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Introductory Note

The papers in this volume were prepared for discussion at the One Hundred Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, convened at the Chicago Hilton and Towers Hotel, Chicago, IL, 19-22 November 1994. They represent, in most cases, experimental and initial research 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 Seminar Papers Series serves the program efforts of the SBL. Younger scholars and veterans are able to prepare their research for distribution in advance of the annual meeting. This frees time otherwise allotted for the reading of papers and permits significant discussion to occur at the annual meeting.

In keeping with their purpose, the papers in this volume appear substantially as they were received. Authors were encouraged to submit electronic manuscripts, and these have been converted from their native word-processing format and printed with limited editorial corrections. Although occasional changes have helped conform many of the papers to the *JBL Instructions for Contributors*, inconsistencies in style and format remain. Readers are asked to understand the wide variations as they would understand those of individually circulated papers.

The editor expresses appreciation to the authors, who labored to produce quality papers in advance of an early deadline; to the Program Unit Chairs, who were responsible for soliciting, collecting and proofreading the papers; and to the staff of Scholars Press, who oversaw final production, distribution, and accounting details. Special acknowledgment is due to Anita C. Estner, who shared fully in the task of editing and preparing the final volume for publication. On behalf of the whole society, the editor thanks the chairs of all annual meeting program units for their efforts in developing a stimulating program.

Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., Editor

Q Bibliography Supplement V: 1994

David M. Scholer
Fuller Theological Seminary

Introduction

This brief listing supplements "Q Bibliography Supplement II: 1991," *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; SBLSPS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 1-7; "Q Bibliography Supplement III: 1992," *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminary Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; SBLSPS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 1-4; and "Q Bibliography Supplement IV: 1993," *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminary Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; SBLSPS 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1-5. One hundred four items are listed in this Supplement. It is my plan now to complete a comprehensive Q bibliography through 1994 (and perhaps part of 1995); this will be published in a volume edited by James M. Robinson scheduled for publication in 1996.

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Revisiting Matthew's Communities

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What political, cultural, and religious assumptions shaped the ways the initial recipients of Matthew's gospel understood the text? Although interpreters differ on the level of priority which should be given to this question, most agree that it must be addressed. But this is far from easy, for it raises a set of further questions which have been on the agenda of careful students of Matthew for a long time. Were the first recipients of this gospel Jews or Gentiles? If some were Jews, and some Gentiles, which group was numerically dominant? Where and when did they live? Did they see themselves as a sect or party within Judaism—perhaps as a reforming movement? Or were many of the original recipients conscious of a recent painful parting from local synagogues? Were their Christian communities racked with internal divisions? If so, is it possible to identify the 'false views' which the evangelist is most concerned about?

In this paper I shall try to go a little further through the same narrow gate and down the difficult path I followed in my 1992 book on Matthew.[1] I hope to show that some of my more recent work on other early Christian writings, especially Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, is a further reminder of the value of setting Matthew in the broadest possible context within early Judaism and early Christianity. I shall also respond to some of the recent literature published on Matthew's gospel and to some of the points made by reviewers of my book; in both cases I gratefully acknowledge the stimulus I have received, especially from those whose views differ from my own.

In the first section of this paper I shall suggest that it is much more difficult to reconstruct the social setting of Matthew's gospel than most recent interpreters have supposed. However, all is not lost. In section two I shall return to the relationship of the original recipients to local Jewish communities. In my final section I shall look briefly at some features of the internal life of the communities for which Matthew wrote.

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[1] *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992; Louisville: Westminster / John Knox, 1993). See also four of my more recent articles: 'Matthew: ΒΙΒΛΟΣ, ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, or ΒΙΟΣ?' in ed. F. van Segbroeck et al., *The Four Gospels 1992* (FS F. Neirynck) (Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1992) II, 1188-1201; 'The Communities of Matthew', *Interpretation* 46 (1992) 371-91; '"Ministry" in Matthean Christianity', in a forthcoming Festschrift; 'Matthew's Gospel: a Survey of Recent Commentaries', *The Bible Translator* 46, Jan. 1995.

I. Genre and Geography

(i) Genre

The interesting set of essays edited by David Balch, *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), contains surprisingly little reflection on the difficulties Matthew poses for the social historian. Only in Jack Dean Kingsbury's fine 'summing up' is there any reference to the literary genre of Matthew. Kingsbury notes that unlike Ignatius, Matthew has not written a Graeco-Roman letter: 'what Matthew purports to do is to tell neither his own story nor that of his audience but the story of Jesus of Nazareth.' (p. 261)

This important point needs to be underlined firmly, for it has been overlooked by a number of recent writers. The first step in the interpretation of any writing, whether ancient or modern, is to establish its literary genre. I have argued that Matthew (and the other three canonical gospels) are a type or subset of Graeco-Roman biography, and this view now has wide support.[2] The primary aim of an ancient biography is simply to set out the βίος of its subject, and I am convinced that is also the case with Matthew.

Does this aim conflict with my claim that Matthew wrote his gospel as a 'foundation document' for a cluster of Christian communities which saw themselves as a 'new people', minority Christian communities over against both Judaism and the Gentile world at large? I have even suggested that in some respects Matthew is an apology (*A Gospel for a New People*, p. 378). I do not think that these two proposals are incompatible. Ancient biographies often set out the βίος of their subjects with several different intentions; apologetic and polemical aims are certainly not unknown.[3] David Aune perceptively notes that 'the unconscious functions of Greco-Roman biography involve the historical legitimation (or discrediting) of a social belief/value system personified in the subject of the biography.'[4] This is precisely the social function I envisage for Matthew's βίος of Jesus.[5]

As we attempt to uncover the social setting of the original recipients of the gospel, we may well find ourselves wishing that Matthew had written a letter or two. But a moment's reflection will quickly convince us that a Matthean letter might have been almost as problematic as his gospel. Take Paul's letter to the Romans: to what extent is it a systematic exposition of Paul's gospel, and to what extent does it reflect Paul's indirect knowledge of the Christian communities in Rome? Has Paul projected into his letter to Rome, perhaps inadvertently, some of his experiences with Christian communities elsewhere? The same questions can and should be asked of I Peter, though they seem to me to have been given

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2 G. N. Stanton, 'Matthew: ΒΙΒΛΟΣ, ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, or ΒΙΟΣ?' as cited above. See in particular, R. A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992). In their articles on Matthew in the Neirynck Festschrift, D. C. Allison (1203-22) and B. Standaert (1223-50) also accept that Matthew should be read as an ancient biography.

3 See R. A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* 149-52.

4 *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (London: James Clarke, 1988) 35.

5 See Chapters 4 and 5 of my *A Gospel for a New People*, 85-145.

little attention in the recent literature. Similarly Ignatius of Antioch, who used Matthew, which he may sometimes refer to as εὐαγγέλιον.[6] Ignatius wrote six letters to Christian communities in Asia Minor and another to Rome. At many points in those letters it is difficult to know whether his comments reflect his knowledge of the circumstances of the recipients of his letters or his earlier experiences as Bishop in Antioch.

A gospel is not a letter. Since letters do not always provide a clear window onto the social circumstances of the recipients, we must be even more careful with gospels. The examples of Paul, the author of I Peter, and of Ignatius raise two further points which must be considered. Perhaps Matthew did not have first hand information about the circumstances of *all* the Christian communities for which he wrote. Perhaps, like the author of I Peter, the evangelist wrote for a loose network of communities over a wide geographical area. If this suggestion is plausible, an important corollary follows: Matthew's gospel should not be expected to provide us with *detailed* information about the social setting of the first recipients. I am convinced that Matthew's choice of literary genre and the evidence of the text of the gospel itself both point in this direction.

(ii) Geography

Where did the first recipients of Matthew's gospel live? Over the years I have made several unsuccessful attempts to persuade myself that Matthew was written in Antioch. So I am pleased to discover that the old consensus is crumbling.[7] Andrew Overman has suggested Galilee,[8] with claims which are 'extremely cogent' according to Alan Segal. However Segal does not want to reject Syria as the provenance of Matthew, and notes that 'Galilee and Syria should be considered as a single geographical area . . . at least from the point of view of the development of Jewish and Christian hostility. . . . Galilee and Antioch were merely two fixed points in a rather loosely confederated group of congregations, united by missionaries who were more or less constantly on the move at first.'[9]

I concur with this suggestion, which is consistent with the very limited hints which can be gleaned from the text itself. It is also consistent with the broader considerations concerning early Christian–Jewish relationships to which Segal appeals. Matthew's *gospel* should not be read as if it were a Pauline *letter*. We should stop supposing that the gospel reflects the evangelist's close relationship with one group of Christians in one house church in one particular urban geographical location.

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6 So too John P. Meier, 'Matthew and Ignatius: A Response to William R. Schoedel', in ed. D. L. Balch, *Social History of the Matthean Community*, 186.

7 For discussion of earlier proposals, see G. N. Stanton, 'The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel: Matthean Scholarship from 1945 – 1980', *ANRW* II. 25. 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984) 1941-2.

