tertulliani apologeticum* (CSEL 69; 1939; repr. New York/London: Johnson, 1964) 56-57; ET in ANF 3. 35. See also *De carn.* 4; *De res.* 20.

T. Adam 3.1. Syriac text and ET in Stephen Edward Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (SBLDS 52; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982) 58-61.

Testim. Truth (NHC 9, 3) 32.22-33.9. Coptic text and ET in Birger A. Pearson, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (NHS 15; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 130-31.

Vindicta Salvatoris 6. Latin text in Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha,* 473; ET in ANF 8. 472. See also *Vind. Salv.* 29.

The Two Manuscript Witnesses to the Gospel of Peter

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A century ago, the discovery of the Gospel of Peter[1] in the sands of Egypt prompted a flurry of scholarly studies and reactions. This same gospel has recently reentered the scholarly spotlight, largely as the result of John Dominic Crossan's intriguing hypothesis that it contains an ancient "Cross Gospel."[2] Crossan's hypothesis proposes that this Cross Gospel was the single common source for the passion narratives of the four canonical gospels, and it suggests that the Gospel of Peter preserves this Cross Gospel in integral blocks of text which are readily extractable. The present paper considers the surviving manuscript evidence for the Gospel of Peter. Examination of this data will suggest that the Gospel of Peter tradition continued to develop after the second century.

We have two fragmentary manuscript witnesses for the Gospel of Peter, one from

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[1] The text of the Gospel of Peter is available in the following critical editions. Adolf Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus*, Second improved and expanded edition, Bund 9, Heft 2 of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literature*, ed. Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1893); Léon Vaganay, *L'Évangile de Pierre*, Études Bibliques (Paris: J. Gabalda et Fils, 1930); Erich Klostermann, *Apocrypha I: Reste des Petrusevangeliums, der Petrusapokalypse und des Kerygma Petri*, Kleine Texte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933); M. G. Mara, *Évangile de Pierre*, Sources Chrétiennes, 201 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1973).

I follow Crossan in giving citations by both the chapter-divisions of Armitage Robinson and the (independent) verse-divisions of Adolf Harnack, but the verse-divisions are much more useful. H. B. Swete, ed., *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Πέτρον: The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893) uses a third system with twelve chapters.

An English translation of the text may be found in Christian Maurer, "The Gospel of Peter," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson, *Volume One: Gospels and Related Writings* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), 179–187. The same translation is provided by Ron Cameron, ed., *The Other Gospels: Non-Canonical Gospel Texts* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1982).

[2] John Dominic Crossan, *Four Other Gospels: Shadows on the Contours of Canon* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985); and John Dominic Crossan, *The Cross that Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

Akhmîm and one from Oxyrhynchus. These witnesses are fragments in two senses of the term. The Akhmîm witness is a fragment in the sense that it is a relatively large *excerpt* preserved in a parchment codex. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949, on the other hand, consists of two very small small *scraps* of papyrus.

The Akhmîm excerpt was discovered first.[3] In late antiquity, Akhmîm was Panopolis, a center of Pachomian monasticism. During the winter of 1886 to 1887, the French Archaeological Mission in Egypt discovered in a monk's grave in Akhmîm thirty-three parchment pages stitched together into a codex. This codex, known as Codex Panopolitanus (Cairo codex 10759)[4] contains excerpts from four Greek texts: the Gospel of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, I Enoch, and the Acts of the Martyrdom of Julian. The nine-page excerpt from the Gospel of Peter begins and ends in mid-sentence. The spacing and ornamentation before and after it suggests that the scribe had only this excerpt in his exemplar. The scribe wrote with a rapid, rather careless cursive hand. The text is defective and illegible in many places,[5] and has been damaged slightly by moisture and insects.

The Akhmîm fragment has been variously dated, on the evidence of the handwriting, the format of the codex, and the location of the monk's grave. The cemetery in which the grave was found had been used to bury Christians from the fifth to the fifteenth century, but the position of the grave two hundred meters from the oldest section of the cemetery suggests that the monk was probably not buried at the very beginning of that time-period. The original editors dated the codex to the eighth century or later,[6] but some subsequent paleographers have been inclined to date it to the fifth or sixth century.[7]

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[3] The codex was originally published in U. Bouriant, "Fragments du texte grec du Livre d'Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués a Saint Pierre," in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, ed. U. Bouriant, Vol. 9, Fasc. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), 91–147. Regarding the discovery and description of the Akhmîm codex, see Adolphe Lods, *L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre: Publiés pour la 1re fois d'après les photographies du Manuscrit de Gizéh* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893), 1–16; and Swete, *Εὐαγγέλιον*, xlv–xlvii. Photographic facsimiles of the codex were published in A. Lods, "Reproduction en héliogravure du manuscrit d'Énoch et des écrits attribués a Saint Pierre," in Bouriant, *Mémoires*, Vol. 9, Fasc. 3, 217–235, plates 1–34. A facsimile of two pages (9:36b–11:43a and 11:43a–12:50a) may be also found as the frontispiece to Swete, *Εὐαγγέλιον*..

[4] Some early descriptions refer to it as the Gizeh manuscript (Gizeh catalogue number 1323).

[5] An good example is the variety of ways in which a single word has been read by editors: the word in 5:18 read ἐπέσαντο by Swete, Harnack, and Mara has been read as <ἀν>επαύσαντο (Klostermann), ἐπέσαν τε (Robinson), ἐνεπέσατο (Gebhardt), ἔπταισαν (Hoffman), and ἐσπεύσαντο (Bruston). See the editions. Crossan, *The Cross That Spoke*, 219–220 gives an excellent explanation of the problems involved.

[6] Bouriant, "Fragments du texte grec," 93, dates it between the eighth and twelfth centuries. Lods, *L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre*, 15, proposes the eighth or ninth century. See also Swete, *Εὐαγγέλιον*, xlvi–xlvii; and Joseph van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Papyrologie 1 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976), 212.

[7] B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée*

The Akhmîm excerpt contains no superscription or subscription to identify it. There are two reasons for concluding that the Akhmîm excerpt represents the Gospel of Peter. First, in the last verses of the Akhmîm excerpt the text claims to be written by Peter and this claim seems to match references in early patristic literature to a gospel written in Peter's name. Second, the presumed docetism of the excerpt is understood to match the gospel criticized by Serapion,[8] the church writer who makes the most detailed references to a Gospel of Peter. The putative docetism of the text, however, has been seriously challenged by contemporary scholars, including Crossan. Nevertheless, since the discovery of the Akhmîm excerpt, scholars have nearly universally regarded it as the lost Gospel of Peter. It is worth underlining that what we call "the Gospel of Peter" is the text of this manuscript.

In 1972, R. A. Coles published a photograph and edition of a possible second textual witness to the Gospel of Peter, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2949.[9] POx 2949 consists of two small papyrus fragments. The text is written in a slanting uncial hand on one side of the papyrus. On the basis of handwriting, Coles assigns the fragments to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. One fragment corresponds in part with the Akhmîm excerpt 2:3-5a. The other fragment, which is quite small, plausibly belongs to the same document because it seems to contain Pilate's name, but it is difficult to match with the existing portions of the Akhmîm excerpt. If these two Oxyrhynchus fragments represent the same document, the second Oxyrhynchus fragment could easily come from a part of the Gospel that the Akhmîm excerpt does not preserve. After all, the Akhmîm excerpt begins a mere two verses earlier than the Oxyrhynchus fragment.

A comparison of the first fragment of POx 2949 with the corresponding text of the Akhmîm excerpt will reveal the problems involved.[10] Figure 1 arranges the text of the Akhmîm excerpt in order to imitate as closely as possible the first fragment of POx 2949. The underlined sections of the Akhmîm text correspond to the POx 2949 fragment. The words marked with solid underlines correspond more directly, those with dotted underlines correspond less directly.

Lines 1 through 4 of POx 2949 Fragment 1 are almost entirely abraded. There is apparently a tau in line 1 and a nu in line 3. The existence of two common letters—even if they were certain—does not provide much evidence for confirming or falsifying the conformity of these four lines with the Akhmîm text. But we may note that a tau and a nu at these points are entirely consistent with the Akhmîm text.

Lines 5 through 9 of POx 2949 Fragment 1 correspond fairly well with the text of the Akhmîm excerpt. The unusual phrase, ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου, ("the friend of

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du Caire, Nos 10001–10869: Greek Papyri (Oxford: University Press, 1903), 93, date it to the fifth or sixth century, presumably on paleographic grounds. Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 185, dates it to the sixth century.

[8] See Eusebius, *Church History*, VI.12.

[9] R. A. Coles, "2949. Fragments of an Apocryphal Gospel(?)" in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 41, ed. G. M. Browne, R. A. Coles, J. R. Rea, J. C. Shelton, E. G. Turner, Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 57 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1972), 15–16, and plate II. For an analysis of this fragment, see Dieter Lührmann, "POx 2949: EvPt 3–5 in einer Handschrift des 2./3. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft* 72 (1981): 216–226.

[10] In this comparison, I am deeply indebted to Lührmann, "POx 2949.

	POx 2949, Fragment 1	*Text from the Akhmîm Excerpt*
1	]ɲ[	νίψασθαι ἀνέσ[τη Πειλᾶτος· καὶ τότε
2		κελεύει Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεύς παρ[αλη]μφθῆναι
3	]ν[	τὸν κύριον, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ὅσα ἐκέλευσα
4		ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ ποιήσατε. Ἱστήκει δὲ
5	] ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου κ[	ἐκεῖ Ἰωσὴφ, ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου καὶ τοῦ
6	]ς ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν [	κυρίου, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι σταυρίσκειν αὐτὸν
7	]θὼν πρὸς Πειλᾶτο[	μέλλουσιν ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον
8	] τὸ σῶμα εἰς ταφήν [	καὶ ᾔτησε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς ταφήν. καὶ ὁ Πειλᾶτος
9	]ην ᾐτήσα[	πέμψας πρὸς Ἡρῴδην ᾔτησεν αὐτοῦ
10	]ηναι εἰπὼ[	τὸ σῶμα· καὶ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἔφη· ἀδελφὲ
11	] ᾐτήσα[	Πειλᾶτε, εἰ καὶ μή τις αὐτὸν ᾐτήκει,
12	] αὐτόν [	ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐθάπτομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σάβ-
13	] ὅτι α[	βατον ἐπιφώσκει. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ

1	]t[	to wash themselves, Pilate stood up. And then
2		Herod the King commanded them to take
3	]g[	the Lord, saying to them, "Whatever I have commanded
4		you to do to him, do." But there stood
5	] the friend of Pilate a[	there Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the
6	]g that he commanded[	Lord, and seeing that to crucify him
7	]ming to Pilate[	they were determined, he came to Pilate
8	] the body for burial [	and requested the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate
9	]od aske[	having sent to Herod asked him
10	]ed, saying[	for the body. And Herod said, "Brother
11	]aske[	Pilate, if no one had asked,
12	] him [	we would have buried him, since the Sab-
13	] that t[	bath is beginning. For it is written in the Law

Figure 1
Comparison of Oxyrhynchus and Akhmîm Texts

Pilate") in line 5 is a strong indication that POx 2949 is related to the Akhmîm text. Actually, the word Πειλάτου in line 5 is mostly abraded, but the co-occurrence of the word Πειλάτο[ν] in line 7 with the word φίλος in line 5 will serve to establish the literary relation.

Several variations in these lines are minor. POx 2949 has [ἐλ]θὼν (the aorist participle of ἐλθεῖν, "to go") in line 7 where the corresponding Akhmîm text has ἦλθεν (the finite aorist form of the same verb). Also, POx 2949 has εἰς ("unto") in line 8, where the Akhmîm text has πρὸς, a word with a similar meaning, and ἠτήσα[το] (the aorist middle of αἰτεῖν, , "to ask") in line 9 where the Akhmîm text has the semantically equivalent ᾔτησεν (the aorist active form of the same verb). Finally, line 7 of POx 2949 does not have the article τόν which occurs in the corresponding place in the Akhmîm text.

Other variations in lines 5 through 9 are more substantial. POx 2949 has the very ordinary verb ἐκέλευσεν ("he commanded," probably with complements to express what was commanded) where the Akhmîm text has the unique[11] phrase σταυρίσκειν αὐτὸν μέλλουσιν ("they are about to crucify him" or "they were determined to crucify him"). The phrase τοῦ κυρίου ("of the Lord") does not occur in line 8 of POx 2949. It may be noted that without τοῦ κυρίου (or its normal abbreviation τοῦ $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$, found in the Akhmîm text), line 8 would not be quite so long but it is still too long to fit in POx 2949. In spite of these variations, lines 5 through 9 seem most plausibly to establish a literary relation between these two texts.

The correspondences between the two manuscripts are much more difficult to work out in lines 10 through 13. In a way similar to the previous lines, POx 2949 has ἠτήσατ[ο] (the first aorist middle of αἰτεῖν, "to ask") where the Akhmîm text has ἠτήκει (the perfect active of the same verb). Where POx 2949 has εἰπώ[ν] (the present participle of εἰπεῖν, "to say"), the Akhmîm text has ἔφη (the imperfect of φάναι,, "to say"), and the ὅτι ("because") in line 13 seems to correspond to γὰρ ("for") or possibly ἐπεὶ ("since") in the Akhmîm text. These variations seem fairly trivial, but there are also more serious discrepancies here. First, the use of the participle εἰπώ[ν] ("saying") where the Akhmîm text has the imperfect ἔφη probably indicates that POx 2949 needs a finite verb in the sentence. Second, nothing in the Akhmîm excerpt corresponds to the alpha after the ὅτι in line 13 of POx 2949. Third, -ηναι in line 10 seems to call for an aorist passive infinitive,[12] perhaps ἀποδοθῆναι ("to be repaid," as Coles[13] suggests) or παραλημφθῆναι ("to be received," a word which occurs in the Akhmîm excerpt at 1:2). The probability that an infinitive stands here in POx 2949 makes it more difficult to imagine how that text could accomplish the change of speakers (from Pilate to Herod) found in the Akhmîm excerpt at this point. Fourth, the spacing is thrown off between lines 11 and 12. Overall, it appears that there may be some dialogue in the POx 2949 version that was not preserved in the Akhmîm version, perhaps a recapitulation by Pilate of Joseph's request.[14]

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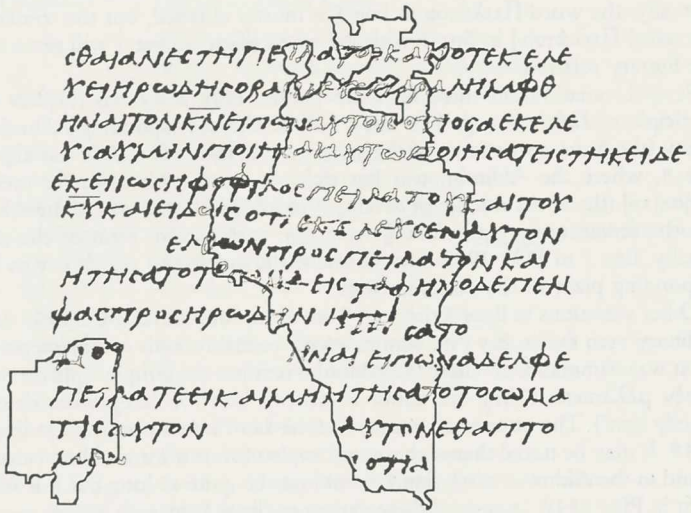
[11] The word σταυρίσκειν ("to crucify") is attested in no other document.

[12] The η of ηναι is not clear. One could perhaps read ιναι instead, as in ἀποκτεῖναι, εἶναι, or ἐκεῖναι.

[13] Coles, "2949," 16. The word δοθῆναι ("to be given") would take up less space, and there is very little space available here.

[14] Lührmann, "POx 2949," 224. Is it possible that after some intervening dialogue, line 9 of POx 2949 picks up with a close variant of line 6 in the Akhmîm text; namely, [ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἔφη] ὅτι ἀ[δελφὲ Πειλᾶτε]?



Fragment 2 *Fragment 1*

σθαι ἀνέστη Πειλᾶτος· καὶ τότε κελε-
ύει Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλημφθ-
ῆναι τὸν ΚΝ, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ὅσα ἐκέλε-
υσα ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ ποιήσατε. Ἱστήκει δὲ
ἐκεῖ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου καὶ τοῦ
ΚΥ καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν
. . . . . ἐλθὼν πρὸς Πειλᾶτον καὶ
ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα εἰς ταφήν ὁ δὲ πέμ-
ψας πρὸς Ἡρῴδην ᾐτήσατο . . . . .
μου . . . . . ηναι εἰπὼν ἀδελφὲ
Πειλᾶτε εἰ καὶ μὴ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα
τις αὐτὸν . . . ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐθάπτο-
μεν . . . . . ὅτι α . . . . .

Figure 2

Computer-Aided Reconstruction of POx 2949

The Akhmîm excerpt and POx 2949 Fragment 1 cannot be made to conform exactly. It is even more difficult to explain the relation between POx 2949 Fragment 2 and the Akhmîm text. In fact, it is difficult to establish the position of Fragment 2 relative to Fragment 1.[15] Figure 2 is a tentative, computer-aided attempt to reconstruct the Oxyrhynchus text by adapting the Akhmîm text to both POx 2949 fragments. The approximate borders of the two Oxyrhynchus fragments have been indicated by thick, solid lines. Within these borders, the presumed outlines of effaced letters have been indicated by thin, dotted lines. Black characters outside these borders were reconstructed on the basis of the attested letter forms of POx 2949. Grey characters (or parts of characters) indicate the lack of an attested prototype in POx 2949.

This reconstruction is built around the assumption that the unpreserved parts of the Oxyrhynchus text correspond closely to the Akhmîm text. The following exceptions seemed appropriate. First, even after the removal of τοῦ $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$ from the Akhmîm text, line 8 was still too long. The reconstruction therefore substitutes ὁ δέ ("and he") for καὶ ὁ Πειλᾶτος ("and Pilate"). Second, ᾐτήσατο was used instead of ᾔτησε in line 8, in accordance with the Oxyrhynchus text's demonstrated preference for middle forms of αἰτεῖν.

Reconstruction along the lines of these assumptions produces several unreconstructable gaps, which are indicated by dots in Figure 2. The unreconstructable gap at the beginning of line 7 presumably contains a καὶ, and perhaps some indication of what Herod commanded.[16] An even more problematic gap runs from the end of line 9 to the middle of line 10. The Akhmîm text leads us to expect αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα after ᾐτήσατο in line 9. However we reconstruct the beginning of line 10,[17] we still need space for a change of speakers and for the word ending in -ναι. In addition, the text from the middle of line 3 through line 4 is slightly too long, even though I took some liberties with the spacing between letters to make them fit better.

If we assume that Fragment 2 belongs near Fragment 1, therefore, we will have additional difficulty fitting the Oxyrhynchus fragments with the Akhmîm excerpt. But this assumption is not necessary, because it is entirely possible that Fragment 2 does not correspond to any part of the text preserved by the Akhmîm excerpt. Because of this very real possibility, we will consider only the implications of the evidence provided by Fragment 1.

Of the twenty-two words identifiable in Fragment 1 of POx 2949, at least eight are different from the corresponding words in the Akhmîm excerpt, and three of those changes appear to be substantial variations involving more than one word: those represented by ἐκέλευσεν in line 6, -ηναι in line 10, and α- in line 13. Three words (the phrase τοῦ κυρίου and another article) found in the Akhmîm excerpt are definitely missing in the corresponding locations in POx 2949. And the evidence suggests that the last four lines are materially different.

At this point, we must address a problematic methodological issue, even though

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[15] According to Coles, analysis of the fibres was not conclusive for determining the alignment of the two fragments. Coles, "2949," 15.

[16] It may be noted that αὐτόν need not stand at the end of line 6.

[17] I have followed Coles and Lührmann in reconstructing the beginning of line 10 as μου, but the mu is doubtful. Should we reconstruct these characters as the υτου of αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα instead? The presumed upsilon of μου also seems quite unlike the rather clear upsilon in line 12.

we cannot resolve it: at what point do we stop speaking of textual variations and begin to speak of a different version of the text? It seems to me that we are dealing not merely with textual variations when the changes can be shown to involve more than occasional scribal errors. It is unfortunate that we do not possess enough of the manuscript of which POx 2949 is a part to make a secure judgment on any narrative tendencies peculiar to it. On the other hand, we have noticed several patterns on the linguistic level. The POx 2949 text occasionally uses participles where the corresponding words in the Akhmîm text are finite verbs. We have observed the preference of the Akhmîm text for the active voice of αἰτεῖν and the corresponding preference of POx 2949 for the middle voice of that verb—without any appreciable change of meaning. We have noted the possibility that POx 2949 contains dialogue that does not appear in the Akhmîm fragment. Based on the scanty evidence available, it appears that POx 2949 and the Akhmîm fragment represent different versions of the same tradition.

If we grant that we have evidence of two different versions of the Gospel of Peter, we still need to ask which is earlier. One's first inclination is to assume that the earlier manuscript preserves the earlier form of the text. Although this assumption is far from necessary, it is consistent the following observation. It seems more plausible that the words τοῦ κυρίου would be added to a Christian manuscript than they they would be deleted. This line of reasoning suggests that POx 2949 represents an earlier form of the tradition.

Even so, there is no need to conclude that POx 2949 and the Akhmîm excerpt succeed one another in a simple unilinear development. Especially if we view POx 2949 as including dialogue not found in the Akhmîm excerpt, we may want to conclude that both POx 2949 and the Akhmîm excerpt represent divergent streams of tradition that have each in their own way altered and made additions to another form of Gospel-of-Peter traditions. And of course, there remains the possibility that POx 2949 may not be a text of the Gospel of Peter at all, but one of its antecedents or a collateral text. POx 2949 may stand in relation to the Akhmîm fragment as POx 840 stands to the Gospel of Mark or as Papyrus Egerton 2 stands to the Gospel of John.

These comparisons between the Akhmîm excerpt and the POx 2949 fragments have the following consequences. On the one hand, the similarities do suggest that POx 2949 is a very early witness to a passion tradition about Joseph, Pilate, and Herod found in the Akhmîm excerpt of the Gospel of Peter. On the other hand, the differences between the papyrus fragments at Oxyrhynchus and the parchment excerpt at Akhmîm indicate that in the intervening three to six centuries this tradition and perhaps other Gospel-of-Peter traditions have changed considerably. The Akhmîm excerpt is not a simple witness to the state of the Gospel of Peter at the end of the second century. Rather, the Gospel of Peter appears to be an evolving literary tradition, of which we have traces at two points in its development.

These conclusions call one of Crossan's assumptions into question. Crossan seems to use Coles's identification of POx 2949 as a second- or third-century witness to "the Gospel of Peter" in order to date the Gospel of Peter, the text of which is derived from the later Akhmîm excerpt.[18] POx 2949 should instead make us very cautious in the claims we make for the Akhmîm text. On the basis of POx 2949, we can safely say that the text of the Gospel of Peter excerpted in the Akhmîm codex had an earlier

[18] Crossan, *Four Other Gospels*, 128; *The Cross that Spoke*, 9.

form in the second or third century. Except for the two scraps of papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus, we cannot determine how much the later version diverged from earlier versions. We cannot depend on the wording of the later text in order to ascertain that of earlier forms.

POx 2949 gives us no reasonable hope of establishing a reliable second-century *Vorlage* of the Akhmîm excerpt. Instead, this comparison of the two textual witnesses suggest that Gospel-of-Peter traditions continued to develop after the second century.

Combien d'unités avez-vous de trois à quatre?: What Do We Mean by Intertextuality in Early Church Studies?

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> Le Professeur: Combien d'unités avez-vous de trois à quatre? . . . ou de quatre à trois, si vous préférez?
>
> L'élève: Il n'y a pas d'unités, Monsieur, entre trois et quatre. Quatre vient tout de suite après trois; il n'y rien du tout entre trois et quatre!
>
> (Eugène Ionesco, *La Leçon*)

Linguistic studies has recently challenged basic understandings about the nature of texts and textuality in late antiquity. It follows that intertextuality as a method of interpretation is also under assault. The data grounding the attack is impressive and therefore grants us opportunity to review and to assess what is intertextuality.[1]

I. What Do "They" Mean by Intertextuality?

The cultural forces which called for structuralist descriptive analyses in the fields of anthropology and linguistics also summoned a hermeneutic of human utterance. One response was "intertextuality,"[2] which has subsequently migrated from structural

[1] *Semeia* 39(1987): "Orality, Aurality and Biblical Narrative." ed. Lou H. Silberman; Werner Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983; Stephen D. Moore, "Stories of Reading: Doing Gospel Criticism As/With a 'Reader'," *SBL Seminar Papers: Annual Meeting.* Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988. p.143; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* London: Methuen, 1982. Most recently, Paul J. Achtemeier, "*Omne Verbum Sonat:* The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109 (1990) 3-27. See *Semeia* 39 and Achtemeier for considerable bibliography on literacy and orality, including seminal works by Walter Ong, A. B. Lord and Eric Havelock, and on the evidence of orality in ancient literature.

[2] An exhaustive review is beyond our purpose. See Italo Calvino, *The Uses of Literature: Essays.* tr. Patrick Creagh. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1986; Stephen D. Moore, "The 'Post-' Age Stamp: Does It Stick?: Biblical Studies and the Post-modernism Debate," *JAAR* 57(1989) 543-559; Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language, Advances in Semiotics.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984; Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré.* Paris:

linguistics into the province of religious studies—wafted on mostly Gallic winds.[3] Intertextuality arrived with an entourage: other methodologies (deconstruction; reader-response criticism)—and its own polysemy.

For Gérard Genette intertextuality involves *la littérarité de la littérature:*[4] every text is a palimpsest of other texts. Virtually everyone in the field quotes a saying attributed to T. S. Eliot: "Minor poets borrow; major poets steal."

Jeanine Plottel derives her understanding of intertextuality from Kristeva: tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte:[5]

> Interpretation is shaped by a complex of relations between the text, the reader, writing, printing, publishing, and history: the history that is inscribed in the language of the text and in the history that is carried by the reader's reading. Such a history has been given a name: intertextuality.[6]

"The complex of relations" which Plottel lists does *not* include the author—but *writing*. Intertextuality is a reader's sport: L'intertexte . . . est la perception, par le lecteur, de rapports entre une oeuvre et d'autres qui l'ont précédée ou suivie.[7] The emphasis is so much upon the act of writing (rather than on the writer) and upon that of the reader's reading that [among the French structuralists]

> writing consists no longer in narrating but in saying that one is narrating, and what one is saying becomes identified with the very act of saying. The psychological person is replaced by a linguistic or even a grammatical person, defined solely by his place in the discourse . . . .[8]

As a novelist, Calvino finds this emphasis comforting (it rescues him from the terrors of "intellectual agoraphobia") but disconcerting: "what will vanish is the figure of the author . . . the author as an exhibitor of his own soul in the permanent Exhibition of Souls . . . ."[9]

There is a "history," says Plottel, "inscribed in the language of the text." It is the history of the structures of human signification. Further, this grammatical/rhetorical

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du Seuil, 1982; Jeanine Parisier Plottel and Hanna Charney, ed., *Intertextuality: New Perspectives in Criticism*. New York: New York Literary Forum, 1978.

[3] "[Julia] Kristeva herself credits her own textual permutations to Bakhtin. Cultural historians might trace the concept of intertextuality in her work to the Eastern European formalist tradition of the early twentieth century. Although Kristeva's present audience is primarily . . . steeped in the most recent developments of the critical model now emerging through Franco-American transatlantic commuting, the issues that she tackles appear also in many pages of Soviet semioticians, especially Iouri Lotman, for whom intertextuality is the public domain of culture itself." Plottel, "Introduction" in Plottel-Charney, op. cit., p.xv.

[4] Genette, op. cit. p.7. Genette refers to Derrida's well-known aphorism: writing is *l'écriture d'une écriture.*

[5] op. cit. p.xiv.

[6] op. cit. p.xx.

[7] Michael Riffaterre. Quoted by Genette, op. cit. p. 8.

[8] Calvino, op. cit. p.7, in a not very sympathetic analysis.

[9] op. cit. p.16.

history is *visually* presented; it is "inscribed." Calvino sums up his view of this history: as soon as human conversation came into existence

> so were the rules that it was forced to follow. . . . Primitive oral narrative . . . is modeled on fixed structures, on, we might say, prefabricated elements—elements . . . that allow of an enormous number of combinations . . . .[10]

When writing was invented, these combinations took on the special signifying conventions of literacy. Thus a text is a document, a visual inscription which is once removed from basic human, phonetic utterance. Nevertheless, the relationship of signs to what is signified is determined by matrices of codes [sign→signifier→signified].[11] In certain forms of structuralism, at the bottom of all human utterance there is one code, one story. The result is a "scripturalism" which can

> be traced back to combinations of a certain number of logico-linguistic (or better, syntactical-rhetorical) operations, in such a way as to be reducible to formulas that are the more general as they become less complex.[12]

One text always implicates other texts; code matrices always implicate other code matrices. This principle generates intertextuality to the end that "Every text echoes another text unto infinity, weaving the fabric of the text of culture itself."[13]

Every theme has its variations. For Genette, *l'intertextualité* does not determine all inter-documental relationships; intertextuality is one of five separate "transtextual" operations.[14] Harold Bloom understands intertextual relationships, especially in poetry, as part the Freudian struggle of the son to free himself from the father. Thus, there exists "the anxiety of influence" in the "strong poet's" contention to wrest himself away from the domination of another "strong poet."[15]

Italo Calvino and Umberto Eco espouse a "semiosis," but they also shy from what they see as an empirical reductionism, an "atheistic theology" behind "unlimited semiosis."[16] This "theology" threatens to strip away the "mystery" of language and

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[10] op. cit. p.5.

[11] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*. tr. Wade Baskin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959. p.65f.

[12] Calvino, op. cit. p.7.

[13] Plottel, op. cit. p.xv.

[14] Genette takes pains to point out that "the transcendents" in "transtextuality" are not akin to those in "ideal" philosophy, such as in Plato or Hegel. (1) *Architextualité*—all categories or transcendents: types of discourse, modes of enunciation, literary genres, etc. (2) *Intertextualité*—allusion; citation; *la plagiat;* that is, what is generally called intertextuality by Kristeva, Riffaterre. (3) *Paratextualité*—titles, subtitles, chapter headings; whether actually written or implied. (4) *Metatextualité*—that which joins one text to another text of which it speaks, but not necessarily a citation. (5) *Hypertextualité*—the whole relationship of text B to anterior text A, but not in the manner of a commentary (e.g., the relationship of the *Aeneid* as a whole to the *Odyssey*). op. cit. p.7-13; *passim.*

[15] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry.* London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

[16] Eco, op. cit. p.163.

of the author's creative struggle, efforts which they believe are an essential part of the whole quest for meaning in theories of signs.[17] Calvino's analysis is sharply to the point:

> The world is increasingly looked upon as *discrete* rather than *continuous*. . . . The process going on today is the triumph of discontinuity, divisibility, and combination over all that is flux, or a series of minute nuances following one upon the other.[18]

Thus the "true positivist" of Derrida[19] is part of a contemporary trend to dismantle everything,[20] including "the most complex of all [human] machines: language."[21] To dismantle something is to gain control over it (reverse engineering); and control is the chief end. It is also the end of dialogue with an author; one cannot dialogue with dismantled machine or with a visual impression.[22]

The reader of literature on semiology, deconstruction, and intertextuality may be startled by its abundance of deliberate fancies, puns, playful neologisms, and conceived oxymorons.[23] There is a strong element of games-playing in semiotics and intertextuality.[24] The enterprise is very serious, but it is seldom solemn, unless it has to do with theological texts.[25]

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[17] Thus, the two Italians are attracted by American Pragmatism. "It is the childish pleasure of the combinatorial game that leads the painter to try out arrangements of lines and colors, the poet to experiment with the juxtaposition of words. At a certain moment *things click into place*, and one of the combinations obtained . . . becomes charged with an unexpected meaning or unforeseen effect which the conscious mind would not have arrived at deliberately." Calvino, op. cit. p.21 (emphasis mine).

[18] op. cit. p.9.

[19] "The phenomenologist . . . is the 'true positivist' who returns to the things themselves. . . . Thus one might say . . . that Husserl, by his rejection of system and speculative closure, and by virtue of the style of his thought, is attuned to the historicity of meaning and to the possibility of its becoming . . ." Jacques Derrida, "'Genesis and Structure' and Phenomenology" in *Writing and Difference*. tr. Alan Bass. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978. p. 155.

[20] Moore sees this tendency as an actual return to Enlightenment canons; the "post-modern" label therefore will not stick. "The 'Post-' Age Stamp: Does It Stick?": Biblical Studies and the Postmodernism Debate." *JAAR* 57(1989) 543-59.

[21] Calvino, op. cit. p.11.

[22] Nathan A. Scott, Jr. "The House of Intellect in an Age of Carnival." *JAAR* 55(1987) 3-19.

[23] Examples are Roland Barthes' erotic play on *jouissance* in *The Pleasure of the Text*. tr. Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 1975, and that on *bouton* in Riffaterre's "All-Purpose Words: The Case of the French Buttons" in Plottel-Charney, *Intertextuality*. p.247ff.

[24] The terms "game," "language games," "play," "interplay" are prolific in the literature.

[25] There appears to be an inverse proportion between risibility and theological enterprise as Richard Pervo has chronicled in *Profit with Delight*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.

The serious playfulness of contemporary literary criticism may be due in part to its understanding that to peer into the abyss wherein lies the mystery of human language and creativity, we must lean perilously over the edge.[26] The possible free-fall generates giddiness. It is also the case that the sporting of these critics is due to the world-condition which births it, the world "as carnival."[27] The contemporary world threatens to dethrone the once royal concept which ruled western culture, the belief that behind an author's texts stands The Author who establishes Meaning, and The Author's *logos* is the legitimization of the words of the text.[28] In a world which has dethroned the king and crowned the jester "the common life is invaded by a great wave of riotous antinomianism."[29]

Antinomianism calls for a new *nomos:* a map of the human construct of *la langue* which alone gives anchor to communities adrift in the Einsteinian universe and meaning to the vain human attempt to make things hold still by naming them.[30] The cartography stretches from text to text, to the last text in *terra incognita.*

II. What *We* Mean by Intertextuality

Although the operation has not used the term (which is a neologism) until very recently, intertextuality among those who study late antiquity usually denotes an historical trace of the literary influence of one document upon another.[31] One author read and was influenced by his/her reading of one or more chirographs (in some form). The author then re-wrote or reflected or redacted the other textual materials and incorporated them into his/her own document. Oral tradition may be taken into account as part of the process that generated documents.

Intertextuality takes on the name in more recent discussions. The "transmissional" operations of authors' working on other documents to produce their own documents

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[26] "In these theories [of semiotics] there always remained a void that no one knew how to fill, a zone of darkness between cause and effect: how does one arrive at the written page?" Calvino, op. cit. p.14, in complaint of semiotics' reduction of the "zone of darkness" to mathematical formulae.

[27] Scott, op. cit., p.6: "[according to Bakhtin] . . . everything is topsy-turvy, and the disarray thus engenders an uproarious kind of laughter. But the laughter belonging to carnival is no more the laughter of absolute negation than it is the laughter of absolute affirmation . . . ambivalence of viewpoint is the prevailing sentiment: *nothing* is accorded a privileged status, and *everything* is relativized."

[28] Structural linguistics has strongly attacked biblical studies' "logocentrism." See E. Güttgemanns on Bultmann in "Linguistic-Critical Foundation of a New Testament Theology," *Semeia* 6 (1976): "Erhardt Güttgemanns' "Generative Poetics." ed. Norman R. Petersen. tr. William G. Doty. p.192f.

[29] Scott, op. cit. p.6.

[30] Scott's criticism of Derridean "deconstruction" is to the point: "The great lesson . . . that Derrida wants to lay down is that language is without any foundation outside itself in which the play of language may be grounded . . . " op. cit. p.8.

[31] Kümmel's "History" aptly chronicles that most discussions in biblical scholarship have had to do with what texts to include in "literary interconnection" (p.303) or how oral tradition led to texts or by what methods to interpret a written text. Werner Georg Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems.* tr. Gilmour and Kee. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972.

becomes a method by which to map out the theological and literary roads taken by the developing church, for the editorial and rhetorical manipulations of the editor are always driven by theological motives.[32] Thus the history of the church moves from point to point, a connected grid of literary influences drawn between documents.

A Summary Interlude

There are thus two basic understandings of the term "intertextuality." The first speaks of the reader's interpretation of documents: intertextuality as an hermeneutic. The hermeneutic may be that of the modern reader's attempt to interpret a text (ancient or modern) for him/herself; it may be an historiographical hermeneutic: to know a document "as a reader of late antiquity would understand it." The second understanding of intertextuality denotes a descriptive analysis of the source and influence relationships of late antiquity's literature: intertextuality as an historiographical method. These two understandings are not mutually exclusive.

III. Intertextuality, Textuality and Orality in Late Antiquity

> Today's vast literature on intertextuality and on interpretive communities has made it quite clear that texts come into being through interaction with other texts and are interpreted in traditions worked out by specific groups engaged with other texts. But intertextual analysis has commonly paid little attention to the interaction between texts and their circumambient orality. . . . Orality-literacy contrasts and interactions, we must remind ourselves, involve not only merely different 'channels' for units of 'information' but different noetic worlds and different psycho-dynamics.[33]

Orality is an essential component of what lies *entre trois et quatre.* If the precepts which Ong's statement represents have merit, orality is far more important in our understanding the relationships among the documentary artifacts of late antiquity than virtually all of us have believed. On the basis of Ong's analysis, Kelber makes a sharp attack on intertextuality.

> . . . the principle of intertextuality, far from being simply a matter of hard evidence, is also a presupposition of our method. Trained to interpret texts, impressed by the ubiquity of texts, and working single-mindedly with texts, we are bound to discover intertextuality.[34]

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[32] See John Dominic Crossan, *The Cross That Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative.* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988; *Four Other Gospels: Shadows on the Contours of the Canon.* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985.

[33] Walter J. Ong, "Text As Interpretation" in *Semeia* 39(1987) 21. By "text" Ong denotes "document."

[34] *Semeia* 39. p.120. Kelber's "opponent" in this attack is John Dominic Crossan. He ignores Crossan's use of "text" to include "the text of Christian history" as a component in intertextual analyses. Nevertheless, the end result according to Crossan is that "the text of Christian history" becomes ultimately "texted" into a chirograph. See Crossan, *Four Other Gospels.* p.52, et al.

The "orality-issue" thus challenges the very basis of our work. As Achtemeier (following Ong) says,

> . . . one suspects . . . scholarly suppositions have prevailed that are simply anachronistic when applied to the actual environment within which documents were written and read . . . much work remains to be done—and redone!"[35]

The "suppositions" which Achtemeier mentions are essentially our failure—in spite of our conscientious efforts to avoid it—to divest ourselves of the assumption that the *persona* in late antiquity was a Western, modern one. Thus, with all our assertions to the contrary, we continue to believe that (1) the genesis of the texts we study was by an act of chirography which may be interpreted much as it is in our own culture; (2) intellection is a private act and its product is private property; (3) reading and writing are primarily silent, private enterprises; (3) chirography is historically "more reliable" than oral utterance; (4) rhetorical influences of one author upon another were mainly literary, that is, they came from one author's *reading* another's written work; (5) oral tradition is a component in the production of documents; however, oral tradition is that which "lies behind" the chirographic text (that is, "sayings were the sort of thing you found in texts, only they had not been written down"[36]).

The challenge is not only that none of the above assumptions holds true for late antiquity but that the attack upon them is as much based upon evidence from late antiquity as it is upon modern linguistics.[37] The resultant prospect is daunting.

IV. Is a Frog a Text?

> . . . the Scythian princes . . . dispatched a herald to the Persian camp with presents for Darius: a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows; . . . the bearer . . . said [the Persians] would find out the meaning for themselves, if they were wise.
>
> Darius gave his opinion. The Scythians intended to surrender their land and water; . . . the mouse is an inhabitant of the earth and eats the same food as man, while the frog lives in water; . . . the bird is especially like a horse,[38] and the arrows signify the surrender of power.

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[35] op. cit. p.27.

[36] Ong, *Semeia* 39. p.12.

[37] Achtemeier, op. cit. p.9-19, and *Semeia* 39 give many examples. Among them are descriptions of the practices of reading and writing in late antiquity. The conclusion is that there is virtually no evidence to contradict the assertion that private, silent reading and writing simply did not exist in the period. Texts were produced to be read out loud in a communal setting. This setting persisted until the invention of the printing press. The potentialities for silent reading and reflection existed as soon as the Greeks invented the first true alphabet, but they did not become fully actual until the modern era. See Eric A. Havelock, *Origins of Western Literacy.* Monograph Series/14. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1974. p.49.

[38] Herodotos does not explain how Darius arrived at the bird/horse analogy, i.e., the intertextual elements which Darius brought to the reading of the bird are obscure.

> Gobryas . . . supplied another interpretation: Unless, Persians, you turn into birds and fly away or become mice and burrow in the ground or make yourselves into frogs and hide in the swamps, . . . you will die by our arrows. (Herodotos, *History*. IV. 131-32)

Intertextuality in respect to the traditions of late antiquity must account for characteristics peculiar to the nature and operation of written texts in that period. The following principles are to promote discussion among us "chirographicophiliacs."

1. Human utterance is always a struggle against the confines of language.[39] Therefore, far from semiotics' necessarily being a reductive description of codes which are restrictively inherent in human utterance, it may actually be the realization of another possibility: "that of questioning the established scale of values and code of meanings."[40] Further, structural studies need not be confined to documents; the disciplines embrace all human "signing."[41]

2. The evidence from late antiquity is that oral operations (presentation and hearing) and literary operations (reading and writing) were (1) inescapably interlocked, and (2) they were communal activities. Chirographs were created for and by the community and in the service of orality.

An example of a chirograph's service of orality in an interpretive community of late antiquity is *Acta Petri cum Simone* 19-22 (Lipsius-Bonnet: 66:4-7:26). Peter enters a room in which a gospel is being read [*vidit euangelium legi* (66:29-30)]. He closes ("rolls up") the book and makes comment upon the practice of recitation: *viri qui in Christo creditis et speratis scitote qualiter debeat sancta scribtura domini nostri pronuntiari*[42] (67:1-2). Peter's subsequent and interpretive oral exposition[43] of the "recital" contains the theological subject-matter which tints the whole scene. "Vision" and "seeing" as metaphors for soteriological themes permeate the pericope and are narratively "acted out" by miraculous signs (the restoring of vision to the blind). The scene is marked at regular intervals with "formula-phrases": allusions to the Hebrew scriptural tradition and to Christian liturgical pronouncements, e.g., *ipse est in patre et pater in eo* (67:24). The pericope is (1) an example of the oral use of documents in community and (2) one which is itself basically oral in its rhetoric.[44]

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[39] "Does [literature] not continually attempt to say something it cannot say, something that it does not know, and the no one could ever know? . . . The struggle of literature is in fact a struggle to escape from the confines of language; what stirs literature is the call and attraction of what is not in the dictionary. Calvino, op. cit. p.18.

[40] Calvino, op. cit. p.82. Eco: "A text is not simply a communicational apparatus. It is a device which questions the previous signifying systems, often renews them, and sometimes destroys them." op. cit. p.25.

[41] Eco distinguishes "general" from "specific" semiotics: "A general semiotics studies the whole of the human signifying activity—languages—and languages are what constitutes human beings as such, that is, as semiotic animals." op. cit. p.12.

[42] *pronuntiari* is striking, especially in view of the apologia for written texts which immediately follows (67:2-4).

[43] *nunc quod vobis lectum est iam vobis exponam* (67:10-11).

[44] The taxonomy of "signs" of such orality has begun. See Boomershine, *Semeia* 39. p.55f.; Bartholomew, *Semeia* 39. p.75f.; Achetemeier, op. cit. p.19f.

The evidence suggests that the production of documents was also often both an oral and communal enterprise. The model of composition in Krister Stendahl's 'school' of St. Matthew may also say much about the production of other early church literature.[45]

3. Thus, intertextuality involves not only chirographs; it involves the interplay between the "circumambient orality"[46] of the culture and written texts. Oral tradition does not cease when it is written down.[47] Nor does oral tradition carry on "alongside" written texts. The texts of late antiquity are a combinatory play of orality and literacy. From a practical standpoint, this means that even word-for-word agreement does not necessarily indicate a literary interdependence. One author may have heard a text read (at some time) or may have heard someone else's recital of a text which had been memorized (at some time); the "original" narrative formulation may or may not be preserved for us. Thus, certain diachronic evaluations of written documents become tenuous.

A case in point is Schneemelcher's use of "the lion who lay down at Paul's feet"[48] to establish a literary relationship between Hippolytus and the *Acta Pauli.* Schneemelcher is justifiably cautious:

> This passage might refer to AThe c. 28 and c. 33, but only becomes intelligible if Hippolytus had also read the scene of Paul's combat with the lions. We may thus conjecture that Hippolytus knew the whole AP. . . .[49]

It is as conceivable that such vivid stories were wide-spread in the church's oral narrations.

4. There is dynamic interplay between the orality of a document and the literacy of the same document.[50] Thus, we may speak of intertextuality within a document

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[45] With our added emphasis upon the orality of the operation's genesis and product. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1954. See also Amos N. Wilder, *The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric.* New York: Harper & Row, 1964, p.36, although Wilder refers directly to the "authors" who created the traditions upon which the evangelists relied. The concept of "a committee's" producing seminal documents is often unacceptable in our culture. Colleagues with whom I have taught courses on ancient literature insist that there must have been a "real" Homer; a work of "genius" such as *The Odyssey* could not have come from a "committee."

[46] Ong's phrase: see n.33, above.

[47] The evidence cited in *Semeia* 39 and in Achtemeier, op. cit., is embarrassingly familiar: e.g., Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Väter.* Berlin: Akademie, 1957; Jacob Neusner, *Oral Tradition in Judaism: The Case of the Mishnah* (A.B. Lord Studies in Oral Tradition 1). New York: Garland, 1987.

[48] Hippolytus, *Comm. Daniel.* III,29; *Sources chrétiennes.* 14, p.254.

[49] W. Schneemelcher in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965. v.2. p.323-24.

[50] That is, the rhetorical and syntactical "markers" (signifiers) in oral narrative differ from those in written narrative. See Boomershine, *Semeia* 39: 55f., and Achtemeier, *JBL* 109(1990) 19f.

in which its oral-textual components may either complement or work against its literary components.

For example, the "clustering" of parables, sayings, or short narratives in a document is an example of the movement of primary orality to "a second order of operation." This "compilation of sayings and parables, a textually contrived arrangement, invites reflection and analysis . . . interpretation becomes a self-conscious activity." Thus the original purpose of the tradition which was soteriological (on the hearing of the *logia* in a community of believers) tends to become reflective.[51]

The tension between orality and literacy in communities of faith differed in intensity and in the weight given to each respective narrative/noetic operation. The potential for literacy and reflective thought which Havelock sees in the invention of writing[52] is present in every chirograph, but actualized to differing degrees. Such weighting has theological consequences.[53]

5. Archetypes of narrative (e.g., genre) are part of the orality of the culture just as they may be part of the literacy of that same culture. One may, for example, speak of the *bios* as one of the ways that one told narrative in late antiquity. A narrator may employ a *bios*-form, even if the narrator had never "read" a *bios*.[54]

6. In antiquity, both publication and translation were oral acts. Translations (as well as the primary work) were read aloud as they were written down; they were written to be read aloud. The translation of an ancient chirograph moves from one literacy world to another; it also migrates from one oral realm to another. The role of translation in the dynamic tension between orality and literacy will necessarily be a part of intertextual discussion. Can we work out models of the change in orality and oral markers from a primary to a secondary (that is, translated) orality?[55]

7. One of the more difficult tasks we face will be to "erase" the kind of intertextual relationships which have arisen in the publication of oral/chirographic documents into modern writings. The editors of texts have had influences on the way we decode

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[51] Kelber, *Semeia* 39. p.117-18. The text in Kelber's view is the Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Thomas*.

[52] See n. 37, above.

[53] See Kelber's discussion, n.51, above. Achtemeier correctly cautions us against "too-hasty applications of the change from the oral medium to the written medium to the time the NT was written." He has in mind Kelber's assertion that Mark made a "crucial (shift) from sound to silence" when he wrote a "gospel." op. cit. p.27, n.156.

[54] At this point, "our" intertextuality differs greatly from that of, e.g., Genette: *Quel Borges, quel Calvino nous donnera enfin la premiere chanson de geste, la source inconnue de l'Iliade, le manuscrit autographe des Mémoires d'outre-tombe?* op. cit. p.435.

[55] The description of the process of an ancient author's translating a sacred text in *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1381* takes on a different flavor in the light of late antiquity's orality. The occurrences of *keryxai; apangelein; allattologos charis* point up the difficulty of the author's "pouring forth . . . words." Although the text is corrupt, the author's description is telling: "I was about to (unlawfully) take it (to give to those) outside . . . ." David Cartlidge and David Dungan, *Documents (sic!) for the Study of the Gospels*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. p.122-124.

the documents. Punctuation marks, versification, section headings, and footnotes are all incursions of literacy into texts which originally contained none of these.[56] Such incursions are not simply consciously realized. Boomershine's suggestion that we read the texts aloud in order to find the oral markers for interpretation will best accomplish its purpose if we read them apart from the visual signs which modern editions of ancient literature contain.[57] But this program does not solve the crucially difficult problem: few of us, no matter how skilled we may be in ancient languages, are as yet at home with the phonetic significations of those languages.

8. Indeed, Boomershine's suggestion is only the beginning of a new look at the traditions of late antiquity. Oral presentation of tradition is, in modern parlance, an "art-event"; it is a "reading" more in the sense in which an actor "reads" a play's lines than it is that of a scholar's reading *in camera*, even if the scholar's studio resounds with his reading the text aloud. Significant insights into the inter-relationships of early church traditions will come from an understanding of the interplay and influences of one art-form and its aesthetic elements upon another. Such influences may certainly be called intertextuality, but they involve significantly different relationships than does our common understanding of the effect of one "text" upon another:

> One indication of the originality of the primitive Christian literature appears in the difficulty we have in finding terms for . . . forms. The very word 'literature' is unsatisfactory, as is so often evident in books on the Bible 'as literature'. The term 'poetry' as we ordinarily use it has to be carefully qualified when we apply it to the rhythmic parts of the Bible. The category 'biography' is not suitable to the Gospels nor is that of tragedy. The term 'history' is not adequate for the Book of Acts, nor is 'oratory' appropriate to the discourses of the apostles or the prophets. Our usual tools for rhetorical genres and forms are at home in the classical and humanist traditions, but come short when we face our present task.[58]

The notion of the church's language as art-event, a concept which infuses Wilder's work, may well be the brightest beacon for our studies in intertextuality, and its illumination is not occluded outside Christian waters.

What we mean by intertextuality is therefore both a liberating and vexing question.[59] We can accept the challenge of late antiquity's orality as either an annulment of or a complement to work which we have already done. The latter will prove more fruitful to research. We obviously cannot ignore that chirographs are our most prevalent artifacts from late antiquity's traditions. But we must accept that "oral text" and the study of "oral intertextuality" are not oxymorons in historical studies of late

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[56] Achtemeier, op. cit. p.17-18.

[57] *Semeia* 39. p.65. His suggestion that "it would be possible to divide modern scholarship into those who read aloud and those who read in silence" is perhaps only partly tongue-in-cheek.

[58] Wilder, op. cit. p.36. On the other hand, the investigation of any religious tradition's aesthetic languages will likely reveal that tradition's originality.

[59] See Thomas J. Farrell, "Kelber's Breakthrough" in *Semeia* 39, p.28. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, "The Author Replies." *Commonweal* 111/Feb. 24(1984) 100.

antiquity. Even to recognize and to internalize the nature of orality is not sufficient. Our attempts to view the "Exhibition of Souls" which was the community of the early church will come into focus only if we recognize that we seek the creative souls of artists.

The proper question is therefore "In what way is a frog a text?"

Philo and the Logic of Apologetics: An Analysis of the *Hypothetica*

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> The Egyptians began the libels against us. Wanting to impress them, certain authors set out to twist the truth.
>
> Josephus, *CA* 1.223

The existence of both Greco-Egyptian and Jewish literary traditions dealing with the position of the Jews in Egypt was a long-standing legacy by the time of Philo. The former is represented as early as Hecataeus of Abdera and extends through Manetho to Lysimachus and two of Philo's contemporaries: Chaeremon and Apion. The latter is likewise well attested: beginning with the LXX and Demetrius in the third century it moves down through Artapanus, Aristobulus, and Pseudo-Aristeas until it reaches Philo.[1]

One of the most neglected works of Philo is the fragmentary *Hypothetica*. Although the general apologetic nature of the fragments is well known, the specific character and orientation of the material has remained unclear. It is the purpose of this paper to offer a basic reconstruction of this work and to locate it tentatively within the context of the Egyptian-Jewish exchange. In order to do this, we will utilize a modified theory of genre criticism analyzing the content, form, and function of the fragments.[2]

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[1] For the earlier material see Gregory E. Sterling, "Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography" (Ph.D. Diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1989) 95-148 (Hecataeus), 190-219 (Manetho), 245-268 (Demetrius), 269-300 (Artapanus). On the later material see below under "Function." Significant surveys of this literature as a whole include M. Friedlander, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christentums* (Zürich: Caesar Schmidt, 1903), John G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (SBLMS 16; Nashville/New York: Abingdon Press, 1972); and Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols. rev. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-86) 3.1:594-616.

[2] The theory was developed by the Apocalypse Group of the SBL Genres Project and may be found in Adela Yarbro Collins, ed. *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting* (Semeia 36; Decatur: Scholars Press, 1986) esp. 1-11. I employ these three categories only for the purposes of formal analysis. The three are ultimately integrally related.

Content

The Fragments. Among the numerous fragments in the eighth book of his *Praeparatio evangelica,* Eusebius has preserved two extracts from Philo to which he assigns two separate titles: 8.6.1-7.20 (Ὑποθετικά in 8.5.11) and 8.11.1-18 (ἡ Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογία in 8.10.19).[3] The situation is compounded by the fact that in his catalogue of Philo's works in *HE* 2.18.6, Eusebius does not list either of these two works explicitly. He does, however, mention that among the μονόβιβλα of Philo there was ὁ Περὶ Ἰουδαιων αὐτῷ συνταχθεὶς λόγος.

These data raise three sets of issues. First, are the fragments in *PE* 8.6.1-7.20 and 8.11.1-18 authentic? It is worth pointing out that Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland did not print either fragment in their *editio major,* but did include them as an appendix in their *editio minor.*[4] Cohn apparently questioned the first fragment because of the differences between the laws here and their corresponding treatments in *De Specialibus Legibus.*[5] These differences, however, are no more problematic than other divergences in the Philonic corpus and the treatment of the Sabbath is thoroughly Philonic. I, therefore, see no reason to question its authenticity.[6] The second fragment which presents the Essenes has also been criticized on the basis of its variations from *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* and its alleged monasticism.[7] As in the case of the first fragment, there now appears to be a *sensus communis* that the dissimilarities do not exclude Philonic authorship.[8]

The second issue addresses the relationship between the two fragments. Eusebius introduces the second fragment by explaining that the Jewish people are divided into two classes: the multitude whom he leads along with precepts commanded according

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[3] I have used the text of Karl Mras, *Eusebius Werke 8: Die Praeparatio Evangelica* (2 vols. GCS 43; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954) for my analysis of Eusebius. I used the Loeb text of Colson (1941) in the later parts of the paper. All translations are mine.

[4] Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* (7 vols.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1896-1930 [*editio major*]) and their *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* (6 vols.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1896-1915) 6:189-200.

[5] His doubts were recorded by Isaak Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung: Kulturvergleichende Untersuchungen zu Philons Darstellung der judischen Gesetze* (2nd ed.; Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1932; reprint ed., Hildesheim/New York: Georg Alms, 1973) 353 [Cf. also 252-58, where he notes some of the differences between the two works].

[6] So also Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung* 353; Colson, *Philo* 9:408 n.a; and P. Borgen, "Philo of Alexandria," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 247.

[7] E.g., Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums* (Leipzig, 1884; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966) 87-88, 113-116. For other doubters see the note in M. L. Massebieau, "Le classement des oeuvres de Philon," *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études: Sciences religieuses* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889) 61 n. 1.

[8] Massebieau, "Le classement des oeuvres de Philon," 59-65, has a defense. Cf. also Max Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen: Zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Bereich des frühjüdischen Jahweglaubens* (OBO 26; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag/ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) 222-23.

to the literal sense (κατὰ τὴν ῥητὴν διάνοιαν) and the few who are to devote their attention to the contemplation of the things signified in the laws κατὰ διάνοιαν (8.10.18). What is striking about this distinction is that it reflects the two different presentations in the fragments: *PE* 7.1-20 treats the law in general and 8.11.1-18 portrays the Essenes as the athletes of virtue. Is this the distinction of Eusebius or his source? Given the fact that such a distinction permeates much of the Philonic corpus, it is more likely that Eusebius has composed his transition based upon the underlying Philonic text.[9]

This relationship is reinforced by the titles themselves. Eusebius introduced the first fragment with these words: "First I will set out Philo's treatment of the Jews' exodus from Egypt which they made under the leadership of Moses," then specifying, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος ὧν ἐπέγραψεν Ὑποθετικῶν, ἔνθα τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων, ὡς πρὸς κατηγόρους αὐτῶν, ποιούμενος λόγον (8.5.11). The similarity of the explanatory τὸν Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων . . . λόγον to the title of the second fragment, ἡ Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογία, is striking. How should we explain the presence of Ὑποθετικά? Should we think of chapter headings? I suggest that the very unusual Ὑποθετικά was the Philonic title and that its opacity led Eusebius both to explain it in 8.5.11 and then to offer his summary title in 8.10.19.[10] We, therefore, stand on fairly solid ground when we connect the two fragments into one work.[11]

The third issue is how this work relates to the volume mentioned in *HE* 2.18.6. Can we connect the Περὶ Ἰουδαίων with the Ὑποθετικά which Eusebius dubbed Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων? While the titles are similar, the work in *HE* 2.18.6 is explicitly said to be one volume while *Hypoth.* must be at least two according to *PE* 8.5.11. This means that we must argue that Eusebius learned about a second volume (or more) before he wrote *PE* or that he was sloppy or that they are not identical. Since Eusebius is correct in the other volumes he lists as μονόβιβλα, I am reluctant to make the identification as tempting as it is.[12]

The Hypothetica and Contra Apionem. Another fundamental issue underlying our understanding of *Hypoth.* is its relationship to the *CA* of Josephus. The similarities

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[9] Ῥητός is regularly used by Philo to denote a literal reading. There are at least two texts where ῥητός is set over against διάνοια in Philo: *Spec.* 1.287 and *Praem.* 61.

[10] Ὑποθετικά is a very unusual title; the term is used elsewhere only once by Eusebius at *HE* 4.23.2. On the other hand, ἀπολογία is frequent (68t. in Eusebius counting variants). So also Jenny Morris in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3.2:867-68.

[11] *Contra* Emil Schürer, *The Literature of the Jewish People* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1890; reprint ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1972) 356. In agreement with Bacchisio Motzo, "Le Ὑποθετιά de Filone," *Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 47 (1911-12) 563-564; Colson, *Philo* 9:407; Samuel Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) 31; Borgen, "Philo," 247; Morris in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3.2:867-68; and Robert M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988) 12-13.

[12] Those who make the identification are Motzo, "Le Ὑποθετικά di Filone," 564-565; Colson, *Philo* 9:407; Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria* 31; and Borgen, "Philo," 247. Morris leaves the issue open, Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3.2:868.

between the two were noted as early as Eusebius (*PE* 8.7.21). If we could establish the dependence of Josephus on Philo, then we could attempt to reconstruct *Hypoth.* on the basis of a critical reading of *CA*.[13] The relationship, however, is more complex as the accompanying chart (pp. 416-417) will indicate. In order to present a picture of the various possible relationships, I have listed the subject matter of the law in Philo, possible biblical precedents, treatments of the same subject in *De Specialibus Legibus*, the texts from *CA* 2, and parallels from Pseudo-Phocylides.[14] In listing these texts I have tried to point out possible correlations without implying identical treatment or literary dependence. While some of the texts are debatable, the chart should provide a representative picture.

The large number of points of possible contact between Philo and Josephus suggests that Josephus was in some way dependent. The differences in order and selection in the two texts imply that rather than direct dependence, we should think of shared traditions. The agreement of Pseudo-Phocylides supports this.[15] For this reason I am reluctant to reconstruct *Hypoth.* based upon *CA* 2.

Reconstruction. We may now offer a partial reconstruction of book one of *Hypoth.* based upon the two fragments. I enclose in brackets what is not in the fragments, but may be safely inferred from them. I have indicated the points at which Eusebius broke the narrative.

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[13] I am aware of two such efforts: Motzo, "Le Ὑποθετικά di Filone," 562 [who attempts to reconstruct an entire book] and Samuel Belkin, "The Alexandrian Source for Contra Apionem II," 27 (1936-37) 23-31 and *The Alexandrian Halakah in Apologetic Literature of the First Century C.E.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, n.d.) 29-37 [who only attempts to argue for the presence of some material in *CA* in lost portions of *Hypoth*].

[14] I have used the edition of Rahlfs for the LXX, the Loeb edition of *Spec.* by Colson (1937, 1939) for Philo, the Loeb edition of Josephus by Thackeray (1926), and P. W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: With Introduction and Commentary* (SVTP 4; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) for Pseudo-Phocylides. van der Horst places the document in Alexandria and suggests a date of 30-40 C.E. The similarity of Pseudo-Phocylides has been addressed by James E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* (FRLANT 109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) 84-89 and Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* 207-10.

[15] So also Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung* 354-8; Isidore Lévy, *Recherches Esseńiennes et Pythagoriciennes* (Hautes Etudes du Monde Greco-Romain 3; Genève: Librairie Droz/Paris: Librairie Minard, 1965) 51-56; Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* 84-89, 97-101; Küchler, *Früjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* 207-10, 221. Cf. also David M. Hay, "What is Proof?—Rhetorical Verification in Philo, Josephus, and Quintilian," *SBLSP* (ed. Paul J. Achtemeier; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 2:87-100 [who compares *Flac.* *CA* and Quintilian]. *Contra* Norman Bentwich, *Philo-Judaeus of Alexandria* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1910) 220-22; Motzo, "Le Ypotetica di Filone," 557-63; Belkin, "The Alexandrian Source for Contra Apionem II," 31 and *The Alexandrian Halakah in Apologetic Literature* 68 as well as *Philo and the Oral Law: The Philonic Interpretation of Biblical Law in Relation to the Palestinian Halakah* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940) 22-25; V. Nikiprowetzky, "Recherches Esséniennes et Pythagoriciennes: A propos d'un livre recent," *REJ* 125 (1966) 321.

The Law Code

Hypothetica 7.1-9	LXX	*Spec.*	*CA* 2	Pseudo-Phocylides
1. Pederasty (Homosexuality)	Lev 20:13	3.37-42	199, 214	3, 190-92
2. Adultery	Lev 20:10; Deut 22:22	3.7-11	199, 215	3, 177-83
3. Rape	Deut 22:25-27	3.64-71	215	198
4. Self-Prostitution				
5. Indecent Action for Age				
6. Abuse of a Slave	Ex 21:20-27	3.137-43		225-26
7. Abuse of a Freeperson				
8. Enchaining a Person				
9. Selling Humans	Ex 21:17	4.13-19		
10. Theft of Profane	Ex 22:1-4	4.1-39	208	
11. Theft of Sacred				
12. Reviling God, Parents, Benefactor	Ex 21:16; Lev 24:15-16	2.242-48	217	80
13. Wife to Serve Husband		3.169-171	201	
14. Parents Rule Children	Ex 20:12; Deut 5:16	2.223-241	206	208-9
15. Master of Possessions				
16. Sacrilege				
17. Sacrilege of Others' Gifts				
18. Vow of Wife's Property	Lev 27; Num 30			
19. Vow of Son's Property	Lev 27; Num 30			
20. Vow of Subject's Property	Lev 27; Num 30			
21. Negative Golden Rule	Lev 19:18			
22. Deposits		4.30-40	208, 216	13, 135-6
23. Stealing from a Stack				
24. Denying Fire			211	

25. Denying Water			211	
26. Give to Poor	Lev 25:35		211	22-30
27. Refusal of Burial			211	
28. Proper Burial			205	99
29. Disturbance of Graves				100-1
30. Worsen Plight of Unfortunate		4.197-202		
31. Castration				187
32. Abortion	Ex 21:21-25	3.108-9	202	184-5
33. Mistreatment of Animals			213	
34. Castration of Animals	Lev 22:24			
35. Destruction of Animals' Newborn				
36. Unjust Scales	Lev 19:35-36	4.193-4		15
37. False Measurements	Ezek 45:10-11	4.193-4	216	14
38. Unjust Coinage				
39. Revealing Secrets of a Friend			207	
40. Separating Parents from Children				
41. Separating of Wife from Husband				
42. Emptying a Nest	Deut 22:6-7		213	84-5
43. Refusing Appeal of Animals			213	

[Introduction]
Historical Issues About Origins (8.6.1-9)
Entry into Egypt and Reasons for Leaving (8.6.1)
MINOR BREAK
Wilderness Trek (8.6.2-4)
Settlement (8.6.5-7)
Transition: Panegyric on Jewish Fidelity to Mosaic Laws (8.6.8-9)
BREAK
Laws (8.7.1-20; 11.1-19)
[Attack on Leniency of Other Law Codes][16]
Laws (8.7.1-9)
MINOR BREAK[17]
Sabbath and Sabbath Year (8.7.10-20)
BREAK
Essenes (8.11.1-19)

The transitional statement in 8.6.8-9 makes us think that the historical issues were essentially over at this point. The summary statements in 8.7.20 and 8.11.19 likewise indicate that we have the full treatments of the Sabbath and the Essenes. Even with these assurances, we must admit that we are far from a comprehensive reconstruction of the whole.[18]

Form

Since the fragments naturally fall into several different literary units, we will explore individual problems and sections before attempting to address the nature of book one as a whole.

Title. The meaning of the enimagtic Ὑποθετικά has been a problem for centuries.[19] In 1628 Francis Viger suggested that based upon the contents of the work, it should be understood as various options from which the reader is to draw her/his own conclusion.[20] This led to translations like that of Heinrich Ewald, "Conjectures

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[16] This is implied by the opening statement in 8.7.1 which is a comparison. Since we only have the Jewish material in what follows we can be certain that some initial comparisons were made. Cf. *CA* 2.276-77 where the same point is made. So also Colson, *Philo* 9:422 n. a.

[17] Colson, *Philo* 9:431 n. d, thought that Eusebius omitted the enforcement of strict Sabbath rules here. So also Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* 223.

[18] If we compare *Hypoth.* with the shortest treatises of Philo (*Gig.*, *Sobr.*, and *Cont.*), it would be possible to argue that we have the bulk of the first book preserved. Unfortunately, we have no way of determining the outer limits. Perhaps the second book dealt with the political situation in Alexandria and was therefore deemed irrelevant and elided by Eusebius or an intermediate editor.

[19] The term is a hapax legomenon in the Philonic corpus. It should be noted that the verbal cognate occurs in 8.6.6.

[20] Viger's edition of *PE* was originally published in 1628 and then reissued in J. P. Migne, *Eusebius Pamphili Caesariensis Episcopus 3: Praeparatio Evangelica* (PG 21; Paris, 1857) 598.

concerning the Jews" or of others rendering "Suppositions."[21] In the latter part of the nineteenth century Jacob Bernays subjected this view to the criticisms that it only explained the first part of the work and failed to take into account how the term was used at the time. Based upon the philosophic ὑποθετικὸς λόγος he argued that it meant "exhortations."[22] As several have pointed out, however, it is difficult to see how this apologetic work is parenetic.[23] More recent suggestions have focused on the apologetic nature of the work and have attempted to show how the title relates to the points of the case or the false accusations made in a judicial context or the false opinions, hence "imputations."[24]

The greatest limitation all of these views share is that they have omitted the dominant—at least as it is attested—meaning of the term.[25] The earliest attested usage of ὑποθετικός is in the fragments of Theophrastus who uses it five times to refer to the hypothetical syllogism which he developed.[26] A hypothetical syllogism is a syllogism based on a hypothesis. The only form which is represented in Theophrastus' fragments is the thoroughly hypothetical syllogism, i.e., everything—protases and conclusion—is couched in a hypothesis.[27] While this represents a significant advance beyond Aristotle, it is still term logic.

The term came to have a technical meaning in the hands of the Stoics who developed propositional logic.[28] The key figure who systematized Stoic logic was the

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[21] Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel 7: The Apostolic Age* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1885) 229. A representative of the latter is Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria* 31, although he indicates that it is unclear.

[22] Jacob Bernays, "Philon's Hypothetika und die Verwunschungen des Buzyges in Athen," *Monatsberichte des Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1876) 589-609; reprinted in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (ed. H. Usener; Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1885) 1: 262-282, esp. 262-271. He was followed by Schürer, *The Literature of the Jewish People* 356. A good example of this usage is that of Musonius Rufus. Cf. O. Hense, *C. Musonii Rufi: Reliquiae* (Teubner; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905) F 17, 13-21 (p. 91).

[23] Massebieau, "Le classement des oeuvres de Philon," 58 and Colson, *Philo* 9:410-411.

[24] The three positions are represented respectively by Massebieau, "Le classement des oeuvres de Philon," 58-59; Motzo, "Le Ὑποθετικά di Filone," 572; and Morris in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 3.2:867.

[25] The following analysis is based on a word search using an IBYCUS computer and the TLG disk. The listings in the TLG are at present incomplete, e.g., they do not include the fragments of Philo. None of Bernays references in "Philon's Hypothetika," 266-71, appeared in the search.

[26] Frederick Wimmer, ed., *Theophrasti Eresii opera, quae supersunt, omnia* (Paris: Didot, 1866; reprint ed., Frankfurt: Minerva Gmbh, 1964) FF 59 (*bis*), 60 (*bis*), 63e.

[27] F 60: δι' ὅλου δὲ ὑποθετικοὺς ἐκάλει ὁ Θ. τοὺς καὶ τὰς προτάσεις καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα ἐξ ὑποθέσεως λαμβάνοντας. On Theophrastus' developments from Aristotle see I. M. Bochenski, *A History of Formal Logic* (2nd ed., New York: Chelsea, 1970) 103-4.

[28] On Stoic logic see Benson Mates, *Stoic Logic* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961) and the more recent work of Ian Mueller, "Stoic and Peripatetic Logic," *Archiv für die Geschichte der Philosophie* 51 (1969) 173-187 and "An

second founder of Stoicism, Chrysippus. Diogenes Laertius credits him with six different works dealing with hypothetical syllogisms (Diog. Laert. 7.196, 197).[29] The word itself resurfaces in two first century authors besides Philo: in the *Definitiones* of Heron of Alexandria and in Epictetus. Both authors use the term to refer to hypothetical syllogisms in Stoic logic.[30] From the second century on the word was used primarily to denote hypothetical syllogisms in Stoic logic over against categorical syllogisms in Peripatetic thought.[31] The evidence indicates that ὑποθετικά was a *technicus terminus* in Stoic logic.

We must now ask if Philo used the term as it was commonly understood. There can be no doubt about Philo's acquaintance with Stoic logic since he not only repeatedly mentions the threefold division of philosophy common in Stoicism (logic, ethics, physics), but actually offers a brief summary of Stoic logic in *Agr.* 140-141.[32] The issue is whether *Hypoth.* betrays any signs of Stoic logic. The thrust of Stoic logic was to set the parameters for resolving issues of inferential validity.[33] The Stoics did this by developing five types of undemonstrated arguments.[34] These were based on the prinicples of implication, disjunction, and conjunction. From these five "immediately clear" arguments the Stoics developed their system of dialectic.

Introduction to Stoic Logic," *The Stoics* (ed. John M. Rist; The Major Thinkers; Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1978) 1-26.

[29] Diogenes attempts to give us some indication of Chrysippus' importance by saying: "He became so famous in dialectic that most people thought that if the gods were to take up dialectic, it would only be the system of Chrysippus" (7.180). The relevant ancient material is conveniently printed in Ioannes Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (4 vols.; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1905-1924) 2:38-94.

[30] Heron, *Definitiones* 136.7, alludes to the "second hypothetical (syllogism)" = second undemonstrated Stoic argument. For the text see Heiberg, ed., *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia* (4 vols.; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1976). Epictetus uses the word 12t.: 1.7.1, 22; 1.25.11; 1.26.1 (*bis*), 9, 13; 2.21.17; 3.2.6; 3.24.78, 80; 4.4.14. It is worth pointing out that a connection is made with Chrysippus in 3.24.80-81.

[31] The word most frequently appears in writers who either favor Aristotle or belong to the Peripatetic school in the second-fourth centuries. Second century: Alexander of Aphrodisiensis (44t.) and Galen (25t.). Fourth century: Themistius (50t.). There is one significant exception, the second century Middle Platonist Albinus (7t.) who attributes to Plato the Peripatetic system of logic. In his *Didaskalikos* 6, Albinus claims that all three types of syllogisms current in philosophical discourse may be found in Plato: the categorical, the hypothetical, and the mixed. In the fifth and sixth centuries it is extensively used by Neo-Platonists who assimilated Aristotelian logic: In Alexandria, Ammonius (72t.) and Johannes Philoponus (121t.); in Athens, Simplicius (47t.).

[32] This appears to be a summary based on a handbook. For the threefold division see *LA* 1.57; *Agr.* 14-16; *Mut.* 74-75; *Spec.* 1.336; *Prob.* 80. For the division in Stoicism see Diog. Laert. 7.39-41. On Philo's logic see John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: 80 B. C. to A. D. 220* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977) 178-182.

[33] So Mueller, "An Introduction to Stoic Logic," 25.

[34] The following is based upon Mates, *Stoic Logic,* 67-74.

Do Philo's arguments allign with Stoic arguments or principles of logic? As we have seen, Philo treats three historical issues relating to Israel's origins. In the first (8.6.1), he simply lists four reasons why the Hebrews left Egypt. In the second, he begins by specifying an accusation against Moses (8.6.2) and then demonstrates its improbability in light of Moses' leadership in the wilderness (8.6.2-3). He then offers what he considers to be the possible logical inferences: Either Moses was great or the people were or God demonstrated favor by leading them (8.6.4). Philo does not intend for these to be mutually exclusive alternatives as his conclusion shows: "Whichever of these views you think is correct, each appears to redound to the praise and honor, and zeal of them all." The Stoics dubbed such reasoning παραδιεζευγμένον, "inclusive disjunction": they recognized both exclusive and inclusive disjunction.[35]

Philo opens the third argument by alluding to the settlement and then explaining: "I do not think that I should pursue the probabilities of these matters as much by history as by a certain logic" (μᾶλλον καθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ κατά τινα λογισμόν) (8.6.5). What is this logic? His argument is as follows: Either the people were great warriors or their enemies gave them the land out of respect. The enemies gave them the land out of respect. The unstated conclusion is then: The people did not take the land by force (8.6.6-7). This appears to be a variant form of the fourth undemonstrated argument:

Either the first or the second.

The first.

Therefore, not the second.

Philo has simply altered the order by arguing: Either the first or the second. The second. Therefore, not the first. He then concludes with another example of "inclusive disjunction" in 8.6.8.

The concurrence of Philo's argumentation with known Stoic principles appears to support our premise. Two other factors suggest that our analysis is correct. This is the only place in the Philonic corpus where Philo employs this particular line of reasoning. There are certainly other texts where he offers alternatives, but I am unaware of any where he formulates his arguments in this manner.[36] Second, it is well known that Philo offers a second description of the Essenes in *Prob.* 75-91. One of the texts which appears in *Prob.* 80, but is absent in the depiction of the Essenes in 8.11.1-18, is the statement that the Essenes reject logic as "unnecessary for the attainment of virtue." While Philo may simply have omitted the discussion of the Essenes position vis-à-vis the threefold division of philosophy for multiple reasons, the absence of the rejection of Stoic logic in a work entitled Ὑποθετικά strikes me as more than accidental.

We must now attempt to make sense of the title and ask how it relates to the work as a whole. Philo's use of the adjective suggests that the title means something like "Hypothetical Propositions" (ὑποθετικὰ [ἀξιώματα]). The word conveys the concept that the author is going to present valid or true statements. Their validity is to be

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[35] Mates, *Stoic Logic* 51-54, has collected the extant evidence. Philo, *Agr.* 118, indicates his awareness of exclusive disjunction as well.

[36] For texts in which alternatives are offered see *Somn.* 2.170; *Abr.* 47; *Mos.* 1.142, 211; 2.154; *Aet.* 95; *Flac.* 9, 33, 130; *Leg.* 245, 260. In *Det.* 76 and *Post.* 137, he offers options which he leaves up to the experts.

demonstrated through the principles of Stoic logic as it deals with hypothetical syllogisms and inferences. This functions nicely in the first part of the work. How does it illuminate the sections dealing with the law? It is helpful in two ways. First, it is a claim that the presentation of the law is truthful even as the historical claims are valid. Second, while Philo does not employ the explicit patterns of Stoic logic, he does stress the reasonableness of the law, e.g., 8.7.16, 20. *In nuce*, the title is a claim to a valid rather than invalid presentation of the Jews through a logical demonstration.

The Law Code. Philo's treatment of the law falls into three bodies of material. The first of these (8.7.1-9) actually contains five subdivisions marked by transitional phrases (8.7.3, 6, 8, 9). The first is two subsets of laws listing capital offenses (8.7.1 [#1-5 in my chart] and 2 [#6-12]). In each instance the subunit is cast as a case law. The protasis consists of a series of cases each stated in the form of an ἐάν with subjunctive clause; the apodosis states the penalty for all of the offenses listed in the compound protasis.[37] The second is a miscellany of various laws (8.7.3-5 [#13-20]) consisting first of a set of infinitives (#13-17 [#13-15 are positive and #16-17 are negative) followed by case laws (#18-20). The third set is attributed by Philo to "unwritten customs and practices" as well as the written law (8.7.6-8 [#21-39]). All but two of these are laws cast in the form of a negated infinitive. The fourth set is simply "others" (8.7.8 [#40-41]). Both are negated infinitives. The final set consists of "other insignificant and incidental" matters (8.7.9 [#42-43]). These are once again negated infinitives culminating in a final warning not to commit any act even less significant than these.

It is immediately clear that while Philo has preserved the twofold form of law in the LXX, his code is not based upon any of the legal corpora of the LXX.[38] There are two hints within the text which help to guide our inquiry into the formation of this code: the reference to the "unwritten customs and practices" in 8.7.6 and the allusion to the laws of Bouzyges in 8.7.8. Jacob Bernays pointed out that Bouzyges was an Athenian hero whose name became associated with curses pronounced on those who refused to give fire, water, proper directions, or bury the dead. What is important is to recognize that three of the four are present in Philo's code.[39] This means that this code is not based upon oral Jewish tradition, but upon a Hellenistic Jewish code which combines both Jewish and Hellenistic elements.[40] Max Kuchler collected enough Greek parallels to conclude that a Greek rather than Hellenistic Jewish source lay behind 8.7.6-9.[41] While this may not be impossible, it is problematic. If Philo's opponents could establish this, the apologetic value of the work would be lost. Additionally, the use of the same material by Pseudo-Phocylides

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[37] Interestingly, this is the same basic format used for listing capital crimes in the Mishnah. See *m. Sanh.* 7:4-9:6.

[38] The apodictic laws in the LXX are translated by οὐ with the future rather than μή with the infinitive in Philo. E.g., Ex 20:14-15 and *Dec.* 132-135.

[39] Jacob Bernays, "Philon's Hypothetika," 277-282.

[40] *Contra* Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947) 1:194.

[41] Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* 228, 233-35.

whom P. W. van der Horst places at 30-40 C.E., suggests that both utilized a common tradition and adapted it to their respective purposes.[42]

Philo's treatment of the Sabbath (8.7.10-14) and Sabbath year (8.7.15-19) which concludes with an observation about the pervasive influence of the Sabbath (7.8.20) are thoroughly Philonic as the following chart demonstrates:

Item	*Hypoth.*	*Other Philonic Texts*
Sabbath for Study	8.7.11-14	*Op.* 128; *Mos.* 2.211-12, 215-16; *Dec.* 97-101; *Spec.* 2.60-64; *Cont.* 30-31.
Respite for Land	8.7.15	*Spec.* 2. 97; 4.216
Medicinally Good	8.7.16	*Spec.* 2.98-103
Humanity of Law	8.7.19	*Virt.* 97-98; *Spec.* 2.104-109
Approbation	8.7.20	*Mos.* 2.20-22

Our text is simply a summary statement of Philo's views on the Sabbath.

The Essenes. The final unit is the presentation of the Essenes. The only issue which we need to address is the literary form of Philo's presentation. The open encomiastic tendency of the account has forced researchers to ask if Philo might have painted his picture with strokes of a Hellenistic utopia. The fact that utopias are set in remote and inaccessible parts of the world, whereas Philo's Essenes are an accessible and tangible community, appears to rule this out.[43] There is, however, a much closer parallel. A number of ancient texts depict religious communities or orders in much the same way that Philo presents the Essenes. It is against this background that Philo's panegyric account of the Essenes should be read.[44]

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[42] On the dating of *Hypoth.* see below under function.

[43] Examples of utopias include Iambulus in Diod. Sic. 2.55.1-60.3 and Euhemerus in Diod. Sic. 6.1-11. Doron Mendels, "Hellenistic Utopia and the Essenes," *HTR* 72 (1979) 207-22, esp. 208, argues that Philo and Josephus wrote "in an ideal but accurate manner." John Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975) 208, contends that there is an element of the idealization of simple people in the presentation.

[44] The most important accounts are: Chaeremon F 10 in Peter Willem van der Horst, *Chaeremon: Egyptian priest and Stoic Philosopher* (EPRO 101; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984) and his comments on pp. X, 56-61; Philo's own *Cont.* [on the issue of the relationship between *Cont.* and Chaeremon see ibid. 56 and his earlier article, "The Way of Life of the Egyptian Priests According to Chaeremon," *Studies in Egyptian Religion* (ed. M. Heerma et al.; Studies in the History of Religion 43; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982) 63]; Philostratus, *VA* 3.10-50; 6.6-22; Iamblichus, *VP* 96-100. On the genre see also A. J. Festugière, "Sur une nouvelle Edition du 'De Vita Pythagorica' de Jamblique," *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 50 (1937) 476-78 and H. Strathmann, "Chairemon," *RAC* 2:991 (1954). The ancient accounts of the Essenes are conveniently available in Alfred Adam, *Antike Berichte über die Essener* (2nd ed.; KlT 182; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1972).

The Hypothetica. How should we explain the work as a whole? The sequence of material could be a rearrangement and condensation of either the biblical text or Philo's own two volume *De Vita Mosis.* This, however, hardly does justice to the apologetic tone of the fragments as a whole. Another possibility might be Greek ethnography: the movement from historical issues to practices is certainly in keeping with such a proposal.[45] There is, however, a major difference: the historical material is not presented in a historical narrative, but in the form of logical argumentation. David Balch has suggested that both Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *AR* 1.9-2.29, and Josephus, *CA* 2.145-295, utilized the rhetorical pattern of praising a city or people summarized in Menander of Laodicea (origin, deeds, and customs). He raises the possibility that *Hypoth.* stands in the same tradition, but refuses to draw a firm conclusion due to the fragmentary nature of the text.[46] What we may say is that the extant material does fit the basic pattern of an apologetic encomium which utilizes key elements from Greek ethnography.

Function

Why would Philo write such a treatise? Throughout the work he addresses an objector using the second singular.[47] Eusebius prefaced the first fragment by telling us that Philo composed his volume on behalf of the Jews ὡς πρὸς κατηγόρους αὐτῶν (8.5.11). The fragments themselves confirm his summary by explicit testimony to incriminations (8.6.2; 7.14). We now need to determine what the accusations were which prompted the writing of the work and attempt to identify the accuser(s).

Accusations and Answers. Every major unit in the first fragment clearly indicates that it is a response to scurrilous slander. 8.6.1 offers four reasons for the Jewish migration from Egypt: the insufficiency of the land for their numbers, the challenge of the enterprise, divine promptings, and a longing for their *patria.* These reasons are given with only the slightest historical details of the actual exodus. Why? Pagan accounts of Jews frequently included an account of their origins. Speculation varied enough so that Tacitus could provide six different versions to his readers.[48] Among the extant non-Egyptian material there are two major versions attested: one that the

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[45] The basic elements in early ethnography were descriptions of the land, history, marvels, and customs of a people. For bibliography and discussion see Sterling, "Historiography and Self-Definition," 33-88.

[46] David Balch, "Two Apologetic Encomia: Dionysius on Rome and Josephus on the Jews," *JSJ* 13 (1982) 102-22, esp. 114.

[47] εἰ βούλει, 8.6.2; τί βούλει, 8.6.4, 6; δόξῃ, 8.6.4; οὐ θαυμάζεις, 8.7.10; ἆρά σοι δοκεῖ, 8.7.14; κινεῖς . . . διαπυνθάνῃ, 8.7.14; ἂν ἴδοις, 8.7.16; ἀπαιτήσαις, 8.7.20.

[48] *Hist.* 5.2.1-3.2: 1. exiles from Crete; 2. superfluous population from Egypt; 3. Ethiopians who migrated; 4. Assyrian refugees; 5. the Solymi of Homeric fame; 6. lepers expelled from Egypt. For pagan accounts of Jews see Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976-84). Hereafter abbreviated GLAJJ. For the above text see 2:17-18, 24-25.

Jews colonized and the other that they were expelled by the Egyptians.[49] The latter was a result of a Greco-Egyptian tradition that the Jews were lepers whom they had ejected.[50] Philo as well as other Alexandrian Jews were well aware of this tradition.[51] There should be little doubt that this text is a response to that slur.[52]

The second historical unit states a specific charge: Moses was a γόητα καὶ κέρκωπα (8.6.2). These charges appear to be directed against Moses' leadership of the Israelites through the wilderness. Interestingly, Josephus tells us that Apollonius Molon and Lysimachus as well as others have slandered Moses as a γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα (*CA* 2.145). While certainty is not possible, it may be that the term γόης, "cheat," was in one or more of the sources. Philo's answer is to counter with Moses' performance in the wilderness, even to the point of contradicting the biblical text and his own treatment elsewhere.[53]

The third historical issue deals with the settlement (8.6.5-7). In this instance, Philo proffers two diametrically opposed alternatives: either the Hebrews took the country by force or the indigenous population voluntarily gave it to them. It appears clear that Philo's antagonist had hurled incriminations against the Jews for violent usurpation of a land which was not theirs—did this charge have contemporary relevance? There are at least two accounts which cast aspersions on the settlement: Lysimachus who charges them with both abusing the population and robbing and burning the temples; and Tacitus who laconically states that the native residents were expelled.[54] Other records present the Jews as colonists.[55] Philo's sensitivity to this disparagement in other texts makes it all but certain that he is responding to such a defamation here.[56]

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[49] Positive: Hecataeus of Abdera in Diod. Sic. 40.2-3 (=GLAJJ 1:26-35) and Strabo 16.2.35 (=GLAJJ 1:294-311). Negative: Posidonius (?) in Diod. Sic. 34.1.1-2 (=GLAJJ 1:181-185) and Pompeius Trogus in Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae* 36, Epitoma 2.1-13 (=GLAJJ 1:334-342).

[50] Manetho in *CA* 1.229-52 (=GLAJJ 1:78-86); Lysimachus in *CA* 1.383-386 (=GLAJJ 1:304-11); Apion in *CA* 2.8, 15 (=GLAJJ 1:392-97); Chaeremon in *CA* 1.288-92 (=GLAJJ 1:419-21); Nicarchus in Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v., ἄλφα (=GLAJJ 1:532-33). On this tradition see Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 113-33.