8 J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: the Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990).

9 'Matthew's Jewish Voice', in ed. D. L. Balch, *Social History of the Matthean Community*, 26-7. See also L. Michael White's interesting discussion, 'Crisis Management and Boundary Maintenance: The Social Location of the Matthean Community' in the same volume of essays, 211-47. White plausibly suggests that Matthew may have come from 'a Syro-Phoenician arc from Upper Galilee northward to Coele-Syria.' (229) However I am not persuaded by his suggestion that we can pinpoint a particular political and religious crisis as the *fons et origo* of the gospel.

Let me take this latter point a little further. In the Herodian quarter of Jerusalem several splendid villas which were destroyed in 70 CE have recently been excavated. In some respects they are strikingly similar to villas at Pompeii. They remind us of the extent to which Roman fashions in house architecture and interior decoration were mimicked all over the Empire. Even if the Christians to whom Matthew wrote met for worship in a rather grand urban house on the scale of the 'Palatial Mansion' in Jerusalem, or of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii, or of the villa at Sepphoris, or of the villa at Anaploga at Corinth, no more than fifty or so people could have assembled in its largest room.[10] Surely Matthew's carefully crafted, very full account of the βίος of Jesus was not written for such a small group of people: surely we should envisage a loosely linked set of communities over a wide geographical area.

If, as I am arguing, Matthew intended to set out the βίος of Jesus for a number of loosely linked communities, then we should be wary of attempts to link the gospel to a precise set of social, historical, or religious circumstances. Expositions of Matthew's concerns which are based on only one strand of the evidence, or one particular passage, or on an over-confident use of 'transparency' are not likely to be compelling. Janice Capel Anderson has provided a salutary warning concerning transparency: we must 'resist treating a gospel as an allegory with a one to one correspondence to particular persons or events, an allegory that allows us to see *directly* through a window into the Matthean community.'[11]

It is difficult to reconstruct the social and religious setting of the first listeners to and readers of Matthew without in effect treating the text as an allegory, and without giving free rein to our own assumptions about several aspects of earliest Christianity. However there is general agreement that in spite of the difficulties, the attempt must be made: an appreciation of the 'horizons of expectation' brought by the initial recipients of a text plays an important part in interpretation.

So how do we proceed? In *A Gospel for a New People* I suggested one way forward, though it is certainly not the only way: redaction criticism, and literary and social-scientific approaches all have their place, though they must all be kept under rigorous critical scrutiny. I also insisted that Matthew's gospel should be set as firmly as possible in the context of early Christianity and Judaism. I have not changed my mind on these disputed questions of method, though I am now more wary of the dangers of 'transparency'. However, I do not think it is illegitimate to relate the text cautiously to the life of the communities for which the evangelist wrote. The text itself provides some encouragement to do this: there are a number of passages in which readers in the author's own day are

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10 See N. Avigad, *The Herodian Quarter in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2nd ed. 1991) 75. Although the recently excavated villa at Sepphoris dates from the first decades of the third century, it also supports the general point I am making; see E. M. Meyers, E. Netzer, C. L. Meyers, *Sepphoris* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992). See also the forthcoming book by A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, and Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 1983) 161-8.

11 Response at the 1993 SBL Meeting to Dennis Duling, 'Matthew and Marginality', *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 642-71.

addressed directly in asides in the story, and there are several passages which presuppose a post-Easter setting.

II. External Affairs

The relationship of Matthew's communities to Judaism has been keenly debated for some time now. Discussion has been vigorous because a decision on this issue influences the interpretation both of many individual passages and also of the sweep of the whole story. In my earlier work on Matthew I tried to assess the various views which have been advanced in modern scholarship, and to set out the reasons why I think that the evangelist is writing to communities which have separated painfully from Judaism but are still defining themselves over against the parent body. I do not propose to rehearse the arguments here. However, since an assessment of the social setting of Matthew's gospel cannot avoid this issue, I shall offer several further considerations in support of my view. At several points I shall be looking over my shoulder at Anthony Saldarini's recently published book, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). This excellent book is the most sustained defense of a view which I consider to be the main rival to my own: Matthew 'addresses a deviant group within the Jewish community in greater Syria, a reformist Jewish sect seeking influence and power (relatively unsuccessfully) within the Jewish community as a whole.' (p. 198).

(i) Blurred boundary lines

At the outset I must mention one respect in which I would now want to modify my position. Further study of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* has convinced me that the relationships of individuals and groups within Matthew's communities to Jewish communities were probably much more varied than I had assumed to be the case.

Justin's *Dialogue* indicates that in the middle of the second century both Judaism and Christianity were concerned to maintain tight boundaries. Trypho complains that Christians (unlike Jews) do not mark themselves off from pagans (10.3). He also mentions that some Jewish teachers forbid Jews to enter into conversation with Christians—lest they be persuaded by 'blasphemous' Christian claims (38.1; 112.4). Justin's references to alleged Jewish persecution of Christians also point to Jewish anxiety lest community boundaries be breached.

Justin is concerned to maintain tight boundaries on the Christian side. He will not tolerate Jewish Christians who are not in full fellowship with Gentile Christians. Justin is very sensitive about Jewish Christians who persuade Gentile Christians to keep the law: he suspects that under their influence some Gentile Christians may move over completely to the Jewish polity.

And yet in spite of the concerns of Trypho and Justin to maintain tight boundaries around Judaism and Christianity, there is movement across both boundary lines. This has happened in the past, and there is an expectation that it will happen in the future. In short, there is keen 'on the ground' rivalry.

Justin's *Dialogue* suggests that there were different levels of attachment to both communities. On the Jewish side there were proselytes whose status was often ambiguous; would-be proselytes, such as Trypho's companions; other Gentile sympathizers; some Jews who acknowledged Christ, but were not in full

fellowship with Gentile Christians; and some former Gentile Christians who had 'gone over' to Judaism.

On the Christian side there were two kinds of Jewish Christians, one acceptable to Justin, and one not. There were also Gentile Christians who seemed likely to 'go over' to the Jewish polity.

No doubt both sides hoped to consolidate the level of commitment of those on the 'fringes' of their communities. From a later period a tradition expresses what is likely to have been the case in Justin's 'school' as well as in synagogues: '. . . when the sage takes his seat to expound doctrine, many strangers become proselytes.' (CantR 1.15; cf 1.3 and 4.2)

Justin's *Dialogue* confirms that long after 'Christianity' had emerged as a religious entity quite distinct from Judaism, at 'grass roots' level there was considerable fluidity.[12] This is even more likely to have been the case in Matthew's day, even though it would be rash to suppose that this fluidity is reflected explicitly in the text itself.[13]

(ii) The crowds

One of the main pillars in Anthony Saldarini's case is his insistence that Matthew's harsh polemic against the various leaders of Israel should not lead us to suppose that Israel as a whole has been rejected, or even that the evangelist and his readers have parted company with their fellow-Jews. Saldarini suggests that 'Matthew meant the crowds to symbolize the Jewish community of his day, which he hoped to attract to his brand of Judaism.' (p. 38) 'The crowds seem to represent the people of Israel who must still be won away from their false leaders.' (p. 40)

I accept that Matthew's presentation of the crowds strongly suggests that the evangelist still hopes that individual Jews will be 'won over'. However, a 'one to one' correspondence between the crowds and the Jewish community of Matthew's day is too simplistic.[14]

Matthew's *initial* presentation of the crowds is subtle: it plays an important but usually overlooked role in his story. Matt. 4:14-16 alerts the reader to the fact that the coming of Jesus will fulfil Scripture (Isaiah 9:1-2) and be a light for

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12 For a fuller discussion, see my forthcoming paper, 'Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*: Group Boundaries, 'Proselytes', and 'God-Fearers'.

13 In a letter to me dated 6 October 1992, Sjef van Tilborg of Nijmegen makes a similar point, but without reference to Justin. 'If this plurality of communities is a historically correct supposition, one can imagine that the troubles with violent and opposing Jews are not the same at all places and at the same time. Matthew would then be an author who is aware of a very delicate situation . . . He knows that some group(s) have departed from synagogue(s), but that others remained connected to or at least in close contact with the synagogue(s) and the leaders. He is writing for readers in different situations who do not know exactly where they stand; whether they have separated; whether they have to go; whether they should stay notwithstanding the troubles they are confronted with etc. . . . What I want to say is that Matthew with his gospel gives the arguments to leave, but he does not reject the communities which did not (and/or do not) take that decision.'

14 Although Saldarini correctly stresses that the crowds are fundamentally friendly, but unreliable (37), their roles are even more diverse than he suggests. See especially Warren Carter, 'The Crowds in Matthew's Gospel', *CBQ* 55 (1993) 54-67.

Galilee of the Gentiles. The evangelist's summary of the teaching and healing ministry of Jesus in 4:23-25, which plays such an important part in the structure of the gospel, develops this point. Matthew notes that the fame of Jesus spread *throughout Syria*. Whether Matthew has in mind the whole Roman province of Syria (so U. Luz, *Matthäusevangelium*, I, p. 181 n. 16), or a narrower area 'perhaps extending approximately from Damascus to Antioch and on to the east' (so W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *Matthew*, I, p. 417), Gentiles as well as Jews are certainly in view.

4:25, which contains Matthew's first use of ὄχλοι, makes the same point. The large crowds which followed Jesus and which form part of the audience for the Sermon on the Mount, came from Galilee and the Decapolis, as well as Jerusalem and Judaea, and from the Transjordan area. Reference to 'Galilee' may recall 'Galilee of the Gentiles' at 4:15. This is made probable by Matthew's inclusion of the Decapolis in his list of places from which crowds came. Matthew's readers would certainly have known that the cities of the Decapolis were strongly Hellenistic in character. An important Greek inscription mentions a prefect of the Decapolis in Syria: i.e., at the time Matthew wrote, the Decapolis, endowed with a certain autonomy, was attached to the province of Syria.[15] Although Jews lived in Syria and the Decapolis, they were very much in the minority; both regions were known first and foremost as centres of Graeco-Roman culture.

In short, in his initial presentation of the crowds who play such an important role in his story, Matthew hints broadly that they include Gentiles.[16] This is all of a piece with the way the evangelist skilfully reminds his readers ever more insistently that ultimately the story of Jesus has implications for Gentiles as well as Jews. Matthew's crowds, then, do not 'represent the people of Israel who must still be won away from their false leaders.' (Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, p. 40)

Even if we were to grant this point, a sharp distinction between hostile Jewish leaders and 'ordinary' Jewish people open to the claims of followers of Jesus would not necessarily support the proposal that the evangelist and his communities are still within Judaism. Three or four generations later in Justin's day there is a yawning gap between Judaism and Christianity in spite of the blurred boundary lines to which I have referred above. Yet in the opening exchanges between Trypho and Justin in chapters 8 and 9 both claim that the other person has been led astray by false teachers. Trypho claims that Justin has been led astray (ἐξαπατηθῆναι) by false speeches, and has followed men of no account.[17] Justin retorts that Trypho has 'obeyed teachers who do not understand the Scriptures, and has prophesied falsely (ἀπομαντευόμενος), saying whatever comes into his mind' (9.1). Justin then insists that he wants to show Trypho that Christians have not been led astray (πεπλανήμεθα); the context suggests that false teachers are in mind.[18] Both single out false teachers as

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15 See Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, art. 'Decapolis', *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York et al.: Doubleday, 1992) II, 118.

16 Warren Carter, 'The Crowds', 65, makes the same point, but only in passing.

17 This is an allusion to Justin's earlier report of his encounter with a venerable old man through whom he is introduced to Christian claims.

18 These charges and counter-charges of 'false prophecy' and 'leading astray' have deep roots in early Christian-Jewish polemic and apologetic. See *A Gospel for a New People*, 237-42, and G. N.

responsible for the false stance taken by the other. Both hope that once the sway of the false teachers is shaken off, their rival will be able to change sides.

This is a major theme in the *Dialogue*. In numerous passages Justin tries to separate Trypho (and 'ordinary' Jews) from Jewish leaders who are hostile to Christian claims.[19] By blaming the leaders for the separation of the two communities, Justin and Trypho leave the door ajar for individuals to change sides: neither expects the other religious community to capitulate completely. I do not think that matters were very different in Matthew's day.

(iii) συναγωγή *and* ἐκκλησία

Scholars who have insisted that Matthew's gospel does reflect a parting of the ways with Judaism have often appealed to the evangelist's use of ἐκκλησία at 16:18 and 18:17. This term, they claim, is used in order to differentiate Matthean communities from local synagogues: over against the latter stands the ἐκκλησία founded by Jesus himself and promised divine protection (16:18). Saldarini has set the cat among the pigeons by insisting that it is significant that Matthew has no name for his group. (pp. 7, 27, 116) So what about Matthew's use of ἐκκλησία? Saldarini is well aware that this might be thought to be the Achilles' heel in his case, so he defends his position carefully. He accepts that Matthew probably used ἐκκλησία to denote his group in order to differentiate himself from his opponents in the Jewish community. (p. 119) Just as the Jewish leaders claimed to lead the assembly (συναγωγή) of Israel, so Matthew claimed to lead the assembly (ἐκκλησία) of Israel according to the teachings of Jesus. In other words, a general Christian concept of 'church' should not be read into Matthew's usage of ἐκκλησία. Matthew's group is a Jesus-centred form of Judaism. (pp. 119-20)

Now it is the case that many of the approximately 100 examples of ἐκκλησία in the LXX are synonymous with συναγωγή and that both terms often have a non-technical sense, 'assembly'. However we have no first century evidence that ἐκκλησία was ever applied to the Jewish community in a given place. Philo and Josephus refer to sabbath meetings of Jews to hear the scriptures read, but they do not use the term ἐκκλησία for such meetings.[20] On Saldarini's explanation, Matthew's use of ἐκκλησία to denote 'the assembly of Israel according to the teachings of Jesus' would be unique. While this is possible, it is surely much more likely that Matthew's use is dependent, whether directly or indirectly, on Pauline and other early Christian usage.[21]

Stanton, 'Jesus of Nazareth: a Magician and a False Prophet who Deceived God's People?' in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ*, eds. J. B. Green and M. M. B. Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 166-182.

19 See *Dialogue* 9.1; 36.2; 38.1-2; 43.5; 48.2; 62.2; 68.7; 71.1; 110.1; 112.4-5; 117.4; 120.5; 133.3; 134.1; 137.2; 140.2; 142.2.

20 See W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1983) 79-81 and esp. 222 n. 34. In addition to the literature cited by Meeks and Saldarini, see also George Johnston, *The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1943); the linguistic evidence is discussed fully in chap. III, 35-45.

21 Saldarini notes that ἐκκλησία 'is used most frequently of 'Christian' assemblies outside Israel and Syria. Only the author of Acts uses the term of mid first-century believers-in-Jesus in

On the other hand, we must not suppose that in Matthew's day *συναγωγή* stood for Judaism over against Christianity, *ἐκκλησία*. I am sure I have occasionally been guilty of that anachronism. I have already noted that the evidence of Justin's *Dialogue* warns us that in all probability boundary lines were blurred. Justin also reminds us that even three or four generations after Matthew, *συναγωγή* and *ἐκκλησία* had not yet become metonyms for Judaism and Christianity, two distinct religions opposed to one another.

There are only two passages in the *Dialogue* where *συναγωγή* and *ἐκκλησία* are juxtaposed, 63.5 and 134.3. Both passages are baffling until one realises that they must be read in the light of 53.4. *Dialogue* 53 contains Justin's exposition of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem in the light of Gen. 49:11 and Zech. 9:9; in the chapter as a whole Matthean phraseology and emphases are prominent. In 53:4 Justin insists to Trypho that the 'beast of burden and the ass's colt' referred to by Zechariah was a 'foretelling of those of your *συναγωγή* who should believe on him (Christ), and also of those who should come from the Gentiles.' Here *συναγωγή* is used in a neutral sense to refer to Jewish people, and not to Judaism as a hostile religion over against Christianity.

In 63.5 Justin claims that Psalm 45:6-11 refers to those who believe on Christ, 'as men of one soul and one *συναγωγή* and one *ἐκκλησία*. . . .' Once again *συναγωγή* means simply 'Jewish people'; *ἐκκλησία*, rather unusually, means 'Gentiles'. Justin is stressing the unity of believers in Christ: they include both Jews and Gentiles. Similarly *Dialogue* 134.3, where Justin is interpreting typologically the story of Jacob, Leah and Rachel: 'Now Leah is your people *καὶ ἡ συναγωγή*, but Rachel is our *ἐκκλησία*. And Christ still serves for these, and for his servants that are in both.' Once again Justin is using *συναγωγή* and *ἐκκλησία* to denote Jewish people on the one hand, and Gentiles on the other, from both of whom come believers in Christ.

Matthew's relationship to Judaism will be debated for a long time to come. Anthony Saldarini is making me think hard about many points, but I have to confess that I have not changed my mind. The sweep of Matthew's story persuades me that the evangelist wrote his gospel as a 'foundation document' for a cluster of Christian communities. Although 'on the ground', boundaries were sometimes blurred, the evangelist and most of the original recipients of the gospel saw themselves as a 'new people', over against both local synagogues and the Gentile world at large. The gospel contains a whole series of 'legitimating answers' for the 'new people'. It responds to polemic from the parent body which was directed at all the central moments in its own 'new' story: the virginal conception of Jesus (1:18-25), the teaching of Jesus concerning the law (5:17-48, especially 5:17), the exorcisms of Jesus (9:34; 10:25; 12:24, 27), his prophetic teaching (27:63), his resurrection (28:12-15).[22] And even more fully and

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Jerusalem and Antioch and his usage may be anachronistic.' (118) This point is undermined by Gal. 1:22.

22 See G. N. Stanton, 'Jesus of Nazareth: a Magician and a False Prophet who Deceived God's People?' (as in note 18 above), and 'Early Objections to the Resurrection of Jesus', in *Resurrection: Essays in Honour of J. L. Houlden*, eds. S. C. Barton and G. N. Stanton (London: SPCK, 1994).

prominently, the gospel defends vigorously the distinctive convictions and self-understanding of the 'new people'.