[51] *Mos.* 1.39. Cf. also Artapanus in Eusebius, *PE* 9.27.20 and Ezekiel, *Exagoge* 129-31.

[52] So also Massebieau, "Le classement des oeuvres de Philon," 55-56.

[53] He claims that Moses maintained control over the people—a point in direct violation of the biblical tradition of murmuring in the wilderness and of Philo's own presentation in *Mos.* 1.193-195. Josephus writes in very similar terms in *CA* 2.157-59. Setting the biblical text aside for the sake of an argument was a common feature in apologetic writing. Cf. Madeleine Petit, "A Propos d'une traversée exemplaire du désert du Sinai selon Philon (*Hypothetica* VI, 2-3, 8): Texte biblique et apologétique concernant Moïse chez quelques écrivains Juifs," *Semitica* 26 (1976) 137-42.

[54] Lysimachus in *CA* 1.309 (=GLAJJ 1:383-86) and Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.3.2 (=GLAJJ 2:18, 25).

[55] Hecataeus of Abdera in Diod. Sic. 40.3.3 (=GLAJJ 1:26-33) and Strabo 16.2.35-36 (=GLAJJ 1:294-311 [who discusses possible sources for Strabo on 305-6]).

[56] *Mos.* 1.170, 195 (colonization movement); 1.214, 249 (peaceful intentions). Cf. also Artapanus in Eusebius, *PE* 8.27.19.

In his transitional summary, Philo tells us that although he cannot be precise, it has been more than two thousand years since Moses delivered the laws (8.6.9). This is the only time in the Philonic corpus where he specially claims a two thousand year history. Why make that assertion here? One of the most important apologetic issues in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds was the antiquity of a people.[57] In Egypt, there was a noticeable tendency to move the date of the Jewish expulsion farther and farther down in time. In the first account Josephus attributes to Manetho, the exodus is situated in the fifteenth and sixteenth dynasties; in the second version it is moved down to the eighteenth.[58] A couple of centuries later, Lysimachus placed it in the twenty-fourth dynasty![59] Philo's contemporaries appear to follow the lead of their predecessors: Chaeremon locates it in the eighteenth dynasty as did Manetho, while Apion is much nearer to Lysimachus by setting it at the time of the seventh Olympiad.[60] The Jewish response is evident in the LXX, Demetrius, and the *AJ* and *CA* of Josephus.[61] Philo's declaration announces his participation in the fray.

The subsequent unit is the law code. Pagans regularly criticized Jewish laws for their anti-social stance.[62] Egypt was no exception: both Lysimachus and Apion are reported to have attacked the code with a vengeance.[63] The charges appear to have denied humanity or virtue to the law and claimed that they were lax.[64] Philo counters the latter by contending for stringency in punishment—a stringency that extends beyond both the biblical text and his own treatment elsewhere as a quick glance at the texts on the earlier chart will show (8.7.1).[65] The best example to illustrate how Philo handled the issue of φιλανθρωπία is the couple of laws dealing

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[57] The best statement of this is that of Josephus in *CA* 2.152.

[58] *CA* 1.75-90 (=GLAJJ 1:66-74) and 1.228-52 (=GLAJJ 1:78-86).

[59] *CA* 1.304-11 (=GLAJJ 1:383-86).

[60] *CA* 1.288-92 (=GLAJJ 1:417-21) and *CA* 2.17 (=GLAJJ 1:165-66) respectively.

[61] Note the lengthening of dates in Gen. 5 and 11 in LXX over against MT. On Demetrius and Josephus see Sterling, "Historiography and Self-Definition," 264-66, 472-73. Josephus also claims a two thousand year period for the scriptures or Moses in *AJ* 1.16; *CA* 1.36; 2.226.

[62] Hecataeus of Abdera in Diod. Sic. 40.3.4, 8 (=GLAJJ 1:26-35); Apollonius Molon in *CA* 2.145 (=GLAJJ 1:154-55); Diod. Sic. 34-35.1.1-5 (=GLAJJ 1:181-85); Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4.1; 5.5.1 (=GLAJJ 2:17-63).

[63] *CA* 2.145 (=GLAJJ 1:387) and 2.125 (=GLAJJ 1:413) respectively.

[64] On the issue of Jewish strangeness see J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Paaan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (SupNovT 41; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 89-144.

[65] Cf. also *CA* 2.215-217, 224. Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung* 354-58, ascribed this severity to the fact that the laws were originally grounded in the Decalogue. Arthur Darby Nock, "Philo and Hellenistic Philosophy: Review of Colson, *Philo* IX," *CR* 57 (1943) 77-81; reprinted in *Arthur Darby Nock: Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (2 vols.; ed. Zeph Stewart; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 2:559-65, 563, thought that Philo wanted to make Jewish penalties as stringent as those of the Stoics. Alan Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* (BJS 161; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 95-96, thought it was rather to answer the charge that the Jews were lascivious.

with the treatment of animals in 8.7.9. Abraham Terian has demonstrated how these laws stress the magnanimity of the law through "the least of the commandments."[66]

The law which receives the most attention is the Sabbath. Three times in the text Philo indicates that the Jews have been charged with indolence (8.7.11, 14, 15)—a recurring denunciation in ancient sources.[67] Philo's defense is the same as he made elsewhere: the Sabbath is not for indolence but for study and the recuperation of the physical powers.[68]

The Essenes round out our text. Setting aside the issue of literary dependence, Philo's use of the literary genre of special religious groups must be seen as an attempt to gain respectability not only for the Essenes, but for the nation as a whole. If Pliny is any indication of the pagan perspective, then we may say that Philo and his compatriots were successful in winning a place for the Essenes.[69]

Sitz-im-Leben. The fact that *Hypoth.* must be read as a response naturally raises the question whether we can identify the source to which Philo is reacting. Although interest in Jews was widespread in the Roman world, the quantity and acerbic tone of the Greco-Egyptian literature makes it the logical place to look.[70] In particular the works of Lysimachus (second-first centuries B.C.E.?), Apion, and Chaeremon invite attention.[71] There is one further complicating factor: Tacitus' account has a

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[66] Abraham Terian, "Some Stock Arguments for the Magnanimity of the Law in Hellenistic Jewish Apologetics," *Jewish Law Association Studies 1: The Touro Conference Volume* (ed. B. S. Jackson; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 141-49. Philo makes this concern unambiguous in his handling of the Sabbath year in 8.7.19. For a fuller treatment of the philanthropy of the law see *Virt.* 51-174 and Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* 109-13.

[67] So Seneca in Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 6.11 (=GLAJJ 1:431-32); Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4.3 (=GLAJJ 2:18, 25); Juvenal, *Saturae* 14.96-106 (=GLAJJ 2:102-7). The ridiculousness of the Sabbath from a pagan perspective is stressed by Agatharchides of Cnidus in *CA* 1.209-11 (=GLAJJ 1:106-108). The Sabbath year is only mentioned by two pagan authors: Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4.3 (=GLAJJ 2:18, 25) and Suetonius, *Tiberius* 32.2 (=GLAJJ 2:111-12). On the material as a whole see Robert Goldenberg, "The Jewish Sabbath in the Roman World," Religion (Judentum: Allgemeines; Palästinisches Judentum) (ANRW 21.1; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1979) 414-47, esp. 430-442.

[68] On indolence see the chart under form. On rest see *Spec.* 2.60, 64; *Cont.* 36. Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* 82-86, has a good treatment of this.

[69] Pliny, *NH* 5.73 (=GLAJJ 1:468-81), says that the Essenes are gens sola et in toto orbe praeter ceteras mira.

[70] A number of pagans are credited with writing entire works on the Jews. I have noted their century and residence: Hecataeus of Abdera in *CA* 1.183 (late fourth century B.C.E., Alexandria); Apollonius Molon in Eusebius, *PE* 9.19.1 (first century B.C.E., Rhodes); Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebius, *PE* 9.17-39 (first century B.C.E., Rome); Teucer of Cyzicus in Suda, s.v., Τεῦκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός (=GLAJJ 1:165-66; first century B.C.E. [6 vols.]); Damocritus in Suda, s.v. Δαμόκριτος (=GLAJJ 1:530-31; first century C.E.?); Nicarchus in Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἄλφα (=GLAJJ 1:532-33; first century C.E.? in Egypt?).

[71] For the literature in Egypt as a whole see John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York/

number of striking correlations to *Hypoth.* It is, however, probably dependent upon the Alexandrian tradition either directly or indirectly.[72]

The fragmentary nature of our texts means that all conclusions must be considered tentative. With this caveat in mind, it is striking to note the agreement in subject material between Philo and the *Aigyptiaka* of Lysimachus. If we follow the order in Josephus and compare it to our reconstruction of *Hypoth.* we arrive at the following:

Item	*Lysimachus in CA*	*Philo in Hypoth.*
Expulsion	1.305-7	8.6.1
24th Dynasty	1.305-7; 2.16	8.6.9
Desert	1.308-10	8.6.2-4
Settlement	1.310-11	8.6.5-7
110,000 Fugitives	2.20	
Law	2.145	8.7.1-20

It is entirely possible that this agreement in order and topics is accidental and due to the common material with which the two worked. There are, however, some minor points which add more plausibility to this proposal. First, we have already noted that gohw could be a common term between the two texts.[73] Second, Lysimachus' charge of sacrilege (*CA* 1.311) may stand behind the clear prohibition of 8.7.4.[74] Finally, there is some evidence that Tacitus did know Lysimachus in some

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Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 39-53. On Lysimachus see Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente griechischen Historiker* (3 vols. in 16 parts; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1923-69) 621 [Hereafter FGrH]; Afred Gudeman, "Lysimachos," PW (1928) 14:32-39; Fridolf Keidlien, "Lysimachos," *Der kleine Pauly* (1969) 3:841-42 [Hereafter KP]; David Winston, "Lysimachus of Alexandria," EncJud (1971) 11:627-28; Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 118-120. For Apion see FGrH 616; Leopold Cohn, "Apion," PW (1894) 1.2:2803-6; Hans Gärtner, "Apion," KP (1964) 1:432; Abraham Schalit, "Apion," EncJud (1971) 3:178; and Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 122-24. For Chaeremon see FGrH 618; Eduard Schwartz, "Chairemon," PW (1899) 3.2:2025-27; Heinrich Dörrie, "Chairemon," KP (1964) 1:1121; Lea Roth, "Chaeremon," EncJud (1971) 5:317-18; Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 120-122; and van der Horst, *Chaeremon.*

[72] This has been the subject of a major debate. See GLAJJ 2:4 for Stern's views and summary. There is a relatively recent commentary with extensive bibliographical data on the fifth book of the *Hist.*, Heinz Heubner and W. Fauth, *P. Cornelius Tacitus: Die Historien* (Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1982). Cf. also A. M. A. Hospers-Jansen, "Tacitus over de Joden," (Diss., Utrecht, 1949).

[73] The difficulty here is knowing whether Josephus intends to say that Apollonius Molon or Lysimachus or both called Moses this. It could also be a summary term used by Josephus (*CA* 2.145). Cf. also 161 where the same collocation occurs. Elsewhere Josephus uses the word for revolutionaries: *BJ* 2.261, 264; 4.85; 5.317; *AJ* 20.97, 160, 167, 188.

[74] So Lucio Troiani, "Osservazioni sopra L'Apologia di Filone: Gli Hypothetica," *Athenaeum* 56 (1978) 309. The difficulty is that this is a charge made in multiple sources, e.g., Hecataeus of Abdera in *CA* 1.193.

form—whether directly or indirectly through Latin works.[75]

This does not yet explain why Philo felt compelled to respond—whether to Lysimachus or to some other author. While the text itself does not yield any specific clues as to its date, one period in Philo's life clearly stands out as a time of crisis.[76] The imbroglio which engulfed the Alexandrian community in 38 C.E., brought Philo to the fore as the apologist for the community. This was not a position Philo took lightly as his later *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* demonstrate. Did he write during the crisis itself? He apparently helped to draft a document to present the Jewish case in Rome (*Leg.* 178). Did he write *Hypoth.* during this period?[77]

I offer the following as a hypothetical reconstruction of the document's origins. After the pogroms in 38 but prior to the departure for Rome in 39, Philo felt compelled to answer the Egyptian libel. He utilized the standard literary account from the *Aigyptiaka* of Lysimachus as his base. At the same time, his current opponents were not just the civic leaders, Isidorus and Lampo, but the intellectuals, Apion and Chaeremon.[78] Intriguingly, both had ties to Stoicism.[79] Could it be that the statements in Lysimachus' history became the battle ground for argumentation by means of Stoic logic? This would explain the contents, form, and function of the work.

Conclusions

The *Hypothetica* of Philo was designed to be a valid statement of the history and practices of the Jewish people. The validity it claimed was not through an appeal to sacred scripture, but to reason, i.e., the principles of Stoic logic. The shape which the work took is inextricably bound up with its purpose. *Hypoth.* was written in direct response to insinuations made against the Jews. The source of this criticism was both written (Lysimachus) and oral (Apion and Chaeremon).[80] The impetus that set the stage for the writing of the work was the tumult and subsequent turmoil of 38-39. The content and basic form of the work were determined by the previous work of Lysimachus. The overlap between ethnographic patterns and apologetic

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[75] One of the key pieces of information is that both place the exodus under Bocchoris. It is worth noting that Heubner, *P. Cornelius Tacitus* 30, thinks that Tacitus knew Lysimachus.

[76] So Josephus, *AJ* 18.259. The most significant recent works on this crisis are E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Rome Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian (A Study in Political Relations)* (SJLA 20; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981) 220-55 and Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 7; Tübingen: J. C. 8. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1985).

[77] Ewald, *The History of Israel* 7:229, placed *Hypoth.* early in Philo's career. Motzo, "Le Ὑποθετικά di Filone," 566-69 and Grant, *The Greek Apologists* 13, more wisely set it at the time of the embassy.

[78] On Isidorus and Lampo see *Flac.* 20, 125-145 and *Leg.* 355. On Apion see Josephus *AJ* 18.257-59. On Chaeremon see T 5 in van der Horst, *Chaeremon.*

[79] Schwartz, "Chairemon," PW 3:2026. Chaeremon was a Stoic philosopher (TT 3, 4, 9 in van der Horst, *Chaeremon*).

[80] I do not want to imply that formal debates took place. Polemics can be conducted in many ways.

encomia must have served Philo very well. The specific form of the work as a logical statement arose from the need to defend the Jewish position on grounds acceptable to both parties. The *telos* of the work is stated in the soliloquy of Flaccus in *Flac.* 172: "I shamed them with dishonor and alien status—although they were residents with full rights—in order to please their rivals, a motley and unstable throng."

Philo's *Hypothetica*, Josephus' *Contra Apionem* and the Question of Sources

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Continued interest in Philo of Alexandria, the most important figure of Alexandian Jewry, is evident from the large quantity of literature that has come forth over the past fifty years from the scholarly community. A well-known bibliographer of Philo maintains that from 1935 to 1975 there have appeared over 900 monographs and articles on Philo dealing with various aspects of his life, situation, literary style, sources, and relationship to Judaism—to mention but a few areas.[1] Annual bibliographical surveys are now required in order to keep up with developments in the field.[2]

The present study will consider one aspect of the scholarly debate, and two questions will form the focus of this paper. First, what traditions and sources did Philo use in the *Hypothetica*? Second, how may the traditions and sources used by Philo in this treatise help inform us about the traditions and sources used by Josephus in *Contra Apionem*? Specifically, did Josephus in his summary of the Law in *Ap.* 2. 190-219 use *Hypoth.* viii. 6. 10-7. 20 as one of his sources in this literary work? An affirmative answer is adopted by both Philo[3] and Josephus[4] scholars.

Basic to both of these concerns is the assumption that it is possible to uncover traditions and sources used by Philo in the *Hypothetica* and by Josephus in *Contra Apionem*. The general question of determining traditions and sources forms a central

[1] E. Hilgert, "Central Issues in Contemporary Philonic Studies," *BR* (1978), 15; "Bibliographia Philonia 1935-1981," *ANRW* 21.1 (1984), 47-97, esp. 52.

[2] R. Radice and D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1937-1986* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 3-10.

[3] B. Motzo, "Le Ὑποθετικά di Filone," *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 47 (1910-11), 557-73; P. Wendland, "Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben," *Jahr. für class. Phil.* Suppl. 22 (1896), 714.

[4] G. Vermes, "A Summary of the Law by Flavius Josephus," *NovT* 23 (1982), 302 n. 50; A. Momigliano, "Intorno al 'Contro Apione,'" in *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome: Storia & Lettatura, 1975), ii, 768; E. Kalmah, "Frommigkeit und Tugend: Die Gesetzesapologie des Josephus in C. Ap. 2. 145-295," in O. Betz, K. Haacker, and M. Hengel (eds.), *Josephus-Studien*, Festschrift für O. Michel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 220-32, esp. 232 n. 3; S. Belkin, "The Alexandrian Source for Contra Apionem II," *JQR* 27 (1936-7), 1-32.

methodological issue of the scholarly debate within Philonic studies. Two important studies that have helped to shape the discussion are by R. G. Hamerton-Kelly[5] and B. L. Mack.[6] These scholars maintain that in order to assess Philo's contribution to Alexandrian Jewry the traditions used by him must be considered.

What is required in order to accomplish this is first a thorough analysis of the Philonic material. Mack maintains that the exegetical methods Philo adopted in his writings must be analysed in order to obtain a clearer idea about the nature of Philo's exegetical methods as well as a broader perspective on Torah exegesis within the Hellenistic synagogue.[7]

Fundamental to this endeavour is to see "traditions" in Philo's writings as an interpretation of the Pentateuch.[8] What Mack envisages has the following underlying suppositions: (1) Philo used traditional material and exegetical methods in his corpus; (2) the diversity of the material used may reflect stages of an exegetical history; (3) Philo used these traditions with varying degrees of acceptance and reworked the traditions with varying degrees of consistency.[9]

To this end the suggestion is made that there exist different types of exegetical methods that can be employed in a search for "pre-Philonic traditions." Mack classifies these methods as follows: (1) the anti-anthropomorphic Apology; (2) the encomium; (3) reasoned allegory; (4) identification allegory.[10] In addition to these methodological categories there are two others that may prove useful in a search for "pre-Philonic traditions." They are first what Mack refers to as the "development of a theme." This assumes that within a given treatise there is present a thematic development. A second exegetical method is an assumed literal meaning of a biblical text. This procedure suggests that Philo was capable of reading the Pentateuch as a literary and historical document, and that the history, laws, and regulations of the Pentateuch could make good literal sense without appeal to an allegorical interpretation of the text.

This agenda of searching for "pre-Philonic traditions" within Philo has been noted by previous scholars.[11] For example, I. Heinemann maintains that there exist three separate interpretations of the main festivals.[12] H. Wolfson in his distinguished work on Philo refers to three "tendencies" in the works of Philo which he calls the traditional, allegorical, and extremely allegorical.[13] A third example is H. Hegermann,

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[5] R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, "Sources and Traditions in Philo Judaeus," *SP* 1 (1972), 3-26.

[6] B. L. Mack, "Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Program for the Analysis of the Philonic Corpus," *SP* 3 (1974-5), 71-112; "Philo and Exegetical Traditions in Alexandria," *ANRW* 21.1 (1984), 228-71.

[7] Mack, "Traditions," 73.

[8] Ibid.; also V. Nikiprowetzky, *Le Commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), assumes this as the interpretative guide to Philo's writings.

[9] Mack, "Traditions," 74-5.

[10] Mack, "Philo," 257-62.

[11] See Mack, "Philo", 241-49, for a survey of several scholars who adopt this view; also Hamerton-Kelly, "Philo," 10-15, for examples of scholars who have investigated "traditional influences" (pre-Philonic or otherwise) in the Philonic corpus.

[12] S. Heinemann, *Philons griechische und judische Bildung* (Breslau: Marcus, 1932), 137-54.

[13] H. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1948), 57-73.

who regards Philo's interpretation of the Sinai event as belonging to an older tradition of the Pentateuch.[14]

The search for "sources" within the Philonic Corpus has also played a central role in discussions of Philo's relationship to the Alexandrian synagogue. One notable contributor is W. Bousett,[15] who maintained that Philo took over traditional material from the Jewish schools of Alexandria and incorporated it into his work. The evidence for this is that their are present blocks of material that contradict Philo's own point of view; these incongruities suggest an indiscriminate use of sources. One school of Jewish exegesis that Philo used was dominated by orthodox Stoic ideas, in particular the physikoi. These Bousett detects at e.g. *Mos.* 2. 103; *Ab.* 99; *Leg. All.* 1. 59; 3. 61.

Goodenough[16] also contributed to the discussion of Philonic sources. He suggested that Philo in several contexts shows evidence of a text which was originally a Heraclitean document, reworked by Neophythagoreans. This, Goodenough claimed is used by Philo at *Ques. Gen.* 3. 5, and its influence is evident at *Plant.* 10; *Spec. Laws*, 4. 230-8; *Ques. Ex.* 2. 56.

Heinemann postulated that there was a circle of Jewish Cynic exegetes in Alexandria, and it was from them that Philo extracted much of his interpretation of the festivals.[17] From this source came the idea that every day should be a feast-day and that the sabbath is a reminder of the original state of the creation.

In the light of these investigations it is striking that no systematic evaluation of Jewish traditions (pre-Philonic or otherwise) or sources has yet been attempted in the case of the *Hypothetica.*[18] This is what the first part of this paper will investigate, before we proceed to the relationship between traditions in the *Hypothetica* and those of *Contra Apionem.* Our concern will be whether *Contra Apionem* used the *Hypothetica* as a source for its summary of the Law.[19]

Before we address ourselves to the issues sketched above several remarks on the character, title, and structure of the *Hypothetica* are required. Sandmel classified the works of Philo under four categories. The first of these is called the "historical." This

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[14] H. Hegermann, *Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum* TU 82 (Berlin: Akademie, 1961), 27-87.

[15] W. Bousett, *Judisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915).

[16] E. R. Goodenough, "A Neo-Pythagorean Source in Philo Judaeus," *Yale Classical Studies* 3 (1932), 115-64.

[17] Heinemann, *Philons Bildung,* 142-46.

[18] Several scholars have discussed the theme: e.g. Heinemann, *Philons Bildung,* 352-58; M. Petit, "À propos d'une traversée exemplaire du désert du Sinaï selon Philon (Hypothetica vi 2-3.8: texte biblique et apologétique concernant Moïse chez quelques écrivains juifs," *Semitica* 26 (1976), 137-42; F. H. Colson (ed.), *Philo* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1961), ix *passim;* J. Bernays, "Philon's Hypothetica und die Verwunschungen des Buzyges in Athen," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin: Hertz, 1885), 262-82; Motzo, "Filone," 560.

[19] For an evaluation of traditional ideas in *Ap.* 2. 190-219 see my "Paul, Josephus and Judaism" (diss. Oxford, 1989) where this is investigated.

means "non-biblical" treatises—those that do not reflect an interpretation of scripture.[20] It is to this category that the *Hypothetica* is allocated.

In treating the *Hypothetica* several difficulties emerge: first, the work has survived from Eusebius in the form of two abstracts (*Praep. Evang.* viii. 6. 1-7. 20 and viii. 11. 1-8). Consequently, some guesswork is required concerning the precise context of several passages (e.g. viii. 6. 2; 7. 1; 7. 10; 11. 1). In addition, it is unclear what the overall intention of the work is. The problem is enhanced by the difficulty of the work's title. An understanding of the name *Hypothetica* could help us to gain a better idea of the aims of the work, but the precise meaning is disputed. The title occurs before the first abstract of the treatise, where Philo is "speaking in defence of the Jews against their accusers" (viii. 5. 11). Several different suggestions have been made concerning the meaning of the title: (1) suppositions about the Jews;[21] (2) exhortations, moral advice;[22] (3) imputations.[23] Ὑποθετικά understood as "suppositions" about the Jews seems unlikely, since it would only fit the initial portion of the work. The second option, moral advice, has the following points in its favour. First, ὑποθετικοὶ λόγοι elsewhere refers to treatises which contain moral advice in distinction from theoretical speculation on ethics. Second, Philo uses the word ὑποθῆκαι not infrequently in the sense of "counsels," "admonitions," "teaching" (*Spec. Laws* 1. 299, 3. 29; *Vir.* 3. 70). However, this view of the title is difficult to reconcile with viii. 5. 11, where the *Hypothetica* is defined as an apologetic work. This latter interpretation is reinforced if the *Hypothetica*, the work referred to as "the Apology to the Jew" (Ὑπερ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογία), and the work called περὶ Ἰουδαίων are all the same work. Consequently, it has been suggested that the title *Hypothetica* is best understood as "imputations," i.e. false opinions about the Jews which are being refuted. This understanding is supported by the statement at viii. 6. 6: ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέμους καὶ ἀνάνδρους εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγους ὑποθώμεθα. Thiw would also cohere with the character of the *Hypothetica* given at viii.5.11 as an ἀπολογία.[24]

Assuming that an apologetic emphasis is appropriate in characterizing the *Hypothetica* we can make several observations on the literary structure of our treatise. Since our interest is in Philo's summary of the Law we shall restrict ourselves to viii. 6. 10-7. 20. There are a number of structural indicators that are found within the treatise. It begins with the statement that the Jewish laws are clear and simple. This is followed by a number of offences which carry the death penalty (7. 1). This "if-then" structure continues in the next paragraph, where on three different occasions the words "so too" occur. The implication is that what was stated already regarding the cause-effect relationship between offence and punishment continues.

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[20] S. Sandmel, "Philo Judaeus: An Introduction to the Man, his Writings, and his Significance," *ANRW* 21.1 (1984), 6. Sandmel's classification in general follows M. L. Massebieau, *Le Classement des oeuvres de Philon*, (Paris: Leroux, 1889), 1-91.

[21] This meaning is noted by Colson, *Philo*, 410. However, cf. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, rev. ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1987), iii/2, 866-7.

[22] Bernays, "Philons Hypothetica," 262-82.

[23] Massebieau, *Le Classement*, 55-9.

[24] I owe the above points to Schürer, *Jewish People*, 886-87. The apologetic nature of the *Hypothetica* supported here is also maintained by L. Troianai, "Osservazioni sopra l'apologia di Filone: gli Hypothetica," *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), 312.

7.3-5 begins with the statement that there are "other rules of various kinds." What follows is a list of rules directed to wives, parents, sons, rulers, etc. At 7. 6 the author summarizes what has already been given as well as what follows: "besides these there is a host of other things which belong to unwritten laws, customs, and institutions or are contained in the laws themselves." This is the clearest statement of the content of the summary.

Philo then gives a further list of injunctions of various sorts that extend to 7.8. These include treatment of the poor, animals, dead people, abortion against a foetus, etc. The list concludes with the comment that the injunctions just given are more important and serious than those that will follow (7. 9). Then a further list occurs. After these less serious matters the comment is made that violation of the rules entails the vengeance of God. The treatise concludes with a longer section on the sabbath and the sabbatical year, which is more rhetorical and explanatory in nature (7. 10-20).

It is notable from the structure of Philo's summary of the Law that consistently presents the admonitions, prohibitions, and injunctions in list-form. Apart from the final section on the sabbath and the sabbatical year, the summary consists of lists classified under the heading "unwritten law, customs, institutions, and laws," i.e. those found in the Torah. This list-like form suggests that the content may reflect "traditional" material: whatever may be the objective value of the summary, the structure and form of the material suggest that Philo considered the summary to be one of basic principles. He takes it as obvious that common ideals of Jews are being given. This interpretation can only be tested by considering each injunction in turn to determine if and to what extent the formulation of the Law in the *Hypothetica* is traditional and what the sources were for his ideas.

Let us turn now to an investigation of traditions in *Hypothetica* viii. 6. 10-7. 20. The approach we shall adopt is to survey the laws, customs, and institutions of Philo's summary of the Law in order to determine whether the material reflects traditional ideas. In this vein, we shall consider the *Hypothetica* in relation to several different categories of Jewish evidence. They consist of: (1) biblical law; (2) OT non-legal material; (3) Jewish material from the close of the OT prior to the time of Philo; (4) material shared by Philo with his contemporaries; (5) ideas shared by the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem;* (6) material unique to the *Hypothetica;* (7) ideas in the *Hypothetica* that were common in anitiquity, among Jews as well as non-Jews. By considering the *Hypothetica* in the light of these analytical categories one may be able to reach a verdict on its use of and appeal to Jewish traditions. Our approach will be to consider first each injunction separately. We shall conclude by bringing together evidence under each of these categories.

The treatise commences with the statement that the laws of the Mosaic constitution are clear and simple (ἁπλᾶ καὶ δῆλα) (cf. *Ap.* 2. 190). The context for this statement is the question whether there are among the Jews evaders of the Law of Moses. Philo replies in the negative: no such people are found among Jews. In addition, this opening section forms a defence against Gentile charges that the Jews were adulterers, and of a violent nature, that they ill-treated the free man and servants alike, they stole from the Temple, and were impious in their acts. To counter these charges Philo affirms that the Jews are not fickle in character when it comes to the Law: first, they know their Law; second, they are acquainted with its implicit cause-and-effect dimension—disobedience results in punishment.

Now Philo produces his list of laws, beginning with those on sex. For violating laws against pederasty, adultery, rape and prostitution Philo states that the penalty is death. Prohibitions against pederasty, adultery, and rape (in general circumstances)[25] are in accord with biblical law (Lev. 18. 22, 20. 10, 22. 23-7; Dt. 21. 10ff.). These offences are equally found among later Jewish witnesses: pederasty: *Sib. Or.* 2. 13; 3. 185; *Arist.* 152; *Ps.-Phoc.* 3a, 190, 170-83, also *Spec. Laws* 3. 50, 3. 37-50; adultery: *Wis.* 14. 26; *Ps.-Phoc.* 3a, 170-83; *Ap.* 2. 199; *Arist.* 152; rape: *Ap.* 2. 215 (cf. *Ps.-Phoc.* 198, where rape is denounced but it is not said to be a capital offence).[26]

The matter is different regarding prostitution. Philo's example may appear to be in conflict with the Bible (Jud. 11. 1; Josh. 2) and Rabbinic Judaism (e.g. R. Judah-ha-Nasi: Tosf., Tem. 4. 8) where prostitution is known and practised. Josephus in his summary of Judaism at *Ant.* 4. 206 notes the practice, though he states that payment received by a prostitute for her hire may not be used to purchase a sacrifice. Philo, on the other hand, states in *Spec. Laws* (3. 51) that a harlot (πόρνη) is to be stoned. In addition to *Hypoth.* 7. 1 this view also occurs in *On Joseph* (43), where a harlot from among the commonwealth of Israel is not permitted to live. This is given in a context where visiting prostitutes is attributed to nations other than Jews. If it is correct that Philo's view is based on the LXX Dt. 23. 18, where a daughter of Israel is prohibited from being a prostitute, we may detect a different emphasis in the diaspora. This may have been in part because "some Jews attempted to forbid prostitution entirely within their communities—a step which was not required in Palestine, where the problem of Gentile ethics did not press so heavily and make Jews take the step to be distinctive."[27] (Compare here *Ps.-Phoc.* 177-8, where the wife is not to be induced to prostitution whereas Lev. 19. 29 forbids the daughter. However, neither the *Pseudo Phocylides* nor Lev. 19. 29 adds the death penalty.

The death penalty is also extended to other forms of misconduct. First is the confining, kidnapping, or selling of a person, whether slave or free man. This is similar to the injunction at Ex. 21. 16, where, as in the *Hypothetica* the penalty is death. Second, impiety towards God and parents, either verbally or by action, is considered to be a violation of the Law. This can clearly be documented from the Torah at Lev. 24. 13ff., where the person who curses God is to be stoned. The death penalty incurred for parental disobedience also occurs in the Torah at Ex. 21. 17 and Dt. 21. 18-21. The former passage states that anyone who curses his mother and father will be put to death; the latter prescribes (as in the *Hypothetica*) that death will be by stoning.

The view that Philo gives is also present in *Ap.* 2. 206: "If a son does not respond to the benefits provided him by his parents he will be stoned." It is evident from this that the tradition which Josephus and Philo follow derives from the OT Law. The *Pseudo-Phocylides* makes the same general point regarding discipline of children[28] but

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[25] See also in this connection the injunction against committing "outrage" on the person of a slave or free man (7. 2).

[26] See Heinemann, *Philons Bildung*, 286ff., for other texts; L. M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* (New York: Block, 1948), 179ff.

[27] E. P. Sanders, "Paul and Sex," paper delivered in the NT Seminar, Oxford, 19 June 1986, MS 11.

[28] J. Bernays, "Über das Phokylideische Gedicht," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin: Hertz, 1885), 244.

does not include the penalty of death for disobedience:[29] "And if a child sins against you, let the mother cut her son down to size, or else the elders of the family or the chiefs of the people." The Mishnaic tradition, however, greatly restricted the circumstances under which the rebellious son was to be condemned to death. For example, *m. San.* 8. 1-6 indicates several criteria: the parents must both wish for the execution to take place; the child may not have any physical defects; the child must have been previously chastised by his parents and the elders of the community; the youth must not be under 13 years and one day old and must have stolen from his parents; finally, he must be guilty of having consumed large quantities of food and drink. With these sort of criteria to convict a rebellious son, the success of any actual case became a virtual impossibility.[30] Philo did not have such a restrictive outlook: violation of the parents' wishes resulted in stoning.

However, the precept to honour and obey parents which is assumed is deeply rooted in the Decalogue (Ex. 20. 12; Dt. 5. 16), biblical law (Lev. 19. 3), the wisdom tradition (Prov. 1. 8, 19. 26, 23. 22-5, 28. 24; *Sir.* 3. 1-6), the apocalyptic tradition (*Jub.* 7. 20), and the rabbinic tradition (*Mekilta* on Ex. 20. 12 (cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws*, 2. 235; *Decal.* 51). In the *Hypothetica* we find impiety to God placed alongside that against parents; this point also occurs in *Ap.* 2. 217. In a different context in Josephus a person's attitude to God is related to behaviour towards parents: "Honour to parents the Law ranks second only to honour to God" (*Ap.* 2. 206). One example that echoes Josephus occurs at *Ps.-Phoc.* 8: "Honour God first and foremost and thereafter your parents." Similar is the *Sib. Or.* 3. 593f.,; "they honour Him alone who reigns for ever, the Eternal, and after him their parents." But it should be borne in mind that honour to parents was also a recurring theme in Greek and Roman literature.[31]

We can see from this that Philo is clearly following a traditional line in his outlook towards God and parents. However, he reflects a distinct view when he adds that impiety towards one benefactor will also result in stoning. This punishment for reviling a benefactor is absent from the Torah and from Philo's *Spec. Laws*, as well as other known sources.[32]

There is a third form of misconduct which according to the *Hypothetica* incurs the

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[29] P. W. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 248. For the date and destination of these texts I follow van der Horst, who argues that the content of the document "seems to favour a date between 50 B.C.-100 A.D." This is based on the fact that the *Pseudo-Phocylides* were probably written in Alexandria at a time when relations between Jews and Greeks had not yet become too tense. Van der Horst narrows this down to some time during the reign of Augustus (30 B.C.-A.D. 14) or Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). See more recently his "Pseudo-Phocylides" in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), ii, 567-8, and "Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited," *JSP* 3 (1988), 3-30. For another proponent of Alexandrian provenance for this document see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), ii, 539.

[30] S. Riskin, "The Halakah in Josephus as Reflected In Against Apion and the Life" (diss. Yeshiva University, New York, 1970), 16.

[31] J. W. Hewitt, "Gratitude to Parents in Greek and Roman Literature," *American Journal of Philology* 52 (1931), 30-48; van der Horst, *Sentences*, 116.

[32] Colson, *Philo*, 423d.

death penalty; it is the stealing of sacred things. Troianai maintains that the context of this statement is the charge of Philo's accusers that Jews as a group steal from the Temple.[33] Philo's rebuttal is that Jews who behave in such a way will be punished by death. Therefore, there is strong incentive to avoid Temple theft. There are several examples from Jewish material where Jews are known to have stolen from the Temple: *Ps. Sol.* 8. 12; *Test. Levi* 14. 15. *CD* 6. 15 indicates that anyone who has stolen from the Temple is not suitable as a candidate for admission into the community. There is also an example given by Josephus in *Ant.* 18. 81-4 of a Jew who "played the part of an interpreter of the Mosaic law and its wisdom." With three confederates he enlisted a female proselyte to give money to the Temple in Jerusalem. However, they took the money and used it for their own gain (cf. Acts 19. 31; *Ant.* 4. 18).[34]

These examples are presented to illustrate that Jews stole from the Temple; they do not show that Jews incurred punishment for plundering the Temple of its goods. It is this that is noteworthy in the present context. In spite of the fact that stealing is a violation of the Decalogue (Ex. 20. 15; Dt. 5. 19), the verdict of death for Temple stealing does not seem to occur except in the *Hypothetica.* This also applies to stealing in general, the other feature which Philo includes: the penality is death for the stealing of things *profane* as well as sacred.

This first section of the *Hypothetica* has shown that Philo was dependent on ideas from the Bible as well as other Jewish literature for many of his ideas; pederasty, adultery, rape, impiety towards parents, and the binding, kidnapping or stealing of a person. However, we found scant precedent for Philo's verdict against prostitution. Regarding the indictment that Jews who stole form the Temple should be put to death, it appears that Philo is giving his own distinct view. This applies also to the statement that a person should receive the death penalty if he acts in an impious manner toward his benefactor.

We shall now proceed to the second section of the *Hypothetica* (7. 3-5) to test our initial judgement of Philo's appeal to traditional ideas. This section begins with the statement that what follows is "other rules of various kinds." The impression given by this is that the subject matter is loosely bound together under the guise of a single theme. The topics included broadly confirm this, since the passage deals with the role of women in relation to their husbands, parental guidance, and situations in which vows are to be kept.

First, Philo defines role differences between husband and wives: "wives must be in servitude to their husbands, a servitude not imposed by violent ill-treatment but by promoting obedience in all things" (7. 3). Similarly, at 7. 4 it is the husband who is to transmit knowledge of the Law to his wife.[35] There is an injunction at 7. 8

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[33] Troianai, "Filone," 309.

[34] Cf. F. B. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 111.

[35] See A.-M. Dubarle, "Paul et l'antifeminisme," *Revue des sciences philos. et Theol.* 60 (1976), 263-8, for a survey of attitudes towards women in antiquity and the suggestion that the view of Philo is typical. In this regard, one may consult J. E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 107-9. Also R. A. Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), esp. 41-3, 94-5.

which reflects the man's role as protector to his wife: the husband is not to be separated from his wife even if taken captive. Josephus shares this general outlook in *Ap.* 2. 201: "The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man. Let her accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority has been given by God to the man." This view of Philo and Josephus may have had its origin in Gen. 3. 16 (LXX). Furthermore, it was a view held by the Essenes according to Josephus (*War*, 2. 121; *Ant.* 18. 21).

Philo next considers parental guidance. We have already seen in a different context (7. 2) how children are to behave towards their parents. Here Philo presents another aspect of the parent-child relationship, this time from the perspective of the parent: they are to have rule/power (ἄρχειν) over their children. This is for the preservation and care of the offspring. There is a similar statement at 7. 8, where children are not to be parted from their parents even if they are held captive. The purpose of the formulation at 7. 2 may be polemical, since the idea of gratitude to one's parents was a recognized topos among both Greeks and Romans.[36] In this way Jewish children would not appear to have less regard for their parents than non-Jews. It may also be possible to see in Philo the influence of the Roman *patria potestas.*[37]

It may equally be that this dictum is to be understood in relation to Dt. 21. 18-21: that is, parents in the interest of the preservation and well-being of the child exercise rule or power over it so that what is prescribed in Dt. 21. 18-21 will come to fruition. This would make the view of the *Hypothetica* similar to *Ap.* 2. 206 and *Ps. Phoc.* 208-9; (cf. *Spec. Laws*, 2. 232).

Whichever of these suggestions is the more cogent, the following points are clear from Philo's statement: (1) parents have rule over their children; (2) the intention of this is to ensure the child's safety and preservation; the parents are to be guardians of the children; (3) there is no explicit suggestion that parental honour is a concern; (4) there is no penalty prescribed for disobedience to parental rule.

The third topic considered in this section may be classified under the heading of the keeping of vows (7. 3b-5). The basic premise regarding a person's possessions is first stated: a person's belongings are his own unless they have been given over to God. The following paragraphs give conditions which apply to this basic premise. (1) If a person makes a vow to God even by means of a casual verbal promise his belongings are not his to handle or touch. (2) If a man has promised to God what was intended for his wife to keep herself he must refrain from giving it to her. (3) If a father has promised to God a gift destined for his son he must consider it the property of God. (4) The ruler cannot give to his servants what he has previously apportioned to God. There are two further prohibitions given: you must not commit sacrilege in the temple of gods by robbing what belongs to the gods; you must not steal what others have committed to God.

The idea of keeping vows occurs in the Pentateuch (Numb. 30. 2-16; Dt. 22. 21-3). We also find in the OT the strong injunction to keep a vow once it has been made: "If you have made a vow you shall be careful to perform what has passed through your lips" (Dt. 21. 23). There are also explicit conditions given that are to be observed. Numb. 30. 2-16 is a good example. Conditions are first directed to the man (30. 2), followed by those to the woman (30. 3).

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[36] Hewitt, "Gratitude," 30ff.

[37] This has been suggested by Heinemann, *Philons Bildung*, 251, with reference to *Spec. Laws*, 3. 232, where a similar sentiment to that in *Hypothetica* is expressed.

We also know that vow-keeping was practiced in the first century. Luke in the Acts records that Paul made a vow to shave his head (18. 18; 21. 23-4). Others passages which record the keeping of vows are: *Ant.* 19. 294; *War*, 2. 313; Philo, *Ebr.* 2; *m. Ned.* 6. 1ff. However, we do not find in the Pentateuch or elsewhere the conditions given by Philo in the *Hypothetica.* Nor do we find a penalty given for failing to keep a vow. Nor do we know of (except from later rabbinic texts) any means of absolution from a vow made such as occur in the *Hypothetica:* "the chief and most perfect way of releasing dedicated property is by the priest refusing it, for he is empowered by God to accept it or not."[38]

Our survey of the three topics thus suggests that Philo's view of the place of women in relationship to men was a commonly held one which had its roots in the OT but developed among Philo's general contemporaries. On the other hand, we found the statement regarding the authority or power which parents are to have over their children less clear: here the background could have been either Jewish or Graeco-Roman. Finally, we saw that vow-keeping as a practice could be documented from the OT and from first-century witnesses. What we did not find except in the *Hypothetica* were (1) the particular conditions set by Philo; (2) the statement that a person might incur punishment for failure to keep a vow. In the case of absolution from vows documentation is known but from the later rabbinic literature.

The third section of our treatise occurs at 7. 6-9. It is introduced by the comment: "Besides these there is a host of other things which belong to unwritten customs and institutions or are contained in the laws themselves." The method Philo uses to present these "other things" is simply to state them in the form of a list with little or no explanation. Our aim will be to observe each injunction and determine whether it reflects Jewish tradition.

The first injunction concerns how to treat other people: "what a person would not want to suffer he should not do to others" (7. 6). The closest OT text which reflects this view stated in the positive form is Lev. 19. 18 "thou shall love your neighbour as yourself."[39] The formulation of Philo, however, was familiar in Judaism. *Tob.* 4. 15 states "what you hate do not do to anyone." Similarly, from a later time Hillel summarized and explained Lev. 19. 18 by quoting the negative form of the golden rule to a proselyte: "What is hateful to you, do not do to your neighbour, that is the whole law, everything else is commentary, go and learn" (*b. Shabb.* 31a). The injunction also occurs in the NT at Mt. 7. 12 "whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them." If it is accurate to think of Matthew as a convert from Judaism,[40] then what we have within his Christian ethics is something that is fundamentally Jewish.

It is also the case that the general sentiment of concern for others, which the more specific formulation of Philo assumes, was widely current within Judaism (*Arist.* 207; *Sir.* 10. 6; *Ap.* 2. 211ff.; *T. Naph.* 1. 6; *2 En.* 61. 1-2; *Targ. Yer.* 1 to Lev. 19. 18; *ARN* 15). However, the injunction to treat others as you want to be treated is not simply an attribute of Jews; it was also shared by non-Jews. "Do not do to others that which angers you when they do it to you" (Isocrates, *Nicocl.* 39c; also

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[38] There is an elaborate system among the rabbis for absolution of vows, e.g. *m. Ned., passim; b. San.* 68a. See L. I. Rabinowitz, "Vows," *Enc. Jud.* 16 (1974), 227.

[39] Colson, *Philo*, 426c.

[40] R. T. France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1988), 70-3.

Herodotus, 3. 142; Menander, *Mem.* 40; Diog. Laert. 5. 21; cf. Confucius, *Analects* 15. 23). We can see that the injunction on how to treat others reflects traditional ideas both among Jews and Greeks.[41]

The prohibition against stealing is next given: a person is not to take up what he had not laid down; he must not filch anything, however small. While the precise formulation is not found in the OT, the general condemnation of stealing is deeply rooted in the Decalogue (Ex. 20. 15; Dt. 5. 19) and is consonant with the Law, (Dt. 22. 1-3; Lev. 6. 2-3). It is also reflected in Josephus' summary of the Law, where the prohibition against stealing is similar in form to that of *Hypoth.* 2. 208: "none may appropriate goods which he did not place on deposit, or lay hands on any of his neighbour's property." Bernays notes that the present injunction occurs as a piece of moralizing ascribed to Solon Diog. Laert. 1. 57) and described by Plato at *Legg.* xi, 913c.[42] Regardless of this similarity to Greek moralizing, Philo reflects a sentiment shared by Josephus and which is generally rooted in the Pentateuch.

A third prohibition is now given which is shared only by Philo and Josephus. The injunction is to share the basic necessities of life with all people. These include fire and water (*Ap.* 2. 211; *Hypoth.* 7. 6). Josephus also adds the necessity of food.[43] These three elements fire, water, and food accurately summarize "basic necessities." This injunction is absent from the Law and from Palestinian literature generally. Prov. 25. 21, comes closest to the injunction of Philo and Josephus: "If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he is thirsty, give him water to drink." This doctrine concerning basic necessities is strong evidence for the view that Philo and Josephus shared a common source.[44]

The summary proceeds to a theme similar to that which we have just considered, the admonition to offer help to the less fortunate (the poor and the crippled). At 7. 6 there is an injunction not to worsen the plight of a person in dire straits. Both of these admonitions are different sides of the same injunction: show help to the needy. This concern can be well documented from a variety of Jewish sources. From the OT we have: "If there is among you a poor man . . . you shall open your hand to him and lend him sufficient for his need whatever it may be" (Dt. 15. 7f.); Wisdom literature: "She opens her hand to the poor, and reaches out her hands to the needy" (Prov. 31. 20, cf. 19. 17, 22. 12 31. 9; *Sir.* 4. 4-5); *Pseudo-Phocylides:* "Of that which God has given you, give of it to the needy" (29; also 10, 19b, 23b, 28); Josephus,

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[41] See A. Dihle, *Die goldene Regel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962); W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), i, 686-7; Bernays, "Hypothetica," 274 n. 1.

[42] Bernays, Ibid., 273.

[43] There is another difference, namely that Philo states his concern in the negatives "do not grudge to one" while Josephus gives the positive statement "furnish . . . to all."

[44] There are stories of Greek gods disguising themselves as destitute travel's to test people's hospitality and punishing them if they failed to give a meal and shelter. And individuals punished with exiles were to be refused fire and water by all members of the community—the underlying assumption being that normally these basic essentials would be shared. This observation I owe to a friend trained in classics, Dr. John Waś, Oxford.

Contra Apionem: "He who refuses a suppliant the aid which he has power to give is accountable to justice" (2. 207).[45]

This brings us to the injunction concerning burial of the dead. This admonition, like the previous one, was traditional among Jews. But the witnesses differ on whom the Jews were to bury. In the OT (e.g. Dt. 21. 22-3), where we are given guidelines for the burial of a criminal, the context implies that the criminal referred to was one who had been stoned on the orders of the "elders of the city." The prescription would thus apply to the covenant people of God, not to Gentiles. Similarly, in three separate places *Tobit* mentions the responsibility of burying the dead. At 1. 17 and 2. 7 the reference is to the Jewish people, while 4. 3 mentions his own father. *Sirach*, on the other hand, keeps the recipient of the rite of burial more general (38. 16). This is also the case in Philo: "He must not debar dead bodies from burial but throw upon them as much earth as piety demands" (*Hypoth.* 7. 7). A further Jewish expression of abhorrence from leaving the dead unburied is *Ps.- Phoc.* 99, which, like Philo, speaks of burial very literally in terms of the corpse being covered with earth as well as keeping the recipients quite general. There is, however, one contemporary Jewish voice who considers it the duty of Jews "not to leave the corpse of others unburied." The context here suggest that the "others" are Gentiles. The sole Jewish witness for this idea from a contemporary of Philo is Josephus in *Contra Apionem* (2. 211): see on this point *b. Gitt.* 61a. There is thus good reason to suppose Philo includes burial of the dead as a recognized principle among Jews.[46]

However, burial of the dead was not just a distinctive concern of Jews in the ancient world; it was a concern shared by non-Jews as well. Apollonius of Tyana, who is thought to have condemned possessions and outward honours, "hurried, when he heard of his father's death, to Tyana, and interred him with his own hands beside his mother's grave" (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 1. 13). It is here, therefore, that we find Philo sharing ideas with non-Jews. Hengel has summarized the matter thus: "refusal of burial had always been considered among Greeks and Jews as an unheard of act of impiety and as the severest of punishments for criminals; Basically there was on this point no difference between Jews and Gentiles: 'Burial of the dead was for ancient always both a human and a religious duty.'"[47]

Abortion, a concern of Jews in antiquity, is the next prohibition. Philo states that men and women are to take no part in anything that prohibits the generative process of the woman's offspring (7. 7). While there is no law in the Pentateuch that forbids abortion, the LXX translation of Ex. 21. 22-3 seems to have been the starting-point for these reflections.[48] This can be seen by comparing the MT and LXX texts. The

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[45] See K. Berger, *Gesetzesauslegung Jesu* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972), 369-81, for a commentary on several of these texts. Also A. Nissen, *Gott und der Nacheste im antiken Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974), 166 n. 299; van der Horst, *Sentences*, 134.

[46] The central importance of burying the dead in the rabbis is clearly reflected in the following: "He who is confronted by a dead relative is freed from reciting the Shema, from the Eighteen Benedictions, and from all commandments stated in the Torah" (*m. Ber.* 31a).

[47] M. Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1981), 10.

[48] Van der Horst, *Sentences*, 234; D. M. Feldman, *Birth Control in Jewish Law* (New York: New York University Press, 1973), 257-8.

first has: "When men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that there is a miscarriage, and yet no harm follows, the one who hurt her shall be fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judge determines. If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life." The Septuagint version "If two men wrestle with one another and hit a pregnant woman, and the child comes forth and is not formed yet, then the penalty shall be money. But if it was formed then thou shalt give life for life." Although Philo makes no distinction between a formed and unformed foetus, it is clear from Ex. 21 (LXX) that a formed foetus was a human being. Therefore, whoever kills such a one has committed murder and will be punished by death. This is supported by the fact that Philo includes the prohibition against abortion in a group of injunctions which he classifies as greater in importance and more serious in nature than the minor offences listed in 7. 9; but he still maintains that these minor deeds are punishable by destruction from God. If these minor misdemeanours are punishable in this way, can abortion be treated with any less severity?

This view of abortion in Philo is also shared by Josephus: "a woman who deliberately causes a miscarriage or the destruction of a foetus is regarded as one who commits infanticide." (*Ap.* 2. 202).[49] There is a further text on the theme of abortion that runs parallel to Philo and Josephus, *Ps. Phoc.* 184-5: "a woman should not destroy the unborn babe in her belly." The view that we observe in Josephus, Philo, and the *Pseudo-Phocylides* is echoed in the rabbinic writings as well. For example, the *Mekilta* Ex. 21. 13 clearly states that "the killing of a viable foetus is forbidden." There is thus multiple testimony to support the view that Philo's attitude to abortion reflects a common Jewish sentiment.

The proper treatment of animals is the next item Philo includes in his description of the Mosaic constitution. The topic is discussed here and in the following section (7. 9ff.), where Philo states that he takes up "little things of casual occurrence." The main injunction against the maltreatment of animals is found at 7. 7; its motive is that it is contrary to the wishes of God and Moses, the giver of the Law.

The general humane treatment that animals are to receive indicates Philo's acquaintance with the Pentateuch (Dt. 14. 3, 22. 1-4, 25. 4; Lev. 11. 2-23). It also indicates that Philo and Josephus share a similar sentiment towards animals (*Ap.* 2. 213-14). More specific injunctions against improper use of animals shared by the OT, Philo, Josephus, and the *Pseudo-Phocylides* are the prohibition against separating parent birds from their young. This originates at Dt. 22. 6 and is echoed in *Ap.* 2.214 and *Ps. Phoc.* 84-85. It would appear this may be what is intended by Philo's statement "do not render desolate the nesting home of birds" (*Hypoth.* 7. 9).[50]

Philo and Josephus include an injunction, not found in the OT or the *Ps. Phoc.*, that animals which take refuge in a persons home should be treated as suppliants (*Ap.* 2. 213; *Hypoth.* 7. 7).[51] A creature that has taken refuge in someone's home may

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[49] L. Troianai, *Commento storico al 'Contro Apione' di Giuseppe* (Pisa: Giardini & Stampatori, 1975), 189; Belkin, "Alexandria," 9. For a survey of several relevant texts from Philo on abortion see S. Belkin, *Philo and Oral Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), 129-33, 136 n. 135.

[50] Colson, *Philo,* 430a.

[51] Van der Horst, *Sentences,* 172f. The fact that Philo and Josephus reflect the same attitude is assumed by Colson, *Philo,* 430b.

not be killed by the occupants. Since this injunction is restricted to Philo and Josephus this is a further example which would suggest that both authors shared a common source.

Finally, we find in the *Hypothetica* a prohibition that is distinct to Philo. The seed of animals is not to be destroyed; animal defrauding is also not allowed. The vagueness of both of these injunctions may contribute to the view that these injunctions are unique to Philo. Regardless, the over-all outlook given from Philo is kindness toward animals was a fundamental principle in Judaism; this other Jews would have agreed.

The summary next moves to a prohibition against fraudulent crimes (7. 8). Philo mentions three in particular: no unjust scales, no false measurement, no use of fraudulent coins. These crimes may be classified under the heading of unfair play concerning weights and measures. Comparative evidence to show Philo's appeal to tradition is extensive. The evidence for unfair play is as follows: Lev. 19. 35-6; Dt. 25. 13-16; Prov. 11. 1, 16. 11, 20. 10, 23; *Sir.* 42. 4; Amos 8. 4ff.; Hos. 12. 7-8; Mic. 6. 11; Ezek. 45. 10-12; *Ap.* 2. 216; *Ps.- Phoc.* 14-15; (cf. *b. Baba Bathra* 88b-89a).

The section concludes with a piece of common-sense advice on friendship. "The secrets of a friend must not be divulged in enmity." This precise injunction is found neither in the Pentateuch (cf. Lev. 19. 16ff.; also Prov. 11. 13) nor in the rabbinic literature (cf. *m. San.* 3. 7; *b. San.* 4b). Yet it occurs in *Ap.* 2. 207 in a clearer form than in Philo: "We must conceal nothing from our friends, nor divulge secrets." It is generally thought[52] that the statement of *Contra Apionem* is similar to that of Josephus at *War,* 2. 141, when, referring to Essenes, he says that they "neither hide anything from those of their sect nor reveal to others any of their sect though urged by death." These secrets referred to in the *War* are concerned with a prohibition directed at new initiates, so that they will not disclose the secrets of the community to others (cf. IQS 8. 11ff., 5. 15-16). But the statement of *Contra Apionem* has nothing at all to do with prohibitions to be observed by an initiate. Rather, what is being referred to is an "ideal of Jewish friendship."[53] It is here that Philo and Josephus agree. The only parallel to the prohibition relating to friendship thus comes from a diaspora source.

Without attempting at this stage to summarize our results from this third section of the *Hypothetica* (7. 6-7. 8), we can already see that Philo has predominantly used traditional Jewish ideas. However, in several instances (e.g. burying the dead) we noted that Philo uses ideas also common among non-Jews. And finally, in the case of the statement on ideal friendship we saw that the only source sharing the same view is *Contra Apionem.*

There are two further topics which the treatise concerns itself with. These occur in the final section (7. 10-20). First the sabbath is considered, and then the sabbatical year. In contrast to the previous sections, where injunctions presented in the form

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[52] Troianai, *Commento,* 191; Kamlah, "Gesetzesapologie," 229 n. 32; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus: Against Apion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), i, 376; J. G. Müller, *Des Flavius Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion* (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1877), 325; Th. Reinach, *Flavius Josèphe: Contre Apion* (Paris, Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1930), 95.

[53] Belkin, "Alexandrian," 22.

of lists predominated, the present section is more varied. It includes rhetorical questions, an exposition of Jewish practices on the sabbath day and during the sabbatical year, as well as an explanation or rationale for the ideas expounded. However, this change in form is not a hindrance to our overall objective of determining whether Philo's views are "traditional."

The section begins with a question: "Is it not a marvel that for a whole day they should have kept from transgressing on any occasion any of the ordinances?" (7. 10). The apologetic aspect of the treatise seems evident from the way in which the section opens. It is evident also at 7. 14 in the statement "but any one of them whom you attack with enquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily." Philo is here answering the view of the accusers that the Jews as a group are known for their vices, such as stealing, immorality, ill-treatment of persons, etc. It is from this point of reference that the question at 7. 10 is best considered. Philo's rebuttal is to show that it was not an accident that the Jews kept the laws and ordinances. It was consistent with the plan of Moses. The section then proceeds to sketch the process which helps the Jews to keep the laws. First, they become experts in the ancestral laws and customs. The actual method is then sketched. (1) Jews assemble together on the Sabbath. (2) The Jews are instructed by the priests and elders by means of an exposition from the "holy laws." (3) The result is that the Jewish people will become experts in the law and "advance in piety." (4) One effect is that when Jews are questioned about their laws they will not be proved to be ignorant. (5) The Torah is to be passed on by a man to his wife and children; the same responsibility applies to a master toward his slave.

This scenario for the *Hypothetica* is not unique to Philo. It is consonant with the Jewish vision of education and transformation within the community (see also Philo, *Moses*, 216; *Ap.* 2. 175). Josephus at *Ap.* 2. 204, in quite a different context from that of Philo's *Hypothetica* presents a similar vision. Josephus affirms that festivals are not the only occasion on which sobriety is to be observed: the rule also applies in the bringing up of children (cf. *Ap.* 1. 60; *Ant.* 4. 211). They are to be taught the Torah and the deeds of their forefathers so that Jewish children may not be ignorant of the Torah or transgress its laws. This injunction to teach one's children is firmly rooted in Jewish tradition. The link between the education of children and Jews in general and Torah observance shows the central place which study of the Torah held as a religious ideal for Jews. The *locus classicus* in the OT for teaching children the Torah is Dt. 6. 4-9. Following the giving of the appeal of the Shema "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord," the Israelites were exhorted diligently to teach the commandments of Moses at all times to their children (cf. Dt. 11. 19, 32. 6).

Not only are parents to teach their children, but children are to learn from or obey the instruction of their forefathers. It is here that the *Hypothetica* supports the view of the OT and Josephus. In *Hypoth.* 7. 13 we are told that it is the priests and elders who read and expound the Torah so that those who listen to their teaching will "advance in piety."[54] One result in Torah instruction is to ensure that Israel's children will have a confident knowledge of their laws. Philo elaborates this point at 7. 14. He maintains that when a Jew is attacked with enquiries about his ancestral institutions he will be able to answer these objections and not need to resort to the assistance of a learned person (i.e. a professional in moral and legal matters), because Jews know their Law. We can see, then, that while Philo and Josephus are addressing

[54] This function of priests occurs also in the Law: Dt. 21. 5ff.

different issues their views on Jewish education in the Law are consistent with each other as well as with the general view of the OT.[55]

This brings us to the last topic of the treatise, which considers the sabbatical year. The theme of sabbath continues to the matter of allowing the land to rest. Just as the sabbath day is a time for the Jew to take respite from the affairs of the world by Torah study, the sabbatical year is a time for the land to rest so that it can have a fresh start. Philo states that this was proof that Jews cared for things important to human society.

This idea of a sabbath year is clearly documented from the OT: "Six years you shall sow your field, and six years you shall prune, but in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of solemn rest for the land" (Lev. 25. 3-4; also 25. 18-22; Ex. 23. 10-11). Furthermore, we know that the sabbatical year was observed during the Second Temple Period.[56] One example is from Josephus, who informs us that during the dictatorship of Julius Caesar Jews were exempt from paying tribute to the High Priest since "they neither take fruit from trees nor do they sow" (*Ant.* 14. 202; cf. *Ant.* 11. 338).

Let us now draw together some conclusions from our analysis of the *Hypothetica*. The aim of our investigation was (1) to assess the traditions within Philo's *Hypothetica* 6. 10-7. 20, and by so doing contribute to the continuing search for "traditions," "traditional influences" and "sources" within the Philonic Corpus; (2) to consider the possibility that a source for Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 2. 190ff. was the *Hypothetica*. We have now completed the first task. The conclusions to be drawn from the first part of our study will be set out by placing the central ideas of the *Hypothetica* in relation to the various different categories of material listed at the beginning of the paper—Bible, intertestamental material prior to Philo, contemporaries of Philo, etc. The fact that we find several of the same ideas in different categories of material enforces the the point that Philo is using traditional ideas. Our conclusions regarding the second task will emerge in due course. We shall formulate these more explicitly at the end of the paper. In our consideration of *Hypoth.* 6. 10-7. 20 we suggested that there were a number of traditional Jewish ideas reflected in this material. A list of ideas which the *Hypothetica* shares with the Bible would include the following points. (1) There is a prescribed sexual ethic. Failure to observe these laws will result in the death penalty: pederasty, adultery, and rape are prohibited and punishable by death. (2) Impiety towards God will result in the penalty of death. (3) Children are to obey their parents; the consequence of failing to do so is death. (4) Kidnapping or stealing a person is punishable by death. (5) Keeping vows one has made is prescribed in the Law. (6) Treating others as you want to be treated is a fundamental aspect of the biblical view. (7) Jews are to behave toward others in a prescribed manner. They must not steal or refuse help to a person in need but give a hand to the needy and the poor. (8) Burying the dead is a necessary duty. (9) Education in the Torah is a fundamental aspect of the Jewish religion. (10) Animals are to be treated in a humane way. (11) The practice of fraud concerning weights and measures

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[55] On Jewish education see G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), i, 316ff., B. I. Viviano, *Study as Worship: Aboth and the New Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), esp. 155; M. Greenberg, "Sabbath," *Enc. Jud.* 14 (1972), 564-5; A. Demsky, "Education (Jewish)," *Enc. Jud.* 6 (1972), 386.

[56] A. Rothkoff, "Sabbatical Year," *Enc. Jud.* 14 (1972), 583.

is prohibited. (12) The observance of the sabbath day and the sabbatical year is an integral part of the Law of God.

A second category of material relevant to assessing traditions in the *Hypothetica* consists of Jewish ideas that may, broadly speaking, be contemporary with Philo (apart from Josephus' *Ap.* 2. 190ff). The evidence in this category indicates that the *Hypothetica* shared a number of ideas with contemporary Judaism. (1) Honour to God and parents is a religious ideal to be emulated. (2) Women are to be subservient to their husbands. (3) Care for the poor and needy is a prescribed duty. (4) Abortive measures against the generative process are prohibited. (5) Burying the dead is universally obligatory. (6) Humane treatment of animals is expected. (7) Unfair play regarding weights and measures is prohibited.

A third category of material is that which the *Hypothetica* share with ancient writers regardless of whether they are Jews or Gentiles. These ideas are: (1) respect for parents; (2) the necessity of burying the dead; (3) the injunction to treat others as you want to be treated; (4) the prohibition against "taking up" what does not belong to you.

The fourth category of material by which to evaluate the *Hypothetica* is contained in *Contra Apionem.* Observation of the ideas shared between these two documents will enable us, in due course, to speculate on the question of source relationships between the texts. A list of common agreements between the summary of the Law in these two documents would include the following. (1) Animals are to be treated humanely, and are even to be granted refuge in one's own home. (2) Women are to have a subservient role to their husbands. (3) Instruction in the Torah serves the religious and social function of learning the Jewish tradition, advancing in piety, and the avoidance of ignorance. (4) Helping the needy is a religious duty. (5) People are to be given help with basic necessities such as water, fire (and food: *Contra Apionem*). (6) Abortive measures against the generative process are prohibited. (7) Impiety towards God and parents is punishable by death. (8) Burying the dead is a duty. (9) The authority of parents is acknowledged. (10) Confidentiality should be observed in friendship; misuse of information that has been divulged in trust is not permissible, even if a time of estrangement should arise.

This brings us to a fifth type of data, ideas found in *Contra Apionem* but absent from the *Hypothetica.* Several that are noteworthy are: (1) a belief in a future salvation; (2) assessibility of the Jewish religion to non-Jews; (3) the observance of purity laws in relation to the marriage union and following a funeral ceremony; (4) the practice and existence of the Temple, cultus, and prayer; (5) the central importance of one God and the prohibition against the making of false images; (6) the need for youths to respect their elders; (7) the prohibition against charging interest to fellow Jews; (8) the stipulation that sacrifices are an occasion for sobriety; (9) the prohibition against taking a wife by violence and against committing an outrage against a woman prisoner; (10) the prohibition against the destruction of an orchard where warfare has taken place.

A sixth category of material relevant to our discussion consists of ideas in *Hypothetica* which are absent from *Contra Apionem:* (1) the stipulation of a sabbatical year for the land to rest; (2) the conditions regarding the making of vows; (3) prohibition against stealing sacred things; (4) appeal to the negative form of the love commandment; (5) the requirement that children should remain with their parents if they are taken captive (the same applies to wives remaining with captive husbands); (6) duty of a master to instuct his slaves in the Torah.

There are two further types of material which may be included in our survey. These are ideas and formulations that are peculiar to the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem.* Those in the *Hypothetica* include the following. (1) Impiety against a benefactor carries with it the death penalty. (2) Failure to observe the strict obligation of a vow results in death, but one be absolved from a vow if the priest refuses to accept it. (3) Children are not to be held as captives without their parents; this injunction also applies to the wife and husband. (4) The punishment for theft (in general) is death. (5) Jews who stole from the Temple will receive the death penalty.

The peculiar ideas in *Contra Apionem* are as follows. (1) At sacrifices precedence is given to prayers for the community. (2) The consequence of accepting bribes is death. (3) The burning of the country of an enemy is not allowed. (4) The despoiling of a fallen combatant is prohibited. (5) An animal used in labour is not to be killed.

The above survey permits the following conclusions regarding traditions used by Philo in the *Hypothetica.* First, he shows a debt to biblical law as well as to the OT more generally. Second, the *Hypothetica* shares ideas found in Jewish witnesses from the close of the OT period to the first century. Third, we also saw—though the evidence more slight—ideas in the *Hypothetica* that were shared by the ancients in general regardless of whether they were Jew or Greek. Fourth, the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* at ten different places share similar beliefs. Fifth, the *Hypothetica* includes ideas not in *Contra Apionem* and the *Contra Apionem* includes ideas not found in the *Hypothetica.* For the former six examples were cited, for the latter ten. Finally, we showed that both the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* have peculiar and distinct ideas; the peculiar topics in each of these two witnesses show no resemblance to each other. From this we can see that the *Hypothetica* uses a varied and complex collection of traditions and sources to create a multifaceted, idealized portrayal of Judaism.

Given the above conclusions we can now ask how probable it is that *Contra Apionem* used the *Hypothetica* as a (or the) source for his summary of the Law. There are three possibilities. (1) *Contra Apionem* did use the *Hypothetica.* (2) The *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* shared a common source. (3) *Contra Apionem* used the *Hypothetica* but paraphrased it.

Let us consider first of all that there is a common source. We suggested above that there were ten points in which the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* shared material. However, of these eight came explicitly from the OT; just two can be documented only from the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem.* The former category includes: burying the dead, the authority of parents, humane treatment of animals, the centrality of Torah study, helping the needy, impiety to God and parents. Those shared by *Contra Apionem* and the *Hypothetica* are: the theme of secrecy in friendship and the injunction to provide basic necessities for others. In addition, we found that there were two items that had their origin in the OT yet came to fuller expression in later literature, the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* being two examples. These were the prohibition against aborting the generative process and the stipulations concerning the role of woman.

We also observed several ideas whose general sentiment was found in the OT but which appear in the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* in a form peculiar to these works. These include the statements that one purpose of Torah study is to avoid ignorance and that animals in need of help are to be granted refuge. It must be added that in the case of Torah study the emphasis on the avoidance of ignorance seems to be assumed in the OT (e.g. Josh. 4. 21-2). Regarding help offered to animals, there

is a difference in a detail: whereas the *Hypothetica* says that if animals make appeals for help they should not be refused, *Contra Apionem* states that if you take an animal into your home you are not permitted to kill it. There was also one case (burying the dead) where common tradition is reflected but the distinct formulation in the *Hypothetica* is documented only in one other source—not in fact *Contra Apionem* but the *Pseudo Phocylides.*

From these observation we can affirm that the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* shared common sources and traditions for some of their ideas. We also maintain that other ideas came directly or originated from the OT; still others are best explained as coming from post-biblical traditions. The common source theory thus can only be supported in a qualified sense. It may rather be better to explain the shared ideas in the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* by suggesting a multiplicity of sources.

Within this context we shall now consider the view that Josephus in *Contra Apionem* used the *Hypothetica* as his source. Their are several factors that seem to go against this. First, both witnesses show reliance on the OT and especially biblical law. Often they share the same ideas. (This we have indicated where relevant in our analysis of the *Hypothetica*). The implication of this is that *Contra Apionem* could have used the OT as a primary source rather than obtaining the themes second hand from the *Hypothetica.* Second, both share some ideas with contemporary Judaism, which would suggest that their ideas form part of a common Judaism. (I have listed above point regarding the *Hypothetica* and those for *Contra Apionem* are found in my study already noted).[57] Third, there are ideas in the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* that are distinct to each: some occur in the *Hypothetica* and are absent from *Contra Apionem,* and vice versa. If *Contra Apionem* used the *Hypothetica,* what is Josephus' source for his distinct ideas? One might also ask why chose to omit Jewish ideas from his summary which are known from other sources to have been central to Judaism. For example, the *Hypothetica* omits anything on monotheism, purity laws, prohibition against idolatry, and the hope for a future salvation. Josephus equally has his omissions: the sabbath (though it is mentioned in *War,* 2. 289, and could be assumed to form the occasion of instructing children at *Ap.* 2. 204), the keeping of vows, the sabbatical year, the love commandment (yet he does say that Jews were to emulate the "practice of virtue" (*Ap.* 2. 192) in ways that amount to the love commandment). All in all, it seems that the view which maintains that *Contra Apionem* used the *Hypothetica* as his source is inadequate to explain the relationships between the two texts.

There is a third hypothesis which has been suggested to explain the relationship between the texts, namely, that *Contra Apionem* is a paraphrase of the *Hypothetica.* In our view it would be difficult to maintain with any degree of certainty. In order to sustain this thesis we would need clear and certain criteria to decide the matter; we would need to devise a way to determine what is the original idea and what the paraphrase when ideas expressed are fairly similar. Since of the ten items which the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* share there are only two that must have come from a common source, there are too few instances permit any real test. Furthermore, the language of these two examples (providing basic necessities and ideals in friendship) is so close that it would be difficult to determine which used which. It is here where the paraphrastic option breaks down.

It therefore seems plausible to accept that the common-source theory is the most

[57] See my "Paul, Josephus and Judaism," MS 23-86.

suitable, with the qualification that other sources also played a central role.[58] Josephus and Philo then shared a common source and body of traditions in their respective summaries of the Law. However, many of the traditions used were part of a common Judaism that consisted of a wide variety of Jewish witnesses and influences, which are attributed to different locations within the diaspora: Alexandria and Rome, as well as Palestine. The fact that Josephus writing in Rome and Philo in Alexandria appeal to similar ideas suggests the presence of a common Judaism that was not tied to one location or to one synagogue. A recognition of this dimension in understanding Philo may enable us better to appreciate his relationship within the hellenistic synagogue and to understand that he and Josephus form part of a rich tradition within diaspora Jewry.

[58] *Pace* Motzo, "Filone," 561-2 it seems inadequate to maintain that in the *Hypothetica* and *Contra Apionem* Mosaic ideas are simply dressed up in a Greek way, since a number of the ideas in both documents can be found in biblical law or the OT or reflect common Jewish tradition. It is also incorrect to suggest that Josephus' motive for including an idea was that Philo had done so before him. We have shown in our analysis that each author has distinct ideas not shared by the other. Regarding Belkin, "Alexandrian," 1ff. we are in agreement with what he affirms; Josephus and Philo shared a common viewpoint. But question what is unstated; there were a variety of sources available to Josephus in *Contra Apionem* that could and probably were used.

The Literary Function of the Genealogy in Matthew's Gospel

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The genealogy of Jesus comprising the first seventeen verses of Matthew's Gospel has been the object of intense scrutiny since the earliest centuries of the Christian church. For the greatest part of this period, the passage was examined for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and value of its historical witness to the progenitors of Jesus. Interpreters commonly focused attention upon such issues as the provenance of the list and the relationship of this genealogy to that found in Lk. 3, often with a view toward defending the historical worth of the Matthean genealogy.[1]

In more recent times, scholars have generally abandoned the attempt to harmonize the two genealogies, insisting that the purpose of the NT genealogies is theological rather than biographical. Attention has shifted to the religious role the genealogies played in the early Christian communities and to their function in the theology of the evangelists.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that scholars have focused attention on the *literary* function of the genealogies within the final form of the Gospels. Although they give some attention to literary matters, most recent studies of the Matthean genealogy have employed historical methods in order to achieve historical goals. They have employed historical methods in that they give primary consideration to Jewish or Hellenistic parallels, the development of traditions standing behind the extant list, and the evangelist's editorial procedures and redactional aims. They have pursued historical goals in that they examine the genealogy in order to illumine the *Sitz im Leben* of the evangelist's community or to reconstruct the theology of the evangelist.[2]

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[1] For a survey of the various proposals for harmonizing the two genealogies, see Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: with special reference to the setting of the genealogies of Jesus*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series, no. 8, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 140-145.

[2] This historical orientation is represented in the four major treatments of the Matthean genealogy which have appeared within the last twenty-five years: Anton Vögtle, "Die Genealogie Mt 1,2-17 und die matthaische Kindheitsgeschichte," *BZ* 8 (1964):45-58, 239-62; 9 (1965):32-49; Johnson, *Purpose;* Herman C. Waetjen, "The Genealogy as the Key to the Gospel according to Matthew," *JBL* 95 (1976): 205-30; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1979).

These historical issues, associated with the discipline of redaction criticism, are significant and worthy of serious consideration. But the passage invites us also to consider its literary function within the story world of the Gospel. The method of literary criticism, especially the form of literary criticism known as narrative criticism,[3] is singularly suited for this kind of inquiry, since it seeks to understand the "narrative world" we encounter within the Gospel itself and to give attention to the major components of the narrative world. This paper, then, will employ insights from narrative criticism in order to explore the meaning of the genealogy and its role within the Gospel.

The method of narrative criticism is now well known, especially among American NT scholars, and requires no elaboration here. This paper will assume general acquaintance with the discipline. Two words of methodological clarification, however, are in order. The first word of clarification involves the role of the OT within the narrative world of the Gospel. When an implied author makes explicit reference to other writings, thus drawing attention to these writings, they become part of the narrative world the implied author creates. As such, the use an implied author makes of these materials is significant for narrative criticism, as are all other elements that make up the world of the text. Thus, narrative criticism is concerned about the use Matthew makes of the OT and will consider his use of the OT while interpreting passages within the narrative. The significance of this point for the genealogy is obvious.

The second point of clarification involves the role of historical background in narrative criticism. Narrative critics make a fundamental distinction between the narrative world and the external world of historical events and flesh-and-blood persons. Narrative critics insist that one must not allow what we know of the external world to determine our understanding of the narrative world. This separation between the external world and the narrative world is appropriate and necessary, but the separation cannot always be maintained absolutely. Although the narrative world of the Gospel is self-consistent and distinct from the external world of historical events and persons, it is not hermetically sealed from the external world. There are points in the Gospel at which it is clear the implied author and implied reader share a body of knowledge that is not found in the text but rather belongs to the external world. When this occurs, we can say that the narrative points beyond itself and requires that we explore the kind of historical knowledge that is assumed by the text.[4]

This second point of clarification has significance for Mt. 1:1-17 in that there may be certain elements in the genealogy that assume knowledge shared by the implied author and implied reader but not expressed in the narrative. The role of the women

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[3] Presentations of New Testament narrative criticism can be found in the following: David Rhoads and Donald Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989); R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*, Foundations and Facets: New Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); and Mark A. Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship (Philadelphia: Fortress, forthcoming).

[4] See Powell, *Narrative Criticism*, ch. 2; and Ellen F. Davis, *Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy*, JSNTS, no. 79; BLS, no. 21 (Sheffield: Almond, 1989), pp. 75-109.

and the significance of the number fourteen come to mind. The narrative may give some clues regarding the meaning of these elements, but not provide full understanding. On the other hand, one should not conclude prematurely that the narrative fails to answer certain questions it raises; one should examine the narrative carefully, in order to determine what direction the narrative gives in answering questions raised by the text.

I will now explore the function of the genealogy by examining (1) the structure of the genealogy, including the "breaks," or interruptions in the otherwise consistent pattern of the genealogy; and (2) the ways in which the genealogy introduces the reader to the narrative of the Gospel.

I. The Structure of the Geneaolgy[5]

A. The Function of 1:1

A significant structural problem confronts the reader with the very first verse. There has been wide disagreement among scholars regarding the function of 1:1.[6] Some contend that 1:1 serves as the heading for only the genealogy, or at most for the genealogy and infancy narratives of chs. 1-2.

Those who argue that 1:1 relates only to the genealogy maintain that *genesis* is generally employed in the strictly technical sense of referring to genealogical lists, and that its use in 1:18, where it introduces a birth story, is quite uncommon and essentially different from that of 1:1. But these scholars fail to take into account that 1:1 alludes to the LXX of Gen. 2:4, where no genealogical list exists at all, and most certainly alludes to the LXX of Gen. 5:1, where the term introduces a genealogical list *and* a body of narrative.[7] Matthew may therefore be drawing the attention of the implied reader (who knows the OT and is directed to the OT repeatedly by Matthew) to a use of the phrase which involves more than a genealogical list.

Other scholars argue that 1:1 is a title to the Gospel as a whole. These scholars contend that (a) in the OT *genesis* was sometimes employed to introduce narratives, not genealogies (Gen. 6:9; 37:2); (b) this passage is not analogous to Gen. 5:1 since the latter passage introduces the genealogy of the progenitor, while Mt. 1:1 speaks of *biblos geneseōs Iēsou Christou*, the progeny; (c) Matthew may have intended 1:1 to echo the LXX title to the Book of Genesis; (d) *genesis* can be translated as "history"; (e) in the NT *biblos* means only "book," and never refers to a portion of a book; and (f) it was common for prophetic and apocalyptic books in Judaism to begin with a summary sentence announcing the content of the work.

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[5] For the role of literary structure in narrative criticism, see David R. Bauer, *The Structure of Matthew's Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*, JSNTSS, no. 31; BLS, no. 15; and Powell, *Narrative Criticism*, ch. 3.

[6] For critical surveys of the various views regarding the function of 1:1, see Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 9-11; and Bauer, *Structure*, pp. 73-77.

[7] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis: with Introduction and Notes*, Westminster Commentaries, 6th ed. (London: Methuen, 1907), p. 75; Edgar Krentz, "The Extent of Matthew's Prologue: Toward the Structure of the First Gospel," *JBL* 83 (1964):411; Kingsbury, *Structure*, p. 11. But cf. Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), p. 355.

But there are problems with each of these arguments. In the case of (a), the passages cited are not analogous to Mt. 1:1, since they make reference only to *genesis* and do not contain the phrase *biblos geneseōs*, as do Gen. 5:1 and Mt. 1:1; and Gen. 6:9 and 37:2 are unusual, for by far the majority of OT references to *genesis* refers to genealogies or to generations. As far as (b) is concerned, it will be argued below that Matthew had structural and theological reasons for altering the normal procedure by speaking of the *genesis* of the progeny rather than that of the progenitor. With regard to (c), the title to the first book of the LXX is *Genesis*, not *biblos geneseōs;* and there is no reason to think that Matthew shaped his Gospel in any significant way along the lines of the Book of Genesis. Although (d) asserts that *genesis* can be translated "history," this is not the usual meaning of the term, and it would require that *genesis* in 1:1 be understood entirely differently than the same term in 1:18. The argument of (e) is not as strong as it may at first appear, since *biblos* occurs only nine times in the NT (never again in Matthew); moreover, the issue is not the meaning of *biblos*, but the meaning of *biblos geneseōs*, which is certainly attested in Gen. 2:4 and 5:1 as referring to a part of a document as opposed to an entire book. With regard to (f), the fact that some Jewish books began with general headings does not mean all of them did, or even that the majority of them did; it simply means that such a practice was not unknown at the time. But there is no known example of a book employing *biblos geneseōs* as a title. Furthermore, it would be confusing for a writer to use *genesis* (in the sense of "history") as a title for the entire document, only to follow this title immediately with a genealogical list.

If 1:1 does not refer solely to the genealogy and is not a superscription to the entire Gospel, does it serve as a general heading to 1:1-4:16? I have argued at some length elsewhere that this is precisely the function of 1:1.[8] At this point I will simply highlight some of the main reasons for understanding the role of 1:1 in this way.

We have already seen that Mt. 1:1 alludes to Gen. 5:1, which introduces both a genealogy and subsequent narrative material. This observation does not necessarily mean, of course, that Mt. 1:1 has the same relationship to the following material as does Gen. 5:1 in its context. But there is evidence within the text of the Gospel itself that 1:1 is a general heading that is expanded, or spelled out, in the whole of 1:2-4:16. Mt. 1:1-4:16 stands as a discrete major unit in Matthew's Gospel, introduced by 1:1, and set off from the material that follows: (a) 1:1-4:16 deals exclusively with events prior to the inauguration of the ministry of Jesus, which begins in 4:17; (b) 1:1-4:16 is concerned to present the person of Jesus as such to the reader as background for understanding the ministry of Jesus in the remainder of the Gospel, whereas in 4:17-16:20 Jesus is presented to the reader principally in terms of his announcement of the kingdom to Israel and in 16:21-28:20 principally in terms of his passion and resurrection; (c) in the process of presenting the person of Jesus as such to the reader in 1:1-4:16, Matthew emphasizes Jesus' role as Christ, Son of David, and Son of Abraham (cf. 1:1), and develops in a careful and systematic way the specific meaning of each of these titles;[9] (d) 1:1-4:16 is tied together by a chain of reliable witnesses to the person of Jesus, beginning with the witness of Matthew himself presented in 1:1 and in the genealogy that follows; (e) 1:1-4:16 is also tied together by a climactic development in the presentation of Jesus as Son of God, a climactic development that begins already in the genealogy (1:16) and culminates in

[8] See Bauer, *Structure*, pp. 73-77; also Kingsbury, *Structure*, pp. 11-16.

[9] See Bauer, Structure, pp. 76-77.

the explicit declaration from God that Jesus is his Son in 3:17.[10]

But to say that Mt. 1:1 is a heading to the first major division of the Gospel does not preclude the possibility that this verse also introduces in a more specific way the genealogical list of vv. 2-17. In fact, it is unlikely that Matthew would have followed *biblos geneseōs* with a genealogy if he had not meant for it to serve as a title to the genealogy. Moreover, Matthew elsewhere uses the same passage to play two different structural roles. Mt. 16:21, for example, serves as a general heading to the third major division of Matthew's Gospel (and is thus, as a superscription, set off from the narrative that immediately follows); but it is also presented as a specific statement made by Jesus at a particular point in time which draws forth a reaction from Peter.[11] Another Matthean example of a passage that serves two distinct structural roles is 5:17-20, which may be a general heading both for Jesus' teaching regarding the "greater righteousness" throughout 5:21-7:12, and (more immediately and specifically) for the antitheses of 5:21-48.[12] If 1:1 is a superscription both to the first major division of the Gospel (1:1-4:16) and to the genealogy proper (1:1-17), the *biblos geneseōs* of 1:1 would be understood in two ways: insofar as 1:1 introduces the whole of 1:1-4:16, it would be understood as "book of the origin"; but insofar as 1:1 introduces the family register of 1:1-17, it would be understood as "book of the genealogy." This discussion regarding the twofold nature of 1:1 leads naturally into an investigation of the structure of 1:1-17 itself.

B. Structural Analysis of 1:1-17

The overall structure of Mt. 1:1-17 is straightforward. It can be divided into three main units, with v. 1 serving as the general heading, vv. 2-16 as the genealogical list itself, and v. 17 as a concluding summary. Matthew divides the genealogical list into three sub-units, although he indicates this breakdown not within the list itself, but in the summary statement of v. 17: (a) vv. 2-6a: From Abraham to David; (b) vv. 6b-11: From David to the Deportation; and (c) vv. 12-16: From the Deportation to Christ.

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[10] Although it would be possible to understand 1:1 as a heading for chs. 1-2, all the considerations listed in this paragraph under (a) to (e) indicate that it is preferable to interpret 1:1 as a superscription to 1:1-4:16.

[11] For 16:21 as a general heading to the remainder of the Gospel, see Kingsbury, *Structure*, pp. 7-11, 22-25; and Bauer, *Structure*, pp. 96-108. Its close narrative connection with 16:22-23 is obvious.

[12] For 5:17-20 as a heading for 5:17-7:12, see Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1-7: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), p. 255; Léopold Sabourin, *L'Évangile selon Saint Matthieu et Ses Principaux Parralleles* (Rome: Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1978), pp. 64-65; and Robert Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding* (Waco, TX: Word, 1982), pp. 38-39. Most commentators link 5:17-20 specifically with 5:21-48; cf. Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 82, 100. Jack Dean Kingsbury ("The Place, Structure, and Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount," *Int* 41 [1987]:136-42) recognizes that 5:17-20 belongs specifically to 5:21-48, but also that the whole of 5:21-7:12 coheres around the theme of "greater righteousness" from 5:20.

1. 1:1 as General Heading. Mt. 1:1 is a general heading that has two major dimensions, and the verse therefore relates to the genealogy that follows in two ways. First, v. 1 is a superscription, or a title, to the genealogy; as such, it indicates that the material that follows is to be understood formally as a *biblos geneseōs*, i.e., a genealogy. As a title to the genealogy, 1:1 alludes to genealogical lists and especially headings to genealogical lists in the OT. But in the OT the headings to genealogical lists normally identify the genealogy with the forefather rather than with the final descendant; for example, Gen. 10:1 reads, "These are the descendants (*geneseis*) of Shem," followed by a list of Shem's progeny. It would thus strike the implied reader as remarkable that a genealogy from Abraham to Jesus would be entitled, "Book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ," rather than "Book of the genealogy of Abraham." Some scholars have concluded from this extraordinary circumstance that 1:1 is not a title to the genealogy at all. But it is much better to take this departure from normal practice as indicating the uniqueness of Jesus as the Christ, who stands at the end of salvation history and therefore can have no progeny. It should also be remembered that in typical genealogical lists, the descendants gained meaning and identity from their forefathers. The unusual practice here of entitling a genealogy according to the name of the last descendant serves to subordinate the forefathers to this last descendant and indicates that they gain their meaning and identity from the final progeny, i.e., from Christ.