Matthew's ἐκκλησία has its own entrance rite, baptism in the triadic name (28:19). Matthew's account of the last supper (26:26-30) reflects liturgical usage and thus confirms that Matthew's ἐκκλησία had its own distinctive act of worship. Whereas the reading of torah and instruction in it were central in synagogues, in the ἐκκλησία the words of Jesus were very prominent. Matthean Christians are sent by the Risen Christ to make disciples of all nations by teaching them to keep all the 'commands' of Jesus. No doubt this was taken to include instruction in torah as interpreted by Jesus, but 28:20 strongly suggests that in community life, the commands of Jesus took precedence: they were the filter through which torah was viewed, not vice versa. The self-understanding of the ἐκκλησία is quite distinct from that of the synagogue.

III. Internal Affairs

Discussions of the social setting of Matthew's gospel have concentrated on the relationships of Matthew's communities to local synagogues and have often neglected internal affairs. The evangelist directs as much vigorous polemic at followers of Jesus as he does at the religious leaders. I shall sketch the terminology used to refer to groups of disciples. As we shall see, it is distinctive within earliest Christianity. But it is rarely noted that most of Matthew's terminology for groups of disciples did not survive. Why not? Most of Matthew's other emphases influenced second century Christianity strongly.

(i) Patterns of ministry

One strand in Matthew's story stands out more clearly than in the other gospels. For Matthean Christians the story of Jesus offered a model of discipleship and ministry. In numerous redactional passages Matthew emphasizes that the proclamation, healing actions, meekness, humility, and compassion of Jesus are all models for his disciples and, we may add, for his followers in later times. There is also a darker side to the lines of correspondence Matthew carefully draws between Jesus and his disciples. This is expressed in a number of passages, most notably and powerfully in the important redactional saying Matthew has added at 10:25b: 'If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household.' In the preceding verses the disciples have been warned that they are to expect rejection and persecution. Now they are told that they are to expect *even greater* abuse than that heaped upon Jesus himself, abuse which has already been referred to explicitly at 9:34.[23] Since the sayings in the second part of Matthew 10 refer so clearly to the post-Easter period,[24] 10:25 implies that the persecution of Christians in the evangelist's own day will include this form of abuse. In other words, the accusation that both Jesus and his followers are in league with the prince of

[23] For a full discussion of the threefold accusation that Jesus is in league with the prince of demons (Matt 9:34; 10:25; 12:24, 27), see *A Gospel for a New People*, 169-91.

[24] See U. Luz, 'Disciples', in ed. G. N. Stanton, *The Interpretation of Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1983) 98-128, especially 100.

demons is not a matter of past history; for Matthew and his readers it is a present experience. Even though Jesus is set apart as the Son of God, the Davidic Messiah, the Kyrios, his story is also the disciples' story.

These themes influenced later Christian thought very considerably. However, this was not the case with the terminology which is used in Matthew to refer to all the followers of Jesus, and to particular groups. The demise of this terminology is puzzling.

Of the terms used to refer to disciples of Jesus, οἱ μικροί is the most intriguing. The phrase first appears at 10:42, the climax of a set of three sayings of Jesus at the end of the Mission Discourse. The opening saying (10:40), which is a Matthean development of a Q logion, draws an exact parallel between the authority given to Jesus by God and the authority given to (all) the disciples by Jesus: 'whoever receives you receives me, and whoever receives me receives the One who sent me.' 10:41, which is probably the evangelist's own expansion of the preceding logion, refers to the rewards which will be given to those who welcome a prophet and a righteous person. 10:42 is Matthew's version of Mark 9:41; among the changes he makes is the introduction of the phrase οἱ μικροί to refer to the disciples.[25] From the immediate context (and from Matthew's use of the phrase at 18:6, 10, and 14; and his use of the superlative at 25:40 and 45) it is clear that οἱ μικροί is Matthew's characteristic way of referring to *all* disciples, not a special inner group.

The first reference to οἱ μικροί in the fourth discourse is striking. At 18:6 Mark 9:42 is expanded in order to state explicitly that οἱ μικροί believe *in Jesus*—the only time such a phrase is used in the synoptic traditions.[26] Here the evangelist uses a post-Easter confessional phrase—a broad hint that readers in the evangelist's own day are being addressed.

Who are the 'prophets' and the 'righteous', terms probably introduced in 10:41 by Matthew himself? The latter is the more difficult term, since it is not used elsewhere by the evangelist to refer to disciples. As we shall see in a moment, 'prophets' are a particular group within the Matthean communities. Hence it is likely that 'the righteous' are too; the parallel reference in 10:41 to a reward appropriate for 'a prophet' and for a 'righteous person' strongly suggests that this is the case. The verb δέχομαι (and the wider context) implies 'welcome with hospitality', so both the prophets and the righteous are probably itinerant followers of Jesus. But it is impossible to say more about the role of 'the righteous' with any confidence.[27]

There is rather more evidence for prophets within Matthean circles. Matthew's warnings against the activity of false prophets in 7:18-23 presuppose the activity of true prophets, an activity which is referred to at 5:12 (implicitly); 10:41 and 23:34. Matt 7:22 confirms that the false prophets prophesied, exorcised demons, and performed healing miracles. Matthew does not indulge

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25 Matthew takes the phrase from Mark 9:42, the only place in Mark where it is used metaphorically of the disciples. As in many other passages, Matthew takes over a phrase from Mark and uses it himself several times in key passages. See *A Gospel for a New People*, 326-45.

26 A number of MSS do have 'believe in me' at Mark 9:42, but I take this reading to be a harmonisation of the Matthean tradition.

27 U. Luz speculates that at the pre-Matthean stage they may have been a special group of devout disciples, perhaps wandering ascetics who were not prophets.

in polemic against these activities: prophets are rejected only when they fail to 'do the will of the heavenly Father'.

One further special group of disciples is referred to. At 23:34 the scribes and Pharisees are told that they will reject and persecute 'the (Christian) prophets and wise men and scribes' who will be sent to them. The 'wise men' and 'the scribes' are almost certainly the same group.[28] Matt 13:52 also alludes to a Christian scribe: this person has been 'discipled' for the kingdom of heaven. I am now inclined to accept the traditional view that this is the evangelist's own self-portrait at the centre-point of his gospel—it is like an artist's signature in a corner of her or his painting.

Christian scribal activity is implied by the references to 'binding and loosing' at 16:19 and 18:18. In Jewish communities one of the scribe's tasks was to pronounce on the interpretation of the law, i.e., what is still binding and what is not. So too within Matthean Christian communities: God's will (as expressed particularly in the sayings of Jesus) had to be discerned. In Matt 16:19 and 18:18, however, authority to do this is given to Peter and to the whole community, not to one particular group.

Within Matthean communities special ministries were exercised by three groups: prophets, the righteous, and 'wise men and scribes'. No doubt these groups were not mutually exclusive: some prophets may also have been scribes. As Eduard Schweizer has noted, 'there is not the slightest indication of a specially emphasized ministry to which certain things are reserved that not every community member can do.'[29] In making that comment Schweizer was referring to chap. 18, the 'church order' discourse. In my view his comments are a fair summary of the very limited evidence Matthew's gospel as a whole gives us concerning ministry.

In none of the passages referred to is there a suggestion that these groups enjoyed a particular status or used titles of honour. This observation is confirmed by Matt 23:8-12: in contrast to synagogue communities, followers of Jesus are not to be concerned with status or titles of honour. 'The greatest among you must be your servant' (23:11).

However it would be rash to conclude from these passages that Matthew's communities were egalitarian, without any structures at all. Down through the centuries Christian groups have criticized other Christians for their alleged failure to put Matt 23:8-12 into practice, but in fact within their own circles the critics themselves have often had strongly hierarchical patterns of leadership.[30] Autocratic leaders have often claimed to be the servant of the whole community!

In the early decades of the second century the term οἱ μικροί seems to have survived only in the circles in which the Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Peter and 5 Ezra were written.[31] There are a number of references to Christian prophets in

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28 See the fine study by D. E. Orton, *The Understanding Scribe* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988).

29 'Matthew's Church' in *The Interpretation of Matthew*, 140.

30 I am grateful to my colleague Dr. Francis Watson for reminding me of this. My colleagues Professor Leslie Houlden and Dr. Judith Lieu and members of our New Testament research seminar at King's College London made a number of helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

31 For details, see *A Gospel for a New People*, 256-77.

this period, but Christian 'righteous' and 'wise men and scribes' seem to have disappeared.

Within a generation or so Matthew's gospel was used by the compiler of the *Didache*. In several respects the ethos of the *Didache* echoes that of Matthew's gospel, but it contains an almost completely different set of terms for Christian groups and leaders.

The references in *Didache* 11–13 to itinerant teachers, apostles, and prophets are intriguing. Are we to assume that these three groups were quite distinct? Or are we to assume that while all true apostles were prophets (as is implied in 11:4-5), the reverse was not the case? Were all prophets also teachers, as 13:2 implies?

Apostles appear only in 11:3-6. This passage refers briefly to their welcome, permitted short stay in the community, and their departure, but nothing is said about their role in local community life. There is no suggestion (except in the later title of the *Didache*) that the apostles were identical with the twelve disciples of Jesus. If, as in Paul's day, apostles were primarily missionaries who established communities and then moved on to evangelise other areas, this would account for the failure of *Didache* 13–15 to say anything about their role in community life. Or perhaps by the time of the final compilation of the *Didache* the apostles' hey-day was over.

In the *Didache* prophets are discussed much more fully than apostles and teachers. They can exercise freedom in leading worship (10:7). The marks of true and false prophets are set out at some length (11:7-12). Prophets are 'your high priests' (13:2) and are to be supported when they decide to settle in the community (13:1-7).

Didache 15.1 refers to the choice of 'bishops and deacons', who, apparently, are not itinerant. The same phrase is used in Phil 1:1, but not otherwise in the New Testament. The community addressed by the *Didache* is encouraged strongly to be even-handed in its treatment of itinerant teachers, apostles, and prophets on the one hand, and its own 'settled' bishops and deacons: both groups are to be given the same respect, for their ministry is similar. This may suggest that the choice of local 'settled' bishops and deacons is a recent innovation, perhaps to counter the influence of wandering charismatic prophets.

The *Didache* assumes that a Christian community may have several bishops who share leadership with teachers, apostles, prophets, and deacons; there is no trace here of the single pre-eminent bishop whose importance is stressed strongly by Ignatius in about AD 100.

The disappearance of Matthew's terminology and the use of a largely different set of terms in the *Didache* is baffling. The different genre of Matthew and the *Didache* provides part of the answer. Unlike the compiler of the *Didache*, Matthew has written a gospel: his primary purpose is to set out the story and significance of Jesus for his readers, not to give a full account of ministry within the communities to which he is writing. We are given no more than a few hints concerning the self-understanding of Matthean communities and the terminology used to refer to groups of disciples.

(ii) ἀνομία

In numerous passages erring or unfaithful disciples are roundly condemned. For example, in 7:19 disciples are warned that those who do not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire. In the pericope which follows

judgement is pronounced on those whose deeds are evil (7:23). In the explanation of the parables of the weeds (13:36-43), a passage in which the evangelist's own hand is clearly evident, unfaithful disciples are in view: the 'sons of the evil one' are evildoers who will be thrown into the furnace of fire at the close of the age. In 24:51 the evangelist makes a redactional change to the Q tradition he is using and stresses that unfaithful disciples will share judgement with 'the hypocrites', i.e., with the scribes and Pharisees on whom judgement is pronounced in chapter 23. In short, Matthew is as ferocious in his denunciation of his fellow-disciples as he is of the Jewish religious leaders.

Is it possible to say more about the 'heretical' views of some members of Matthew's communities? Many Matthean specialists have accepted Gerhard Barth's view that the evangelist is 'fighting on two fronts', i.e., that he is opposing both the leaders of contemporary Judaism and antinomian heretics in his own communities.[32] Barth claims that Matthew's emphasis on the abiding validity of the law in 5:17-19; 7:15-20; and 24:11-13 is directed at antinomian opponents who can best be described as Hellenistic libertines; they are the false prophets of 7:15 and 24:11.

While Matthew clearly levels harsh criticisms at disciples—and by implication at his readers, I am not persuaded that he is attacking one particular 'heretical' group. In his composite picture of the opponents Barth appeals to several passages and themes. Matthew uses ἀνομία three times to refer to disciples (7:23; 13:41; 24:12). These are general references to disobedience to the 'will of the Father' and are not to be limited to antinomians. Matthew's warnings about false prophecy do not go beyond the similarly indefinite comments about heresy which we find in passages such as 1 Tim 6:3-5; Titus 1:16 and *Didache* 11:1-8.[33]

The points I made above concerning genre and geography make this view even more plausible. Since Matthew is writing a gospel, not a letter, we should not expect an explicit repudiation of a particular false view. And since he is writing to a cluster of communities, with at least some of which he may not have had a close relationship, he is much more likely to be making general points about erring followers of Jesus than to be attacking a 'heresy'.

I have argued that we should take the genre of Matthew seriously and be wary of attempts to link the gospel to a precise set of social, historical or religious circumstances. We do not know as much about Matthew's communities as we would like, but we know enough about the evangelist's purposes and the 'horizons of expectation' of the initial recipients to enable us to read the text sensitively.

The point at which any text ends is crucial. Matthew's gospel is no exception—nor is this paper. In Matthew's final sentence, the disciples are told to go from the mountain in Galilee where they had met Jesus, and make disciples of all nations. How are they to do this? By baptizing in the triadic name, and by

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32 G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (E.tr. London: SCM, 1963) 62-76; 159-64.

33 See G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit* FRLANT 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962) 137 n.4. See also J. E. Davison, 'Anomia and the Question of an Antinomian Polemic in Matthew', *JBL* 104 (1985) 617-35.

teaching people to observe all the commands Jesus had given them. The commands of Jesus are set out fully in Matthew's *βίος* of Jesus, which he refers to as 'this gospel' in 24:14 and 26:13 (cf. also 13:19). So for Matthew's communities, the text of this gospel is to be central in their 'discipling of the nations': text and context are linked inextricably.

The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*

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Introduction

At first glance, the question of the dependence or independence of the *Acts of Paul* (*APl*) on the NT in general, and on the Acts of the Apostles in particular, would appear to be settled easily in favor of dependence. Nearly thirty-five times the reader of the standard ET of Wilhelm Schneemelcher's translation is advised to compare ("cf.") a passage or passages in Acts alone.[1] But in recent years the easy assumption of the knowledge and use of NT books by authors of early Christian apocrypha has been challenged, perhaps no more vigorously than in the case of the *APl*.

In his introduction to the translation, Schneemelcher summarizes the relation between the *APl* and the NT Acts in modern discussion. Having surveyed a number of approaches, he makes what appears to be a paradoxical claim: on the one hand, "knowledge of Acts is probably to be assumed in a Church 'novel' writer at the end of the 2nd century"; on the other, "the literary genus, the aims in view, and the completely different situation tell in favour of literary independence." Thus "knowledge of Acts and independent shaping of the *APl* are not mutually exclusive": the author knew the Lukan work, but was not influenced by it in composing this fresh account of Paul's travels, deeds, and martyrdom.[2]

In this judgment Schneemelcher occupies the middle ground between Carl Schmidt and Willy Rordorf:

> After the discovery of PHeid [=the Coptic Heidelberg papyrus] C. Schmidt expressed himself forcefully in favour of the dependence of the *APl* upon Acts, then after the appearance of PH [=the Greek Hamburg papyrus] somewhat modified this opinion, but still

[1] Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Paul," in idem, ed., R. McL. Wilson, trans. ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2: *Writings Relating to the Apostles: Apocalypses and Related Subjects* (rev. ed.; Cambridge: Clark; Louisville: Westminster/Knox, 1992) 237-65. All quotations of the *APl* are from Schneemelcher; biblical quotations are from the RSV.

[2] Ibid., 233. For the evidence and argument behind this summary, see Schneemelcher, "Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas und die Acta Pauli," in Walther Eltester, ed., *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964) 236-50; repr. in Schneemelcher, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik* (Analekta Vlatadon 22; Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1974) 204-22 (quotations from the repr. ed.).

> maintained it, despite the arguments of W. Schubart, the co-editor of PH. . . . W. Rordorf . . . affirms that the author of the *APl* did not know Acts. The few parallels which might perhaps be adduced for such knowledge are to be explained on the basis that behind both writings there stands a common tradition.[3]

To these three hypotheses—dependence (Schmidt), awareness but no conscious employment (Schneemelcher), and ignorance (Rordorf)—others could be added: that the author of the *APl* was familiar with Acts as a matter of liturgical habit (Acts was read or heard in the annual cycle of lectionary readings), and so was simply imbued with its language; that he or she was acquainted with Acts as a scribe familiar with documents regularly heard or copied; that a later editor harmonized the *APl* with Luke's Acts—a deliberate 'biblicizing' of the text by assimilation or addition.

My contention is that *whatever intertextual model* is adopted, in light of a good handful of strong examples it is almost beyond reasonable doubt that *the text of Acts is present in the APl.* Hence the principal task here will be that of data collection, assessment, and brief commentary. The essential context for this enquiry is the broader question: Which actual words from the NT *apart from Acts* appear in the *APl*? Only in light of this evidence can any specific sense be attached to such terms as "dependence" and "independence" used of the *APl* and canonical Acts. More importantly, only when we have observed the *characteristic* use of scripture in the *APl* will the examples of alleged dependence on Acts have appropriate analogies from which worthwhile conclusions can be drawn.