The second way in which 1:1 serves as a general heading to the genealogical list is that the threefold claim made regarding Jesus in 1:1 is substantiated and particularized in 1:2-16.[13] By this I mean that in vv. 2-17 Matthew supports ("substantiates") the claim he has made regarding Jesus in v. 1, viz., that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of David, and the Son of Abraham. And in the process of supporting this threefold claim, Matthew spells out ("particularizes") the specific meaning of each of these designations for Jesus; Matthew indicates something of what it means for Jesus to be Christ, Son of David, and Son of Abraham. Furthermore, Matthew reinforces this substantiation and particularization by the use of chiasm:[14]

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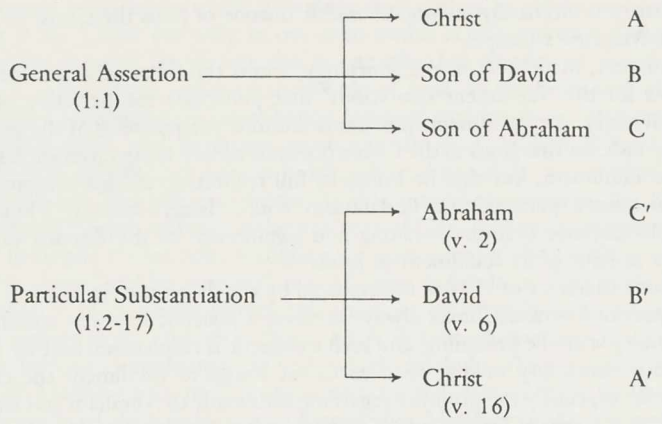
[13] The designation "Jesus Christ" in 1:1 is both a personal name and a title. Its use as a personal name is obvious. That "Christ" is a title as well is indicated by the structure of the genealogy: (a) the genealogy reaches its climax in Jesus "who is called Christ," pointing to a confessional title; (b) the chiasm (Christ-David-Abraham-Abraham-David-Christ) links the reference to "Christ" in v. 1 to the confessional title in v. 16; (c) the summary statement of v. 17 employs "Christ" as a title (note that *Christos* is articular, while the other two personal names are anarthrous).

A chiasm that would involve Jesus (Jesus-Christ-David-Abraham-Abraham-David-Christ-Jesus) and run through the naming of Jesus in 1:25 is ruled out by the considerations that (a) "Jesus" is not used as a title, but simply as a personal name (this is true in spite of the theological significance given to the name in 1:18-25; see Kingsbury, *Structure*, pp. 84-85); (b) the genealogical list reaches its climax in "Christ"; and (c) the summary statement (v. 17) provides closure to the genealogy and thus separates 1:1-17 and 1:18-25.

[14] Surprisingly, few scholars have taken note of this chiasm. John C. Fenton, "Inclusio and Chiasmus in Matthew," in *Studia Evangelica* 1, TU, no. 73 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), pp. 176-77, makes reference to it, but judges that it "may not carry conviction." In fact, it is much clearer than many of the other examples Fenton cites.



This use of chiasm is significant for three reasons. For one thing, this chiasm supports the claim advanced above that 1:1 is immediately and directly linked to the genealogical list. For a second thing, the chiasm indicates that 1:1 serves as a title for the genealogical list in 1:2-17, and not as a title for the entire chapter. It thus suggests a structural break after v. 17. For a third thing, the chiasm serves to clarify the relationship between the titles "Christ," "Son of David," and "Son of Abraham," as employed in this passage. It does so by linking the order of the titles in the general heading to the climactic development in the genealogical list, thereby giving priority to the title "Christ"; this title is the first mentioned in the general heading, and stands in the final, climactic position in the genealogical list.[15]

2. Climax of 1:16. I have just mentioned that the genealogy reaches its climax with the birth of Jesus "who is called Christ." This structural phenomenon indicates the significance of the title: Jesus is the Christ in that he has been anointed by God to bring salvation history, which began with Abraham, to its climax. As the high point of culmination toward which all of Israel's history has been moving, Jesus the Christ gives meaning and significance to that history. This implies that the meaning

[15] The chiasm draws attention to the relationship between these titles and to the order in which they are presented. The notion that the chiasm of 1:1-17 involves a "concentric" or "ring" structure in which the middle element is emphasized is ruled out by the relative lack of prominence to "Son of Abraham" both in this passage and in the Gospel as a whole. Moreover, Matthew often emphasizes the first and last members (the A element) in chiasm used in individual passages (e.g., 5:45b; 5:45-48; 6:24; 9:13; 11:17-19; 11:21-22/23-24; 13:15; 17:25-26). The prominence of "Christ" in the genealogy is indicated not only by the fact that the list reaches its climax in Jesus *ho legomenos Christos*, but also by the considerations that (a) the summary statement of v. 17 declares that the divinely ordered flow of salvation history comes to its high point of culmination in *ho Christos;* and (b) the title "Christ" refers to Jesus' fulfillment of the entire history of Israel, including the roles played by Abraham and David; therefore, "Christ" is a more comprehensive title and contains "Son of David" and "Son of Abraham" within it.

of Israel's history is ultimately incomprehensible outside of Jesus the Christ as he is presented in Matthew's Gospel.

This affirmation, made here in the genealogy, forms the theological and hermeneutical basis for the "fulfillment quotations" that punctuate the narrative of the Gospel. Conversely, the fulfillment quotations illumine the meaning of the genealogy; for they indicate that Jesus as the Christ does not simply bring salvation history in general to fulfillment, but that he brings to full realization all that was implicit in individual events, persons, and declarations within Israel's history. Thus, for example, 2:15 declares that the meaning and significance of the Exodus can be grasped only in light of its fulfillment in Jesus.

The climactic character of v. 16 is underscored by the differences in its form over against the previous verses. Climax always involves a dialectic between continuity and discontinuity with the preceding, and such a dialectic is emphasized here by Matthew. There is continuity in that Jesus as Christ brings to fulfillment the entire history of Israel, especially the promises regarding sons made to Abraham and David. The titles "Christ," "Son of David," and "Son of Abraham" all have to do with Jesus' relationship to the history of Israel. The discontinuity is indicated by the passive voice which is, as almost everyone recognizes, the "divine passive"; this points to Jesus' role as Son of God. The form of this climactic verse suggests that Jesus cannot ultimately be understood in terms of the history of Israel. In fact, he can function as Christ (which necessarily includes Son of David and Son of Abraham) because he is also Son of God, whose *genesis* is not only in Israel, but also in God (1:18-25).

The close association of the title "Christ" with the theme of fulfillment, so prominent in the genealogy, is not emphasized in the rest of the Gospel; for the most part, "Christ" is used to refer to Jesus in a general way as the Messiah. But Matthew does develop the connection, introduced in the genealogy, between "Christ" on the one hand, and "Son of David" and "Son of God" on the other. He links "Christ" with Jesus' Davidic sonship in 2:4, and with "Son of God" in 16:16 and 26:63. Two crucial passages for understanding the relationship between "Christ" and these other titles are 1:18-25 and 22:42, where Matthew indicates that "Christ" is to be understood primarily in terms of Son of God, and in a secondary way in terms of Son of David, a view reflected already in the genealogy.[16]

3. Interruptions in the Pattern of the Genealogy. At several points Matthew breaks the otherwise consistent pattern of the genealogy, thus highlighting these interruptions by way of contrast. It is obvious that he wishes to draw attention to these interruptions, and that they serve to introduce the reader to the narrative.

The meaning of these interruptions have stood at the center of scholarly debate throughout the history of interpretation. Therefore, an exhaustive examination of each of these interruptions lies outside the scope of the present study. This paper will simply explore how the narrative world of Matthew's Gospel may illumine the meaning of these statements.

A. The phrase "*and his brothers*" is added in vv. 2 and 11, and in the latter instance linked to another interruption, the single reference to an event: "*the deportation to Babylon.*" The fact that Matthew employs "and his brothers" twice, and each time at a crucial point in salvation history, indicates that he wishes the reader to understand these two references in light of one another. In each case the phrase points to

[16] See Kingsbury, *Structure*, pp. 96-98.

the lateral implications of the genealogy over against its otherwise linear emphasis: Jesus is the Christ not only as one who stands at the end of a straight line from Abraham through David, but also as one who has significance for all Israel.

In v. 2 the phrase refers to the whole of Israel at the beginning of its national existence, pointing to the promise and privilege inherent in the covenant made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and granted to the elect children of Jacob (the twelve tribes of Israel), and not only to Judah, whose descendants were to hold the scepter (Gen. 49:10). This reference forms the basis for the presentation, found throughout Matthew's Gospel, of Israel as the son/sons of God, with the privileges and potential that belonged to that role, including the possession of the kingdom of God.[17]

The phrase "and his brothers" in v. 11 refers to brothers of Jeconiah, i.e., the sons of Josiah.[18] Thus, on the surface, this phrase seems to apply only to a group of kings who reigned at the end of the 7th c. B.C.E. But the observations that (a) this phrase refers back to its counterpart in v. 2, which clearly has the people of Israel in view, and (b) Matthew links this statement with the Babylonian Exile, which involved the deportation of the whole people, suggest that Matthew wishes the reader to think once again of the entire people. But here the people are pictured, not as recipients

[17] Note the emphasis upon the special standing of the whole people of Israel throughout Matthew's Gospel. The whole of Israel is God's "son" (2:15); and it is through their connection with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that the people of Israel are "sons of the kingdom" (8:12; cf. 1:2), who possess the kingdom of God (21:43). To Israel God has graciously sent prophets and finally even his own Son (21:33-43); and to Israel God extended the first invitations to participate in the wedding feast of the kingdom (22:1-14). This privilege and promise of the people of Israel is reflected in the ministry of Jesus and the disciples: Jesus has been sent "only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (15:24) and commands his disciples to restrict their ministry in the same way (10:6).

A.-J. Levine, *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Matthean Social History: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles" (Matt. 10:5b)*, SBEC, no. 14 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1988), p. 76, suggests that v. 2 points to the whole people in Egyptian exile, even as v. 11 pictures the whole people in Babylonian exile (cf. ch. 2). But it is not clear that Matthew views Israel's experience in Egypt as an exile; and although ch. 2 necessarily mentions the flight into Egypt, the emphasis there is upon the Exodus (2:15).

Several scholars (e.g., Vögtle, "Genealogie," p. 41) argue that v. 2 points to the sovereign selection of God in choosing Judah, the fourth-born son, over first-born Reuben to be the channel of the Messianic line. I argue below that divine selectivity stands behind the reference to Zerah; the notion may therefore be present here. But it is difficult to see that emphasis in v. 11, which links this phrase to the Deportation.

[18] The problem of this reference to the brothers of Jeconiah, who according to the OT had only one brother (1 Chron. 3:16) need not detain us. It is unnecessary to amend the text to read "Jehoiakim;" cf. Robert T. Hood, "The Genealogies of Jesus," in *Early Christian Origins*, ed. A. Wikgren (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961), pp. 10-11; Anton Vögtle, "Josias Zeugte den Jechonias und seine Brüder (Mt 1,11)," in *Lex Tua Veritas*, hrsg. Heinrich Gross und Franz Mussner (Trier: Paulinus, 1961), pp. 307-13. But even if that were the original reading, it would make no substantive difference in our interpretation, for in any case the reference has theological rather than merely historical import.

of covenant, election, and promise, but as objects of judgment; for the Babylonian Exile is consistently presented in the biblical tradition as just punishment for Israel's rebellion.[19] The promise and privilege granted to the people as a whole in v. 2 had turned sour, because the people of Israel rejected God's will and purpose which were inherent in their election as the people of God. The nation that held such promise at the outset of its national existence was now deported to a strange, heathen land because of its failure to function as the covenant people of God. The only event Matthew mentions in the genealogy is the Deportation to Babylon, for, as far as he is concerned, this event most accurately depicts the essential character of Israel's history.

The connection between "and his brothers" in v. 2 and in v. 11 prepares the reader, then, for Matthew's understanding of the history of Israel: throughout its history, Israel has been characterized by both privilege and rebellion, opportunity and failure, grace and judgment. The climax to this pattern of rejection of the will of God leading to judgment comes in Israel's rejection of Jesus the Messiah, which results in loss of the kingdom (21:33-22:10), destruction of the nation (21:41; 22:1-8; 23:29-24:3) and eschatological judgment (8:10-12; 22:11-14).[20] Already Matthew prepares the reader for the rejection of Jesus by Israel and sets it within the context of Israel's sinful rejection of the will of God throughout its history.

One should note also that the Deportation forms the climax to the second series of the genealogical list, that which involves the period of the monarchy (vv. 6b-11). This series begins with reference to David "the king," which points to the promise and potential inherent in God's election of David and his descendants to sit upon the throne, even as "and his brothers" in v. 2 pointed to the promise and potential inherent in God's election of Israel. But immediately a shadow is cast upon the reign of the Davidic kings, for David was the father of Solomon "by the wife of Uriah," recalling both David's adultery and murder. By introducing the period of the monarchy in this way, Matthew suggests that this kind of moral and religious failure characterized the entire period and led finally to the destruction of the monarchy with the Deportation. The Deportation thus points both to the failure of the nation to fulfill its role as son of Abraham and to the failure of the Davidic kings to fulfill their role as sons of David. Failure in both of these areas points ahead to Jesus, who as the Christ fills up all that was lacking in Israel's history.

2. The addition of "*and Zerah*" in v. 3 alludes to the story of the birth of Perez and Zerah in Gen. 38:27-30. This draws attention to the selectivity and overruling sovereignty of God in salvation history. Zerah appeared to be the firstborn, but God's providence was at work in the reversal within the birth process. This reference suggests that God is directly, purposefully, and surprisingly involved in the individual events in salvation history, even as the 3x14 scheme in v. 17 suggests that God was carefully moving salvation history as a whole toward its climax in Christ.

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[19] See, e.g., Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomic History*, JSOTSS, no. 15 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1981), pp. 79-99; ibid., *The Chronicler's History*, JSOTSS, no. 50 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), pp. 97-106; Gerhard von Rad, "The Deuteronomic Theology of History in I and II Kings," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays* (London: SCM, 1984), pp. 205-21.

[20] Matthew's understanding of the history of Israel in the genealogy, which is necessarily laconic and suggestive, should be interpreted in light of clear statements regarding the essential character of that history found later in the Gospel, esp. 21:33-22:14; 23:29-39.

3. At four points Matthew mentions the names of women: Tamar (v. 3); Rahab; Ruth (v. 5); and "the wife of Uriah" (v. 6). To this list may be added Mary (v. 16). The role of these women is the most debated issue in the interpretation of the genealogy, and consequently a full investigation lies outside the scope of the present study. I will simply review the major proposals and offer some general remarks.

Three major proposals have been advanced.[21] First, from the days of Jerome many scholars have argued that the four women were sinners (guilty especially of sexual misconduct), and that their inclusion in the genealogy points to Jesus' role as savior of the unrighteous and friend of the moral outcasts (e.g., 9:13). This view is held by few scholars today, since the OT itself does not present all these women as sinners, Jewish piety generally held them in high regard, and it would be impossible to characterize Mary as a sinner.

A second proposal contends that Matthew draws attention to irregularities in the sexual activities of the four women, and that these irregularities reach their climax in the most anomalous event of all: the conception of Jesus by the Holy Spirit. Stated thus, the proposal is quite general, and scholars have therefore offered specific forms of it.

One specific form of this proposal is represented by Raymond Brown, who insists that these women shared two things with Mary: scandalous sexual irregularities in their union with their partners; and a willingness to take the initiative and play a major role in the plan of God, so that "they came to be considered the instrument of God's providence or of His Holy Spirit."[22] The combination of scandalous sexual unions and self-initiative works well in the case of Tamar and, to some extent, Bathsheba, but encounters serious difficulties with the other women. Moreover, it is not clear how Mary took the initiative; and the "scandalous" character of Mary's situation does not seem to be emphasized in 1:18-25. Furthermore, the link between the four women and the Holy Spirit is tenuous, since such a link is entirely absent from the OT, and rabbinic references are spotty and late. Finally, the connection between scandalous union, initiative of the women, and the Holy Spirit is not clear. Brown has presented a complex matrix of features in the attempt to bring all five of the women under a common umbrella, but has been unable to establish that all of the features were present in any one case, or to demonstrate the interconnectedness of these features.

A third proposal contends that the four women were Gentiles, and their inclusion in the genealogy points to the universalism of the Gospel. This view has many proponents, and is supported by the reference to "Son of Abraham" in v. 1 (which may allude to Jesus as one who fulfills the divine promise to Abraham that in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth would be blessed), by the designation of Bathsheba in v. 6 as "the wife of Uriah" (according to 2 Samuel, "the Hittite"), and by the emphasis throughout Matthew upon the incorporation of the Gentiles into the people of God.

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[21] For discussions of the major proposals, see Johnson, *Purpose*, pp. 152-79; Brown, *Birth*, pp. 71-74; and Levine, *Social History*, pp. 59-88.

[22] Brown, *Birth*, p. 73. See also André Paul, *L'Evangile de-l'enfance selon saint Matthieu*, nouv. ed., LB, no. 17 (Paris: Cerf, 1984), pp. 22-36; and Krister Stendahl, "Quis et Unde? An Analysis of Mt 1-2," in *The Interpretation of Matthew*, ed. Graham Stanton, IRT, no. 3 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), pp. 60-61.

But scholars have identified problems with this proposal as well. A.-J. Levine, for example, has recently raised the following difficulties: (a) it is not clear from the OT accounts that Tamar and Bathsheba were Gentiles; (b) in Jewish circles, Ruth and Rahab were regarded as proselytes and would not therefore have been viewed as *bona fide* Gentiles by most Jewish readers of the period; (c) Jewish and rabbinic materials indicate some ambiguity regarding Tamar's Gentile ancestry; (d) Uriah is not explicitly identified as a Hittite in the genealogy, but rather as the husband of Bathsheba, thus pointing to conjugal activity versus Gentile association; (d) had Matthew wished to stress Ruth's Moabite origins it is strange that he does not mention Naamah the Ammonite, the mother of Rehoboam (1 Kings 14:31; 2 Chron. 12:13), especially since Ruth and Naamah are often mentioned together in rabbinic materials; (e) Matthew does not link "Son of Abraham" or the figure of Abraham himself with the inclusion of Gentiles; and (f) this view would have to exclude Mary, who certainly was not a Gentile.

It seems best to conclude that the women play a dual role in the genealogy. On the one hand, the four women are presented as Gentiles who point to Jesus' role as the Son of Abraham who brings Gentiles to the worship of God and causes them to be incorporated into the community of faith. The arguments against this view are not convincing. Although it cannot be "proved" that Tamar and Bathsheba were presented as Gentiles in the OT accounts, there is good reason to believe that the implied author and implied reader share a body of knowledge according to which these women were Gentiles.[23] The fact that they were viewed as proselytes contributes to the very point Matthew wishes to make: their inclusion in the OT community of faith points ahead to Jesus who brings Gentiles to the worship of God and causes them to be included in the new, eschatological community. In other words, it reminds the reader that God had the inclusion of Gentiles in mind all along, but that this inclusion could be fully accomplished only in Jesus. Matthew did not include Naamah, who was certainly a Gentile, because the implied reader would have been less familiar with her than with the others; all the other women are subjects of OT narrative accounts. Finally, there is every reason to believe that Matthew employs Son of Abraham to refer to Jesus' role as savior of Gentiles: Such a connection is present in the two other Matthean passages which speak of children/sons of Abraham (3:7-10; 8:5-13); and it is most likely that Abraham and David are singled out in the genealogy because they received promises of sons, to which promises Matthew is referring the reader. The mention of the four women thus supports and gives specific content to the claim of v. 1 that Jesus is the Son of Abraham.

The differences between the mention of the four women and that of Mary should be taken seriously into account. Both the passive voice and the reference to Mary in v. 16 point to the extraordinary circumstance that Jesus is the Son of David and Son of Abraham by virtue of the fact that he is Son of God, whose origin is in God. The reference to Mary does not draw attention to her own role as much as it does to the role of God, in that it indicates that Jesus was not the natural son of Joseph, but was the Son of God. In 1:18-25, the emphasis is upon neither the role or character of Mary, nor the anomolous character of the birth, but rather upon divine origin of Jesus.[24] The mention of Mary and Joseph is therefore to some extent

[23] See review of evidence in Johnson, *Purpose*, pp. 159-79.

[24] The lack of emphasis upon Mary in 1:18-25 has led some scholars to make an essential connection between the four women and *Joseph*. See, e.g., Waetjen,

separate from the mention of the four women.

Thus, a distinction exists between the four women and Mary. Yet there is also a connection between the four women and Mary in that they were all relatively powerless, marginalized, and in need of help; and in spite of their lowly condition they were uniquely used by God in furthering the course of salvation history toward its climax in Christ. The very fact that all were women indicates something of their marginal and powerless state, since in the narrative world of Matthew women are generally subordinate and acted upon, and appear as those in need (5:31-32; 8:14-17; 15:21-28; 19:3-9; 26:6-13).[25] Moreover, the Gentile status of the four indicates marginalization in that it points to the disdain Gentiles experienced in Jewish contexts, a disdain reflected in the negative statements regarding Gentiles found throughout the Gospel (5:47; 6:7, 32; 10:5; 18:17; 20:19, 25).

All four of the women in the genealogy found themselves in a position of danger arising from their powerlessness, and yet were delivered from danger; and in spite of their marginal, vulnerable status they became instruments in the divine plan. The same is true of Mary, who was powerless before the danger of the shame and ostracism associated with an illegitimate pregnancy, but was delivered by Joseph's obedient response to the divine revelation and assumed a central role in the birth of the Messiah. All of this points ahead to the concern for the poor, powerless, and marginal in Matthew's Gospel, who are the special recipients of the ministry of Jesus, and who are generally more receptive to the proclamation of the kingdom than are the well-placed and powerful.

4. Summary of v. 17. Matthew concludes the genealogy with a summary in which he directs the reader to certain proper inferences from the list (note *oun*), which Matthew wishes to emphasize. Above all, Matthew points out that the genealogy can be divided into three sets of fourteen generations. On the basis of the narrative itself, it is likely that fourteen represents a doubled seven,[26] since Matthew emphasizes the number seven,[27] and in one crucial passage he employs a multiple of seven (18:21-22); if so, the number fourteen would indicate a fullness or completeness brought about by God.[28] The reference to *three* periods may also signify fullnesss; the number three is used frequently by Matthew, sometimes with the sense

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"Genealogy," 215-30; Levine, 80-88. Moreover, although the birth of Jesus is by the nature of the case anomalous, the narrative of 1:18-25 does not emphasize its anomalous or irregular character.

[25] Janice Capel Anderson, "Matthew: Gender and Reading," *Semeia* 28 (1983): 3-27.

[26] The narrative may also suggest that the implied author and implied reader share knowledge of *gematria* on the name of David; but this is more difficult to determine and lies farther from the narrative itself than does the hypothesis of a doubled seven.

[27] 12:45; 22:25-28; note the seven fulfillment quotations in 1:1-4:16, the seven parables in ch. 13, and the seven woes in ch. 23, and possibly seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer (6:9-13). See W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew,* International Critical Commentary, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), p. lxv; Paul Gaechter, *Die Literarische Kunst im Matthäus-Evangelium,* SB, no. 7 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1955), pp. 12-18.

[28] *TDNT,* s.v. "*Hepta,*" by Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, 2:627-35.

of completeness.[29] Thus, the 3x14 indicates that God has carefully and with sovereign purpose directed salvation history toward its fulfillment in Jesus the Christ. This also implies that all of history is under the control of God, especially the history of Jesus which Matthew is about to narrate. The narrative world of the Gospel is therefore above all God's world; and the point of view of God is ultimately normative for the narrative world of Matthew.

II. The Genealogy as Introduction to the Gospel

The genealogy introduces the reader to the Gospel in two ways: (a) it establishes Matthew's point of view regarding Jesus; and (b) it facilitates entry into the narrative world of Matthew's Gospel.

A. The Genealogy as the Witness of Matthew

In 1:1-4:16 Matthew introduces the person of Jesus to the reader through the testimonies of several reliable witnesses. In this way, 1:1-4:16 establishes the point of view according to which Jesus is to be understood and prepares the reader for the ministry of Jesus that is narrated throughout the remainder of the Gospel. Matthew begins by giving his own witness to Jesus, and this witness is found in the genealogy. Mt. 1:1-17 thus provides the basic orientation to the person of Jesus, and thereby determines the reliability of all subsequent statements about him. In fact, 1:1-17 is the only passage in the Gospel in which the narrator (who for all intents and purposes is identical to the implied author) bears explicit testimony to the identity of Jesus.[30]

The essential witness of Matthew is found in 1:1: Jesus is the Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham. As indicated above, 1:1 is a superscription to 1:1-4:16, and therefore this threefold claim made by Matthew is intimately linked to the subsequent material in the first major division of the Gospel. But Matthew links it most closely to the genealogical list in 1:2-17; for he does not make this claim on his own authority, but immediately substantiates it by appeal to salvation history as reflected in the genealogy. This appeal to salvation history is actually an appeal to God, who reveals his plan and purposes through the divinely ordered flow of salvation history towards it culmination in Jesus.

The witness of Matthew is followed by the infancy narrative, which contains the witness of the angel and of the wise men (1:18-2:23).[31] The reliability of the angel's

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[29] Allen, *Matthew*, p. lxv; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, Vol. I: Matthew I-VII, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), pp. 61-70; *TDNT*, s.v. "*Treis*," by Gerhard Delling, 8:216-25.

[30] With the exception of 1:18, and possibly 11:2.

[31] A number of factors unite 1:18-2:23 and set it off from 1:1-17: (a) repetition of the revelation of divine commands through dreams (often involving angelic visitation), followed by obedient response which protects God's salvation historical purpose in Christ (1:20-25; 2:12, 13-15, 19-21, 22-23); (b) an overarching contrast between negative response to Jesus represented by Herod, all Jerusalem, and the chief priests and scribes, and positive response to Jesus represented by Joseph and the wise men; (c) repetition of five fulfillment quotations (1:23; 2:6, 15, 17, 23); (d) several common elements between 1:18-25 and 2:19-23, which serve to frame the segment,

testimony is established in part by its agreement with the testimony of Matthew: Jesus has been conceived by the Holy Spirit; Jesus is the Son of David through Joseph, son of David. Moreover, 1:18-25 clarifies and gives specific content to several elements found in the genealogy: (a) the problem as to how Jesus can be the Son of David, even though he was not the natural son of Joseph; (b) the meaning and significance of v. 16; (c) the relationship between Jesus as Son of David and as Son of God, along with the preeminence of Jesus' divine sonship over against his Davidic Sonship; and (d) the continuity between the sovereign direction of God in salvation history leading up to the Christ, and the immediate involvement of God in the life of Jesus itself. Since the angel is an emissary from the Lord ("angel *of the Lord*"), his testimony is also linked to divine revelation.

Even as the angel bore witness to Jesus as Son of David and Son of God, so the wise men point to Jesus as Son of Abraham and Son of David. The coming of these Gentiles to the worship of Jesus indicates that Jesus is the Son of Abraham in whom "all the nations of the earth will be blessed" (LXX Gen. 12:2; 18:18; 22:18). Their coming both supports the claim in 1:1-17 that Jesus is Son of Abraham, and gives specific content to that claim.

The wise men inquire regarding "the king of the Jews," a title which, according to the genealogy (cf. 1:6), alludes to Jesus' role as Son of David. This reference provides Matthew the opportunity to develop the meaning of the Davidic Sonship of Jesus, which he does by means of the contrast between the kingship of Jesus and the kingship of Herod. Herod's tyrannical kingship is characterized by the selfish desire to maintain his own power at all costs, even to the point of taking the innocent lives of his subjects, while the kingship of Jesus is described in the quotation of 2:6: this Davidic king will "shepherd" his people. As shepherd, he rules over his people by dying for them (27:11, 29, 32-54; cf. 2:16-18), thus saving them from their sins (1:21).

The testimony of the wise men is reliable in that it agrees with the point of view of Matthew (1:1-17) and the angel (1:18-25). Moreover, like that of Matthew, their testimony also stems from divine revelation: God has revealed the birth of "the king of the Jews" through his created order (2:2; cf. Num. 24:17), and this revelation through creation is confirmed and clarified by OT prophecy (2:6).

Matthew also presents Jesus in this material as Christ and Son of God. The notion that Jesus is Son of God, first introduced in the genealogy (1:16), is given support and specific content in 2:15, where we learn that the divine Sonship of Jesus is linked to Israel's experience as son of God. Jesus is Christ as the one who fulfills the promises and hopes of the end-time Davidic ruler (2:2-6), thus continuing the connection in the genealogy between "Christ" and the theme of fulfillment. Indeed, throughout ch. 2 Jesus is pictured as bringing to fulfillment the whole history of Israel (including

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e.g., "fear" of Joseph (1:20; 2:22), and concern about what Jesus will be "called" (*kaleō*); (e) references to the "birth" of Jesus in 2:1, 2, 4, which connect the narrative of ch. 2 with 1:18-25; (f) basic shift from genealogy to narrative dealing with Jesus' life; (g) summary statement of v. 17 providing closure for the genealogy. Although 1:18-25 belongs primarily with ch. 2, the former passage is transitional, since it continues the theme of *genesis* from 1:1-17 and in v. 18 Matthew continues to make some direct statements regarding Jesus' identity.

the experience of Moses, the Exodus, the Exile, and the return from Exile).[32]

Mt. 3:1-12 contains the witness of John the Baptist. He declares that Jesus is "the coming one" (*ho erchomenos*). When this designation is used by John, it points to Jesus' role as Christ (cf. 11:2). As the coming one Jesus is the end-time figure who far outstrips John, the greatest of all the prophets (11:7-15), in both majesty and power. Moreover, as the coming one (or the Christ), he not only stands as the culmination of salvation history (1:1-17), but also as the culmination of all history; he is the eschatological judge who will determine the destiny of all persons. The testimony of John, who is both a prophet and comes in fulfillment of prophecy (3:3), also reflects divine revelation.

The theme of Abrahamic Sonship is also picked up in the preaching of John the Baptist; and in this passage, as in the genealogy, it alludes to the inclusion of Gentiles into the people of God. But here the emphasis is not upon the cause (Jesus as Son of Abraham brings salvation to Gentiles), but upon the effect (Gentiles replace unbelieving Jews as sons of Abraham when they give heed to the proclamation of the kingdom). Again, the Abrahamic Sonship of Jesus is supported and explained.

The final witness to Jesus in 1:1-4:16 is God himself, who declares in 3:17 that Jesus is his Son. The circumlocutionary reference to Jesus' divine Sonship in v. 16 of the genealogy thus stands at the beginning of a development that reaches its climax in this explicit testimony from God. The structure of the genealogy therefore reflects (and anticipates) the structure of 1:1-4:16; both the genealogy and the first major division of the Gospel come to a climax with the divine Sonship of Jesus. This observation lends support to the claim that "Son of God" is the preeminent christological title in Matthew. It is also to be noted that 3:17 and its immediate context indicate that Son of God involves more than divine conception, as the genealogy and 1:18-25 suggest; Jesus is Son of God as one who, in contrast to Israel God's son, perfectly obeys the will of his Father (3:15; 4:12-16; 4:1-11, cf. 2:15).

The first major division of the Gospel ends with a reference to the significance of the ministry of Jesus for the salvation of the Gentiles (4:15-16), thus again drawing attention to the role of Jesus as Son of Abraham, and forming a bracket with the assertion regarding Jesus' Abrahamic Sonship in 1:1.

In summary, the genealogy (a) establishes Matthew's point of view regarding Jesus; (b) provides a basis upon which to judge the reliability of subsequent statements regarding the person of Jesus; (c) introduces the conviction that all reliable testimony to the person of Jesus stems from divine revelation; (d) sets forth the major categories according to which Jesus is to be understood, and prepares the reader for a fuller development of these categories and their relationship to one another in the remainder of the first major division of the Gospel.

B. The Genealogy as Entry into the Narrative World

The distinction, made by narrative critics, between the external world and the narrative world suggests that an implied author must assist the reader to enter the narrative world at the beginning of the work, as well as aid the reader to re-enter the external world at the end of the work. The beginning of the work thus serves

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[32] Brian M. Nolan, *The Royal Son of God: The Christology of Matthew 1-2 in the Setting of the Gospel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), pp. 34-46; Patte, *Matthew*, pp. 36-40.

to orient the reader to the world of the narrative, even as the conclusion serves to move the reader back into the real world. Narrative critics, following Boris Uspensky, refer to this process of facilitation as "framing."[33] The frames at either end of Matthew's Gospel are the genealogy and the missionary commissioning (28:16-20).

The genealogy orients the reader to the world of the Gospel in various ways. As indicated above, the genealogy introduces the reader to the narrator and to the point of view of the narrator regarding the identity and significance of Jesus. Moreover, the genealogy sets forth the person of Jesus in terms of his progenitors and origin, and thus prepares the reader to assume Jesus' point of view throughout the remainder of the narrative. But the primary way in which the genealogy serves as an introductory frame is by orienting the reader to Matthew's understanding of time and history. In other words, the genealogy provides a temporal setting which is assumed in the rest of the narrative, and according to which the story of Jesus is to be understood.[34]

The genealogy indicates that the narrative world begins, temporally, with Abraham. Moreover, the genealogy requires the reader to enter the world of Matthew's Gospel by way of the history of Israel, which began with Abraham. In this way, Matthew indicates that one can understand the story of Jesus only as one comes to it through the flow of salvation history as Matthew presents it in the genealogy. On the other hand, the genealogy also serves to incorporate the history of Israel within the narrative world of the Gospel, thus signifying that the history of Israel can no longer be understood on its own terms, but only as it gains meaning and significance from its function within the narrative of Matthew's Gospel. In the genealogy the past history is taken up and made a part of the history of Christ. The whole of the OT and OT history is thereby subordinated to the story of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel.

The genealogy thus introduces the reader to the time between Abraham and Christ, a temporal period which receives significant attention in the Gospel. This is a period of "the prophets and the law" (11:13), before the law and the prophets found their fulfillment in Christ (5:17; 26:56). It is a time before Christ, and therefore a period in which God does not yet dwell with his people, at least not in the sense of Emmanuel (1:23). It is above all the period of anticipation of Christ and witness to Christ, and therefore finds it chief expression throughout the narrative in the fulfillment quotations, which interpret Christ in light of the OT revelation, and at the same time interpret OT revelation in light of the career of Jesus.

The counterpart to the genealogy is the missionary commissioning. As with the genealogy, the primary concern here is also with time and history. But whereas the genealogy looks back as far as Abraham, the missionary commissioning looks ahead as far as "the end of the age," i.e., the parousia. The genealogy and the missionary commissioning together, then, define the temporal boundaries of the narrative world: from Abraham to the parousia.[35]

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[33] Boris Uspensky, *A Poetics of Composition: The Structure of the Artistic Text and Typology of a Compositional Form* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 137-65.

[34] On the issue of setting, see Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 138-45.

[35] There are a few passages in Matthew that go beyond these boundaries, referring

The time between the resurrection and the parousia also receives significant attention in Matthew's Gospel. It is a time in which post-Easter disciples experience the fulfillment of OT expectations; but above all it is a period characterized by the promise of Christ and the presence of Christ. In fact, there is no closure in the final passage 28:16-20, and the Gospel as a whole remains open-ended: the Gospel concludes with Jesus in the midst of his disciples, promising to be with them to the end of the age (28:20). Even as the period between Abraham and Christ finds it chief expression in the fulfillment quotations, so the period between the resurrection and the parousia finds its chief expression throughout the narrative in the predictions of Jesus, which function primarily in terms of encouragement and command.

If the period between the resurrection and the parousia is characterized above all by the realization of OT expectations and the presence of Christ in the midst of his people (28:20), it follows that there is essential continuity between this period and the period of the earthly Jesus; for the time of the earthly Jesus was also characterized by fulfillment and the presence of Jesus with his disciples (1:23). Indeed, we encounter much more continuity here than we do between the two periods depicted in the entry frame: the period of anticipation (Abraham to Christ) and the period of fulfillment in the coming of Christ. This consideration supports the claim that Matthew conceives of salvation history in two epochs: the time of preparation: the law and the prophets; and the time of fulfillment: the presence of Christ (earthly and exalted) among his people.

We should make three further observation regarding the relationship between the genealogy and the missionary commissioning. First, in the entry frame of the genealogy we encounter the voice of the narrator, which will be the predominant and determining voice as we travel through the narrative world of the Gospel. But in the exit frame of the missionary commissioning we encounter not the voice of the narrator, but the voice of Jesus; in this way Matthew indicates that the predominant and determining voice in the real world of post-Easter discipleship is that of the exalted and ever-present Christ. Second, both the genealogy and the missionary commissioning focus upon Christ, thus pointing to the primary emphasis upon christology in the Gospel as a whole. Third, both of these passages relate the person of Jesus to the people of God; the genealogy describes the connection between Jesus and Israel, while the missionary commissioning portrays Jesus' association with his disciples (church). The framing thereby draws attention to the shift in the people of God from Israel to the church (including Gentiles), a shift that occurs because of the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus, as narrated in the intervening chapters of Matthew's Gospel.

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back before Abraham to creation (19:3-9), and pointing ahead beyond the parousia to the post-parousia experience of eternal torment or reward (8:12; 13:42, 50; 24:51; 25:30, 34, 41, 46). But these references are infrequent, and are not developed at all; they serve as exceptions to prove the rule.

The Wisdom Passages in Matthew's Story

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Introduction

The presence in Matthew of an explicit Wisdom christology is an idea whose time apparently came in 1970. In that year M. Jack Suggs and Felix Christ published independent studies concluding that in the gospel of Matthew Jesus appears as the incarnation of personified Wisdom.[1] Christ's study of the entire synoptic tradition found a Wisdom christology also in Luke and already in Q, but Suggs argued that it was Matthew's redaction of Q that effected the identification.

While several earlier scholars had observed a Wisdom component in Matthew's christological thought, Suggs's contributions were to argue the point in a systematic way and to claim a much more prominent place for that component than his predecessors had suggested. In general, his treatment has received a warmer reception than that of Christ; for it is precisely his claims regarding Matthew's modifications of Q's view of the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom that many find convincing. Not only have a number of scholars embraced his thesis almost *in toto*, but his work has formed the basis for further investigations that have provided important insight into the theology of the first gospel.[2]

Dissenters, however, have raised some important objections that have not, to my mind, been fully answered. One crucial question stems from the fact that Suggs's case

[1] Felix Christ, *Jesus Sophia: Die Sophia-Christologie bei den Synoptikern*, ATANT, vol. 57 (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1970); M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[2] See, for example, Fred W. Burnett, *The Testament of Jesus-Sophia: A Redaction-Critical Study of the Eschatological Discourse in Matthew* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981); Celia Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25-30* (Sheffield: Journal of the Study of the New Testament Press, 1987); R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), Ch. 2; John P. Meier, *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church, and Morality in the First Gospel*, Theological Inquiries: Studies in Contemporary Biblical and Theological Problems (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. 70, 76ff., 165; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew*. trans. David E. Green (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1973), pp. 264ff., 434ff., 528ff., and *Matthäus und Seine Gemeinde* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1974), pp. 54ff.

is dependent upon the identification of redactional activity. Can we reasonably imagine that readers not privy to the author's sources would in fact make the identification of Jesus with Wisdom that the redaction seems to intend? It would thus seem worthwhile to approach the passages upon which Suggs bases his argument from the perspective of reader-response criticism[3] to try to determine just how they function in the Matthean story-line and how they relate to the more generally acknowledged aspects of Matthew's christology.

Here, then, is the plan of the paper. In section I, I will review the case made on the basis of redaction criticism, as well as some of the more important objections to it, and offer a preliminary evaluation. Section II will be devoted to a reader-response analysis with an emphasis upon the ways in which the narrator elicits explicit christological confessions from the reader. Finally, in section III, I will evaluate the results of the reader-response analysis and discuss their relevance to the questions raised by the redactional approach.

I. The Case for a Redactional Emphasis: Pro and Con

It is at 11:19 that Suggs finds the most forthright identification of Jesus with Wisdom. In the Q version (Lk. 7:35), it is said that Wisdom is justified by πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς—a reference, presumably, to Jesus and John the Baptist as envoys of Wisdom.[4] By substituting ἔργων for τέκνων, Matthew accommodates the saying

[3] It should be understood that I do not propose that a reader-oriented approach to the text can in itself answer the questions posed by redaction criticism. The critic is asking in the one case about the author's intentions but in the other about the interaction between the text itself and the reader. It is quite possible that different meanings—perhaps even contrary meanings—will arise from readings from the two different perspectives. But this does not mean there can be no creative interaction between the two modes of criticism. To trace the ways in which a text invites specific responses is to identify what an author has in fact accomplished. This is not necessarily to say that the finished text affects the reader in the way the author intended; a survey of the results of the two modes of analysis might disclose that an author simply did not get the point across very well. On the other hand, in the case of ambiguous results from a redactional approach, a reader-oriented analysis could legitimately encourage a re-assessment of conclusions. Perhaps in such a case a critic who makes use of both methods will find another way of understanding the author's purpose—a way commensurate with what that author actually achieved by way of a finished text. If we invert the question and ask whether the results of redaction criticism should be allowed a part in a reader-response analysis, the matter is fundamentally different. The latter approach focuses upon the finished text as such, not its production, and upon the way in which the narrator seeks to influence the reader, not the author's intentions. The critic who wants to claim that the narrator leads the reader in a particular direction should be able to make the case from the text as it stands. Although it may be virtually impossible for someone who has first approached a text from the perspective of redaction criticism to ignore its results when employing a reader-oriented method, there is a real sense in which such results constitute inadmissible evidence.

[4] Suggs 55, citing Rudolf Bultmann, "Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium," in *ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ: Studien zur Religion*

to the phrase τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ at 11:2 and thus presents the messianic deeds of Jesus recounted in 11:2-24 as Wisdom's own deeds. The purpose of the redaction, Suggs concludes, is "*to identify Jesus with Wisdom*"; thus "it would not greatly overstate the case to say that *for Matthew* Wisdom has 'become flesh and dwelled among us' (John 1:14)."[5]

The identification of Jesus with Wisdom is reinforced by the revision of another Q passage resulting in the transfer of a saying of Wisdom into the mouth of Jesus. At 23:34 the shift from ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν· ἀποστελῶ (Lk. 11:49) to ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω clearly assigns to Jesus the role of commissioning prophets—"a function," Suggs notes, "which belongs to no figure in pre-Christian Judaism except Wisdom and God. . . ."[6] When, a few verses later (37-39), Jesus pronounces his lament over Jerusalem, it is easy for Suggs to hear once again the voice of incarnate Wisdom: "It is in Wisdom's person that Jesus can speak of 'how often' in relation to Jerusalem, for the call of Wisdom has been heard again and again in 'the prophets and those sent'. . . ." Jesus here speaks, in other words, not as a merely historical person but as a trans-historical figure who has appealed to humanity "in every generation."[7]

The final link in Suggs's argument has to do with the redaction of 11:25-27. The placing of the passage, to begin with, insures that the term ταῦτα—i.e., the things hidden from "the wise and the intelligent"[8] and given to "infants"—refers specifically to the messianic deeds of Jesus. And the addition of verses 28-30 once again creates an identification of Jesus and Wisdom. Whereas parallel passages in Jewish wisdom literature speak of the yoke of Wisdom, this yoke is never that of the teacher; in this passage, however, Jesus invites submission to *his* yoke and thereby assumes Wisdom's traditional role.[9] But not only this: given the Rabbis' identification of Wisdom and Torah, as well as their language about the "yoke of the law," 11:28-30 must mean that the Jesus who speaks as Wisdom also speaks as "the embodiment of Torah."[10]

R. G. Hamerton-Kelly endorses Suggs's thesis and goes on to claim a rather well-developed notion of the pre-existence of Christ in Matthew. Arguing largely from the parallels between the Matthean image of the Son of Man on the throne (25:31) and passages in 1 Enoch, he contends that "for Matthew, as in Enoch, the term 'Son of Man' signifies a pre-existent heavenly being."[11] He also finds a correlation between Son of Man and Wisdom/Torah with respect to the pattern of humiliation of the exalted one. And, picking up on a point made by Gerhard Barth, he interprets Jesus's presence with the disciples at 28:20 and 18:15-20 to mean that "he is the locus of the Shekinah."[12] "We have, therefore," Hamerton-Kelly concludes,

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und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Hermann Gunkel zum 60. Geburtstage, ed. Hans Schmidt, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 36 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923), p. 15.

[5] Ibid., p. 57, italics original.

[6] Ibid., p. 59.

[7] Ibid., p. 71.

[8] Biblical quotations in English follow the NRSV.

[9] Ibid., pp. 95-96.

[10] Ibid., pp. 99-106, 127.

[11] Hamerton-Kelly, pp. 81-82.

[12] Ibid., pp. 69-70, citing Gerhard Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," in Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation*

> a complex of Christological ideas which begins with the presence of the exalted Lord in the congregation and goes on to identify him as Wisdom, Torah and Shekinah. The time of his earthly life is viewed as a time of humiliation for the pre-existent one.[13]

Another scholar who has made important use of Suggs's thesis is Fred W. Burnett, who interprets Matthew's eschatological discourse as a kind of farewell testament of the rejected Jesus-Sophia. Burnett is indebted also to Felix Christ's work for the systematic attestation of a complex of motifs in pre-Christian Jewish literature that involves Wisdom's fruitless attempts to gain acceptance in Israel and her subsequent withdrawal. As Burnett notes, one need not accept—as do Suggs and Christ—Bultmann's hypothesis regarding an actual Wisdom *myth* to acknowledge the availability to Matthew of an ongoing mythological *speculation* involving Wisdom's tragic relationship to Israel. It is enough to acknowledge "that a generalized picture of Wisdom's rejection and withdrawal existed and could have been used by Matthew. . . ."[14]

Reading Matthew 23 in light of this rejection-pattern, Burnett argues that 23:38 (ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος) identifies Jesus, who is at this point speaking as Wisdom, with the Shekinah dwelling in the Temple.[15] Thus Jesus's departure from the Temple at 24:1 actually constitutes the final withdrawal of Wisdom/the Shekinah from Israel—a point attested both by the Matthean redactions of 24:1 and by the fact that Jesus never enters the Temple again.[16]

Burnett claims that the question is no longer whether Matthew has a Wisdom christology but how important it is in the gospel as a whole.[17] Given Burnett's own work (and assuming the two-document hypothesis), it would indeed seem that we may now be relatively confident on three important points: 1) Matthew edited the wisdom passages in Q in a systematic way, with specific intentions in mind; 2) as a result of Matthew's editorial activity, sayings once attributed to personified Wisdom are now assigned to Jesus; 3) in the gospel of Matthew the dual themes of Jesus's rejection by Israel and God's subsequent judgment upon Israel are informed by the motif of Wisdom's rejection and withdrawal in pre-Christian Wisdom speculation.

Whatever Matthew was doing with the wisdom passages, it was something central, and not tangential, to the main thrust of the gospel. The precise sense in which one may speak of a Wisdom christology, however, remains a debatable matter in my estimation. To begin with, it is not beyond dispute that the redaction of 11:19—a crucial passage in Suggs's argument—results in the actual identification of Jesus with Wisdom. Marshall D. Johnson suggests that Matthew intended 19b as an analogy,

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in Matthew, trans. P. Scott (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), p. 135; cf. also Suggs, p. 66.

[13] Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[14] Burnett, p. 94, citing Christ, pp. 158-63; also Burnett, pp. 43-45, and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament" in Robert L. Wilkens, ed., *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

[15] Ibid., pp. 68-81.

[16] Ibid., pp. 112ff., 166f.

[17] Ibid., p. 46.

not a statement of the literal equation of the deeds of Wisdom with those of Jesus. Positing a Jewish proverb that refers to Wisdom's justification through her works at creation, he speculates that

> the meaning of 11:19b for [Matthew] would be that the response to Jesus' deeds is parallel to the response to Wisdom; just as at the creation Wisdom "was justified" (aorist) by her works, so Jesus (and John) will be vindicated by their deeds.[18]

It should also be said that even if we grant that for Matthew Jesus's *deeds* are in fact to be identified with those of Wisdom, this does not necessitate the view that Jesus *is* Wisdom—certainly not in the specific sense of an incarnation. Such an interpretation is possible, but is hardly required; so the question is whether other aspects of the gospel lend it sufficient support.

Suggs finds such support at 11:25-30: it is supposedly Matthew's addition of vss. 28-30—the logion of the easy yoke—that makes the identification of Jesus and Wisdom. Matthew's readers might indeed know that Jesus here issues an invitation that traditionally could have been offered only by Wisdom or God, but this is not necessarily to say they would conclude that Jesus is Wisdom incarnate. Graham Stanton concurs with Johnson in deeming such a conclusion difficult in light Jesus's self-presentation in vss. 25-27 as the *Son*. Both these scholars too readily assume that readers in the Matthean community would have rejected the notion of the incarnation of the female Wisdom in a male, overlooking the elements of a proto-feminism in the early tradition. The real problem is not that Jesus is male but that his self-definition in this passage is based upon his relationship to the *Father*. Stanton raises a valid question when he asks whether the readers would identify Jesus as the incarnation of female Wisdom immediately after a dramatic verse in which he presents himself as Son of the Father.

Evidence that Matthew has transferred a saying of Wisdom to Jesus at 23:34-36 is admittedly a strong point in Suggs's case. But here again it is difficult to identify the specific import of such a redactional move. Johnson's claim that Matthew "deliberately avoids an identification of Jesus with Wisdom"[19] makes some sense in light of the fact that in the course of the transfer the reference to Wisdom has dropped out entirely.

The question, then, is whether we have sufficient reason to think that Matthew's intended readers would make the identification of Jesus and Wisdom at 23:34. Johnson clearly does not think so: "Mt's readers would in all probability not have the occasion to check his source, and would therefore not derive from this passage

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[18] Marshall D. Johnson, "Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew's Christology," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 57-58. The speculation is not without basis. Noting "the frequency with which the terms *erga* and *dikaioun* (and variant forms) occur in the wisdom literature," Johnson goes on to document a link between τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ on the one hand and the δικαιοσύνη κυρίου on the other (cf. Prov. 8:22; 16:9, 11(LXX), Sir. 1:19; 18:1-4). "These passages," Johnson argues, "reflect what was perhaps a common view that Wisdom was shown to be righteous by her work in creation."

[19] Johnson, p. 55; also R. Pregeant, *Christology Beyond Dogma: Matthew's Christ in Process Hermeneutic*, Semeia Supplements, no 7 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978), p. 93.

any association of Jesus with Wisdom."[20] The identification of Jesus with Wisdom is one way of interpreting the redaction of the passage, but unless we assume some factor outside the text that would provide the needed hint we can hardly be certain that a first-century reader would draw such a conclusion.

The reality of such a factor is admittedly quite possible. If, as Burnett surmises, "Matthew is the product of a school rather than of an individual as Stendahl believes, then it is very probable that the community knew the sources used in the gospel."[21] Both Stendahl and Hamerton-Kelly in fact presume that Matthew's community had already made the identification of Jesus with Wisdom.[22]

The problem here is that both the existence of the Matthean school and its specific interest in Wisdom are hypothetical. While the wisdom passages in Matthew may be admitted as evidence in this direction, it is a circular argument to point to the presumed school as a way of justifying a particular reading of those passages. What we are left with is the rather impotent claim that if we assume the readers had already made the equation of Jesus with Wisdom, then it makes sense to envision them finding it in the passages under discussion.

A redactional analysis of 23:34-39 nevertheless tends to confirm the view that Matthew intended to present Jesus as a trans-historical figure at least on the model of Wisdom. At the very least, Jesus's ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω at vs. 34 establishes him as a sovereign being who commissions emissaries. James D. G. Dunn is probably right in arguing that the readers will most readily identify the "prophets, sages, and scribes" with those commissioned by the exalted lord of the Church;[23] for it is clear from the reference to crucifixion that the post-resurrection situation is the focus of Matthew's attention. It is odd, however, that Dunn makes his case on the basis of the redactor's shift from future to present tense. It is the future tense that, in the mouth of Jesus, would logically have pointed ahead from Jesus's own time to that of emissaries sent to the church and thereby discouraged the reader from identifying the "prophets, sages, and scribes" with those sent to Israel in the past. The present, however, is ambiguous. The reader can understand it in a continuing sense that includes both the future situation of the church and Israel's past.

The shift from future to present at vs. 34 would thus seem to constitute a very strong argument in Suggs's favor. And when the phrase "[h]ow often have I desired" at vs. 37 is read against such a background it indeed seems to express the frustration of a trans-historical, heavenly figure who has vainly sought Israel's love throughout the generations—a figure clearly reminiscent of personified Wisdom.

At this point, however, some broader questions must be raised. It is relevant, in the first place, to ask why an emphasis that on the one hand seems so central should in other ways seem so submerged. Why are there actually so few passages that even so much as imply Jesus's status as Wisdom incarnate, and why is the point never made directly? And why are these passages confined to two chapters in the gospel?

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Burnett, p. 42.

[22] Hamerton-Kelly, pp. 70-71; Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), p. 142.

[23] James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980), p. 202.

One may also ask whether the notion of the incarnation of a pre-existent being is compatible with the virgin birth motif.[24] Does not the reference to the conception by the Holy Spirit (1:18) naturally suggest itself as an indication of the *origin* of the Messiah whose lineage has just been recounted? It would seem so, especially if—along with Krentz, Kingsbury, and others—we understand the phrase βίβλος γενέσεως at 1:1 as applying to the whole section extending through 4:16.[25] For on such a reading this introductory section functions precisely as an account of Jesus's origin. Of course γένεσις might be intended in a penultimate sense, as referring to the beginning of the earthly career of a pre-existent being. But some specific warrant would seem required to import such a reference.

Hamerton-Kelly supports a case for the notion of pre-existence in the birth narrative by claiming that the phrase βίβλος γενέσεως links the story with the book of Genesis and that the spirit-motif at 1:18 reinforces the connection. Since the Spirit is mentioned in the creation story, "the conception of Jesus by the Spirit . . . indicates that a new creation is coming into being."[26] The general point here is well taken, but I do not see that it constitutes evidence for pre-existence. One could as easily argue that if Jesus's birth is seen as a new creation it is also a real beginning and not simply the transition of an already existing being into another state.[27]

Turning now to the question of the paucity of relevant passages, one may of course appeal to the limited number of such passages in the sources employed in the gospel's composition. But there was after all an extensive body of pre-Christian Wisdom speculation upon which Matthew could easily have drawn—not to mention the fact that many redaction critics believe this author engaged in rather free composition at various points.

As to why Matthew never states explicitly that Jesus appeared as the incarnation of a pre-existent being, it is fair of Hamerton-Kelly to ask whether the synoptic tradition "develops any idea explicitly or non-symbolically."[28] But one may grant the implied point without denying that all three synoptic gospels have ways of encouraging theological reflection as well as feeling, value judgment, personal commitment, and the like. It will thus be important in the reader-response analysis to give close attention to the question of how the text leads the reader to make specific confessions regarding the identity of Jesus and also to ask whether and in what ways the wisdom passages participate in the process.

It should be noted that the whole issue is complicated by the fact that the proponents of a Wisdom christology in Matthew are divided on the issue of

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[24] See Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1977), pp. 31, 69, 137ff.; Dunn, pp. 49, 202.

[25] Edgar Krentz, "The Extent of Matthew's Prologue," *JBL* 83 (1964): 409-14; Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 1-37.

[26] Hamerton-Kelly, pp. 77-78.

[27] There is of course a parallel between John 1:1 and the Genesis creation story, so that one might legitimately point out that the notion of a "new creation" is quite compatible with the notion of incarnation. John's ἀρχῇ, however, refers only to the creation and is not used in relation to the incarnation. The incarnation makes present in the world what was also present at creation but is not presented as a new creation.

[28] Hamerton-Kelly, p. 102.

pre-existence. In contrast to Hamerton-Kelly, Dunn suggests that Matthew identified only the exalted Jesus with Wisdom, intentionally avoiding the notion of pre-existence.[29] Eduard Schweizer also finds Matthew uninterested in pre-existence, but he differs from Dunn in understanding Matthew as primarily concerned to link Wisdom to the earthly Jesus as interpreter of the law:

> Bei Matthäus . . . ist die Weisheit nicht im Blick auf ihre Existenz vor und ihr Mitwerken bei der Schöpfung, sondern im Blick auf ihre Offenbarungstätigkeit als Repräsentantin des Willens Gottes gesehen. Ihre Gleichsetzung mit Jesus beschreibt also nicht dessen Präexistenz, sondern dessen Tätigkeit als des vollmächtigen und abschließenden Interpreten des Willens Gottes, wie dieser im Gesetz schon ausgedrückt ist.[30]

> "If God's Wisdom, Word, and Law have, so to speak, become flesh in Jesus, there can be no question of tossing the Law overboard . . ."[31]

Dunn's view is the more difficult to defend, since it tends to undercut the very reasons Matthew might have had in editing the Wisdom passages. If it is only the exalted Jesus who is identified with Wisdom, then neither Wisdom nor Torah has in fact "become flesh in Jesus"! One is left to wonder about the intended force of a merely post-resurrection identification.

Schweizer, on the other hand, would seem to be on the right track in arguing that Matthew's real interest was in applying the Wisdom motif to the specifics of Jesus's earthly existence. That assumption goes a long way toward explaining the absence of an explicit development of pre-existence. The fact remains, however, that 23:34-39—at least when read in light of redaction criticism—seems clearly to present Jesus as a trans-historical being. A fully adequate reading of Matthew's use of the Wisdom materials will have to address the issue of the precise meaning and function of this passage more directly than Schweizer has done. And one must also ask whether Schweizer's insitence upon the term "incarnation" is really appropriate, given his view on the pre-existence motif.

II. A Reader-Response Analysis

A. Preliminary Considerations

It should be helpful at this point to make four points of clarification regarding my understanding of a reader-response approach. First, by "the reader" I mean the "implied" or "ideal" reader that the critic must discern from an encounter with the text itself, not a reader defined primarily in historical/sociological terms. Second, however, it is impossible to locate the implied reader in total abstraction from

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[29] Dunn, pp. 202-206.

[30] Schweizer, *Matthäus und Seine Gemeinde* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1974), pp. 56-57.

[31] Schweizer, *Good News*, p. 447. Schweizer even suggests that the absence of a notion of pre-existence in Matthew might reflect the evangelist's "reaction against such doctrines [as those of Paul and John] as too much for a Jew to accept . . ." (p. 447).

historical considerations. The critic's delineation of the reader's reaction to wisdom materials, for example, is necessarily dependent upon a decision as to whether that reader is familiar with Jewish Wisdom speculation. Third, I understand the reader specifically as a first-time reader. The critic's role is to imagine the reactions of someone who remembers all that has gone before and can project toward the future, but who remains naive and expectant as to what will happen next and as to the ultimate outcome of the plot.

The fourth point is that I am intentionally employing a reader-response analysis in the present case with the limited goal of discerning how the narrator leads the reader to make specific christological confessions. This does not mean that I think that the richness of a narrative can be reduced to ideational terms; it does mean that I believe, as I stated earlier, that narrative can—along with its many other functions—lead the reader to engage in theological reflection.[32]

While a genuine reader-response analysis must respect the implied reader's ignorance of the future, in addressing the *critic's* reader it necessarily presupposes a particular grasp of the scope of the entire narrative. In the present case, I will make use of the three-fold division of Matthew's gospel proposed by Edgar Krentz, Jack Kingsbury, and David Bauer, among others. I do not think the main points in the following analysis are absolutely dependent upon this scheme, and I use it primarily as a means of organizing the material for the readers of this paper. But I find it complementary to what I believe I have uncovered about the development of christological affirmation in the gospel.

According to Bauer, "in 1.1-4.16 Matthew is concerned to establish a picture of Jesus for the reader which is presupposed throughout the narrative concerning Jesus' work and passion."[33] It will therefore be important, even though none of our wisdom passages occur in this section, to begin in sub-section B by tracing the narrator's presentation of Jesus in 1:1-4:16. Then, in sub-sections C and D I will treat each of the clusters of wisdom passages in context, trying to establish just how the reader will receive each passage and subsequently reflect upon it, given all that has gone before. Because we ill be attending to the entire plot in some detail, it should be helpful at various "check-points" to summarize the results of the analysis in progress and to ask explicitly whether the narrator has as yet given the reader sufficient clues to identify Jesus with Wisdom incarnate.

B. The Identity of Jesus in 1:1-4:16

1. The Reader's Actions in Progress. With the opening sentence the narrator informs the reader that the story about to be told is the story of Jesus, who is given the three-fold designation of Christ, son of David, and son of Abraham. The reader will thus know that the story concerns the Jewish Messiah and will understand the ensuing genealogy as attestation of that claim through proof of Davidic lineage through adoption. The repetition of the term Χριστός at 1:16, 17, moreover—

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[32] See C. Clifton Black II, "Depth of Characterization and Degrees of Faith in Matthew" in David J. Lull, ed., *Society of Biblical Literature: Seminar Papers, 1989* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), p. 202, for a statement on the relevance of literary criticism to an understanding of the evangelists' theological concerns.

[33] Bauer, p. 78.

together with the narrator's comments upon the schematic history of generations leading up to Jesus's birth—will reinforce the point. The reader will also be prepared by the reference to the schematic history to accept the view that what is happening now is under God's supervision—a point reinforced in 1:18-25 by the motif of the virgin birth, the references to the Holy Spirit, and the narrator's claim regarding the fulfillment of prophecy. Reference to the action of the Spirit will also lead the reader to conclude that this Jesus-Messiah is himself of divine origin: not only his lineage, but his very generation is an act of God.

The explanation of Jesus's name at 1:21 also encourages reflection upon his role as Messiah: he is to save his people from their sins. The narrator's translation of "Emmanuel" (1:23) pushes the matter one step further and points to the conclusion that in Jesus God is somehow made present. The ambiguity of the phrase μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός ("God [is?] with us")[34], however, may lead the reader to desire a fuller definition of how and in what sense God is present in this Messiah.

The reader may be surprised at 2:1 to discover that gentiles enter the story but may also recall that the genealogy was populated with references to foreign women. The Jewish Messiah, who will save his people, apparently has relevance in the gentile world as well. The magi themselves, however, refer to the child as ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (2:2), and the scriptural quotation at 2:6 concludes with an emphasis upon the promised ruler's role in "shepherding" Israel. Jesus's Jewish, and specifically Davidic, roots and function thus remain prominent in the reader's mind.

Since the magi's journey is apparently under divine guidance, the reader will pay attention to their evaluation of Jesus, noting not only their designation of his status but their attitude toward him: they have come specifically to worship him (2:2) and in fact do so (2:11). Such an attitude will seem commensurate with the title Emmanuel and the translation μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. The reader will thus conclude that Jesus is worthy of worship—a point underscored by the fulfillment-quotation at 2:15 implicitly naming him Son of God: "Out of Egypt I have called my son."

The lengthy account of Jesus's origins will have prepared the reader to identify him as the subject of John the Baptist's announcement of the coming one in 3:3 and thus to associate him explicitly with the βασιλεία (3:2). The conversation between John and Jesus in the baptism scene establishes Jesus's superiority to John, and the voice of God at 3:17 not only provides reliable confirmation of Jesus's identify but establishes the designation Son of God as God's own evaluation of Jesus. The descent of the Spirit at 3:16 reminds the reader of Jesus's miraculous conception and signifies that Jesus is empowered by that same Spirit in his ensuing ministry.

In considering the qualifier the voice adds to Jesus's designation as Son—"with whom I am well pleased" (3:17)—the reader will realize that the only action Jesus has as yet performed is his insistence upon baptism, which he justified as necessary for the fulfillment of "all righteousness" (3:15). It is therefore specifically Jesus's obedience that is pleasing to God[35]—a judgment immediately confirmed in the

[34] Note NRSV: "God is with us."

[35] Contra Richard A. Edwards, *Matthew's Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), p. 17, who assumes that since the reader has observed only one incident in Jesus's activity, God's pleasure "must be based on who Jesus is rather than on what he has done or said." Not only does this view undervalue Jesus's submission to "all righteousness" in the baptism story but it seriously undercuts the theme of his obedience that pervades the gospel.

temptation story: Jesus withstands Satan's temptations and cites a scriptural passage regarding obedience to God's word (4:4). And although the early introduction of the term Son of God is a reminder of the divine origin of the hero of the story, Jesus's replies place his own steadfastness squarely in the category of *human* obedience. Not only does he support all three refusals with God's commandments to human beings, but in the first instance the quotation explicitly names ὁ ἄνθρωπος as the one who does not live by bread alone. Most importantly, in the third and climactic refusal Jesus clearly acknowledges that he, together with all humanity, owes worship to God alone: "for it is written, 'Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him.'" The reader thus notes that even the Son of God is subordinate to God but will also remember that the magi—with the apparent approval of the narrator—worshipped Jesus. Forced at this point to hold the commandment to worship God alone together with the image of the legitimate worship of Jesus, the reader will read on in search of clarification.

Such clarification is not forthcoming at this point, however. At 4:12-16 the reader's attention is directed to other matters. The notations regarding John's imprisonment and Jesus's return to Galilee invite questions as to what Jesus will do next. The fulfillment-quotation at 4:15-16, for its part, places Jesus's geographical location in the context of God's unfolding plan. The mention of gentiles, moreover, reminds the reader that Jesus's significance is apparently universal, and the reference to the light shining on those in darkness reemphasizes the theme of fulfillment.

2. Check-Point 1: The Reader at 4:17. At the close of the first major section of the gospel, the reader already knows a great deal about Jesus. He is the Messiah/Son of David/Son of Abraham who will bring salvation to God's people Israel and apparently extend it to gentiles as well. Conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of a virgin, he has also been empowered by the Spirit for his ministry; and he is Son of God by God's own declaration. In fact, in him God is present in the world. His status is such that the proper response to him is actual worship. Yet his sonship also involves his own obedience to God; clearly subordinate to God, he seeks only to do God's righteousness in all things and indeed has so far shown himself faithful.

Insofar as the reader will reflect at all on Jesus's ultimate origins, there is nothing as yet to suggest that the narrator is interested in encouraging speculation about pre-existence or incarnation. The magi's phrase ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων would in fact seem to reinforce the natural reading of the virgin birth motif: it is precisely in this miraculous act that God brings the Messiah/Son of God into being. The emphasis upon Jesus's human obedience, moreover, tends to work against the notion of pre-existence to the extent that it suggests that Jesus's status is contingent, subject to loss; the temptation story in particular loses its dramatic weight if the reader is not allowed to imagine the possibility that he will succumb.[36]

[36] Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Form and Message of Matthew," in James Luther Mays, ed., *Interpreting the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), p. 73, implies the contingency of Jesus's status when he says that Jesus "resists the calculated temptations of Satan to effect the loss of his sonship, rendering perfect obedience to his Father (4:1-11)." Black, p. 616, makes the point more explicitly in relation to later passages: "the crises at Gethsemane (26:36-46) and Golgotha (27:33-50) should be taken at their suspenseful face value: despite prior indications of his resolve (4:1-11; 16:21; 17:22; 20:17-19), Jesus's own will is sorely challenged by his Father's (N.B.

The reader has a long way to go before finishing the story but has nevertheless formed a rather clear understanding of the identity of Jesus. If it is to be altered substantially, it will be incumbent upon the narrator to provide directives.

C. Matthew 11:16-19, 25-30 in Context

1. 4:17-11:15. The Reader's Actions in Progress. At 4:17 the narrator alerts the reader to a turn in the plot: Jesus is now entering his public ministry, proclaiming the βασιλεία. The reader also learns (4:23) that his messianic work includes not only preaching but healing as well.

As Jesus proceeds to teach, the reader will be struck by his authority. Although declaring that he has come not to abolish but to fulfill the law and the prophets (5:17-20), he issues at 5:21-48 a series of sayings, each of which—prefaced with the emphatic ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω—either intensifies or overturns (5:31) a component of the received tradition. Apparently, then, the law remains in effect as an agent of salvation; Jesus, after all, quoted it in relation to his own obedience in the temptation story. Nevertheless, Jesus is clearly the definitive interpreter of the law—is, in fact, in some sense sovereign over it. Both aspects of this conclusion are confirmed as the discourse progresses. At 7:12 Jesus refers again to the "the law and the prophets" as authoritative, but at 7:24-27 obedience to Jesus's own words appears as the criterion for salvation. Thus when the narrator comments on the authoritativeness of Jesus's teaching at 7:28 the reader must conclude that this teaching is God's will, which is to say it *is* Torah.

Following a series of healing-stories, the fulfillment-quotation at 8:17 —"He took our infirmities and bore our diseases"—reminds the reader that at 4:23 the narrator had included healing among Jesus's activities. Then at 8:18-22 Jesus provides an image of discipleship based upon his own wandering lifestyle—referring to himself as the Son of Man. The reader thus comes to the story of the storm-stilling at 8:23 with a dual image of Jesus fresh in mind: possessed of enormous divine power, he wanders homeless on the earth, bearing the infirmities of the weak. When Jesus actually calms the storm, however, the disciples can only ask, "What sort of man is this. . . . ?" Since Jesus rebukes the disciples for their "little faith," the reader will perceive the question as emanating from an inadequate understanding. Already having heard the testimony of God's voice at 3:17 and the acknowledgement of the supernatural opponent in the temptation story, the reader is also reminded at 8:29 of the proper answer to that question as the Gadarene demoniacs address him as Son of God just before he casts the demons out.

The development of the story of the paralytic in 9:1-8 will come as something of a surprise to the reader, who will expect another tale of a miraculous messianic deed. Instead of healing the paralytic immediately, Jesus pronounces this person's sins forgiven and thus incurs the charge of blasphemy from some scribes. The question of identity thus re-emerges, and Jesus claims authority specifically as Son of Man as he effects the healing. The reader will ponder not only the title but also the narrator's startling comment to the effect that the authority Jesus exercises is given by God τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Having earlier associated the term Son of Man with Jesus's homelessness,

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the anguish suggested by 26:37-38); Jesus *could* have aborted the mission to which he was called (N.B. 26:39, 42; cf. 20:28) and, on the cross, expressed abandonment by God when he chose not to do so (27:46)."

the reader now links it to his authority, but in a paradoxical way: it is an authority exercised specifically *on earth*, and it seems to be shared by other human beings; yet precisely as the power to forgive sins it is clearly a divine function.

Proceeding through chapter 9, the reader encounters various reactions to Jesus. Pharisees object to his association with tax collectors, eventually attributing his exorcisms to the prince of demons, and John's followers question his disciples' failure to fast. The crowds, however, marvel at his miraculous deeds and spread his fame; and the two blind men who come for healing address him as Son of David.

The question of identity appears peripherally in 10:24-25 as Jesus, instructing the apostles as he commissions them for missionary work, alludes back to the Pharisees' charges at 9:32-34 in order to link the persecution of his followers to his own rejection. Then at vs. 32 it becomes explicit: Jesus's acknowledgement of his followers before God depends upon their acknowledgement of him in the world. The reader will conclude that an essential part of discipleship is explicit acknowledgement of Jesus and will naturally look back to the ways in which the narrative has already defined his identity and characterized his mission—to the titles Messiah, Son of David, Son of Abraham, Son of God, Son of Man; and to his obedience and his wonderful deeds.

The reader is thus prepared to entertain the question John's disciples bring from prison at 11:2: "Are you the one who is to come, or are we to wait for another?" The phrase τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ combines with Jesus's own summary of his deeds in vs. 5 and his pronouncement in vs. 6 to alert the reader to a crucial point: Jesus's deeds cry out for response; one is either offended by them, as were the Pharisees in the earlier stories, or one receives them as signs of his identity—i.e., as performances of the βασιλεία the Messiah/Son of God initiates.

With vs. 7 the narrator shifts attention to the identity of John. The reader will have noted with some surprise John's doubt expressed at 11:2 and will be interested to know how Jesus will evaluate him. What the reader learns is essentially positive: more than a prophet, John is actually Elijah himself. When Jesus notes, however, that the person least in the βασιλεία is greater than John, the reader will have to conclude that it is only with Jesus that the βασιλεία actually begins.

2. Check-Point 2: The Reader at 11:16. The reader's view of Jesus will not have changed substantially since 4:16. Having come at that point to understand Jesus essentially as Messiah/Son of God, the reader will now have observed him at work, engaged in messianic teaching and deeds. Unless we assume that the term Son of Man is in itself suggestive of pre-existence, there is no reason to imagine that the reader will be any closer to an understanding of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate at this point than at 4:16.

There has, however, been some specification of the messianic role: Jesus's teaching is so authoritative as somehow to constitute Torah itself, and it is specifically with Jesus that the βασιλεία begins. A new title has also been added to the reader's repertoire: Jesus speaks of himself as the Son of Man, who wanders homeless on earth but also exercises an authority of divine origin that is somehow shared by other human beings.

3. The first cluster—11:16-30: The Reader's Actions in Progress. The adversative δὲ at vs. 16 alerts the reader to a contrast: "this generation" obviously does not grasp the point Jesus has just made—that John is Elijah and the βασιλεία is beginning in

Jesus's ministry. In fact, the reader learns quickly, this generation has acted like petulant children by rejecting both John and Jesus—the former for one reason and the latter for its opposite. Having defended himself to John's disciples by reference to his messianic deeds at 11:4-6, Jesus now defends himself (and perhaps John also) before the whole generation on the same grounds: "Yet [W]isdom is vindicated by her deeds."

The reader will hear in the reference to Wisdom's deeds an echo of τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 11:2 and will know that it is Jesus's mighty works that testify to his identity: it is by these that the people of this generation should have recognized the Messiah. But what will the reader make of the reference to Wisdom? A reader who recognizes the saying as an existing aphorism will understand it as an analogy, and a reader who already thinks of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate will understand it as Jesus's direct self-reference. A reader with neither of these specific bits of knowledge might conclude that the deeds of Jesus, Messiah/Son of God, are deeds commissioned by Wisdom—whether the latter is understood in a fully mythological sense or as a metaphor for God's self-expression at creation.

In any case, the reader immediately finds Jesus issuing a judgment against the Galilean cities for failing to receive his works as messianic deeds—and thus beginning to manifest the judgmental function indicated in John's original statement about the coming one. The judgment-theme recedes somewhat, however, as Jesus gives thanks to God for hiding "these things" from the "the wise and the intelligent" and revealing them to "infants." The reader will understand that Jesus speaks here of the significance of his messianic deeds and will hear the ironical reference to the "the wise and the intelligent" as signifying those who have failed to respond to Jesus—the Pharisees and scribes. The "infants," by contrast, will mean those who have received what Jesus has offered: the disciples themselves, who have taken no offense in him (11:5).

Jesus's words on revelation emphasize his unique relationship to God and teach the reader that just as God reveals to Jesus, so Jesus reveals to human beings. These words also indicate that both knowledge and lack of knowledge regarding Jesus's identity and the meaning of his deeds are in fact rooted in God's will. The invitation Jesus offers at 11:30 will thus appear as potential revelation,[37] which will apply both to Jesus's hearers in the story and to readers of the story. Since Jesus calls God Father and himself Son, the reader will be reminded of the crucial junctures at which Jesus has been directly and indirectly designated Son of God and will now associate that title with Jesus's revelatory function.

The invitation Jesus issues will add to the transcendent quality of his person in the reader's mind; as a word of overwhelming grace, it will carry an emotional appeal. Jesus's self-description as "gentle and humble in heart" will remind the reader of the compassion and mercy he has shown so far in his ministry, just as the reference to "rest" and the description of his yoke as "easy" and his "burden" as "light" will enhance the gracious quality of the invitation. Familiar with the phrase "yoke of the law," the reader will also understand that in inviting hearers to "his" yoke Jesus points back to his teaching, which the reader already knows is to be understood as Torah.

4. Check-Point 3: The Reader at 12:1. Nothing in the reader-response analysis up to this point has dispelled the ambiguity that attended the earlier redactional

[37] Deutsch, p. 32, identifies those oppressed by burdens in vs. 28 as persons who have not *yet* received the revelation Jesus offers.

treatment of the first cluster of wisdom passages. Given the reader's understanding at 4:16, which apparently involved the view that Jesus's conception by the Spirit and birth from the womb of a virgin was in fact his origin, the reference to Wisdom's deeds at 11:19 seems insufficient as an invitation to identify Jesus with Wisdom herself.

Verses 25-30 clearly present Jesus as a transcendent figure, but in somewhat undefined terms. It is of course possible that the reader will hear in the phrase "Come to me . . ." echoes of the voice of personified Wisdom and/or will conclude that for Jesus to speak of his own yoke is in fact to identify himself with Wisdom and Torah. If so, then the reader can also look back to 1:19 and find reinforcement for the point. What we have not seen as yet, however, is any evidence that the narrator has prepared the reader to render such specific judgments or has—outside 11:25-30 itself—given any reason to revise the view of Jesus formed in 1:1-4:16.

The reader will, however, have observed an important turn in the plot of the story. Jesus's words and deeds have on the one hand gained him a following but on the other sparked opposition. The people of "this generation" are behaving like perpetually dissatisfied children; unable to receive the revelation from God that Jesus brings, they refuse to repent—and are thus subject to judgment.

5. 12:1-16:20: The Reader's Actions in Progress. The narrator now takes the reader through a series of controversy stories in which the Pharisees appear as unmerciful (12:7, 11-12) in contrast to the humble, unassuming Jesus (12:17-21). The reader will understand the stories as illustrating Jesus's "easy yoke" of 11:30 and will now know that those who "are weary and are carrying heavy burdens" (11:28) are those who suffer under the Pharisees' application of the Torah. The reader will also note an escalation in the controversy theme: the Pharisees now actually begin to plot Jesus's death (12:14).

The issue of identity is never far from the surface. At 12:6, 8 Jesus asserts that "something greater than the temple is here" and claims authority over the Sabbath. The question, "Can this be the Son of David?" at 12:23 leads to the Beelzebul controversy, which Jesus rounds off with a series of sayings that draw the lines of demarcation more sharply. Jesus's opponents are bad trees bearing bad fruit and will be condemned (12:33, 37). Rejecting their request for a sign, Jesus nevertheless offers one they cannot grasp—the cryptic "sign of Jonah," which remains unexplained for the reader also.

Proceeding through chapter 13, the reader hears Jesus relate and interpret parables of the βασιλεία. Jesus's words at vss. 10-17 link the use of parables to the revelation-theme at 11:25-27, explaining people's ability/inability to comprehend to God's sovereign will. When in the explanation at 36-43 Jesus interprets the sower of vs. 24 as the Son of Man, the reader will know on the basis of prior passages that he is referring to himself and will make the same identification in vs. 41 where for the first time this term refers to the eschatological judge. It thus becomes clear that the Jesus who now performs works among the people will appear in glory and power at the close of the age.

Jesus's return to his home area in 13:53-58 becomes the occasion for questions about the source of his power that lead into Herod's explicit speculation on his identity in 14:1-2. The identity issue is thus prominent as the reader proceeds through the feeding story (14:13-21) into the mysterious scene on the lake where Jesus now demonstrates an awesome power over nature. When Peter has failed to follow Jesus

on the water and is pronounced a person of "little faith," the reader learns that the disciples worship him and proclaim him Son of God. The linking of these two motifs directs attention back to the early chapters of the gospel in which the magi worshipped Jesus and the voice of God pronounced him Son.

Thus given a dramatic demonstration of the proper response to Jesus, the reader immediately encounters the scribes and Pharisees asking him a question obviously designed to discredit him (15:1-2). Jesus's response (15:3-20) reinforces the reader's negative impression of their attitude, just as the story of the Canaanite woman's persistent faith (15:21-28) provides a positive contrast. A second feeding story (15:32-39) precedes a second request for a sign from Jesus's opponents (16:1-4), which Jesus once again, as at 12:38-40, answers with a reference to the sign of Jonah. The reader will remember the earlier statement and accept the repetition as indicating significance; yet the meaning will remain elusive.

The result is that after Jesus's condemnation of the "yeast" of the Pharisees and Sadducees at 16:5-11, the reader comes to the scene at Caesarea Philippi at 16:13 with some clear conceptions bracketed by some puzzling questions. Jesus, Messiah/Son of David and Son of God, now works on earth as Son of Man but will also appear under that rubric as the powerful, eschatological judge at the close of the age. The Jewish leadership fails to understand his words and deeds or grasp who he is, although the disciples—blessed by God's revelation—do. The reader understands even more clearly than the disciples but remains uncertain as to how Jesus's messiahship is to work itself out. The opposition seems ominous, and betrayal has already been indicated; and Jesus speaks strangely of a sojourn in the earth and a period of mourning.

It is no real surprise for the reader to find Jesus at 16:13-20 eliciting from Peter the confession, "You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God" in response to the question, "Who do people say the Son of Man is?" But there are three new elements: 1) Jesus himself now pronounces explicit blessing upon the one making this identification; 2) he links the confession to the later life of the Church; and 3) he implicitly pronounces certain designations false—"John the Baptist" (revived) and "Jeremiah or one of the prophets." The reader will conclude that confession of Jesus as Messiah/Son of God is constitutive of discipleship in the church, just as response to Jesus during his lifetime expressed one's response to the βασιλεία. But the reader will also ponder the fact that Jesus now commands secrecy about his identity as Messiah (16:20).

5. Check-Point 4: The Reader at 16:21. Between 12:1 and 16:20 the reader has observed a heightening of Jesus's controversy with his opponents, a controversy in which the question of his identity has been central. Whereas the plot has "thickened," however, the reader's understanding of Jesus still remains largely unchanged since 4:16. To be sure, the "correct" evaluation of Jesus has been made more explicit and Jesus's transcendent status has been reinforced. But in no way has the narrator indicated that the reference to Wisdom at 11:19 constitutes a key to Jesus's identity. Nor has the reader been given any explicit indication that the Jesus whose words do indeed constitute the "yoke" of Torah is to be identified *as* that Torah or as the incarnation of Wisdom herself.

D. Matthew 23:34-39 in Context

1. 16:21-23:33: With 16:21 the narrator begins to clarify Jesus's earlier cryptic statements. The passion prediction makes Jesus's coming death and resurrection explicit, and 16:24-26 explains the reference to taking up the cross at 10:38-39. The latter passage also completes the reader's knowledge of coming events by referring to the eschatological appearance of the Son of Man. It can now be inferred that it is only after dying and rising from the dead that Jesus will appear as eschatological judge.

The transfiguration scene at 17:1-8 provides confirmation of Jesus's acceptance of Peter's confession and redoubles the narrator's emphasis upon Jesus's transcendent status. The voice from heaven for a second time pronounces Jesus God's Son with whom God is "well pleased." This not only reminds the reader of the baptismal scene and implicitly ties together all the christological confessions so far made; it also indicates that God remains pleased with Jesus—i.e., that all that he has so far done is in accord with the divine will. The additional command, "listen to him," then directs attention forward; the reader understands that it will be important to listen to Jesus's further teaching.

The first thing the disciples and the reader now hear from Jesus is his injunction not to be afraid (17:8). The second (vs. 9) is another command to secrecy, this time followed by a qualification: "until after the Son of Man has been raised from the dead." Already informed that Jesus's death and resurrection are central his mission, the reader will now understand that secrecy must prevail until these climactic events have taken place.[38]

The repetition of the full passion prediction at 17:22-23 reinforces the significance of Jesus's death, so that the reader is well prepared to understand chapter 18 as Jesus's way of preparing his disciples for life in the post-resurrection church. His promise at 18:10 to be present with those who gather in his name reminds the reader of the Emmanuel passage at 1:23 and gives it a more explicit meaning. Jesus will make God present to his later followers by himself being present in their midst. The promise of Jesus's presence also gives substance to Jesus's injunction against fear at 17:7. When at 20:17-19 Jesus yet again predicts his death and resurrection the reader will know not only that these events are inevitable but that they are imminent.

As Jesus departs from Jericho (20:29-34), two blind men hail him as Son of David. This scene combines with the quotation at 21:5 to put Jesus's specifically messianic role in the forefront of the reader's mind as Jesus enters Jerusalem. The cries of the crowds on the road (21:9) and the children in the temple (21:15) intensify the focus upon the messianic category, and the objections of the chief priests and scribes prepare the reader for renewed controversy over Jesus's identity.

When Jesus enters the temple, controversy in fact ensues over his authority (21:23), and he responds with a series of parables that once again draw a sharp contrast between those who accept him and those who reject him (21:28-22:14). The reader will not only recognize the son of the householder at 21:37 as Jesus but will decode from the parables the whole history of God's dealings with Israel—down through the transfer of the βασιλεία from Israel to "a people that produces . . . fruits" (21:43), the destruction of Jerusalem (22:7), and the end of the age (22:13). At this

[38] See Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 80.

point it is clear not only who Jesus is but how his ministry and his rejection by Israel fit into God's plan.

The identity question is kept alive as the disciples of the Pharisees address Jesus as "teacher" in an attempt to trip him up (22:16) and as Jesus himself confronts the Pharisees with the question as to "whose son" the Messiah is (22:41-42). When Jesus rejects their subordination of the Messiah to David, the reader will think back to passages in which Jesus's divine, transcendent status is made clear and will understand it is because the Messiah is Son of God that he is greater than even David. The point is reinforced a few verses later (23:10) when Jesus—now pronouncing his invective against the scribes and Pharisees—proclaims that the Messiah is in fact the "one instructor" (καθηγητὴς) of those who follow him.

Jesus's condemnation of his opponents nevertheless focuses upon issues of true obedience to God rather than upon their rejection of him. It is their neglect of "justice and mercy and faith" (23:23) in favor of trivialities that constitutes their blindness. Even at 23:29, where Jesus pronounces that the scribes and Pharisees share in their predecessors' guilt for murdering the prophets, the reader will most naturally think of their moral failure and hypocrisy as justifying this judgment. At 23:32, however, the reader's attention is directed forward: "fill up, then, the measure of your ancestors." What Jesus's opponents are going to do in the future will bring Israel's past apostasy to its logical conclusion.

2. Check-Point 5: The Reader at 23:34. It is apparent, once again, that although the plot has developed, the reader's view of Jesus has changed very little. Jesus's messianic function has received further and important definition—his death and resurrection are now explicitly in view, and his presence in the later church has been promised; but the narrator has added virtually nothing to the christological confession expected of the reader since the dramatic scene at Caesarea Philippi.

The reader's immediate interest at 23:34 is in the guilt of the scribes and Pharisees. At the forefront of concern will be their continuity with those who murdered the prophets, which places them in the long history of Israel's apostasy. The reader will also be aware, however, of the immediate progress of the plot of the story of Jesus's career: Jesus, in conflict with bitter opponents who reject him, is on his way to death. And, having just heard of the fundamental hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees, the reader will link their failure to respond to Jesus to a failure of the heart: inside they are "full of greed and self-indulgence" (23:25).

3. The Second Cluster: 23:34-39. Jesus's ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω in conjunction with the ensuing words will create in the reader's mind the image of Jesus as a heavenly figure who commissions agents. Against the background of vss. 29-32, the phrase "prophets, sages, and scribes" will remind the reader of figures of the past, but the reference to crucifixion and persecution from town to town will clearly direct attention the tribulations of the church. The reader will thus place the emissaries to be sent to the church in continuity with those sent to Israel. So when Jesus once again pronounces judgment upon this generation as the culmination of apostasy at vs. 36, the reader will include the treatment of the church after Jesus's time as partial reason for that judgment.

The reader will also know that Jesus's death is imminent and will think of it in light of Israel's continual rejection of God's emissaries. Verse 39, however, refocuses attention on the present and future. The reader, now completely filled in on the

details of God's plan, will know that Jesus refers to his coming death and eventual return as eschatological judge.

4. Check-Point 6: The Reader at 24:1. If the reader has made an identification of Jesus with Wisdom in chapter 11, the second wisdom-cluster will reinforce it. On the other hand, the reader who has not made the identification may well do so now on the basis of vs. 34, for by this point Jesus's transcendent character has been made amply clear. Either way, it will then be natural to understand the prophets, sages, and scribes as including those sent earlier to Israel, so that Jesus appears explicitly as the trans-historical Wisdom sending emissaries to every generation. And the phrase "how often" at vs. 37—especially since it follows a reference to the rejection of Israel's prophets—will reinforce the point.