In Part I, I shall briefly review some issues of format, method, and procedure; in Part II, I shall give a representative selection of passages from the *APl* together with their alleged counterparts in the NT gospels and epistles; and in Part III, I shall present a sample of the alleged citations of or allusions to Acts. A brief Summary and Conclusions will suggest some implications of

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[3] Schneemelcher, "Acts of Paul," 232. See Schmidt, ed. and trans., *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965) (=*AP*), esp. pp. 198-217; idem and Wilhelm Schubart, eds., *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek 2; Glückstadt/Hamburg: Augustin, 1936) (=*ΠΠ*), esp. pp. 108-12 (Schubart's reservations appear in pp. 109-11); and Rordorf, "In welchem Verhältnis stehen die apokryphen Paulusakten zur kanonischen Apostelgeschichte und zu den Pastoralbriefen?" in T. Baarda, ed., *Text and Testimony: Essays on the New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honor of A. F. J. Klijn* (Kampen: Kok, 1988) 225-41; repr. in Rordorf, *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 60. Geburtstag* (Paradosis 36; Freiburg: Freiburg Universitätsverlag, 1993) 449-65 (quotations from the repr. ed.). See also Rordorf, "Terra Incognita: Recent Research on Christian Apocryphal Literature," *StPatr* 25 (1993) 142-58; repr. in idem, *Lex Orandi*, 432-48. Rordorf is quite explicit: "The *Acts of Paul*, I am convinced, were written without any acquaintance with the canonical Book of Acts" (p. 433).

In the analogous case of the *APl* and the Pastoral Epistles, Dennis Ronald MacDonald has outlined three models for understanding the relationship: first, that "the author of the *Acts of Paul* knew and used the Pastorals"; second, that "the author of the Pastorals used a written source behind the *Acts of Paul*"; third, that "the authors knew the same oral legends" (*The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983] 62-66).

the findings. Finally, an Appendix offers a fuller listing of alleged quotations or allusions.

I. Format, Method, Procedure

(1) *Format of citations.* It has been the fate of apocryphal writings to lack verse numbers; we await a latter-day Stephanus to take up the task of supplying them. In order to facilitate precise location, for every reference to the *APl* I have added a 'sentence number' in angle brackets, e.g., 3.23 <3>. Where a particular section of the *APl* is in several fragments, these are identified alphabetically, before the sentence numbers, e.g., 10 <B.9>.

(2) *Date.* Thanks to the testimony of Tertullian (*De bapt.* 17) and Origen (*De princ.* 1.2.3; *Comm. in Joh.* 20.12) there is a general consensus that the *APl* was composed before 200 CE.[4] This dating is significant since, according to Ernst Haenchen, "the first decisive reference" to Luke's Acts is in Justin *1 Apol.* 1.50.12, i.e., some time in the 150s; its use by Irenaeus is likewise certain: Acts is "copiously quoted" by him.[5] General knowledge of Acts may therefore be reckoned likely by the beginning of the third century. This, of course, does not in itself prove that the author of the *APl* knew it;[6] nevertheless, it is obvious that the earlier Luke's Acts was disseminated, and the later the *APl* composed, the greater the likelihood that the latter knew the former. The question is rather whether the evidence for the use of Acts is consistent with the evidence for the use of the rest of the NT.

(3) *Devotional language.* Schneemelcher remarks that in the *APl* "there are many passage which in vocabulary recall the language of the NT, without being direct quotations":

> Only in the beatitudes in AThe [=*APl* 3] 5f. are there two sentences which agree word for word with [NT verses, i.e.,] Mt. 5:8 and 5:9. This means that the author of the *APl* was at home in a community in which a churchly devotional terminology was familiar. This took shape in the course of the 2nd century—not least under the influence of the NT Canon and the liturgy. We find the beginnings of it already in Acts. Now this is of significance for the question of the use of the NT by the *APl*, because *we cannot prove with certainty the use of particular passages*; often it is rather only a question of *the use of the current devotional language.*[7]

It is true, of course, that the certainty Schneemelcher speaks of is unobtainable. But the alternative offered, that the *APl* merely reflects "current devotional language," does not account for many possible citations or

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4 J. K. Elliott sounds a note of caution here: the late second-century date is "confirmed" only if Tertullian was referring to our *APl* (*The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1993] 357).

5 Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 8-9.

6 Whether or not the Lukan Acts had canonical status for the author of the *APl* is not the principal question here, despite the frequent debate of it.

7 "Acts of Paul," 233 (emphasis added).

allusions. Several of the closest parallels between the *APl* and the NT gospels and Acts cannot be dismissed as free-floating liturgical or devotional formulas, since both in the NT and in the *APl* they are *context-bound*: as speech or as report they derive from narrative and require narrative for their continued life. They are textual fragments of quite specific shape and origin, now pressed into service in this new narrative setting.

(4) *The NT Text.* When comparing parts of the *APl* with the NT, often it is not sufficient to present the text of the *APl* alongside our UBS 3d and NA 26th editions of the Greek NT. A good case of this is in *APl* 11.5 <8> (cf. Matt 9:8; see below), where the *APl* is more closely related to the Majority text than to our standard, late twentieth-century critical text.

(5) *Integrity.* The *APl* is a serial work, several parts of which (e.g., the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* [=*APl* 3]; *3 Corinthians*, in *APl* 8; the *Martyrdom* [=*APl* 11]) are known to have had independent existence. For the purpose of this investigation I shall exclude *3 Corinthians* from the discussion, and hence accept the summary statement of Schneemelcher: "the *APl* in their present form (apart from 3 Cor) are linguistically the work of one author."[8]

(6) *Names and places.* Many of the names and places mentioned in the *APl* are familiar from the NT Acts or Pastoral Epistles. A full investigation of them, however, would take us far beyond the scope of this study, since only in rare instances do they appear in whole phrases that might suggest dependence on the canonical text. Nevertheless, it is worth repeating here what is well known, that in the *APl* the *characterization* of such actors as Demas, Hermogenes, Onesiphorus and Titus is consistent with their portrayal the NT.

(7) *The Acts of Peter.* If, as many scholars still maintain, the *APl* are dependent on the *APt*, this could complicate the matter of the use of scripture in the *APl*. Fortunately, agreement between these two Acts rarely involves a possible quotation of scripture, and in only one case to be reviewed below (7 <B.11>, on Acts 4:12) does the issue raise serious questions.

(8) *Resources.* For each passage I have consulted, as appropriate, the following: (a) the standard lexicons (BAGD; LSJ; *LPGL*; MM); (b) the corpus of texts in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (=*TLG*) (1987 and 1992); (c) standard commentaries; and (d) volumes 1 and 2 of the *Biblia Patristica* (=*BP*; for the *APl*, *BP* depends on the editions of Schmidt and Vouaux). Since my concern is with strict verbal agreement, I have only rarely quoted Latin sources as probative. I recognize that reference works are only as reliable as the texts, the editions, and the editors on whose work they draw. Nevertheless, their combined witness allows some measure of confidence in determining, for example, whether a certain phrase had wide currency in the hellenistic era,

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8 "Acts of Paul," 233. See Schmidt, *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ*, 119-27 ("Integrität des Textes"). There are numerous distinctive features of vocabulary and style that are found in several sections of the *APl*, e.g., (a) the litotes *οὐ μικρῶς*, found in the Greek Bible only at 2 Macc 14:8 (and, indeed, not common in hellenistic Greek as a whole), in 3.13 <4>; 3.16 <4>; 7 <B.15>; 7 <C.10>; 7 <D.13>; 10 <A.7>; (b) the correlatives *ἅμα μέν . . . ἅμα δέ*, absent from the Greek Bible, in 3.10 <1>; 3.27 <1>; 3.29 <1>; 4 <E.2>; (c) the verb *μειδᾶν* (to smile), in the Greek Bible only at Sir 21:20, in 3.4 <1>; 7 <B.20>; 7 <C.2>; (d) reference to "great joy," in 3.5 <1>; 3.25 <1>; 11.1 <3>; Coptic Appendix (Kasser). Note also (e) the consistent use of the same devotional or liturgical terminology (e.g., "word of truth"; "living God").

and whether a certain NT verse or passage was commonly quoted or alluded to in the early period.

(9) *Assessment.* Space precludes full discussion of every passage quoted. Therefore I have adopted a system of classification familiar from the textual apparatus to the UBS Greek NT, i.e., the letters A, B, C, D. The decision to employ them, however, is inspired by their use in the pioneering but neglected study, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, published at the turn of the century.[9] Their interpretation, adapted from the categories developed by the Committee responsible for that work in connection with whole books rather than specific passages, is as follows:

A Those passages about which there can be little reasonable doubt of dependence. The *grounds* for such a judgment will of course differ from case to case;
B Those passages the use of which reaches a high degree of probability;
C A lower degree of probability;
D Passages which may possibly be referred to, but for which the evidence is too uncertain to allow any reliance.

Representative examples are presented from each category. The Appendix should also be consulted, though I admit at once that this listing of references cannot be expected to 'speak for itself.'

(10) *Burden of proof.* Clearly the argument, if so it may be called, is cumulative.[10] Equally clearly, what amounts to proof will often be a matter of individual taste. But if in one context the *APl* appear to show knowledge of, say, the gospel of Matthew, this judgment cannot be forgotten when another, perhaps less immediately persuasive, instance arises of the possible use of Matthew. By listing the examples from D to A, rather than vice versa, I hope to give some indication of the criteria of discrimination where detailed discussion is lacking. Presumably no one will doubt that the author of the *APl* was familiar with some parts of our NT. Considerations of genre and purpose—"the literary genus, the aims in view, and the completely different situation," in Schneemelcher's words already quoted—by which the use of the NT might have been excluded by accident or design, are of course important; but just as fundamental are the *words.*

In this respect the studies of Schneemelcher and Rordorf supply surprisingly few actual examples. The former discusses only nine phrases in Acts, most of which will readily be granted as part of the common stock of contemporary Christian language.[11] Similarly, while Rordorf may claim to have shown that the *APl* does not depend on Acts for the main lines of its narrative, in only three cases does he actually compare portions of the Greek text of each.[12] The demonstration that the cycle of stories in the *APl* does not

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9 A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905).

10 Not, of course, that a series of D texts amount to an A, but that several convincing B or A texts provide mutually supporting evidence.

11 Schneemelcher, "Die Apostelgeschichte," 212-14.

12 Rordorf, "In welchem Verhältnis?" 229-35.

owe its origin to Acts is indeed a significant achievement—more significant, no doubt, than the issue pursued here. But the question persists: whence the vocabulary and phraseology with which the author chose to commit these stories to writing?

II. Gospels and Epistles

D

(1) ***APl* 3.1 <2>** **D**

[Paul speaks to Demas and Hermogenes of] the birth and resurrection *of the Beloved* (τοῦ ἠγαπημένου).

Eph 1:6

. . . to the praise of his glorious grace which he freely bestowed on us *in the Beloved* (ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ).

Eph 1:6 is the only NT occurrence of "the Beloved" used absolutely as a title for Christ; but cf. *Asc. Isa.* 1.4, 5 and passim; *Odes Sol.* 3.5; 8.21; *Barn.* 3.6 ("his Beloved"); 4:3 (id.), 8 ("Jesus the Beloved"); *1 Clem.* 59.2 ("his beloved child Jesus Christ"); *Herm. Sim.* 9.12.5 ("his Son, who was beloved by him").

(2) ***APl* 3.4 <4>** **D**

And Onesiphorus said [to Demas and Hermogenes]: "I do not see in you any *fruit of righteousness* (καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης)."

Cf. Phil 1:11 (identical phrase); Heb 12:11 "the peaceful fruit of righteousness"; Jas 3:18; also LXX Prov 3:9; 11:30; 13:2; Amos 6:2 (id.); Hos 10:12.

(3) ***APl* 3.14 <2> (PHeid; the Greek differs)** **D**

[Demas and Hermogenes protest: they know that] "we are risen again in that we have come to know *the true God.*"

Cf., e.g., Rom 3:4; 1 Thess 1:9; also John 3:33; 17:3.

(4) ***APl* 3.17 <2>** **D**

[Paul speaks before Castellius, and refers to] "*the living God*, the God of vengeance . . . ."

Also in 3.37 <3>; 4 <A.3>; 7 <B.12>; 10 <A.22>; 11.4 <6, 9>; 11.5 <2>. In the NT, cf. Rom 9:26; also Matt 16:16; 26:63; John 6:69; Acts 14:15; et al. Note especially the traditional contrast (e.g., in 1 Thess 1:9; Acts 14:15; 1 John 5:20-21) between "idols" and "the true God" (as in 7 <B.12>).

(5) *APl* 3.24 <3> **D**

[In thanks for Thecla's escape, Paul praises God,] "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)."

For similar language see 3.24 <1> "Father of Christ" (also 4 <D.5>; 7 <B.12>; 9 <A.11>); 3.24 <2> "Father of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ"; 4 <D.1> "God, <the Father> of his Son Jesus Christ."

It is tempting to attribute this epithet to the influence of 2 Cor 1:3 or Eph 1:3, the only verbatim exemplars of the expression in the NT; but cf. 2 Cor 11:31 "The God and Father of the Lord Jesus (ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ), he who is blessed for ever, knows that I do not lie."

(6) 3.26 <4> **D**

[Thecla declares herself] "the handmaid (δούλη) of God."

See also 3.37 <2>; 3.38 <4>. Cf. Luke 1:38, 48; and *LPGL*, *s.v.* δούλη (p. 384b) "of Christian women as servants of God."

(7) *APl* 4 <D.6> **D**

[Paul names himself] "servant (δοῦλος) of God."

See also 3.4 <1>; 9 <B.2>. Cf. the Pauline letters, passim; *1 Clem.* 20.1; *Herm. Mand.* 12.1.2; *Sim.* 9.15.3. As with Thecla in 3.26 <4>, this self-designation is hardly to be assigned a specific biblical reference, despite significant NT precedents.

(8) *APl* 10 <A.16> **D**

[Paul, newly arrived in Rome,] taught *the word of truth.*

Also in 11.1 <2>. Cf. Eph 1:13; Col 1:5; 2 Tim 2:15; Jas 1:18.

(9) *APl* 10 <A.25> **D**

[Paul teaches that] "God for our sakes has sent down a spirit of power into the flesh, . . ., *according to the prophetic word* (κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον)."

2 Pet 1:19

And we have *the prophetic word* (τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον) made more sure.

There is nothing comparable in the NT, and *BP* 1 cites only *APl* 10 <A.25> for 2 Pet 1:19; but see also *2 Clem.* 11.2 (ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος) and Justin *Dial.* 56.6 (id.); also Philo *De plant.* 117.

(10) *API* 11.2 <7> D

[Patroclus identifies his reviver as] "Christ Jesus, *the king of the ages* (*ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων*)."

1 Tim 1:17

To the King of ages (*τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων*), immortal, invisible, the only God, ...

Also in 11.2 <12>. There is a variant reading in Rev 15:3, where for "the king of the nations" (=Jer 10:7) some witnesses read "king of the ages," as in 1 Tim 1:17 but perhaps under the influence of *1 Enoch* 9.4 (see Greek Syncellus frag.). The phrase also occurs in Tob 13:6, 10; *1 Clem.* 61.2.

C

(11) *API* 3.23 <3> C

Onesiphorus had left the things of the world (*τὰ τοῦ κόσμου*).

Cf. 1 Cor 7:33, 34, the only NT occurrences of the phrase. According to *BP* 1, these verses are cited or quoted only by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian among writers of the early period; in other words, the Pauline phrase seems not to have gained wide currency.

(12) *API* 3.25 <3> C

[Thecla declares to Paul:] "*I will* cut my hair short and *follow thee wherever thou goest* (*ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου δὰν πορεύῃ*)."

Matt 8:19 (//Luke 9:57)

And a scribe came up and said to him, "Teacher, *I will follow you wherever you go* (*ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ*)."

Two small differences separate the second clause of Thecla's speech from the phrase in Matt 8:19//Luke 9:57: *δᾶν* in place of *ἐὰν*, and *πορεύῃ* in place of *ἀπέρχῃ*; the latter difference likely results from the influence of Onesiphorus's recent question to Thecla: "Thecla, *where art thou going* (*ποῦ πορεύῃ*)?" (3.25 <5>).

(13) *API 10 <B.9>* (PHeid only) C

[Jesus is speaking to Peter:] "You <will pray for the works> which I myself will < . . . >. But the other works <I> will do at once. For these I do . . . *that they may believe in him who sent me.*"

John 6:29

"This is the work of God, that you may believe in him who sent me."

Cf. John 11:42 "that they may believe that thou didst send me."

(14) ***APl* 11.1 <6>** **C**

> [Patroclus falls from a window and dies.] But Paul, *perceiving it in the spirit* (συνιδὼν τῷ πνεύματι), said: "Brethren, the evil one has gained an opportunity to tempt you."

Mark 2:8

> And immediately Jesus, *perceiving in his spirit* (ἐπιγνοὺς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ), that they [the scribes] thus questioned within themselves, ...

The gospels often portray Jesus as reading others' minds; but even in the Synoptic parallels to Mark 2:8 nothing like this compact phrase found. Only the change of verb prevents us from speaking of quotation or allusion; and note that some witnesses omit αὐτοῦ in Mark 2:8. For further use of the Synoptic story of the healing of the paralytic, see below on *APl* 11.1 <4> and 11.5 <8>.

B

(15) ***APl* 2 <*B.1*> (PHeid only)** **B**

> "And I <also believe>, my <brethren>, <that> there is no other God save <Jesus> *Christ, the son <of the> Blessed.*"

Mark 14:61

> Again the High Priest asked him, "Are you the *Christ, the Son of the Blessed?*"

This is the only NT occurrence of the phrase "Son of the Blessed" (the Synoptic parallels differ), and there will be further evidence that the author of the *APl* knew Mark. This is also the only NT instance of εὐλογητός used in this sort of combination, i.e., in connection with one other than God (see Luke 1:68; Rom 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor 1:3; 11:31; Eph 1:3; 1 Pet 1:3). Of the four references offered by *BP* 1 and 2 for Mark 14:61 (Justin *Dial.* 103.9; *Barn.* 7.9; *Mart. Pol.* 8.2; Clement of Alexandria *Hyp.*), none involves this christological title. In other words, there is insufficient literary evidence to suggest that this title had any wide currency in the late second century.

(16) *APl* 3.2 <3> **B**

[Before Paul arrived Iconium, Onesiphorus] "had not seen him in the flesh, but only in the spirit (*οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν αὐτὸν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ μόνον πνεύματι*)."

Gal 1:22-23

And I was still not known by sight to the churches of Christ in Judea; they only (*μόνον*) heard it said, 'He who once persecuted us . . . .'"