One might, however, read 23:34 without identifying Jesus as incarnate Wisdom or as trans-historical in any sense that extends backward into the past. By this point it is clear not only that Jesus must die but that he will be raised from the dead, will subsequently be present with the church, and will return at the end of the age. It will therefore be possible for the reader who knows nothing of the redactor's shift from the future tense to the present to hear ἀποστέλλω as referring exclusively to Jesus's intention to commission emissaries to the later church. The reader who does so can also understand "how often" in vs. 37 as referring only to Jesus's earthy career, although the prophets, sages, and scribes of vs. 34 will clearly appear as standing in continuity with those sent earlier to Israel.

5. 24:1-28:20: The Reader's Actions in Progress. The narrator's indication at 24:1 that Jesus leaves the temple draws the reader momentarily into the present and immediate future. Knowing that Jesus is soon to die, the reader will undoubtedly sense that his departure from the temple—after an extended stint of teaching ending in a dramatic pronouncement of judgment against Israel—constitutes a significant step toward the climax of the plot. The reader will sense finality in Jesus's encounter with the Jewish leadership. The disciples' comment and Jesus's reply, however, quickly refocus attention upon the more distant future and, more specifically, upon the temple's eventual fate. The reader will easily connect the prediction of destruction with 23:38-39 and understand that destruction as God's judgment upon Israel's apostasy, which is about to be filled up to full measure (23:32).

Thinking now about the destruction of the temple in light of the eschatological future, the reader hears the disciples voice the pertinent question (24:3): "when will this be, and what will be the sign of your coming and of the end of the age?" One effect of Jesus's reply, however, is to disconnect the coming destruction of Jerusalem from the actual end of the age (24:6): "for this must take place, but the end is not yet." From that point Jesus proceeds to outline the eschatological events in such a way as to prepare his followers for the turbulent times to come and encourage faithfulness in the interim period. Continually referring to his return, he issues both explicit (24:44-51; 25:13) and implicit (25:30, 41-46) warnings regarding readiness.

At 26:1-3 the narrator alerts the reader to yet another turn toward the culmination of the plot. Jesus now connects his death to the Passover, only two days away, and the Jewish leaders explicitly plot his arrest. At the Passover meal, Jesus then interprets his death as effecting forgiveness of sins (26:28) and predicts the disciples' apostasy.

Prepared now to have the story culminate in Jesus's death and resurrection—indeed, having heard from Jesus's own mouth about the necessity of these events—

the reader will experience a degree of suspense[39] during the scene in Gethsemane. Jesus's agony at 26:38 and his plea at 26:39 encourage the reader to imagine two alternatives to the expected outcome: perhaps on the one hand God can accomplish the divine plan in another way; perhaps on the other Jesus will lose courage and the plan will actually fail. Of course the reader—having witnessed Jesus's victory over temptation at 4:1-11—will expect him to remain obedient to God. But the note of contingency is real and will presumably carry over into the trial scenes. The reader will be aware, as Jesus is questioned, of the possibility that he might after all renounce his claims.

When Jesus is eventually arrested and brought before Caiaphas, the latter raises once again the question of identity. That he explicitly asks whether Jesus considers himself "the Messiah, the Son of God" (26:63) not only reminds the reader of all previous confessions of Jesus's status but forges a connection between Jesus's death and the titles Messiah and Son of God. It is specifically in relation to his claim to the status they imply that Jesus is crucified; the reader must therefore conclude that Israel's final failure lay precisely in its refusal to accept him as such.

Jesus's answer, however, reintroduces the term Son of Man and thus brings it into relationship with Messiah and Son of God. As Son of Man, Jesus has exercised authority on earth, yet now faces humiliation and death. At the close of the age, however, he will return in that role as the powerful eschatological judge. In all this—his earthly exercise of power, his humiliation and rejection, and his reappearance at the close of the age—he is Messiah/Son of God.

As Jesus appears before Pilate, it is appropriately the narrowly Messianic titles that are at issue. Pilate asks whether he is "King of the Jews" (27:11) and refers to him as τὸν λεγόμενον χριστόν (27:17, 22). "Son of God," however, reappears when the Jewish leaders mock him on the cross (27:43) and in the confession of the centurion and other observers (27:55).

That Jesus does not renounce his claims but goes to his death in accordance with God's will, refusing even to respond to taunts of the Jewish leaders as he hangs on the cross, completes the reader's image of Jesus as God's obedient servant. The cry of despair at 27:46 contributes to this image in a paradoxical way, just as did Jesus's agony in Gethsemane. That he was in fact subject to despair only underscores the radical nature of his obedience precisely as *human* obedience.

The final scene (28:16-20)—Jesus's commissioning the disciples on a mountain—draws together numerous themes from the story. The reader is reminded of Jesus's status as one worthy of worship, of the authority he receives from God and passes on to his followers, of the crucial importance of his teaching, and of his abiding presence with his followers as they go about their mission in the world.

6. Check-Point 7: The Reader at the Close of the Gospel. Jesus's employment of the trinitarian formula at 28:20 reminds the reader that the one who will be present with the later Christian followers, and in whose name they baptize and teach, is the Son of God. The close association of Jesus with the Father and the Holy Spirit, together with the sovereign command issued from a mountain top, reinforces the reader's sense of Jesus as a transcendent being that was encouraged not only at 23:34, 37 but also at the transfiguration scene and at 11:25-30. If at some point the reader has already interpreted Jesus's transcendence in light of the categories of pre-existence or

[39] See above, n. 32.

incarnation, then this passage can be read in light of that interpretation. In itself, however, it in no way either demands such a reading or encourages the reader to think back to the passages in chapters 11 and 23 with these categories in mind. Nor has there been any indication in the material since 23:39 that the reader should revise earlier understandings of Jesus. If the identification has not been made prior to that point, it certainly will not be made afterward.

The Jesus who issues his sovereign command from the mountain, moreover, is still for the reader the Jesus who went obediently to his death despite the real, agonizing temptation to abandon the mission. The reader will think at this point not of the ascent of a savior who once descended from glory but of the Messiah/Son of God, who—obedient to God in the face of temptation, rejection, humiliation, and death—is now, as the resurrected one, present to the church as it undergoes its own sufferings, struggles, and temptations in the world.

III. Conclusion: Three Readers Reading

Does a reader-response analysis of the gospel of Matthew reveal a Wisdom christology—an explicit identification of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate? We have seen, on the one hand, that given specific interpretive moves at one point or another, the reader could in fact make the needed identification; most importantly, 23:34-39 is particularly suggestive of Jesus's trans-historical character. The other wisdom passages, moreover, are amenable to interpretation along such lines and, if read in light of that interpretation, could be counted as narrator's support. It would appear, then, that it is possible for a reader to interpret Matthew in such a way as to hear the text calling for an identification of Jesus with personified Wisdom. To put the matter differently, we can conclude that the narrator has not foreclosed such an interpretation.

To fail to foreclose such a reading, however, is not to endorse it. We have in fact seen nothing to indicate a specific interest in eliciting a confession regarding Jesus's status as Wisdom or his pre-existence. It is possible, moreover, to read the wisdom passages in context without identifying Jesus as Wisdom incarnate or understanding him as a trans-historical being. Although the redactor's moves at 23:34 can be interpreted as an attempt to make the identification, our reader-response analysis reveals that a reader might well understand Jesus's commissioning of prophets, sages, and scribes in an exclusively future sense. And, finally, the fact remains that the identification of Jesus as the incarnation of pre-existent Wisdom stands in tension with the natural sense of the story of the virgin birth.

A reader-response analysis thus discloses that alternative readings are possible: the reader may respond to Matthew's wisdom passages in more than one way without violating the text. To say this, however, is not to say that all readings are equal in the eyes of the implied author. What I would like to offer now is what might be called a "preferred" reading, the reading I believe is most commensurate with the narrator's promptings. I will also argue that this reading offers a fuller explanation of the redactor's intentions than has as yet been proposed. This "preferred" reading constitutes a middle position between an outright identification of Jesus with Wisdom and an interpretation of 23:34 in a purely future sense that avoids an understanding of Jesus as a trans-historical being altogether.

When the reader comes upon the reference to Wisdom's deeds at 11:19 it is in the specific context of a turn in the plot. At 11:12 Jesus notes that the βασιλεία "has

suffered violence," and the ensuing pericope on the children in the market places records the irrational rejection of both John and Jesus. While the reader will understand the deeds of Jesus (and perhaps John) as at least paralleling, and very likely constituting, Wisdom's own deeds, the reader's task is to recognize that these deeds are in some sense the work of Wisdom, but not necessarily to reflect any further upon the precise nature of the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom. The point is neither that Jesus is Wisdom's envoy nor that he is Wisdom incarnate but that his deeds—in which Wisdom herself is active—vindicate him in the face of his opposition. To say that they are Wisdom's deeds, or at least analogous to Wisdom's deeds, is to say that they issue from the same source as the creation of the world, that they are ultimately grounded in the plan and will of God. The reader is thus encouraged to note that Jesus is in fact being rejected, but that his deeds show his rejection to be ill-founded: they are proof positive that his mission is Wisdom's own, which is to say, God's own.

At verse 25, however, there is a slight shift in focus. At this point the narrator wants the reader to reflect more explicitly upon the details of Jesus's status. And to that end the Son-Father terminology is introduced. Jesus's authority is that of God's Son, so that precisely as Son he can offer the yoke of Torah as his own. "All things," after all, have been delivered to him by the Father!

When, in the ensuing chapters, the reader observes Jesus's opponents openly attacking him, the impact is heightened by the memory of 11:25-30. The Jesus who is suffering rejection is God's own Son, who in mercy offers the "easy yoke." He is the Messiah of Israel, who as such performs the very deeds of Wisdom.

The reader will not, on this reading, make an explicit identification of Jesus and Wisdom at either 11:25-30 or 23:34-40. But something very close to this will happen. Jesus's words at 11:28-30 encourage a sense of Jesus's transcendent status that is reinforced in various ways in the ensuing material. The disciples see Jesus in his glorified state on a mountaintop, confess him as God's Son and Messiah, and even worship him. They also learn of his eventual return in glory as the Son of Man and hear him promise (18:20) to be with them in the post-resurrection church. The reader will thus be well prepared by 23:34 to hear Jesus speak as a transcendent being: "Therefore I send. . . ." And although the focus is primarily on the future at this point—the prophets, sages, and scribes to be sent to the church—the reader will hear both the "I send" of vs. 34 and the "how often" of vs. 37 as reaching back into Israel's long history. The reader will, in other words, hear Jesus speaking in a trans-historical capacity.

This is not to say, however, that Jesus speaks as Wisdom incarnate. It is only to say that as Son of God/Messiah—to whom "all things" have been delivered and who can speak of the yoke of the Torah as his own—he occupies a vantage point that is as close as possible to God's own. He can speak *for* God, who has sent emissaries to intransigent Israel throughout the years. If strict logic demands that at 23:34 Jesus's words refer only to future emissaries, the narrator is unconcerned. What the reader must grasp is that the rejection of these later emissaries is of a piece not only with the rejection of Jesus but with the earlier rejection of those God sent to Israel. The point is that the Jesus who speaks in chapter 23 is the middle term in this tragic history; his rejection is the turning point, Israel's definitive rejection of God. His sovereign "I send" and "how often" are important indicators of his unique, transcendent, and divine status; and by placing them in Jesus's mouth the narrator has him assume for the moment a trans-historical *posture*. The narrator does not, however,

invite the reader to speculate on Jesus's pre-existence or his precise relationship to Wisdom.

The figure of Wisdom thus remains in one sense tangential to the *reader's* concerns. If, however, this particular understanding of the reader's task in Matthew's story is used as the basis for assessing the *redactor's* intentions, it appears that the Wisdom motif played a very important role in the shaping of this story. The "preferred reading" I am suggesting coalesces not only with many of Schweizer's observations but with a central element in Burnett's argument. It is above all the pattern of Wisdom's rejection and withdrawal that attracted Matthew, who apparently found in it a way of articulating the dual theme of Israel's rejection of Jesus and God's subsequent abandonment of Israel.

Burnett notes that although the rejection of Jesus is foreshadowed at 2:3 and is articulated in the accusations of the scribes at 9:3, 34, it "is not clarified for the reader until the parable of the children in the market place."[40] That is to say, the first cluster of wisdom passages appears in precise conjunction with the first explicit articulation of the rejection theme. In comparing "this generation" to dissatisfied children, Jesus indicates their rejection of both John and himself. And the rejection of Jesus leads logically to his rejection of Israel: the parable is followed immediately by Jesus's pronouncement of woes upon the Galilean cities, which in turn leads into 11:25-30 with its contrast between those to whom God has revealed "these things" and those from whom God has "hidden" them.

The second cluster of wisdom passages also occurs at a crucial juncture in the development of the rejection-motif—at the end of Jesus's extended condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees in chapter 23. Coming after the "parables against Israel" in 21:33-22:14, this speech must be interpreted as a rejection of Israel itself and not just its leadership.[41] The "formal" acts of rejection are of course still to come: Jesus departs from the Temple at 24:1[42] and is rejected not only by the Jewish leadership but by the people as a whole in the trial scene. But the ominous words in 23:38-39 show that at this point the die is irrevocably cast. As the first cluster signals the inception of the rejection-theme, the second brings it to a climax.

It would thus appear that the redactor was indeed expressing a central concern in using and reshaping the wisdom passages. This concern, however, had everything to do with Jesus's earthly career as the rejected Messiah who in turn carried out God's rejection of Israel but apparently nothing to do with a desire to encourage the reader to speculate about Jesus's pre-existence or identify him with Wisdom incarnate. The pattern of Wisdom's rejection and subsequent withdrawal must have seemed the perfect "model" for grasping the paradox of a crucified Messiah. But it was apparently not to the figure of personified Wisdom herself that Matthew turned in order to articulate who Jesus was.

Whether Matthew intentionally avoided the categories of pre-existence and incarnation, or was merely uninterested in them, is in my estimation anybody's guess. But—assuming the validity of my "preferred reading"—it might be instructive to take note of the consequences of the redactor's limited use of the wisdom materials. We have in John's logos christology some indication of what a christology based upon the incarnation of Wisdom might look like. And one way of understanding the

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[40] Burnett, pp. 100-101.

[41] Ibid., p. 109.

[42] See Ibid., pp. 112ff.

significance of the presumed Wisdom christology in Matthew is to locate it in a developmental scheme—i.e., to place it on a trajectory leading through John to Chalcedon. Thus Dunn not only speaks of the "development" constituted by Matthew's redaction of Q but also argues that it

> opens up . . . all the possibilities of moving from a christology which thinks of Jesus as (quantitatively) *different in degree* from earlier prophets to one which thinks of Jesus as (qualitatively) *different in kind* from earlier prophets, of moving from a christology which speaks of Jesus' divinely given *function* to one which speaks of Jesus' metaphysical *status*. . . .[43]

If, however, Matthew employed the Wisdom materials not in order to identify Jesus with Wisdom incarnate but primarily to articulate the dual theme of rejection, then a movement from function to status was not in fact at work. Dunn himself acknowledges that this distinction was probably foreign to the biblical writers' own thought and that in any case Matthew betrays no actual consciousness of having taken such a monumental step.[44] This latter observation is consistent with an important result of our reader-response analysis. On the one hand, Matthew's story presents Jesus as a divine being carrying out a pre-ordained plan of God; but on the other it presents Jesus's obedience as *human* obedience that takes place in a drama that is in some sense open and contingent. Were we to remove this note of contingency, the story would lose much in depth and intensity.

But what a contrast we find in the gospel of John—a virtually "passionless" Jesus who strides through the story with an almost alien form of sovereignty! It should hardly surprise us (if something like Raymond Brown's reconstruction of the history of the Johannine community be accepted)[45] that it could quickly foster a thoroughgoing docetism. Precisely by foregoing the category of pre-existence, Matthew preserved the texture of a story that is, for all its mythic qualities, in a profound sense still a human one.

It should be emphasized that the Wisdom materials in Matthew enhance the human and concrete dimensions of the story. My judgment that the first gospel does not in fact contain a genuine Wisdom christology will appear in some respects disappointing from a feminist perspective. But one should not forget that it is precisely the figure of Wisdom that stands as Matthew's model for the career of the Messiah/Son of God who passionately sought to win the allegiance of human beings only to suffer tragic rejection.[46]

Although I have identified Matthew's redactional motive primarily in terms of applying the pattern of Wisdom's rejection and withdrawal to Jesus's life, I can agree partially with Schweizer that the link between Jesus and Wisdom has to do with his relationship to the law. The point is not, however, that Jesus *is* Wisdom and therefore *is* Torah. As Messiah, he can interpret and even *issue* Torah. But as one who is himself obedient to God, he remains in some sense subject to it. In this limited and "weak" sense one can say, with Suggs, that he "embodies" Torah. It is not,

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[43] Dunn, p. 205.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple: The Life, Loves, and Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).

[46] Cf. esp. Prov. 1:20-33.

however, because the law (supposedly) becomes flesh in Jesus that it cannot (in Schweizer's phrase) be "tossed overboard"; the point is rather that a major part of Jesus's role as God's Messiah is precisely to interpret the law, which by God's own will must abide "till heaven and earth pass away" (5:18).

If Jesus in a "weak" sense "embodies" Torah, it is in a stronger sense that he plays the role of the Shekinah. That his continuing presence with the community is formally parallel to the presence of the Shekinah with Israel can scarcely be denied. Jesus's assumption of this role is not a function of his identification with Wisdom, however, but of his status as Messiah/Son of God. Because Matthew obviously wished to assign Jesus the highest possible standing in relation to God, it was virtually necessary that Jesus *supplant* the figure of the Shekinah, that he actually assume the status of God's very presence in the world. But Matthew encourages speculation neither upon the "mechanics" of Jesus's presence nor upon the intricacies of his relation to God as Messiah/Son.[47] The ambiguity of μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός remains; the reader who wants to know its meaning must read the story again.

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[47] Proponents of a Wisdom christology in Matthew generally acknowledge that it remains implicit and undeveloped. Note, for example, Burnett's statement (p. 171): "The problem . . . is that [Matthew] does not explicitly state the myth(s) of pre-existence which he assumes, nor does he elaborate upon the 'nature' of the pre-existent Christ. Matthew's main interest seems to be in the incarnation of Christ and the soteriological function which he performs in the history of salvation. Even in the infancy narratives, a place where he could explicitly depict a clear understanding of Christ's pre-existence, Matthew only seems to imply that Jesus was pre-existent in the mind of God when God planned the soteriological function of Christ as the fulfillment of the scriptures (cf. 1:8-25)." On the "preferred" reading I have proposed, Matthew is indeed interested in Jesus's soteriological function in the history of salvation and in Jesus's unique status as Son of God/Messiah but not in his pre-existence. The reason we find nothing beyond the implication that "Jesus was pre-existent *in the mind of God*" is that Matthew in fact intended nothing more than *that God always planned to send the Messiah.* It is important to distinguish among the various senses of "pre-existence" so as not to pre-judge the case on the basis of an over-simplified definition of the term (see Fred B. Craddock, *The Pre-Existence of Christ in the New Testament* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), pp. 18-19 and Hamerton-Kelly, pp. 21, 77-79). But I do not see that it contributes very much to an understanding of Matthew's christology to claim for it this very limited sense of pre-existence. It seems almost self-evident that Matthew believed that Jesus's appearance was in accordance with God's preconceived plan. But I do not see that this warrants talk of *Jesus's* pre-existence or of *incarnation.*

The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts: Christology and Mission

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Introduction

The Lucan use of the Old Testament in the New concentrates on two themes: christology and mission. Most studies of the Lucan use of the Old Testament focus on hermeneutics, text, or the issue of sources for the material.[1] One significant essay by Charles Talbert did deal with the basic issue of "proof from prophecy" as the underlying theme of Luke-Acts.[2] Talbert's goal was to clarify how the theme was used.

Talbert made three basic points. 1) The theme "proof from prophecy" was not as dominant as some had suggested, a point Talbert argued that Rese's work, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas,* demonstrates. 2) The goal of all the texts is not simply continuity with holy history, since certain texts do not emphasize continuity, but other aspects of mission (Acts 18:9-10, 12-17; Acts 27:23-25; Acts

[1] For example, T. Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentliche Zitate bei Lukas.* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 104 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968), concentrated on the OT text Luke used. M. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas.* Studien zum Neuen Testament 1 (Gerd Mohn: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1969), concentrated on hermeneutics and on the issue of the sources in the Jesus tradition behind Luke's use. Most recently comes an essay by C. K. Barrett, "Luke-Acts," *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honor of Barnabas Lindars,* ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 231-244. He takes sources for the Jesus tradition in Luke, while he takes a more thematic approach in Acts. In addition, in the Gospels he compares how the citations are used in Luke versus the parallels, while in Acts most comments are limited to introductory formulae and the naming of the passage cited.

[2] Charles Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology," *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar.* ed. Charles H. Talbert (New York: Crossroad, 1984), pp. 91-103. This essay examines the basic theme of proof from prophecy and then presents three areas to help place this theme in its proper perspective. The burden here is to show that proof from prophecy is not as dominant as some suggest, since it can be shown that many texts lack this emphasis. In making this point, Talbert follows some of the points raised initally by Rese.

20: 23; 21:11; 11:27-30; 12:25). 3) Talbert deals with ancient reader's expectations upon encountering such a theme. He argues that the prophetic motif has three elements. a) Divine necessity controls the course of history. b) History's course fulfills oracles, both written and oral, whether through understanding or through misunderstanding. c) The motif has many functions. Such prophecy legitmated a person's religious status, legitimates other things the prophet of the oracle said, points to continuity, and showed, in its Jewish form, the providence of God in human affairs, since God rewards virtue and punishes vice. Talbert's conclusion is that this use of prophecy and fulfillment fits the ancient Mediterranean milieu and that there is "no justification for the claim that the prophecy-fulfillment motif in Luke-Acts functions to assist Gentile followers of Paul in their struggle with Jews."[3] In fact, he doubts that promise-fulfillment is the major Lucan theme under which all other themes can be subsumed.

Now one of the problems with Talbert's critique at this point is that he appeals to texts that do not use Old Testament promise, but divine promise through fresh revelation. As such this mixing of categories can confuse the discussion, if one is trying to see how Luke uses OT promise. In short, Talbert's essay by broadening the discussion on promise, helps to shows the variety of ways in which Luke appeals to that theme, both in old promises and new, but his study risks obscuring how the ancient texts are used by Luke.

Our essay seeks to challenge an aspect of Talbert's thesis and rehabilitate the theme of promise and fulfillment, at least as it relates to Luke's use of the Old Testament. It seeks to build on work already done by the author and to bring the discussion up to date.[4] In addition, this essay will add a brief discussion of the theme of mission as a way of showing that Talbert's approach to the issue, though providing a major qualification, fails ultimately to deal with the vast amount of material that does deal with continuity and mission as it relates to christology.

In looking at our topic, we will spend very little time on hermeneutics, since this was a major burden of the earlier work. Nonetheless one introductory point about hermeneutics from that study needs to be made here. When one speaks of the theme of Old Testament promise in Luke-Acts, one is speaking of the appeal to *both* prophecy *and pattern*. But the appeal to pattern is still to be seen as prophetic, because the God behind the history is unchanging. What God did in one era to move covenant promise along, He can and will do in those times when He again actively becomes involved in directing and completing His program. This is a major theological supposition to Luke's use of the OT, which allows him to appeal to the variety of texts which he does. It is the axiomatic background for his declaration that certain things "must" take place. Thus while many texts Luke uses are not exclusively prophetic, they are "typological-prophetic" in that the pattern of God's activity is reactivated in ways that mirror and enhance His acts of old. Such mirroring allows the events to be seen as part of God's plan and shows He is active in the events, which recall the great days of old and which show God designing the movement of history along parallel lines. In the repetition is the presence of design and thus of prophecy.

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[3] Talbert, "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology," *Luke-Acts*, p. 101.

[4] Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern; Lucan Old Testament Christology*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 12 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987).

Such mirroring and what it represents about God's presence gives comfort (Luke 1:4).

We also shall depart from the normal procedure in examining this material, by proceeding in literary order, rather than by sources. This enables us to hear Luke speak as he tells the story in his own way. We will examine christology first and then mission, since this is the way in which Luke himself proceeds. Four sections follow: 1) The Basic Christological Category: Messiah-Servant-Prophet; 2) The Climactic, Comprehensive Christological Category: Lord; 3) Gentile Mission and Israelite Rejection; 4) Summary.

The Basic Christological Category: Messiah-Servant-Prophet

The Lucan infancy material contains mostly allusions to the Old Testament and works with ideas, rather than with explicit citations. Nevertheless the unit is important as the overture to Luke-Acts. These chapters paint an initial portrait of Jesus using ideas which come from texts with eschatological and dynastic images. John the Baptist is described as the eschatological prophet who prepares the way for God (Luke 1:14-17). The appeal to Malachi's image immediately brings to the surface expectations of God's great act of salvation. John the Baptist becomes the frame for the portrait of Jesus and serves as the bridge figure into the new era.

The first key allusion to Jesus comes in the birth announcement. Here regal images dominate. Here is the "Son of the Most High" and the one who will be called "great" (Luke 1:32). The Lord God will give to him the throne of David, and Jesus "will rule over the house of Jacob forever" (Luke 1:32-33). Of his kingdom there will be no end. In Luke 1, John the Baptist is the prophet and Jesus is the king. Here also is an example of the escalation of OT imagery. David was promised an everlasting dynastic line. Jesus is an everlasting king.

Unlike Matthew, Luke makes little of the connection to Isaiah 7:14. The language of the birth announcement simply parallels other such announcements (Genesis 16:11 LXX), but with one exception. John the Baptist is born from a previously barren couple, as many great OT saints were; but Jesus is born of a virgin. There is parallelism and escalation with the OT acts of old. Patterns of God's activity are renewed and behold new things come as well.

The title of "Son," which is introduced in Luke 1, is a key one for Luke. It will reappear in Luke 3:22 at the baptism, be a key title in Luke 4:41, and also makes an appearance in Luke 9:35. It has OT background from Psalm 2, as the baptismal scene makes clear. It is wrong to call it an exclusively messianic title. Rather it is dynastic. However, Luke's use will make clear it is a messianic title for him. The clearest evidence of this emphasis is in Luke 4:41. Here there is a uniquely Lucan remark, which clarifies how Luke sees the title. It comes after a sequence of texts where the emphasis has been on Jesus, the Son (Luke 3:22; 4:3, 9). The demons confess that Jesus is the "Son of God." Luke goes on to explain that this was because they knew him to be "the Christ." The title of "Son" appears in one other encounter with the forces of evil in Luke 8:29. Thus sonship pictures rule, but the rule is escalated. Not only does Jesus sit over Jacob. He has power over the demonic. Pattern and escalation mark Luke's use of the OT. Here is a new era figure,

who surpasses those of the old age. Jesus' sonship is OT hope and more.

The rest of the infancy imagery tied to Jesus is similar in thrust. In the hymns of Luke 1, eschatological hope is placed side by side with dynastic hope. Mary's hymn in Luke 1:46-55 is a personal psalm of praise, which starts out largely personal in focus. As the hymn develops, Mary represents a type of person for whom God is concerned. The hymn concentrates on the patterns of God's activity for the poor and hungry against the powerful. The hymn raises covenant promise as the key to these actions and as such raises notes of eschatological hope, since God is said to remember his mercy to Abraham and his posterity. In contrast, Zechariah's hymn is less personal and more national in thrust (Luke 1:67-79). Here the imagery is very explicit. The God of Israel has visited His people (1:68). God has "raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of David" (1:69). In fact, this was promised in the prophets of old (1:70). Here regal claims are placed beside divine design and prophetic promise. The initial notes about Jesus in Luke are played with the choruses of pattern, escalation, divine design, and prophetic hope. The refrain is one of continuity and advance. In fact, Luke 1:72-73 continues the emphasis on continuity by speaking of mercy promised, remembering covenant, and of an oath sworn to Abraham. On the other hand, the remarks are very national. The goal for this regal ruler is to free God's people from their enemies and those who hate them (1:71).

The reference to the house of David in Luke 1:69 is another specific use of an OT idea. The idea of "raising up" someone onto the scene of history describes how God is active behind the events (Deut. 18:15, 18; Judges 3:9, 15; 1 Sam. 3:35; 2 Sam. 23:1). God brings the key figures of covenant history onto the scene. The allusion to the house of David recalls dynastic imagery from the "Davidic covenant" of 2 Sam. 7:13-14. The description of the "horn" of salvation describes a powerful figure who can fight off foes and bring victory (Deut. 33:17; 2 Sam. 22:3; Ps. 75:5, 6, 11; 148:14). The association of the horn with the dynastic house is also common (1 Sam. 2:10; Ps. 132:17; Eze. 29:21). The Lucan focus on the Davidic connection will continue when Bethlehem is called the city of David (Luke 2:4,11). The fundamental christological category Luke paints from the OT is that of ruler. The escalation of the imagery shows he is a unique ruler. Thus the term messiah is appropriate.

If there were any doubt about the foundational role of the messianic function, one need only look at the set of titles used in Luke 2:11. This passage speaks of a "Savior born in the city of David, Christ the Lord." The Davidic connection is made explicitly in the unusual allusion to Bethlehem as David's city.[5] The image of savior was described in the hymn of Zechariah, as Jesus was proclaimed to be the delivering Davidic horn. The image of the Christ recalls the sonship of Jesus noted in Luke 1:31-35, as well as his rule. The only title unprepared for through OT infancy allusion is Lord. But this is precisely because this is the title Luke will come to define as he tells the story of Jesus. Luke 2:11 is a major "choral-like" refrain in the

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[5] Normally "the city of David" would be Jerusalem. 2 Sam. 5:7, 9; 16:10 are but a few examples of this use. The use is even more exceptional, if one considers the LXX. Nowhere in the LXX is Bethlehem called the "city of David," though 1 Kingdoms 20:6; and 16:18 are close. Note especially the omissions of 1 Samuel 17:12 and 58 LXX. Micah 5:1-2 may be behind the allusion, but it is hard to be sure.

infancy section, which summarizes who Jesus is and which prepares for the account of Jesus' life which follows.

The eschatological imagery continues in the brief remarks of Simeon. Again the emphasis is on the "messianic" character of the child (Luke 2:26). In fact, the child represents the presence of God's salvation (Luke 2:30) with a universal role. Jesus is light. Luke 1:78-79 introduced this image with the OT picture of the "rising star," a passage in which a word play between the morning light and the "Branch" is possible in Semitic ("Branch": Jer. 23:5; 33:15; Zech. 3:8; 6:12; Is. 11:1-10; "Light": Num. 24:17; Mal. 3:20MT).[6] In Luke 1 the image of light dominates. So also in Luke 2. Simeon speaks of Jesus' universal mission as revelation to Gentiles and glory for Israel.

In this image of revelation and glory, the appeal to imagery from Isaiah begins (Isaiah 60:1-3). Here the use associates Jesus with the eschatological hope of deliverance which Isaiah's texts describe. This association represents a mixture of prophetic and deliverance images as well. Isaiah 60 is not technically speaking a Servant Song, but in thrust it is like the salvation theme tied to the songs. More importantly, Isaiah 60 is part of a larger complex of texts from Isaiah, which appear in the synagogue speech of Luke 4:17-19 (Isaiah 61:1). Luke simply introduces this theme in Luke 2.

But not everything about this "servant-like" figure is positive. There is pain coming as well. Simeon's note to Mary in Luke 2:34-35, using images like those in Isaiah 8:14-15 and 28:13-16, shows that Jesus will create a division among men and bring pain to Mary. This portrait of the authority of the Jesus, who was earlier described in servant-like terms, represents the Lucan emphasis on the authority of this servant-like figure, rather than concentrating on Jesus as the sufferer as much of the NT servant tradition does. Here also are the first ominous notes that the eschaton does not come easily and that the Messiah is not embraced universally with open arms. On the other hand, the note of hope continues in a second prophet, Anna, who sees in Jesus someone who is related to the hope of the "redemption of Jerusalem." Here the Old Testament portrait of Jesus in the infancy material ends.

The infancy narrative's fundamental christological category from the OT is that of a regal deliverer, Messiah. In Jesus the hope of covenant is realized. Both Abrahamic promise and Davidic hope receive attention. The OT brings a note of continuity and design. Promise and pattern are wed together as one in Jesus. But there is also escalation. The new era is greater than the old. There are hints of other basic categories, like servant and prophet, but these have a minor role. There is one title, Lord, which is simply introduced without explanation. Luke will develop this title later, so he says next to nothing about it now.

When one comes to the body of Luke's Gospel, the categories of Messiah, servant, and prophet dominate the OT discussion until the events of Jesus' ministry approach their turning point during Jesus' last week in Jerusalem.

As with the infancy material, John the Baptist is the frame of the OT portrait, as Luke 3:4-6 appeals to Isaiah 40:3-5. This eschatological passage raises the theme of the approach of God's salvation in the activity of the forerunner. God's great deliverance, which was promised in this prologue to the salvation section of Isaiah 40-66, always raised great hope within Judaism that God would one day bring to

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[6] This image became decidedly messianic in many strands of Judaism: CD 7:18-19; 1QM 11:6; 4QTest 12; 4QFlor. 1:11; Testament of Levi 4:4; 18:3).

pass all that He promised.[7] To such hope Luke now appeals. Again the note is one of design and continuity. Luke makes clear that all flesh will see this salvation to underline that Jesus appears before all nations of men.

The next text, Luke 3:22, is the complex set of allusions associated with the voice from heaven at Jesus' baptism. Many issues are bound up in how one sees the OT used here.[8] However, it seems most likely that the reference to "Son" is an allusion to the regal title of sonship in Psalm 2:7, while the allusion to "in whom I am well pleased" is an allusion to the portrait of the Servant of Isaiah 42:1.[9] Here regal, national, and covenant images are all combined. Israel was called the "servant" in Luke 1:54, an allusion which shows the sensitivity and diversity of Luke's usage of the servant image. The "beloved one" is one on whom God's special favor rests. Jesus is like the nation, a special object of God's love. He also is the promised Son, who begins his mission shortly. It is Messiah-Servant who is baptized by John.

Another text which involves a complex use of the OT is Luke 4:16-30. Here one may need to distinguish how the pericope functioned in isolation and how it functions in Luke. The text clearly raises prophetic categories. This is suggested not only by the use of Isaiah 61:1, but also by the appeal to the patterns of the past in Elijah and Elisha. Jesus announces the fulfillment of a task the anointed prophet performed in days of old. There is pattern and continuity. But there is also escalation. Within Luke's Isaiah 61 citation is an allusion to Isaiah 58:6, a text which pointed to the failure of the nation to bring justice. In contrast Jesus does bring justice. In fact, Jesus not only proclaims salvation; he brings it.

Now in Luke's view what is fulfilled here is not just a prophetic task, but also a regal, messianic one. The "anointing" to which Luke 4:18 alludes, must in the narrative development of Luke, refer to the anointing of Jesus by God with the Spirit at his baptism (Luke 3:22). At the baptism, the emphasis was on a Messianic-Servant role, a special covenant relationship to God. Now in Luke 4 it may appear that the allusion itself, considered as an independent pericope in the isolation of the synagogue scene, is only to a prophetic function. If the original remark was only a prophetic point, it must be to a unique eschatological prophetic role, given the eschatological imagery present. But when the remark is placed alongside Jesus' baptism, Luke's emphasis is clearly greater.

In fact, the literary evidence for a messianic focus is even stronger, when one notes that the genealogy of Luke ends with Jesus as "Son of God" and that the debate of the temptations, the previous event, is about Jesus as "Son." Luke 4 keeps the focus on the fundamental regal category of Messiah, while bringing in additional imagery, which associates Jesus' work with the office of prophet and eschatological prophet. Jesus is many things in one package.

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[7] For the history of interpretation for this text in Judaism, see Snodgrass, "Streams of Tradition Emerging from Isaiah 40:1-5 and Their Adaptation in the New Testament," *JSNT* 8 (1980):24-45.

[8] For details and a defence of the postion taken here, see Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*, pp. 99-105.

[9] In fact, it may be that a third allusion is encased in this remark. Isaiah 41:8 places the ideas of servant, love, and God's appointment side by side in a describing the nation's special relationship to God. Parallels would again be the point of contact here. For this connection is the fact that the parallel announcement to the baptismal voice at the transfiguration in Luke 9:35 uniquely speaks of Jesus as the chosen.

Luke 7:22, 27 represent a return to the emphasis on the presence of the eschaton, but again the messianic function of Jesus is not absent. The remarks in Luke 7 come in response to a question about whether Jesus is "the one who comes." This alludes back to the remarks of John the Baptist in Luke 3:15-17, where the Baptist speaks of "one who comes" who brings the Spirit, a new covenant allusion. In comparison to this coming figure John, as God's appointed messenger, is not worthy to do the slave's work of tying a master's sandal. The reader of Luke's gospel is well aware of who John is asking about in Luke 7 when the Baptist raises the question about the "one who comes."

Jesus does not answer the question directly, rather Jesus describes what he is doing in OT terms. Luke 7:22 appeals to numerous texts which describe events of the period of salvation, events which Jesus performs (Isaiah 35:5-7; 29:18-19; 61:1). Jesus' answer is his minstry speaks for itself. If one knows the OT, one knows what time he brings, and thus who he is. Luke 7:27 appeals directly to Malachi to describe John's role. In this pericope, John is viewed from the perspective of the old era, as Luke 7:28 makes clear. He is the greatest man born of woman, but he is less than anyone who is in the kingdom. The presupposition behind the remark is that the kingdom comes with Jesus and belongs to those who associate with him. Again there is the working out of promise, but there also is the escalation which comes with the presence of a new era. The OT is the ground for describing how Jesus functions and is the launching point for describing the surpassing greatness of the new era. The OT texts, though eschatological in origin, when combined with the remark about John the Baptist have a christological point. Jesus is the one who comes. Jesus brings the kingdom. So, Jesus must be the king. The fundamental messianic category is still present, even in these fundamentally eschatological remarks.

Luke 9:35 represents essentially a repetition of Luke 3:22, but with three important differences. First is the narrative context of the remark. The voice from heaven represents an essential endorsement of Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ in Luke 9:20, a confession which itself contrasts with the popular view that Jesus is merely a prophet (Luke 7:16; 9:7-8, 18-19). Second, within the declaration is a change from the earlier endorsement at the baptism. Jesus is now the "chosen" one. Design is stressed here, and the baptismal phrase, "the one in whom I am pleased" is explained by the change. Third, there is an additional reference within the heavenly remarks. The disciples are to "listen to him." This is an allusion to Deut. 18 with its promise of a prophet like Moses. Here again the two eras are connected and yet are contrasted. The disciples have much to learn. The new era, though promised, is not entirely like the old. A new revelator is necessary to make the difference clear. The categories of Messiah and prophet combine here, but this is not just any prophet. The inadequacy of the popular view of Jesus makes it clear that Jesus' prophetic function is unique. The prophet in view here is the messenger of eschaton, not like the Baptist, who merely announced its approach. The prophet like Moses announces the foundations of the new era and functions much like a ruler of the new people, as Moses did for the nation. Acts 3:14-26 will elaborate on this imagery.

Luke 13:35 is part of a larger complex of texts where Jesus speaks as a prophet and is presented as a regal figure. Jesus' lament over Jerusalem speaks of God's constant desire to gather the nation under her wing. This first person language represents Jesus revealing the desire of God to protect the nation. The first person remarks are reminiscent of prophetic declarations, where the prophet brings God's message

directly.[10] Then follows a declaration of an exilic-like covenant judgment on the nation. Israel's house is desolate. This language recalls Jer. 12:7 and 22:5.[11] Here is judgment for a nation which has failed to act properly (Jer. 22:5-6). In Luke 13, the failure is to respond to the "one who comes in the name of the Lord" (Ps. 117:26 LXX = 118:26 Eng.). Jesus says that their house is desolate until they recognize this one. Now it is not entirely clear in just the Luke 13 context itself, what office the "one who comes" possesses. In the Lucan literary flow, however, it is clear that the reference recalls the description of John the Baptist in Luke 3:15-17, the Baptist's question of Luke 7:20, and it also anticipates the reuse of the Psalm in Luke 19:38. The phrase in Luke has clear regal, messianic overtones. In fact, in the OT the Psalm itself looked to the priests' welcome of an entourage of pilgrims into the worship at the temple. This entourage was led in all likelihood by the king. So the passage from the Psalm simply represents an acknowledgement that the people coming to God's house are acceptable to him. Jesus says until the nation recognizes the same truth about him and accepts him as "sent by God" for their deliverance and protection, no protection exists for the nation. Again, the image is regal and messianic, though it is not as explicit as the next use of the OT. Psalm 118, though a text which has some regal implications, is largely a descriptive text in its usage here. It is clearly not as prophetic a usage as the next use of Psalm 118 is.

In Luke 19:35-38, Jesus enters Jerusalem. He rides a donkey, an act which recalls Zechariah 9:9, though Luke's appeal to this text is less explicit than Matthew in that Luke does not note the text directly. Luke's allusion is grounded in the combination ἐπιβίβαζω ("to set") and πῶλον ("on a donkey") in Luke 9:35. In fact, only Luke uses a direct reference to the colt at this point in his story, thus strengthening the allusion. This is regal imagery, since the Zechariah text pictures a delivering king. In Luke 19:38 comes the reuse of Psalm 117 LXX. Only here there is one important addition, which serves as an explanation. Now the declaration is, "Blessed is 'the King' who comes in the name of the Lord." The regal emphasis is direct and explicit. This text is not the fulfillment of Luke 13:35, as some have claimed. It is the disciples who make this declaration in Luke, not the people as a whole. In fact, the challenge of the Pharisees in the next pericope shows that a national acceptance is not the point. Jesus is again a regal figure sent by God. The praise is for miracles, which Jesus performed (v. 37), the last of which in Luke was the healing of the blind beggar, who cried out to Jesus as the "Son of David" (Luke 18:38, 40).

One other use of Psalm 118 remains in Luke's Gospel. It comes at the end of the parable of the wicked tenants in Luke 20:17. Here the historical indictment is set forth against the nation. Just as the nation had rejected many messengers before, so now she rejects "the only son." Again continuity is present, the theme of the constant rejection of God's messengers picks up the deuteronomistic note of the nation's unfaithfulness, which is so much a part of the OT historical books. There is continuity with the events of old. But the use of the Psalm has an irony to it. The rejected

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[10] On the image of God as a bird: Deut. 32:11; Ruth 2:11; Isa. 31:5; Ps. 17:8; 36:8 (v. 7 Eng.); 57:2 (v. 1, Eng); 61:5 (v. 4, Eng.); 91:4; 2 Baruch 41:3-4; 4 Ezra 1:30. On God speaking in the first person through the prophet: Amos 8:11-14; 9:7-15; Micah 5:10-15; 7:15. Often these texts are introduced with the statement that "the Lord declares" what is said, but the introduction is not always present.

[11] The imagery also appears in Ps. 69:26; Ezk. 8:6; 11:23.

king of the Psalm was a figure rejected by the nations which surrounded Israel. In Jesus' time, the enemy comes from within. Nonetheless, the principle of the Psalm remains. Though the chosen king is rejected by people, he is exalted by God. This is the pattern of God's activity. The reference to the "only son," who is heir, is a regal image, since the vineyard itself pictures the blessing associated with the promise of the kingdom. In fact, the image of the stone which crushes points to the regal authority which this "son" possesses to issue judgment. Its imagery represents a conceptual fusion of Isaiah 8:14 and Daniel 2:34 44 LXX. The parable itself is a warning about such a judgment. It is a regal Jesus who enters Jerusalem and teaches there. The point about his authority is one which Luke will develop in the transition from Luke to Acts.

The fundamental category of Lucan OT christology is a regal one. Sometimes it is suggested that Luke's christology is rather patchwork in character, but this is not the case with his presentation through the OT. Luke has kept the fundamental portrait of Jesus as the regal, Davidic hope in the forefront of almost every text. Other functions also are tied to him. The image of servant and of prophet also appear in spots, but Messiah dominates. No wonder when Luke summarizes his presentation in Luke 24:26, 43-47 that he speaks of what the OT predicts of "the Christ." What Jesus does is portrayed in a variety of texts from the OT. There is continuity in what God promised, much of what the nation hoped for, and what Jesus does. If there is patchwork in Luke's portrait, it comes from the wide variety of texts he draws as he presents the account of Jesus. Eschatological texts, dynastic texts, praise passages, and prophetic declaration are all used to show how Jesus brings the time of salvation and performs the acts of deliverance. Important to this discussion are texts which Luke alone presents or which he presents in fresh ways. These include Luke 4:16-18; 9:35; 13:35; and 19:38. These texts in one way or another strengthen the regal portrait of Jesus. They continue the refrain made in the unique overture of Luke 1-2. Yet as Jesus enters Jerusalem, the portrait will change. Luke's picture of Jesus expands in the midst of the drama which sends Jesus to his death. As events pull Jesus down to his death, Luke raises him higher. This is not just any death, as events after the death make clear.

One other point needs mention. In general Luke in citing these texts does not use the "this was done so it might be fulfilled" introductory formula, nor does he use "thus it stands written" to point to these texts. He simply lays the text out by the event, much as a title is placed under a master painting. He lets the event speak for itself and declare its fulfillment. Even in Luke 4, where such a point is made, it comes from within the event. Divine design as reflected from the OT is seen *in* the events themselves. This heightens the prophetic emphasis, since it is not the narrator, but the narrative itself which points to fulfillment.

The Climactic, Comprehensive Christological Category: Lord

The movement from Luke to Acts is especially important. OT texts cluster in these chapters. They begin the movement to what for Luke are definitive descriptions of Jesus. Naturally there is interplay between Jesus' death and his exaltation. For Luke, the emphasis is always on what these events show Jesus to be; rather than on what his death accomplished.

Luke 20:41-44 introduces the use of Psalm 110. This text is part of a triad of references to the Psalm in Luke-Acts, which are at the heart of Luke's christological development. Luke 22:69 and Acts 2:30-36 are the other uses. In Luke 20, Jesus is wrapping up a series of controversy accounts with a messianological question of his own, a question which is not answered here, but which is answered later. The dilemma is this. Why should the great king David call his promised Messiah, "Lord," if the definitive title for Messiah is "Son of David?" The question is a riddle of sorts. It is not an attempt to say that "Son of David" is wrong, but to say that this is an less than comprehensive description of this figure. In fact, the question as Jesus raises it is simply a messianological inquiry. Jesus makes no attempt here to identify himself with this figure, though the reader is aware of the implication, given the Lucan description to this point. Luke is simply noting that Psalm 110 raises an interesting note about the respect David had for this promised one. Now other imagery from Psalm 110 is totally ignored here. The right hand image, which will be so important later, is not noted. Only the introduction of the title "Lord" is the point. This title was introduced in Luke 2:11. It also has appeared in the narrative in spots as a title of address for Jesus, usually as a common title of respect. More important are narratives uses of title "the Lord," which are unique to the synoptics. These Lucan descriptions of Jesus appear as Luke narrates certain events (7:13; 10:1, 39, 41; 11:39; 12:42a; 13:15; 17:5-6; 18:6; 19:8). Luke is saying, the key title for Messiah is "Lord," though he has yet to fill in its content.

Luke 21:27 is an important text, because it contributes to the image of authority which Jesus bears. Here is the only Lucan use of the title "Son of Man," which ties the title to its use in a specific OT text. The text is Daniel 7:13. The image of the Son of Man on the cloud depicts the authority of this appointed figure as he returns to judge men. The cloud image is important. In the OT, only God rides the clouds (Exodus 34:5; 14:20; Numbers 10:34; Isaiah 19:1; Psalm 104:3). The image is of a figure of suprahuman majesty and state. Here Jesus bears the presence and authority of the heavens. The nature of Messiah is clarified in this association with the Son of Man. In fact, the title will be reused in the key text of Luke 22:69 to describe authority. The picture of "Lord" is being filled out.

But before the return comes death. A brief remark in Luke 22:37 is the only use of Isaiah 53 in the Gospel. Here a simple point of divine design is made. Jesus will be reckoned among the transgressors. He will die as a criminal. It must be so. The picture of Jesus as the innocent martyr appears here, and it will dominate the Lucan portrait of Jesus' death on the cross.

Luke 22:69 is a crucial text. Here Jesus is on trial and yet he issues a warning about who the real judge is. When asked if he is the Christ, Jesus responds speaking about the "Son of Man." Jesus says, "From now on" his accusers will see "the Son of Man seated at the right hand of the power of God." It is hard to overestimate the importance of this text for Luke. It is the remark which condemns Jesus. It also capsulizes the issue of his identity. Jesus claims to be able to go directly into God's presence, to sit at His side, and thus exercise God's power. Jesus is telling his accusers that God accepts him and that from now on he will be the one who represents God and shares His presence. The reply combines the Son of Man title and its emphasis on authority with an allusion to Psalm 110.

The figure of the "right hand" is a figure for rule (Exodus 11:15; 12:29—of Pharaoh; 1 Kings 1:17; 3:6; 8:25; 1 Chronicles 17:16). The figure of the hand also

is used of God's power (Joshua 4:24; 1 Chron. 12:23LXX; Wisdom 7:25; 2 Macc. 3:24, 38; 9:8; 1QM 1:11, 14; 4:4, 12; 6:2, 6; 10:5). The idea of going into God's presence and sitting at his side was offensive to Jews. An incident recorded in the Talmud, Sanhedrin 38b shows a second century dispute between Rabbi Akiba and others, where Akiba is rebuked for suggesting that the great king David could have such a session with God. Akiba is warned not to profane the Shekinah. The warning makes it clear that he risks being guilty of blasphemy.[12] Jesus' claim is one of sharing authority with God, being His confidant and mediator. Here is the essence of Jesus' Lordship function for Luke, as Acts 2 will make even clearer. For Luke, Jesus' role is described in the OT. It is often asked why Luke does not have any texts when he speaks of the OT fulfillment in Luke 24:26-27, 43-47. The answer is simple. The texts are presented throughout his two volumes as Luke builds his portrait of Jesus from "the earth up." Luke has used the Old Testament to present the promise of Jesus. The promise is laid next to events, so the reader can see that what happened, was also described in the OT. Luke works from categories which his readers can relate to first: categories like Messiah, prophet, servant. Then he expands the limits of what those categories mean as he presents Jesus as Lord, the one who bears authority as the Son of Man. The answer to another christological dilemma may be found in Luke's approach. The reason the title Son of Man disappears and is not used by the church is that it came to be regarded as equivalent to the title "Lord."

For completeness, we must touch on the allusions to various Psalms in Luke 23. As Jesus dies various images are used to show him as the innocent, faithful, righteous one who dies unjustly at the hands of those who ignore God's ways. Most of these allusions come from lament psalms (Ps. 22:8-9 in Luke 23:35; Ps. 22:19 in Luke 23:34; Ps. 69:22 in Luke 23:36; and Ps. 31:5 in Luke 23:46). His death was unjust, but it fit the pattern of rejection which the righteous face.

The Lucan Psalm 110 triad is completed in Acts 2:14-40. Here eschatological texts like Joel 2 are placed alongside texts of hope like Psalm 16 and dynastic texts like Psalm 110 to explain the death and resurrection of Jesus. The argument of the speech is complex and a detailed treatment here is beyond the scope of a synthesis.[13] The essential linkage is this. God promised the coming of the Spirit and now in the "last days" this has come (Joel 2). God promised David that his seed would sit on his throne and not be left to decay in Sheol (Psalm 16:8-10 and 132:11). The resurrection fulfills the promise of an immediate, bodily resurrection. The resurrection means that Jesus is exalted to God's right hand and distributes the Spirit which God promised would come. The one promised to David has come. The presence of the Spirit is evidence of Jesus' position of authority at the right hand of God. Psalm 110 describes this "co-regency" rule of Jesus. In fact, Joel calls upon people to call upon the Lord. Psalm 110 makes it clear that Jesus is both Lord and Messiah. One who is baptized now is baptized in the name of Jesus. In short, to call upon the Lord is to call upon Jesus, who distributes the blessing of the Spirit. This is the essential

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[12] Catchpole, "You have Heard His Blasphemy," *Tyndale Bulletin* 16 (1965):10-18. Neugebauer, "Die Davidssohnfrage (Mark XII.35-37 Parr.) und der Menschensohn," *NTS* 21 (1974-75): 107, n. 1.

[13] The details can be found in Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*, pp. 156-187.

argument of Acts 2, which as the inaugural post-resurrection speech has a central importance in Luke-Acts.

The key to the speech is that it presents the imagery of fulfillment for both Davidic and new covenant promise. The linkage occurs through Joel 2, the allusion to Psalm 132, and the use of Psalm 110. The key title is not just that Jesus is Messiah, but that he is Lord (Note how "Lord" is in the emphatic position in Acts 2:36). Religious rites are performed, not in the name of Yahweh, but the name of Jesus. In Acts 2 all the limits on christology are broken as Jesus' function is totally equated with that of God. Jesus has become the authoritative mediator of divine blessing. Jesus is "Lord," and for Luke this is the central christological truth and function. Again Luke says to understand Jesus, just look to the OT and its promise. What Jesus does is described there. He parallels the functions of the time of salvation and represents the hoped for figure of salvation. He breaks the limits of earth and performs his tasks from heaven, from the right hand of God. Jesus' death was not a roadblock to hope, but it was the door through which exaltation and hope could be realized. The death was not the end of the road; it was the road to heaven. With the completion of this Psalm 110 triad, Luke's christological portrait has reached its height. Subsequent references only fill out the basic picture.

Acts 3 is a defense from the Torah of Jesus as the eschatological prophet like Moses. He brings covenant blessing or cursing, depending on the response. The comparison to Moses is not absent of regal overtones, since Jesus is a revelator and an authority bearing leader around whom a new community is present. Acts 4:11 has two uses of the Psalms. Psalm 118 returns in the image of the rejected stone who is exalted and bears authority, while the prayer of the community in Acts 4:25-26 appeals to Psalm 2 to show how everyone has opposed God's "Messiah." An allusion to Psalm 110 exaltation and to Deut. 21 with its curse for one who hangs on a tree appears in Acts 5:31. Acts 8 discusses whether Isaiah 53:7-8 describes the prophet or another. Philip presents Jesus from this text.

The next key text comes in Acts 10, because it is a clue as to how Lordship relates to mission. Here Peter speaks to a Gentile audience. There are no OT citations, only allusions, as is the case also with the other speech to pure Gentiles in Acts 17.[14] But the theme is clear. Jesus is "Lord of all" (Acts 10:36). This remark, though syntactically parenthetical, introduces the theme of the speech. Everything Peter describes in the following verses describes Jesus' lordship authority. He has authority over demons (v. 38). He is judge of the living and the dead (v. 42). The theme of prophetic hope is appealed to as the speech closes. To him all the prophets bear witness that everyone who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through His name (v. 43). Salvific authority resides in Jesus. In short, Jesus is Lord of all, so the gospel can go to all. "Everyone who believes" can receive forgiveness. Here christology and mission merge. Luke is transitioning. The OT describes who Jesus is, now it will help to explain how mission will proceed.

One other purely christological speech exists in Acts. It comes in Acts 13. Here Paul presents Jesus as the promised Davidic Messiah. Luke returns to his basic category. But Luke can also portray Jesus' authority in the speech. The Son (Ps. 2:7) has been given the "holy things of David" (Isa. 55:3 LXX) and has been raised as promised (Ps. 16). The Pauline refrain for response is little different from Peter's

[14] The allusions here are to Isaiah 61:1 in Acts 10:38 and to Deut. 21:22-23 in Acts 10:39. Both of these texts have already been developed in Luke.

announcement except for one Jewish touch: forgiveness of sins comes through this man and liberation from that which the Law could not do is available for the one who believes. The text closes with a warning not to reject the message (Habakkuk 1:5 LXX).

This is the last explicitly christological OT text in Luke-Acts. Three quarters the way through the two volumes, these citations stop, never to be resumed. The christological portrait is complete. What the OT described (and therefore promised) has taken place. Jesus is the Messiah, the servant, the prophet, and the prophet like Moses. But beyone all of this he is Son of Man, which means he is Lord. There is continuity between Jesus' life and OT hope. What was promised has come. This is the point of Luke's use of the OT. It is proclamation, not proof. The proclamation comes as events speak for themselves, when placed beside OT texts. The proclamation comes through prophecy and pattern.[15] God is at work in Jesus. For Luke looking at the OT and looking at the events will show it is so.

But why does christology stop? How is the OT used from here on in Acts? It is to this final question that we now turn, since almost all of the explicit OT citations in Acts from this point on either treat Gentile mission or Jewish rejection.[16] Is there a relationship between christology and mission, which helps not only to explain this shift of focus, but Luke's task as well?

Gentile Mission and Israelite Rejection

As attention is turned to a new set of themes, it would be well to review their narrative development to this point in Acts 13. Luke treats the concept of Gentile inclusion in a variety of texts, some of which have already been noted. Luke 2:32 begins to raise this note with its use of imagery from Isaiah that Jesus the Messiah will be light for revelation to the Gentiles. The use of Isaiah for missionary hope is significant to Luke, as will become clear. Isaiah 40 is the base for the remark that all flesh will see the salvation of God (Luke 3:6). In Luke 7:9, it is the faith of a foreigner, a centurion, which is cited as exemplary by Jesus. Luke 13:29 and 14:23 contain allusions in the midst of parables to Gentile inclusion. In Luke 13 people will come from north, south, east, and west to be in the kingdom, while those who expected to be included are excluded. In Luke 14 a double set of invitations is issued so the banquet table will be full. The second invitation goes outside the city. Luke alone has this double invitation for this parable. An allusion to Gentile inclusion is likely here.[17] Luke 20:16 also includes a parabolic reference, when Jesus notes that the vineyard, which now is in the hands of wicked tenants, will go to others after

[15] Here is where we would slightly alter the emphasis made famous by Paul Schubert. Luke's use of the OT for christology is not proof from prophecy. It is not mere apologetic. It is setting forth Jesus in proclamation. The use of the OT is not dominated by texts which are merely read as prophetic. Rather a variety of texts are appealed to and the appeal comes both through prophecy and the reappearance of patterns of God's activity. In short, Luke use of the OT for christology should be described as "proclamation from prophecy and pattern."

[16] The only exception is found in Acts 23:5, where Paul notes that he should show respect for the high priest (Exodus 22:7).

[17] Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, p. 130, even suggests an allusion to the message of Isaiah 49:6 here, but this is less than clear.

they slay the only son. In Acts, the mission to the Samaritans (Acts 8) and to Cornelius (Acts 10) open up this expectation into reality. The first missionary journey, which is where the Acts 13 speech comes, is Luke's initial description of an active mission into such regions.

The theme of Israelite rejection also comes into play in the Gospel. In fact, one could argue that one of the major burdens of the unique Jerusalem journey section, especially Luke 9-13, is to show that the way of official Judaism is not the way to God. These chapters are built on a series of contrasts between how Jesus approaches God and how the leadership does. Implied in all of this is that this leadership fails to provide guidance in how to find God.

But more explicit texts also underscore this point. A hint of trouble came in the infancy material when Mary is told that Jesus' ministry will bring her pain, an allusion to the division Jesus will bring. The first clear warning comes from John the Baptist, when he warns his audience not to rely on their Abrahamic roots (Luke 3:7-9). Luke 4:25-27 warns of the nation experiencing another period like that of Elijah and Elisha, when Gentiles were blessed and the nation starved. A stinging rebuke comes in Luke 11:37-52, where Pharisees and lawyers come into criticism for their hypocrisy. Rather than having the key to heaven these leaders function like open graves for the people. These remarks are hardly an endorsement that Israel is secure. Another recognition that Jesus brings division comes in the pericope about divided families in Luke 12:49-53.

With Luke 13, things get explicit. Luke 13:6-9 contains a parable in which the uprooting of the fruitless fig tree is graciously postponed. The passage stresses that the nation's time to respond is short. Luke 13:34-35 has the first prophetic like declaration that Israel's house is desolate. She is guilty of covenant unfaithfulness and is headed for judgment. Luke 19:41-44 gets even more specific, as the fall of Jerusalem is described in detail. Covenant unfaithfulness has led to judgment which parallels the old siege of the capital by the Babylonians. Again, parallelism with the days of old becomes the basis for how God will act in the present (Psalm 137:9; Nahum 3:10; Jeremiah 6:6-21; 8:13-22; Isaiah 3:26; 29:1-4; Ezekiel 4:1-2). Luke 20:16 was mentioned above. The nation is losing the vineyard. Finally on the way to the cross, Jesus tells the "women of Jerusalem" not to weep for him (Luke 23:28-31). He then cites Hosea 10:8. The image is of approaching judgment, which is so great, the people will cry for relief.

The theme of potential rejection appears in Acts in the form of warnings in the speeches of Acts. Acts 2:40 and 3:23 warn the people of impending judgment. Acts 2, with its use of Joel, invokes imagery of cosmic signs to suggest the approach of the Day of the Lord, while Acts 3 uses Lev. 23:39 to warn of the dire consequences of covenant unfaithfulness. So both the concept of mission and of Israelite rejection form subthemes in Luke-Acts up to Luke 13.

The last half of Acts is consumed by the fate of Paul in mission. But there are very few missionary speeches of Paul in these chapters. Most of his speeches are speeches of defense. Acts 13 represents the only detailed speech made to a Jewish audience by Paul. After presenting Jesus as the promised Davidic hope, this speech closes with a warning to his audience. It is first of four remaining OT texts, which treat either the consequences of rejection or mission.

The citation is from Habakkuk 1:5 LXX. The LXX version is an expanded citation of the MT, which develops the OT context. The reference to scoffers and to "perishing" (so *RSV*) are not in the MT, but the tone of rebuke and warning is the

same in both versions. The remarks in the OT constitute a divine rebuke to Habakkuk for questioning God's justice in the exercise of exilic judgment. Paul again creates a parallel. He appeals to a pattern. Do not scoff, and risk perishing, as those of Habakkuk's generation did. God is at work, and do not deny that He is present. The parallel is particularly appropriate, since Habakkuk's charge was that God was absent and unconcerned. The prophet claimed that God was not involved in the events of Israel. The Jewish charge in Paul's time was similar. God was not present in the activities surrounding Jesus. Paul warns his audience not to make the mistake of those who experienced exile. Paul says in effect, "Do not be among those who do not believe." There is a pattern to God's actions, and unbelief in God's new acts will meet with God's rejection. The divine reply in Habakkuk has conceptual parallels in Isaiah 28:21-22 and 29:14. The warning is similar to Peter's warning using Lev. 23:29 in Acts 3:23. Of course, God's acts, which are to be believed, are those tied to the coming of Jesus, which Paul has outlined in Acts 13:16-39.

The "necessity" of Paul's mission is developed even later in the chapter. Two sabbaths later, Paul is challenged by the Jews and so he declares the necessity of going to the nation first and then to the Gentiles. The basis of his view of mission is the command of the Lord cited in Acts 13:47. Here Paul cites Isaiah 49:6. Paul and Barnabas are "light for the Gentiles," that they might "bring salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth." Now the interesting thing about the citation is that it is an application of Isaianic servant imagery, not to Jesus, but to his followers. Also interesting is the introductory formula. Here Paul speaks of the Lord giving this command. Now this appears to be an allusion back to the Lord's report to Ananias about Paul's mission to the Gentiles in Acts 9:15. Acts 22:15 also suggests as much, as does especially Acts 26:17-18. Acts 26 even uses the image of light to make the point. Thus the commission is both a command from God (as seen in the OT allusion) and from the Lord Jesus, who is the source of the commission. The mission is directed from heaven and is subject to the commission of the Lord Jesus. Here christology and mission come together as they did in Peter's speech in Acts 10. Yet the link of continuity to the OT is also still present. Paul takes up the task of the Servant. His task is like the messenger of old. There is design, direction, and pattern in Paul's activity. There is unity between what God spoke in days of old and what the Lord Jesus commands his disciples now. What Jesus was (Luke 2:32), his disciples now become.

The next citation comes in Acts 15:16-17. This is the citation of Amos 9:11 LXX. Now it is clear that christology and mission come together here. The rebuilt Davidic house is the ground upon which the rest of men may seek God. Gentiles who are called by God's name may come. Acts 15:11 describes the offer of salvation as coming through the grace of the Lord Jesus in Peter's remarks, to which James adds assent with his citation of Amos. James regards this text as fulfilled in the current activity of the church. His introductory formula is also important, since he says "the words of the prophets agree" with Peter's remarks and the testimony of Paul and Barnabas. The plural suggests that James is citing but one text of several he might note. He also is portrayed as citing a particularly hellenistic version of the passage, possibly to show good will, as well as to make use of a particularly explicit text, where christology and mission are placed in one locale. The rebuilding of the house of David recalls remarks in Acts 2:28-36 and Luke 1:32-33. So yet again christology is the ground for mission and the use of the OT link the two together.

The final passage comes in Acts 28:26-27. In between Paul has made one key summary description of his mission in Acts 20:21. In Acts 20 Paul says to the Ephesian elders that his call was to testify to "both Jews and Greeks of repentance to God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." Acts 20:24 says he received this ministry from the Lord Jesus. Paul preaches the kingdom (v. 25). This commitment brings him to Rome, after a long and dangerous journey.[18] As many have noted, Paul's journey to Rome is like Jesus' to Jerusalem. But there is one difference. Jesus goes to Jerusalem to die. Paul goes to Rome to preach.

Here Paul again shares with the Jews and again defines his mission in terms of Isaiah, when he meets with rejection. Paul places the remarks of Isaiah in their historical frame when he says that the "Holy Spirit was right to say to your fathers." Then Paul cites Isaiah 6:9-10. Here is the pattern appearing one last time. Paul knew what had happened long ago and what was happening now. What happens to the church today happened to God's great messengers of old. There is continuity and design in God's plan. The passage itself is part of Isaiah's commission and warned the ancient prophet that the people would not hear his message. Paul is saying that a similar thing happens when he preaches the gospel. So Paul says the message goes to Gentiles. They, he says, will listen. The passage, and indeed, the book conclude with Paul preaching the kingdom of God and the Lord Jesus Christ openly. Mission and christology close the book. Appropriately enough, the two key titles for Jesus appear at the end. Christ, the foundational title, and Lord, the climactic title, summarize well who Jesus is as he brings in the kingdom (Acts 28:31).

Summary

It is our contention that promise as expressed in pattern and prophecy explain how the Old Testament is used in Luke-Acts. Pattern points to design and allows Luke to make associations between what happened to the messengers of old and what happened to Jesus and the church. Behind the promise and the pattern is the God who is the same, yesterday, today, and forever. The OT is designed to show continuity and the presence of fulfillment. In addition the two major themes of OT fulfillment are christology and mission. OT christology is presented from "the earth up" as the portrait moves from Jesus as Messiah to Lord. Other portraits also have a significant role. Jesus is like the Servant, like the prophet, and like the prophet like Moses. In his Lordship, Jesus bears the authority of the Son of Man. A variety of texts are appealed to and brought together to paint this portrait. Dynastic, eschatological and prophetic descriptions unite in Jesus.

However, christology is not unrelated to mission. Jesus is Lord of all, so the message can go to all (Acts 10:36-43). Mission has two expected elements: Gentile inclusion and Israelite hardening and rejection. This too parallels the days of old and was anticipated in God's previous activity and promise. In the realities of the

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[18] A major function of the sea journey in Acts 27 in our judgment is to show how Rome is one the "uttermost parts of the earth." The journey also shows divine protection. Though in the ancient world Rome was the center of activity, in the narrative world of Luke-Acts, it is on the fringe, since the center of the world for Luke-Acts is Jerusalem.

nation's exile and her past treatment of the prophets lies the prediction of how the nation responds to God's messengers. In the hope of salvation as described by the ministry of Isaiah and the picture of the servant comes not only the reality of Israelite hardening, but also of Gentile inclusion. Davidic salvation was to encompass the world. The rule of the returning Davidite would know no national boundary. In the rebuilding of the dynastic line, the kingdom would extend to the uttermost parts of the earth.

Here is Luke's use of the OT for christology and mission. It is a theodicy and more. It is a declaration and proclamation of hope and comfort to those who will hear. We disagree with those who would challenge either the presence of promise or the importance the OT plays as the supposition for mission in Luke-Acts. But can one fix a setting for this emphasis?

The conclusion one draws from this vast array of textual data is that Luke was defending salvation in Jesus, particularly as it is extended to the Gentiles. This is not to be seen as a defense of Pauline mission per se, but of what his mission represents, the activity of God on behalf of all men. Luke is saying that the way to God is not found in Israel, but in the church which offers the gospel to all. In fact, Israel is headed (or has experienced) judgment for her lack of piety and her rejection of Jesus.[19] This Israelite concern is a major burden of Luke 9-19, along with detailing how the new community should live before men. The attention paid to Paul in Acts only makes sense in the light of a concern to justify Gentile mission. The same can be said for the role Peter has in taking the gospel to Cornelius. The present author sees Theophilus as a Gentile who either is considering, or more likely has responded to the Christian faith. But he now, and many others like him, need reassurance that he belongs in this movement. Simply put, his question might be, "What is a Gentile doing in what was essentially a Jewish movement, especially when Jews around the world are reacting negatively to it?" "Is God really in this work?" "Do I really need to be prepared to suffer for this belief?"

On the other hand, Luke is also dealing with charges that raise such doubts, such as, "God is judging those in this new community for making salvation too broad. The evidence of persecution is evidence of God's rejection." Luke's reply is that God's activity and the testimony of the OT show that Gentiles were always to be included. Christology teaches it as well. In fact, persecution is not a sign of judgment. It reflects the repetition of the patterns of old. The church is like the prophets of old, being rejected by the people to whom they were sent (Luke 6:23, 26). But persecution also paradoxically is the means by which the message is spread to the ends of the earth. As for the claims of the nation, they can be challenged, for the nation stands in judgment. The church did not seek to be separate from the nation, it was forced

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[19] Whether one reads the text or the parenthesis depends on how one dates Luke-Acts. Those who are convinced Luke 19:41-44 evidences knowledge of the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 will see Luke's explanation as applying to a nation which has already fallen. Though possible, this author is not sure so much can be made to rest on these descriptions, which repeat themes form the OT for covenant unfaithfulness. The concern to justify salvation to the Gentiles and present it as God's doing would seem to presuppose an earlier time frame in the sixties, but the case for the use of the OT does not hinge on the dating of the book. The themes remain regardless of when the two volumes were written.

out of the synagogue. The new community of God was forged out of the fires of national rejection, not divine rejection, fitting a pattern of activity that reaches back into the days of old. The church goes to Gentiles, because the promise of the scriptures said it should and because God and Jesus directed that it be so. In short, Jesus is Lord of all, so the gospel can go to all. The way to God comes though the Lord Jesus. Luke proclaims this truth by laying events next to OT texts and letting the reader see that it is so. It is proclamation from prophecy and pattern.

The Uses of Scripture in Acts

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Beverly Gaventa has recently surveyed the various strategies employed by scholars to discern the "theology of Acts, and in the process of assessing those strategies offered a proposal of a method suitable to the task."[1] First, to those who build their construction of Lukan theology upon certain key passages, such as Peter's Pentecost speech in Acts 2, Gaventa replies that the whole story, not individual pieces of it, conveys the author's theological view. Second, Gaventa criticizes a thematic approach to the "theology of Acts," for by locating the theological concerns of the author in particular themes, this line of reflection fails to take seriously the complexity of Luke's story. Third, Gaventa rejects the method that arrives at the "theology of Acts" on the basis of a differentiation between tradition and redaction, for, she claims, we cannot delineate with any confidence the sources that Luke has adapted in his second volume. Finally, on the assumption that Luke has composed the speeches in Acts, some have regarded these speeches as the best source for Luke's theological views expressed in Acts. Gaventa rightly criticizes this approach for its failure to reckon with the character of Acts as narrative. Indeed, for Gaventa, the recognition that Acts is narrative is crucial to the task of probing its "theology." One must read and re-read (I might add, hear and hear again) the entire narrative, discerning the shape of its plot and the dynamic patterns which give it definition, in order to examine the theology of its author.[2] Of course, the question remains, what kind of narrative?—a reminder of the importance of last year's discussion of literary genre for the theological study of Acts.

Now, I am in complete agreement with Gaventa that theological interpretation of Acts must respect, and be guided by, its character as a particular kind of early Christian narrative.[3] Nevertheless, I wish to reconsider the value of redaction

[1] In her article, "Toward a Theology of Acts: Reading and Rereading," *Int* 42 (1988) 146-57. I take up the points Gaventa has treated in an order somewhat different from hers in the article.

[2] Gaventa notes that, properly speaking, the approach she advocates takes aim at the theology of the "implied author," but she believes the implied author and the real author are to be identified.

[3] I believe that it *is* legitimate to speak of the theological perspective of the author of this narrative—by way of inference from the implied theology of the implied author. At the same time, I suggest that it may be just as fruitful to understand our task as a theological reading of Acts. That is, an appropriate line of approach to this writing is to ask theological questions of it (questions of interest to us) and, *while*

criticism for theological inquiry into Acts. I do not have in mind Luke's handling of the oral traditions and possible written documents available to him in telling his story of Christian origins. Actually, in my judgment, Gaventa is right: our inability to define the sources Luke might have reworked short-circuits the endeavor from the outset. Yet, in composing Acts Luke clearly did make use of a "source" to which we have access, a source, moreover, whose form and substance is known to us with a precision approximating the case of Luke's use of Mark.[4] The source in question is the Jewish scripture. Luke makes extensive use of scripture in Acts, and it seems to me both legitimate and fruitful to probe the role of scripture in the narrative of Acts as a way of casting light on the theology that informs—or is informed by—this writing. In other words, one dimension of a theological reading of Acts ought to be hearing Luke reading scripture. That is what I seek to do in this study. The question I am interested in raising in this paper, then, is: What are the uses of scripture in Acts?

The first section of the paper will note Luke's use of biblical texts as a literary model in the composition of Acts. The balance of the study examines the role of scripture citations in Acts. We begin by asking whether Luke's biblical quotations reflect an "atomistic exegesis" which ignores the broader contexts of the passages cited, or whether Luke has been guided by those contexts. The primary aim of the paper, though, is to identify the specific functions of biblical quotations within the narrative of Acts, with an eye to the theological concerns that give shape to Luke's story. In this final section of the study I argue that a "christological" function of scripture is foundational in Acts. Scripture disclosed that the Messiah would suffer and be raised from death, and in Jesus these prophecies have been fulfilled. Yet this is only Luke's starting point, the basis for an "ecclesiological" use of scripture which proves to be the overriding interest in Acts. In Jesus, God's Messiah, Israel receives

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respecting its own genre, aims, setting, and narrative shape, probe it for the perspective it affords. See on this matter Robert Morgan, with John Barton, *Biblical Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). It seems to me that the theological perspective expressed in the narrative world of Acts—that is, those convictions about the God of Israel and those commitments to a particular vision of that God's activity in the human world that mattered most to the *author of Acts* in his social world—and the theological convictions and commitments of Luke's *readers* are both integral to theological study of this early Christian writing. I would argue, for example, that our continuing debate over the role of Israel in Luke-Acts exposes the nexus (or collision?!) between theological convictions lying behind the text (Luke's view of Israel, shaped by his own social location) and theological convictions lying in front of the text (the concerns of contemporary readers, shaped by post-Holocaust Jewish-Christian relations).

[4] This is my view of the literary relationship between Mark and Luke, although I am well aware that other hypotheses are presently being pressed quite vigorously. My remark about relative precision does not intend to overlook the complex problems attending the transmission of the text of Jewish scripture, particularly in Greek translation (see, e.g., Earl Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4: The Author's Method of Composition* [SBLDS 41; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978] 34-35). Indeed, Traugott Holtz's study of Luke's use of scripture emphasizes the difficulty of knowing exactly what *Vorlage* Luke drew upon (*Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas* [TU 104; Berlin: Akademie, 1968]). Rather, my point is that a similar imprecision qualifies redactional analysis of Luke vis-à-vis Mark.

the salvation promised in scripture, and that salvation encompasses gentiles as well. That is, Acts appeals to scripture in order to legitimate the gentile mission. Finally, because Jewish listeners repeatedly reject the claim that Israel's scriptures find fulfillment in Jesus, scripture also plays an "apologetic" role in Acts. Those Jews who reject the gospel are seen to continue a pattern of obstinate refusal of God's prophets which has characterized Israel's whole history, as attested in Israel's own scripture.[5]

Scripture as Literary Model in the Composition of Acts

In diverse ways, Thomas L. Brodie, David P. Moessner, and most recently Susan R. Garrett have sought to illumine the role played by the Jewish Bible in the construction of Luke's narrative. According to Brodie, the Elijah-Elisha cycle in 1-2 Kings supplied Luke with his basic model in composing Luke-Acts. In several studies Brodie has argued that Luke employed the rhetorical strategy of *imitatio*, emulating various portions of the Elijah-Elisha narrative.[6] Brodie typically concludes that a specific biblical passage provided Luke with a literary framework or skeleton on which he built up (a portion of) his narrative. Moessner tackles the problem of the "dissonance of form from content" in the Lukan travel narrative (Luke 9:51-19:44), and offers as his solution the thesis that Luke presents Jesus as the Prophet like Moses who leads the people in a New Exodus.[7] The Deuteronomistic paradigm of the activity of Israel's prophets guides Luke's depiction not only of Jesus in the gospel, but also of Paul in Acts. Like Jesus, Paul is cast in the role of the "Deuteronomistic Prophet like Moses."[8] And Garrett, in developing her thesis that Luke uses the Exodus account typologically to interpret the death and exaltation of Jesus, claims that the "exodus" of Jesus becomes, in turn, a typological model for the account of Peter's imprisonment and rescue in Acts 12:1-24. The story in Acts 12 is also directly influenced, she suggests, by imagery drawn from the Exodus narrative.[9]

The recent work of these scholars makes quite attractive the hypothesis that in composing portions of Acts, Luke has used passages from scripture as a literary model.[10] Mention should also be made in this context of Donald Juel's study of

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[5] Many crucial issues must go untreated in this paper. Among them: problems of textual transmission and determination of the precise scriptural *Vorlage;* uses of scripture in Luke's gospel; locating Luke's use of scripture in the range of biblical interpretations attested in Judaism of the late second temple period.

[6] Most pertinent for the present study are: "Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. Earl Richard; Wilmington: Glazier, forthcoming); "Towards Unraveling the Rhetorical Imitation of Sources in Acts: 2 Kings 5 as One Component of Acts 8,9-40," *Bib* 67 (1986) 41-67; "The Accusing and Stoning of Naboth (1 Kgs 21:8-13) as One Component of the Stephen Text (Acts 6:9-14; 7:58a)," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 417-32.

[7] *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989) e.g., 46-79.

[8] *Banquet,* 297-99.

[9] "Exodus from Bondage: Luke 9:31 and Acts 12:1-24," forthcoming in *CBQ.*

[10] This is quite apart from the even more frequent echoing of LXX diction in the narrative, especially in the speeches of Acts: see Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 74-75, and throughout the commentary.

scriptural exegesis in Acts 2.[11] Juel suggests that Luke has built the speeches in the early portions of Acts around the interpretation of biblical texts.[12] That scripture plays such a constitutive role in the speeches of Acts seems to me beyond dispute. As others have observed, nearly all the scriptural citations in Acts occur in the speeches.[13] And it would indeed be difficult to overstate the role played by biblical texts in the composition of the speeches of Acts 2, 7, 13, and 28.

I want, in a preliminary way, to explore the role played by biblical texts in the shaping of the Acts narrative by considering Luke's use of several texts from the psalter in the early chapters of Acts. We approach the question by asking at the same time another: did Luke customarily quote portions of scripture without regard to their literary contexts, or does his use of the Bible betray some reflection on those larger contexts?

Text and Context

We come, then, to a discussion of one dimension of Luke's exegetical method. Did Luke read the texts he cites in their own literary contexts? In study of early Christian biblical exegesis generally, this has, of course, been a much disputed issue ever since C. H. Dodd's *According to the Scriptures.*[14] Dodd and, later, Barnabas Lindars[15] opposed the view that early Christian writers "mined" the scripture for suitable proof-texts, ignoring the contexts in which they were embedded. Rather, whole passages from the Bible constituted (to use Lindars's metaphor) an "armoury" from which specific quotations could be selected as "appropriate weapons" in addressing particular issues.[16] While this view soon fell into disfavor,[17] the pendulum appears recently to have swung back in Dodd's direction.[18] Has Luke left clues that point beyond the

[11] Juel, "Social Dimensions of Exegesis: The Use of Psalm 16 in Acts 2," *CBQ* 43 (1981) 543-56.

[12] Ibid., 543.

[13] With Acts 8:32-33 being the exception that proves the rule. See, e.g., Martin Rese, "Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte," in *Les Actes des Apotres* (ed. J. Kremer; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979) 69 n. 31; D. Moody Smith, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Use of the Old Testament in The New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring* (ed. J. M. Efird; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972) 49.

[14] Subtitled *The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology* (Digswell Place: James Nisbet, 1952).

[15] *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961).

[16] *Apologetic,* 19.

[17] See, e.g., A. C. Sundberg, "On Testimonies," *NovT* 3 (1959) 268-81; Smith, "Old Testament in the New," 29-30; Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 19-22.

[18] In addition to the publications of Brodie, noted above, I think of the work-in-progress of Joel Marcus (see, e.g., "The Use of the Old Testament in the Markan Passion Narrative," unpublished manuscript) and above all of Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

specific passages he quotes in Acts to their literary contexts?

Certainly one finds ample evidence in Acts that Luke could ignore—or even counter—the sense of a whole passage in order to make use of a portion of it. Perhaps no better illustration is forthcoming than Acts 3:22-23, in which Luke conflates Deut 18:15-16,19 and Lev 23:29 in order to have Moses prophesy the removal from God's people of those who do not heed the Mosaic prophet (Jesus). According to Deut 18:19 LXX, failure to hear the prophet-like-Moses raised up by God would lead to divine retribution (*egō ekdikēsō ex autou*, "I [God] will take vengeance on him"). Yet Luke's citation of this text supplies an entirely different penalty, drawn from legislation concerning the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:29 LXX): ". . . will be rooted out of its people [*exolothreuthēsetai ek tou laou [autēs]*]." Needless to say, Luke pays scant attention to the original context of this law, which applies such a severe penalty to persons who fail to humble themselves (that is, who labor) on the Day of Atonement. We can see that the passage from Deuteronomy 18 gives Luke only half of what he wants at this point in his story, namely, the command to heed the Mosaic prophet (= Jesus). He requires a sharper, more specific sanction, however, one which shows that membership in the people of God is at stake in one's response to Jesus (through his witnesses). For this purpose, Lev 23:29 is ideal, although Luke must resort to what we might regard as atomistic proof-texting in order to use this text.[19]

The story is much the same at Acts 13:41. Here Luke's Paul, at the conclusion of his synagogue speech in Pisidian Antioch, appeals to Habakkuk 1:5 LXX to warn of the grave consequences of disbelieving the Christian message. Now, Paul does not specify what is the "work which [God] will work in your days" in full view of unbelieving scoffers—the accent here falls instead on that persistent unbelief against which Paul is warning his hearers. Yet it seems evident that this "work" is *not* for Luke the same "work" envisaged by Habakkuk, namely, the appearance of the Chaldeans as instruments of destructive judgment (Hab 1:6-11). Habakkuk provides the pattern of unbelief elicited even by divine action (and its announcement). In Acts Paul applies that pattern so as to issue a sharp warning to his Jewish listeners, but the context of the verse in Habakkuk falls from view. In Luke's crafting of this scene, Paul uses scripture to warn against unbelief, so anticipating the negative reaction of Acts 13:45. Refusal of the Christian message by some Jews therefore appears as the continuation of an ancient story of unbelief within Israel. Luke scores that point without attending to the context of the scripture he has cited.

It appears, then, that Luke is quite capable of ignoring contexts when he makes use of biblical texts.[20] This is scarcely surprising; it is what we would expect, given

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[19] Naturally, what a modern scholar perceives as artificial proof-texting would have appeared quite different to Luke's contemporaries. On the creative freedom which characterized biblical exegesis in the 1st century CE, see Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 31-57, and the literature cited there.

[20] As a third example, note Luke's deft handling of the Joel quotation in Acts 2. The verse immediately preceding the cited material (Joel 2:27 LXK) reads: "I am the Lord your God, and there is none but me." Lordship proves to be a central concern in Peter's speech; after the Joel quotation of Acts 2:17-21, the decisive question is, Who is this "Lord" in Joel 3:5, this Lord to call on whose name means salvation? On the basis of Psalm 16, Luke's Peter claims that the resurrection of Jesus establishes *him* as the Lord spoken of in Joel 3:5—a substantial revision of Joel 2:27! So also at the end of the quotation from Joel, Luke stops shy of words which locate salvation

the exegetical conventions of Luke's era. Nevertheless, there is also evidence pointing in the other direction. We consider here two instances: (1) Acts 1:20, which cites Pss 109:8 and 69:25 to authorize the move to replace Judas and so maintain the integrity of the "twelve"; and (2) Acts 4:11 and 4:24-26, which quote Pss 118:22, 146:6, and 2:1-2 to interpret the escalating conflict between the twelve and the "rulers" of the Jewish people at Jerusalem.

The double quotation of Acts 1:20 is introduced by Peter in v. 15: "Brothers, it was necessary that the scripture be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit spoke in advance through the mouth of David concerning Judas, who was guide to those who arrested Jesus . . . ." Scripture points to Judas in two distinct ways. First, Ps 69:25 is taken to prophesy Judas's demise, pictured by the desolation of his "field." Second, Ps 109:8 mandates that the fallen apostle be replaced. Psalm 69 is a prayer for deliverance from enemies who "hate me without cause" and "persecute me unjustly" (69:4). The psalmist (for Luke, David) asks that God send wrath upon his persecutors and then offers this petition: "Let their farm [*epaulis*] become desolate, and let there be none to dwell in their lodgings" (v. 25). Luke evidently linked the unjust persecution of Jesus to that of David before him.[21] In Acts 1, then, David's persecutors (plural) become Jesus' betrayer (singular); the request that their *epaulis* become desolate is now applied to Judas.

A similar exegetical move may be detected in Luke's use of Ps 109:8 in the same verse. Psalm 109 LXX, another prayer for deliverance, speaks of the "mouth of the sinner" and the "mouth of the dishonest person [*doliou*]" set deceitfully against the psalmist. "Instead of loving me, they were falsely accusing [*endieballon*] me, but I continued to pray. And they paid me evil for good, and hatred for my love" (109:4-5). Verses 6-19, cast in the singular,[22] ask God for vengeance against the psalmist's adversaries. Among the petitions is the verse cited by Luke: "Let his days be few, and his position as overseer let another take" (v. 8). Verses 16-20 further characterize this enemy of David, with v. 20 returning to the theme of false accusation against the psalmist. The affinities between the psalm and the passion of Jesus are substantial.

"on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem," and then, at the close of Peter's speech, jumps over this material to Joel 3:5b, which is echoed in Acts 2:39: ". . . whomever the Lord God calls." In other words, Luke has been pragmatic in his use of this text, omitting contextual details that work against the theological program driving his own narrative. I would urge, however, that Luke's use of Joel in Acts 2 does not betray a lack of concern with the broader context of quoted material; rather, this example points to intensive reflection upon that context and careful selection of those portions of the biblical text that serve his theological agenda.

[21] Note, e.g., the echo of Psalm 69:21 in Luke 23:36 (*oxos*). In this essay, I cite texts from the psalter according to the Hebrew Bible numbering, but Luke is clearly dependent on a Greek version conforming closely to our modern critical editions of the LXX. (Hence references will typically take the form, Ps 69:21 LXX [Hebrew numbering/LXX *Vorlage*].)

[22] Ps 109:20 returns to the plural: "This is the work of the Lord against those who falsely accuse me, and those who speak evil against my soul." Apparently the individual adversary of vv. 6-19 is to be taken as representative of the psalmist's enem*ies*. In this instance, the psalm already prepares for the shift from plural to singular in Acts (cf. the same shift in the application of Ps 69:25).

So once again, in Luke's use of this text David's persecutor becomes Jesus' betrayer. It is *Judas's* position that must pass to another, and that is what Luke proceeds to narrate. It seems to me, then, that a strong case can be made that behind Luke's use of both Pss 69:25 and 109:8 in Acts 1:20 lies reflection on the full prayers for deliverance in which the verses are embedded.[23]

We turn now to the series of quotations in Acts 4. Luke's Peter appeals to Ps 118:22 LXX in Acts 4:11 to clinch his argument (v. 10) that God has reversed the rejection of Jesus on the part of the Jewish rulers and elders: ". . . by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you killed but whom God raised from the dead—it is by this name that this man stands before you well." Jesus, killed but raised, is to be identified with the rejected cornerstone of Psalm 118: "This [Jesus] is 'the stone which was despised by you builders, [but] which has become the cornerstone.'" In order to adapt the verse to its new setting in his narrative, Luke quotes freely here,[24] unlike Luke 20:17, where (with Mark 12:10-11 and Matt 21:42) he cites the verse verbatim. Does the psalm as a whole or only the single verse cited figure in the Acts narrative?

Psalm 118 is a hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance, and it turns out that this thanksgiving psalm has important thematic links to the story Luke is telling in Acts 4-5. First, Ps 118:8-9 declares: "It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in a person. It is better to hope in the Lord than to hope in rulers (*archousi*)." Both Acts 4:19 and 5:29 develop much the same antinomy: one must "hear" (4:19) and "obey" God rather than persons, and Peter is making that point to "rulers." Second, the "name of the Lord" figures prominently in both the psalm and Acts 3-4. The psalmist recalls (vv. 10-11): "All the nations encircled me, and in [by?] the name of the Lord I repulsed them. They completely surrounded me, and in [by] the name of the Lord I repulsed them." Later in the hymn of praise we meet the familiar, "Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord"—a blessing sounded out of the house of the Lord (v. 26). Needless to say, the "name" of the Lord (=Jesus) is pivotal in the healing of the lame man and its interpretation by Peter (see 3:6,16; 4:7,10,12,17; cf. v. 30). And, as in Psalm 118, that name is a means of deliverance, of salvation. This leads to a third connection. The climax of Peter's defense speech comes with his claim that access to salvation is bound up with the name of this Jesus, killed but raised (4:12). It is striking, therefore, that we encounter in the psalm, as the ground for the offering of praise to God, this threefold refrain: "[the Lord, or God] has become my salvation." It seems clear, therefore, that Luke's narration of the clash between Peter (with the twelve) and the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem has been inspired, in part, by Psalm 118 as a whole.

But the same must be said of Psalms 146 and 2. The verses cited from these psalms in Acts 4:24-26 interpret the conflict at this juncture in the story. In response to the menacing events that have overtaken them, the community of the apostles pray for

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[23] I would not wish to claim, however, that the account in Acts 1:15-26 is a midrash on these two psalms; their role in the composition of the narrative, while important, is clearly limited.

[24] The major change: Luke replaces the relative clause *hon apedokimasan hoi oikodomountes* with the participial construction *ho exoutheneˉtheis hyphˉ hymoˉn toˉn oikodomoˉn*, adding the "you" to apply the verse directly to Peter's audience of rulers and elders. In this way the biblical text buttresses Peter's attempt to fix blame for the death of Jesus on the rulers of the Jews.

boldness to "speak [God's] word" despite opposition. That prayer begins with quotations from Ps 146:6 LXX (cf. Exod 20:11) and Ps 2:1-2 LXX. God is addressed first, with words drawn from Psalm 146, as "the one who made heaven and earth and sea and all that is in them" (4:24). That is, these believers petition the Creator God of Israel.

Verse 3 of this hymn of praise cautions: "Do not trust in rulers [*archontas*], or in the children of human beings, in whom there is no salvation." What better synopsis could one give of the confrontation Luke has just narrated? Moreover, the affirmations of v. 7—that the Creator God gives judgment for those who have been wronged, food to the hungry, and release to those in fetters—serve as an apt commentary on Luke's narrative. According to Acts 4:32-37, there are no needy persons in this community of God's people because they give what they have to meet the needs of all. And as for God's giving judgment for the wronged and freeing those who are bound, note well 5:19![25] On the other hand, while Ps 146:9 speaks also of God's kindness to orphans and widows, it warns, at the same time, that God will cause the "way of sinners" to disappear or perish. Of course, we find the same stark contrast between divine protection for the oppressed righteous and divine judgment for the sinner in Acts 5 (Ananias and Sapphira!). If one knows Psalm 146 well, one surely hears many echoes in Luke's account of these momentous early days in Jerusalem.

The next part of the apostolic community's prayer links the adversity facing the apostles to the passion of Jesus, and both to the second Psalm (LXX),[26] which, against the backdrop of an alliance of nations against the Lord's Christ, speaks confidently of the victory and rule given to the Christ/son of God. The portion of the psalm incorporated into the community's prayer concerns only the assault of nations, kings, and rulers against the Lord's Christ. Acts 4:27-28 then applies these details to the passion of Jesus, where the villains become Herod and Pilate, together with the gentiles (*ethnē*) and the peoples of Israel.[27] What remains *unsaid*, though, is the declaration of the Messiah's kingship and his divine sonship: "I have been made king on Zion" (Ps 2:6); "Today you are my son" (v. 7); "I will give you the nations [*ta ethnē*] as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession" (v. 8). One who knows Psalm 2 as well as Luke did and then hears the first two lines from the psalm in this prayer of the apostolic community will likely also think of God's confirmation of the rule of the Messiah, who takes possession of the whole earth. As the necessity of the Christ's passion carried with it also the necessity of his vindication by God in resurrection, so too the community's experience of adversity—it stands surrounded by powerful enemies in Jerusalem—will assuredly issue in the Messiah's

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[25] The Sadducees have placed the apostles in prison, "but an angel of the Lord during the night opened the gates of the prison and, leading them out . . . ."

[26] When he cites Ps 2:7 in Acts 13:33, Luke identifies the precise source of the quotation ("as also it is written in the second psalm"). Presumably, Luke knew this text well!

[27] To my knowledge, this is the only specific prophecy of the Christ's "suffering" that Luke includes in Luke-Acts (but cf. also Acts 8:32-35). Generally, he speaks in sweeping fashion of the necessity of the Christ's suffering to fulfill the scriptures, or "all the prophets" (e.g., Luke 24:26-27,45-46; Acts 3:18; 17:2-3; 26:22-23).

taking possesion of his inheritance, all the nations. That story the remainder of Acts will begin to tell.[28]

Our probes of Luke's use of several psalm texts in Acts 1 and 4 have turned up evidence that the author of Acts (at least in some cases) did not simply pick and choose isolated verses of scripture. Rather, his crafting of the story betrays considerable reflection on these psalms—from which he has selected a few verses to interpret the events he narrates, and to connect them to the scripture and to the faith of Israel.

Scripture as Christological Proof in Acts

In discussing the role played by scripture in the crafting of the Acts narrative and one aspect of Luke's exegetical method, we have found reason to think that Luke has employed scripture quotations with some care. When we consider, further, the number and extent of the quotations included by Luke, and their strategic placement in the story (e.g., the programmatic speech by Peter in Acts 2 and the climactic speech by Paul in Acts 28), it becomes increasingly clear that the uses of scripture in Acts afford a glimpse of the central theological convictions and commitments expressed by Luke in the Acts narrative. I wish now to probe these theologically freighted uses of scripture in Acts, beginning with the role of biblical quotations in Luke's christological argument.

The Acts narrative presents Jesus as (among other things) Lord, Messiah, and prophet like Moses; and Luke appeals to scripture to establish each aspect of Jesus' christological identity and function. (Since Jesus' identity as Mosaic prophet says less in Acts about who he is than it does about the composition of Israel, we defer treatment of that honorific title until the next section.) Peter's Pentecost discourse in Acts 2, while serving as a programmatic passage that sets the agenda for the rest of the story,[29] also gives the first definitive christological statement by a Christian preacher (within the story).[30] Jesus, by virtue of his resurrection and exaltation, has been displayed by the God of Israel as both Lord and Christ. It is significant that Luke's Peter presses this claim only with a supporting scriptural argument of quite high profile. The quotation from Joel 3:1-5 LXX which launches the discourse promises eschatological salvation for all "who call upon the name of the Lord" (Acts 2:21), thereby raising the question, Who is this Lord? With the help of Pss 16:8-11 LXX and 110:1 LXX,[31] Peter shows that Jesus of Nazareth is the Lord; from him derives the Holy Spirit (2:33), and through calling upon his name in penitence one experiences salvation (v. 21), the forgiveness of sins (v. 38). This is the focus of the apostolic kerygma in Acts.

The exegetical moves of Acts 2:25-36 involve reading Psalms 16 and 110 as

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[28] It is also interesting to observe that Psalm 2 is framed by reference to the council (*boulē*) of the ungodly (Ps 1:1 LXX) and by appeals for deliverance from enemies (e.g., 3:7-8). The affinities to the situation of the beleaguered apostolic community in Acts 3-5 are obvious.

[29] See Richard F. Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Reinterpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (SBLMS 15; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971).

[30] Paul duplicates much of the argument—and its scriptural warrant—in his synagogue homily in Acts 13:16-41.

[31] And echoes of Ps 32:11 LXX and 1 Sam 7:12-13 LXX as well (Acts 2:30).

prophetic texts, a point Luke's Peter makes explicit (v. 30: "David, being therefore a prophet"; v. 31: "having seen in advance [*proidōn*], he spoke about the resurrection of the Christ"). David prophesied the resurrection of God's "holy one," who was not abandoned to Hades, whom death was unable to hold, and whose resurrection by God signifies his enthronement in fulfillment of the promise David himself had received. None of these assertions apply to David himself, who is "dead and buried"; he was speaking, therefore, of another, the Messiah.[32] The "Lord" whose exaltation (at the "right hand of God") David announces (Ps 110:1) cannot be David himself ("he did not ascend to heaven," v. 34), but must be the Messiah. Luke's Peter, then, uses scripture to buttress his claim, grounded in the witness to Jesus' resurrection, that the crucified Jesus is Lord and Messiah (v. 36). *Jesus* is the Lord who, according to Joel, opens up access to eschatological salvation.

It is precisely the crucified Jesus for whom the narrative presses this claim. Far from disqualifying him as Israel's Messiah, the suffering and death he endured serve only to confirm his messianic identity.[33] Here, scripture supplies the warrant, for "all the prophets" declared that the Christ would have to suffer (3:18; cf. 13:27-29; 17:2-3; 26:22-23; and of course Luke 24:25-27,45-46). Concerning this suffering appointed by God in scripture, David (in Ps 2:1-2 LXX) gives a specific, detailed prediction. Both the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus, therefore, validate Jesus' status as Lord and as Israel's Messiah. So the narrator can recapitulate the main lines of the exegetical argument of the early speeches of Acts when he says of Paul (17:2-3): "Now according to Paul's custom, he went in to them [in the synagogue] and on three sabbaths preached to them from the scriptures, explaining and showing that the Christ had to suffer and be raised from the dead, and that this is the Christ—'this Jesus whom I am proclaiming to you.'"

In the light of Acts 17:2-3, it comes as no surprise that Luke places in Paul's mouth (in Pisidian Antioch, 13:16-41) essentially the same christological use of scripture that he earlier in the narrative attributed to Peter. Paul quotes Ps 2:7 LXX, Isa 55:3 LXX, and Ps 16:10 LXX to confirm that Jesus' resurrection by God establishes him as the divine son who fulfills (for us) the promises given to the fathers—promises focused in the person of David, but not realized in him. He mediates forgiveness in a way that answers to the deficiencies of the Mosaic law (vv. 38-39).

What is the precise role played by scripture in the christological argument at this point in the Acts story? As in Peter's Pentecost speech, scripture here is not the basis for the christological argument but does serve to corroborate it. Events which the apostolic witness attests (chap. 2: the activity of the Holy Spirit and the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus; chap. 13: the crucifixion and especially the resurrection of Jesus [vv. 30-31]) constitute the ground of the christological claim. Scripture then provides confirmation that such events fulfill God's announced plans for Israel and Israel's Christ.

Luke uses scripture, then, to validate the Christian claim that Jesus is the Messiah promised to Israel. Scripture pointed to the necessity of the Christ's suffering (crucifixion) and resurrection. Now in Jesus of Nazareth these events prophesied in ancient scripture have come to pass. What is the outcome of christologically focused

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[32] Note the similar approach in Acts 13:34-38.

[33] "This Jesus whom you crucified God made both Lord and Christ" (2:36; cf. 3:15; 4:10; 5:30-31).

biblical exegesis of the kind represented by Peter's and Paul's discourses?[34] If the episode of the Ethiopian official is any indication, the expected response is conversion. Once shown by Philip the meaning of the passage he is reading from Isaiah (Isa 53:7-8 LXX, cited in Acts 8:32-33)[35]—and that means finding an answer to the question, "About whom is the prophet speaking, himself or someone else?"—the Ethiopian is receptive to Philip's preaching Jesus to him "beginning from this scripture" (v. 35). Guided reading of scripture issues in conversion. That is indeed often the case in Acts (e.g., 2:37,41; 13:48; 17:11-12). Yet repeatedly, many Jewish listeners reject this guided reading of their scripture. It would seem that we cannot isolate Luke's christological use of scripture from the pivotal issues of the identity of God's people and the problem of Jewish unbelief.[36]

Already Paul's synagogue preaching in Acts 13 suggests that important as this christological use of scripture is in Acts—and it is foundational—it stands in service of an even more crucial theological concern within the narrative, one that has to do with the question, Who are the people of God?[37] To this ecclesiological use of scripture in Acts we now turn.

Ecclesiological Use of Scripture in Acts

According to Luke's Jesus (Luke 24:44-47), scripture speaks of the suffering and resurrection of the Messiah, but also of a world-wide mission of the church: "It is written . . . that repentance and forgiveness should be preached in [the Christ's] name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem." This same concern with the scriptural basis of the church's mission—which is the focus of the narrative—figures prominently in Acts.

The Joel quotation of Acts 2, already considered above in relation to the christological claims of Acts, characterizes the mission to the nations, now beginning, as the fulfillment of prophecy. This passage from the prophet not only interprets the signs of the Holy Spirit's activity at Pentecost (2:1-13), but also proleptically depicts the Spirit-impelled mission (replete with visions, and prophetic ministry on the part of both men and women) which will summon all to "call upon the name of the Lord." "*This is* what was spoken by the prophet Joel" long ago. The events Luke is about to narrate concern the bringing of eschatological salvation to the whole world, and this occurs as the unfolding of scriptural promise—spoken by God through the prophet ("It will be in the last days, God says . . . .").

Peter's second speech (3:12-26) also presents the church's mission as the fulfillment of scriptural promise. "All the prophets from Samuel onward proclaimed these days"

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[34] See the discussion in Jacob Jervell, "The Center of Scripture," pp. 122-37 in *The Unknown Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 129-30.

[35] The only biblical quotation in Acts that stems from the narrator, rather than from a speech by one of the story's characters.

[36] For convenience we treat separately the ecclesiological concern (Who are God's people?) and the apologetic concern (How is it that this can be a legitimate expression of Israel's faith, if so many Jews refuse to accept it?). Of course, the two are closely intertwined.

[37] From first to last, the burden of the speech is God's delivery of promised salvation to *Israel.*

(3:24), that is, days in which the Mosaic prophet speaks through his chosen witnesses (through his commissioned apostles) and those who fail to listen are rooted out of the *laos* ("people"). Indeed, during this time before the Messiah's return from heaven, all the things spoken by God through the ancient prophets must be "restored" (v. 21).[38] At the outset of the speech, Peter makes clear that behind the healing of this lame man (3:1-10) lies the power of faith in the name of the crucified and risen Christ, and both events point to the working of none other than the *God of Israel*—"the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of our fathers" (v. 13).[39] In this way Luke emphasizes that the church's world-wide mission, in accordance with scriptural mandate, involves the salvation of *Israel,* purposed by the God of Israel.[40]

The hybrid quotation from Deut 18:15-16,19 and Lev 23:29 defines what is at stake in this mission that bears salvation for Israel. With the help of Joel and the psalter, the Pentecost speech (Acts 2) offered the promise of salvation to those both "far and near" who call upon the name of the crucified and risen Messiah, Jesus. Peter at the end of this discourse now shows that the resulting experience of forgiveness (cf. 2:38) actually constitutes the fulfillment of God's promise of blessing to Abraham. Acts 3:25 cites God's covenant-promise to Abraham: "And in your seed all the earth's families will be blessed."[41] Then v. 26 supplies Luke's commentary on that scriptural promise: "God, having "raised" his servant [Jesus], sent him [through his apostles] to bless you when you each turn from your evil deeds." But in vv. 22-23 Peter displays the other side of the coin. If the covenant with Abraham comes to fruition through the blessing of forgiveness granted by God through the crucified and raised Jesus, then what of those who refuse to have any part of that blessing? Here Luke's Peter has recourse to the words of Moses in order to issue the sharp warning: failure to heed the voice of the prophet like Moses sent by God has as its consequence removal from the people of the covenant! Nothing less than membership in the people of God's promises is at stake in the story Luke tells.

Escalating conflict between the twelve and the Jewish leadership in Jerusalem (Acts 4-5) over the apostles' kerygma of the resurrection (Jesus' resurrection) suggests where that Jewish group will take its stand—it will refuse to heed the one like Moses. The

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[38] On the interpretation of this difficult expression, see John T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts* (SBLDS 92; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 145-48. Jervell suggests that although Luke can speak in this fashion of the testimony of "all the prophets" or "all the scriptures"—that is, as a "fundamentalist" for whom everything in scripture is important, everything God's word, everything binding ("Center of Scripture," 122)—there is nonetheless a "center" of Scripture for Luke. That center, to which David and the prophets (including Moses) belong, concerns Israel's salvation, for which the suffering, death, and resurrection of the Messiah are the focal events. The center of scripture is therefore also in Acts the center of the Christian message (p. 137).

[39] Quoting Exod 3:6,15.

[40] Hans Conzelmann (*Acts of the Apostles* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987] 28) rightly observes that the biblical quotation in Acts 3:13 serves to establish continuity between the church and Israel.

[41] A verbatim quote from Gen 22:18 LXX, with the significant exception that Luke substitutes *pasai hai phylai* ("all the families") for *panta ta ethnē* ("all the nations").

full implications of this choice become tragically clear in the confrontation with Stephen in chaps. 6-7. What has all the markings of a formal session of the sanhedrin (6:15) degenerates into a mob lynching (7:54-8:1). Stephen's discourse (7:2-53), ostensibly his defense before his accusers, is in fact a revisionist reading of Israel's history crafted to show that the stubborn rejection of the Christian message by many Jewish listeners simply continues a pattern that runs throughout Israel's existence. Like their ancestors, who repudiated Moses (vv. 27-28,35) and who refused to obey the divine oracles he entrusted to them, instead worshipping idols (vv. 38-41), Stephen's listeners stubbornly, callously resist the work of God's Spirit in their midst (v. 51).

Of all the exegetical moves made by Luke's Stephen in this extensive piece of biblical interpretation, perhaps the most interesting is the transplanting of Exod 3:12 (LXX: "you will worship God on this mountain [Horeb]") from the career of Moses to that of Abraham (Acts 7:7). What is the effect of this shift? In Stephen's retelling of the story of God's covenant-promise to Abraham, that patriarch is assured that "[his descendants] will worship (*latreusousin*) me in this place." "This place" turns out to be the very land where Stephen and his accusers live (v. 4). So what is at issue in the speech is the authentic worship of God's people in the land where they now find themselves. With the aid of a pastiche of biblical texts,[42] Stephen indicts "the fathers" for their idolatrous worship. Not even the construction of an impressive temple guarantees that genuine worship of God is housed there (with help from Isa 66:1-2 LXX). And now (vv. 51-53) Stephen finally draws blood; turning against his accusers the charges they have leveled at him (6:11-14: blasphemous words against Moses and God; words against this holy place and the law), he credits his condemners with the same willful disobedience to God that typified "their fathers."

Siding with their ancestors by refusing to listen to this witness of the Mosaic prophet, the members of the sanhedrin place themselves outside the *laos* of God. Scripture, on this reading, attests to a history of disobedience which culminates in the present repudiation of the Christian kerygma by many Jews. Again, the identity and composition of Israel are at stake in the narrative. At this juncture, we come to what I would claim is the decisive use of scripture in Acts. Luke also finds expressed in scripture God's stated purpose to bring gentiles into the people of God.[43]

Paul's synagogue addresses in Pisidian Antioch (13:16-41, 46-47) are of signal importance in the narrative's legitimation of the gentile mission as grounded in

[42] Exod 32:1,4-6,23; Amos 5:25-27; with an echo ("the host of heaven") of Jer 7:18 LXX (cf. Jer 8:2; 19:13). Luke's handling of Amos 5:25-27 is intriguing. In v. 42b he cites this passage verbatim from the LXX, apart from a change in word order that places "house of Israel" in the climactic final position. The two significant revisions in v. 43: (1) Luke adds the phrase "to worship them," thereby emphasizing the idolatrous worship of the people; (2) "Damascus" becomes in Acts "Babylon." Luke's version of the Amos text makes painfully clear the grievous sin that has marked Israel's worship—and its disastrous consequences (exile "beyond Babylon"). The point, of course, is not a history lesson but an indictment of Stephen's audience: "You are just like your fathers!"

[43] Although, as Joseph B. Tyson has pointed out ("The Gentile Mission and the Authority of Scripture in Acts," *NTS* 33 [1987] 622, 624), the narrative's crucial transition to the gentile world—the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10—remarkably includes not a single warranting biblical text.

scripture. Paul's first speech—after developing an exegetical argument in support of the claim that Jesus, crucified and raised by God, is the promised Messiah descended from David—issues a stern warning, by way of Hab 1:5, against disbelieving the work God has laid before their eyes (13:41). This warning anticipates the hostile reception accorded Paul on his second visit to the synagogue (v. 45). In response, Paul again appeals to scripture, but this time to justify a change of mission fronts: "It was necessary to speak the word of God to you first; since you are rejecting it and judge yourselves to be unworthy of eternal life, behold, we [will now] turn to the gentiles. For so the Lord has commanded us, 'I have set you [to be] a light of the gentiles [*ethnōn*], that you may bring salvation to the end of the earth.'" Here the testimony of scripture (with the "Lord" as God; quoting Isa 49:6 LXX) and the command of Jesus (cf. 26:17) appear to merge. The key point, though, is that Luke has Paul justify the shift to a gentile mission with words drawn from scripture. Since Paul's preaching in Antioch focused sharply on God's offer of salvation to Israel,[44] the turn to gentiles appears all the more as a development within the ongoing history of Israel.

At the Jerusalem conference convened to resolve the ensuing dispute over the inclusion of uncircumcised gentiles (chap. 15), scripture once again plays a crucial role. This time James is the exegete (vv. 16-17, citing Amos 9:11-12 LXX). Following testimony from Peter, and then Barnabas and Paul, to the effect that God has chosen to extend salvation also to gentiles, James paraphrases Peter's report: "Simeon has related how, early on, God visited with the purpose of taking out of the gentiles a people (*laos*) for his name" (v. 14). Now, after the example of Peter and Paul before him, James moves from current events in which God's hand has been witnessed to scriptural confirmation: "And the words of the prophets agree with this, as it is written . . . ." To undergird the conviction that God has now purposed the inclusion of gentiles within the people of promise, James appeals to Amos 9 (LXX).[45] God's

[44] Beginning with the address (v. 16): "Israelites . . . ." The God of this people Israel chose our fathers (v. 17), sent to Israel a savior (v. 23), and now sends word of this salvation to the children of Abraham's nation (*genos;* v. 26). Jesus' death realizes the message of the prophets (vv. 27,29), and his resurrection fulfills God's promise, announced to the fathers, for "us their children" (vv. 32-33). That Jesus' resurrection confirms—via scripture—his messiahship seems to me the probable basis for Luke's tying the "hope of Israel" to the single concept of resurrection in the defense speeches of Paul (see 23:6; 24:15; 26:6-8; 28:20). Far from reducing the hope of Israel to the single idea of resurrection (and Jesus' resurrection at that), Luke's Paul points through the resurrection of the Messiah to the whole range of Israel's hopes whose fulfillment is linked to it.

[45] Luke's citation of this text departs from the LXX in at least three significant ways that merit comment here. First, Luke twice substitutes other verbs for *anastēsō* ("I will raise up [the fallen tent and ruins of David]"): *anastrepsō kai anoikodomēsō* ("I will return and rebuild"), and *anoikodomēsō kai anorthōsō* ("I will rebuild and restore [erect it again]"). To achieve this paraphrase, Luke gives a new position in the sentence to the verb *anoikodomēsō* (which also appears twice in Amos 9:11), and introduces the new verb *anorthōsō*. Does he wish to reserve use of *anistēmi* for the explicit prophecy of the raising up = resurrection of Jesus, which plays such a key part in Acts 3-4? Second, Acts supplies a direct object—lacking in the LXX of Amos—for the "searching" on the part of the "rest of humanity." Luke specifies that it is "the Lord"

promised return to rebuild the fallen tent of David (v. 16) had as its intended result the turning of the rest of humanity—all the gentiles—to the Lord (v. 17). Luke does not make clear in this context how he understands the expression, "fallen tent of David," but since elsewhere Luke's treatment of the restoration of David's throne and the fulfillment of the promise to David points to the resurrection of the Messiah, I suspect that we are to assume a similar content here. That is, because the Messiah has been raised, all the "hopes of Israel" now rush to fulfillment.[46] In any case, the emphasis here lies not on the restored Davidic ruins but on the result of this reconstruction, namely, incorporation of a gentile *laos* into Israel's experience of salvation.

Within the context of the debate in Jerusalem, therefore, the quotation from Amos serves to summarize, to interpret, and to authenticate the preceding events in the story. From the "restored Israel" of the early chapters of Acts through the first successful mission forays in the gentile world, all these momentous developments within Israel have the blessing and sanction of sacred scripture. For in scripture God long ago declared that it would happen in just this way. Scripture in Acts, then, gives legitimacy to the gentile mission, and therefore to the gentile churches that are its fruit. God in these eschatological days has brought salvation to Israel, and believing gentiles take their rightful place alongside believing Jews as members of the people of promise.

Apologetic Use of Scripture in Acts[47]

In the previous section, I argued that a critical function of scripture in Acts is to legitimate the gentile mission and the gentile churches produced by it. Closely related to this "ecclesiological" use of scripture is one which I will call "apologetic."[48] A few

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that they will seek. Third, at the close of the passage, where Amos reads *legei kyrios ho poiōn panta tauta* ("says the Lord who is doing all these things"), Acts has *legei kyrios poiōn tauta gnōsta ap aiōnos* ("says the Lord who makes these things known from ancient times"). In the LXX of Amos 9, the image of "age" (*aiōn*) occurs at the end of v. 11, where it makes the point that God's rebuilding of the Davidic tent in the present will conform it to the pattern it exhibited long ago. Not so in Acts 15! By transposing the image of "age" to the end of the passage, and inserting the word *gnōsta* ("known"), Luke (1) spiritualizes the promised restoration and (2) emphasizes that recent and current developments constitute that restoration. The point is that they were *disclosed* long ago by God.

[46] But see the previous note on the excision of *anastēsō* in this passage.

[47] Significant discussions of the apologetic function of scripture in Acts include: Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 303-08; Lindars, *Apologetic*, esp. chap. 2; William Kurz, "The Function of Christological Proof from Prophecy in Luke and Justin" (Yale University Ph.D. dissertation, 1976); Juel, "Social Dimensions," 554-56.

[48] In exploring the apologetic dimension of Luke's narrative, I do not mean to suggest that Luke was offering an apology to Rome on behalf of Christianity. (I have sketched my view on that question in "Literary and Social Dimensions of Luke's Apology for Paul," 1988 SBLSP, 106-18.) Rather, my interest centers on Luke's defense of the gentile mission (especially, but not exclusively Paul's) as a legitimate

brief remarks, addressing the role of scriptural apologetic in speeches by Stephen (chap. 7) and Paul (in Rome, chap. 28), will have to suffice.

We have already observed that Stephen turns scripture against his accusers, that he interprets the Bible in a way that indicts his hearers on the very charges they have leveled against him. As their fathers before them rejected Moses and disobeyed the divine oracles given to him, and as they worshipped idols rather than the true God who cannot be confined to any sanctuary, so also Stephen's sanhedrin accusers have shown themselves to be transgressors of the law they esteem as divinely given (v. 53). So much for the complaint Stephen speaks against the law of Moses—he esteems it more than his critics do! To the extent that Stephen defends not only himself but also the nascent church against the accusation of anti-torah teaching (cf. 21:20-24 for a similar complaint about Paul), this interpretation of sacred scripture aims to show that Christians, not disbelieving Jews, are faithful to the torah of God.

We turn now to the climactic piece of biblical exegesis in Acts, Paul's speech to the Roman Jewish community in chap. 28.[49] The narrator tells us (v. 23) that Paul spoke all day about God's sovereign rule, seeking to persuade his audience about Jesus "from both the law of Moses and the prophets." When his preaching elicits a mixed response, with some being persuaded (=believing)[50] and others refusing to believe, Paul gives the penultimate word to Isaiah.[51] "Well spoken, what the Holy Spirit said to your fathers through the prophet Isaiah" (v. 25). There follows a lengthy quotation of Isaiah 6:9-10, which adheres closely to the LXX text. Because the people have hardened their hearts and covered their ears and their eyes, the Spirit has charged the prophet to direct the people to see without perceiving, to hear without understanding, thereby leaving them—unrepentant—beyond the reach of God's healing.

The words of introduction, "well spoken" (*kalōs elalēsen*), imply that what was true of the fathers is true also of their descendants, Paul's listeners. Paul's final word supplies his commentary on the quote (v. 28): "Therefore let this be known to you, that this salvation of God has been sent to the gentiles, and *they* will indeed hear." The point of the quotation from Isaiah, then, is not that the Jewish world is now forever closed to the salvific word of God, but that the rejection of this word by many Jews impels Paul (and other Christian preachers) to take this message to gentiles. The climactic position of this final piece of biblical exegesis in Acts suggests in what direction the future is tending: while the numbers of Christian Jews will shrink, between the events narrated and the author's own time a successful mission among gentiles will unfold. The closing scene of Acts, with the support of scripture, gives legitimacy to this gentile mission, together with the gentile churches deriving from it. Where the Christian message meets rejection from Jews and acceptance among gentiles instead, that does not call the message's validity into question. No, it has always been so among God's people Israel. Scripture, I conclude, plays an important part in supporting this apologetic thrust of the entire narrative.

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development in Jewish religious history, despite the increasingly negative response of Jews to the Christian proclamation.

[49] For further development of the view I am advancing here, see Carroll, *End of History*, 155-61.

[50] Cf. 17:4; see Carroll, *End of History*, 159 n. 178.

[51] Although here (as often in Acts) Luke identifies as the true author of the message "the Holy Spirit," who speaks through the prophet.

Conclusion

Our study has considered several important dimensions of Luke's use of scripture in his second book to Theophilus. We began by suggesting that biblical passages provided the author of Acts with a literary model guiding the composition of some portions of the narrative. To illustrate the point, we examined the psalm quotations in Acts 1 and 4, focusing in particular on the way Luke seems to have read those verses in their own literary contexts. Evidence surfaced that, on occasion at least, the quotations in Acts betray considerable reflection on the meanings of the larger passages from which the cited verses are drawn. We turned then to address the theologically freighted uses of scripture in Acts. We claimed, first, that scripture, in Luke's hands, shows Jesus to be the Christ of Israel. Here the apostolic witness to the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus finds both interpretation (these events properly concern the *Messiah*) and confirmation in the Bible of the Jews. We also argued, however, that this christological use of scripture plays second fiddle in Acts to a crucial ecclesiological function. The fulfillment of messianic hopes in Jesus means that God has brought salvation to *Israel*, and, further, scripture mandates that this salvation embrace gentiles as well. Scripture in Acts legitimates the gentile mission and the inclusion of gentile believers within the people of God. Yet this transition to the gentile world, accompanied by increasing hostility to the Christian message on the part of Jews in the story, has troubling implications. We therefore discerned a third use of scripture in Acts, one we termed apologetic. Scripture discloses a history of God's people in which many of them have resisted and disobeyed divine visitation. Far from disqualifying the Christian claim that Israel's hopes come to full flower in Jesus of Nazareth and the mission inaugurated by him, this present rejection of the gospel by many Jews simply continues an age-old pattern in Israel.

Much, of course, remains to be done. This analysis of the role of scripture in Acts needs to be extended to the gospel: do the same techniques and goals of biblical interpretation appear there? And the resulting picture of Luke as exegete should be situated in the world of 1st century biblical exegesis.[52] Luke's exegetical methods need also to be viewed in relation to the social world that shaped his theological convictions and commitments *and* his communication of them "to Theophilus" through the medium of this narrative. In what social environment would such an author write a narrative of this kind, using scripture in this way? These questions must be left for another day.

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[52] As sketched, e.g., by James L. Kugel and Rowan A. Greer in *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986).

Luke's Theology of Prayer

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Prayer as a distinctive theological feature of Luke-Acts has long been recognized, but scholars have only recently begun to explore the importance of this theme.[1] Prior to Wilhelm Ott's 1965 study,[2] scholars seem to have been content to make but passing remarks about Luke's theology of prayer.[3] Ott's intent was to fill this gap so obvious in Lucan studies; consequently, he began his monograph by noting that although Luke had been correctly identifed as "the evangelist of prayer," little had been done to elucidate fully this theme.

Since the time of Ott, several scholars have directed attention to questions concerning Luke's understanding of prayer. The intent of this paper is to begin with a review of the scholarly research on Lucan prayer theology. The evidence in Luke-Acts demonstrates, I believe, that Luke not only gives remarkable emphasis to the role of prayer, but that prayer for Luke serves a particular purpose: it is the means whereby God directs and guides salvation history. I will then discuss Luke's prayer theology by considering the prayer material in the Gospel within the context of Luke's concept of the four epochs of Salvation History. The prayer material in Acts will be examined as a continuation of themes established in the Gospel. This paper will conclude with brief comments on Luke's explicit prayer texts, which sanction particularly significant elements of Luke's theology of prayer.

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[1] Note the opening words of P. T. O'Brien's "Prayer in Luke-Acts," *Tyndale Bulletin* 24 (1973), p. 111; and Allison Trite's "The Prayer Motif in Luke-Acts," *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, Charles Talbert, ed. (Danville, Virginia: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), p. 168.

[2] Wilhelm Ott, *Gebet und Heil: Der Bedeutung der Gebetsparänese in der lukanischen Theologie (München: Kösel, 1965).*

[3] Haenchen and Caird are examples. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles. A Commentary*, trans. of the 14th German ed., 1965] Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn under the supervision of Hugh Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971). Haenchen notes that Luke presents the Apostles as "great men of prayer" (263) and that prayer is a distinctive feature of Christian life (191), but Haenchen does not deal systematically with the subject. G. B. Caird, *Saint Luke* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963). Caird discusses prayer as a definitive quality in the life of Jesus, affirming that what Jesus "did in solitude was as much the work of God as what he did among the crowds" (92); but Caird does not deal directly with the theme of prayer.

Without a doubt, Luke richly deserves the title "the evangelist of prayer."[4] Luke's Gospel "has more to say about prayer, the prayers of Jesus and what Jesus taught about prayer than any of the other Gospels,"[5] and his "interest in prayer reappears in the sequel to his Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles."[6] Luke's favorite prayer terms, προσεύχομαι, and the cognate noun, προσευχή, appear 47 times in Luke-Acts (17 in Mt., 12 in Mk., 0 in Jn., and 16 times in other New Testament writings).[7] Luke's second most preferred term is δέησις, δέομαι, used some 18 times by Luke and 22 times in the rest of the NT. δέομαι "almost always means actual petition" and "δέησις denotes an entreaty or request to God arising from a concrete situation."[8] Used 15 times, εὐλογέω "is the third most used term for prayer. It has the predominate meaning of praise and thanksgiving to God."[9] Any "survey of the prayer terminology of Luke-Acts strongly suggests that prayer . . . is a theme of considerable importance in the Lukan writings."[10]

At times Luke does not even use a specific term to tell the reader that a recorded statement is in fact a prayer, but the reader has no difficulty recognizing prayer in these instances. The words of Jesus from the cross (Lk. 23.34,46) and the words offered by the Christian community when Peter and John are released from prison (Acts 4.24ff.) are not identified as prayers by Luke with any particular terminology, but they are undoubtedly prayers for they are requests addressed directly to God, using πατήρ and δεσπότης respectively as invocation. It is the frequency of the use of both prayer terms and the prayer motif rather than the specific terminology that demonstrates the Lucan prayer emphasis. Luke's preference for προσεύχομαι and προσευχή, for example, "do not set him apart from his fellow New Testament writers, for these terms are the most frequent words for prayer in the New Testament."[11]

But even the frequency of prayer terms and Luke's use of the concept of prayer do not fully demonstrate Luke's concern with prayer. A comparison of Luke's Gospel with his sources, Mark and Q,[12] reveals that "Luke has 16 prayer terms where his sources do not" and that "these terms appear at significant points in his Gospel."[13]

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[4] Adalbert Hamman, *Prayer: The New Testament*, trans. Paul J. Oligny (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1971 [*La Priere I. Le Nouveau Testament* (Tournai, 1959)]), p.155.

[5] L. O. Harris, "Prayer in the Gospel of Luke," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 10/1 (1967), p. 59.

[6] J. G. Thomson, *The Praying Christ. A Study of Jesus' Doctrine and Practice of Prayer* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), p. 12.

[7] For additional terms and information regarding the statistics of frequency, see Harris, *Prayer in Luke-Acts*, Tables I and II, pp. 13-14 and Table IV, pp. 19-20; cf. Trites, pp. 169f.

[8] *TDNT*, II, p. 806; also see Harris, *Prayer in Luke-Acts*, p. 16.

[9] Harris, *Prayer in Luke-Acts*, p. 17.

[10] Trites, p. 170.

[11] Harris, *Prayer in Luke-Acts*, p. 16.

[12] These observations, but not the specific numbers, remain true regardless of Luke's source: Mark and Q, or Matthew.

[13] Harris, *Prayer in Luke-Acts*, p. 21.

This emphasis on prayer, which "appears to be Luke's own contribution,"[14] continues in his second volume, though we do not have the benefit of easily identifiable sources for comparison.

That Luke strategically includes the prayer motif at significant points in his gospel is revealing. Luke adds the element of prayer to his accounts of Jesus' baptism, the choosing of the Twelve, Peter's confession, the Transfiguration, and the introduction to the Lord's Prayer. Luke includes in his narrative three prayer parables not found in the other Gospels (the friend at midnight, 11.5-8; the unjust judge, 18.1-8; and the Pharisee and the tax collector praying at the Temple, 18.9-17). Luke also opens his Gospel with the story of Zechariah and Elizabeth, having the Priest Zechariah praying in the Temple while a multitude of people prayed outside (1.8-10); and brings the Gospel to conclusion with the eleven Apostles praying at Jerusalem's Temple. Acts follows its initial description of the appearance of the resurrected Christ to the eleven with the statement that they then "with one accord devoted themselves to prayer" (Acts 1.14).[15]

Noticing the overwhelming evidence to indicate that prayer is of particular importance for Luke, Wilhelm Ott sought to explain Luke's interest in prayer. Ott limited his examination to Luke's paraenetic material (Luke 11.1-13; 18.1-8; 21.34-36; and 22.31-34,39-46), concentrating about half of his monograph on the parable of the Unjust Judge (18.1-8),[16] for he concluded that the unique thrust of the Lucan material on prayer is that Christians "ought always to pray and not lose heart" (Lk. 18.1b). Luke's concern with prayer, according to Ott, was that perpetual prayer provided the means whereby the Christian could resist the temptation to apostasy.[17] For Ott, Jesus' own prayer life reflected this continual reliance upon God through prayer as a way of dealing with temptation.[18] Luke continues the thematic concern seen in his Gospel by painting a picture in Acts of a Church true to her Lord's example: "Die Urgemeinde befolgt nach Lukas also das Gebot ihres Herrn, unablässig zu beten,"[19] thereby persevering in the faith.

Ott has made a significant contribution to the study of Lucan theology by clearly demonstrating that prayer plays an important function in the overall scheme of Luke-Acts. Ott correctly identified the Lucan Jesus as one who prayed constantly and taught his disciples to do likewise. However, Ott simply does not address the question of why Luke includes the prayer motif at key junctions in his story (for example, at the accounts of Jesus' baptism, the choosing of the Twelve, Peter's confession, the

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[14] Harris, *Prayer in Luke-Acts*, p. 21.

[15] For a brief but informative comparison of the use of the prayer motif in Luke as compared to Mt., Mk., and Jn., see Trites, pp. 170-171.

[16] Ott, pp. 19-72. cf. Jose Caba, *La Oracion de Peticion* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), p. 330.

[17] Ott is significantly indebted to Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (New York: Harper and Row, 1961) and accepts Conzelmann's view of eschatology in Luke (see Conzelmann, pp. 95-169 [parts three and four] and 207-234 [part five]). Ott agrees that the parousia has been changed by Luke from a "soon" to a "sudden" coming. For a view of Heilsgeschichte contrary to Conzelmann, see I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), particularly pp. 77-78.

[18] Ott, pp. 94-99.

[19] Ott, p. 128.

Transfiguration, or the introduction to the Lord's Prayer). Furthermore, Ott limits his discussion of Acts to a mere 13 pages,[20] hardly enough to do justice to the continuing Lucan prayer motif in that work. Prayer is as significant in Acts as it is in the Gospel of Luke; for example, the pre-Pentecostal community devoted itself to prayer (1.14), prayer is listed as one of the four main characteristics of the early fellowship (2.42), and prayer and the ministry of the word are mentioned as the Apostolic functions (6.4). Nonetheless, what Ott did, he did well. My criticism of his work focuses on what he neglected to include, for that material is crucial for an understanding of Luke's theology of prayer.[21]

Without knowing of Ott's work, Oscar Gerald Harris in his unpublished dissertation[22] sheds substantial light on areas left unexamined by Ott. The thesis of this rather extensive study may be stated: "Luke conceives of prayer as an important means by which God guides the course of redemptive history (Heilsgeschichte). This is his [Luke's] controlling and distinctive idea of prayer."[23] Harris supports his primary thesis by surveying Lucan prayer terminology, studying the prayer passages of Luke-Acts,[24] and evaluating the importance of his insights for Lucan theology.

Summarizing the results of his examination of the prayer terminology in Luke-Acts, Harris concludes that "Luke's vocabulary for prayers is extensive,"[25] and that the "frequency of occurrence is great when compared to the rest of the New Testament."[26] Luke does not appear to have a technical vocabulary for prayer[27] nor "does he seem to have avoided any particular word for prayer."[28] Most importantly, the emphasis on prayer seems to come from Luke's own hand.[29]

Harris' chapters two and three, exegetical studies of Lucan prayer passages,[30]

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[20] Ott, pp. 124-136.

[21] For additional criticism of Ott's work along with appropriate appreciation for his contribution, see P. T. O'Brien, "Prayer in Luke-Acts," *Tyndale Bulletin* 24 (1973) 111-127, especially, pp. 111-112; Allison Trites, particularly, pp. 168-169; and Emilio Rasco, *La Teologia de Lucas: Origen Desarrollo Orientaciones* (Rome: Universita Gregoriana, 1976), especially pp. 69-70.

[22] *Prayer in Luke-Acts: A Study in the Theology of Luke*, diss., Vanderbilt Univ., 1966.

[23] Harris, p. 98. cf. Henry Cadbury, "Acts and Eschatology," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, Studies in Honor of C. H. Dodd*, ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 300-321; and E. Lohse, "Lukas als Theologie der Heilsgeschichte," *Evangelische Theologie* 14 (1954), 256-275.

[24] Harris did not study the explicit prayer texts.

[25] Harris, p. 22.

[26] Harris, p. 22. Harris contends that Luke's vocabulary for prayer "is second only to Paul's and more extensive than any of the other writings," p. 22. Charles Michael Fuhrman (*A Redactional Study of Prayer in the Gospel of Luke*, diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981) is in complete agreement, p. 2.

[27] Harris finds that the term used most frequently by Luke, προσεύχεσθαι, is also the word with the most general meanings, p. 22. See Harris' chart of Luke's prayer vocabulary, pp. 4-5; cf. Fuhrman's list, pp. 1-2.

[28] Harris, p. 22.

[29] Harris, p. 22. This observation is seconded by Fuhrman, pp. 282ff.

[30] Among other passages, Harris examines Lk. 3.21; 11.1-13; 18.9-14; 22.31-34, 39-46; 23.34,46; Acts 1.14, 24-25; 2.42; 4.23-31; and 7.59,60.

confirm this observation, leading Harris to conclude: "Luke does usually treat the theme of prayer consciously."[31] These Lucan prayer passages fall into one of two categories. The first group includes those passages in which "Luke has composed the material, thus indicating his own interest."[32] The second and shorter group contains material Luke accepted uncritically from tradition and "incidental Lucan references which stem mainly from Luke's milieu or from his use of a literary form which called the theme of prayer forth."[33] The second group of prayers is not a primary concern for Harris for this material does nothing to advance (nor contradict) his thesis; however, the first group clearly demonstrates Luke's definite concern with prayer. "Two features emerge as the content of that Lucan interest."[34] First, Luke presents Jesus and the early church as "constant in prayer."[35] Second, prayer attends crucial moments in the Lucan narrative:

> Prayer is mentioned by Luke at important points in his account of Jesus and the early church. Jesus' baptism, transfiguration, agony and crucifixion are turning points in Luke's narrative. Likewise, the church in Jerusalem waiting for the gift of the Spirit and choosing Judas' replacement, facing persecution, the Samaritan mission, the conversion of Cornelius, and Paul's first journey which eventuates in the Gentile mission are important for Luke's entire presentation. But the way that prayer is brought into the narrative seems significant. Luke does not seem interested in the mechanics of prayer or in the content of what was prayed but rather in the fact that someone prayed at a time of crisis.[36]

Harris convincingly demonstrates his thesis: "*The primary significance of prayer in Luke's thought is that it serves as an important way in which the divine plan of salvation is made known* (Harris' emphasis).[37] Luke believes that through prayer God

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[31] Harris, p. 195.

[32] Harris, p. 195. Harris includes "Jesus' Baptism (Lk. 3.21); Jesus' withdrawal for prayer (5.16); Jesus' choice of the Twelve (6.12); Peter's confession (9.18); the Transfiguration (9.28-29); Jesus' teaching on prayer (11.1-13 and 18.1-8); Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane (22.39-46); Jesus' prayers on the cross (23.34,46); the church praying before Pentecost (Acts 1.14); praying before choosing Matthias (1.24-25); summary of the life of the Christian community (2.42); the church under persecution (4.23-31); Stephen's prayers while being stoned (7.59,60); the Samaritan mission and Simon's reconciliation (8.14-24); Paul's conversion and commission (9.11 and 22.17); the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10 and 11); possibly the church's prayer for the imprisoned Peter (12.5,12); and the Antioch church before the first missionary journey (13.1-3);" pp. 195-196.

[33] Harris, p. 196. For more on prayer which stems from Luke's first century literary milieu, see Fuhrman, p. 287 and Richard I Pervo, *The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles,* diss., Harvard University, 1979.

[34] Harris, p. 197.

[35] Harris, p. 197.

[36] Harris, p. 197.

[37] Smalley accepts Harris' conlusions, pp. 60-61. Stephen Smalley, "Spirit, Kingdom and Prayer in Luke-Acts," *Novum Testamentum* XV (1973) 59-71.

> has guided the ministry of Jesus and the course of the early church."[38] Harris continues:
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> Three focal points in Luke's presentation of Heilsgeschichte are connected with the [sic] prayer, and the relationship of prayer at these points supports the thesis just stated. They are: (1) The nature of Jesus' messiahship, especially the element of suffering, is revealed to him through prayer. (2) The Holy Spirit is granted to those who pray. (3) The validity of the Gentile mission is supported through revelation received in prayer.[39]

While "Luke assumes that his readers pray and encourages them to continue praying; he uses a common understanding of prayer to explain the prior eras of salvation history."[40] Prayer is a means whereby God directs his divine plan of salvation and those who have a role to play in that plan.

I agree completely with Harris' primary thesis; however, some of his suggestions require comment. Harris maintains that Luke is not interested in the mechanics of prayer nor is he concerned with the content of what was prayed. Both of these observations stand in need of correction. In the first place, Luke's interest in prayer mechanics (how, when and where one prays) is revealed in the way he connects prayer with the Temple (Lk. 1.8-14; 2.28ff.; 19.45f.; Acts 3.1; and 22.17); with fasting (Lk. 5.33); with mountaintops [a locale close to God] (Lk. 9.28ff.); with times of decision (Lk. 6.12; Acts 1.24ff.), with times of stress (Lk. 22.31f., 39-46); with times of preparation for significant events (Lk. 3.21f.; Acts 1.14; 10.1)[41]; with the concept of discipleship (Lk. 21.36; Acts 2.42; 6.4); with times of commissioning (Acts 6.6; 14.23); with the reception of the Holy Spirit (Acts 8.14-24); with a request for God's forgiveness (Acts 8.14-24); and with invocations of God's healing power (Acts 9.40; 28.8). The mechanics of prayer are to some degree involved in the Lucan account of the Lord's Prayer, in which the disciples ask Jesus to be taught to pray, as the disciples of John had been taught by their leader to pray, and Jesus responds favorably. The mechanics of prayer are indeed significant for Luke.

Secondly, Luke does indeed have an intense interest in the content of prayer. In his narrative, Luke presents the content of Simeon's prayer (Lk. 2.29-32), Jesus' prayer upon the return of the seventy (10.21f.), the Lord's Prayer (11.2-4), the prayers offered at the Temple (18.9-14), Jesus' prayer at the Mount of Olives (22.42), Jesus' death prayers from the cross (23.34,46), the prayer at the selection of Matthias

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[38] Harris, p. 221. At this point, Harris seems to be following a passing suggestion offered by Conzelmann: "Prayer, to which Luke attributes a special importance in Jesus' life, represents a timeless form of the relationship [between the individual and the saving event]." *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 208.

[39] Harris, p. 221. For more on the role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts, particularly as the Spirit relates to prayer, see G. W. H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), 159-200; Killiam McDonnell, "The Determinative Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," *Theology Today* XXXIX/2 (1982) 142-161; and Stephen Smalley.

[40] Harris, p. 246.

[41] Marshall offers repeated comments about Luke's linking of prayer with significant events in the ministry of Jesus, see pp. 54, 366, 383 and 783 for examples.

(Acts 1.24-25), the prayer offered by the community upon the release of Peter and John from prison (4.24-31), and Stephen's death prayers (7.59,60). In fact, the full impact of Harris' conclusion that God directs salvation history through prayer cannot be fully appreciated without recognizing the importance of the Lucan prayer texts.[42] Moreover, the attitude of the one praying, an aspect of the content of prayer, is important for Luke. Prayer itself may be inappropriately offered as is exemplified by the Pharisee who went to the Temple to pray and found himself in the company of a tax collector (Lk. 18:8ff.).

Accepting the primary thesis of Harris that prayer figures importantly "in the divinely directed history of redemption,"[43] Harvie M. Conn contributes to the understanding of Lucan prayer theology with his discussion of the eschatological implications of prayer in Luke-Acts. Conn argues that the Old Testament prophets had proclaimed that the time of the coming kingdom would be a time of answered prayer and that Christ represents the dawning of this new age. The frequent mention of prayer in the opening chapters of Luke's Gospel and the definite "Old Testament flavor" of these prayers serves to link this new era of salvation history with the past of Israel.[44]

Jesus' prayer life exemplifies the role prayer is to play in the life of the Church; his "mission is not simply to be undergirded with prayer; it is to be identified with prayer."[45] The Church, loyal to its Lord's teaching and example, places "prayer in a setting not of pietistic devotional exercise but of God-centered redemptive history, seeing the age of the kingdom come and coming as the age of prayer between the times."[46] Prayer serves the eschatological function of directing the continuing salvation history while providing a link with and a clear vision of the age still to come. Conn is absolutely correct in his acceptance of Lucan prayer not as a request for personal favor, but as a seeking of the will of God.

P. T. O'Brien's "Prayer in Luke-Acts"[47] accepts the conclusions of Harris and Ott and he seems to be in agreement with the conclusions of Conn, sharpening the observation that Luke's interest in prayer is a definitive feature of Luke-Acts. He begins his study by concentrating on the Gospel, concluding that (1) "Luke presents a far fuller picture of Jesus at prayer than either of the other Synoptists"[48] and that Luke's concern is to show that Jesus is guided by God through prayer and wishes his followers to do the same; (2) temptations "can be endured and overcome only through prayer;"[49] (3) the Christian community needs to engage in this activity continuously; and (4) prayer, particularly petitionary prayer, "is an important means by which God has guided His people."[50] Turning to Acts, O'Brien finds that the same

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[42] For a detailed analysis of the eleven explicit Lucan prayer texts see my dissertation *The Prayer Texts of Luke-Acts* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1986).

[43] Harvie M. Conn, "Luke's Theology of Prayer," *Christianity Today* December 22 (1972), p. 6.

[44] Conn, pp. 6f.

[45] Conn, p. 7.

[46] Conn, p. 8.

[47] *Tyndale Bulletin* 24 (1973) 111-127.

[48] O'Brien, p. 120.

[49] O'Brien, p. 120.

[50] O'Brien, p. 121.

concerns continue to direct Luke's use of prayer. Jesus had taught by word and example that the disciples should pray constantly to receive God's guidance and "the evidence of Acts, particularly the summary statements, shows that the early church and its members heeded this injunction to pray without ceasing."[51]

Relying heavily on the work of O'Brien, Allison Trites[52] accepts the conclusion that in Luke-Acts prayer serves as the means whereby God guides salvation history. Trites begins with a qualified acceptance of Ott and continues with an acceptance of O'Brien, briefly mentioning Harris.[53] His contribution to the quest for a fuller understanding of the Lucan prayer theology is to add detail, gleaning additional Lucan texts in support of conclusions reached earlier by other scholars.[54]

The significance of prayer as a means whereby God directs salvation history has been challenged by Charles Michael Fuhrman's unpublished dissertation.[55] He has no intention of denying the connection between prayer texts and salvation history in Luke, but he does suggest that the idea is not unique to Luke: Luke's sources also display the same tendency. Fuhrman accepts the conclusion of Ott as the basis for his case: "The 'stackpole' for understanding Lukan prayer appears in a seemingly bland but highly significant redactional comment in 18.1: 'men ought always to pray and not lose heart.'"[56] He affirms the significance of prayer in the Lucan writing (Fuhrman is dealing with the Gospel only) by concluding: (1) Luke introduces prayer on many occasions, but most importantly at major turning points in the ministry of Jesus; (2) Jesus is presented as the primary exemplar of one who prays; (3) Luke desires to "promote prayer as a normative part of life in his church;"[57] (4) Luke supports his call to prayer with the promise that God does indeed hear and respond to prayer; and (5) Luke's stress on prayer is well suited to his understanding of God's divine plan—salvation history.[58]

It is Fuhrman's qualification of his fifth point that seeks to add a corrective to the emphasis given by Harris and others to Luke's presentation of prayer as a means by which God guides salvation history. Fuhrman argues:

> In antiquity prayer stereotypically attended the crisis points of existence. This fact should temper the claims that Luke views prayer as the means by which God has guided redemptive history. In the context of prayer in the ancient world it would have been more striking had Luke not portrayed Jesus as praying at important junctures of his ministry.[59]

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[51] O'Brien, p. 127.

[52] "The Prayer Motif in Luke-Acts" in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles Talbert (Danville, Va.: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 168-186.

[53] See Trites, p. 168, fn. 2.

[54] I. Howard Marshall's *Commentary on Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) seems to be influenced by the direction that has been established in dealing with Lucan prayer emphasis. See, for example, Marshall's comments on the Transfiguration, p. 74.

[55] *A Redactional Study of Prayer in the Gospel of Luke*, Diss.,Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981.

[56] Fuhrman, p. 283.

[57] Fuhrman, p. 285.

[58] Fuhrman, pp. 283-289.

[59] Fuhrman, p. 287.

Furthermore, Fuhrman's redactional study suggests that "prayer appears at moments of importance for salvation history in Mark and Q as well as in Luke."[60] Although Fuhrman accepts the idea that God directs salvation history through prayer,[61] he relegates that concern to a secondary status, arguing that primarily "Luke is concerned to encourage prayer in a church that must live out its existence in history in the absence of the parousia."[62]

Fuhrman's understanding of the data must be challenged in three substantial ways. First, the fact that Luke uses sources as he tells his story does not lead one to any particular conclusion about Luke's purpose for using the material. In other words, the use of sources and the concepts conveyed by those sources does not force one to conclude with Fuhrman that the link between salvation history and prayer is secondary for Luke. Regardless of the origin of the idea, the question of Luke's intent is to be decided on the basis of other criteria. Furthermore, Luke's addition of prayer references at crucial points in the ministry of Jesus (Jesus' baptism and transfiguration, for example) indicates that Luke is concerned with far more than simply reproducing the prayer theology of his sources.

Second, certain Lucan passages that strengthen the case that Luke sees prayer as a means of guiding salvation history have been casually dismissed by Fuhrman. For example, Fuhrman suggests that Simeon's prayer (Lk. 2.29-32) is inclined "to celebrative, doxological themes,"[63] and, more specifically, that "the chief significance of this text is that it continues the Lukan pattern of demonstrating that Jesus was born into the cradle of a devout and law-abiding Jewish piety."[64] Fuhrman does not recognize that this prayer of Simeon is the first Lucan statement of what proves to be an important, distinctive and definitive theological concept: the Messiah, promised in the Hebrew scriptures, arrives to offer salvation for Jew and Gentile alike. There can be no doubt about the theological centrality of this theme in Luke's two volume work nor regarding the fact that it is with the Nunc Dimitis that Luke chooses to introduce it to his readers. Luke's entire second volume is designed to demonstrate the way God accomplishes that which is first proclaimed by Simeon's prayer.

Third, Fuhrman's study is limited to Luke's Gospel, although his original intent was to study Acts as well.[65] While his study offers valuable insights into the first of Luke's two volumes, the significant role of prayer in the Acts of the Apostles must be considered to develop a thorough Lucan theology of prayer.[66]

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[60] Fuhrman, p. 325 (attached abstract).

[61] Fuhrman, p. 219, cf. p. 160

[62] Fuhrman, p. 288.

[63] Fuhrman, p. 278.

[64] Fuhrman, p. 228.

[65] Fuhrman, p. 290.

[66] That Luke and Acts must be considered in tandem for a full understanding of Luke has long been recognized. For example, Adolf von Harnack summarized the purpose of Acts as "*The Power of the Spirit of Jesus in the Apostles manifested in History*" (Harnack's emphasis). *The Acts of the Apostles*, trans J. R. Wilkinson (New York: Putnam, 1909), p. xviii. In *The Book of Acts: The Struggle for an Unhindered Gospel* (Nashville: Broadman, 1955), p. 17, Frank Stagg also contends that the work of the church in Acts was the continuation of the work of Jesus. Allison Trites, p. 181, states: "Prayer, then, is as decisive for the Book of Acts as it is for the Third Gospel."

Joseph Fitzmyer's commentary on the Gospel of Luke notices the importance of the role of prayer in Luke-Acts.[67] He argues that Luke exhorts his fellow Christians to be constant in prayer "lest apostasy be their lot. For this communing with God is the mark of their faith, as Luke 18.1-8 makes clear: God will vindicate those who cry out to him. . . ."[68] Fitzmyer also mentions a continuation of the theme in Acts,[69] concluding that prayer is a necessary ingredient in the life of a faithful disciple.

Fitzmyer's contribution to the scholarly understanding of Luke's theology of prayer is twofold. First, he gives proper emphasis to the role of prayer in the Lucan writings when he includes "prayer" as a substantial subtitle under his general discussion of Lucan theology. Secondly, he correctly stresses the fact that the Twelve are "to engage in 'prayer and ministry of the word' (Acts 6.4),"[70] noting the order of the terms: "Luke clearly suggests that prayer is as important for the life of the Christian Apostles as 'the ministry of the word,' i.e. the preaching of the Christian message."[71] I am convinced, however, that Fitzmyer understates the role of prayer in the Apostolic ministry. Noting that Luke lists prayer before "the ministry of the word," I agree with Jerome D. Quinn who concluded: "Prayer was, to this author's mind (Luke), the first task imposed by the Gospel and consequently the primary work of the Twelve."[72]

The scholarly research into Luke's theology of prayer strongly suggests that Luke values prayer as the means whereby God guides salvation history.[73] The following examination of Luke's use of prayer in each of the epochs of his understanding of salvation history confirms this thesis. Many scholars have suggested that Luke seems to hold a three-phase concept of God's redemptive activity—the age of Israel, the age of Jesus' ministry, and the age of the Church. To do justice to Luke's presentation of the material, however, I would add a fourth dimension—the age of completion, which will be discussed below.

For a view contrary to Harnack, Stagg, Trites and many other scholars, see C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts* (1916, rpt. New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1969). On p. 68 Torrey argues: "In relation to the Third Gospel, the Book of Acts was plainly *an afterthought*," (Torrey's emphasis).

[67] *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX)*, "The Anchor Bible" (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1981).

[68] Fitzmyer, p. 247.

[69] Fitzmyer, p. 245.

[70] Fitzmyer, p. 246.

[71] Fitzmyer, p. 246.

[72] Jerome D. Quinn, "Apostolic Ministry and Apostolic Prayer," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 33 (1971) 479-491, p. 487, fn. 39.

[73] Additional works of note include Bo Reicke, The Gospel of Luke, trans. Ross Mackenzie (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1964); A. R. C. Leaney, *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*, 2nd ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966); P. Samain, "Luc, évangeliste de la prière," *Revue Diocessaine de Tournai* 2 (1967) 422-426; Lindell O. Harris, "Prayer in the Gospel of Luke," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 10/1 (1967) 59-69; John Navore, "Prayer," *Scripture (Bulletin)* XX/52 (1968) 115-125; Timothy C. G. Thornton, "Short Comment: Continuing Steadfast in Prayer," *Expository Times* LXXXIII (1971) 23-24; L. Monloubou, "La prière selon saint Luc," *Lectio Divina* 89 n.p. (Paris: Cerf, 1976); and Ludger Feldkamper, *Der betende Jesus als Heilsmittler nach Lukas* (Bonn: Steyler, 1978).

An understanding of salvation history as a deliberate, divine plan seems to be for Luke a guiding purpose of Luke-Acts. God's activity to redeem persons links the two volumes, unifying the entire story from the faithful Zechariah in Jerusalem to the missionary Paul under house arrest in Rome. As a participant in the third stage of salvation history, the age of the Church, Luke writes not primarily as an historian but as one who proclaims the Gospel to Theophilus and others with the hope that the reader might accept the truth of the divine plan, become part of the people of God, and learn how to function within the new reality. Luke is not an apologist but a preacher revealing his own personal commitment and desire to have others share the faith,[74] as he invites others to involvement in God's salvific efforts.

Of course, interest in salvation history is not limited to Luke; other NT writers share the same concern, but the Lucan emphasis in and development of the theme is unique. Luke's Christ comes at a certain point on a continuum of saving activity, building upon and fulfilling that which God had previously revealed and pointing towards the reality God will eventually actualize.[75] Moreover, Luke distinctively presents the various elements of salvation history as part of a preconceived, deliberate design of God.[76] When Luke's Jesus prays at the Mount of Olives, for example, he is seemingly aware of a significant difference between his own desire (θέλημά μου) and the will of the Father (βούλει) (Lk. 22.42), for in Luke βούλομαι/βουλή conveys the concept of divine will as an eternal and deliberate design. Luke frequently uses these terms to identify the divine scheme (Lk. 7.30, Acts 2.23, 5.38f., 13.36 and 20.27).

That God's plan of salvation is deliberate and predetermined in Luke's mind is seen several times in the first two chapters of the Gospel. For example, the Magnificat concludes:

> "He has helped his servant Israel,
> in remembrance of his mercy,
> as he spoke to our fathers,
> to Abraham and his posterity for ever."

As God planned and promised, so God does. The prayer of Simeon and the Benedictus sound the same praise of God who is accomplishing that which has long been planned. Fitzmyer offers other illustrations:

> Luke makes use of several expressions that speak of God's having predetermined things that have taken place: 'For the Son of Man goes his way, as it had been determined' (Lk. 22.22). Jesus is preached as the one preordained by God to be the judge of the living and the dead (Acts 10.42; cf. 17.26,31). Luke further depicts Paul's conversion as ordered by God in this salvific plan (Acts 22.14; 26.16).[77]

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[74] See C. K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (London: Epworth, 1961), particularly p. 52; and Otto Betz, "The Kerygma of Luke," *Interpretation* 22 (1968) 131-146, particularly p. 132.

[75] Fitzmyer, p. 179.

[76] I am following here the basic outline of Fitzmyer, pp. 179ff., adding observations of my own.

[77] Fitzmyer, p. 179.

Fitzmyer points to additional indications of the divine strategy in the Lucan writings. In contrast to sparse use by his fellow Synoptists, Luke frequently uses "δεῖ" to express the necessity of events. One case in point is that for Luke it was necessary for the Son of man to suffer and be rejected (Lk. 17.25; cf. 24.26); furthermore, Paul's trip to "stand before Caesar" was a necessary thing (Acts 27.24).[78] The prologue to his Gospel illustrates his stress on "fulfillment," particularly in relation to the idea of salvation history: Luke speaks of "the things which have been accomplished [come to fulfillment] among us" (1.1). Finally, "that this plan of God concerns the 'salvation' of human beings receives in the Lucan writings a special emphasis."[79] One finds a "striking frequency with which the nouns and verbs referring to salvation have been used in the Lucan writings."[80] For example, Luke refers to Jesus as "Savior" in his Gospel (2.11 [1.47 uses the term of God]), while Mt. and Mk. do not use the term at all. Jesus is also twice identified as Savior in Acts (5.31 and 13.23).

The uniqueness of the Lucan presentation of salvation history is seen in his development of the continuum of God's saving efforts. Stressing that Christ is the fulfillment of the old and the definitive factor of the new, Luke demonstrates that the new or current, third age also has its role to play in the continuing unfolding of the redemptive design. Luke gives obvious punctuation to the "current age," the time of the Church. Directed through prayer, it carries on the work of Israel and the Messiah, bringing others into the Kingdom of God and awaiting in hope the final act of the salvific drama. Providing evidence of his concern, Luke writes both a Gospel and an Acts of the Apostles. Neither suffices in and of itself; he needs the two together to accomplish his goal. Salvation history continues and Luke is inviting his readers to participate in the divine saga.

Luke consistently demonstrates the significant role prayer plays in the working out of the divine plan in each of the four stages of salvation history. In prayer persons come to know and accept the will of God. Through prayer, individuals and the community at large receive direction for their participation in the divine activity. By means of prayer the power to fulfill responsibilities is given the human participants. In other words, prayer is God's way of guiding and implementing the accomplishment of His will.

First, there is the age of Israel. Luke presents a variety of characters to demonstrate various responses of those of the age of Israel to the Christ event. Simeon, Zechariah, Elizabeth, Anna and others are examples of Israel, faithful and devout, awaiting the fulfillment of God's promises. Luke offers Paul as an example of recalcitrant Judaism, working against the Messiah but coming to an awareness of his own blindness. Gamaliel seems to represent those in Judaism who patiently consider the possibility of Jesus being the Messiah in accordance with the Law and the prophets. Many Jews, like those who become the Apostles, readily accept Jesus as the Messiah. Of course, some Jews decide against Jesus, but Luke never completely closes the door on Judaism—acceptance of the Christ always remains an option.

In the age of Judaism, prayer is presented by Luke as a definitive characteristic of the faithful fulfilling their duties and awaiting the next phase of the drama, the

[78] See Fitzmyer's impressive list comparing Luke to both Mark and Matthew, p. 180.

[79] Fitzmyer, p. 181.

[80] Fitzmyer, p. 181.

coming of the Messiah, with hope and expectation. Zechariah receives the first announcement that the new age is dawning while he is in the Temple burning incense (Lk. 1.9), an offering to God accompanied with prayer. Meanwhile the multitude, praying outside of the Temple, is representative of the same expectant Judaism. Luke adds to the image of watchful Judaism with his portrait of Simeon (Lk. 2.22ff.) and Anna (2.36-38), employing Simeon's prayer as the means to introduce the distinctive theme of universal Messiahship.

Second in the four-part scheme of salvation history is the time of Christ—the one who is a glory for Israel and a light for the Gentiles, according to the prayer of Simeon. Christ is the one expected by the old and preached in the new age, the new dividing line between the people of God and those opposed to or ignorant of the divine will. Jesus and John the Baptist, the key participants in the age of the Christ event,[81] are also distinquished by their prayer life. Luke is the only evangelist to explicitly identify John as one who teachs his followers to fast *and pray* (Lk. 5.33). Mt. and Mk. refer to the fasting and one could certainly argue that prayer normally attended that discipline; but, nonetheless, only Luke sees fit to explicitly mention that activity. Luke also has the disciples of Jesus ask to be taught to pray as the disciples of John had been so instructed by their master (Lk. 11.1), again identifying John's interest in prayer.

The Lucan portrayal of Jesus deserves fuller attention. We will first examine the examples of Jesus' praying, noticing the way prayer functions to guide his actions in fulfilling the divine plan;[82] then, we will look at the instruction on prayer offered by the Lucan Jesus.

Of the various accounts in which Luke describes Jesus at prayer, only two are shared with the other Synoptists: the prayer at the Mount of Olives (22.39ff.) and the ones from the cross (23.34,46). Jesus' prayer at the Mount of Olives displays the obvious touch of the redactor's hand in reworking the sources to convey Luke's interest in prayer as the means whereby God guides Salvation History. The prayer itself, taken over by Luke from Mark (cf. Mk. 14.36) with significant variation, presents an obvious contrast between the will of God (εἰ βούλει) and the will of Jesus (τὸ θέλημά μου), which Luke intends for he adds to the Markan version this carefully selected combination of words. βούλομαι "represents the will as resulting from reason and reflection"[83] and tends "to convey the nuance of the divine will as eternal purpose"[84] (cf. Lk. 7.30, Acts 2.23, 4.28, 13.26 and 20.27 for βούλομαι/βουλή used as the "will of God"). In Luke θέλω "expresses a more spontaneous intention,"[85] representing "the will as arising from natural bent or desire."[86] In fact Luke is the

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[81] I agree with Fitzmyer's reevaluation of Conzelmann's dividing of the three stages so as to include John the Baptist in the time of the Christ event; Fitzmyer, p. 185.

[82] John Navore, "Prayer," *Scripture Bulletin* 52 (1968), p. 115: "Luke associates prayer with the most important moments in Jesus' life." For similar observations, see Cadbury, p. 113 and Donald Guthrie, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1965), p. 86.

[83] J. Warren Holleran, *The Synoptic Gethsemane: A Critical Study* (Rome: Universita Gregoriana, 1973), p. 88.

[84] Holleran, p. 88.

[85] Holleran, p. 88.

[86] Holleran, p. 88.

only Synoptist "who expressly uses the word for human will"[87] (cf. Lk. 23.25). After carefully considering the two words, J. Warren Holleran concludes: "we are perfectly justified in concluding that the contrast intended by Luke in the two halves of v. 42 is that between the resolute, predetermined and immutable counsel of God and the natural inclination of the human will of Jesus."[88] Holleran echoes the conclusions of Gottlob Schrenk: "In Lk. 22.42 Jesus with his εἰ βούλει appeals to the divine will, design and counsel, and makes Himself dependent on it at the very moment when the humanly anxious request for help and deliverance presses for utterance."[89]

Jesus' prayers from the cross, Lk. 23.34,46, also convey something of Luke's understanding of salvation history. The first, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do," exemplifies the nature of God which makes salvation possible. Forgiveness is extended to the entire crowd gathered for the crucifixion and it bears fruit as seen in the reaction of the Roman Centurion and as seen in the multitude when, after the death of Jesus, they "returned home beating their breasts" (v. 48). The reaction of the Roman and the multitude is, in part, a fulfillment of the truth first uttered in prayer by Simeon, for he identified Christ as the one who would be "a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy (God's) people Israel" (Lk. 2.32). The second prayer from the cross, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit," sanctions the concept of complete trust in God, even in the face of death. Jesus, the exemplar of the faith, faces death with confident, childlike trust, totally accepting the will of God. Luke's presentation of these prayers of Jesus reveals the distinctive Lucan concern to relate them to God's guidance of Jesus for the purposes of salvation history. The other prayers, unique to Luke, also reveal his interests.

Luke 3.21-22 recounts the story of Jesus' baptism, noting that Jesus was praying when the heavens opened to issue the dove and divine voice.[90] "The only distinctive Lucan element in [the story] is to notice that the heavenly identification of Jesus took place while he was at prayer,"[91] for this information is all Luke adds to his source. Apparently in response to his prayer, it is at this moment that Jesus receives the Holy Spirit, the power that will direct all he does and says through the rest of his ministry. For Luke, Jesus assumes his role in the salvific plan only through prayer.

While prayer is a decisive component in the beginning of his ministry, the Jesus of Luke is presented as one who prays habitually. Following the cleansing of a leper, Jesus found "great multitudes" gathering around him to hear his teachings and to be healed. Jesus' response to the pressing crowd was to withdraw to the wilderness for prayer (Lk. 5.16). "Luke does not have Jesus go to simply get away from the crowd (cf. Mk. 1.35) rather, in Luke, Jesus is more purposeful—to pray, alone."[92] Moreover, the words of the account suggest repeated action: the two participles, ὑποχωρῶν and προσευχόμενος, with the imperfect of "to be," ἦν, argue that Luke

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[87] Schrenk, *TDNT*, III, p. 59. Schrenk adds: at Luke 22.42 "Jesus negates his own will in Gethsemane."

[88] Holleran, p. 89.

[89] Schrenk, *TDNT*, III, p. 633.

[90] See Marshall, *Luke*, p. 152.

[91] Fitzmyer, p. 481. Contra Bultmann, Fitzmyer does not consider the baptism episode to be the consecration of Jesus as the Messiah. Fitzmyer points back to the birth narrative.

[92] Marshall, *Luke*, p. 210.

is suggesting "iterative action"; Jesus was in the habit of retreating to isolated places for prayer.[93]

To prepare himself for the selection of twelve of his disciples to be Apostles, the Lucan Jesus spent an entire night praying on a mountain top (Lk. 6.12-16). Luke mentions prayer twice in his introduction to the story, as if to underscore the significance: "he went out to the mountain *to pray;* and all night *he continued in prayer to God*" (v. 12). Fitzmyer concludes that "Jesus chooses the 12 with God's blessing,"[94] but that seems to underestimate the Lucan point. Considering Jesus' concern to do the will of his Father (Lk. 11.2; 22.42) and his identification with the Father (Lk. 10.16), it seems more accurate to suggest that for Luke, God selected the twelve to be named Apostles and revealed His will to and through a Jesus prepared and receptive because of prayer.

Connected with another aspect of God's saving activity, prayer precedes the Confession of Peter and Luke's initial announcement of the rejection and suffering Jesus has been preordained by God to endure (Lk. 9. 18-22). Luke follows Mark in placing this announcement after Peter's statement of faith, but Luke introduces the event by saying "as [Jesus] was praying alone" (v. 18). In this instance, Luke is not only connecting the suffering of Jesus with the will of God; but he is also suggesting that Jesus came to the awareness of the need for suffering through prayer and that Jesus had prayed for Peter's understanding of the events that would follow.[95]

As an affirmation of Peter's confession of faith and of the glory awaiting Christ in the fourth age, the time of completion or fulfillment, Luke next offers the reader his account of the Transfiguration (Lk. 9.28-36). Only this Gospel writer states that Jesus' purpose in ascending the mountain was to pray (9.28) and only Luke portrays Jesus as praying in preparation for the experience (9.30). Marshall correctly observes: "if Jesus was transfigured then it must have been through his reflecting the glory of God in whose presence he was while at prayer."[96] The disciples see the glory that will belong to Christ, thereby coming to a fuller understanding of Jesus in the salvific scheme; but the Lucan account seems also to be a commentary on Jesus' prayer life: in prayer Jesus enters the divine presence.

The prayer offered by Jesus upon the return of the Seventy missionaries he had dispatched to precede him is also Q material, but Luke treats the material as a prayer rather than as a logion, like Matthew (Lk. 10.21-22; cf. Mt. 11.25-27). This prayer of Jesus identifies Jesus' unique role in the plan of salvation and is a statement of Jesus' rejoicing upon the realization that the work he came to do will continue beyond himself and the Twelve. The nameless missionaries were successful, indicating the action of God in and through them. God is directing an ever expanding number of disciples to accomplish the divine will.

By way of introducing the Lord's Prayer, only Luke has Jesus engaged in an act of prayer and only Luke has one of the disciples specifically ask to be taught to pray (Lk. 11.1-4). Whatever else it might be, the Lucan Lord's Prayer is a rehearsal of the experience of salvation. The faithful are taught to pray for that which they have already experienced, requesting more of the same, while looking forward to the full

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[93] Fitzmyer, p. 575. Fitzmyer points to paragraphs 325 and 353 in *BDF.*

[94] Fitzmyer, p. 616.

[95] See P. T. O'Brien, p. 115, Trites, p. 174 and Hamman, *La Priere,* p. 80.

[96] Marshall, *Luke,* p. 383.

coming of the Kingdom of God. Those praying the Lord's Prayer recognize themselves as recipients of the benefits of salvation history and participants in the divine drama as they acknowledge the eschatological dimension of the salvific plan.

Finally, in the account of the conversation about Peter's upcoming denial, only the Lucan Jesus says to Peter: "I have prayed for you that your faith may not fail; and when you have turned again, strengthen your brethren" (Lk. 22.32). In its Lucan version, this story suggests that Peter's role in the ongoing saga of salvation history is ensured with Jesus' intercessory prayer on Peter's behalf. Note that Jesus has absolute confidence in his prayer for he assumes that Peter will "turn" (i.e., return to faith from denial) and that Jesus' interest is not just in Peter but in the others Peter will be able to help. Peter has a job to do in God's plan and Jesus prays confidently that Peter will be empowered by God for the task.

In addition to presenting the reader with examples of Jesus' prayer life and the way his role in salvation history is directed through prayer, Luke also has Jesus instruct his followers about prayer and its significance. In the Sermon on the Plain, Jesus instructs: "But I say to you that hear, love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you" (Lk. 6.27-28). Mt. 5.44 says simply: "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you." Luke has seen fit to duplicate each statement, adding emphasis (and definition) to the concepts of love and prayer. Luke uses Q material as he has Jesus say to the seventy being sent out as missionaries: "pray . . . the Lord of the harvest to sent out laborers into his harvest" (Lk. 10.2; cf. Mt 9.37). Matthew's Jesus apparently limits the instruction to pray for the people to the Twelve (cf. Mt. 10.1) and is motivated by Jesus' compassion upon the crowd. But the words in Luke have a wider audience and are more directly related to the proclamation of Jesus which is part of the divine salvific plan (cf. 10.16).

The three parables on prayer offered in 11.5-8, 18.1ff., and 18.9ff. are found only in Luke. The parable of the Friend at Midnight follows the instruction the Lucan Jesus offers in the Lord's Prayer and counsels persistence in requesting God's help (11.5-8). The account of the Unjust Judge is intended to teach people that "they ought always to pray and not lose heart" (18.1) and concludes with a question: "when the Son of man comes will he find faith on earth?" (18.8). Continual prayer is necessary for faith to continue, and for individuals to remain part of and connected with salvation. Jesus' story of the Pharisee and the tax collector who go to the Temple for prayer (Lk. 18.9-17) speaks of the crucial relationship between the attitude of the one praying and the efficacy of the prayer. It also demonstrates that God is open and receptive to the sincere prayer of any person.

Other prayer-related statements attributed to Jesus by Luke are informative. When Jesus entered the Temple upon his arrival in Jerusalem, Luke has him say: "It is written, 'My house shall be a house of prayer'" (Lk. 19.46). Mk. and Mt. record the saying as "My house shall be called a house of prayer" (Mk. 11.17; Mt. 21.13). The full saying is a conflation of Is. 56.7 and Jer. 7.11.[97] Mark accurately quotes the phrase from Isaiah (LXX) and Luke seems deliberately to alter the words, omitting the idea of "called." Marshall suggests that "there is no very obvious motive

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[97] The passage in Isaiah contains both the phrases "house of prayer" and "called a house of prayer," though Mark and Matthew apparently have the second occurrence in mind.

for the change,"[98] but three observations by Cadbury seem to suggest otherwise. First, when dealing with the account of Jesus in Jerusalem, Luke is largely dependent upon Mark;[99] thus, we can assume that Luke is aware of the Markan phrasing about the Temple being *called* a house of prayer. Second, Luke changes the καὶ ἔλεγεν of Mk. 11.17 to λέγων,[100] indicating Lucan editorial effort (Lk. 19.46). Third, Luke introduces the aorist ἐποιήσατε (19.46), for the Markan perfect (11.17),[101] again indicating editorial concern for the verse. Since Luke makes changes in a section where he follows Mark so closely, it is reasonable to suggest any change is deliberate. The reason for the change may be to identify more closely the Temple *as* a house of prayer rather than a Temple which may also be called a house of prayer. The difference is subtle but in concord with the general Lucan interest to elevate the role of prayer in comparison to Mark. On the other hand, when the significance given prayer is in accordance with his purposes, Luke retains Markan sayings without alteration; for example Lk. 20.47 condemns those who "for a pretense make long prayers," as does Mk. 12.40.

During his discourse on the end of the age (Lk. 21.1-36), the Lucan Jesus offers this concluding advice, found only in Luke: "watch at all times, praying that you may have strength to escape all these things that will take place, and to stand before the son of man" (21.36). The wherewithal to withstand the temptation to apostasy and remain a true and faithful disciple is to be attained through prayer. The idea is echoed in the repeated phrase "pray that you may not enter into temptation" (Lk. 22.39,46) used to frame the account of Jesus' prayer at the Mount of Olives. The importance Luke attaches to Jesus' counsel to pray so as to avoid temptation is clearly demonstrated by having Jesus repeat the admonition in the brief account of Jesus' prayer at the Mount of Olives.

Looking back over the prayer example and teaching presented by Luke through Jesus' life and ministry, one gets a clear picture of a Jesus who was directed and empowered by God to accomplish an assigned task in the salvific plan. Jesus, aware of the role of prayer, taught his followers by word as well as example to rely upon prayer for through it God will guide the faithful through salvation history, keeping them firm in the faith and, finally, bringing them into the full Kingdom of God. But, if it is true that prayer is the means whereby God guides salvation history, we would expect to find in Acts an obvious continuation of the motif. In fact, Luke presents the material of Acts so as to suggest that the example and teaching of Jesus is repeated.[102] What Jesus did and taught, the early Church continued. The third stage of salvation history proceeds like the first two with God working through persons of prayer to accomplish His design.

That third stage is the current time, the day of Luke's readers—the time of the Church—which is to continue the work of redemptive history by proclaiming what

[98] Marshall, *Luke,* p. 721.

[99] Cadbury, p. 110.

[100] Cadbury, p. 135.

[101] Cadbury, p. 163.

[102] David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), p. 119. cf. C. H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 15-23; and Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke. A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), p. 42.

God has done for persons from the time of Abraham, through Christ, and into the present situation. The prayer indications in the Acts of the Apostles prove to be a continuation of the Lucan understanding of the role of prayer in salvation history.[103] The Church, as presented by Luke in Acts, faithfully follows the prayer example set and taught by Jesus. Eight points summarize the prayer material found in Luke's second volume:

1. Prayer is the appropriate means of preparing oneself for a life of service to the purposes of God's salvific plan. As Jesus prepared himself for ministry through prayer at his baptism, the Apostles, as instructed, devoted themselves to preparatory prayer before Pentecost (1.14). "Just as the Holy Spirit had come upon Jesus after the baptism of repentance and in response to his prayer to empower him for his work, so the Spirit which the risen Christ has poured out (Acts 2.23) is given to the disciples, after prayer, to empower them for their mission."[104] Even Luke's summary description of the expanded community after Pentecost includes the aspect of prayer: "they devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers" (2.42):[105] these newest disciples were preparing themselves for the work that would be theirs. When facing the warnings and threats of the established religious hierarchy which was attempting to silence the young Christian community, the faithful prayed: "grant to thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness" (4.29). Immediately they were prepared by God and filled with the Holy Spirit so that they "spoke the word of God with boldness" (4.31).

2. Prayer is an expression of rejoicing at the evidence of God's saving activity in the world. Jesus prayed upon the return of the seventy (Lk. 10.21-22), rejoicing in God's salvific involvement in the world. When Peter and John are released from prison, the gathered community of Christians offers a prayer that primarily seeks the continued manifestation of God through their efforts to proclaim the word boldly (Acts 4.23-31). One aspect of that prayer is that it rejoices in all that God has been doing from the act of creation, through David and the ministry of Jesus, and in the work of the post-resurrection community of the faithful. They ask that signs and wonders might attend their effort to preach the Gospel, but the reader knows that these signs have already been witnessed in their work (cf. 2.43 and 3.1-10) and feels

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[103] Prayer in Acts: the community is devoted to prayer (1.14). Prayer attends the selection of Matthias (1.24), the definition of the community (2.42), worship at the Temple (3.1), the release of Peter and John from prison (4.24), and conversion (8.14). Simon requests prayer (8.20) and is told to pray (8.22). The resurrected Jesus mentions the prayers of Paul in his conversation with Annanias (9.11). Prayer is connected with Cornelius (10.1,4), Peter (12.5), and the commissioning of Paul (13.3, with fasting) and others (14.23). Prayer is part of Peter's life: he goes to the Temple at the hour of prayer (3.1), prays for converts (8.14), and is asked for prayer (Simon, 8.20). Peter prays before he raises Tabitha (9.4) and before the Cornelius episode (10.9, cf. 11.5). Stephen (7.59) and Cornelius (10.1, cf. 10.30) are men of prayer. Paul prays regularly (16.13,16), when in jail (16.25), for church leaders (20.36), with church leaders (21.5), before his mission (22.17), and before the healing at Malta 28.7ff.).

[104] Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke. A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), p. 42.

[105] See Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 191; Munck, *Acts*, p. 23; and Foakes Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, IV, pp. 27-28.

confident that they will continue. The prayer, then, is a rejoicing in what has happened, asking that it might continue.

3. Prayer is habitual, offered regulary at the established times as well as at other moments.[106] As we have seen, the Lucan Jesus regularly prayed (e.g., Lk. 5.16-17 and 11.1) at the established times for prayer (Lk. 4.16) and spontaneously (Lk. 10.21). Peter and John went to the Temple at an appointed hour of prayer (3.1) and Peter is pictured as one who prays at the regular hours even when he is not in Jerusalem (10.9). Paul and Timothy sought out a place of prayer and worship when they were in Philippi (16.11-15) and evidently were in the habit of going to such a place (16.16). Luke has Paul report that he received his commission from God to carry the Gospel to the Gentiles while he was praying at the Temple (22.17-21).[107] Of course, the Christian community also prays spontaneously (e.g., Acts 4.24ff.; 7.59,60; 16.25).

4. Prayer is a proper aspect of commissioning, authorizing certain persons for specific roles in salvation history.[108] As prayer precipitated Jesus' selection of the Twelve (Lk. 6.12), prayer is the means whereby Matthias was selected to fill the Apostlic office vacated by Judas (1.24). The commissioning of the Seven, including Stephen, for their role within the Church was accomplished with prayer and the laying on of hands (6.6). The prophets of the church at Antioch were "worshipping the Lord and fasting" (implied prayer) when they were directed by the Holy Spirit to "set apart" Barnabas and Paul for their roles in salvation history (13.1-2). The "setting apart" was accomplished by "fasting and praying" (13.3). The elders of the churches at Lystra, Iconium and Antioch were commissioned to their roles of leadership by means of prayer (14.21-23). Paul prayed with the elders of the church at Ephesus (20.17, 36), when he and they knew that he would not be with them again (20.38). In view of his actions in 14.21-23, Paul's prayer with the Ephesian elders suggests a commissioning.

5. Prayer frequently is offered before events that prove to be significant manifestations of God's saving activity. Prayer attended Jesus' announcement of his suffering (9.18) and his Transfiguration (9.28-29). Prayer prepared the Apostles as they

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[106] A theme closely related to prayer, praise plays a significant role in the Lucan writings. "The prayer of praise occurs more frequently in the Lukan writings than in the rest of the New Testament together," Navone, p. 185. There is an atmosphere of "worship, praise and thanksgiving running through the Gospel of Luke," (Trites, p. 174) and it "is carried over into Acts (4.24; 11.18; 13.48; 16.25; 21.20) and surely comes very close to the heart of prayer," (Trites, p. 174).

[107] Trites, p. 183: "The earliest Christian community did not abandon the observance of Jewish worship patterns."

[108] I am using "commissioning" here in an informal, non-technical sense rather than as a specialized term denoting a strictly defined literary motif. For more on "commissioning" as a technical term, see Benjamin J. Hubbard, "Commissioning Stories in Luke-Acts: A Study of Their Antecedents, Form and Content," *Semeia* 8 (1977) 103-126; Hubbard, "The Role of Commissioning Accounts in Acts," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (Danville, Virginia: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 187-198; and Terrance Y. Mullins, "New Testament Commission Forms, Especially in Luke-Acts," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976) 603-614.

awaited their empowering which came with obvious public recognition at Pentecost (Acts 2.1ff.). Following the prayer of the community upon the release of Peter and John from prison, "the place in which they were gathered together was shaken," and they were filled with the Holy Spirit again that they might speak "the word of God with boldness" (4.31). They prayed for and received the power they needed to fulfill the very task they were called to accomplish (cf. Lk. 24.45ff.). Prayer guided Peter to the acceptance of Cornelius as the first Gentile convert to the faith (10.9, 11.5), as it marked and guided Cornelius as well (10.3-4). Peter prayed in preparation for the raising of Tabitha (9.40), as Paul prayed before the healing of Publius' father (28.8). The prayers and singing of Paul and Silas while imprisoned precipitated their miraculous release (16.25ff.).

6. The faithful disciples prayed for others that they might be part of God's plan, as Jesus had prayed for Peter (Lk. 22.31), counseled prayer for enemies (6.28), taught his followers to pray for laborers in the work of God (10.21), and prayed forgiveness from the cross (23.34). Following the example of his Lord, Stephen prayed for the forgiveness of those who were killing him (Acts 7.60). Peter and John traveled from Jerusalem to Samaria that they might pray for the empowering of the Samaritan converts (8.14ff.). Upon seeing the power of prayer and the laying on of hands, Simon Magnus offered the Apostles money for the power (8.18.ff.). Peter rebuked him, telling him to pray for God's forgiveness (8.22) and Simon, in turn, requested the prayers of Peter (8.24). The reader expects Peter to honor the request, assuming that Simon's "repentance" is sincere. Additional intercession is seen when Herod had James killed and Peter arrested (12.1ff.) and the Christian community made "earnest prayer for him [Peter]" (12.5).

7. One prays to know, accept and implement the will of God; so Jesus prayed at the Mount of Olives (22.39). The same attitude is presupposed in the prayer the community offered before Pentecost (1.14), when it prayed at the selection of Matthias (1.24), and as it faced opposition and sought the continuing empowerment of God (4.24ff.). This disposition is also accepted as the underlying assumption of Stephen's death prayers (7.59,60). Paul reports that his Gentile mission was ordered by God in response to prayer (22.17ff.).

The importance of prayer as the way of knowing, accepting and implementing the divine purpose is nowhere more obvious than in Luke's description of the crucial importance of prayer as an Apostolic function. Prayer is mentioned first: the Apostles say, "we will devote ourselves to prayer and the ministry of the word" (Acts 6.4). The word order might seem strange in view of the commissioning given them by Jesus that "repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations" (Lk. 24.47) and that the Apostles should be his witnesses "to the end of the earth" (Acts 1.8). But Luke is convinced that the ability of the Apostles and others to carry out their role within the salvific plan depends upon their prayer life. "Prayer was, to this author's mind the first task imposed by the Gospel and consequently the primary work of the Twelve."[109] The Apostles would not be able to proclaim the message given their charge if they did not adequately prepare themselves with prayer.

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[109] Jerome Quinn, "Apostolic Ministry and Apostolic Prayer," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 33 (1971), p. 487. Quinn, however, too broadly defines prayer, equating it with worship in general, see Quinn, pp. 487-488. Fitzmyer also mentions prayer as an Apostolic duty, p. 246. Also see Haenchen, p. 263.

In response to prayer God guides, directs and empowers the faithful to accomplish His aims.

8. The death prayers of Stephen (Acts 7.59,60), like those of Jesus (Lk. 23.46), demonstrate that one can pray with assurance. Luke consistently reports that the prayers of the faithful, seeking involvement in the plan of salvation, are answered positively and immediately. The expectant community is given the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and is empowered to speak the word of God boldly immediately upon requesting that blessing (4.31). Paul raises Tabitha immediately following prayer (9.40).

Luke wants his readers to know that they can depend upon the divine response to prayer as surely as they can depend upon God Himself. To illustrate the point powerfully, Luke presents the case of Paul. He was present at Stephen's death (7.58) and, by his own admission, was consenting to the deed (22.20). When confronted with the resurrected Jesus, this foe of the Christian community sought God's forgiveness of his past deeds and acceptance into the family of God.[110] At about the same time, the Christ appeared to Ananias in a dream and instructed him to go to the stricken Paul (Acts 9.1-19). Ananias was understandably reluctant, fearing this one who had done so much evil against the Christians; but Christ instructed him to go to Paul and Ananias finally consented, showing his unqualified acceptance of the will of God (Christ) by addressing Paul as "brother" (9.17). The justification Luke offers the reader for the acceptance and care Ananias was to show Paul is simply: "[Paul] is praying" (9.11). God hears and answers prayer.[111]

The evidence in the Acts of the Apostles leads us to conclude that for Luke prayer is as instrumental in guiding salvation history in the age of the Church as it was in the age of Jesus or the age of Judaism. In fact, "Prayer was so characteristic of Christian discipleship that 'calling upon his name' was often used as a synonym to describe what it meant to be a Christian (Acts 2.21; 7.59; 9.14, 21; 22.16)."[112]

The fourth stage of God's redemptive plan is also related to prayer. The Kingdom of God is for Luke a present reality but it is not yet complete. The unhindered, fully experienced Kingdom of God can only be known in "the age to come." At the transfiguration three Apostles were given a glimpse of the future glory Jesus would enjoy (Lk. 9.28ff.), but the full kingdom remains a future expectation that will come in the glory of the Father, the Son of man, and the holy angels (Lk. 9.26; cf. Acts 1.11). Jesus taught his followers to pray for the Kingdom to come in its fullness (Lk.

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[110] Cf. Acts 22.16 and 26.9-11. Haenchen, p. 323, notes that in Acts 9.9 Paul refuses food and drink as an act of penance.

[111] Luke also offers his readers an example of prayer which lacks confidence. Consider the case of the sailors on the ship taking Paul to Rome (Acts 27.27ff.). For fourteen days the ship drifted across the sea of Adria and on one particular night, the sailors, presumably Alexandrians (27.6), fearing that the ship might run onto the rocks in the darkness, prayed that day might come (27.29). But the sailors apparently lacked confidence in the god they addressed for they attempted to ower a boat into the water from the ship that they might escape. Their plan was thwarted by Paul's intervention. The verb for prayer used in 27.29, εὔχομαι, is to be translated "to pray" or "to wish." Its only other use in Acts is found on the lips of Paul in 26.29, where it clearly means "to pray."

[112] Trites, p. 184.

11.1ff.), advising them to watch for that day, praying for strength to escape the tribulations and to stand before the judge, the Son of man (Lk. 21.36).

Short of that day, the faithful individually enter the full Kingdom with prayer. The reader of Luke-Acts knows that the faithful disciples will be accepted into that realm upon death for the reader has been given the example of Jesus who died with a prayer upon his lips: "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit," (Lk. 23.46b). Furthermore, as proof, the reader has been given the account of Jesus' ascension into the Kingdom (Lk. 24.51 and Acts 1.6-11) and she expects those who are true to Christ to follow.

The case of Stephen proves the reader's belief: when faithful Christians die, they enter heaven to be with Jesus. As Jesus had died asking the Father's acceptance (Lk. 23.46), which was obviously granted, so Stephen dies, praying the same request to the resurrected Jesus (Acts 7.59). As proof of his acceptance into heaven, this servant of Christ witnessed the Son of man *standing* at the right hand of God in preparation for receiving him. Luke is here presenting a personal eschatology alongside a more traditional view of the Christ who is yet to come. As C. K. Barrett states, Luke "adds (1) the notion that the Son of man comes to the individual Christian at the moment of his death; and (2) the belief that the Christian at death passes immediately into the presence of Christ in the heavenly world, without waiting for the general resurrection."[113]

Stephen is receiving the reward that has been promised to the faithful. In Lk. 12.8 Jesus states: "And I tell you, everyone who acknowledges me before men, the Son of man will acknowledge before the angels of God." Lk. 6.22f. affirms the same message: "Blessed are you when men hate you, and when they exclude you and revile you, and cast out your name as evil, on account of the Son of man. Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy, for behold, your reward is great in heaven; for so their fathers did to the prophets." Stephen has been excluded and reviled and hated, now he stands ready to receive the blessing promised by Jesus. Luke adds the dimension of prayer to the transitional experience of death; prayer links the faithful disciple of this world to the reality of existence in heaven with Jesus, the fourth and final stage of salvation history. Salvation history is God's effort to bring persons into proper relationship with Himself and the fullness of that effort will not be realized until the Kingdom comes into the world or the faithful leave this world for the Kingdom.

Throughout both of his volumes, Luke's explicit prayer texts sanction particularly important elements in his view of the role of prayer in salvation history, instructing the reader in the interconnectedness and intentional design of the four phases of the redemptive design. Using the sanctioning power of prayer, Luke employs prayer texts to convey his distinctive understanding of the role of prayer in the ongoing saga of God's redemptive plan. These eleven prayers unhesitatingly affirm that prayer has been and continues to be the means whereby God guides salvation history.

Simeon's prayer (Lk. 2.29-32) introduces the distinctively Lucan theme of Gentile acceptance into the Kingdom of God. It places the Christ event in the context of the divine salvific plan, revealed through Hebrew tradition. Furthermore, it establishes reaction to God's Messiah, Christ, as that which will separate faithful from recalcitrant Judaism—the "rising and falling" of many of the house of Israel.

Jesus' prayer upon the return of the Seventy (Lk. 10.21f.) demonstrates his unique

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[113] C. K. Barrett, "Stephen and the Son of man," *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), pp. 36-37.

status in the divine scheme and that the power and authority to be ministers of the Kingdom is shared by Christ and a number of disciples. Additional proof that faithful disciples will be empowered to accomplish their role in salvation history is provided in the prayer the Christian community offers upon the release of Peter and John from prison (Acts 4.24-31.)

The Lord's Prayer (Lk. 11.2-4) is a model inviting devotees to rehearse their own experience of salvation history within the context of requesting more of the same. It promotes the concept that individual Christians are part of a continuing community which uses prayer to express its dependence upon and eagerness to work with God. It affirms the possibility and centrality of forgiveness in the divine plan. The forgiveness theme is echoed with emphasis in the death prayers of Jesus (Lk. 23.34) and Stephen (Acts 7.60).

The efficacy of prayer is largely determined by the attitude of the one praying. The suppliant's disposition towards God and other persons are inseparably linked, as Jesus' story of the Pharisee and tax collector at prayer in the Temple indicates (Lk. 18.9-14). The proper attitude towards God includes the trust and confidence in God that even allows the faithful disciple to face death with calm assurance in the divine will and in the promise of heaven(Lk. 24.46 and Acts 7.59). Devotees are assured that God is trustworthy, continuing to guide His Church by responding to its prayers (Acts 1.24-25). The responsibility upon those who seek to be in proper relationship with God is to seek His will and the wherewithal to accomplish the divine imperative in prayer (Lk. 22.42).

Prayer is presented by Luke as a necessary element in the life of the faithful people of God in each of the four phases of salvation history. Jesus teaches his disciples to pray and the Apostles are charged with the responsibility of ensuring the continued proper practice of prayer in the life of the Church. Throughout his entire two volumes, Luke is careful to affirm without hesitation that God does indeed answer the prayers of the faithful so that His plan of salvation might be accomplished. The community of believers can rest assured that as they pray God will hear and answer. Prayer content is to express concern for the divine plan of salvation or celebrate God's activity on behalf of persons. Simply put, Luke's entire prayer theology centers on salvation history and the role the faithful have within that plan.

Election/Calling in Certain Pauline Letters: An Experimental Construction

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Even if we have not reached a consensus, in the past few years we have clarified the issues involved in our exploration of Paul's theology. Our discussions focusing on the methodological issues as well as on the substance of Paul's theology have been illuminating and provocative. Differing opinions have emerged about where we should look in the letters to find intimations of Paul's theology. Jewett, Dunn and Krentz have sought clues to Paul's theology in the argument of the letters, Gaventa in the deep structure, Martyn in the points of friction generated by the theological event of the reading and hearing of the letter, Richard Hays and Stowers in the "kerygmatic story," Victor Furnish in the method of argumentation, and Jouette Bassler in the function of fundamental convictions.[1] Bassler's very stimulating paper last year was informed by the work of Daniel Patte who questions doing Pauline theology as a history of ideas, and instead seeks clues to Paul's theology in self-evident, foundational convictions which "because they cannot be demonstrated by argument, they must remain in the background."[2] Although I tend to agree with Patte against Tom Wright who sees Paul's theology as an integrated set of beliefs, I, nevertheless, am at a loss as to how one would tease conclusions out of his position. Moreover, if we cannot demonstrate these foundational convictions by argument or evidence, how would we know when we had discovered them? Furthermore, the relationship between the foundational convictions and Paul's context is dialectical—i.e. they were constantly being shaped by the "contingency" (to use

[1] Edgar Krentz, "Through a Prism: The Theology of 2 Thessalonians" (1986); Robert Jewett, "The Theology of 2 Thessalonians as a Pauline Letter" (1986); J. D. G. Dunn, "The Theology of Galatians," SBLSP (1988), 1-16; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," SBLSP (1988), 17-26; J. Louis Martyn, "Human Entry into the Covenant Community on the Original Conditions, or Divine Invasion into the Enslaved Cosmos on No Conditions? A response to the paper by J. D. G. Dunn," (1988); Victor Furnish, "Theology in 1 Corinthians: Initial Soundings," SBLSP (1989), 248; Jouette Bassler, "Paul's Theology: Whence and Whither? A Synthesis (of sorts) of the Theology of Philemon, 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, and 1 Corinthians," SBLSP (1989), 412-423.

[2] *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel: A Structural Introduction to the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), p. 11.

Beker's word) and shaping it in turn. This means that even the "foundational convictions" are likely to be unstable. Indeed, this does, as Bassler noted in her response to Kraftchick, make our task much more complex, but I think not entirely impossible.[3]

The chief rival to this attempt to find Paul's theology in the function of these foundational convictions is the propositional approach—namely the search for major themes of Paul's theology that govern and control everything he said and did. Richard Hays correctly pointed out the problems in the propositional approach. The difficulty is that it is unnecessarily restrictive. Hays argued that it takes insufficient account of the role and function of narrative in shaping Paul's theology. I would add that it pays inadequate attention to the language, symbols and syntax of a community's grammar which does more than describe reality. Very often, perhaps most often, Paul deals with concrete issues of daily life rather than the nature of being. He concerns himself with immoral behavior, marriage to unbelievers, the eating of idol meat, respect for leaders, support for the Jerusalem poor, persecution, etc. Therefore, rather than working from convictions in the background of the discourse, or propositions in the discourse, I propose instead to investigate the election/calling language of the discourse, noting where it breaks the surface of the text and attending to the symbols, metaphors, cultic acts and myths making up that larger interpretive scheme. I hope to go beyond *klesis* and *ekloge* to deal with the grammar of Paul's theology calling and election realizing that these words are less key propositional statements than they are key elements in a larger field of discourse. By grammar, of course, I mean more than the parts of Paul's sentences. I refer instead to the way election/calling fits with a whole series of structural relationships that makes it possible to use language correctly. One of the problems with isolating "foundational beliefs" (Patte) or articulating an "integrated set of beliefs" (Wright) is that these approaches tend to understate the dynamic and dialectical character of Pauline theology and to obscure the relationships of key items like election and calling to other elements. It is the peculiarity of these relationships and of their emergent novelty that distinguishes one religious system from another and even one letter from another.

Election and calling are hardly commonplaces unworthy of further discussion. Certainly, the phenomenon of election is not restricted to the Jewish and Christian traditions. All self-conscious religious peoples in the ancient Near East from the Sumerians to the Egyptians, and from the Hebrews to the devotees of the hellenistic mystery religions had ways of talking about themselves as elect peoples. Nevertheless, we can hardly assume, as did Schleiermacher, that one experience of religious self-understanding underlay all of these different espressions of election. Rather, there was a discourse about election, a way of talking about election in each setting with its different language, myths, symbols, history, rituals and experience, that distinguished each from the other. Sumerians did not talk about election as did the Egyptians, nor the Egyptians as did the devotees of the hellenistic mysteries, nor even the Deuteronomist as did the apostle Paul. Each had a language, history, set of symbols, and myths that profoundly affected the way election was understood.[4]

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[3] See Bassler's "Reply to Stephen J. Kraftchick," (1990), p. 4.

[4] In developing this approach I acknowledge my debt to George A. Linbeck, *The nature of Doctrine, Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), pp. 32-41.

Our efforts will be directed to seeking some clues to Paul's theology of election in his language and symbols and the way they functioned. Given the limits of time, space and energy my treatment will include only a rather short list of items relevant to this discussion: Nomination, consecration (or holiness), and suffering. Since this language is highly context sensitive, I will discuss the letters seriatim allowing the linkages to develop in the course of the discussion, but my investigation will not include 2 Corinthians and Philemon because in neither is either election or calling explicitly emphasized.

1 Thessalonians

As suggested above, we must rely not on a single word set but on a network of words, metaphors, symbols, rituals and myths to learn Paul's election theology in 1 Thessalonians. If we were to rely only on Paul's use of the word *ekloge* for our consideration, our investigation of 1 Thessalonians would be brief, for the word only appears once. In addition to the singular reference to the noun *ekloge* outside of Romans (in 1 Thess 1:4) references to "calling" occur in 2:12 (*kalountos*); 4:7 (*ekalesen*); and, 5:24 (*ho kalōn*). These are joined by uses of *keimetha*, (destined) in 3:3 and *etheto* (appointed) in 5:9. Elsewhere, other vocabulary pushes into this cluster: *ekklesia, en theō*, and *en christō* (1:1; 2:14; 4:16 and 5:18). Finally, *hagiazō* and its derivatives associate with this language family. For convenience we shall discuss this language under three headings: nomination, suffering, and consecration.

1. Nomination

Biblical critics have long been aware of the importance of nomination, but they have not seen the relevance of their observations about nomination for Paul's theology of election. Mark Taylor expresses well what should have been noticed by us all: "A name awakens identity by *calling forth, setting apart, establishing difference.*"[5] Much is known about the symbolic significance and even magical power of the name of God in Jewish traditions. In Philippians (2:6-11) and 1 Corinthians (1:2; 1:10; 1:13; 1:15; 5:4 and 6:11) the name of Jesus Christ figures prominently. Every knee shall do obeisance to the name (Phil 2:10), and all baptised Christians, we hear, are incorporated into the name. In 1 Thessalonians Paul makes no reference to incorporation into the name through baptism, but the opening line of the salutation tells us that Paul addresses the *ekklesia . . . en . . . kyriō Iesou Christō*. While this *en Christō* language clearly is pre-Pauline it at least symbolizes the special status of the addressees if it does not take for granted their symbolic incorporation into Christ through baptism. Interestingly, of the skimpy ten references to Jesus Christ[6] in 1 Thessalonians four refer to the life and service of believers "in Christ." In addition to 1:1 just noted, 2:14, if genuine, refers to the churches of God in Judea *en Christō Iesou;* 4:16 calls to mind "the dead *en Christō*"; and 5:18 blesses the piety of those who rejoice, pray and give thanks: "for this is the will of God for you *en Christō Iesou.*"

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[5] *Erring, A Postmodern A/theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 34.

[6] Accuracy requires that we note almost the same number of references to "the Lord" in 1:6, 8; 3:8, 12; 4:6, 15, 16, 17; and 5:12.

What is peculiar about the prominent usage of this *en Christō* language in 1 Thessalonians is the way the inclusion of both the living and the dead "in Christ" secures the tie of the living with the dead, a tie that in the view of some Thessalonians had been finally and irrevocably severed. Support for this observation comes in Paul's single use of the term *hagioi* in 1 Thessalonians 3:13 referring to the "*parousia* of our Lord Jesus with all his *hagiōn*." Thus some sense of shared existence with the company of departed *hagioi* is created through nomination, and the believers take their place in a network of codependent believers.

In the salutation Paul addresses his hearers as the "*ekklesia . . . en theō*," a unique phrase in Paul signifying a mystical identification.[7] That Paul was the first to use the term *ekklesia* to name the eschatological congregation seems unlikely since the LXX had already identified Israel as the *ekklesia kyriou* (Dt. 23:2; 1 Ch. 28:8; Neh. 13:1; Mi 2:5, etc.). Given this prior use, the adoption of this term for those in Christ was natural enough. So it is unnecessary to strain the etymology of *ekklesia* to make it the functional equivalent of election. For although the word was firmly rooted in the secular ritual of the herald calling the citizens of the *polis* into the *ekklesia*,[8] the Septuagintal traditions of God calling Israel out of the world into assembly offers the more theological linkage of the term to God's elite.[9] When Paul uses the phrase *ekklesia en theō* to salute his "brothers and sisters" he further marks its otherworldly status. As Richard Hays has noted this association claims to erase their identity as *ethne* incorporating them into the elect of God.[10] Given their previous worship of "dumb idols," their nomination as those *en theō* carried with it a common history and a common destiny. The common history began only recently with Jesus, his "word," suffering and death, and imminent *parousia*. (Interestingly three of four references to Jesus' *parousia* in the Pauline letters occur in 1 Thess—2:19; 3:13; 4:15, and 5:23 vs. 1 Cor 15:23.)

Perhaps these gentile converts have been incorporated into the covenant community of Israel, as Tom Wright suggests, but at most all we can say is that at this point the incorporation is only implicit in what Paul says about being *en theō*. If we had only this letter from Paul's hand it would be difficult to know with certainty that that was the case. Paul, for example, makes little of the history of Israel that had been grafted onto his gentile converts. There are no explicit Old Testament quotations in the letter, though there are "echoes." No reference to Israel's covenant occurs; no mention of the patriarchal or matriarchal figures appears; no allusion to nomos comes to view. To be sure an apocalyptic tradition with a cascade of metaphors occurs in 4:13-5:11, but Paul makes no attempt to hook this tradition into the experience of Israel. The history Paul sketches first touches earth with Jesus, his death, his cited word (4:15), and continues through Paul's missionary visit, preaching and spirit inspired work into the recent past with Timothy's return from a mission to Thessalonica. This is obviously a very abbreviated history, but it is the one shared with those *en theō*.

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[7] There is a single reference to Jews boasting "*en theō*" in Romans 2:17.

[8] See K. L. Schmidt, "*ekklesia*," *TDNT*, III, p. 531.

[9] I use the term like the French *D'elite* meaning choice, picked or select.

[10] "Crucified with Christ: A Synthesis of the Theology of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians," (1988), 17.

2. *Suffering and Election*

> You know, brothers and sisters beloved by God, [concerning] your election (*ekloge*), that our gospel did not come to in word only but also in power and the holy spirit in much conviction. You know what kind of men we were among you on your account. And you became imitators of us *and of the Lord, welcoming the word in much affliction* with joy in the holy spirit. (1:4-6)

In this passage the *modus vivendi* of the elect is suffering.[11] Elsewhere the association with calling is much more direct. In 2:12-16 Paul associates the calling with suffering. He recalls how, as a "father," he admonished, encouraged, and charged the Thessalonians "to walk worthily of God who calls you (*kalountos hymas*) into his kingdom and glory." After recalling their reception of his *kerygma* as the *logon theou* (2:13) he remembers how they became imitators of the churches in Judea. If 2:14-16 with its references to Judean persecution of the prophets, Jesus and Paul is genuine, then it serves as the conclusion to the calling reference and the antecedent of the reference to "these afflictions" in 3:3 for which "you yourselves know that we were destined (*keimetha*). . . ."[12] In 3:4 Paul continues to remind his addressees that he had previously warned them "that we were to be persecuted as it happened as you know." This web of allusions, references, and recall are all designed to show that suffering is a *sine qua non* of God's calling.

Karl Donfried explains the letter primarily if not solely as a response to persecution, and his thesis deserves further study.[13] I think, however, that the origins of the letter were somewhat more complex than Donfried allows. Even granting that letters conceal more than they reveal, Paul worries about some problems in 1 Thessalonians which hardly presume persecution as their cause. For example, he frets over lapses into "pagan" behavior and he warns that impurity is an offense against God (4:1-9). Yet, Donfried's basic point is sound—disillusionment was present because the suffering of the Thessalonians seemed so much more real and immediate than Paul's gospel. Paul's confident hope tends to suppress contrary voices about failed prophecy. But Paul's theological response is to locate his hearers in a geneology of suffering that stretched from the prophets to the parousia of Jesus. The elect have as their model the prophets, Jesus and Paul and they in turn become examples for the persecuted in Macedonia, Achaia, and everwhere else (1:6-8 and 2:12-16). So while being *en theō* and *en Christō* bestowed on the baptized a common heritage and destiny, the suffering and *parousia* give that history and destiny its content.

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[11] I make no claim for the originality of this observation. Karl Donfried, "The Theology of 1 Thessalonians as a Reflection of its Purpose," was correct on this point. Paul's association of election and tribulation is now acknowledged by consensus. See John S. Pobee, *Persecution and Martyrdom in the Theology of Paul,* JSNT 6 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985); E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr.* FRLANT 90. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); Scott J. Hafemann, *Suffering and the Spirit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986). Tom Wright and J. D. G. Dunn have made the same point in their contributions to this seminar. See also R. Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), pp. 93f.

[12] The implied actor behind the passive *keimetha* was God.

[13] See his "The Theology of 1 Thessalonians as a Reflection of its Purpose," (1986).

3. Called for Holiness – Consecration

> For God has not called us for impurity (*akatharsia*) but unto holiness (*hagiasmō*). Consequently, whoever disegards this, disregards not humankind but God who gives his holy spirit (*pneuma autou to hagion*) unto you. (4:7-8)

This statement shares the outlook of the holiness code in which Yahweh commands, "be holy as I am holy" (Lev. 11:44; 11:45; 9:2; 20:26, etc.). The "holy spirit" to which Paul refers three times (1:5, 6; 4:8) is the spirit of the Holy One and is constituitive of the conduct which God's calling implies. That holiness implies separation from the unholy, although what that means has not been yet thought through by Paul. It is this separation that gives the community its identity and shapes its self-understanding. Members of the community are defined by their separation from those doing "*porneia*" (4:2), from "those not knowing God" (4:5), from the impure (4:7), from those "who have no hope" (4:13), from those who say "peace (*eirene*) and security (*asphaleia*)" in the present eschatological crisis (5:2), from those of the darkness (5:4), from children of the night (5:5), from the sleeping (5:6), and from the drunk (5:7).

In 4:1 Paul begins a discussion on the proper way "to walk and to please God," paralleling the call to holiness in 4:7. Then after reminding his addressees of his instructions given in person "through the Lord" when he founded the church (4:2), he gives a general exhortation to "abstain from *porneias*" for "This is the will of God your holiness (*hagiasmos*)" (4:3). To disregard this instruction, he warns, is to disregard God. Elsewhere this warning is given eschatological sanction by associating it with the *parousia* of Jesus. In 3:13 Paul emphasizes holiness and blamelessness in the light of the imminent *parousia* as the condition of the called existence.[14] Paul links his addressees with the holy dead at the *parousia* as Jesus returns "with all his *hagioi*" (3:13; see 5:23f for a similar prayer). This linkage of the calling to holiness with inclusion in God's kingdom and history's final *denouement* is reminiscent of Jewish apocalyptic traditions (e.g., I Enoch 100:5; CD IV:4-6 and Daniel 7:18, 22, 25, and 27).[15]

We should hardly leave the impression that Paul's theologizing was so neat and tidy. By linking the identity of the community inextricably with being "in Christ," holiness and suffering, Paul may have suppressed conflicting voices and opinions. The emphasis on steadfastness in persecution may mask both the nature of the opposition and the degree of defection. The emphasis on cleanness, holiness, and morality may conceal the level of ambivalence or doubt in the community about what one assigns to the world outside and what is admitted inside. And what in the end is distinctively Pauline about this letter is hardly the individual elements. The designation of the elect as holy and persecuted is hardly without precedent in Jewish

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[14] On this point I hope I am in agreement with Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p. 65. See also Ulrich Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit: Eine exegetische-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu 1 Kor. 1 und 2.* Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 26 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959), pp. 41-42.

[15] Donfried, "The Theology of 1 Thessalonians and a Reflection of its Purpose," 5-6, noted the distinctive but not unique character of the holiness language in 1 Thessalonians and linked it with persecution in Jewish martyrological literature.

martyrological traditions, as Donfried notes; and the nomination of the elect as the *ekklesia* or those *en Christō* or *en theō* did not originate with Paul. The combination of these elements, however, may come to have a distinctly Pauline character in other letters. At least at this point Paul shows no awareness that his gospel is novel or that it departs from the received tradition of the early church.

Philippians

In Philippians there is no explicit reference to election (*ekloge*) and only one reference to calling. In 3:14 Paul writes of his "upward call of God in Christ Jesus." Consideration of Philippians is germane, nevertheless, for language does appear in this letter that belongs to the grammar of election in the early church.

1. Nomination as Election

As in Paul's other letters certain vocabulary functions in Philippians to describe a community whose identity depends on its relationship to God in Christ. For example, the letter is addressed to *pasin tois hagiois en Christō Iesou* in Philippi (1:1). Elsewhere, Paul calls the addressees the "children of God" (*tekna theou* in 2:9),[16] the "circumcision" (*peritome*, 3:3),[17] citizens of heaven (3:20),[18] the *koinōnia* of the gospel and of the spirit (1:5; 2:1), and even as "the lights of the cosmos" (2:15).[19] In spite of the appearance of this rich array of metaphors to signify the *ekklesia* (4:15), it is 2:6-11 that emphasizes most strongly the symbolic significance of the name, Jesus Christ, with which Paul's hearers identify and which identifies them.[20] In 2:9-11 we hear that God has exalted Jesus and "bestowed on him the name (*onoma*) which is above every name (*onoma*), in order that at the name (*onomate*) of Jesus every knee should bow in heaven, on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the father." Paul does not yet speak of being baptized into the name, as he will later, but the benediction of the letter expresses the hope that the peace of God will keep the hearts and minds of his addressees *en Christō Iesou* (4:7). Earlier he calls on them to "rejoice *en kyriō*" (3:1). Paul also rejoices in this mythical association, since he gave up all of his claims to status as a Pharisee in order that "I might be found in him. . . ." (3:9), and now presses on "to the upward call (*kleseōs*) of God *en Christō Iesou*" (3:14). We see, therefore, that Paul's "in Christ" language is multi-dimensional. It refers to Paul's apostolic call or mission (3:14), to

[16] Close readers will recognize this as a unique expression in Paul's undisputed letters.

[17] As opposed to the *katatome*, the mutilators.

[18] So I would take the implied meaning of "your *politeuma* is in heaven."

[19] Perhaps Paul describes persecuted believers with language drawn from the Jewish apocalyptic tradition. Note especially how the elect in Enoch "shall shine like the lights of heaven" (I Enoch 104:2), and how the *maskilim* in Daniel "shall shine like the brightness of the firmament" (12:3).

[20] No claim is made here that Paul created this material, only that he endorsed it. I fully agree with John Reumann's suggestion that the "in Christ" language connects "God, Paul, and the Philippians" made in his "The Theologies of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians: Contents, Comparison, and Composite," SBLSP (1987), p. 529.

suffering for Christ's sake (1:13), as well as to the symbolic association with Christ (1:1).[21] One can insist on the importance of this association without raising the specter of the Christ mysticism debate that has divided German scholars for decades.

2. *Suffering as Calling*

The vocation of this calling and of those nominated as the *peritome*, as those in Christ, citizens of heaven, etc. is, as in 1 Thessalonians, suffering. Paul's upward call is realized in the struggle to "become like him in his death" (3:10) and his imprisonment understandably secured the linkage between his apostolic call and the suffering of Jesus. Paul's rather sunny optimism tends to eclipse his dark foreboding. But, occasionally that optimism is challenged as in 1:20-26 where Paul reveals his awareness of the specter of death hanging over him. In 1:19 he uses "deliverance" (*sōterian*) as a *double entendre* to refer both to death and his release from prison. The possibility of his execution is acknowledged through 1:20 where Paul expects to honor Christ in his body "whether by life or by death." In 2:17 he uses cultic metaphors to speak euphemistically of his execution: "Even if I am to be poured out as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all." Even Paul's move to reassure his readers speaks eloquently of his hardship: "not that I complain of want; for I have learned in whatever state I am to be content" (4:11).

Yet Paul is of a double mind, for while contemplating his death he expresses his hope to visit Philippi soon (2:24; cf. 1:26). His divided thinking is evident as he thinks about matters out of his control. On the one hand, he says, "My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better." But on the other hand he notes that "to remain in the flesh is more necessary on your account" (RSV 1:23-24). Even as he acknowledges the reality of the threat facing him he expresses the conviction that "I shall remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith, so that in me you may have ample cause to glory in Christ Jesus, because of my coming to you again" (RSV, 1:25-26).

Whatever his prospects, his present suffering is real, and he obviously feels a strong bond with the Philippians formed by their mutual distress informed by Christ's suffering. Although Paul's circumstance dominates the letter, the Philippians also, according to Paul, can expect to "suffer for his [Christ's] sake, having the same *agōna* which you saw in me and which you now hear to be mine" (1:29-30). The Christ story including its emphasis on Jesus' humiliation and death is to be their model (2:5-11). And they are invited to imitate Paul rather than those behaving as "enemies of the cross of Christ" (3:17-18). So rather than having a geneology of suffering like that in 1 Thessalonians we have a partnership or *koinōnia* of suffering in Philippians.[22]

Pheme Perkins has suggested that in Philippians we see the beginnings of an attempt by Paul to undermine status claims either constructed against various kinds

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[21] The dimensions of this language appears in F. Neugebauer, *In Christus, en christō; Eine Untersuchung zum Paulinischen Glaubensverständnis* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961).

[22] Here I am obviously indebted to Ralph Martin. See his *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii 5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Settina of Early Christian Worship* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967).

of civic piety or advanced by Jewish Christian missionaries.[23] In surrendering his own status as a circumcised Jew, as an Israelite, as a Benjaminite, as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," as a Pharisee blameless under the law (3:5-6), and as an imitator of Christ in his death (3:10), Paul at least implicitly devalues rival status claims. This tendency, as we shall see, will become much more explicit in 1 Corinthians.

Paul has not yet thought through the implications of his dialectic. Does his position simply replace one set of claims to status with another? In calling the church the *peritome* (not "true circumcision" as RSV), has Paul even yet faintly realized the implications of his theology of election for assessing the traditions of Yahweh's covenant with Israel? Has he realized the gravity of the threat posed by the "dogs," the "evil workers," the "flesh mutilators"? (3:2) So far, the explication of his theology is tied much more closely to the oppression suffered by those marginalized by their belief in Christ. If Paul has not yet realized the danger posed by the rival Jewish Christian missionaries, that would explain the absence of a sustained, vigorous defense of his views on an election theology that includes the *ethne* qua *ethne*. As we shall now see, that situation would soon change.

Galatians

The noun "election" (*ekloge*) appears nowhere in Galatians. That is hardly surprising because in Galatia the terms of rather than the fact of the election were in dispute. Unlike 1 Thessalonians (2:16 and 4:5) and 1 Corinthians (12:2 and 1:24) where the presence of gentiles qua gentiles in the eschatological community goes unchallenged and unjustified, a different set of problems emerge in Galatia that evoke different images and some of Paul's most fiery rhetoric.[24] That context doubtless did influence Paul's choice of language, metaphors, and even rhetorical approach. As long as theirs is a community identity we would expect Paul to speak of their nomination even if radically altered. His discussion of the cross develops in quite a unique fashion. To those issues we now turn.

1. Nomination

Surprisingly, only Galatians and Philemon of Paul's undisputed letters make no reference to believers as *hagioi*, to holy behavior, or even to the holy spirit. We shall not speculate on the reasons for this omission. Balancing this omission is the appearance of language so common in Paul as to appear habitual. He addresses the congregations as the *ekklesiais tes Galatias* (1:1). He acknowledges that they have been *called* by God's grace (1:6), that they are recipients of the spirit (3:3), the redeemed of Christ (3:13), the freedmen and women (5:1), children of promise (4:28, *tekna epangelias*), and those baptized *eis Christō* (3:27). One filament in this language web

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[23] Pheme Perkins, "Christology, Friendship and Status: The Rhetoric of Philippians," SBLSP (1987), pp. 509-520.

[24] Interestingly, although most if not all of the believers in Philippi were gentiles, Paul makes no reference to the *ethne* in his letter to the Philippians. This is somewhat surprising since the presence of Jewish Christian challengers of Paul's mission were present. Nevertheless, Paul simply warns the congregation about them rather than trying to refute them. In Galatia Paul makes quite a different response.

shimmers in the light reflecting the elect status of the Galatians as well as their heritage and destiny, namely their nomination as the "Israel of God" (6:16).[25]

To these metaphors of inclusion must be added one more which plays a leading role in Galatians. Highly context sensitive the adoption metaphor springs out of Paul's tendency to use domestic metaphors to speak of God. Everywhere in Paul's letters God appears as "*pater*"; everywhere his addressees appear as *adelphoi.* One connects logically to the other. But in Galatians Paul expands twin metaphors with the adoption image to include those not belonging to Israel by natural descent. This symbolic descent was crucial for Paul's full inclusion of gentiles qua gentiles in the covenant community.[26] To accomplish this he constructs a geneology of faith that leapfrogs the centuries from Abraham to Christ whom he calls Abraham's *sperma.* By faith gentiles also are included as Abraham's *sperma* (3:15-19) and this inclusion is by adoption (4:5). The imposition of circumcision as a requirement for male inclusion for these adoptees provokes Paul's explosive response and dictates a novel election hermeneutic conveyed through Paul's use of the cross symbol.

In Galatians Paul's cross hermeneutic diverges noticeably from that of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians. In those earlier letters imitation of the suffering of Christ appeared as a *sine qua non* of election and calling. No longer is either the cross or Christ's suffering presented as a model for oppressed believers, nor as a riposte against enthusiastic boasting as in 1 Corinthians, but as a device for the inclusion of gentiles in God's eschatological community. In 3:10-14 Paul ingeniously constructs a logic that links the cross with the inclusion of gentile sinners (2:15). Paul's "inspired" exegesis of Deuteronomy 27:26 LXX begins with the announcement of a curse on all those who do not "abide by all the things written in the book of the law." In a loose citation of Deuteronomy 21:23 Paul finds a witness for his statement that Christ became a "curse"[27] through his crucifixion ("hanging on a tree"), and the result of this "sin offering" was that "he redeemed us [gentiles?] from the curse of the law becoming a curse for us" (3:13). Now Paul makes the obvious application of his

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[25] A voluminous literature has gathered around this unique phrase in Paul. See, for example, Peter Richardson's, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1969), pp. 79-84, which solves the problem in the passage by repunctuating it to read: "may God give peace to all who will walk according to this criterion, and mercy also to his faithful people Israel." Betz, *Galatians,* pp. 322-23 makes a strong case for reading this passage in its most restrictive and abrasive sense, namely to apply only to believers in Christ. Betz notes precedents for such a reading in the Qumran literature. It must be noted, however, that the issue is not straightforward. Note the mistranslation of this verse in the RSV to read, "Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God." To so translate "the Israel of God" in apposition to the church is only possible by excising the *kai* which should be read "and (*kai*) upon the Israel of God."

[26] On this point I trust I am in agreement with Norman Peterson, *Rediscovering Paul, Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), ch 2 and app. 216-217.

[27] Instead of "Everyman hanged from a tree is cursed by God" (LXX), Paul has, "Cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree." (LXX: *kekateramenos hypo theon pas kremamenos epi xylon.* Paul: *epikataratos pas ho kremamenos epi xylon).* Paul removes the reference to God (cursed by God) and the definite article. Paul seemed unwilling to say Jesus' crucifixion was due to God's curse.

exegesis: "in order that the blessing of Abraam might come upon *ta ethne* in Christ Jesus, [and] in order that *we* might receive the spirit through *dia tes pisteōs*"(3:14). Here, Paul's cross symbolism is subjugated entirely to his interest in including the gentiles. The character of that inclusion will soon become clear: the included are sons and daughters of God (3:26), adopted to be sure (4:5), but with the spirit of the son or daughter, nevertheless, saying "Abba," and no less heirs (4:7). Soon the metaphor is reversed as the addressees are no longer the excluded who are included but now the included children of the freewoman (4:31) witnessing the horrific exclusion of the slave woman and her son (4:30). These clashing metaphors shatter the traditional boundaries of exclusion and inclusion,[28] of superior and inferior to make room for both Jew and gentile by grace, in the eschatological community.[29] We cannot be certain that this exponential expansion of domestic language was generated by the collision of Paul's *pater* metaphor with what he saw as a pernicious revision of his gospel, but certainly *pater* fits well enough with the language of adoption to belong in a grammar of nomination that Paul hopes will shape the identity of his addressees. If election deals with the choice of a people by grace for life together in God's community, then this language clearly is about the terms of election even though the word *ekloge* nowhere appears.

2. Calling and Election

Four explicit references to calling appear in 1:6; 1:15; 5:8 and 5:13. One passage (1:15) refers to Paul's apostolic call which recieves an extended defense. The three remaining citations concern the calling of the Galatians (1:6; 5:8; and 5:13) with its attendant imperative. The reference in 1:6 enjoys priority of place inasmuch as it replaces the traditional thanksgiving with an expression of astonishment: "I am astonished," Paul says, "that you are so quickly deserting him who called you (*kalesantos*) in his grace for another gospel." Although the aorist participle (*kalesantos*) refers to the conversion of the Galatians, Paul's appeal to that past act of inclusion reveals its continuing significance for believers, especially those wavering between Paul's gospel and that of his rivals.

The calling allusion in 5:8 also aims to influence an outcome still in doubt: "You were running well; who hindered you from following the truth? This persuasion (*peismone*) is not from the one calling you (*kalountos*)." This categorical rejection of the competitors' truth claims fits a broader jagged pattern. Elsewhere, Paul asks his addressees accusingly, "Have you experienced so much in vain?" (3:4) Seeking to persuade his addressees of the gravity of their action, he expresses the fear that his work among them has been in vain (4:11), that they have fallen from grace, and that they are cut off from Christ (5:4). Using invective (3:1), threat (1:8f), and patronizing but affectionate language (4:19) Paul seeks to dissuade the Galatians from their experimentation with an alternative gospel and to dismantel the structures that give that experiment substance. In a radical statement of deconstruction in 5:11, Paul devalues a cultic act that functionally and historically had defined the elect of God by

[28] While I am sympathetic to the spirit of Dunn's article, I am uneasy with his suggestion that the circumcision of the gentiles would imply the "triumph of Israel as a nation state. . . ." p. 8 of his "The Theology of Galatians." The whole concept of the "nation state" is a product of primarily western experience in the past four centuries.

excluding them from all others: "For in Christ Jesus (*en . . . Christō Iesou*) neither circumcision nor uncircumcision matters at all, but faith working through love." At the end of the letter Paul writes in his own hand, repeating this devaluation of a primal rite that had always served as a sign of the covenant (*berith mela*): "For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything, but a new creation" (6:15).[30] Here Paul shows signs of being so absorbed in his exchange with the Galatians and with his efforts to dissuade them from their "error" that he fails to see the implications of these statements for the relationship between the *ekklesia* and the synagogue.

Paul's final calling remarks come in 5:13: "For you were called (*eklethete*) to freedom, brothers and sisters, only do not let the freedom become an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be a slave to one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one commandment: Namely, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'" (5:13).[31] Instead of his earlier worry about the Galatian desertion of their calling, Paul now gives the call a paradoxical character by linking freedom with communal obligation. He links the call to freedom to a commandment from Leviticus 18:19 (5:14) and appends a list of vices and virtues (5:19-24) without any evident tension whatsoever. If he senses any contradiction between his previous rejection of law observance and his present prescription of law observance, it is not anywhere reflected in the text.

It is difficult to explain these conflicting emphases. Perhaps the answer lies in the role *eleutheria* played in the dispute. Paul's reminder of the call to freedom recalls and emphasizes the statement in 5:1: "For freedom Christ has set us free." Up to 5:13 *eleutheria* had been the flashpoint of the conflict between Paul and his adversaries. In 5:13, however, Paul seems to anticipate or respond to charges that his law free gospel was antinomian and encouraged immorality.[32] As in 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians Paul associated the calling with moral behavior. That linkage is entirely traditional. What is new in the Galatian context is the use of calling as a warning against defection and as a legitimate and necessary concomitant of the freedom he continues to proclaim in Christ.

Exclusion as well as inclusion helps define the elect community. Except for the omission of the language of holiness and purity, we have in Galatians the conventional language of separation we have seen elsewhere. The call to freedom in 5:13

[30] Betz, *Galatians*, p. 263 interprets this devaluation to mean that "Paul separates Gentile Christianity from Judaism and establishes it *de facto* as a new religion." If the emphasis falls on *de facto* in this sentence then I would agree. That Paul was a radical reformer we may grant, but he himself probably did not know what "religion" was. He was obsessed and passionate in his desire to get to the "truth" (5:7), and revalued or devalued many rites that we know characterize religion to know that truth. But, he was not so removed from that truth that he could think in some pragmatic sense of creating a "new religion."

[31] I am uncertain if *eleutheria* and the "new creation" (*ktisis*) are coterminous as David Lull has suggested, but they are certainly complementary. Both clearly serve as descriptions of some aspect of the state of the believers. See David John Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1978), p. 110.

[32] At this point I go with Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 242-3 against Betz's demur, *Galatians*, pp. 272-3. Having grown up in a Diaspora community Paul could hardly have been unaware of these charges brought against Jews who drifted too close to or beyond the boundary.

is interpreted to mean walking by the spirit (5:16) and the suppression of "the desires of the flesh" (5:17). The examples of each in the vice and virtue lists (5:19-21 and 5:22-23) lend to calling a strong moral dimension. But, elsewhere in the letter, Paul's definition by exclusion gains relevance for the problems in Galatia. Paul compared the submission of the Galatians to the law to their peonage before being incorporated into Christ. Then they were slaves to the *stoicheia tou kosmou* (4:3); they were in serfdom to those things which by nature were no gods (4:8); they were in subjection to the weak and elemental spirits (4:9). And though Jesus gave himself for their sins to rescue them out of "this present evil age" (*tou aiōnos tou enestōtos ponerou*) (1:4),[33] Paul fears some are slipping back into the old familiar habits.[34]

Other cross references in Galatians are equally context sensitive. Where believers in Thessalonica experienced brutalizing persecution as a naked fact, Paul's competitors in Galatia "compel" believing males to be circumcised "that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ" (6:12). It is uncertain whether they will escape persecution from Jews because circumcision designated them as Jews, or will avoid gentile harassment because once identified as Jews by circumcision they would be entitled by Roman edict to practice their ancestral religion. What is certain is that the cross is Paul's measure of Galatian faith or reliance on works of the law. Citing his own example, Paul notes how being crucified with Christ implied death to the law (2:19). Later, he ties his ethical injunctions to an imperative informed by the cross: "those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires" (6:14). Immorality and accepting circumcision are equated—both are living by the flesh and Paul uses cross symbolism to counter both.

Paul's employment of cross symbolism in some rather convoluted ways to support his gospel of full inclusion of gentiles qua gentiles is novel and instructive. By differing so markedly from the cross symbolism in 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians,[35] it undermines our attempt to find what is foundational in Paul's theology. For if the cross is at the core of Paul's theology, as many would insist it is, it is simply insufficient to say the cross is foundational without noting the way the interpretation of the cross is changed by its context and then how it is bent back on its context to shape that as well. This dialectical relationship of symbol and setting is fundamentally unstable. Therefore, Paul's theology itself may resist our tendencies to come to rest in some resolution that may have a "totalizing" impact.[36] Paul's Galatian variation on the cross theme then may encourage us to look elsewhere to see how language, symbols and metaphors operate within the religion of the early church.

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[33] This verse if no other would convince me that J. Louis Martyn is correct about the apocalyptic character of this letter.

[34] Note 1:6; 3:1; 3:3; 3:4; 5:2; 5:4, etc.

[35] As we shall see below for 1 Corinthians.

[36] At this point I feel we would do well to heed the warning of J. Hillis Miller's essay, "The Critic as Host," in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, eds. H. Bloom et al. (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), p. 252. Miller notes that "Deconstruction attempts to resist the totalizing and totalitarian tendencies of criticism. It attempts to resist its own tendencies to come to rest in some sense of mastery over the work." Many criticisms of deconstructionism are certainly well deserved, and by any stretch I am no deconstructionist; however, if deconstructionism can help expose our presuppositions, and our thoughtlessness, and can bring to light emphases we repress then it can be a very useful tool.

I trust I am not too far from what Furnish suggested when he noted that Paul's letters "do not yield a theology, they . . . introduce us to Paul the theologian."[37] The implications of that observation may stretch beyond anything we have yet imagined. In any case, this dynamic approach suggests that we may see Paul's theology dimly, not in the mirror of propositional statements, but in the surface of a an irregular text that reflects the intersection of Paul's own symbols, experience, metaphors, and mythic language with the context of his readers. There is no religious language that is not both multidimensional and context sensitive.[38]

1 Corinthians

Especially important for this study is 1 Corinthians because it contains more election/calling language than any letter so far surveyed. In its intersection with the Corinthian context Paul's language assumes some unusual if not unique applications. Unlike 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Galatians, no persecution faces these addressees and no Judaizing rivals seek to discredit Paul's gospel. Rather than eschatological disappointment as is found in 1 Thessalonians, a radically realized eschatology prevailed in 1 Corinthians. Unlike the immorality tempting believers elsewhere, the libertine adventures in Corinth apparently spring from a religious enthusiasm rather than human lust. Not a deficient but an excessive, if misguided, spirituality was at the root of the problems that provoked Paul's response in 1 Corinthians. Inevitably that context shaped Paul's discourse on election and informed his interpretation of calling.

1. Election, Nomination and Holiness

Election, nomination and holiness are interwoven in filagree designs in 1 Corinthians. Those interlocking patterns appear already in the salutation where Paul addresses "the church of God in Corinth, those made holy (*hegiasmenois*) in Christ Jesus, those called [by God] to be holy ones, together with all of those calling upon the *onoma tou kyriou hemōn Iesou Christou. . . .*" (1:2) In this one sentence Paul's names his addressees as God's assembly (*ekklesia*), sanctified saints (interesting redundancy) who are in Christ Jesus and who call upon his name.

For whatever reason, association with Jesus' name is much more explicit in 1 Corinthians than in "earlier" letters. Paul opens the body of the letter with a *parakalō* formula "through the name (*onomatos*) of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1:10). He refers to being baptized in the name (1:13; 1:15 and 6:11), of being made holy (*hegiasthete*) and justified (*edikaiōthete*) in the name (6:11), and of the impossibility of cursing the name in the power of the spirit (12:3). And if Edgar Krentz is correct, the incestuous act in 5:4 is committed "in the name of the Lord Jesus." To be "in the name" and to be *hagioi* are synonymous in at least one sense—they both suggest definition by

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[37] "Theology in 1 Corinthians: Initial Soundings," SBLSP (1989), p. 247.

[38] I think I am in agreement with Jouette Bassler at this point, at least in part. Caroline Walker Bynum has also influenced my thinking at this point. See her "Introduction: The Complexity of Symbols" in *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, edited by Caroline Walker Bynum et al. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), pp. 1-20.

exclusion or by emphasizing difference. At least on this point Paul and the Corinthians agreed. But, here the agreement ended. The Corinthian mystical identification with the risen Lord appears to have eclipsed any emphasis on the crucified one (1:12-17); spiritual marriages may have symbolically linked them with the holy company of heaven (7:1-5); and the elevation of *glossalalia* to the first rank of the charismata associated them with the holy angels (13:1). Paul's sarcastic description of them as full, rich, ruling, wise, strong, and honored (4:8-10) obviously distorts their claims; nevertheless, even that ironic caricature offers some approximation of Corinthian pretensions. The quarrel Paul had with the Corinthians was hardly about the existence but was about the character of the Corinthian holiness. The holiness claimed by the Corinthians was in Paul's view specious for it did not enable them to tell the difference between authentic and inauthentic behavior. Their version of holiness was individualistic rather than communal, was arrogant and elitist, and was reckless and fractious. The genesis of that spirituality makes for fascinating speculation, but is outside the scope of this paper.[39]

As early as 1:18-2:5 Paul launches an attack to relativize, qualify or redirect the Corinthian spirituality. In 3:5-16 he employs the temple metaphor; in 5:6-8 he appeals to the image of unleavened bread; in 6:1-11 he chides the *hagioi* for acting like *adikoi*; in 6:12-20 he reminds those living by the slogan "All things are lawful for me" (6:12) that the holy spirit from God resides in their bodily temple. In 10:14 he orders some reckless adventurers to "flee idolatry," and warns that they cannot "drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons" (10:21). All of these expansions of metaphor, appeals to rites, warnings and admonitions have ethical applications. Of special relevance for our discussion are the discussions in 3:5-16 and 6:1-11.

The broader framework of 3:5-16 stretches from 1:10-4:21 in which Paul deals with what Furnish calls "profane and arrogant boasting."[40] In 1:18-2:5 Paul sought to relativize the Corinthian claim to possess wisdom. In 3:5-16 he employs a number of metaphors aimed at those braggards whom he will later identify as the "puffed up" (*physiō*, 4:6, 18, 19; 5:2; 8:1; 13:4).[41] Paul forges a chain of metaphors—planting, irrigation, growing, building, and house burning—before reaching the climactic temple image. As the epicenter of holiness in the Jewish tradition, the temple established a sacral system, organized the geography of the whole cosmos, stratified the social order, offered access to the divine presence, and through the sacrificial cult mediated atonement. Whatever this metaphor lacked for the Corinthians, it throbbed with life for Paul. Paul had no sooner invoked the metaphor than he limited its significance by linking it to the church and called down God's curse on those who violate this holy place: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God and the spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone destroys the temple; God will destroy that person, because the temple of God is holy [and] you are [that temple]" (3:17). This rhetoric is specifically aimed at those who by their arrogant pretentions and factious behavior threaten the unity if not the existence of the church. Being *hagios* in this context clearly implies a special communal responsibility for the church which

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[39] The best work known to me on this question is still John C. Hurd, Jr.'s, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians* (London: S.P.C.K., 1965).

[40] "Theology in 1 Corinthians, Initial Soundings," p. 249.

[41] Interestingly, the verb *physioō* appears nowhere else in the undisputed Pauline letters.

the Corinthians for all of their pretentions to holiness do not fully understand—at least in Paul's view.

Of course such an observation borders on being trite until one realizes the degree to which Paul's theological language is situational. Elsewhere, Paul's bestowed on his holiness language no such emphasis on the holy significance of the *ekklesia* nor marked the paradoxical coincidence of individual piety and corporate responsibility.

In 6:1-11 Paul uses holiness language to deal with quite an ordinary affair—the use of pagan judges or magistrates to settle disputes between members of the church. Addressing those contentious and litigious members with biting sarcasm, Paul notes how the saints (*hagioi*) seek redress before the unjust (*adikoi*). Do they not know, Paul asks, that in the final assize they will judge both the *adikoi* and angels. Would it not be better, Paul continues, to be a victim than to victimize others, for in victimizing others the *hagioi* become *adikoi*. Moreover, "Do you not know," Paul asks, "that the *adikoi* will not inherit the Kingdom of God?" (6:9) Finally, Paul appeals to the parties by reminding them of their former status. The *hagioi* were once *adikoi* themselves, but, Paul adds, "you were washed, you were made holy [or consecrated], you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the spirit of our God" (6:11). Thus Paul suggests, their action is inconsistent with their present status and future role as *hagioi*. They are to be what they are rather than what they were. They were "called" to be saints, and *klesis* is not so much the act of calling as it is the state of a called existence.[42]

2. *Election, Calling and the Cross*

While persecution was a brutal fact for the Thessalonians and to some degree for the Philippians, no such ghostly presence frightened the Corinthians. The threat perceived by Paul was a religious puffery which he aimed to puncture. Instead of appealing to the passion of Christ as an example as in 1 Thessalonians, Paul used the cross of Christ (1:18-25) and his own unimposing presence (2:1-5) as well as the election and calling of the Corinthians (1:26-31; 7:17-24) to expose their arrogant boasting. The first pericope on calling (1:26-31) is sandwiched between two statements about Christ crucified (1:23 and 2:2). Then Paul introduced his discussion of calling by locating the power of God and wisdom of God—both Corinthian catchwords—in Christ crucified: "We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a scandal and to the gentiles foolishness, but to those who are called (*kletois*), Jews and Greeks, Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God" (1:23-24). From this summary of what Christ crucified means to the called, Paul moves directly into an ironic juxtaposition of human and divine wisdom, of human and divine strength (1:26-28). Paul begins by asking the Corinthians to consider their calling (*klesin*), that "not many were wise [or learned] (*sophos*) by human standards (*kata sarka*), not many powerful, not many nobly born" (1:27). Paul then concludes with a report on the divine action that radically reversed this human hierarchical order: "But God elected (*exelexato*)[43] the foolish things of the world to shame the wise, and God elected (*exelexato*) the

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[42] On this point I am in agreement with Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p. 65.

[43] I have chosen the literal translation here to capture the Pauline association with divine election.

weak things of the world to shame the strong, and God elected (*exelexato*) the baseborn and despised, even the things that are not, to bring to nought the things that are" (1:27-28).

In this construction Paul takes for granted the hierarchical structure of his world. Yet, he notes that in the election of the dregs of that order God subverted the very order itself and by implication the Corinthian hierarchy of spirituality. It is the calling or election that in and of itself undermines the Corinthian pretentions of wisdom (1:30). In light of God's calling Paul recognizes the arbitrariness and emptiness of hierarchical categories, and suggests that God's election turns this hierarchy on its head. This leads him to note the self-contradiction of the Corinthian substitution of a charismatic hierarchy for a social one. Ironically, the Corinthian reversal still depends on the world's hierarchy for its primary model.[44]

Later in 12:27-31 Paul further challenges this charismatic hierarchy of the Corinthians by constructing his own. And as in 1:26-31, Paul links this construction with election language. Using *etheto*, God appointed, instead of *exelexato*, God elected, Paul assembles his model: "God appointed (*etheto*) in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then miracle workers, then healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in various kinds of tongues" (12:28). After asking rhetorically, "Are all apostles?" etc., Paul concludes with the admonition: "Earnestly desire the higher gifts" (12:31), presumably refering to those near the top of the list. It appears that Paul plans to use his own model to smash that of the Corinthians.

But just when the last piece of the new model is in place Paul pulls back. In a flash, he seems to realize what he has done, and in one stroke he dashes his model to bits. He continues: "I will show you a more excellent way. If I speak with the tongues of mortals and of angels and have not *agapen* I am a noisy brass or a wailing cymbal. And if I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith so that I can move mountains and have not *agapen* I am nothing. . . ." (13:1-2) So love, according to Paul, radically relativizes or devalues all spiritual gifts and the orders they generate. This eschatological gift, *agapen*, makes a mash of the Corinthian charismatic hierarchy. Thus Paul chose not merely to smash one hierarchical model with another, but to show how love brings to light the arbitrariness and self-contradiction of the Corinthian model and his own as well. If Paul did do what I have suggested that he might have done, his conversation about calling and election aimed to redirect the Corinthian claim to superiority, to remove their grounds for boasting, and to illumine how love creates a new order.

Scott Bartchy made much the same point in his work on 1 Corinthians 7:21.[45] There he showed how Paul's discussion of slavery, celibacy and marriage was related to his understanding of calling. Nine times in these eight verses Paul uses some variant of the word *kaleō*. If Hurd is correct that 7:1 is a Corinthian slogan—"it is well for a man not to touch a woman"—then by appealing to Paul's celibacy some in the community made holiness and celibacy correlates.[46] Paul, however, seeks to

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[44] This inversion resembles William Buckley's famous comment about the conservative reliance on the *New York Times*. Conservatives read the *Times*, he suggested, and then simply think the opposite.

[45] S. Scott Bartchy, *Mallon Chresai: First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973).

[46] *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*, pp. 158-162. The emphasis on spiritual marriages (7:5), celibacy (7:7), and separation from unbelievers (7:12-16) all point in the direction of asceticism.

correct that understanding of calling and holiness by arguing that God's call subverts all advantages of rank and position, even religious rank and position. Thus slavery was no handicap in one's relationship to God and being free no advantage; being uncircumcised was no handicap, and being circumcised no advantage; marriage was no handicap and celebacy no advantage; not speaking in tongues was no handicap and speaking in tongues no advantage. For, they all, as Bartchy well noted, were "radically relativized by God's call."[47]

It would simply be false to suggest Paul was a deconstructionist, for he did hold to a fundamental principle of *agapen* that relativized all pretentions to superiority. Moreover, at other points Paul seems to take hierarchical structures for granted which shows that he had not thought through the implications of his applied theology. At critical points he appeals to his own apostolic authority to pronounce divine judgment (1 Cor 5:1-6 and 16:22); he uses his right as a "father" to instruct and, if need be, to threaten his Corinthian "children" with a rod (1 Cor 4:14-21). And in one case he may be appealing to a divinely based hierarchy that runs God-Christ-man-woman (1 Cor 11:2-3). We see, therefore, that Paul's thought was too complex to allow for an insistence on his promotion of a ridical egalitarianism through his deconstruction of all hierarchical structures. Nevertheless, as Pheme Perkins showed in her paper on Philippians, and as we have noted in passing in our comment on Galatians, Paul does attempt at points to dismantel structures in which his addressees place their confidence; he was alert to unacknowledged pesuppositions in his addressees and adversaries that undermined their calling, and their election by grace to life in Christ. And when those occasions presented themselves he did appropriate a grammar of faith to address those contexts. Yet Paul's theology was still in the formative state—open ended and dynamic. Consequently, he may not have tried to think through the implications of his radical challenge to the Corinthian spiritual elitism. Yet at points, his own proposals seem to reach beyond anything he himself fully comprehended or cared to develop.

In summary, there is more support than I had previously suspected for the view that Paul's theology develops in its praxis. In the nexus of his own experience, that of his addressees, and his inherited traditions Paul forges his views on election and calling. The relationship between coherent and contingent elements in Paul's theology is dialectical—each influencing the other. Election and calling thus can refer to those who suffer (1 Thess), a community of believing Jews and gentiles (Gal), and those chosen without any concern whatsoever for their rank in society (1 Cor). The cross or Jesus' passion, belonging as it does to the network of election/calling language, may serve as a model for the persecuted (1 Thess), as a symbol of inclusion (Gal), or as a wrecking bar to dismantel the hierarchical models of the spiritual elitists (1 Cor). In this discussion I have tried to suggest that our investigation must go beyond a study of *klesis* and *ekloge* (or their derivatives) to deal with the grammar of Paul's theology. By grammar I mean the way election/calling fits with a whole series of structural relationships that make it possible to use language correctly. These words then are seen less as key propositional statements, or even as foundational expresions than key elements in a larger field of discourse. The synthetic nature of this task inevitably means that it is unfinished and hopefully suggestive. And Rabbi Tarfon's famous remark has served me as a useful guide in this experiment: "He used to say: It is not thy part to finish the task, yet thou art not free to desist from it" (Aboth 16).

[47] *First Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21*, p. 152.

"Up, Up, Up, and Up": Exodus 24:9-18 as the Narrative Context for the Tabernacle Instructions of Exodus 25-31

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Introduction

The focus for this paper is the link between law and narrative in Exod 19-40, more specifically the link between the mountain of God narrative beginning in Exod 19 and the tabernacle instructions commanded in Exod 25-31 and executed in Exod 35-40. Scholars have long recognized the Priestly origin of the tabernacle legislation, but have given little attention to the problem of how this legislation is connected to the narrative of the mountain of God.[1] A key text for analyzing the connection between the mountain narrative and the tabernacle instruction-execution is Exod 24:9-18, which immediately precedes the tabernacle instructions of Exod 25-31.

Cassuto, Childs, Michaeli, and others have drawn attention to the importance of Exod 24 as the point of nexus in the mountain of God narrative between the covenant materials and the Priestly account of the tabernacle.[2] But the focus of most investigations has been upon the so-called covenant closing ceremony, particularly vv. 3-8 and 9-11, such that the connection to the tabernacle cult formed by the structure of chapters 19-24 within the larger unit 19-40 becomes an afterthought.[3]

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[1] For standard treatments of the source-critical assessment of Exod 19-40 see the recent introductions by B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) or O. Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Gütersloher Verlaghaus: Gütersloh, 1984).

[2] U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, trans. by Israel Abrams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967) 316, speaks of the critical word וישכן giving a preliminary inkling of the next section thus constituting a nexus; Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974) 503, says that chap. 24 provides a "connecting link" to preceding themes of the book while at the same time pointing forward; F. Michaeli, *Le Livre de L'Exode* (Paris-Neuchâtel: Delachaux Niestlé, 1974) 225, says that chap. 24 "occupe une place unique dans l'Exode . . ." as the conclusion to the covenant in chaps. 19-24 and the prelude to the organization of the desert cult in chaps. 25-31 and 35-40.

[3] A brief sampling of commentators shows this to be the case. G. Beer and K. Galling, *Exodus*, *HAT* 3 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1939) 124, Beer entitles the chapter

Durham reflects the state of scholarship in assessing the importance of Exod 24 when he says, "There is another end to the Sinai narrative sequence, a "real conclusion," and chap. 24 must be seen as continued by that "real end," which is located in Exodus as chaps. 32-34."[4] In recent years, though, there has been a shift in scholarly attention from the covenant theme towards the recognition of the importance of the tabernacle cult in the book of Exodus and in the ensuing Priestly program of Leviticus and Numbers 1-10:10 (organization of the camp around the tabernacle).[5] This shift away from the covenant theme has not eclipsed the necessity for developing the covenant ties within Exod 19-40, especially the links in Exod 24:9-18 to the golden calf incident and the tablets in chaps. 32-34.[6] It has merely begun to recognize the way the Priestly program has redacted the covenant theme into its larger focus.

Our entry point into the discussion of the link between narrative and law in Exod 24:9-18 is the structure of the extant text. The investigation of the text as it now stands has in recent years been assumed to be a realistic basis for empirically controlled research on the biblical text because it begins with what we have without presuming a solution to any of the attendant problems.[7] One of the major problems

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"Die Bundeschliesßung"; J. Durham, *Exodus* (Waco: Word, 1987) 338, entitles the chapter "The Making of the Covenant: The People and Their Leaders." This labeling betrays the major concern of many commentators upon the covenant theme, which I will argue has been subsumed under the dominant Priestly structuring of Exodus 19-40 to focus upon the establishment of the desert tabernacle.

[4] Durham, 347.

[5] This shift can be seen in the studies of C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," in *Wort-Gebot-Glaube: Beitrage zur Theologie des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für W. Eichrodt* (Zürich: Zwingli, 1970) 227-247; T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies,* ConBOT 18, trans. by F. Cryer (Lund: Gleerup, 1982); T. Dozeman, *God on the Mountain* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), and J. McCrory, Jr., *The Composition of Exodus 35-40* (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1989).

[6] For treatments of the covenant focus see the studies of L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament,* WMANT 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969) 156-238; E. W. Nicholson, *God and His People* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) 164-78, and Nicholson's series of articles in *Vetus Testamentum:* "The Interpretation of Exodus XXIV 9-11," *VT* 24 (1974) 77-97; "The Antiquity of the Tradition in Exodus XXIV 9-11," *VT* 25 (1975) 69-79; "The Origin of the Tradition in Exodus XXIV 9-11." *VT* 26 (1976) 148-60; and E. Kutsch, *Verheißung und Gesetz: Untersuchungen zum sogennaten 'Bund' im Alten Testament,* BZAW 131 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973).

[7] This starting point is reflected in both the development of canonical criticism, which begins with the extant text, and the influence of structural linguistics upon Biblical exegesis, which presumes that a text is an organic linguistic entity superseding the entities of the word and sentence levels (R. Knierim, "Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters,* ed. by D. Knight and G. Tucker (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985) 137. For reference to the methodology of canonical criticism, see B. Childs, *Introduction;* and J. Sanders, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972); *Canon and Community: a Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987). For reference to the influence structural

in the past analyses of Exod 19-40 has been entering the discussion of these chapters from the perspective of traditio-historical or source-critical concerns. Thus we will begin our investigation with the synchronic level of the text before moving on to ask concerning diachronic features arising out of the text, i.e., source analysis and traditio-historical links between Exod 24:9-18 and the Priestly tabernacle legislation. We will conclude with speculation concerning the forces and groups that forged the links between the narrative of the mountain of God and the tabernacle chapters.

Structural Signals in Exod 24:9-18

The larger context for the structure of Exod 24:9-18 is of course the narrative of the Sinai events from Exod 19-40. Rarely though has the larger structure been addressed as an entry point for investigating these verses. Again, the tendency has been to focus upon the covenant theme in the first part of the chapter without recognition that the chapter as it now stands is bisected by two levels of the larger structure of Exod 19-40.[8] Knierim offers the most comprehensive analysis of the structure of these chapters noting the six-fold ascent-descent pattern running from Exod 19:3-39:43.[9] Within this pattern, Exod 24:9-18 begins the ascent for instruction running from 24:9-34:3, which Knierim entitles "The construction of the sanctuary."[10] More specifically, the instruction for the building of the sanctuary runs from 24:9-32:14 with its execution in 34:29-39:43, thus encompassing the non-Priestly materials of chapters 32-34. Even from the outset the overall structure of Exod 19-40 emphasizes the uniqueness of Exod 24:9-18 in the interface of the Sinai narrative with the tabernacle legislation. There is then structural evidence for the conclusion of Cassuto that Exod 24 lies at the nexus between two sections.

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linguistics has had upon Biblical exegesis, see C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese* (Munich, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1977), the "Einleitung und Problemenfaltung," especially pp. 28-52, beginning with section 1.3, "Zum Verhältnis von Linguistik und Texttheorie zur alttestamentlichen Literaturwissenschaft." Also, of note for the influence of structural linguistics on Biblical exegesis, is the "Nachwort" to K. Koch's latest edition of *Was ist Formgeschichte?*, 4th revised edition (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), pp. 289-342. It is of note that Koch revised his introduction on Formgeschichte primarily to highlight the shift in the methodological discussion due to the impact linguistic theory has had on Biblical exegesis. Yet Koch has emphasized the morphological aspects of structural linguistics without exploring whether there may be other factors, i.e., conceptual or substantive concerns, which govern the structure of a text. Koch's admonition to those who sift through various source layers as the beginning point in exegesis is apropos, "Bei der Exegese ist von der Endgestalt der Texte auszugehen." "P-Kein Redactor!," *VT* 36-4 (1987) 467.

[8] A few commentators have recognized this fact. M. Noth, *Exodus*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) divides ch. 24 into two separate sections, 24:1-11 and 24:12-18. So also Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16*, FRLANT 71 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959) who begins the analysis of the Priestly program in chap. 24. See also my analysis in McCrory, 26-29.

[9] Knierim, "The Composition of the Pentateuch, in the *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985) 400-401.

[10] Knierim, "Composition," 406.

The structure for Exod 24:9-18 I have reproduced here in order to facilitate analysis.

The Report of the Ascent Proper	24:9-18
I. The group ascends (compliance to 24:1)	9-11
A. Compliance proper	9
B. (Report of) a theophany	10-11
II. Moses ascends[11]	12-18
A. (Report of) a Yahweh command to Moses	12
1. Command	12a
2. Purpose	12b
B. Compliance to Yahweh command (v. 12) in three stages	13-18
1. Stage one: to the mountain of God	13-14
a. Occasion: Joshua	13a
b. Compliance	13b-14
1) Compliance proper	13b
2) Speech to the elders	14
a) Speech report formula	14aα
b) Speech proper	14aβ-b
i. Direction to remain	14aβ
ii. Provision for justice	14b
2. Stage two: to the mountain	15-17
a. Statement of compliance	15a
b. (Report of) the cloud/glory	15b-17
1) From above	15b-16
a) Cloud/glory movement	15b-16aα
b) Duration of stay	16aβ-b
i. Six days: cloud covers	16aβ
ii. Seventh day: he (Yahweh) speaks	16b
2) From below	17
3. Stage three: into the cloud, to the mountain	18
a. Statement of compliance	18a
1) Into the cloud	18aα
2) To the mountain	18aβ
b. Duration of stay	18b

There are significant compositional problems in Exod 24, which we do not mean to overlook in the analysis of the structure of the vv. 9-18.[12] These problems we will address in part in the section on source-critical concerns. But at this point the focus of our investigation is upon the links between the mountain of God narrative and the tabernacle instructions-executions in the extant text. Thus it is entirely appropriate to begin with the structure of the extant text.

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[11] The question as to whether Joshua ascends with Moses is a problem arising from the Masoretic Text, which will be discussed in the analysis of the structure.

[12] For a review of the compositional problems see the commentaries of Childs and Durham.

The unit 24:9-18 is prompted by the initial Yahweh command of 24:1 even though the Hebrew word order and mention of Yahweh in the 3rd person in the verse seem strange. Also there seems to be somewhat of a false start in 24:2 where Moses approaches Yahweh alone.[13]

The structure of 24:9-18 has two parts, the ascension of the group (Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the seventy elders) vv. 9-11, and the ascension of Moses in three stages vv. 12-18. The designation of the second part as "Moses ascends" is based upon the ambiguity in the Hebrew text as to whether or not Joshua ascends with him. Verse 13a reports that Moses rose up (ויקם) and Joshua with him, then reports that Moses went up (ויעל), implying that Joshua was not with him, i.e., that he only rose up. Yet in v. 14a Moses tells the elders to remain until "we return" (נשוב) implying that Joshua was with him in the ascent. But then in v. 15a Moses ascends again this time with no mention of Joshua. The Vaticanus Greek text has a plural verb and Joshua's name in v. 13a, and also includes Joshua in the ascent with Moses in v. 15a, thus indicating that Joshua accompanied Moses part way up the mountain. This scenario would seem to connect better with the report of Exod 32:17, where Joshua accompanies Moses down the mountain. The creation of this problem may lie in the multiplication of the ascent pattern in the unit vv. 12-18 as it shaped by the Priestly redactors. It seems that Joshua may ahve become lost somewhere on the mountain in the process of redaction, which drew Moses in a series of ascents nearer and nearer to the Kabod Yahweh.

The second portion of the structure, vv. 12-18, is prompted by the new Yahweh command to Moses in v. 12a, to which is added a purpose "so that I can give to you the tablets" v. 12b. This purpose along with the implied lengthy stay in v. 12a no doubt connects the motif of the tablets here with the narrative in 31:18-34:28.[14]

The unusual feature of the structure of 24:9-18 begins to surface in the multiplication of ascents, in our structure labelled as "Compliance to the Yahweh command in three stages" vv. 12-18. The composite nature of this unit is well known.[15] Yet more than one commentator has noted the conspicuous lengthening of the ascent up the mountain. Zenger exclaims that the additional command for Moses to come up in v. 12a in light of vv.9-11 is "verwunderlich."[16] Driver wonders why Moses is commanded to come up where he already is in v. 12a.[17] Hyatt also refers to the

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[13] Many have noticed the disruption of the text in vv. 1-2, Noth, 196-197, suggests that these verses have been worked over to such an extent that the original wording cannot be recovered. See the similar conclusion of E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie: Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk*, FB (Würzburg: Echter, 1971) 74-76.

[14] For a discussion of the tablet motif, see the analysis of J. Van Seters, "'Comparing Scripture with Scripture': Some Observations on the Sinai Pericope of Exodus 19-24," in *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (Philadelpia: Fortress, 1988) 125-126, who argues that the original version of the tablets motif is in Deut 5:22; see also the analysis of S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1911) 254, who outlines the various occurrences of the motif and how they differ.

[15] Childs, *Exodus*, 499-508, or Durham, 338, or Zenger, 76-78, offer more than adequate analyses.

[16] Zenger, 77.

[17] Driver, 251.

obvious composite nature of Exod 24 evidenced by the seeming redundancy of the ascents.[18] Knierim suggests that 24:9-18 is meant to extend the regular ascent pattern into a sort of "hierarchical reality of localities—and times."[19] What all these commentators point to is the nature of the structure of 24:9-18, organized around a multiplication of ascents prompted by the commands of Yahweh. The *terminus technicus* for these ascents is עלה. Within the textual unit 24:9-18 there are at least four stages of ascent, the first being the group ascent in 24:9-11, and the next three being the ascent of Moses (and Joshua part of the way ?) in 24:12-18. If we combine these stages with the stage of the people (העם) in 24:1-8 there are at least five stages or levels from the top of the mountain, where the Kabod Yahweh rests, to the camp, where the people are. The stage-like spatial orientation is interrupted and accentuated by v. 17, describing how the Kabod Yahweh appeared from below. Moreover, this spatial orientation of the structure is punctuated with chronological indicators as to the duration of time for portions of the various stages.[20] Moses is to come up for the tablets and remain there (והיה שם) v. 12a, the Kabod remains on the mountain six days before Yahweh speaks v. 16, and Moses stays on the mountain forty days and nights v. 18b. The spatial structuring of the text appears here in a chart.

Stage	*Text*	*Location*	*Persons*
one	24:1-8	camp	העם
two	24:9a	base of mtn. "went up"	Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, 70 elders, (Hur? Joshua?)
three	24:13b	mtn. of God	Moses (Joshua? 14a, 32:17, Greek also)
four	24:15a	the mtn. (out of cloud)	Moses
five	24:18a	the mtn. (in cloud)	Moses

Thus there are at least five stages or levels apparent in the text assuming we are conservative in distinguishing both between vv. 13a and 13b, i.e., Joshua must be somewhere on the mountain, and between vv. 18aα and 18aβ, Moses' movement into the cloud and up on the mountain are part of the same ascent.

Looking at the chart in conjunction with the structure of Exod 24:9-18, it is obvious that the text has been organized, despite the composite nature of its parts, to reflect a vertical hierarchy from the camp to the top of the mountain (in cloud).

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[18] J. Hyatt, *Exodus*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 253.

[19] Knierim, 401.

[20] Dozeman, 92, draws attention to the Priestly tendency to use "spatial form devices," which place emphasis upon setting and characterization instead of plot and chronology. While the structure of 24:9-18 does emphasize space and thus draw attention to setting (the mountain) and characterization (Moses, et al) it also draws attention to chronology but in such a way that emphasizes the spatial dimension of time, if this is a proper description. As Westermann, 232, notes, the use of the Sabbath and 40 days motifs creates the "Zeitraum der Stille," the spatial moment of stillness, which provides for "heilig Zeit," holy time. This combination of space and time is central to the Priestly understanding of the cult.

The persons associated with the stages of ascent move from the most inclusive to the most exclusive, from the people to the elders along with the priests (Aaron and his sons) to Moses possibly with Joshua to Moses alone. The only person common to all the stages of ascent is Moses. He is in this scenario even more privileged than the priests. This is the same picture that emerges from the tabernacle texts of Exod 25-31, 35-40, especially Exod 40:16-33.[21] The central question that emerges from reflection upon the vertical hierarchy in this text is what prompted such an organization. And further, does this organization reflect a reality in Israels' cultic history or a program for the establishment of the cult.[22] To these questions we will return after addressing source-critical and traditio-historical issues arising out of the text.

Source and Traditio-historical Signals in Exod 24:15b-18a

The result of source-critical analysis of Exod 24 is a knot of unresovable threads none of which lead to firm conclusions. Childs commenting upon source criticism of this chapter concludes that "the effect has been complete atomization of the chapter into a myriad of disparate and contradictory fragments."[23] Durham calls the chapter a "jigsaw puzzle."[24] One glance at Zenger's chart of various commentators on Exod 24 shows that there is anything but consensus in assigning these verses to sources.[25] The only portion of the chapter upon which a majority of scholars agree is 24:15b-18a, which has been attributed to Priestly groups. In contrast to the consensus of scholarship, Dozeman has argued recently that in addition to vv. 15b-18a, Priestly redaction extends throughout the chapter.[26] Dozeman's work shows how attention to the overall structure of the final form of the text opens new avenues of interpretation, which do not ignore the previous layers of the text but recognize their function in the text as we now have it.

Even if we remain at the lowest common denominator of scholarly consensus, that 24:15b-18a alone may be attributed to Priestly groups, we are able to see how this textual unit forms a link to the theological plan of the priests, thus transforming Exod 24 from a covenant ceremony to a preparation in worship for the establishment of the tabernacle cult. To show this link we will focus upon the motifs arising out of 24:15b-18a: the Sabbath chronology, the introduction of the Kabod Yahweh, the use of the term שכן, and the introductory speech formula ויקרא in v. 16.

When Moses moves up the mountain in stage two of the structure of vv. 12-18, the cloud also begins its movement to cover the mountain (v. 15b), which then results in the movement of the Kabod Yahweh onto the mountain of Sinai (על הר סיני). The cloud then covers the mountain for six days before he (Yahweh) cries out on the seventh day from the midst of the cloud. Westermann shows that the parallel movement of the cloud and Moses, from above and from below, stem from

[21] See the discussion regarding Moses, Aaron and his sons in McCrory, 246-248.

[22] Knierim, "Composition," 402, ask similar questions of this text.

[23] Childs, *Exodus*, 500.

[24] Durham, 338.

[25] Zenger, 215-218.

[26] Dozeman, especially 106-107, attempts to show that the Priestly readactors not only added the central event of the theophany in 24:15b-18a but also made adjustments in the chapter to link the theophany to the ensuing tabernacle legislation and the initiation of the cult in Lev 8-9.

the basic structure of the call of God to individuals seen throughout the Bible (Coming . . . Remaining . . . Call), which here in the Priestly account has been institutionalized in the cult.[27] In the institutionlized cult the mediator enters the sanctuary for holy proceedings with Yahweh. The introduction of the Sabbath motif in v. 16, according to Westermann, draws attention to the gravity of the events to follow, thus constituting the necessary pause between coming and remaining. In the context of the Sinai events there are two other places where the Sabbath motif appears, at 31:12-17 with the close of the instructions for the building of the tabernacle, and at 35:1aβ-3.[28] The purpose of these verses in the tabernacle legislation is to warn against the violation of the sanctity of the Sabbath even during the important task of constructing the tabernacle.[29]

The Sabbath motif in 24:16 thus forms a link to the ensuing tabernacle legislation introducing the element of holy time into the Priestly program. The empty moment before the speech of Yahweh in 24:16 finds its parallel in the insistence upon the recognition of the holy day in the construction of the tabernacle.

As the cloud covers the mountain for six days before Yahweh speaks, so also the Kabod Yahweh (כבוד יהוה) comes to dwell upon Mt. Sinai. The investigation of the use of this term in the development of Israel's cult is a vast undertaking. A brief glance at the concordance shows that the term כבוד occurs in a variety of contexts in Israel's tradtion history. The most frequent occurrences are in the Psalms (48 times), Isaiah (35 times), Ezekiel (16 times), and the P materials (10 times). We will not attempt here to sketch the development of the tradition history of the Kabod Yahweh. Mettinger, Dozeman, and Westermann provide extensive analysis of this subject.[30] The importance of the Kabod Yahweh for our study is the link it establishes between 24:15b-18a and the tabernacle legislation.

Westermann draws attention to the fact that the term Kabod Yahweh occurs in the P materials in two contexts, that of the wilderness wandering (Exod 16:7,10; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6) and that of the founding and setting up of the cult (Exod 24:16; 29:43; 40:34,35: Lev 9:4b, 6b, 23, 24).[31] The crucial text for the link between Exod 24 and the tabernacle legislation, though, is Exod 40:34-35.

The introduction of the Kabod Yahweh accompanied by the cloud upon the top of Mt. Sinai forms somewhat of an inclusio with the appearance of the Kabod and cloud in Exod 40:34-35, as the cloud covers the tent of meeting (40:34a) and the

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[27] Westermann, 230-233.

[28] Notice also the position of the Sabbath legislation in 31:12-17 in proximity to the continuation of the tablet motif from 24:12 to 31:18.

[29] See my discussion of the purpose of these verses in the tabernacle legislation, McCrory, 132-133.

[30] Mettinger in his analysis sees the development of the Kabod theology from that of the monarchic Zion-Sabaoth immanent presence theology, reflected in many of the Psalms, modified through the experience of the exile, reflected in Ezekiel, to the re-establishment of the Kabod theology in the exilic-postexilic Priestly program. Dozeman utilizes Mettinger's analysis in sketching the development of the Mountain of God narrative in Exodus from the immanent Zion-Sabaoth theology through the transcendent Deuteronomistic name theology to the re-establishment of the immanent theology with qualifications (e.g., mobile tabernacle) in the final Priestly redaction.

[31] Westermann, 230.

Kabod fills the tabernacle (40:34b). This framework constitutes 24:15-18 through 40:34-as one thematic unit concerning the Kabod Yahweh.[32] As we have indicated earlier, the larger structure of the book of Exodus supports this conclusion. The Kabod that covers the mountain in Exod 24 now enters the tabernacle in Exod 40. The events that make this possible are the instruction and execution of the tabernacle legislation in Exod 25-31 and 35-39. With the construction of the tabernacle the cult can then begin functioning as is shown in Lev 8-9. Thus the Kabod motif introduced by the priests at 24:16 serves to provide a connection between the Mountain of God narrative and the establishment of the cult, the goal of which is the movement of the Kabod off the mountain and into the tabernacle.

The third motif arising out of vv.15b-18a is the term שׁכן closely associated with the appearance of the Kabod Yahweh. The Kabod comes to "dwell" (וישׁכן) upon Mt. Sinai according to 24:16a. It is no accident that after the construction of the tabernacle the Kabod enters the tabernacle (משׁכן) according to 40:34b. The massive use of the term שׁכן and its denominative (over 90 times) in the Priestly materials of the Sinai pericope clearly indicates that the introduction of the verb in 24:16 is meant to tie this section to the tabernacle (משׁכן) legislation, which results in coming of the Kabod to fill the tabernacle.

Mettinger traces the tradition history of the term שׁכן from its use in the Zion-Sabaoth texts, which did use the term but preferred the verb ישׁב to denote the sitting of the deity upon the throne, down to the Priestly texts.[33] The Priestly program, in contrast to the Zion-Sabaoth program, according to Mettinger, both uses the term שׁכן, to do away with notion of God sitting upon a throne, and also substitutes the tabernacle for the temple to indicate the mobility of God, who was not tied to a particular temple but traveled with his mobile people. This mobile Kabod both entered the tabernacle (40:34-35) and continued to guide the mobile people (40:36-38) as they traveled in the wilderness. The link between the Kabod and the term שׁכן further shows the connection between Exod 24 and the tabernacle legislation in Exod 25-31, 35-40.

The final motif that links 24:15b-18 to the ensuing tabernacle legislation is the introductory speech report formula in 24:16b (ויקרא). Westermann in his analysis of the Exod 24:15b-18a points out that the events described in the text have their goal in Exod 25:1ff, that is the speech of Yahweh to Moses, the purpose of which is to prompt the people to construct the tabernacle so that "I may dwell in their midst" (Exod 25:8).[34] Westermann's focus for his analysis of these verses is the structure of the speech event that occurs between Moses and Yahweh. In this light, the link between the introductory formula in 24:16b and the speech in 25:1-31:17 becomes critical.

Furthermore, there is yet another link between the introductory speech formula in 24:16b and the ensuing tabernacle legislation. This can be seen in the conjunction of the terms קרא and דבר in 24:16b and 25:1 with the unusual double formula ויקרא . . . וידבר in Lev 1:1.[35] At the two most important junctures of the Priestly

[32] This is the conclusion of Westermann also, 236.

[33] For Mettinger's analysis see 90-97.

[34] Westermann, 230.

[35] Knierim, "Composition," 405 stresses that Lev 1:1 signals the highest level in the macrostructure of the Sinai pericope, introducing the now legitimized legislation (Lev 1:1-Num 10:10) from the legitimate sanctuary.

program these two terms appear, that of the beginning of the instructions for the building of the tabernacle and that of the beginning of the legislation for the life of the community gathered around the tabernacle. Thus, here the seemingly false start of the the introductory speech formula in 24:16b actually froms a connection between the Kabod on the mountain in 24:15b-18a and the speech of Yahweh in 25:1-31:17 resulting in the establishment of the cult and in the legislation that follows (Lev 1:1-Num 10:10).

The focus upon the traditio-historical motifs arising out of 24:15b-18a thus shows that the Priestly redactors who put the final touches upon Exod 19-40 forged links between their program for the establishment of the cult by introducing at least 24:15b-18a if not other portions of Exod 24 (Dozeman), which tied the motifs of the Sabbath, the Kabod Yahweh, the term שכן, and the speech formula to the tabernacle legislation. The result of conservative source-critical analysis of Exod 24:9-18, that is, narrowing the range of Priestly influence to the minimum of 24:15b-18a, in conjunction with the structural analysis of 24:9-18 and its multiplication of ascents, raises again the question regarding the forces that prompted the organization of the text as it now stands. Does Exod 24:9-18, both structurally and traditio-historically, reflect a reality in Israel's cultic history? If so, from where does this paradigm for Israel's cult arise? Who was responsible for forging the links between the mountain of God narrative and the program for the establishment of the desert cult?

Conclusion

The combination of the structural signals for the hierarchy between the people and Moses and the traditio-historical motifs in Exod 24:9-18 point toward an organization of the cult, which has moved from an up-down orientation in Exod 24 to an in-out orientation in Exod 40-Num 10:10. The Kabod Yahweh has moved off the mountain and now dwells in the tabernacle. Mettinger calls this cultic organization ". . . P's fundamental hierocentric tendency, which is expressed in a climactic gradation of holiness in the sanctuary."[36] Westermann draws a similar conclusion in his analysis of the structure of the speaking event arising out of Exod 24:15b-18, when he relates this text to the institutionalized cult.[37] Knierim comments that this text (24:9-18) reflects "the hierarchical order of Israel's representatives between Yahweh and Israel . . . ."[38] All these commentators point to the cultic organization of Israel that arises out of Exod 24:9-18. The question is out of what context did such a cultic organization arise?

The most probable date for the writing of the Priestly program is the exilic-postexilic period. Mettinger argues effectively to date the Priestly program in this period on the basis of the relationship of P's concerns to the preexilic Zion-Sabaoth theology, to the exilic Deuteronomistic name theology, and to the proximate concerns of Ezekiel.[39] According to Mettinger's analysis, the Priestly program emerges

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[36] Mettinger, 85.

[37] Westermann, 232.

[38] Knierim, "Composition," 402.

[39] Mettinger, 113. For a review of shcolars who argue for a pre-exilic date see footnote 37 of Mettinger's analysis, 113.

from the "cognitive dissonance" that arose when the established cult theology of God's presence in the temple and the protection of his city clashed with harsh realities of the diasters of the sixth century B.C.E.[40] Dozeman draws similar conclusions regarding the date of the Priestly program, locating the emergence of the final form of the text in the social context of Ezra's compromise between opposing groups in the late fifth century B.C.E.[41]

If at least the final form of the Priestly program did emerge out of the conflicts associated with the destruction of the temple and the re-establishment of the cult in the land under Ezra, then what cultic reality if any does this Priestly program reflect? The foundations upon which to build a possible explanation for the emergence of a hierarchical cultic organization, such as is portrayed in Exod 24:9-18, are located in the portrayal of the construction of the tabernacle in Exod 35:1-39:43 and in the functioning of the cult of in Lev 8-9 and 16.

The structure of Exod 35:1-:39:43 stems from two organizational principles, that of an order proceeding from the tabernacle to the utensils that it houses and that of a holiness order proceeding from inside to outside the tabernacle.[42] Exod 40:16-33 reflects an order of holiness proceeding from inside to outside, as it describes how Moses executes Yahweh's orders to set up the tabernacle in which Aaron and his sons will function. This inner to outer order reflects the construction of the Solomonic temple in 1Kgs 5:15-9:25.[43] The correspondence of measurements between the tabernacle and the temple clearly indicates this to be the case, i.e., the tabernacle measurement are roughly one-half those of the Solomonic temple. Yet the Priestly writers composed their program after the destruction of the temple. Their program may partially reflect the temple but it also exhibits contrasts to the preexilic temple program.[44] What then if any existing cultic program does the Priestly program reflect? We know so little about the temple of Zerubbabel (Ezra 3:1-13; 6:3-18) that we cannot with certainty attribute the Priestly program to its influence. The only conclusion that seems left is to attribute the hierarchically oriented tabernacle program to an *ad hoc* literary creation of the Priestly writers, who, in reflection upon the destroyed temple, looked back toward the desert tabernacle as the ideal for the re-establishment of Israel's cult. This conclusion would seem to fit the time period of the late exile, when the question of Israel's cultic existence still lacked the foundation of a functioning cult. These Priestly writers were asking what the new program would look like if and when Israel returned to the land.

The indeterminacy of the tabernacle program, created *de novo* from the reflections of the Priestly writers finds correspondence in the sociology of the Priestly groups who put this program together. The program as we have seen in Exod 24:9-18 was

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[40] Mettinger, 133.

[41] Dozeman, 192-195.

[42] For an explanation of these phenomena, see McCrory, 249-250 and chap. II.

[43] For a comparison among the various portrayals of the temple construction in Kings and Chronicles and the reflection of this model in Ezra 3:1-13; 6:3-18 and Ezekiel 40-48, see my analysis, McCrory, 212-218. For a comprehensive analysis of the tradition history of the tabernacle, see F. Cross, "The Priestly Tabernacle," *BA* 10 (1947) 45-68, or A. Kuschke, "Die Lagervorstellung der priesterschriftlichen Erzählung," *ZAW* 63 (1951) 74-105.

[44] See Mettinger's comparison of the differences between the tabernacle and the temple, 81-87.

organized in a hierarchical fashion placing the people of Israel at the bottom (outside) and various groups in closer proximity to the top of the mountain (inside). On the top of the mountain stood Moses alone with Yahweh. As this hierarchy relates to the tabernacle instructions and to the initiation of the cult in Lev 9 and 16, the Priestly writers seem concerned to establish the ideal obedience of Moses and the people resulting in the Aaronide controlled cult. The preference for Aaron and his sons in the Priestly program points toward a explanation for the groups that composed the tabernacle legislation and its introduction in Exod 24:9-18. The place to look for the groups that composed these chapters is in the context of Aaronides who would have had an interest in putting forth their program as a possible contender for the re-establishment of the cult. E. Rivkin says that a framework of Aaronidism was built around the earlier texts (Exod 32-34) so as to nullify their effectiveness and replace them with functioning Aaronidism.[45] Thus, the materials of Exod 32-34 were encompassed by the tabernacle program, which in effect countered the picture of the early Aaron with the Aaron of the tabernacle, the Aaron who was in control of the cult. He also argues very persuasively for two Aarons in the Bible (literary), the one who is the co-leader with Moses presented in Samuel, Kings, Exod 24-34, and the Prophets, and the other who is, besides being the co-leader, the priest and progenitor of a priestly class.[46] The first Aaron, so Rivkin asserts, has nothing to do with priestly functions outside of the dubious golden calf incident. This Aaron fades away as Joshua arises. The second Aaron, as presented in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, is the priest par excellence who rules in an elaborate system of cult and tabernacle. This Aaron contrasts sharply in person and role with the first Aaron. Rivkin asks why and how this came about. He answers that the Aaronides, who were responsible for the portrait of the second Aaron and ultimately the final form of the Pentateuch, banded together in the exilic and postexilic period to solve a series of problems, which included the failure of the Deuteronomic program, the inability to deal with prophecy, and political relations with the Persians. These Aaronides, when they composed their program, i.e., the final form of the Pentateuch, were not yet in power, but eventually gained control of the cult and ruled from the fifth century B.C.E. until the Hasmonean revolt. Exod 24:9-18 and the following tabernacle and cultic legislation thus emerged out of the setting of these Aaronides as part of their program for the reconstitution of the people of Yahweh in the postexile. Hence the setting of Exod 24:18 is the same as that of the Priestly program, that of the Aaronide priests who desired to consolidate their control over the Yahweh institutions to the exclusion of other priestly groups, e.g., Korah and his associates (Num 16-18), the Levites, and the Zadokites of Ezekiel 40-48, and even the Aaron of the Jehovistic Exod 32-34.[47] Historically, though, as we have said, the Aaronides were only in control of the cult from the fifth century B.C.E. to the Hasmonean revolt (around 180 B.C.E.). Rivkin and Knierim distinguish between these earlier Aaronides, who were responsible for the emergence of the Pentateuch,

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[45] E. Rivkin, "The Revolution of the Aaronides," in *The Shaping of Jewish History* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971) 32.

[46] Rivkin, "Aaron, Aaronides," in *IDB*, supp. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976) 1-3.

[47] I am following the discussion of Knierim, *Numbers*, FOTL 4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming) 46, here assuming that the setting for the priestly writers of Numbers 1-10:10 is the same as that for the writers of the tabernacle account.

and the later Aaronides, who were actually in command of the cult.[48] These earlier Aaronides must have been active in writing and teaching but not in actual control of the Yahweh institutions. Their program in casting back into the desert times contrasted with the monarchical model, which had proved faulty through the experience of the exile, and also with the Deuteronomic model, which was compromised by its association with Levitical, prophetic, and monarchical powers.[49] This cultic hierarchy on the mountain in Exod 24:9-18 thus finds its correspondence in the placement of Aaron at the center of the tabernacle cult according to Exod 25:1-31:17; 35:1-39:43 and Lev 9 and 16.

In conclusion, the Priestly writers, who were responsible for the final form of both Exod 24:9-18 and the ensuing tabernacle legislation forged links between the mountain of God narrative and the legislation by extending the ascent pattern in Exod 24 and by introducing the motifs of the Sabbath, Kabod Yahweh, the term שכן, and the introductory speech formula. The effect of their redaction was to transform what had previously been a covenant closing ceremony into a preparation for the establishment of the cult.

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[48] Rivkin, "Aaron, Aaronides," 1-3; Knierim, *Numbers*, 46.

[49] See Rivkin, "The Revolution of the Aaronides," 21.

Law and the Wilderness Rebellion Tradition: Exodus 32

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This is a paper that reflects work in progress. There are a number of issues raised that call for more detailed discussion than will be given here. Nevertheless, the questions I want to pose arise out of current trends in Pentateuchal studies and seem to me to be worthy of our consideration in the seminar.

Introduction

The discussion of the tradition history of the Law in the Pentateuch has been governed largely by assumptions that go back to Wellhausen's observation that the whole Sinai tradition is separable from the rest of the wilderness narratives. The Sinai revelation with its declaration of law and covenant-making was an "excursion" or detour attached to Kadesh as the point of departure and return.[1] H. Gressmann further suggested that Kadesh and Sinai were parallel traditions to which law-giving was associated but that the Sinai tradition in time supplanted that of Kadesh.[2] Von Rad accepted both positions and identified the Sinai tradition of law and covenant as belonging to a quite separate cultic *Sitz im Leben* from the Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest tradition, so that its integration was only at a secondary literary level.[3] This integration was the work of the Pentateuchal sources, J and E.

Noth developed these views into the traditio-historical position that we have today.[4] For him the Sinai tradition was an old Pentateuchal theme originally separate from the "guidance in the wilderness," but how the two came together was difficult for him to say because there was so little witness to Sinai in the rest of the Old Testament. The combination was already too far in the background to be observed in the extant tradition so that the covenant-making tradition of Sinai must be regarded as part of the oldest tradition preserved in the Old Testament. L. Perlitt introduced a

[1] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (1878), ET 1957, pp. 342-5.

[2] Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913, pp. 121-24. Gressmann based this upon the reference to Yahweh setting down "statute and ordinance" for the people of Israel after the episode at Marah in Ex 15:25. He further argues that this reference originally belonged to Kadesh.

[3] G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (1938), ET 1965, pp. 13-26.

[4] M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (1948), ET 1972, pp. 59-62.

major problem for this approach to the Sinai tradition when he identified the covenant-making aspects of the tradition to be Deuteronomic and late.[5] This had the effect of identifying a Deuteronomistic layer of editing within the Sinai tradition but there has not been a thorough reappraisal of the tradition history of the Sinai tradition as such.[6] Thus R. Rendtorff, in his recent *Introduction*, still follows Noth's traditio-historical position on Sinai and the Law.[7]

Even though the question of the relationship of the Sinai tradition to the rest of the wilderness narratives has undergone some modification since Wellhausen, the principle of their original separation is still the basis of contemporary analysis. The murmuring tradition and related wilderness stories are treated in one form of analysis and that of the Sinai tradition in another. The intersection of themes, such as one encounters in the episode of the golden calf in Ex 32, is viewed as traditio-historically late. Since Ex 32 manifests certain Deuteronomic features, the current literary assessment could be used to support this scheme. End of discussion. It is hard to resist the apparent logic of this construction.

The Problem

Yet there are a few questions that call for a critical reappraisal.

1) The first of these has to do with how early law is to be associated with Sinai/Horeb. It has long been observed that outside of the Pentateuch Sinai is identified as a place of theophany in the region of Seir-Edom and not with the giving of law. But it is only recently that some, like Perlitt, have begun to take this as an indication of a rather late association of law with Sinai.[8] It has been argued by A. D. H. Mayes that both the covenant-making of Deut 5 and the covenant-breaking of Deut 9 are secondary additions to the Deuteronomic tradition of the giving of the law by Moses just before the entrance into the promised land.[9] This earlier covenant-making is given a rather vague location, that of a mountain in Horeb.[10] I have previously argued that the pre-P version of the Sinai account of theophany and law-giving in Ex 19 f is directly dependent upon Deut 4 & 5.[11]

The notion that the law could be associated with the wilderness in general without any direct connection with Sinai/Horeb is confirmed by the presentation of the

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[5] L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, 1969, pp. 156-238.

[6] H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist*, 1976, pp. 83-118; E. Blum, "Israël à la montagne de Dieu. Remarques sur Ex 19-24; 32-34 et sur le contexte littéraire et historique de sa composition," in *Le Pentateuque en question*, ed. by A. de Pury, 1989, pp. 271-95.

[7] R. Rendtorff, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, p. 141.

[8] L. Perlitt, "Sinai und Horeb," *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie*, Festschrift für W. Zimmerli, ed. H. Donner et al, 1977, pp. 302-22.

[9] A. D. H. Mayes, *The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile*, 1983, pp. 31f.

[10] In Perlitt's study, n. 8 above, he notes that Horeb is never the name of a specific mountain in Dtn/Dtr. Yet it would appear that J has identified Horeb with Sinai, as in Ex 3:1. Cf. his discussion on p. 309.

[11] J. Van Seters, "Comparing Scripture with Scripture: Some Observations on the Sinai Pericope of Exodus 19-24," *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs*, ed. G. M. Tucker et al., 1988, pp. 111-30. See also Blum (n. 6 above) pp. 283-88.

wilderness period in Ezek 20:10ff., in which statutes (*ḥuqqôt*) and ordinances (*miŝpāṭîm*) are given by God to the people throughout the wilderness period. This is also true of the sabbath. Nothing is said about Sinai or Moses. It is hard to imagine that the omission is just Ezekiel's idiosyncratic treatment of the tradition.[12]

2) The second question has to do with the relationship of the murmuring/rebellion tradition to law. There are two instances of this connection before Sinai: Ex 15:25-26 and ch. 16. After the healing of the waters of Marah, we have the statement in 15:25b: "There he (Yahweh or Moses) made for them a statute and an ordinance (*ḥōq wĕmiŝpāṭ*) and there he proved (*nsh*) them." This is followed by an admonition to keep God's commandments and a promise that if they are obedient Yahweh will not inflict the people with the "diseases . . . which I put upon the Egyptians." Gressmann wanted to find elements of an old Kadesh tradition of law here[13] while Perlitt regards it as a deuteronomic rewrite.[14] But the Dtr scheme is to have the first revelation of law, the ten commandments, take place at Horeb with the statutes and ordinances delivered through Moses subsequently. That makes the attribution of Ex 15:25b-26 to Dtr unlikely.[15]

Immediately following this episode is the giving of manna in the wilderness (Ex 16), which contains the revelation of the law of the sabbath. In response to the people's need Yahweh declares: "Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a day's portion every day, that I may prove (*nsh*) them, whether they will walk in my law or not" (v. 4). This is followed by the special provision for the sabbath. Both the giving of statute and ordinance in 15:25 and the regulations of the sabbath in 16:4-5 are ways by which God "tested" (*nsh*) the Israelites in the wilderness.[16] Ezekiel also combines statutes, ordinances and sabbaths "as a sign between me and them, that they may know that I Yahweh sanctify them." (20:12). The sign in Ezekiel is clearly a test which the people failed.[17]

To sum up our observations to this point: 1) there is reason to believe that the tradition about God's theophanic appearance at the divine mountain of Sinai/Horeb is a rather late, secondary addition to the wilderness tradition, and 2) that the theme of law was part of the wilderness tradition prior to, and independent from, its association with Sinai/Horeb. 3) The association of law with Sinai/Horeb does not seem to be earlier than the exilic period.

With these observations in mind, let us turn to Ex 32 and examine its relationship both to the tradition of law and to the larger wilderness narrative.

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[12] Cf. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20,* Anchor Bible 22, 1983, pp. 363-88. Greenberg naively assumes that Ezekiel makes use of the whole of the Pentateuchal tradition, including the priestly corpus in a highly individualistic manner. There is no effort to investigate the relationship seriously.

[13] *Mose und seine Zeit,* pp. 121-24.

[14] Perlitt, *Bundestheologie,* p. 268; see also Noth, *Exodus,* p. 129.

[15] On Ex 15:25b-26 see J. Van Seters, "The Plagues of Egypt: Ancient Tradition or Literary Invention?" *ZAW* 98 (1986), p.35.

[16] Cf. Deut 8:2, 16 where manna is especially associated with testing but nothing is said about the sabbath keeping as part of that testing.

[17] On sign and test together see Isa 7:10-16.

Ex 32 and the Law of Sinai

Ex 32, along with chs. 33 and 34, presently stand in the context of a large block of priestly legal material having to do with the revelation of cultic institutions and regulations on Sinai in chs 25-31 and their implementation in 35 ff. Apart from the fact that Ex 32-34 presents a temporal and spacial transition from the one block to the other, the P material seems to have little in common with the episode of rebellion in Ex 32. However, at the end of the divine instructions and immediately before the golden calf episode of Ex 32 P introduces the theme of sabbath regulations (31:12-17), the significance of which I believe has not been clearly understood.[18] The injunction to keep God's sabbaths (pl) is supported by the statement: "for this is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that you may know that I, Yahweh, sanctify you" (31:13). This is followed by P's usual treatment of the sabbath (sg) law. The opening statement, however, is almost a verbatim quotation from Ezekiel (20:12, 20), but in Ezekiel the context for such a statement is a remark about Israel's rebellion in the wilderness and the violation of God's commandments. It seems to me, therefore, that P is using the injunction about observing the sabbath as a way of making a transition to the rebellion episode in Ex 32 and to the remark about the two tables of the law in 31:18. Ezekiel's general and repeated rebellion in the wilderness has been understood by P to be the specific rebellion of Ex 32 (J). The way he has ordered his legislative material around this unit presupposes his dependence upon, and supplement of, the earlier literary corpus.

Turning now to the pre-P level of the composition we note the rebellion episode follows directly from the injunction to Moses to appear on the mountain to receive "the law and the commandment" written on the stone tables and his 40 days sojourn on the mountain (Ex 24:12-15, 18).[19] The episode has in view the establishment of Israel as a covenant people in response to the theophany and the declaration of the laws revealed to Moses in 20:22-23:23 and recorded in the book of the covenant. This is also the content of the stone tables (24:12) to be received from Yahweh so that there is some appearance of redundancy.[20] Yet it is the tables of stone and the action of breaking them that establishes the connection of the giving of the law with the rebellion story. The covenant renewal in ch 34 also takes up the theme of the tables of stone. Here the content must be the cultic laws of 34:11-26, paralleled to those of the Book of the Covenant, even though it identifies them as the "ten words."

Attempts have been made to sort out the relationship of all these versions of the commandments, whether book or stone tables, and the two parallel versions of the commandments of chs 20-23 and 34, in terms of source division: J and E. The basis for doing so, however, has always been weak. The matter can be greatly clarified by looking at the comparative material on laws in ancient Athens.[21] Many

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[18] Noth suggests that it is a reminder that the law of the sabbath is to be observed even when building the tabernacle (see *Exodus,* pp. 240f.). This hardly seems adequate.

[19] See Van Seters, "Comparing Scripture with Scripture," pp. 125f.

[20] From the wording of 24:12 it is clear" that J does not have the ten commandments in mind as the content of the stone tables. This verse could not derive from either Dtr or P because both have the ten commandments on the tables.

[21] See R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition & Written Record in Classical Athens,* 1989, pp. 45-60.

documents, such as treaties, laws and decrees, were maintained in two forms, the "original" on papyrus to be deposited in the archive, and the copy on a stone stele, to be set up for public display. It was the public version inscribed in stone that was the more authoritative one even though it was secondary and not necessarily an exact verbatim copy of the original. The inscribed version of the law could be abbreviated or in other ways differ from the archival version. The annulling of a decree or treaty was done by destroying the public document, the stone stele which was itself the covenant.[22] This would account for both the book of the covenant and the stone tables, as well as the difference between the two versions. There is no need to look for two sources in this material.[23]

Ex 32 and its Parallels in Deut 9 and 1 Kings 12

The tradition history of Ex 32 must consider the parallel texts of Deut 9:8-10:11 and 1 Kings 12:25-32.[24] The text in Deut 9-10 is complex so that a detailed study cannot be attempted here.[25] But a few observations are in order:

1) Deut 9:8ff ties the event very closely to the giving of the decalogue at Horeb so that the rebellion is specifically an act of violation of the decalogue and the tables of stone were those inscribed with the ten commandments.

2) The violation has to do with one single act, that of making the molten image, a calf—a direct violation of the first and second commandments, hence the breaking of the tables by Moses.

3) The destruction of the calf corresponds to the acts of religious reform that one encounters elsewhere in DtrH, especially of Josiah in 2 Kings 23:4ff.[26] The language of burning, cutting in pieces, grinding and throwing the dust of the demolished object into a stream, seems to bring together a series of separate actions into one concentration on the calf in Deut 9:21.

4) Moses intercedes for the people to avert the divine anger. This is noted in 9:18-19 (v. 20 is an addition) before the destruction of the calf in v. 21, and again in vv. 25-29; 10:10. The style of the account as recapitulation means that only one occasion is actually intended.[27]

When we compare Ex 32 with Deut 9 there are a number of notable similarities, but also some important differences.

1) The occasion of the rebellion is the same. Moses is on the mountain for 40 days

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[22] Ibid. p. 50.

[23] See also my remarks in "Comparing Scripture with Scripture," pp. 125f.

[24] The literature is quite voluminous. See *In Search of History*, pp. 313-14; also H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen*, ATANT 66, 1980, pp. 59-77, 306-13; and recently, C. T. Begg, "The Destruction of the Calf (Exod 32,20/Deut 9,21)" *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*, ed. M. Lohfink, 1985, pp. 208-51; E. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels*, CBOTS 27, 1988; E. Blum, in work in n. 6 above. Apart from Hoffmann, few scholars compare all three texts together.

[25] See Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter*, pp. 8-56.

[26] See Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen*, pp. 306ff.; Begg, "The Destruction of the Calf," pp. 233ff.

[27] Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter*, pp. 44-47, takes 9:10, 18-19, 25 and 10:10 as secondary. I do not see what the point of such additions might be since they seem to conform so completely with Dtr.

receiving the tables of stone. But only in Deuteronomy is the inscribed law the decalogue.

2) The nature of the rebellion is, in both instances, the making of a molten image, a calf. But in Ex 32 the event is expanded with many additional details.

3) The destruction of the calf has very close verbal correspondence in both accounts, but Ex 32 adds the detail about drinking the water into which the pulverized remains of the molten calf have been thrown.[28]

4) There is also close correspondence between the prayers of intercession by Moses.[29] But in Ex 32 there are now two quite distinct occasions of intercession, one before Moses descends from the mountain and knows for himself what has happened, the other after the calf has been destroyed. In the first instance God forgives his people, as in Deuteronomy, but in the second case there is some suggestion of punishment.

There can be little doubt that at a number of points there is a direct literary relationship between the two accounts. The basic question becomes how to account for the additional details in Ex 32 that are lacking in Deut 9. For this purpose we must consider the comparison between Ex 32 and 1 Kings 12:25-32.

Concerning the account of Jeroboam's making of the golden calves, I have argued elsewhere that it is entirely the invention of DtrH to suggest that Jeroboam was in total violation of the Deuteronomic code.[30] This includes not just rebellion against the decalogue but against the centralization of worship, the regulations of the cult and its festivals, the abolition of high places, etc. In this respect the making of the molten image in Deuteronomy hardly reflects the story in 1 Kings 12 at all, except in the one detail, the mention of the calf. But this could just as easily be drawn from the cultic critique of Hosea (8:5-6; 10:5-6). By contrast several quite precise details in Ex 32 seem to draw upon the Jeroboam story. This is most apparent in the declaration by Aaron/Jeroboam: "These are (Behold) your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" 32:4 (1 Kings 12:28). In addition, there is the emphasis on the construction of the calf from gold as well as the accompanying cultic activity of the feast (*ḥag*) and offerings.

If Ex 32 is directly related literarily to both Deut 9 and 1 Kings 12:25 ff in a number of important ways, but Deut 9 and 1 Kings 12 have almost nothing in common, then there is only one plausible conclusion: Ex 32 is a combination of elements from the other two accounts. It is hardly conceivable that both Deut 9 and 1 Kings 12 could draw upon Ex 32 and at the same time avoid having anything in

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[28] Begg ("The Destruction of the Calf," pp. 233ff.) argues for the dependence of Deut 9:21 on Ex 32:20. He states that since Deut 9:21 is a "fuller-blown" account on those points where there is agreement with Ex 32:20, even though it lacks the detail about drinking the polluted water, this points clearly to Deut 9:21 as a secondary expansionist version of Ex 32:20 and dependence in the other direction is "patently implausible." He must then find an explanation for why the one item was omitted. This position, however, is very weak. If we compare this parallel with the synoptic problem of the New Testament then exactly the opposite is the case in the relationship of Matthew to Mark, i.e., where Matthew agrees with Mark, the latter may have the fuller wording but Matthew may contain additional details not found in Mark.

[29] See Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter*, pp. 41-56 for recent discussion.

[30] *In Search of History*, pp. 313f.

common with each other. This does not mean that one can simply remove the Dtr redaction from Ex 32 to arrive at an original account.[31] It is part of a larger composition in Ex 19-24* that is all post-Dtr.

Rebellion and Intercession in Ex 32

We must now address the relationship of Ex 32 to the murmuring/rebellion tradition in the larger wilderness context.[32] It is easy enough to regard Ex 32 as a late amalgamation of elements from the Sinai/Law tradition and the murmuring tradition but the matter needs further investigation. It has long been observed that the murmuring stories fall roughly into two types, those that reflect a situation of genuine need to which Yahweh responds graciously, and those that have to do with an act of rebellion, ingratitude or lack of faith, which is countered by divine punishment.[33] The first type (pattern I) occurs before Sinai and the golden calf episode, the second (pattern II) occurs after Ex 32. One can dismiss this arrangement as redactional but it is hard to see what other arrangement in Ex–Num would have been more original.

In Deuteronomy the matter is quite otherwise. Chapter 8 contains a long exhortation which reflects only God's positive benevolence in the wilderness, his provision of manna,[34] water from the rock and protection from snakes and scorpions (vv. 3, 15-16). There is no hint of murmuring or punishment, but there is the element of "testing" (*nsh*) for obedience to God's commands (vv. 2, 16). This attitude to the wilderness experience is similar to that reflected in Hosea 2:14-15. But Deut 9 suggests a quite different picture of continuous rebellion: "from the day that you came out of Egypt until this place (Moab)" (v. 7). The primary example of such rebellion is the molten calf episode at Horeb.[35] This theme of continuous rebellion is very similar to Ezek 20 in which Israel is accused of rebellion against God from the time of his revelation to them in Egypt onwards, v. 6ff (cf Deut 9:24). For Ezekiel the rebellion is consistently associated with the worship of idols (*gillûlîm*). However, it would appear that God's determination to spare his people is not the result of any intervention by Moses. I would suggest that Deut 9 is a development on the Ezekiel version of the wilderness which has given the positive wilderness period of initial innocence a strongly negative interpretation. Deut 9 has added to this view the role of Moses as intercessor to explain the mitigation of the divine wrath.

In the murmuring tradition of Exodus-Numbers (J) the accounts of benevolent aid

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[31] See Aurelius, p. 68, where he designates the *Grunderzählung* as vv 1-6, 15a*, 19f, 30-34. About vv. 17f, 21-24 and 25-29 he is more uncertain. But even his minimal text would have to rest on both Deut 9 and 1 Kings 12.

[32] For discussion of the murmuring tradition see G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness, 1968;* S. DeVries, "The origin of the Murmuring Tradition," *JBL* 87 (1968), 51ff.; V. Fritz, *Israel in der Wüste,* 1970; B. S. Childs, *Exodus,* pp. 254-64; cf H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist,* pp. 61-82.

[33] For a typology see Childs, *Exodus,* pp. 259ff.

[34] See L. Perlitt, "Wovon der Mensch lebt (Dtn 8,3b)," in *Die Botschaft und die Boten, Festschrift für H. W. Wolff,* 1981, 403-26.

[35] Whether the reference to other episodes in the digression in vv. 22-24 is a later addition is hard to say. Verse 24 recapitulates v. 7. See Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter,* pp. 14f.

(P I) and the acts of rebellion (P II) all belong to the same literary and traditio-historical level. Most of these stories share with the calf episode the role of Moses as intercessor on behalf of his people. This is also a feature that Ex 32 has in common with Deut 9. Thus the question arises, from whence does this role of prophetic intercessor derive.[36] E. Aurelius has given us a comprehensive study of the role of Moses as intercessor, demonstrating its persasive character not only in the murmuring tradition, but also in other parts of the Moses tradition.[37] But he has not fully addressed the problem of its origin within prophecy. It is often assumed that the intercessory role of the prophet is ancient and a recognized function of prophecy. This view rests largely on its use in the J (and E) sources of the Pentateuch. But a recent study by S. Balentine has shown decisively that it belongs almost exclusively to Jeremiah, especially DtrJer, as well as the DtrH portrayal of Samuel in 1 Sam 7 and 12.[38] Noteworthy is the fact that of the two types of murmuring stories in Ex-Num, 1 Sam 7 fits P I and 1 Sam 12 fits P II.

Since Moses's role as intercessor is quite fundamental to the wilderness tradition in general and to the rebellion at Sinai/Horeb in particular, one can only conclude that it all belongs to the late post-Dtr level of the tradition. This means that it is more likely that a Dtr editor developed the role of Moses as intercessor in Deut 9 comparable to that of Samuel, as a way of accounting for the averting of the divine wrath. From the one Dtr example in Deut 9 the Yahwist extended the role of Moses as intercessor throughout the whole tradition. This would give to Ex 32 a quite central place in the wilderness tradition. Not only does it serve as a transition from one murmuring pattern to another; it also presents the most extensive portrayal of Moses as intercessor in the whole tradition.

The content of the intercession is also significant. In Deut 9:26-29 there is basically only one argument used to persuade the deity,[39] namely, that the land (Egypt) from which the Israelites were rescued will think that God could not carry out his promise to bring them into the land of Canaan and therefore slew them in the wilderness. This will reflect badly on the deity's reputation. The same reason is given in Ezek 20 for God's sparing his people repeatedly, to protect his reputation among the Egyptians. But in Ezekiel it is not made part of any intercession. It is Dtr who has taken up this reason and embodied it in Moses's prayer. The Yahwist uses the same argument (with some modification) but adds to this the promise to the patriarchs as a new motivation. This is hardly surprising, given his special concern for this theme.

Conclusions

For the sake of further discussion let me lay out some propositions to which I believe this present study points.

1) There is no history of an early Sinai/Horeb tradition of law-giving, whether

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[36] See Coats association of intercession with the most basic level of heroic saga in *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God,* JSOT Sup Ser. 27, 1988, pp. 110ff.

[37] *Der Fürbitter Israels.*

[38] S. Balentine, "The Prophet as Intercessor: A Reassessment," *JBL* 103 (1984), 161-73.

[39] The reference to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in 27a is a later gloss added after Ex 32:13. See J. Van Seters, "Confessional Reformulation in the Exilic Period," *VT* 22 (1972); pp. 448-59.

of the decalogue or any other form of law. The association of a special theophanic event as the occasion for the revelation of law is a late, exilic development. This is fully confirmed by the complete pre-exilic silence of this tradition in the Old Testament.

2) The composition of the narrative in Ex 19-24*, 32-34 by the Yahwist on the giving of the law, the making and breaking of the covenant and its renewal, was done in tandem with his development of the murmuring tradition. The fact that the role of Moses as intercessor belongs at the heart of both the murmuring tradition and the golden calf apostasy makes their common late formulation most plausible. The search for archaic levels of the wilderness tradition stemming from early Israel, as inaugurated by Gressmann, must be judged a failure and abandoned.

3) The attempt by many recent scholars to distinguish a substantial Dtr redaction or reworking of an older stratum is an effort to salvage the old J and E sources of the documentary hypothesis. I believe this must be given up because one cannot any longer locate such a stratum or set of texts. If we do not have them in the wilderness tradition there is no reason to believe that we have them anywhere else. Nor is the pre-P composition in Ex-Num a part of DtrH (=the latest strand of Deuteronomy) but a post-Dtr author of the late exilic period.[40]

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[40] Blum, in *Le Pentateuque*, pp. 279ff., uses the term "D-Komposition" by which he means a post DtrH work of the late or post-exilic period.

Heroes and Villains in Palestinian Lore: Matthew's Use of Traditional Jewish Polemic in the Passion Narrative

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Matthew has been described with some justification as being at the same time the most "Jewish" and "anti-Jewish" of New Testament books. "Jewish" because the book seems more interested than other Gospels in what has been referred to as "ordinary Jewish issues,"[1] such as dietary laws, Sabbath observance and rules regarding ritual purity, and Torah interpretation. "Anti-Jewish" because it is Matthew's Gospel in particular, with no small bit of relish, which attacks the Jewish institutions and leadership. It is Matthew who lays claim to the *true* interpretation of scripture, "the law and the prophets," and sets his interpretation over against that of the Jewish leaders, and it is Matthew who almost singlehandedly is responsible for the terms "hypocrite" and "Pharisee" being near synonyms in subsequent western vernacular. Perhaps most notably it was Matthew who penned the "cry of all the people" which called for the blood of the crucified Christ upon the heads of the (Jewish) people and their children. As is widely acknowledged and catalogued, there has been in western history a connection between "anti-Semitism," and the cry of all the people.[2] These are examples of the elements of Matthew's Gospel which have helped to place it squarely within debates concerning Jewish and Christian origins and dialogue, and Jewish and Christian identity and definition in late antiquity. The purpose of this paper is to examine Matthew's use of polemical material, with special attention to the passion narrative, and to place this material within the larger context of traditional Palestinian polemic in the late 2nd Temple and immediate post 70 period.

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[1] A. Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1986) 146.

[2] J. Fitzmyer, "Anti-Semitism and the Cry of All the People (Mt.27.25)," *Theological Studies* 26 (1965) 667-672. In the same volume, published shortly after the Vatican II statement on "the Jews," two other articles on anti-Semitism in the Gospels appear by D. Crossan, pp. 189-214, and G. O'Collins, pp. 663-666. For a review of the literature on Matt. 27.25 in the patristic period see, R. Kampling, *Das Blut Christi und Die Juden: Mt 27,25 bei den lateinischsprachigen christlichen Autoren bis zu Leo dem Grossen* (Muenster: Aschendorff, 1984).

The Palestinian Setting of Matthean Polemics

The polemical tone and material of Matthew runs throughout the Gospel. It is part of a consistent Matthean agenda. In several respects these polemics reach a high point in the passion narrative. However, even this polemical material has a context within the Gospel. Before turning to the passion narrative itself, we should first view Matthew's use of traditional polemic in the Gospel as a whole, observing wherever possible his method and purpose for employing this material as it builds toward the passion narrative. One Matthean theme which is heavily laden with traditional polemic, and which runs throughout the Gospel, is the theme of *Matthew and the law*. This is perhaps the best example for illuminating and contextualizing the manner and aim of Matthean polemic.

The subject of Matthew and the law has attracted as much attention as any other over the last 50 years of Matthean studies.[3] What appears as a distinctive feature of Matthew's treament of the law, when compared with other Gospel writers, is the manner in which Matthew truly engages in debate over the interpretation of specific features of what he considers *the law*.[4] When, for example, the issues of ritual purity or Sabbath observance come up in the Markan narrative, they are dismissed summarily with a claim that these issues no longer abide for the followers of Jesus. Mark 2.27 for example states, "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." Similarly, in the dispute over clean and unclean hands in chapter 7, Mark's Jesus rejects the *traditions* concerning clean and unclean hands and food by claiming, "all foods are clean" (Mk. 7.19).

Matthew, on the other hand, when taking over these conflict narratives from Mark, deletes these summary statements. They are far too radical for Matthew and do not reflect his view of either food laws or Sabbath observance. On these two occasions, and others throughout the Gospel, Matthew adapts the Markan material in a manner which allows him to engage in actual debate about the application of these legal traditions.[5] Matthew 15 parallels Mark 7 on defilement. Here Matthew supplies a lengthy digression which is aimed at getting the reader to believe that the Matthean rejection of the *paradosis* concerning hand washing does not in fact result in defilement. Matthew's discussion of the relation between attitude and action culminating in 15.19—where he appears to be playing off the decalogue—is intended to persuade the reader that the Matthean interpretation is actually the true and

[3] The literature on Matthew and the law is considerable. The groundbreaking redactional work by G. Bornkamm and his students is still useful: G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, trans. P. Scott (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963). Also, cf. U. Luz, *Das Evangelium Nach Matthaeus*. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament (Zurich: Benziger, 1985), I: 60-61; R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung Zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthaeusevangelium*, (Munich: Kaiser, 1963).

[4] There are problems with the term "law," not only because we cannot be sure what the term means in a variety of settings, but also because the ancient writers seem to use it somewhat indiscriminately, connoting a wide range of meanings. "Law" can refer to scripture, to traditions related to scripture, or to oral traditions which seem to have little connection with scripture.

[5] A. Hultgren, *Jesus and His Adversaries: The Form and Function of the Conflict Stories in the Synoptic Tradition* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1979).

accurate interpretation of the *word*, or *law* of God.[6] In a slightly different manner the fulfillment citations, concentrated primarily in the birth narrative, are intended to establish the same thing. That is, the actions and beliefs of Matthew and the Matthean community are not deviant or innovative. Rather they are portrayed as the fulfillment of the rituals and traditions many forms of Judaism in this period, however disparate, would have embraced.[7]

Not surprisingly Matthew handles the Sabbath dispute from Mark 2 in a similar way. He deletes the Markan saying, "Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," and engages instead in a defense of the disciples' behavior on the Sabbath. Matthew cites Hosea 6.6 in an effort to marshal support for his community's behavior. Again their behavior is in fulfillment, Matthew claims, of the law and the prophets. This passage is cited also in chapter 9 in defense of Jesus' table guests.[8] Concerning the Sabbath Matthew is at pains to demonstrate that his community acts in accord with the laws regarding the Sabbath (12.2-7). Matthew advocates a certain set of traditions concerning the Sabbath and is at odds with another, perhaps more dominant set of Sabbath traditions in the Matthean setting.[9] It is clear that Matthew takes these legal accusations seriously. Unlike the other Gospels he is compelled to respond to these charges. Matthew takes issues of law and interpretation seriously enough to join in the argument in the hope of persuading his own audience, if not his detractors, of the validity of his position.

Among the Gospel writers Matthew appears unique as far as his consideration of and elaboration upon legal issues and debate is concerned.[10] However, Matthew is far from unique in this regard. Matthew has tended to suffer from being read in isolation and without a broader context within Palestinian society.[11] When compared only and simply with other Gospels Matthew may in fact appear unique in this regard. But when viewed within the larger context of Palestinian life and religious debate, any uniqueness fast falls away. It is this setting within Palestinian religious life that provides the richest background for understanding Matthew's use of scripture, laws, and legal traditions, and most of the Gospel's polemical material.

For example, a number of scholars have pointed out affinities between Matthew

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[6] Matt. 15.6 has several variant readings. It appears subsequent scribes were not sure what term to use for the issue Matthew is taking up. Does this pertain to "commands," "word," or "law" of God? All three terms are represented in the manuscripts.

[7] J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community*, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 74-79.

[8] This passage is also cited in *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan* (ARN version A), translated by Judah Goldin (New Haven: Yale University, 1983) 32-34.

[9] E. Schweizer, "Matthew's Church," in G. Stanton (ed.), *The Interpretation of Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 129.

[10] A. Hultgren, *Jesus and His Adversaries*, 184-190.

[11] Since W. D. Davies' *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1964), few scholars have tried to read Matthew in this broader context. Some have read Matthew in isolation from any context; e.g., J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 2. Many scholars seem to assume Antioch as a setting for Matthew despite any convincing evidence to support this. For a recent discussion of setting and place of origin see Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthaeus*, 73-75.

and Qumran.[12] Some of the Scrolls from Qumran use the law and scriptural traditions to legitimate their interpretations, and discredit their opponents. Both Qumran—particularly in the Damascus Document and the Pesher on Habakkuk—and Matthew portray the laws and scriptural traditions of Israel as coming to fulfillment in their community.[13] Those who covenant with the Qumran community "return with all their hearts to the law of Moses" (IQS 5). The truths and interpretation of these laws have been revealed exclusively to the Qumran community (IQ Hab. 7). The truth of the law has been concealed from the men of falsehood (IQS 9). In the same manner Matthew claims he truly understands the law. Jesus is the true teacher, and in Matthew the disciples, his students, truly understand.[14] Both Matthew and Qumran claim their opponents do not understand and have corrupted God's laws and covenant. The Matthean and DSS scribes each make the exclusive claim that only they correctly interpret and fulfill the laws of Israelite tradition and history.

If one examines other Palestinian documents from this period one finds that by no means is Qumran the only analogue to the Matthean concern and use of law. Earlier in the second Temple period I Enoch 104 claims that only the wise and the righteous shall be given the scriptures. The "righteous" shall learn from them. The false leaders in I Enoch have not written down all the words of the law. They have altered the law. These false leaders lead the people astray with their version of the scriptures (99.11).

The mid first century BCE Psalms of Solomon, in harsh tone and terms reminiscent of Matthew's Gospel, make the same claims about law and the scriptures. The false leaders caricatured in the Psalms, like those in Matthew, are excessive in speech and appearance. They provoke the God of Israel with their law-breaking, they are "hypocrites," and impoverish others; "may their flesh decay" (Pss.Sol. 4.1-5). Only the people behind the Pss.Sol. have remained faithful and true to God's law (14.1-2). God has gathered these holy people because they have remembered the law. Only these holy ones will inherit eternal life, while those who have forgotten God's laws will inherit Hades (14.9-10).[15]

The late first century CE documents II Baruch and IV Ezra lay a similar stress on law, both for the purposes of validating their own position and practice, and to delegitimate the leaders in their setting for whom they have such apparent disdain. In II Baruch people are judged according to their degree of adherence to the law.[16]

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[12] K. Stendahl, *The School of Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968); J. Gnilka, "Matthaeus Gemeinde und Qumran," *BZ* 7 (1963) 43-63.

[13] J. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 3-58.

[14] See U. Luz, "The Disciples in the Gospel According to Matthew," in G. Stanton (ed.), *The Interpretation of Matthew*, 98-128. J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism*, 124-140.

[15] P. Franklin, "The Cultic and Pious Climax of Eschatology in the Psalms of Solomon," *JSJ* 18 (1987) 15. The translation is from *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985) II:639-671.

[16] F. J. Murphy, "Sapiential Elements in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," *JQR* 86 (1986) 311-327. See also by Murphy, "The Temple in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," *JBL* 106 (1987) 671-683.

The righteous are those who have guarded the truth of the law and not departed from it (II Bar. 44.14). Conversely the wicked are those who have rejected the law of God and stopped up their ears so as not to hear it (51.4). The law is the only means by which one can determine who is wicked, and the fate of both the wicked and the righteous.[17] IV Ezra reiterates these claims about the law. There are only a few who have remained in the law. All have received the law but most have failed to follow it (IV Ezra 3.19ff.). The righteous are those who have kept God's laws and commands (7.22ff.). Thanks to the instruction of Ezra his community understands and properly follows the law of God. The authorities in his setting on the other hand have scorned and rejected God's law and covenant (7.24; 9.11).

This review of a number of documents from Palestine in the late second Temple period is of course not exhaustive. This survey does reveal, however, striking similarities between Matthew's use and concern with scripture and law and many other Palestinian documents from the same period. That use and concern can be summarized in the following way. The struggles over the law and the traditions connected with *the law* were between rival Jewish groups or factions.[18] These arguments would have carried little weight with someone who did not embrace the traditions and history with which these laws were connected. These legal debates were aimed at Jews. These are arguments understood by and only effective with other Jews.[19] The author(s) identified themselves with a set of traditions associated with the history and God of Israel, and viewed their opponents as participating in that same history and set of traditions.

The law became a primary means by which one could attempt to discredit opponents in this period. This is why the law is mentioned in largely polemical contexts. Its use and mention are warranted when conflict and competition between rival factions arise. The law is largely the language of the underdog in this competition.[20] These documents use the law to take aim at the leaders and authorities in their setting. Matthew's attempt to discredit the leadership crescendos in chapter 23. Here Matthew attempts to invalidate the piety, oaths, tithes and offerings of these leaders. They are "lawless." He claims they abuse the traditions and laws of Israel. Matthew associates these leaders with past leaders who killed the prophets and shed innocent blood; a theme he will pick up again in chapter 27. These leaders, their interpretation and authority, Matthew asserts, are illegitimate.

Those who use the law in this way are not in power and have probably lost out to those who are. Whether it is those responsible for the destruction of the Temple (II Bar.; IV Ezra), or those who embraced the Romans' entrance into Jerusalem in

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[17] M. Desjardins, "Law in II Baruch and IV Ezra," *Studies in Religion* 14 (1985) 314.

[18] See J. Blenkinsopp, "Interpretation and the Tendency to Sectarianism: An Aspect of Second Temple History," in E. P. Sanders (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) II: 1-26.

[19] While I understand the term "Jew" or "Jewish" is itself problematic because of its great diveristy and the widespread struggle over definition in this period, there are still common histories and traditions which these diverse, even conflicting factions all claim. These common Israelite traditions and heroes are the ground of the "Jewishness" in this case, and are still disputes internal to Judaism(s), however diverse.

[20] See Blenkinsopp, "Interpretation."

the mid-first century BCE (Pss.Sol.), or those who seem to be contending with certain Hasmonean rulers (I Enoch; DSS), these documents which utilize the common polemic of the law do so in an attempt to discredit those who wield power or influence in their setting.

The law emerges in these documents as a substitute for the authority the authors lack. However, appeal to the law, and the traditions connected with it, did carry some force. A certain degree of loyalty to these traditions could be expected by the author.[21] The author hoped to rally people around the claim that he and his group truly represent the traditions many of the people cherish and claim to follow. Fidelity to these traditions, and the claim that the current authorities corrupt them, formed part of the strategy and method employed by these various factions. This common Palestinian polemic also aimed at aligning the group employing the law with the great traditions of Israel's past. Conversely, the attack on those in power which always accompanies the application of these laws and traditions, was an attempt to align them with some of the well known law-breakers and lawless periods of Israel's history.

Traditional Polemic in Matthew's Passion Narrative

The use of traditional polemical material by Matthew continues throughout the Gospel. His strategy in utilizing these traditions elsewhere in the Gospel remains basically the same as his strategy concerning the law. Matthew picks up again the notion of *fulfillment* in chapter 27 hoping to reinforce his claim that what happened to Jesus was the fulfillment of the traditions of Israel and the plan of God. The role of Judas is emphasized by Matthew for this very purpose. Matthew 27.9-10 is one of the few fulfillment citations outside the birth narrative. It is the citation from Zechariah which is interestingly attributed to Jeremiah. Not only Jesus' death, but the thirty pieces and the purchase of the field of blood confirm that the things which happened to Jesus happened in accord with, and in "fulfillment" of, the traditions of Israel. This is typical of Matthew. He uses seemingly superficial events and details of Jesus' biography, when he is able to find a citation which roughly conforms to the event in question, to help establish that the beliefs and life of the Matthean community, especially concerning Jesus, are not erroneous or *de novo*. Rather, they represent the fulfillment of the plan of God. This is what Matthew claims the scriptures and traditions verify.

The Matthean elaboration on Judas, especially in 27.3-10, is intended to highlight several things. Not only does this section try to underscore that the death of Jesus, and the desertion of one of his closest followers, was all in the plan of God, but it introduces the theme of "innocent blood" which Matthew develops further in chapter 27. With the application of this theme of the innocent blood, Matthew begins once again to align the fate of Jesus, and the life of the followers of Jesus, with the righteous heroes of Israelite tradition, and attempts to implicate the leaders with

[21] Josephus claims the traditions (*paradosis*) of the Pharisees, for example, were popular with the people, A. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988) 79-133. The widespread use of the popular prophets and the traditions associated with these heroes in the literature from this period supports the claim that the authors knew these figures were both popular, and in some sense authoritative.

those in Israelite history who opposed the Prophets sent by God. This is a theme that once again may seem unique compared with other Gospels, but is certainly not unique when compared with other Palestinian authors contemporary with the Gospel of Matthew.

The theme and accusation of shedding innocent blood has a developed history and background in the Hebrew Bible and Israelite history.[22] One's blood being on one's own head is often used in the context of violating a statute or law, and having to reap the consequences of that lawlessness.[23] This theme develops into the cost or result of killing a righteous man, or an agent or anointed one of God. II Sam. 1.16 is the story of the Amalekite who reports the death of Saul to David. After interrogation David determines that the messenger was more than just an innocent passerby. In v. 16 David declares, "Your blood be upon your head, for your mouth has testified against you saying, 'I have killed the Lord's anointed.'"[24] This exchange is anticipated in I Sam. 26.9 where David says rhetorically, "who can stretch out his hand against the Lord's anointed and be without guilt?" Similar sentiments are expressed in I Kings 2.32-33,37 and II Kings 21.16 where the shedding of innocent blood and the guilt or blood of that act being on the head of the offender is stressed. This is a theme which is picked up by several authors from Palestine in the immediate post 70 period.

II Baruch 64, in what appears to be a reference to II Kings 21.16, describes the wickedness which existed during the time of Manasseh, saying, "he killed the righteous men and shed innocent blood." Here, and throughout the book, the author of II Baruch speaks allegorically about this earlier period in Israelite history, likening it to the post 70 period in Palestine when the author is writing. The leaders in Israel immediately prior to, and during the time of the writing of II Baruch were just as corrupt, and just as wicked, as the leaders of an earlier period in Israelite history. This is the claim of the author of II Baruch.

According to the Testament of Levi 16.2-4, the wicked priests who are in charge have not only defiled the Temple and the altars, "but they persecute just men and take their innocent blood upon their heads." IV Ezra 15.22 describes the "sinners" who figure prominently throughout the book as "those who have shed innocent blood upon the earth." And the first two chapters of IV Ezra which have been redacted by a later author, referred to as V Ezra, pick up on this theme from 15.22. When God is speaking in the appeal to Israel this accusation emerges again; "I sent you my servants the prophets, but you have taken and slain them; their blood I will require of you, says the Lord (1.32).[25]

A number of authors from this period pick up on the theme of innocent or righteous blood being shed aiming to implicate the present leadership with these, now widely acknowledged, false or wicked leaders of a former era in Israel's history.

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[22] H. G. Reventlow, "Sein Blut Komme Ueber Sein Haupt," *VT* 10 (1960) 311-327.

[23] Ezek. 18.13; 33.4. Originally this "blood guilt" is connected with the cult, as in Lev. 17.4, 9.

[24] The language of the LXX of this verse is reminiscent of Matthew. For a discussion of the Samuel passage see the recent commentary by W. Brueggemann, *I and II Samuel* (Louisville: John Knox, 1990) 210-219.

[25] G. Stanton, "5 Ezra and Matthean Christianity in the Second Century," *JTS* 28 (1977) 67-83.

The authors place themselves and their group in the train of the persecuted, righteous heroes of that same history. Matthew is no exception to this. He is in fact a perfectly good example of this same theme, strategy, and polemic in the post 70 period in Palestine.

In his attack on the leadership in chapter 23 Matthew begins connecting the leadership with those false leaders in Israel's past who shed innocent blood. Matthew says these leaders mourn at the tomb of the prophets and say, "If we had been living during the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them in the shedding of the blood of the prophets" (23.30). Here, in the mouths of the leaders, Matthew connects these present leaders with "their fathers" who killed innocent men, and Israel's heroic prophets. V. 31 continues, "consequently you bear witness against yourselves, that you are the sons of those who murdered the prophets." The present leadership is still being sent prophets and wise men and scribes who are being persecuted and killed in the gathering places of the leaders (23.34).[26] In this context the woe over Jerusalem which follows in 23.37 appears as a lament for the people of Jerusalem who are under the sway of these "false and wicked" leaders. Because of these false leaders, and the people of Jerualem who follow after them, Jerusalem will "be left desolate."

The theme of the leadership shedding innocent blood is picked up again in chapter 27. In v. 4 Judas recognizes that he has betrayed "innocent blood" and in 27.5 hangs himself. It was the leadership in the form of the chief priests and elders of the people who arranged the plot with Judas (26.14), and once again according to Judas' confession, were responsible for "shedding innocent blood," confirming 23.34ff.[27] The connection between the "betrayal of innocent blood" by Judas and the leaders is emphasized by Judas' use of the title "Rabbi" for Jesus. Unlike other Gospels, in Matthew it is a mistake to associate this title with Jesus. Only Judas calls Jesus "Rabbi" in Matthew. This title was already explicitly connected with the leadership with whom Matthew is contending in 23.7. These leaders love to be called "Rabbi." In 23.8 Matthew enjoins his followers "not to be called Rabbi," which suggests of course some were doing just that. Matthew connects this title with the leadership he opposes, and places it in the mouth of Judas to further implicate him, and his act, with those leaders.

Finally, the theme of innocent blood is brought up once again in 27.25. Pilate, believing that Jesus is "a righteous man" (27.19), washes his hands of the matter before the crowd. In response the people utter this traditional, but by the time of Matthew quite loaded expression of responsibility, "his blood be upon us and our children."[28] This is an attempt by Matthew to show that the people of Jerusalem have been successfully led astray by the false leaders. A sign in all these documents, including Matthew, that leaders are indeed false is that they corrupt and mislead

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[26] Concerning Matthew and the "Synagogue" (gathering place), see Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism*, 56-62.

[27] See R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandesetzung*, 17ff., for a discussion of the various leadership groups in Matthew. See also, S. Freyne, "Vilifying the Other and Defining the Self: Matthew's and John's Anti-Jewish Polemic in Focus," in J. Neusner (ed.), *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, and "Others" in Late Antiquity* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 117-144.

[28] I do not make nearly as much as O'Collins or Fitzmyer, (n. 2 above), of the shift from the "crowd" (*ochlos*), to "all the people" (*pas ho laos*), in 27.24-25.

people. The people of Jerusalem, as 23.37 lamented, have been taken in by the teaching and misdeeds of the false leaders. They take responsibility, along with their children (*ta teknē*), for Jesus' innocent blood. The addition of the children, which does not occur in other documents which mention "innocent blood," is an allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem ("being left desolate," 23.37), and the suffering endured by the people of Jerusalem a generation after Jesus' death. That Matthew has Jerusalem and its destruction on his mind is supported, along with the explicit reference in 23.37, and the allusion to it in 27.25, by his interest in the prophet Jeremiah.

Matthew alone among New Testament writers makes mention of Jeremiah, and does so three times.[29] During the post 70 period in Palestine, and in a number of the documents we have mentioned, Jeremiah was a popular prophet and hero. In the literature associated with Baruch, Jeremiah figures prominently. Baruch serves as Jeremiah's scribe and *confidant. The Letter of Jeremiah* is a document attributed to Jeremiah, a few fragments of which were found at Qumran (cave VII), perhaps from the late Maccabean period, which denounces idols and false leaders. In I Macc.4.45ff. the Temple altars are torn down and stored away, "until there should come a prophet to tell them what to do with them." In the later work II Maccabees it is the Prophet Jeremiah who encloses the ark, the tent and the altar in a cave. Only he knows where they are hidden.

In II and IV Baruch, and The Lives of the Prophets, Jeremiah is also associated with the Temple's destruction and the hiding of the vessels and apparatus. In II Baruch Jeremiah is with Baruch when an Angel takes the items from the Temple and buries them in the earth. In chapter 9 Baruch and Jeremiah, apparently the only two not captured during the siege of the city of Jerusalem, "because their hearts were pure," beheld the desolation of the city, rent their garments and wept. In IV Baruch it is Baruch and Jeremiah who bury the vessels of the Temple during the destruction, and in the Lives of the Prophets chapter 2, Jeremiah saves the ark of the law and things in it during Jerusalem's destruction, and stores it in a rock.[30]

The Prophet Jeremiah was a popular prophet and figure in post 70 Palestine. Popular Palestinian tradition in this period associated him with the destruction of the Temple, the saving of the sacred vessels, and apparently the hope of some sort of restoration of Jerusalem. Perhaps it is for this reason that Jeremiah is mentioned in Matthew's Petrine confession as one of the Prophets for whom Jesus has been mistaken (16.14). Matthew's references to Jeremiah place him within this post 70 Palestinian milieu, but also beg a connection with the concern for Jerusalem and the Temple. In referencing Jeremiah Matthew ties into this popular tradition in Palestine. This is also one more example of how Matthew enlists the support of popular heroes and prophets from Palestinian lore, aligns them with his message and group, and sets them against the current leadership. It is therefore no surprise that the tombs of these popular figures and heroes open up at the close of the passion (27.52). These heroes come forth at the death of Jesus and the tearing of the Temple veil as if to

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[29] H. Sparks, "St. Matthew's Reference to Jeremiah," *JTS* 1 (1950) 155.

[30] A similar set of traditions exists in these documents about the Temple keys, their fate and future. See II Bar. 10.18; IV Bar. 4.4. A tradition about the keys being relinquished and given up to heaven can also be found in III Baruch and in ARNA (Goldin, p. 37). The importance and power of this authoritative symbol was also seized upon by Matthew in chapter 16. He claims his community is in possession of the keys to the kingdom.

show their allegiance and support. Matthew consistently tries to equate his community's beliefs in Jesus with the heroes and prophets of Israel's popular past. The Matthean community and these heroes are allied. Matthew would have the reader believe he and his community stand in the long line of Israel's faithful, while the current leadership are heirs of Israel's former corrupt leaders.

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn from the discussion of Matthew's use of traditional Jewish polemic. Matthew is a *Jewish* document. It is clear that Matthew can be placed squarely within the setting which employed these traditional Jewish polemics. Matthew, like a number of other Palestinian Jewish authors of the late second Temple period, laid claim to the Israelite history and traditions to which these polemics allude and within which they were grounded. Matthew is a clear, even typical example of a Jewish document from this formative period in Palestinian society. Matthew should be placed and interpreted within this broader context.

To speak of Matthew as a "Christian" document is not only anachronistic, it obscures the vital setting of Jewish Palestinian society within which Matthew must be read. Even the frequent designation "Gentile" for Matthew can only make sense when Matthew is lifted out of this Jewish debate and setting in Palestine. Outside of this context Matthew can be read as a rejection of "Judaism" and an elevation of "Christianity." Such is the case with G. Strecker who claims Matthew has "historicized" his traditions.[31] Informed by a salvation history scheme, Strecker believes the "Jewish" struggles and traditions in the Gospel are historicized relics for Matthew. Matthew's Gospel tells the story of the Church's movement to the Gentiles and the rejection of Israel.[32] Matthew was clearly read that way at a later time, outside of Palestine in the second and subsequent centuries.[33] When the Church was distinct from Judaism such a reading of Matthew was convenient and supportive for the Church. But the views of Strecker, or those who make similar claims for Matthew,[34] reflect little awareness of Judaism in this formative period in Palestine, and must ultimately be arrived at by lifting the Gospel out of its first century Palestinian context. Matthew does not leave Judaism behind but rather speaks from within Judaism, staking the rather exclusive, but nonetheless common claim that his version of Judaism is true and authoritative.

Like many other types of Judaism within this period Matthew takes aim at the Jewish leadership in his setting. He does this in large measure by employing popular heroes and figures, and stock polemic from Israelite tradition. He seeks to discredit

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[31] G. Strecker, "The Concept of History in Matthew," in G. Stanton (ed), *The Interpretation of Matthew*, 67-84.

[32] G. Stanton, *The Interpretation of Matthew*, 7.

[33] E. Massaux, *Influence de L'Evangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irenée*, (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1950). Also, Kampling, *Das Blut Christi und Die Juden.*

[34] S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) 171; and D. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1967) 127, both of whom suggest that Judaism, and the Jewish leadership, are no longer serious competition or a *bona fide* issue for Matthew.

the leadership and elevate the life and claims of his community. Matthew attempts to implicate the leaders with the storied villains of Israel's past, and associate his people with her popular heroes and prophets. In the end Matthew's aim and strategy may not have been successful. The use of this traditional polemic by Matthew reveals he feels the threat of a developing, dominant authority in his setting. In the face of this competition Matthean Judaism claims it speaks for the traditions and legacy of faithful Israel. In this formative period many types of Judaism made this exclusive claim, but by the second century there is little indication that within Palestine Matthew's interpretation was finally convincing.

The Plot to Kill Jesus from Three Different Perspectives: Point of View in Matthew

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In the Gospel of Matthew, the religious leaders of Israel are portrayed as opponents of Jesus who plot to have him put to death (12:14; 26:3; 27:1). Their plot is brought to fruition in that portion of the Gospel which we refer to as "the passion narrative." But why do the religious leaders wish to have Jesus killed in the first place? What is their motivation in seeking his death?

This question is distinct from historical investigations into the gravamen against Jesus. Some scholars who have undertaken such investigations have suggested possible reasons for why the Jewish authorities of Jesus' day might have become his mortal enemies,[1] while others have denied the proposition that conflict with Judaism was a significant factor at all.[2] This paper, however, is concerned with identifying the motives ascribed to Israel's religious leaders in the story that Matthew tells. It hopes to shed light, not on the historical event of Jesus' death itself, but on the story of Jesus' death as it is presented in Matthew's Gospel. The methodology best suited to such an investigation is narrative criticism.[3]

Using methods derived from the analysis of secular literature, narrative critics are able to discern motives that are ascribed to characters in stories and to evaluate the reliability with which these motives are defined. In some narratives, the reader is simply told outright why certain characters act as they do.[4] In the Gospel of John, for example, the narrator states that the chief priests planned to put Lazarus to death because "on account of him many of the Jews were going away and believing in Jesus"

[1] See e.g., C. F. D. Moule, "The Gravamen Against Jesus," in *Jesus, The Gospels and the Church: Essays in Honor of William R. Farmer* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), pp. 176-95; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1985).

[2] Bibliography in E. Bammel, "The Revolution Theory from Reimarus to Brandon," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day;*, ed. E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 11-68.

[3] On this method see my forthcoming book, *What is Narrative Criticism?*, GBS (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990). Also, Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew As Story*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 1-42.

[4] Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 3-20.

(Jn 12:11). This statement of motive is not very specific, but the information that it does provide is completely reliable, since it represents the point of view of the narrator himself.[5] Matthew's Gospel, however, contains no such references: the narrator does not tell us why the religious leaders plot to take Jesus' life.

Some narratives, especially modern and post-modern works, offer the reader no guidance in the discernment of motives. The reader is expected to empathize with the various characters presented and to guess at their motives based on his or her own life experiences. Such existential encounters with the text will of course produce divergent interpretations, none of which can be declared right or wrong. Motives ascribed by readers are completely unreliable. They may change with every reading of the text, which displays a tendency to deconstruct interpretations placed on it from without by exposing them as products of extra-textual readerly bias.[6]

Matthew's Gospel takes the middle ground. On the one hand, it does not offer perfectly reliable statements of motive from the perspective of the narrator but, on the other, it does not invite totally capricious interpretations from the perspective of its readers. Rather, Matthew offers three different explanations as to why the religious leaders want Jesus killed, each of which represents the point of view of a character or character group within the story. The reader is expected to consider the merits of each of these explanations in light of the perspective from which it is presented.

The Point of View of the Religious Leaders

The first perspective to be considered is that of the religious leaders[7] themselves.

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[5] John's Gospel employs the rhetorical device of a "reliable narrator," as does that of Matthew. See R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 32-33; Kingsbury, *Matthew As Story*, 31-33. Cf. Booth, 70-76, 158-59; Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 147-51.

[6] Proponents of post-modern criticism or deconstruction usually argue that all texts must ultimately be read in this way. See Edgar V. McKnight, *Post-Modern Use of the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988).

[7] Narrative critics agree that, in Matthew, the religious leaders function as a "character group" analogous to the crowds or the disciples. Some distinctions exist between Pharisees, Sadducees, chief priests, elders, and scribes, but, for the most part, these groups are homogenous. Redaction critics have long noted that Matthew lumps the historical groupings together in order to make of them a single "united front." See Hubert Frankemölle, *Jahwebund und Kirche Christ: Studien zur Form- und Traditiongeschichte des "Evangeliums" nach Mattäus*, NTAbh, Bd. 10 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1963), 12-22; Sjef Van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 1-6; Rolf Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium*, FRLANT, Bd. 91 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 11-13. Narrative critics note that the groups of leaders listed above are indistinguishable in terms of their point of view, their character traits, and their role in the development of the plot: they possess a single "story line." See Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Developing Conflict Between Jesus and the Jewish Leaders in Matthew: A Literary-Critical Study," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 57-73.

Their point of view may be determined from the speech, actions, thoughts and values ascribed to them in the narrative.[8] An examination of the most revealing texts leads to the conclusion that they seek to have Jesus killed because he claims to have authority from God. The first thing they say about him is that he is guilty of blasphemy (9:3), the charge for which they will later sentence him to die (26:65-66). They respond negatively to all his demonstrations of divine authority (9:34; 12:24; 21:15) and question him concerning the source of his authority (21:23). They claim that his authority comes from Satan (9:34; 12:24) and demand signs from him to prove that this is not true (12:38; 16:1). Why this concern, throughout the narrative, with the source of Jesus' authority? In the passion narrative, it becomes clear: the claim to have authority from God means that he deserves death (26:65-66). When this sentence is carried out, the religious leaders join in mocking Jesus specifically as one who claimed to have authority from God: if he really was the Son of God, they reason, he would come down from the cross (27:41-43).

This motivation for the plot to kill Jesus is linked to one of the chief character traits ascribed to the religious leaders in Matthew's narrative: spiritual blindness. Matthew characterizes them as "blind" in several ways. First, they are explicitly designated as blind in the phraseology of Jesus (15:13; 23:16, 17, 19, 24, 26). In addition, even when the word "blind" is not used, they are often accused of failure to understand spiritual things. They do not know how to read the signs of the times (16:3) and do not know the implications of God's power for the future (22:29). Jesus frequently accuses them of not understanding scripture through such phrases as "Have you not read . . . ?" (*ouk anegnote*, 12:3, 5; 19:4; 22:31), "Have you never read . . .?" (*oudepote anegnote*, 21:16, 42) and similar expressions (9:13; 12:7; 22:29, 43; 26:51). Sometimes, Matthew even exposes their spiritual blindness by having them unwittingly fulfill the very scriptures that they do not understand (26:54, 56; 27:9).

Matthew further characterizes the religious leaders as spiritually blind by presenting their own speech and actions as representative of insight inferior to that of the reader. The reader realizes the King Herod is opposed to the Christ, but the leaders apparently do not (2:1-6). The reader knows that John the Baptist is a prophet, but the leaders fail to recognize this (17:12; 21:26), just as they do not comprehend that his baptism presupposes repentance (3:9) and is from heaven (21:24-27). The fallacy of the leaders' legal policies is also made apparent to the reader (12:2-6, 10-12; 15:10-20; 23:16-26), who therefore perceives them as blind to the true meaning of the law and to spiritual priorities. Matthew also highlights their failure to perceive what is obvious to the reader by contrasting their blindness with the perception of other characters: the crowds (9:8, 33; 21:25, 46), residents of all Judea (3:5-6), children (21:15-16), and tax-collectors and harlots (21:32).

If the religious leaders are blind concerning the law, the scriptures, and so many other things, it is no wonder that they are also unable to perceive who Jesus is. Because they do not realize that his authority comes from God, they regard his actions as presumptuous and his claims as blasphemous. From their perspective, the

[8] These are the "planes of expression" on which point of view may be revealed, according to Borris Uspensky, *A Poetics of Composition: The Structure of the Artistic Text and Typology of a Compositional Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). Uspensky called them the phraseological, spatial-temporal, psychological, and ideological planes.

plot to kill him has an ostensibly noble motive: they think that by putting this blasphemer to death they will be serving God.

It is noteworthy that the leaders' rationale for seeking Jesus' death is tied specifically to their blindness to his divine authority. They do *not* seek to kill him because of their disagreements over legal matters. As important as the legal disputes are to Matthew's narrative, it is clear that the content of these arguments does not constitute the central line of opposition between Jesus and the religious leaders. Without exception, Matthew indicates that the leaders precipitate these disputes in order to "entangle" (22:15), "test" (19:3; 22:18, 34), or "accuse" (12:10) Jesus. The disputes themselves are reflective of opposition that transcends the immediate context. This is clear, for example, in 12:9-14. At first glance, it may appear that the religious leaders take counsel to destroy Jesus because he has healed on the sabbath (12:14). But this cannot be true: they had decided to accuse him even before he performed the healing (12:10). The sabbath healing itself appears to be simply the occasion that enables the leaders to put their predetermined plan into action. To find why they were opposed to him in the first place we need look back only one verse: in 12:8, Jesus boldly claims that he, the Son of Man, is lord of the sabbath. This claim to possess divine authority is what prompts the leaders to look for a way of accusing him and to monitor, specifically, his behavior on the sabbath in order to find such an occasion.[9]

The point is that Jesus' apparent challenge to the law is threatening to the leaders because it constitutes a claim to divine authority. Jesus places himself above Moses (19:8-9). Although the leaders question Jesus about the law in a way that presupposes they disagree with his views (12:10; 19:3, 7), they never accuse him of heresy or of false teaching as such. The charge is that he is a blasphemer (9:3; 26:65) and an imposter (27:63; cf. 9:34; 12:24).[10] They do not seek to kill Jesus simply because he disagrees with them on certain matters. They seek to kill him because he claims to possess divine authority.

The Point of View of Pilate

The leaders' plot to kill Jesus is seen differently from the point of view of a third party. Pilate perceives that it is "out of envy" that the leaders deliver Jesus to him (27:18). Pilate does not think that the leaders want to kill Jesus simply because *Jesus* claims to have authority, but because *others also* attribute authority to him.

There is much in Matthew's narrative to prepare the reader for such an observation. Even before Jesus and the religious leaders encounter each other in the narrative, the narrator informs the reader that the crowds are astonished at Jesus' teaching because "he taught them as one who had authority, and not as their scribes" (7:28-29). As the story progresses, the crowds move from merely being astonished

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[9] Chatman argues that readers can be expected to infer causal links between episodes whenever these help the narrative to make sense. *Story and Discourse*, 45-46.

[10] The word *planos* in 27:63 means, literally, "one who leads people astray." In context, however, it refers to Jesus' claim that he would rise from the dead. By sealing the tomb, the leaders hope to quell any further attribution of divine authority to Jesus. Accordingly, their concern here is not that Jesus misled people through the content of his teaching in general, but that he led people astray by holding himself out to be something that he was not (26:63, 68; 27:41-43).

to glorifying God for the authority that has been given to Jesus (9:8). Then the phraseology becomes even more explicit: "Never was anything like this seen in Israel!" (9:33). Jesus not only has authority: he has authority that the religious leaders lack. The crowds are aware of this and their awareness is not lost on the religious leaders, who respond by attributing Jesus' authority to Satan (9:34). They perceive the crowds as posing a threat to them on account of Jesus (21:46; 26:3-5).

The perception that the religious leaders want to have Jesus killed out of envy also relates to a principal character trait attributed to the leaders in this narrative, namely hypocrisy. The religious leaders are explicitly characterized as "hypocritical" in Matthew's narrative through the phraseology of Jesus (17:7; 22:18; 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29; that the references to hypocrites in 6:1-8, 16-18 may also be applied to them is apparent from 23:1-7).

Matthew also depicts them as hypocritical by attributing speech, thoughts, values and behavior to them that is reflective of duplicity. They are insincere in their dealings with Jesus (12:10; 16:1; 19:3; 22:15, 18, 23-27, 35), deceptive with regard to the crowds (21:26; 26:4-5; 28:13), pretentious in their piety (23:5-7), and inconsistent in their speech and actions (21:30; 23:3-4). All these qualities reflect a lack of harmony between their true nature and their outward appearance, and this is what Matthew calls "hypocrisy" (23:27-28).[11]

As hypocrites, the religious leaders greatly prize the opinions of people and often attempt to hide their vain motives with pious pretense (e.g., 23:5-7). Pilate's perception, therefore, makes sense within the context of the narrative. His point of view offers the reader an alternative explanation for what is behind the plot to kill Jesus: envy toward one who is regarded by others as possessing authority that the leaders themselves lack.

The Point of View of Jesus

Jesus' own perspective on the leaders' plot to take his life offers still another explanation. Jesus believes the leaders seek to kill him, not just because he claims to have divine authority, or even because others respond to him as one who has such authority, but because he really does have divine authority and because they are in fact the enemies of God. Jesus refuses to acknowledge that they act unwittingly, or even that their motivation is simply human envy. They are, in his view, opposed to him because he is the representative of God, against whom they have rebelled.

This perspective is expressed most clearly, perhaps, in Jesus' parable of the two sons (21:28-30) and in his parable of the wicked tenants (21:33-39), which even the religious leaders themselves recognize as being about them (21:45).[12] Neither inadequate understanding nor envy is an issue in either of these stories. Rather, the leaders are depicted in the parable of the two sons as a disobedient child who knowingly disregards his father's wishes. In the parable of the tenants, they are described

[11] On the concept of hypocrisy in Matthew, see especially Van Tilborg, 8-26.

[12] This is, notably, the only instance in which the religious leaders are said to perceive the significance of anything that Jesus says to them, though they do pick up at least enough of what he says in 15:10-11 to be offended by him (15:12). On the insight gained by them in 21:45, see Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and the Secret of Jesus' Divine Sonship in Matthew: Some Literary-Critical Observations," *JBL* 105 (1986): 643-55.

as rebels who kill their master's son, knowing full well who he is. In fact, they kill him because of who he is!

The same perspective underlies Jesus' response to the high priest in his trial before the council (26:64). At the very least, this response indicates that he regards the leaders as people who refuse to acknowledge him as the Son of God rather than as people who are simply misguided or ignorant concerning his identity. Although the words *su eipas* ("You have said") are ambiguous, they are certainly taken by the high priest as affirmative[13] and seem to imply that the high priest expected his answer to be affirmative.[14] In fact, when Jesus uses these identical words in 26:25, he does so in response to someone who asks a question even though he already knows the answer. When Judas, who has already agreed to betray Jesus, asks "Is it I, Master?," Jesus responds "*su eipas*." The idiomatic meaning seems to be "You know that it is." By analogy, when Caiaphas asks Jesus, "Are you the Christ, the Son of God?", Jesus' response might be rendered, idiomatically, "You know that I am!"

In any case, it is clear that in this Gospel Jesus does not regard the religious leaders as people who "know not what they do" and who should therefore be forgiven (cf. Lk 23:34). He considers them to be murderers who should be and will be held accountable for a long history of opposition to God and to God's agents (23:29-36). They will not be forgiven; they will be sentenced to hell (23:33).

The perception that the religious leaders want to have Jesus killed out of opposition to God relates to yet another principal character trait attributed to them in this narrative: evil. Once again, the leaders are explicitly characterized as "evil" through the phraseology of Jesus (9:34; 12:34, 39, 45; 16:4; cf. 22:18).[15] In fact, the first word that Jesus speaks to them describes them as "thinking evil" in their hearts (9:4). The use of epithets such as "brood of vipers" (3:7; 12:34; 23:33) and "child of hell" (23:15) is probably intended to mark them as evil also.

Matthew also shows the religious leaders to be evil by presenting their words and actions as representative of Satan, the "evil one" (13:19, 38). The leaders' affinity with Satan is brought out by Jesus' parable that likens them to a man possessed by a demon (12:43-45). Their words and deeds are described as being of "humans" (15:9; 17:22), which in Matthew's story implies identification with the ways of Satan (16:23). They act in a manner reminiscent of Satan when they put Jesus to the test (cf. 14:1-11 with 16:1; 19:3; and especially 22:15-46 where, following three unsuccessful tests, they are defeated and silenced).[16] Like Satan in 4:5-6, the leaders tempt

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[13] D. R. Catchpole, "The Answer of Jesus to Caiaphas (MATT. XXVI.64)," *NTS* 17 (1970/71): 212-26.

[14] The phrasing of Caiaphas' challenge as a simple condition supports this: the use of *ei* with the indicative mood usually indicates that the speaker assumes the protasis of the sentence ("If you are the Son of God . . .") to be correct. Cf. Robert Gundry, *Matthew: Commentary On His Literary Theological* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 544-45; Daniel Patte, *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Structural Commentary Matthew's Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), p. 378.

[15] Matthew is the only Gospel in which Jesus uses the word *poneros* ("evil") to describe the very nature of the religious leaders. In Luke 11:39, he does say that they are full of *poneria* ("evil"), but even then it is something of which they can be cleansed (Lk 11:42).

[16] In Matthew, the verb *peiradzo* (to "tempt" or "test") is used only of the religious leaders and Satan.

Jesus to use his divine power in ways that are superfluous and inappropriate (12:38; 16:1). The leaders adopt Satan's point of view outright when they oppose Jesus specifically as the Son of God (cf. 4:1-11 with 21:37-38; 22:2-6; 26:63). In 27:41-53, their phraseology mimics that of Satan (4:3, 6) as they replicate his temptation for Jesus to use divine power on his own behalf. By defying him to forsake the cross and "save himself," they show themselves to be Satan's instruments (16:21-23).

In the dualistic world of Matthew's story, all people may be divided into two types: the "good" (*agathos*) or "righteous" (*dikaios*) and the "evil" (*poneros*) or "unrighteous" (*adikos*).[17] In Matthew's story world, people have either been sown by the Son of Man or they have been sown by the devil (13:18-23, 36-43). As children of the evil one (13:38; cf. 23:15), the religious leaders, in Jesus' view, represent plants that God did not plant (15:12-13). For this reason, Jesus never attempts to minister to them. He does not teach, heal, or exorcise any of their number,[18] nor even call them to repentance.[19] Rather, his policy is to "leave them alone," (15:13). They are evil children of the evil one and they will be uprooted in due time.

Since Jesus regards the religious leaders as evil, it is no wonder that he attributes their plot to kill him to base motives. He does not think they are motivated by a sincere but mistaken desire to do away with a blasphemer. Not even envy, reprehensible though that may be, fully describes what is behind their plan. In his view, they want to kill him because he is God's supreme agent and they are evil enemies of God.

Evaluation and Integration of the Three Perspectives

Although all three of these perspectives on the plot to kill Jesus are significant for an understanding of Matthew's narrative, the point of view of Jesus must be given primacy. Jesus is the most reliable character in the story: there is no instance in which his point of view is ever exposed by the narrator as erroneous or misguided.[20] Accordingly, the reader is expected to ascribe the greatest significance to Jesus' own

[17] Matthew is the only Gospel that uses these substantives as collective nouns. In a similar fashion, he uses *poneros* generically to refer to Satan ("the evil one," 13:19, 38) because the two types of people in his story world correspond to a cosmic dualism between God (or the Son of Man!, 13:37) and the devil.

[18] Jairus, for example, is a religious leader whose daughter is healed by Jesus in Mark's Gospel (5:22) as well as in Luke (8:41). In Matthew's story, he is simply "a ruler" (9:18). Similarly, in both Mark (12:28-34) and in Luke (17:20-21), Jesus instructs religious leaders when they ask what appear to be sincere questions, but this never happens in Matthew.

[19] Cf. the numerous sayings in Luke whereby Jesus informs the religious leaders of the benefits that await them if they will only change their ways: "Do this and you will live" (10:28); "everything will be clean for you" (11:41); "you will be repaid at the resurrection" (14:14). None of these statements is found in Matthew, where the leaders are excluded from the kingdom of heaven from the outset (5:20). See my article, "The Religious Leaders in Luke: A Literary-Critical Study," *JBL* 109 (1990): 93-100.

[20] Positively, Jesus is a character to whom scripture bears witness and with whom God is pleased (3:17). See Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Figure of Jesus in Matthew's Story: A Literary-Critical Probe," *JSNT* 21 (1984): 3-36.

perspective on the plot to take his life. The perspectives of other characters will be evaluated and interpreted in light of what is revealed from Jesus' point of view.

The point of view of Pilate, namely that the leaders wish to have Jesus put to death out of envy, can be accepted as valid, though it is only one part of the whole truth discernible to Jesus. Pilate is not a completely reliable character,[21] but Matthew's use of the word "*edei*" ("knew") in 27:18 indicates that this particular insight is essentially correct. Furthermore, Pilate's accusation of envy seems to be substantiated by the consistent characterization of the leaders as hypocrites elsewhere in the narrative. Still, hypocrisy is itself viewed as a manifestation of evil in Matthew's narrative. In 22:18, Jesus calls the leaders "hypocrites" because he is aware of their evil. In 23:28, hypocrisy is equated with lawlessness and contrasted with righteousness. A similar connection of hypocrisy with lawlessness is found in 15:3-9 and 23:23, 25. In 16:1-4, the leaders are called "hypocrites" because they test Jesus, an activity associated with Satan, the "evil one" (13:19, 38). The other explicit uses of "hypocrite" as an epithet are also connected with activity presumed to be evil (23:13, 14, 29-33).[22]

Just as the characteristic of hypocrisy may be considered but one manifestation of the root characteristic evil,[23] so Pilate's point of view concerning the leaders' plot to kill Jesus may be subsumed under the superior perspective of Jesus himself. Even Pilate, an unreliable pagan, is able to perceive that the leaders are neither innocent nor sincere in their plan to have Jesus killed. He knows they are motivated by hypocritical envy. But this is as far as his insight goes. He does not realize that the leaders are in fact children of the evil one who seek to kill Jesus because he is the supreme agent of God. Matthew's reader regards Pilate's insight as correct but as representative of only one small part of the total picture revealed through Jesus' point of view.

The religious leaders' own perspective, namely that they seek to have Jesus killed because they believe he is a blasphemer, also seems to be correct. The leaders, of course, are extremely unreliable characters in Matthew's narrative, who are shown to be wrong about a great many things. But this observation only supports the likelihood that they would also be wrong about Jesus. Matthew indicates that they think he derives his authority from Satan (9:34; 12:24) and are completely blind to his true identity as the Son of God. Yet Jesus clearly regards them as characters whose opposition to him is not unwitting but is based on an evil and rebellious

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[21] Pilate's reference to Jesus as one "who is called Christ" avoids affirmation of what would accord with God's point of view in Matthew's story, namely that Jesus really is the Christ (16:16-17). Also, Pilate ultimately submits to do the religious leaders' bidding (27:26; note the use of *paredoken*, which may indicate that the curse Jesus invokes on Judas in 26:24 applies to Pilate as well).

[22] From a redactional viewpoint, Matthew translates *hypokrisin* in Mark 12:15 with *poneria* in 22:18. In some instances, then, hypocrisy may be simply a synonym for evil. This, incidentally, accords well with the concept of hypocrisy found in the Septuagint, where *hypokrites* refers to the godless person who has fallen away from God through his or her behavior. Van Tilborg, 22.

[23] Kingsbury was the first to recognize that evil is the "root character trait" of the religious leaders in Matthew. See "Leaders," 58-60. Previously, it had been suggested, incorrectly I believe, that hypocrisy was "the sum of all charges against them." Ernst Haenchen, "Mattäus 23," *ZTK* 48 (1951): 38-63.

opposition to God. How can these two points of view be reconciled?

The solution lies in the recognition that in Matthew's narrative blindness, like hypocrisy, is also a manifestation of evil. Jesus himself designates their blindness to his divine authority as "evil" in 9:3-4. It is because they are evil that they have to seek signs to establish his authority (12:39; 16:4). Similarly, their misidentification of his authority as being from Satan is described as an inevitable expression of evil in 12:34. Spiritual blindness may be equated with "unbelief" and contrasted with righteousness (21:32).

The blindness of the religious leader is different from the incomplete understanding attributed at times to other characters. Unlike Joseph (1:19-21), the Magi (2:12), and Jesus' disciples (13:11, 23, 51-52; 15:15-16; 16:12; 26:2), the leaders are not given understanding to remove their ignorance (2:3-6; 12:38-40; 15:14; 16:4; 21:27). Unlike the crowds, they do not see the truth when it is shown to them (9:6-8). And, finally, even when they do see, they continue to act as though blind (21:32).[24] They ignore the "sign of Jonah" provided in Jesus' resurrection (28:12-13; cf. 12:38-40; 16:4) even though they have twice requested such a sign from him (12:38; 16:1).

In short, the blindness attributed to the leaders in Matthew seems to describe more a refusal to see than a mere incapacity to see. They are blind because they are evil, not the other way around. Jesus regards their failure to recognize his divine authority as the effect rather than the cause of their opposition to him. It is in this sense that their own point of view concerning the plot to kill Jesus can be accepted as valid, as long as it is subsumed under and interpreted in light of the superior perspective offered by Jesus. The leaders are in fact evil characters who are the enemies of God. One manifestation of this evil is their refusal to recognize the divine authority of Jesus, in spite of abundant evidence that makes this authority discernible to others. Jesus can characterize them in his parables as intentionally opposed to the will of God (21:28-31, 33-39; 22:1-7) because that is what their blindness ultimately is: a rejection of the things of God.

Spiritual blindness in Matthew denotes the ironic quality of evil by which one becomes trapped in one's own duplicity. The religious leaders *are* evil, but they do not realize that they are evil. It is this self-deception that marks them as "blind."[25] Ironically, then, the leaders are blind even to their own motives. They think that they are opposed to Jesus as a false claimant to divine authority, but the reader, guided by the supreme insight of Jesus, recognizes that this perception is itself an example of how they, as evil characters, reject the things of God.[26]

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[24] The accusation that Jesus makes to the leaders in 21:32 is truly shocking. The implication is that they did, eventually, see that John came to them in the way of righteousness but that, unlike the tax-collectors and the harlots, they did not even then repent and believe. Jesus refuses to answer their question about the source of his authority (21:23-27) because he knows that, just as with John, they will not believe in him even if they do see that his authority is from heaven. Spiritual blindness is persistent obduracy, a refusal to see what is perfectly obvious.

[25] In a sense, spiritual blindness fills out the duplicitous character of evil as the counterpart to hypocrisy. It is almost as if the religious leaders, who have attempted to fool others into believing they are righteous, have fallen victim to their own deceit: they have come to believe their own hypocrisy.

[26] I have described spiritual blindness as an example or manifestation of evil. It is also possible to interpret it as a consequence of evil, that is, as a judgment that comes

Implications for Reading the Passion Narrative

Most of this paper has focused on the plot to kill Jesus as it is presented throughout Matthew's Gospel, rather than on the passion narrative itself. Our observations, however, do have implications regarding the context in which the passion narrative should be interpreted.

(1) The passion narrative in Matthew must be read in a *christological context.* Some Matthean scholars have suggested that this Gospel is more concerned with ecclesiological matters than with christological ones: the relationship of Christianity to Judaism, the legitimacy of the Jewish law, the incorporation of Gentiles into the church, the structure of ecclesial authority, and so on.[27] Our study does not bear this out. The plot to kill Jesus, which represents the central element of conflict throughout the narrative, is not closely connected to any of these matters. All three perspectives provided within the narrative for understanding the plot to kill Jesus relate that plot to his divine authority. The religious leaders themselves think they want to kill Jesus because he claims to have divine authority, Pilate thinks they want to kill him because others respond to him as one who has authority, and Jesus thinks they want to kill him because he really does have such authority. But nobody believes that the religious leaders want to kill Jesus because he ministers to Gentiles or advocates paying taxes to Caesar or takes a hard-line stance on the issue of divorce. As important as such legal issues may be, they do not represent the heart of the conflict between Jesus and his enemies: even the sabbath healing in 12:9-14 is linked to the murder plot only because it exemplifies the claim to divine authority made in 12:8.

Jesus is sentenced to death for claiming to be the Son of God (26:63-66). He is mocked on the cross for having claimed to be the Son of God (27:39-43). And, finally, he is recognized in his hour of death as one who truly was the Son of God (27:54). Matthew's passion narrative must be read and interpreted in light of Matthew's christology and, particularly, in light of Matthew's concept of Jesus as the Son of God.

(2) The passion narrative in Matthew must be read in *an apocalyptic context.* By this, I do not mean to suggest that it represents the genre of full-blown apocalyptic literature, such as we find in Daniel or Revelation. But there are affinities.[28] The

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upon those who are evil. Because they reject the things of God, the religious leaders become incapable of receiving divine revelation; God "gives them over" to their own blindness.

[27] Benjamin Bacon interpreted Matthew's Gospel as a catechism. *Studies in Matthew* (London: Constable and Co., 1930). G. D. Kilpatrick took it to be a lectionary. *The Origins of the Gospel According to Matthew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946). Krister Stendahl thought it was an administrative manual. *The School of St. Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968). W. D. Davies read it as a Christian response to Jamnia. *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964). All of these studies de-emphasized not only the importance of christology in Matthew but also, notably, the significance of the passion narrative for the theology of the Gospel as a whole.

[28] David Orton has recently interpreted Matthew within the "quasi-prophetic tradition of the apocalyptic scribes." He calls attention to such features as Matthew's sense of vested authority and mission, his apocalyptic understanding of scripture, and

story world of Matthew's Gospel is extremely dualistic and the plot of this narrative concerns, ultimately, conflict between the agents of god and the agents of Satan.

It is only in this sense that the crucifixion in Matthew can truly be seen to be a victory. The religious leaders actually succeed in their efforts to bring Jesus to the cross: their conflict with him is resolved in their favor. But this story is built on a double irony. First, the reader realizes that, although the blind leaders may think they are serving God, they are actually enemies of God, children of the evil one. Second, the reader comes to realize that, even though the religious leaders are the agents of Satan, their act of bringing Jesus to the cross actually fulfills the will of God and accomplishes the very thing that Satan wanted to prevent (16:23). In short, Jesus must "lose" his conflict with the religious leaders in this narrative so that God might win the greater conflict with Satan.[29]

It is this recognition that the conflict between Jesus and the religious leaders is actually derivative of a basic conflict between God and Satan that leads to the conclusion that Matthew's passion narrative must be read in an apocalyptic context. Ultimately, his passion story serves to demonstrate that God in Christ overcomes the forces of evil when those forces succeed at doing their worst. It is in the interest of scoring this point that he characterizes the religious leaders in a way that neither Mark nor Luke do, as irredeemably evil representatives of Satan whose opposition to Jesus derives from enmity with God.

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his insight into the essence of Jesus' teaching as understanding the mysteries of the kingdom for the righteous. *The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal*, JSNTSS 25 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

[29] I have developed this point much further in my article, "The Plot and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel," to be published in *NTS* in 1991.

The Gospel of Thomas and the Historical Jesus: *Retrospectus* and *Prospectus*

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Introduction

The following essay is offered in the genre of the *SBL Seminar Papers* in the truest sense, as "work in progress." Two years ago I finished a dissertation on the Gospel of Thomas and the Jesus tradition.[1] Although that thesis dealt with a number of areas in need of attention, it managed to avoid the most controversial and sticky issues. Among these was the issue of whether the Gospel of Thomas, beyond witnessing to the development of the early Christian sayings tradition, might also have anything of relevance to add to the discussion about the historical Jesus himself. One might say that in that work the mere asking of this question was disparaged as unimportant and menial compared to the "real issues" I sought to address. Over the past two years, however, I have become ever more convinced of the appropriateness, even the necessity, of posing this question. What follows is a first attempt, however rough, to address this very basic issue. The first part of the essay will look back over the somewhat meagre role the Gospel of Thomas has played in the Jesus debate since its publication (in translation) in 1958, to the present, in order to summon whatever gains have been made, upon which one might now build. The second part of the essay will attempt to look ahead to the ways in which adding the Thomas witness to the Jesus debate might give new shape to that discussion in the future.

I. Retrospectus

1. Thomas and the New Quest

Though the Gospel of Thomas was discovered along with the rest of the Nag Hammadi Library in 1945, due to various (some less than edifying) factors,[2] it was

[1] "The Gospel of Thomas within the Development of Early Christianity" (Claremont, 1988). A revised version is forthcoming from Polebridge Press (Fall, 1990).

[2] For an account of the discovery and the subsequent fate of the Nag Hammadi Library see James M. Robinson, "The Discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices," and "Getting the Nag Hammadi Library into English," *BA* 42,4 (1979) 206-224 and 239-248 respectively.

not published until 1957, and then only in a rough photographic edition.[3] Leipoldt's translation in German in the following year made the text generally available,[4] and the Brill critical edition with text and translation appeared only in 1959.[5] These delays, perhaps not serious when compared to the much more vexing problems experienced in the publication of another great manuscript find of the same year, the Qumran scrolls, were nonetheless costly. For in 1953 at a now famous meeting of the "Old Marburgers" at Jugenheim, Ernst Käsemann delivered his lecture "Das Problem des historischen Jesus,"[6] which launched what would soon become known as the "New Quest of the Historical Jesus."[7] The New Quest began where the last quest left off, viz., with the assumption that the gospels as we have them are not historical accounts, but products of the early Christian preaching about Jesus. If there is anything in them upon which to base a discussion of the historical Jesus, it would only be individual sayings or perhaps isolated historical reminiscences that could be separated from the later settings into which they had been cast in the service of the early Christian kerygma. This meant that in the New Quest, the *sayings* of Jesus would be of the utmost importance as the new discussion took shape.

How exciting it would have been for a new source of sayings—without the encumbrance of a secondary biographical framework—to have been placed on the table just as the new discussion was getting started. But by 1959 it was too late. Most of the "New Questers" had by this time made their definitive contributions to the discussion.[8] But even the relative late-comers, such as Ebeling (1962)[9] and Braun (1969),[10] apparently did not consider the Gospel of Thomas relevant to their views.

There were perhaps several reasons for this. One would have to be the fact that much of the early work on Thomas tended to have a rather conservative ring to it. When one looks at those who argued early on for Thomas as an independent

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[3] Pahor Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, Vol. 1* (Cairo: Government Press [Antiquities Department] 1956).

[4] "Ein neues Evangelium: Das Koptisch Thomasevangelium übersetzt und besprochen." *TLZ* 83 (1958) cols. 481-96.

[5] A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. C. Till, Y. 'Abd al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated* (Leiden: Brill/ London: Collins/New York: Harper, 1959); published simultaneously in Dutch (Leiden: Brill); German (Leiden: Brill); and French (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France/Leiden: Brill).

[6] The lecture was later published as an essay by the same title in *ZThK* 51 (1954) 125-53.

[7] The standard account of this movement is that of James M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); published originally as *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London: SCM, 1959), without Part II in the Fortress edition.

[8] Bornkamm's book *Jesus von Nazareth* was published in 1956 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer); Conzelmann's famous article "Jesus Christus," was published in the 3rd edition of *RGG*, which appeared in 1959; Fuchs' studies, which were published together in 1960 in his *Zur Frage nach dem historischen Jesus. Gesammelte Aufsätze II* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck), were all originally published or conceived in 1959, really too late to take much cognizance of the newly discovered gospel.

[9] *Theologie und Verkündigung* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).

[10] *Jesus—Der Man aus Nazareth und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: Kreuz).

tradition, not a one was part of the post-Bultmannian movement. By 1961 the only Bultmannian to have entered into the discussion was Ernst Haenchen, and he argued that Thomas was a later Gnostic interpretation of the gospel tradition, whose more original kerygmatic cast had already been set in the canonical gospels.[11] A second reason may also be related to Haenchen's work. Haenchen recognized that in Thomas one finds a quite different kerygma, a different *Botschaft,* from that which we have in the canonical gospels. When one recalls that the New Quest was pursued not simply by an analysis of the sayings tradition, but rather by asking whether the claims of the early Christian kerygma were somehow anticipated in Jesus' own teaching as reflected in the sayings tradition, the problem comes clearly into view. The realization that Thomas, with its own kerygmatic claims, represents a tradition that is both independent of, and roughly contemporaneous with the canonical gospels would have meant the recognition that early Christian claims about Jesus were in fact quite multiple and diverse. If this were true, then the entire question posed by the New Quest would have to be rephrased: how might Jesus himself have anticipated the claims of *various early Christian kerygmata.* Eventually such a program emerged from out of the Bultmannian camp with Helmut Koester's influential article of 1965, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity."[12] But by the time Koester had figured out how the Gospel of Thomas might properly impact the New Quest, the New Quest was all but over.

2. Thomas and the "Third Quest"

After a long hiatus, during which a number of advances have served to re-open the exploration of the gospels as theological literature, including redaction criticism and the newer literary criticism, recent years have once again brought about a resurgence of interest in the question of who Jesus was in history.[13] The 1980's have seen the publication of several new monographs on the subject, such that some have begun now to speak of yet another distinct phase in the quest for the historical Jesus, a so-called "Third Quest."[14] But even though the Gospel of Thomas has been readily available now for over twenty years, a fast perusal of these latest contributions to

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[11] *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums;* Theologische Bibliotek Töpelmann 6 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1961).

[12] Originally published in *HTR* 58 (1965) 279-318; later reprinted in *idem* and James M. Robinson, *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 114-57.

[13] See Marcus Borg, "A Renaissance in Jesus Studies," *Theology Today* (October, 1988) 280-292.

[14] Among these "Third Questers" may be named Ben Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1979); A. E. Harvey, *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982); Marcus Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (New York: E. Mellon Press, 1984) and more recently *Jesus: A New Vision* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987); E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985); Richard Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987); Sean Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus, and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988); among others.

the Jesus discussion yields scarcely a word on how it may (or may not) be relevant to the question as it is now being posed.

Given the very high quality of many of these newest contributions, it is unlikely that their silence on the matter of Thomas is simply the result of oversight. And while some of these "Third Questers" will no doubt have excluded the Thomas material as a result of lingering doubts over the question of whether Thomas does indeed represent a tradition independent from that which comes down to us via the synoptic gospels, the reason for its omission may ultimately lie once again in the manner in which the question has been posed. Unlike the "New Questers," who tended to concentrate on the *sayings* of Jesus, to the exclusion of any events alleged to have effected the course of Jesus' life, the "Third Questers" have tended to reverse this trend. E. P. Sanders is typical of this new breed: broadly skeptical of the results of the New Quest in its attempt to arrive at a core of authentic sayings of Jesus, upon which a plausible reconstruction might be based, and eager to ground their studies in certain "*almost indisputable facts*" about Jesus' life, such as his association with John the Baptist, or his crucifixion at the hands of the Roman authorities.[15] Without passing judgment on the relative worth of either approach, it need only be pointed out that this new emphasis on significant events in Jesus' life will leave the Gospel of Thomas, which contains almost nothing of biographical significance, languishing on the sidelines.

3. Taking Thomas Seriously

Yet even though the Gospel of Thomas, for one reason or another, has not played a significant role in either the New Quest or the so-called Third Quest, it has not been left out of the discussion altogether. Over the years a number of studies have been carefully laying the methodological and substantive ground work for incorporating Thomas into the mainstream of the debate. Not long after the discovery of the new gospel, several studies appeared which attempted to take seriously the proposition that Thomas, if indeed representative of an autonomous tradition of Jesus' sayings, might actually provide historians with worthwhile primary data for discussing who Jesus was.

Gilles Quispel, of course, must be mentioned as the first to do this. Already in his 1957 article in *Vigiliae Christianae* Quispel argued that Thomas drew its synoptic-like sayings not from the canonical Gospels, but from the now lost Gospel of the Hebrews, "nothing else than the Gospel used by the descendents of the primitive Christian community of Jerusalem."[16] And if this is the case, argued Quispel, then the close similarity of these sayings to their synoptic counterparts allows us to

> . . . see clearly that the almost nihilistic skepticism of certain "Histories of the Synoptic Tradition" about the authenticity of the words attributed to Jesus in our Scripture has not such solid foundations as it claims to have. In this sense the Gospel of Thomas confirms the trustworthiness of the Bible.[17]

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[15] Sanders "facts" are to be found in his *Jesus and Judaism*, p. 11.

[16] "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VC* 11 (1957) 189-207; reprinted in Quispel, *Gnostic Studies* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1975) II: 3-16. The quote is from p. 5 (*Gnostic Studies*).

[17] Ibid., 16.

While few today would accept Quispel's thesis regarding Thomas' relationship to the lost Gospel of the Hebrews,[18] his assertion that Thomas represents an autonomous tradition has received wide assent.[19] However, his assessment of that datum relative to the quest of the historical Jesus is, of course, highly dubious. To be sure, viewing Thomas as an independent tradition does mean that many sayings found in both Thomas and the synoptic gospels may now be seen to enjoy independent multiple attestation within the tradition. But while independent multiple attestation may serve to locate a saying relatively early in the history of the tradition, it in no way guarantees that the saying comes from Jesus. Moreover, it is difficult to see how such parallels could be so construed as to guarantee the reliability of the entire tradition. Such claims fail to consider the broader significance of form and redaction criticism for our understanding of the nature of the tradition.

In any event, Quispel's proposal is important for two reasons. First, the highly polemical nature of his tone over against the Bultmannians may help to explain why the "New Questers" were reluctant to do much with Thomas. Scholarship too has its political dimension, and Thomas was claimed early on for the conservative backlash against the form-critical school. Secondly, the remarks quoted above suggest a motive for Quispel's work that became typical for the early attempts to work Thomas into the Jesus debate. Thomas was not incorporated into the debate with the expectation that its evidence would alter or adjust the view of Jesus already provided by the canonical gospels; rather, early interest was sparked by the way in which Thomas might confirm that view.

This was true, for example, of the work of Johannes Bauer.[20] Bauer, who accepted Quispel's thesis regarding the sources for Thomas' sayings, carried out a more extensive evaluation of the Thomas tradition, asking which of its sayings might be considered "authentic" sayings of Jesus. While Bauer includes in his study a number of sayings which have no synoptic parallels, the basis of his evaluation is consistently whether or not a given saying may be seen to agree in its thrust or intention with material found in the synoptic tradition. For each saying he regards as authentic, Bauer proposes an interpretive context, that is, a plausible setting in the (synoptic) life of Jesus, in which one might imagine Jesus saying such a thing. In this way he argues that many of these sayings could well have come from the preaching of Jesus.[21] In the end, however, his method rather foreordains that the Gospel of

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[18] See the thorough refutation by Haenchen, "Literatur zum Thomasevangelium," *ThR* 27 (1961/62) 3-4.

[19] An account of the scholarly debate on this issue is to be found in F. T. Fallon and R. Cameron, "The Gospel of Thomas: A Forschungsbericht and Analysis," *ANRW* II 25.6 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1988) 4213-4224; see also Patterson, "The Gospel of Thomas," 5-69. My own position, as will become evident, is that Thomas represents a tradition that is basically autonomous from the synoptic tradition. Owing to the still substantial scholarly disagreement over this issue, it is not yet possible simply to assume that Thomas is an independent or autonomous tradition. I have argued extensively for Thomas' autonomy in "The Gospel of Thomas," 70-165; that argument is presumed here.

[20] J.-B. Bauer, "Echte Jesusworte," in W. C. van Unnik. *Evangelien aus dem Nilsand* (Frankfurt: Verlag Heinrich Scheffer, 1960) 108-150.

[21] In Bauer's analysis Gos Thom 82, 81, 58, 51, 52 are judged to be possibly authentic; 53 and 102 are ruled out. The parables of the kingdom in Thomas (Gos

Thomas will not substantively change the view we already had of Jesus based upon the synoptic tradition alone.

R. McL. Wilson's highly regarded study,[22] while more comprehensive in scope than that of Bauer, proceeds on precisely the same terms laid down by Bauer. Wilson writes:

> Of the possibility that some of these sayings may be authentic words of Jesus, not much may yet be said. It depends upon our ability to trace back a regular line of connection. If we have here no more than Gnostic composition based upon our Gospels, authenticity for any of these sayings is practically out of the question; if, on the other hand, it becomes possible to isolate with confidence an element of genuine early tradition, then the sayings within this section must have a claim to consideration. One important criterion here has already been used by Bauer, namely, that it should be possible to fit such sayings into the context of the life of Jesus.[23]

As may be expected, Wilson's study did not produce any revolutionary disclosures. In fact, only a handful of sayings from Thomas manage to survive the *Sitz im Leben Jesu* criterion in Wilson's work, and these tend to have synoptic parallels.[24]

A turning point in the discussion, in my view, is marked by the sixth edition of Joachim Jeremias' classic, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, published in 1962,[25] which included into its revised framework all of the parables found in Thomas. Jeremias' work is distinguished by the fact that here, for the first time, a major form-critical study of the Jesus tradition makes extensive use of the Gospel of Thomas as a tool for piecing together the history of the transmission of this material, and ultimately for assembling what Jeremias takes to be the original proclamation of Jesus. Often Jeremias judges the Thomas version of a parable to be more original than its synoptic counterpart. He frequently contrasts the simpler Thomas parable to the synoptic version to illustrate the tendency of the synoptic tradition to embellish, allegorize, incorporate allusions to the Septuagint and other popular lore, and other secondary features. Of course, Thomas' parables themselves also frequently exhibit their own secondary features of like manner, thus confirming the notion that such secondary features characterized the development of the oral tradition generally speaking, not just the synoptic tradition alone.[26] When in the end Jeremias summarily draws together the proclamation of Jesus as expressed in the parables, the parables from Thomas play no small role. Thomas' version of the Great Supper (Gos Thom 64) and the Parable of the Tenants (Gos Thom 65), for example, illustrate God's mercy

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Thom 20, 57, 76, 96, 97, 98, 107) are held to be gnostic or gnostic adaptations of their more authentic synoptic parallels.

[22] *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1960).

[23] *Studies*, 151.

[24] Cf. his remarks on Gos Thom 31 (*Studies*, 60), 32 (*Studies*, 61), 39, (*Studies*, 75-76), 102 (*Studies*, 76-77), 45 (*Studies*, 77), and 47 (*Studies*, 77-79).

[25] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; citations are to the ET: *The Parables of Jesus* (3rd revised edition; London: SCM, 1972), which is based upon the 8th German edition (1970).

[26] Cf. the work of H. Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel According to Thomas and the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 7 (1960/61) 220-48.

for sinners.[27] Thomas' version of the Parable of the Leaven (Gos Thom 96) and the Parable of the Mustard Seed (Gos Thom 20) illustrate Jesus' assurance and unwavering trust in God.[28]

In fact, material from Thomas is used generously throughout this section of Jeremias' book, thus leaving the impression that the Thomas material had played a major role in shaping the outcome of this study. In reality, however, although Jeremias was pioneering in his readiness to make use of Thomas, especially to rewrite the tradition history of the parables, in the final analysis the incorporation of the Thomas evidence did not really have much of an effect on his reading of the Jesus tradition. There is very little difference between the Fifth Edition of his book, without the Thomas evidence, and the Sixth Edition, which includes it. The Thomas material was simply analyzed and slipped into the various categories at which Jeremias had already arrived from a study of the synoptic evidence alone.

What Jeremias accomplished with the parables tradition was attempted by his student, Norman Perrin, with respect to the tradition of Jesus' sayings as a whole. The resulting study, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*,[29] has become standard in the field. Like his *Doktorvater* before him, Perrin also takes care to note the relevance of the Gospel of Thomas to the discussion of Jesus' teaching. Upon laying down the arguments for viewing Thomas as an independent tradition, Perrin concludes:

> This may not justify the absolute claim that Thomas is independent of the canonical synoptic tradition, but it certainly justifies the acceptance of this as a working hypothesis, and hence the use of Thomas material, where relevant, in addition to the canonical material in an attempt to reconstruct the history of the tradition and to arrive at the earliest form of the saying or parable.[30]

Perrin here seems to be fully prepared to give Thomas due consideration in his work. And indeed, on at least two occasions Perrin draws upon the Thomas version of a parable to help underscore a point.[31]

But as with Jeremias, one wonders how much the material incorporated from the Gospel of Thomas has really been allowed to help shape Perrin's conclusions about the teaching of Jesus. This may be illustrated from pp. 68-74 of *Rediscovering*, where Perrin makes extensive use of Gos Thom 3 and 113 alongside Luke 17:20-21 in building a case for viewing Jesus' preaching as fundamentally prophetic rather than apocalyptic. However, the conclusions he draws in this section of the book are precisely those at which he had arrived already in his Göttingen dissertation several years earlier, there relying solely on an analysis of Luke 17:20-21 with little regard for the Thomas parallels.[32] At another crucial juncture Perrin fails to notice the

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[27] *Parables*, 128.

[28] *Parables*, 146-47.

[29] New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

[30] *Rediscovering*, 37.

[31] In his section entitled "Recognition and Response" Perrin notes the originality of Gos Thom 64 (*Rediscovering*, 111-113), and uses it to build his case. So also Gos Thom 98 (*Rediscovering*, 126-27) Gos Thom 9 figures well in his section on "Confidence in God's Future" (*Rediscovering*, 155-56).

[32] *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963)

significance of Thomas' evidence for his thesis altogether. In chapter 4 on "Jesus and the Future," Perrin argues that none of the apocalyptic Son of Man sayings may be attributed correctly to Jesus; all derive from the later preaching of the early church.[33] On this score it would have been of greatest significance to his thesis had Perrin noticed that in Thomas, an autonomous witness to the Jesus' sayings tradition, the apocalyptic image of the Son of Man does not occur at all.[34] If this indicates, as Koester would suggest in an article published just one year later,[35] that there existed an early stage in the development of the tradition in which such speculation had not yet occurred, Thomas as a whole would tend to confirm Perrin's position that the appropriation of this apocalyptic image from Daniel by early Christianity was relatively late.

However tentative these two early attempts to bring Thomas into the discussion may have been, they are nonetheless very important for having laid the ground work for those who would come later. They make it clear that so long as one proposes to focus upon Jesus' sayings as the route by which one might approach the quest for the historical Jesus, Thomas' independent witness to the sayings tradition cannot be ignored. Their efforts have born fruit, for example, in more recent treatments of the parables tradition. John Dominic Crossan has been particularly diligent in insisting on the value of Thomas parallels to synoptic texts for reconstructing the tradition-historical process; Crossan makes extensive use of Thomas in both his book on parables, and in his later work on the aphorisms attributed to Jesus.[36] However, it is still unclear how in the end Thomas' material will affect Crossan's answer to the question "Who was Jesus?" These two books are actually preliminary tradition-historical work; his statement on Jesus is yet to come. James Breech may also be mentioned as one who has made use of the Thomas material,[37] as well as the very recent work by Bernard Brandon Scott.[38] Both use Thomas' parables in particular for doing the work of tradition-historical analysis. Without passing judgment on the results of either of these significant pieces of work, suffice it to say that their honest attempts to work through these issues contribute further to the legacy upon which we might now build.

II. Prospectus

One will have noticed that among the chief methodological concerns raised throughout the review offered above is that the Gospel of Thomas not be viewed

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174-78. POxy 654.3 is mentioned here, but dismissed as "foreign to the teaching of Jesus." (176)

[33] *Kingdom of God*, 197-98.

[34] The use of Son of Man in Gos Thom 86 is not titular, but generic; so Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in *idem* and James M. Robinson, *Trajectories*, 170-72, following Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1963) 98.

[35] "One Jesus," 170-72. This essay was originally published in *HTR* 61 (1968) 203-47.

[36] *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1973); *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983).

[37] *The Silence of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

[38] *Hear Then the Parable* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989).

simply as an ancillary source to be mined for material that tends only to confirm various positions on the question of who Jesus was already arrived at using the synoptic tradition. The tendency to do this is understandable. For even though most modern scholars have come to realize (through the work of Wrede, Schmidt, Bultmann and others) that the synoptic gospels are in no way to be seen as biographies of Jesus, there has nonetheless grown up around them a kind of normative status for the historian. While John "spiritualized" the gospel, and Paul recast it in the form of the "syncretistic" Christ cult, the synoptics alone were seen to have retained at least some contact with the historical person of Jesus, perhaps because they place so much emphasis upon his sayings and parables, long considered the bedrock of the tradition, and thus the most promising material for the purposes of the historian. However flawed the synoptics may be as pure history, their view of Jesus as an apocalyptic preacher with a mission to Israel, who thought of himself as a Messiah and reflected upon the significance of his inevitable death, has held a rather firm grip on scholarship at least since the days of Schweitzer. But the Gospel of Thomas, building upon that same bedrock of tradition, presents us with a view of Jesus that is quite different. And while it would be equally erroneous now to elevate Thomas' Jesus to the position once reserved for the Jesus of the synoptic gospels, having another view at our disposal does give us a way of placing the synoptic Jesus in critical relief. Thomas and the synoptic gospels, in a sense, represent two diverging trajectories moving out and away from a common beginning in an early Jesus movement grounded in the legacy of Jesus' sayings, or words (λόγοι). By using Thomas and the synoptic gospels to play these two trajectories off one against the other, it may be possible to catch at least a glimpse of that common beginning, extremely important for understanding who Jesus was, even while at the same time arriving at a greater appreciation of the theological effort to understand the significance of Jesus that was underway in each of these trajectories. In the following rough sketch of the prospects for how Thomas might ultimately come to re-shape our view of who Jesus was in history, this sort of tradition-historical work forms a basic point of departure.

1. Jesus in Thomas

Beginning with the Thomas trajectory, a good deal may already be said about its tendencies. Chief among them is Thomas' gnosticizing proclivity, or at the very least its tendency to "esotericize" the sayings tradition. This, of course, was one of the results of James M. Robinson's seminal article on the early Christian sayings tradition, "LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q."[39] Using the self-designation "sayings" (λόγοι) as a means of tracing the development of the literary genre, to which the early Christian sayings collections Q and the Gospel of Thomas belong, Robinson demonstrated how over time the genre itself became the preferred vehicle for interpreting the sayings of Jesus as the words of a Gnostic redeemer, a process end point of which is marked by such early Christian Gnostic works as *Thomas the Contender* and *Pistis Sophia.*

[39] Published originally as "*LOGOI SOPHON:* Zur Gattung der Spruchquelle," in E. Dinkler, Hrsg., *Zeit und Geschichte. Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1964) 77-96; later translated and expanded as "*LOGOI SOPHON:* On the Gattung of Q," in *idem* and H. Koester, *Trajectories,* 71-113.

Thomas, to be sure, is not a full blown Gnostic gospel entirely comparable to a work like *Thomas the Contender*, but one may indeed see in many of Thomas' sayings the tendency to cast Jesus in the role of the descending/ascending redeemer mythos, so important to the Gnostic interpretation of Jesus. In Gos Thom 28, for example, Jesus speaks as the redeemer who has come from God, only to find the objects of his efforts unable to respond, a theme typical of the redeemer myth:

> Jesus said, "I took my stand in the midst of the world, and in the flesh I appeared to them. I found them all drunk, and I did not find any of them thirsty. My soul ached for the children of humanity, because they are blind in their hearts and do not see, for they came into the world empty, and they also seek to depart from the world empty. But now they are drunk. When they shake off their wine, then they will repent."[40]

The task of the redeemer in Gnostic lore is to descend to earth and tell the "children of humanity" of their true origin in a world, an aeon, far beyond the present evil world, wherein dwells the one true God in distant remove. Their plight is their loss of memory, their stupification which prevents them from re-ascending to the realm of their origin.[41] In Gos Thom 49-50 Jesus speaks the message of the redeemer, reminding the lost souls of their identity as the chosen, and providing them with the passwords that will enable them to re-ascend to their place or origin:

> Jesus said, "Blessed are those who are alone and chosen, for you will find the kingdom. For you have come from it, and you will return there again."
>
> Jesus said, "If they say to you, 'Where have you come from?' say to them, 'We have come from the light, from the place where the light came into being by itself, established [itself], and appeared in their image.' If they say to you, 'Is it you?' say, 'We are its children and we are the chosen of the living Father.' If they ask of you, 'What is the evidence of your Father in you?' say to them, 'It is motion and rest.'"

Stevan Davies has objected to the characterization of the Gospel of Thomas as "Gnostic," arguing instead that it be seen as falling within the tradition of Jewish wisdom speculation, such as one finds, for example, in Philo of Alexandria.[42] Thomas' Jesus is not a Gnostic redeemer, according to Davies, but an incarnation of Sophia. Davies, of course, is partially correct. He is justified, for example, in locating Thomas within the tradition of Jewish wisdom. As Robinson has shown, the early Christian practice of collecting Jesus' sayings continues the Jewish tradition of collecting words of wisdom, such as one finds in Proverbs 1-8, Wisdom of Solomon, etc.[43] He is also correct in pointing out that Thomas is not a full-blown Gnostic gospel, complete with their typically intricate descriptions of the cosmos, the origin of the world, and other features common to later Gnostic tractates. But neither is Thomas simply a book of Jewish wisdom speculation. Coptic words which

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[40] The citations from the Gospel of Thomas are given according to the translation and versification of M. Meyer in J. S. Kloppenborg, Meyer, S. J. Patterson, and M. G. Steinhauser, *Q–Thomas Reader* (Sonoma: Polebridge, 1990).

[41] The classic account, still unsurpassed, is that of H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1958).

[42] *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Wisdom* (New York: Seabury, 1983) 18-61.

[43] "*LOGOI SOPHON*," esp. 103-111.

might render the Greek words σόφος/σοφία (wise/wisdom) occur only four times in Thomas,[44] and only once with reference to Jesus (and this in error!).[45] Its words are not wise words so much as they are "secret words."[46] Rather, what we have in Thomas is a book which stands between the wisdom collection on the one hand, and the Gnostic revelation dialogue, in which the redeemer reveals to his followers secret words of knowledge (γνώσις)[47] on the other. It therefore helps to document that very important, though murky point of modulation between Jewish wisdom (and other Near Eastern traditions which make use of the descending/ascending redeemer mythos) and Gnosticism.[48]

In any event, this modulation toward Gnosticism seems to me to be the best way to account for the esotericizing trend one finds throughout Thomas. It may be seen in a number of sayings unique to Thomas, whose meaning has become almost entirely opaque.[49] But more importantly, it can be seen in the manner in which Thomas treats a number of sayings known also from the synoptic tradition.[50] Thus, if one uses the synoptic tradition to throw the Thomas trajectory into critical relief, one discovers that its own tendency is to esotericize the traditions about Jesus.[51] This is unique to Thomas,[52] and thus may be isolated to the interpretive effort going on within the Thomas trajectory. Jesus himself probably did not preach in such terms.

2. Jesus in the Synoptics

We may now reverse this procedure, using Thomas now as a means of throwing the synoptic trajectory into critical relief. In this part of the work the parables provide a particularly fruitful point of departure for two reasons. First, since the work of Jülicher, it has long been generally recognized that there is a tendency within the tradition for parables to be transformed secondarily into allegories in the interpretive

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[44] ⲡⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲛ̀ⲧ: NHC II 33:30; 33:34; 35:2; ⲥⲁⲃⲉ: 46:17.

[45] ⲣⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲛ̀ⲧ: NHC II 35:2 (Saying 13:3).

[46] Recall that the *incipit* to the Gospel of Thomas reads: "These are the secret sayings (ⲛ̄ⲑⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲏⲡ) that the living Jesus spoke and Didymos Judas Thomas recorded."

[47] Note that this word too is relatively rare in Gos Thom. It occurs only in Gos Thom 39 (NHC II 40:9).

[48] One cannot here delve into all the dimensions of why and how the Gospel of Thomas and Thomas Christianity began the move in this direction. For some suggestions along these lines, however, see Patterson, "The Gospel of Thomas," 288-305.

[49] E.g. Gos Thom 7, 11, 15, 18, 37, 60, 67, 83, 84, and 88.

[50] E.g. Gos Thom 2 and 92 (cf. Matt 7:8); Gos Thom 3 (cf. Luke 17:20-21, Q [?]); Gos Thom 11 (cf. Mark 13:31, pars.); Gos Thom 22 (cf. Mark 10:13-16); Gos Thom 68-69a (cf. Matt 5:10-12//Luke 6:22-23, Q); Gos Thom 101 (cf. Matt 10:37-39//Luke 14:26-27, Q).

[51] One should perhaps exercise caution against overstating this point. One does well to heed the warning of K. Grobel ("How Gnostic is the Gospel of Thomas?" *NTS* 8 [1961/62] 367-73), and more recently Davies (*The Gospel of Thomas, passim*) not to eisegete too much into these sayings when a Gnostic interpretation is not altogether obvious.

[52] That is, over against the synoptic tradition. Thomas, of course, shares this to some degree with John.

work of the early church. Most of the parables were not originally intended as allegories. Second, while the tendency to allegorize appears to have been prominent in the synoptic trajectory, in the Thomas trajectory, for whatever reason, this was not the case.[53] Therefore, one relatively easy way to begin to isolate the interpretive effort underway in the synoptic trajectory is simply to hold its allegorized versions of the parables up against their non-allegorized Thomas counterparts.

The Parable of the Tenants is a good place to begin, since there are versions of it in all three of the synoptic gospels (Matthew and Luke presumably having taken the parable from their common source Mark) as well as in the Gospel of Thomas. I will presuppose here what I have argued for elsewhere: 1) that Thomas represents an attestation to the parable that is essentially independent from that found in the synoptic gospels; 2) that Thomas' version is not an allegory, but a parable properly speaking; and 3) that the allegorization of this parable in Mark, and its further development in Matthew and Luke, are all secondary features.[54] The important thing to notice for the present study is the theological direction in which the allegorization of the parable has taken it. Mark 12:1-12 is no longer a parable about absentee landlords and rebellious tenants, but an allegory about the death of Jesus. It ends on a note of foreboding, anticipating the avenging judgment of God that is to come. Matthew and Luke, while customizing the parable to the nuances of their own social, political, and theological situations, do not stray from this basic understanding of the story as an allegory for Jesus' death and the impending divine judgment. None of this, of course, is present in the Thomas version of the parable; it is limited to the allegory found only in the synoptic trajectory, and thus to be isolated there.

The interpretive problem posed by Jesus' death and the question of the coming judgment assert themselves through allegorization of the tradition in the case of another parable as well, the Parable of the Great Supper, attested in both Matthew and Luke (Matt. 22:1-14//Luke 14:15-24; Q), and independently in Thomas (Gos Thom 64).[55] Of these, the most thoroughly allegorical is the version found in Matthew. Added here are the references to killing the king's servants (v. 6), and the king's subsequent vengeance for that killing (v. 7). Both of these hearken back to the Parable of the Tenants, which in Matthew occurs just before the Great Supper. The resulting scheme no doubt insinuates allegorically that the destruction of Jerusalem is to be viewed as God's judgment against Israel, whom Matthew sees as responsible for the death of Jesus. Finally, the consummation of judgment is intimated in Matthew's final addition to the parable (vv. 11-14), in which the king arrives at the banquet, only to punish those spur-of-the-moment guests caught without a wedding garment. Their fate is that of all who fall under God's final judgment in Matthew: they are cast "into the outer darkness; there they will weep and gnash their teeth" (v. 13b).

None of these elements are present in Luke. Luke indeed also sees the parable as an allegory, viz., for the Messianic banquet to be enjoyed in the kingdom of God. But he effects an allegorical reading not by altering the internal structure of the parable, but rather by introducing the parable with his v. 15. The parable itself

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[53] So Montefiore, "Comparison," 335-38.

[54] "The Gospel of Thomas," 106-109.

[55] For Gos Thom 64 as an independent tradition see my "The Gospel of Thomas," 124-25.

probably remains much as Luke found it in his source, Q.[56] Neither are these features to be found in Thomas. Thomas' interpretation of the parable is no doubt also secondary, but it is asserted without serious distortion of the parabolic structure, for example by simply adding a line to the end: "Buyers and merchants [will] not enter the places of my Father." (Gos Thom 64:12) The parable itself shows no particular signs of allegorization. Thus, if one assumes that Thomas (without 64:12) and Q (roughly Luke 14:16-24) represent the gist of the parable in its original form, again one may clearly observe a distinct synoptic tendency to introduce into the tradition reflection upon the death of Jesus and the impending judgment of God.

That this is particularly characteristic of Matthew may be seen again in yet a third parable, the Parable of the Fisher, of which both Matthew (13:47-50) and Thomas (Saying 8) preserve an exemplar. The original topos is no doubt very old, as the similar story from Aesop clearly suggests.[57] But that both Matthew and Thomas stem from a common early Christian parable based upon it, is shown by the similar way in which both of our examples twist the focus of the story. In Aesop the focus is on the fish in the catch—the big ones are caught while the little ones go free. The moral of the story is clear: with greatness comes risk. In Matthew and Thomas, however, the focus is not on the fish, but on the fisher, and what the fisher does once the catch is in hand. Yet within the early Christian sample our two exemplars are themselves quite different. In Gos Thom 8 we encounter a fisher who makes a most unusual choice: he throws *all* (ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ) the small fish back, only to keep a single large fish. While this may be good advice when fishing the local farm pond, a professional fisher would not last long using this technique. It is puzzling, a parable, and the final phrase invites one to reflect upon its depth: "Whoever has ears to hear should hear." (8:4). In Matthew, however, the story is no puzzle. Instead Matthew has created from it an allegory for the final judgment. Just as the fisher sorts out the good fish from the bad,

> So will it be at the close of the age. The angels will come out and separate the evil from the righteous, and throw them into the furnace of fire; there people will weep and gnash their teeth. (Matt. 13:49-50)

That this sort of reflection on the death of Jesus and the impending judgment that is to come can be isolated consistently to the synoptic trajectory should not be surprising. A cursory comparison of Thomas and the synoptics might have indicated as much. It is not at all insignificant that the synoptic gospels have preserved the sayings tradition only by embedding it in a biographical framework that presents Jesus as the suffering martyr marching slowly and deliberately to his death on a cross. Martin Kähler's dictum that the Gospel of Mark is nothing more than "a passion narrative with an extended introduction" has not yet outlived its usefulness.[58] And just before the climactic events unfold, Jesus delivers his final discourse, a prophetic

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[56] For Luke's version and its close relationship to Q see the summary discussion of S. Schulz, *Q. Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1972) 391-98.

[57] See the parallel text offered by Funk, *New Gospel Parallels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 110; Funk cites Fabel 4 from Perry's edition of *Babrius and Phaedrus;* LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) 9-10.

[58] *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964) 80, n. 11.

speech of foreboding doom for the world that has not accepted his words (Mark 13:3-37, pars.; cf. Matt 24:23-28, 37-42//Luke 17:22-37, Q).

Thomas, of course has none of this. There is no apocalyptic scenario,[59] and Thomas seems scarcely to be aware of the death of Jesus.[60] It does not, at any rate, consider it to be a major theological point of departure. Curiously, the more nuanced understanding of the early stages of the synoptic tradition that has begun to emerge in more recent years would tend to suggest that these elements did not always dominate the synoptic trajectory either. Of particular importance in this regard is John Kloppenborg's influential study of the redaction of Q.[61] Kloppenborg argues that at the formative layer in Q one finds simply a collection of wisdom speeches; the apocalyptic scenario in Matt 24:23-28, 37-42//Luke 17:22-37, together with the material which pronounces judgment against "this generation," is part of a secondary patina that has been laid over this earlier wisdom stratum. Furthermore, it is not until this secondary layer that one begins to encounter much evidence for the Q community's reflection upon the death of Jesus. Like Thomas, Kloppenborg's Q^1 does not seem to be much interested in Jesus' death. It is, at any rate, certainly not a primary focal point in its theological orientation. The convergence of Thomas and Q^1 on these points is very important. It helps us clearly to locate reflection upon the death of Jesus and the use of apocalyptic scenarios in the sayings tradition to the synoptic trajectory alone, and to its later stages at that. It is becoming ever more difficult to imagine a Jesus who reflected upon his own death, and preached of an imminent apocalyptic judgment coming upon the world.

3. Common Ground

Having peeled away those elements which may be isolated to the interpretive effort underway in the Thomas trajectory on the one hand, and the synoptic trajectory on the other, what is left in the sayings tradition that does not stand out in critical relief when the two trajectories are compared? What is left that forms a kind of common ground out of which both trajectories might have proceeded? To isolate this common ground of material is, I would argue, an essential step toward

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[59] One must be careful not to read into Thomas a note of apocalypticism based upon sayings whose synoptic parallels are given an apocalyptic interpretation in the canonical tradition. For example Gos Thom 103 (cf. Matt 24:43-44//Luke 12:39-40, Q) simply advocates vigilance, not necessarily watchfulness in anticipation of the coming Son of Man. Gos Thom 57 is a parable about the good winning out in the end, not an allegory for the last judgment (cf. Matt 13:24-30). Similar caution should be exercised in reading Gos Thom 21:9; 10; 40; and 91.

[60] There are three possible references to the death of Jesus in Thomas: Gos Thom 66, 104b, and 55. The first two are probably secondary additions to the original text of Thomas (see Patterson, "The Gospel of Thomas," 106-108, 144 [for Gos Thom 66], and 126-27, 145 [for Gos Thom 104b]). If the reference to the cross in Gos Thom 55 is original, then this may be the sole reference to the death of Jesus in the entire document. Yet even here it may be possible to understand the cross simply as a metaphor for discipleship.

[61] *The Formation of Q;* Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

understanding the preaching of Jesus, for it is this common ground which stands the best chance of holding a more or less direct connection to the preaching of Jesus himself. The prospects depend upon the degree to which elements within this core can be freed from the early Christian urge to reformulate traditional material to kerygmatic ends. This will require an effort far beyond the scope or capacity of the present study; nonetheless, something may be learned already from a cursory overview of the material at hand. Within this mass of remaining material, three prominent corpora stand out: a) a large number of wisdom sayings; and b) a large number of sayings of various forms which seem to advocate an attitude of social radicalism; and c) the parables.

a) Wisdom Sayings

The sayings themselves do not require extensive comment. Much is indicated by a simple listing of the wisdom sayings which occur in both trajectories.

Wisdom Sayings in the Common Tradition

Gos Thom	Matt	Mark	Luke	
2a	7:7		11:9	(Q)
4b	19:30; 20:16	10:31	13:30	
5b	10:26	4:22	8:17; 12:2	(Q/Mk)
6c	10:26	4:22	8:17; 12:2	(Q/Mk)
26	7:3-5		6:41-42	(Q)
31	13:57	6:4	4:24	
32	5:14b			
33b	5:15	4:21	11:33; 8:16	(Q/MK)
34	15:14		6:39	(Q)
35	12:29	3:27	11:21f.	(Q/Mk.)
39b	10:16b			
41	13:12; 25:29	4:25	8:18b; 19:26	(Q/Mk)
45a	7:16b		6:44b	(Q)
45b	12:35		6:45a	(Q)
45c	12:34b		6:45b	(Q)
47b	6:24		16:13	(Q)
47c	9:16-17	2:21-22	5:36-39	
62b	6:3			
89	23:25-26		11:39-41	(Q)
92a	7:7		11:9	(Q)
93	7:6			
94	7:7		11:9	(Q)

This list could perhaps be expanded (for example, I have not included beatitudes, woes, or parables) or adjusted in other ways,[62] but the point to be made here will not suffer from minor changes. Jesus scholars, especially those influenced by the New Quest, have been reluctant in the past to attribute such sayings to Jesus or ascribe to them much historical value. The criterion of dissimilarity all but guarantees that

[62] Cf. Koester's list in "One Jesus," 179-80.

sayings of such an ordinary sort will fall by the wayside in the quest for what is distinctive about Jesus. But when one notices just how many wisdom sayings are paralleled in Thomas and either Q or Mark—that is, in the earliest common sayings tradition which we can with certainty identify—it becomes ever more difficult to deny the historical implications of this datum. While we will never be able to say with certainty that Jesus in fact uttered this or that particular wisdom saying, the fact that the earliest Christian voice we hear recollects a Jesus who made ample use of common wisdom warrants serious consideration of the hypothesis that Jesus was a wisdom teacher, and that the early Jesus movement thought of itself as a kind of wisdom school.

Such beginnings could account for much within the diversity of earliest Christianity. The emergence of a document like that which Kloppenborg has proposed for the first edition of Q, a collection of wisdom speeches, would be readily explicable.[63] The modulation of this into the more apocalyptic orientation of later synoptic Christianity could then be followed forward via the second redaction of Q. The martyrological themes surrounding the death of Jesus tradition such as one finds in the Gospel of Mark could be grounded in reflection upon the wisdom motif of the death of the righteous sage, using the "genre" of the persecuted righteous one traced by George Nickelsburg through Genesis 37-50, Wisdom 2-5, and ultimately through Mark's passion narrative.[64] By moving the wisdom mode of discourse in a more speculative direction, one could account, on the one hand, for the wisdom-oriented opponents of Paul reprimanded in I Corinthians,[65] and on the other, for the emergence of the descending/ascending revealer Christology that comes to predominate later in the Gospel of Thomas and in John. Such developments could well have begun to take shape quite early on. Something of this heightened reflection upon the person of Jesus is to be seen already in Gos Thom 17, a saying which finds rough parallel in Q (Matt. 13:16-17//Luke 10:23-24), and in I Corinthians (2:9)!

b) Social Radicalism

But while much of the wisdom tradition tends toward the conservative and conventional, on the whole this could not be said to characterize this early layer of the sayings tradition. For alongside all of this wisdom material is a large amount of commonly held material that is extremely *unconventional.* These sayings tend to advocate a socially radical attitude and lifestyle which contravenes the conventional. They form perhaps the most distinctive group of sayings in this common ground of material from which both the Thomas and synoptic trajectories emerge.

Among these one finds the well known lament about homelessness:

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[63] See p. 18, *supra.*

[64] "Genre and Function of the Markan Passion Narrative," *HTR* 73 (1980) 153-84.

[65] For this interpretation of the Corinthian situation see J. Dupont, *Gnosis: La connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de Saint Paul* (Paris: Gabalda, 1949) 172-80; B. Pearson, *The PNEUMATIKOS-PSYCHIKOS Terminology in 1 Corinthians;* SBLDS 12 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973) 11-12, 17-21; R. A. Horsley, "PNEUMATIKOS vs. PSYCHIKOS: Distinctions of Spiritual Status among the Corinthians," *HTR* 69 (1976) 269-88.

> [Foxes have] their dens and birds have their nests, but the child of humanity[66] has no place to lay his head and rest.

Cited here in its Thomas version (Gos Thom 86), there is, of course, a close parallel in Q (Matt 8:20//Luke 9:58). No doubt related to this is the injunction to leave house and home, and abandon family ties and responsibilities in order to become part of the Jesus movement (Gos Thom 55 and 101:1-2, par. Matt 10:37-39//Luke 14:26-27, Q).[67] The saying decrying the rejection of local prophets (Gos Thom 31, par. Matt 13:57//Mark 6:4//Luke 4:24) may also be related to this radical ethos. One who rejects home and family could certainly have expected equally harsh treatment from the local community which he/she had abandoned.

The lifestyle advocated here is that of the wandering beggar. The tradition preserved in Gos Thom 14:4 (par. Luke 10:8-9, Q) perhaps best reflects its practical dimensions:

> When you go into any country and walk from place to place, when the people receive you, eat what they serve you and care for[68] the sick among them.

Utterly destitute, the wise sage is called upon to dispose of his/her money (Gos Thom 95, par. Matt 5:42//Luke 6:34-35a, Q), and to take no care for such necessities as clothing (Gos Thom 36 [Coptic], par. Matt 6:25-33//Luke 12:22-30, Q) or food (Gos Thom 69:2, par. Matt 5:6//Luke 6:21a, Q). Their poverty is to be a sign of blessing (Gos Thom 54, par. Matt 5:3//Luke 6:20b, Q).

Another aspect of the social radicalism encountered at the base of the sayings tradition has to do with traditional standards of purity. Two of these sayings seem related to dietary practices. In Gos Thom 89 (par. Matt 23:25-26//Luke 11:39-41, Q) the notion of washing to maintain ritual purity is ridiculed using the figure of washing a cup: is it not more important to have a cup that is clean on the inside than one which is clean only on the outside? In Gos Thom 14, cited above, the injunction to eat whatever is placed before you is followed by another saying from the common tradition:

> For what goes into your mouth will not defile you; rather, it is what comes out of your mouth that will defile you. (Gos Thom 14:5)[69]

Thus dietary regulations on purity are abrogated, and at the same time reinterpreted in an ethical direction. Finally, one might presume that the general indictment of the Pharisees and scribes found in Gos Thom 39:1-2 (par. Matt 23:13//Luke 11:52, Q) is also related in some way to this radical position over against purity:

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[66] This is Meyer's rendering of ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ("Son of Man"). The term here is not titular, but refers to the plight of homelessness common in Jesus' day (cf. note 34, *supra*).

[67] Cf. Gos Thom 99, par. Matt 12:46-50//Mark 3:31-35//Luke 8:19-21; and Gos Thom 16, par. Matt 10:34-36//Lk 12:51-53, Q.

[68] The Coptic here simply transliterates θεραπεύειν from the Greek *Vorlage*. It is usually translated "to heal," but in the broader sense the term may mean simply to give care to the sick (*LSJ*, s.v. θεραπεύω). The point is that these instructions are real; they do not presuppose a nostalgic look back to a idealized past when apostles could perform such miracles as healing the sick.

[69] Cf. Mark 7:15, 18//Matt 5:11, 18.

> Jesus said, "The Pharisees and the scribes have taken the keys of knowledge and have hidden them. They have not entered, nor have they allowed those who want to enter to do so."

One can only guess about the actual content of the criticism here, but if one might associate these groups with the law and its interpretation, one could plausibly suppose that it has something to do with the sayings tradition's radical position on purity laws.

Finally, there is a group of sayings which seem generally to promote an attitude of social and political subversion. One of these is Gos Thom 10 (par. Luke 12:49, Q[70]):

> Jesus said, "I have set a[71] fire upon the world, and behold, I am guarding it until it blazes."

Outside of the context of the apocalyptically oriented synoptic trajectory this need not be seen as an apocalyptic image. But it is indeed a threatening image. Fire was a threat in the ancient world, whether in an urban environment, where large disastrous fires were notorious, or in the countryside, where an enemy or pillaging army could destroy the year's crop without warning. Jesus as arsonist—it is quite a subversive image indeed.

More overtly political is the saying preserved in Gos Thom 100 (par. Matt 22:15-22//Mark 12:13-17//Luke 20:20-26):

> They showed Jesus a gold coin and said to him, "Caesar's people demand taxes from us." He said to them, "Give Caesar the things that are Caesar's, give God the things that are God's, *and give me what is mine.*"

It is generally recognized that the final phrase (here placed in italics) represents the editorial work of Thomas, but exactly to what end, remains a question. Since the present focus is on the common tradition, not on Thomas alone, no attempt will be made to settle that matter here. With respect to the rest of the saying, paralleled closely in the Markan version and its derivatives, it is enough to point out how much recent studies have exposed as erroneous a reading of this chreia which bows to the modern notion of the separate but compatible realms of politics and religion. In a first century Palestinian context, God and Caesar were not viewed as compatible options, but strongly competing loyalties; there is little question that the claim of God is absolute, and the more compelling of the two claims presented.[72] The surreptitious message here is subversive indeed: Caesar receives nothing.

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[70] For Luke 12:49 as deriving from Q see E. Arens, *The* ΗΛΘΟΝ-*Sayings in the Synoptic Tradition;* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 10 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976) 68-69; J. Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas;* Regensburger Neuestestament 3 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1977) 412; Cl.-P. März, "Feuer auf die Erde," in *A cause de l'évangile. Etudes sur les Synoptiques et les Actes offerts au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* (Paris: Cerf, 1985) 481-485.

[71] Meyer translates "cast." The Coptic is ⲛⲟⲩϫⲥ, which translates the Greek βάλλειν; but the latter may mean simply "place" or "put," not necessarily "throw" (*LSJ*, s.v. βαλλειν). The latter seems more appropriate here.

[72] For such a reading see, e.g., R. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence,* 306-17.

A somewhat more enigmatic saying is to be found in Gos Thom 71:

> Jesus said, "I shall destroy [this] house, and no one will be able to build it [. . .]."

If the saying intends, as do its parallels (Matt 26:61; 27:40//Mark 14:58; 15:29; Matt 24:2//Mark 13:2//Luke 21:6), to refer to the Temple, then the common tradition could be said to take on the Temple system, with all of the social, political, and religious ramifications that such a stance might have.[73] If it does not, there may be other possibilities, depending on how one wishes to understand "house" here. There were various "houses" in first century Palestine. The king's house, for example, the house of David, now occupied by an illegitimate Herodian "house," seems, in my view, not to be out of the question. Such an enigmatic saying could well have had profoundly threatening political overtones. Such a reading would be complimented by Gos Thom 78 (par. Matt 11:7-9//Luke 7:24-26, Q), with its biting critique of kingship. The saying is essentially, of course, the opposite of the popular adage "clothes make the person." But it is significant that the saying chooses "rulers" or "kings" as the rule-breaking example: "They are dressed in soft clothing, and cannot understand truth." The politically subversive qualities of the saying are readily transparent. It reminds one of the sort of witty criticism of kingship heard among Cynics of the period, which tended to earn them the ire of the emperor and periodic expulsion from Rome.[74]

To these sayings perhaps others might be added, including those which occur only in Thomas, but which cohere well with this group.[75] However, those collected above serve adequately to make the point: the earliest sayings tradition is neither conservative nor conventional. Its attitudes toward family life, toward money and property, toward piety, and toward political life, are all quite radical. Its ethos may be described as *social radicalism.*

Such an ethos at the base of the common tradition could also account for much of what one finds spread throughout early Christianity in all of its diverse forms. Whether one speaks of Paul, for whom the present evil age is coming to a rapid end, or Mark and Kloppenborg's second edition of Q, both of which view the world as an evil place, worthy only of apocalyptic destruction, or John, whose community has come to know the "hatred" of the world (John 15:18-16:4), a place hostile to it and its claims about Jesus, or Thomas, for whom the world is but a corpse to be overcome and left behind (Gos Thom 56)—all of these various early Christian interpretations of the gospel hold in common the basic conviction that the kerygma brings

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[73] For a detailed exposition see G. Theissen, "Die Templeweissagung Jesu. Prophetie im Spannungsfeld von Stadt und Land," *ThZ* 32 (1976) 14-158; reprinted in idem, *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums;* WUNT 19 (2., erweiterte Auflage; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983) 142-159.

[74] Cf. Diogenes Laertius II.25; Demonax 41; Epictetus I. xxiv, 7; Ps. Crates 23; Lucian, *Perigrinus,* 17-19. That emperors regarded such critique as a serious threat is indicated by the fact that Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian all expelled the philosophers from Rome when their criticism became too censorius; see D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (London: Methuen, 1937) 125-42, and J. M. C. Toynbee, "Dictators and Philosophers in the First Century AD," *GR* 13 (1944) 43-58.

[75] For example Gos Thom 42, which enjoins one to engage in a transient existence, or Gos Thom 53, which relativizes the necessity of circumcision.

them fundamentally into conflict with the world. While their preaching becomes ever more charged with the mythic language of apocalypticism or gnosticism, all of these early Christian groups maintain a basic existential hostility to their social world, whose first manifestation may well be the social radicalism sketched out above. In any event, with such a strong element of social radicalism at the very core of the sayings tradition, alongside the notion of Jesus as wisdom teacher one must also be ready to entertain the hypothesis that Jesus offered in his preaching a strong dose of radical social criticism.

c) Parables

The third grouping consists of the several parables shared in common by both trajectories of the sayings tradition.

Parables of the Common Tradition

	Gos Thom	Matt	Mark	Luke
The Fisher	8	13:47-50		
The Sower	9	13:3-9	4:2-9	8:4-8
The Mustard Seed	20	13:31-32	4:30-32	13:18-19
The Weeds	57	13:24-30		
The Rich Farmer	63			12:16-21
The Great Supper	64	22:1-14		14:15-24 (Q)
The Tenants	65	21:33-41	12:1-9	20:9-16
The Pearl	76	13:45-46		
The Leaven	96	13:33		13:20-21 (Q)
The Shepherd	107	18:12-14		15:3-7 (Q)
The Treasure	109	13:44		

Owing to the very important role parables have traditionally played in research on the preaching of Jesus, it is here among this list that the most work needs to be done. The task is threefold: 1) to reconstruct the gist of each parable's earliest narrative form using the tools of tradition-historical analysis; 2) to arrive at a reading of each as a parable apart from the secondary narrative and allegorical features attaching to many; and 3) to offer an interpretation of them that coheres not with the secondary (synoptic or Thomas) context in which they are presently found, but with the basic core of common material we have been able to identify thus far. This, of course, is a large undertaking. For the present, I will simply offer a few suggestions about where such analysis might lead.

First, it is to be noted that not all of these parables are parables of the kingdom. In particular, the Rich Farmer, the Great Supper, and the Tenants were probably not so designed.[76] They are, rather, parables of social criticism—parables of the world. The Rich Farmer is transparently so: it is a parable about the foolishness of a life based on the acquisition of wealth. The Great Supper is also rather obvious in its social critique. It is a parable designed to undermine and overturn the normal

[76] Of the three, only the Great Supper was ever treated as such, and this only in Matthew, where the parable has become an allegory for the death of Jesus and the coming judgment.

worldly assumptions about privilege and class. When the host is stood up, and suffers shame at the hands of his peers, he refuses to bear this humiliation, but turns instead to those who had previously been to him "outsiders." By this reversal he demonstrates how possible it is to live without regard for the social reinforcement of class and protocol. (I presume that a good time was had by all!) The Tenants, though perhaps more complex in its criticism, may also be understood in terms of its radical social critique. If the original narrative ended, as it does in Thomas, with the murder of the owner's son, then the parable might be seen as a radical criticism of the economically exploitive system of absentee land ownership. In the end the owner receives for his reward only the loss of his investment, and the death of his son. For their part, the tenants are given but two equally poor choices: either to suffer under the exploitive arrangement of tenancy or to use violence and suffer the risks and shame that would inevitably come with such drastic measures. In neither case do they truly emerge as winners. In fact, there are no winners in this parable; all ultimately fall victim to a poor and unjust economic arrangement. The social critique is very thorough.

As for the remainder of this list, most are parables of the kingdom.[77] Yet four of these may also be read in terms of their socially radical stance over against the world insofar as their parabolic depiction of the kingdom tends to focus on characters who are themselves counter-cultural. The Parable of the Shepherd has as its focus a foolish herder who leaves ninety-nine sheep unattended in the wilderness while he searches for a single stray. His love for the lost makes him careless with the flock—the kingdom is like that. In the Parable of the Pearl, a merchant has a going-out-of-business sale in order to buy a single pearl, a bauble, for himself. His infatuation with the beauty of what he has discovered leads him to cash in his livelihood—the kingdom is like that. The Fisher is a fool. He throws back the entire catch for the sake of the single prize fish.[78] His infatuation with the largest allows him to abandon the day's work back into the sea—the kingdom is like that. The Parable of the Treasure also may be grouped with these parables of foolishness.[79] According to Jewish law (b. B. Mes. 118a) the prevailing rule here is "finders keepers." So long as the laborer was hired simply to work the field, and so long as the treasure does not have an owner (if the land owner was willing to sell the field we may presume that he was ignorant of the treasure, and therefore not its rightful owner) the laborer in this story is allowed to keep the treasure as his own.[80] The laborer could have claimed the treasure simply by virtue of his having found it; he did not have to go so far as to buy the entire field. Yet that is what he does. In his excitement he rushes out, sells everything, and buys the land. He "overdoes it." The kingdom is like that.

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[77] The only exception is the Parable of the Sower.

[78] Gos Thom 8 gives us the closest approximation of the original narrative. It is, at any rate, preferable to Matthew's allegory for the final judgment (see p. 17-18, *supra*).

[79] I would follow Jeremias (*Parables of Jesus*, 32-33) in supposing that the Thomas version has been reshaped along the lines of the Rabbinic story from Midr. Rabbah to Song of Solomon (IV.12, 1). The Matthean version likely comes closer to the original parabolic narrative.

[80] See Crossan, *Finding is the First Act;* Semeia Supplements (Philadelphia: Fortress; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 91; also Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 398-400.

In the workaday world of shrewd economics, of scraping by, of making ends meet, these characters are fools. Their enthusiasm for a surprising discovery, their exuberance for the find, quickly overrides any common sense response that the world might have to recommend. By the world's standards, the kingdom is pure foolishness. Yet by the same measure, if one accepts the odd wisdom of this parabolic world, is not the real world with its enthusiasms of buying and selling, herding and fishing, finding, saving, and investing now exposed as foolishness indeed? In this sense these parables may all be grounded in social critique.

Two of the kingdom parables may be seen as counter-cultural in another sense: the Parable of the Mustard Seed and the Parable of the Leaven. Both liken the kingdom to objects of loathing and nuisance. So prolific[81] was mustard that it was forbidden even to plant it in one's garden, lest it threaten to take over the entire area.[82] One should call this the Parable of the Mustard *Weed,* rather than the Mustard Seed. And yet that is what the kingdom is like: it grows from the smallest of seeds to become the most loathsome of weeds. Leaven is similarly tinged. Within the context of Jewish and Hellenistic culture alike it is a element of corruption.[83] "In the view of all antiquity, Semitic and non-Semitic, panary fermentation represented a process of corruption and putrefaction in the mass of dough."[84] Even within the New Testament it is used metaphorically to connote base desire and evil intent.[85] This parable's use of it is particularly insidious: in each version the leaven is "hidden" (!) in the flour. Pity the baker who suddenly discovers the "process of corruption and putrefaction" ruining the dough so carefully mixed. A small thing can be a very large nuisance. Such is the kingdom.

These are indeed provocative images. They suggest a kingdom that is threatening, impure in the world of things clean and unclean. It is small, yet insidious, and impossible to control once it has been implanted. It stands to take over, to invade, to change the way things are. The kingdom that is mustard, the kingdom that is leaven: this is a subversive kingdom. Yet it is a kingdom which seems assured of success. This seems to me to be the gist of the Wheat and the Weeds and the Parable of the Sower. Though hampered by weedy beginnings, in the end the harvest of the kingdom will win out—so says the parable of the Wheat and the Weeds.[86] In the Parable of the Sower it matters not that the sower throws the seed willy nilly on the paths, the rocks, the bad soil as well as the good. In the end, the yield is still a "hundredfold."[87] This preaching of the kingdom is brash and bold; it proclaims its own destiny of triumph.

Whether this rough and ready reading of the parables will stand up to more

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[81] See Pliny, *Natural History,* 19.170.

[82] See Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus,* 27, n. 11.

[83] H. Windisch, "Ζυμή, ζυμόω, ἄζυμος," *TDNT* II: 903-906; see also the summary discussion in Scott, *Hear Then the Parable,* 374-75.

[84] A. Kennedy, "Leaven," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (London: Adam and Chas. Black, 1902) 2754, as cited by Scott, *Hear Then the Parable,* 324.

[85] Cf. Matt 16:6//Mark 8:15//Luke 12:1; I Cor 5:6-8.

[86] As pointed out above, outside of the apocalyptic context of the synoptic gospels the image here employed need not necessarily be seen as apocalyptic (see note 59, *supra*).

[87] Or even one hundred and twenty-fold (!), if the Thomas version is not pure embellishment.

rigorous analysis remains to be seen. But I have tried, at least in a preliminary way, to provide a reading that finds its cogency within the social radicalism of the early sayings tradition common to both the synoptic and Thomas trajectories. If it is this common tradition which has the best chance of holding a direct connection to the preaching of Jesus, the parables will also have to be drawn into this web in some coherent way.

Summary

In this essay I have tried to sketch out in rough lines the way in which the Gospel of Thomas has made an impact on the study of the historical Jesus, and how we might expect its evidence to contribute to the discussion in the future. Of chief concern in the retrospective look at work on this question done thus far was the pattern of drawing upon Thomas only when its sayings tended to confirm judgments at which one had already arrived using the synoptic tradition alone. Thus, in the prospective look at the potential for future discussion, I have tried to lay out what I think would be an appropriate way of proceeding, together with the results of my own initial plumbs into the sayings tradition. By playing Thomas and the synoptic tradition off one against the other, I have argued that it is possible to arrive at a very early stratum in the sayings tradition, which stands the best chance of preserving some continuity with the preaching of Jesus. Within that common tradition are a number of wisdom sayings, and a large corpus of sayings whose ethos may be described roughly as social radicalism. Several parables comprise a third corpus within that early common tradition. They too may be read in terms of the cultural criticism offered by the socially radical aphoristic tradition. Much more needs to be done on all of this, but I am convinced that the prospects are promising.

The Scriptural Reading of Scripture and the Coptic *Gospel of Truth*

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The title for this paper was suggested to me by Prof. Wilfrid Cantwell Smith. In response to a short paper of mine,[1] Prof. Smith remarked that, in his view, the historical interpretation of scripture is *pre*-scriptural, and the literary interpretation of scripture is *post*-scriptural. What, then, I asked myself, is the *scriptural* reading of scripture?

Islamic theologians, I have heard, maintain that the proof for the inspiration of the Koran is found in the perfection of the classical Arabic in which the work is written. Unfortunately, the literary quality of the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament would scarcely support such an argument.

The canonical status of the New Testament creates a presumption in favor of inspiration, but if the expectations raised by canonicity are repeatedly dashed by the reading experience over a sufficiently long period of time, canonical status alone cannot guarantee indefinitely the authority of the text.

One reason why I find Northrop Frye's book, *The Great Code,*[2] so significant is because of the readership to which the book is directed, a readership whose interest in the text is rooted neither in a commitment to the doctrinal tradition of the Christian church nor in the historian's reconstructive agenda. "The mind," Frye observes, "seems to want to expand, to move from the closed fortresses of believer and skeptic to the community of vision" (230). This, I believe, is a move with which the ancient Gnostics would have been very much in sympathy.

In which of Frye's two fortresses do literary critics of the New Testament find themselves? The fact that we use a new *approach* to the text does not, of itself, mean that we have adopted a new *interest* in the text. Sometimes the narrator's "omniscience" seems to be used to support the doctrinal inerrancy of the text, thus evading the "hermeneutic of suspicion" implicit in historical criticism. At other times, familiar concerns about literary sources or historical questions seem to lie just below the surface of the analysis. None of these interests is necessarily illegitimate; however, unawareness of our own motivations may flaw the enterprise and lead the alert reader to sense the presence of a hidden agenda. Is it possible that a literary *approach* to the New Testament might lead to a new *interest* in the text, an interest which

[1] "Reader Response: Demythologizing the Text," *NTS* 34 (1988) 232-37.

[2] *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (Toronto: Academic Press Canada, 1982).

would be distinct from both the doctrinal interest of the "believer" and the historical interest of the "skeptic"?

The beginnings of Christianity were associated with an effort to reclaim, by a new way of reading, the Jewish scripture which was the only scripture known to the infant church. The Christian movement was grounded in the memory of Jesus of Nazareth and in the Easter experience, and neither of these foundational influences could be found mirrored in scripture, if scripture were read in the traditional fashion. On the other hand, large sections of scripture, especially those concerned with Jewish cultic observance, had limited relevance for the Christian church.

In time, of course, the church would create its own scripture, out of a varied assortment of sectarian writings. But before this came about, the use of allegory, already exploited by Jewish writers like Philo of Alexandria, was implemented with great ingenuity and sophistication to turn the Jewish scripture into a Christian book, the "Old Testament." The result of this hermeneutical approach was summarized by Augustine in the aphorism: "*in vetere novum lateat, et in novo vetus pateat.*"[3]

The paradigm of New Testament studies which still prevails in academic circles arose in reaction against this hermeneutic, which governed the Biblical interpretation not only of the New Testament authors but of patristic and medieval exegesis as well.

However, such innovative reading was not proper to the Christian movement. The destruction of the temple and the end of the Jewish sacrificial system meant that Judaism too needed to read its scripture in a new way. As Prof. Smith observed in a lecture on "Jewish Scripture," "The Talmud cannot be read as a commentary on the Bible, but the Bible could be read as a commentary on the Talmud."[4]

Today, I believe, a "cognitive dissonance" is being experienced by many readers of the New Testament which is quite similar to that experienced by early Christian readers of the Jewish scripture: neither the doctrinal reading of scripture, which is dominant in the church, nor the historical reading of scripture, which is dominant in the university, is capable of generating that experience of expanded consciousness which, in the Christian tradition, goes by the name of "revelation."

Furthermore, I believe that this cognitive dissonance was experienced by Gnostic Christians at the very time that the New Testament canon was coming into existence.[5] The way of reading scripture which they developed to meet this problem can therefore be called a "scriptural" reading of scripture: it enables the scripture to exercise its revelatory or "scriptural" function. Gnostic interpretation of scripture, then, is not some curiosity from late antiquity; it has direct hermeneutical and religious significance today.

Religious experience, to the extent that it can be expressed linguistically at all, is apt to use the language of identity, union, or relationship. The keynote of the ancient Upanishads is expressed in the aphorism, "That art Thou."[6] The Johannine Jesus declares, "I and the Father are one" (Jn 10:30). The *Song of Songs*, which has been given a mystical interpretation in both Judaism and Christianity, exclaims, "My beloved is mine, and I am his" (2:16).

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[3] *Quaest. in Heptateuchum* 2.73; *PL* 34.625.

[4] Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, April 8, 1988.

[5] Cf. W. C. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," in *The Jung Codex*, F. L. Cross, trans. and ed. (London: Mowbray, 1955), pp. 79-129.

[6] Cf. *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*, iv. 4, 15-17.

The function of rational discourse, on the other hand, is to discriminate. The *Genesis* story of the ascent to consciousness reaches its climax in the divine knowledge of good and evil (3:22), and this achievement of ethical discernment exemplifies reason's power to declare: "this is not that."

Prof. Cyril Richardson once observed that orthodoxy and Gnosticism differ in their root metaphor: for the orthodox, it is the act of speech ("God spake, and it was so"); for the Gnostics, it is the act of sex.[7] *Their* creation story tells of Sophia's attempt to conceive without a consort: the abortive offspring is the created cosmos.[8] Indeed, for the Gnostics, it is sex which binds together the three components of a doomed existence: creation, society, and death. In the words of the *Gospel of Philip*,[9] "The world is created, the cities adorned, the dead carried out" (52:19-21). But sex is also the root metaphor for the upward movement of the soul: the highest Gnostic sacrament is the ΝΥΜΦΩΝ, or "bridal chamber," where the soul enters into androgynous union with its angelic counterpart.[10]

The *Gospel of Philip* has a devastating critique of the logocentrism which has always characterized the orthodox position. The section begins with a remarkable statement about the differential nature of language: "Light and darkness, life and death, right and left, are brothers of one another; they are inseparable" (53:14-17). From this follows the deconstructionist conclusion that nothing can be understood in isolation: "Neither are the good good, nor the evil evil, nor is life life, nor death death" (53:17-20). This has obvious theological consequences: "One who hears the word 'God' does not perceive what is correct, but perceives what is incorrect. So also with 'the Father' and 'the Son' and 'the Holy Spirit' and 'life' and 'resurrection' and 'the church' and all the rest. People do not perceive what is correct, but they perceive what is incorrect" (53:27-32). The exception to this generalization is, of course, the Gnostics, who "have come to know (**CGBO**) what is correct" (53:34-35). Logocentrism is a deceptive strategy devised by the archons: "The [names which are heard] are in the world [to deceive]" (53:35-54:1).

The first casualty of this Gnostic critique of logocentrism is the orthodox formulation of doctrine. Irenaeus expressed his frustration with his Gnostic opponents for contradicting themselves.[11] With their frankly mythological interpretation of the Christian symbol system, they were under no obligation to affirm: "this is not that." In the world of the religious imagination, the principle of contradiction does not apply.

But there is another use of discursive reason and language whose full consequences

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[7] Columbia University Seminar for Studies in the New Testament, April 26, 1974.

[8] Cf. B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1987), "The Classic Gnostic Myth," pp. 12-19.

[9] In citing the *Gospel of Philip* and the *Gospel of Truth*, I follow, with minor changes, the translations of W. W. Isenberg and G. W. MacRae, respectively, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. M. Robinson (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977).

[10] Cf. K. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 254-55.

[11] *AH* I,ii,i: Ἴδωμεν νῦν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἄστατον γνώμην, δύο που καὶ τριῶν ὄντων πῶς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐναντία ἀποφαίνονται.

for religion have not become apparent until our own day; I refer to the reconstructive λόγος of the historian. The dialectical theologians, Barth and Bultmann, were fully aware of the problem of faith and history, and they judged that the more negative and damaging the results of historical criticism for Christian apologetics, the better it would be for Christian theology.[12]

Bultmann developed a hypothesis for the origin of the Jesus tradition which would make any historical investigation of Jesus impossible. In Bultmann's view, the Jesus tradition has no historical roots. It is the free creation of the early church, which invented sayings *of* Jesus and stories *about* Jesus for use in various community situations, such as missionary activity, catechesis, and theological controversy.[13]

Bultmann's attempt to "put sand in the historian's machine"[14] has not been successful.[15] However, his hostility to the project of investigating historically the central symbol of Christianity reveals an important hermeneutical insight: faith and history have different agendas, and it is necessary to protect each from the other.

I would modify Bultmann's *hermeneutical* position, with which I am in basic agreement, by substituting for "faith" the words "γνῶσις," "vision," or "insight."

Like psychoanalysis, the religious imagination is interested in experience, not events. It eschews the subordination of metaphorical language to the forensic reportage of "what happened." The reason for this is quite simple: vicarious religion simply does not work. Knowledge *about* a saving event, even if it *could* be obtained through the historian's craft, is unavailing unto salvation.

After his religious conversion, the seventeenth century Protestant mystic, Angelus Silesius, wrote the following verses:

> Wird Christus tausendmal in Bethlehem geboren
> und nicht in dir: Du bleibst noch ewiglich verloren.

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[12] Cf. S. Sykes, *The Identity of Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1984), ch. 8, "Barth and the Power of the Word," p. 185: "There is no knowledge of Christ according to the flesh, as recent critical study of the Bible reveals. The more radical the shock modern readers receive from critical study the better; this is the service 'historical knowledge' can render the actual task of theology."

[13] Bultmann's application of form critical *method* to the Jesus tradition is found, of course, in *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 8th edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970). However, the radical consequences of the form critical *hypothesis*, as Bultmann understands it, are revealed most clearly in Jesus (Deutsche Bibliothek Berlin, 1926), p. 17: "So sehe ich auch keinen Anlass, der folgenden Darstellung nicht den Titel der Verkündigung Jesu zu geben und von Jesus als dem Verkünder zu reden. Wer dieses 'Jesus' für sich immer in Anführungsstriche setzen und nur als abkürzende Bezeichnung für das geschichtliche Phänomen gelten lassen will, um das wir uns bemühen, dem ist es unbenommen." The impossibility of distinguishing between Jesus and the earliest phase of community tradition renders Jesus historically inaccessible.

[14] This was the expression used by Bultmann's student, Prof. G. Strecker, when he addressed the Jesus Seminar in Toronto on Oct. 20, 1989.

[15] One need only mention, among many others, the Jesus books of G. Vermes (1973), B. F. Meyer (1979), A. J. Harvey (1982), M. J. Borg (1984), E. Sanders (1985), and G. Theissen (1986). Theissen's book marks an important break with the Bultmann tradition within Germany itself.

Das Kreuz von Golgatha kann dich nicht von dem Bösen,
wo es nicht auch in dir wird aufgericht', erlösen.

Ich sag, es hilft dir nicht, dass Christus auferstanden,
wo du noch liegen bleibst in Sünd und Todesbanden.[16]

Now there is scarcely anyone who would deny that Jesus was born, even if not precisely in Bethlehem.[17] But it is not this birth, Silesius declares, which is religiously efficacious, but rather the birth of the divine child from the virginal pregnancy of the soul. Even the most incontrovertible historical fact must be mythologized, if it is to become a psychic experience.

The effect of historical criticism on the central symbol of Christianity has been precisely the opposite: *de*mythologization. As Albert Schweitzer accurately predicted, "The historical Jesus will be to our time a stranger and an enigma."[18] By viewing the past as past, the historian inevitably frustrates the immediacy which is characteristic of the religious response. The detachment and objectivity of the historian rule out the passionate inwardness and commitment of religious faith.[19] The Jesus who is made the object of critical historical reconstruction ceases to be a living symbol.

This is true not only of Schweitzer's iconoclastic portrait of Jesus as an apocalyptic prophet but also of the liberal portrait which Schweitzer sought to replace: Jesus, the paradigm of neo-Kantian ethical idealism. It is true of modern reconstructions of Jesus, such as "the man for others"[20] or "Jesus the liberator."[21] It is even true of the uncontroversial, ecumenical Jesus who emerges from the Jewish-Christian dialogue.[22] Each of these reconstructions may serve a useful social purpose, but none of them has the numinosity of a living symbol.

Nietzsche feared the coming of a time "when man will no longer launch the arrow of his longing beyond man—and the string of his bow will have unlearned how to whizz."[23] It is the task of the scriptural interpretation of scripture to arrow images beyond the logocentric consciousness of doctrinal and historical interpretation.

In the *Gospel of Truth*, the distinctions required by historical and theological λόγος fall by the wayside. The reader has no possibility of reconstructing a historical reality *behind* the text: what the reader reads is what the reader gets. Indeed, this impossibility of using the *Gospel of Truth* for purposes of historical reconstruction seems to

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[16] *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*, Breslau 1675, I, 61-63.

[17] Cf. R. E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), Appendix III: "Birth at Bethlehem."

[18] *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 399.

[19] Kierkegaard's oft repeated statement that "truth is subjectivity" connects religious truth with the subject rather than the object. Cf. "Concluding Unscientific Postscript," in *A Kierkegaard Anthology*, ed. R. Bretall (Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 210-11.

[20] Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *Honest to God* (London: SCM, 1963), ch. 4.

[21] Cf. L. Boff, *Jesus Christ Liberator* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1978).

[22] Cf. H. Falk, *Jesus the Pharisee: A New Look at the Jewishness of Jesus* (New York: Paulist, 1985).

[23] *The Philosophy of Nietzsche* (New York: Modern Library, 1927), p. 11.

explain why some scholars have denied that this text is a gospel at all,[24] even though it begins with the words "The gospel . . ."(16:31).

Since the *Gospel of Truth* contains no explicit citations of scripture, the assumption underlying this paper, that this text illustrates a Gnostic way of reading scripture, is one for which I, as a reader, must take responsibility. I cannot appeal to "the intention of the author" of the Gnostic gospel. However, this assumption is not peculiar to me.[25]

At the exact center of the work,[26] we find the beatitude: "Blessed is the one who has opened the eyes of the blind" (30:14-16). In the canonical gospels, there are stories which narrate the healing of blind persons, the most notable being the dramatic Johannine account of the healing of the man born blind (Jn 9; cf. 11:37; also Matt 11:5; Lk 7:21-22; Mk 8:22-26; Matt 9:27-31; Mk 10:46-52 par). However, nothing in the beatitude in the *Gospel of Truth* requires a reference to such a miracle of Jesus, to say nothing of *limiting* the beatitude to such a reference. "The one who opens the eyes of the blind" could equally well be a Gnostic teacher. It could be the serpent in the *Genesis* story, a benevolent character in Gnostic exegesis, since it is through his intervention that the eyes of Adam and Eve are opened (3:7).[27] Or it could be Sophia, who rouses the divine sparks from the forgetful slumber of existence in the cosmos.[28]

Any and all of these possible references can be understood symbolically in terms of the process of psychic awakening in the reader. Not only does the art of the Gnostic evangelist abolish the distinction between "then" and "now," between objective and subjective redemption. It equally abolishes the distinction between the different *segments* of salvation history: the creation of the cosmos and the creation of Adam and Eve; creation, redemption, and eschatological fulfilment.

In the words of the pre-Socratic philosopher, Anaxagoras, "everything is in everything else."[29] The reader is free to relate his or her own inner world to the imaginal world of the beatitude. The *Gospel of Truth* invites not so much a *Horizontverschmelzung*[30] as a *Horizontaufhebung*. Or, perhaps, it would be better to say that the reader may adopt *any* horizon that he or she prefers, provided it is not projected onto "the intention of the author."

Following the beatitude is a passage which also might suggest one of Jesus' healing miracles: "Having extended his hand to him who lay upon the ground, he set him

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[24] Cf. D. E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), p. 71: "The *Gospel of Truth* (written ca. A.D. 140) is a rambling homily of Valentinian Gnosticism containing no explicit Jesus traditions."

[25] J. A. Williams, *Biblical Interpretation in the Gnostic Gospel of Truth from Nag Hammadi* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1988), identifies no less than 73 scriptural allusions.

[26] B. Standaert, "L'Evangile de Verité: Critique et Lecture," *NTS* 22 (1975/76) 254.

[27] Cf. Rudolph, p. 111.

[28] Cf. K. L. King (ed.), *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress; 1988).

[29] Diels, fragment 1: πάντων μὲν ἐν παντὶ ἐνόντων.

[30] Cf. H.-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1975).

up on his feet" (30:19-22).[31] However, the subject of this sentence is not "Jesus" but "the spirit" (30:17), and the sentence continues "for he had not yet risen" (30:22-23). Ménard has therefore suggested that there may be here an allusion to the descent of the spirit on Christ at his crucifixion,[32] and Wilson sees a reference to the resurrection.[33] MacRae and Attridge note, however, that the passage does not directly allude to Christ at all. They point out that the imagery used here "ultimately derives from traditional Jewish speculation about the primal man, who lay inert upon the earth, before being vivified by the insufflation of the divine breath."[34] When *I* read this passage, I think of Michelangelo's famous representation of the creation of Adam in the Sistine Chapel, in which God extends his life-giving hand to touch the inert hand of Adam, who is lying on the ground. But whichever of these references is preferred, they are all paradigmatic for the "new creation" of the human being who receives the revelatory Gnosis.[35]

A little further on, we read a version of the Parable of the Lost Sheep (cf. Matt 18:10-14 par), followed by the words, "Even on the sabbath, he labored for the sheep which he found fallen into the pit" (32:18-20).[36] However, the indefinite reference of the pronoun de-historicizes the allusions to the canonical gospels. No longer are they limited to Jesus' justification for his scandalous practices of associating with sinners and healing on the sabbath. The historical specificity of the canonical parallels is undermined, and they return to the imaginal world from which they came.

In the *Gospel of Truth* the parables of Jesus are extended to include the Father's search for the All, which is from the Father, yet ignorant of the Father. Through conversion from ignorance to Gnosis, the individual participates in the cosmic drama of the return of the All to its root in the Godhead.[37]

Rather than comment on further scriptural allusions in the *Gospel of Truth*, I invite all of you to read this beautiful text yourselves, in the lyrical translation of the late George MacRae, and make your own decision as to whether our expectations of "gospel," formed by a long tradition of theological and historicizing readings, ought not to be revised in the light of this scriptural reading of scripture.

The key to Gnostic interpretation is, of course, the Gnostic myth. Although this myth is not developed at length in the *Gospel of Truth*,[38] its presence is felt in the absorption and reinterpretation of the canonical material which we encounter in this text. The Gnostic myth is not some proto-scientific explanation of the origins of the cosmos. Rather, in a pre-psychological age, it represents the unconscious projection

[31] Cf. Mk 2:1-12 par; Jn 5:1-18.

[32] *L'Evangile de Verité: Rétroversion grecque et commentaire* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1962), p. 139.

[33] *The Gnostic Problem* (London: Mowbray, 1958), p. 106.

[34] *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, NHS 22-23 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), p. 86.

[35] Cf. W. Till, "Das Evangelium der Wahrheit," *ZNW* 50 (1959) 165-85.

[36] Cf. Jn 5:17; Lk 14:5.

[37] Cf. A. McGuire, "Conversion and Gnosis in the *Gospel of Truth*," *Novum Testamentum* XXVIII, 4 (1986) 338-55.

[38] Cf. 17:10-21: "Ignorance of the Father brought about anguish and terror. And the anguish grew solid like a fog so that no one was able to see. For this reason error became powerful; it fashioned its own matter foolishly, not having known the truth. It set about making a creature, with (all its) might preparing, in beauty, the substitute for the truth."

of psychic contents,[39] and this is why the myth lends itself so readily to psychological interpretation.

As I read this text, it seems to me that it is the *Gospel of Truth* itself which "opens the eyes of the blind," as it exhorts us, across the centuries: "Say, then, from the heart that you are the perfect day and in you dwells the light that does not fail" (32:31-34). The reader is urged to attend not to the word of preaching, which comes from without (cf. Rom 10:17), but to the inner light "which enlightens every one coming into the world" (Jn 1:9).

The Nag Hammadi Library was discovered in 1946, just at the beginning of the period when religion in the West was experiencing a post-war upsurge. Today that upsurge is clearly spent. The strenuous efforts to apply the Christian symbol system to the promotion of social, political, and economic change suggest that logocentric Christianity is having difficulty fulfilling its more traditional role of promoting individual transformation. The popularity of "New Age" phenomena suggests the need for what Northrop Frye has called an "imaginative holiday" (21).

Is it possible that, besides the doctrinal *con*struction and historical *re*construction which have traditionally dominated gospel studies, room might be found for an interest in the world of the religious imagination, that world which never was yet always is? If so, the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library would prove to have been every bit as significant as the discovery of that other ancient library, just one year earlier, near the shore of the Dead Sea.

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[39] Cf. C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* = *CW*, vol. 9, pt. I (1980), pp. 5-6: "So far mythologists have always helped themselves out with solar, lunar, meteorological, vegetal, and other ideas of the kind. The fact that myths are first and foremost psychic phenomena that reveal the nature of the soul is something they have absolutely refused to see until now. Primitive man is not much interested in objective explanations of the obvious, but he has an imperative need—or rather, his unconscious psyche has an irresistable urge—to assimilate all outer sense experiences to inner, psychic events."