1 Cor 5:3

For though absent in body I am present in spirit (*τῷ πνεύματι*).

Though there is virtually no shared vocabulary between either of the NT passages and *APl*, the reader cannot escape the impression that the author of the *APl* is reproducing the sense of Gal 1:22-23 (and possibly 1 Cor 5:3; cf. also Col 2:1, 5).

(17) *APl* 3.7 <2> **B**

[Thecla wishes to stand in Paul's presence,] for she had not yet seen Paul in person, but only (*μόνον*) heard his word.

See above on 3.2 <3>.

(18) *APl* 3.16 <1> **B**

[Thamyris cries out to Castellius:] "Proconsul, *this man* [Paul]—*we know not whence he is* (*ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐκ οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἐστί*)— . . . ."

John 9:29

"but as for *this man, we do not know where he comes from* (*τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν*)."

See also 3.12 <1> "Who this man is, we do not know." Cf. John 7:27, 28; 8:14.

(19) *APl* 3.23 <3> **B**

[Paul is fasting, with Onesiphorus and others; after "many days" the group is hungry, for] they had nothing with which to buy bread (*οὐκ εἶχον πόθεν ἀγοράσωσιν ἄρτους*).

John 6:5

Jesus said to Philip, "How are we to buy bread (*πόθεν ἀγοράσωμεν ἄρτους*), so that these people may eat?"

The whole scene is of course reminiscent of the canonical stories of miraculous feedings (see 3.25 <2> "But they had five loaves, and vegetables,

. . .”). But the wording in the *APl* particularly recalls a phrase from the feeding of the 5,000 in John 6:5; indeed, the unanimous reading of *APl* 3.23 <3> exactly replicates the three-word phrase from John 6:5 in P75^{vid}: *πόθεν ἀγοράσωσιν ἄρτους*. John's direct question, it appears, has become an indirect question in the *APl*. None of the Synoptic parallels (Matt 14:15; Mark 6:36; Luke 9:12) has the interrogative *πόθεν*, and none has a form both of *ἀγοράζειν* and of *ἄρτος* in this precise context (*πόθεν* is found in the second Markan feeding [8:4]). *TLG* reports no pre-Christian occurrence of *πόθεν* and *ἀγορα-* in close combination, and the three post-NT occurrences (in Amphilocius, Basil, and John Chrysostom) are quotations of or allusions to John 6:5.

(20) ***APl* 7 <A.4>** **B**

[Paul is addressing the governor:] “Now, since the Lord wishes us to live in God . . ., <and not> die in sins (*<καὶ μὴ> ἀποθανεῖν ἐν ἁμαρτίαις*), ...

John 8:24

“I told you that you would die in your sins (*ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν*), for you will die in your sins.”

See also John 8:21; these two Johannine verses are the only NT occurrences of *ἁμαρτία* with *ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν*; indeed, even the simpler combination of the verb with *ἐν* is found elsewhere only in Matt 8:32; 1 Cor 15:22; Heb 11:37; and Rev 14:13.

(21) ***APl 10 <B.4>* (PHeid only)** **B**

“For truly <I say> to you: If you say to <this mountain>, Be thou removed and cast <into the sea>, and are not doubtful <in your heart>, it will come to pass for you.”

Mark 11:23

“[v.l. For] truly (*ἀμὴν* [v.l. + *γάρ* A C L *M* etc.]), I say to you, whoever says to this mountain, ‘Be taken up and cast into the sea,’ and does not doubt in his heart, but believes that what he says will come to pass, it will be done for him.”

That the *APl* 10 is dependent on the Markan form of this saying is rendered probable by the following: (a) the Lukan form (Luke 17:6) may be ruled out because of its different vocabulary and lack of the “Truly” formula; (b) Matt 21:21 includes a reference back to the withering of the fig tree; and (c) the element of doubting is in the same location in Mark 11:23 and *APl* 10. The switch in person, from second to third, is due to the new context.

A different version of the same saying is found in *APt* 10 (where Peter, not Jesus, is speaking): “If you have faith like a grain of mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain, Remove yourself, and at once it will remove” (cf. Matt 17:20b).

(22) *APl* 11.1 <4> **B**

and being unable because of the crowd to go in to Paul (καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος διὰ τὸν ὄχλον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον), [Patroclus] sat at a high window.

Mark 2:4

And when they [those carrying a paralytic] *could not get near him because of the crowd* (καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσενέγκαι [v.ll. προσεγγίσαι P84^{vid} et al.; προσελθεῖν W it? sa^{ms}] διὰ τὸν ὄχλον), they removed the roof . . . .

Mark 2:4 and Luke 8:19 (in a different pericope) are the only verses in the NT in which both the prepositional phrase διὰ τὸν ὄχλον and a form of δύνασθαι occur. For the use of this Synoptic miracle story, see further on *APl* 11.5 <8> below.

(23) *APl* 11.6 <4> **B**

[Paul, returned from death, chides Nero:] "But for thee, unhappy man, there shall be many evils and great punishment, *because thou didst unjustly shed the blood of the righteous* (ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίων αἷμα ἀδίκως ἐξέχεας)."

Matt 23:35

"*that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth* (ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυννόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) . . . ."

Paul's warning reads a great deal like a lightly paraphrased version of Jesus' condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees. Certainly the scribe or redactor of PH recognized the allusion: δικαίων αἷμα becomes αἷμα δίκαιον, and in line with Matt 23:35 the prepositional phrase "on the earth (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς)" is added (Schmidt, *ΠΠ*, 70, lines 7-8).[13]

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[13] Cf. the addition to 11.7 <3> in PH, where Paul's reported prayer is given specific content derived from Luke 23:46 and Acts 7:59 (Schmidt, *ΠΠ*, 66 n. 22).

A

(24) ***APl* 3.20 <4>** **A**

> [Castellius demands that Paul be brought to the judgment-seat, and the crowd shouts for his arrest; nevertheless,] the governor *heard* Paul *gladly* (ἡδέως δὲ ἤκουεν) concerning the holy works of Christ.

Mark 6:20

> Herod feared John, . . . and kept him safe. When he heard him, he was much perplexed; *and yet he heard him gladly* (καὶ ἡδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν).

See also 4 <B.8>. There may be too little here to prove "quotation"; indeed, the concept does not really apply in such a case. So the question becomes, whether the author of the *APl* has freshly coined the ἀκούειν + ἡδέως combination, or the text of Mark has somehow influenced the author of the *APl*.

Several considerations favor the latter explanation. First, the situation in 3.20 <4> imitates that in Mark: a ruling authority (Herod; Castellius) tolerates hearing a fascinating suspect (John the Baptist; Paul). Second, the coupling of ἀκούειν with ἡδέως is uniquely Markan in the NT (see also Mark 12:37 "And the great throng heard him gladly [ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ἡδέως]"; the adverb is found outside Mark only in 2 Cor 11:19). Third, the *TLG* database grants fewer than a dozen uses of this combination before the third century, and none with the exact Markan adverb + imperfect.

(25) ***APl* 3.21 <2>** **A**

> [The governor] *had Paul scourged* (καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον φραγελλώσας) and drove him out of the city.

Mark 15:15 (//Matt 27:26)

> So Pilate . . . *having scourged* (φραγελλώσας) Jesus, delivered him to be crucified.

See also 7 <A.10>. The identical form occurs in the Matthean parallel. According to the lexicons, in extant texts of the hellenistic era this Latin loanword (from *flagellare*) occurs only in these Synoptic verses, in the *APl*, in *T. Benj.* 2.3 (Joseph beaten by his brothers), and in one fragment of Aesop. It seems highly probable, especially in light of the recurrence of the word in *APl* 7, that this distinctive feature of the gospels' passion story had caught the imagination of the author of the *APl*; he or she was likely unaware that scourging was regularly a punishment inflicted *after a sentence of death* (see BAGD, *s.v.* [p. 865b]).

(26) *APl* 3.28 <3> A

Now the charge on her [Thecla's] superscription was (ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῆς ἦν): Guilty of Sacrilege.

Mark 15:26

And the inscription of the charge against him read (καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη), "The King of the Jews."

Cf. Matt 27:37; Luke 23:38; John 19:19; but only Mark has both ἐπιγραφή and αἰτία. A vestige of Mark's periphrastic construction seems to be preserved in *APl*'s ἦν. Like the "scourging" of 3.21 <2>, this feature of the passion, at least in Mark's wording, seems not to have been taken up widely by early Christian authors. Apart from the *APl*, *BP* 1 cites as citations or allusions only *Gos. Pet.* 4.11, where neither "inscription" nor "charge" is mentioned; Melito *Pass. Hom.* 95 (line 708), where only τίτλος is found (cf. John 19:19); and Tertullian *De cor.* 14.4 (a reference to Jesus as "King of the Jews"). In addition, it is worth asking how, absent Mark 15:26, we should have translated the peculiar phrase in *APl* 3.28.

(27) *APl* 3.40 <5> A

[Thecla reassures Paul;] "for he who worked with thee for the Gospel has also worked with me for my baptism."

ὁ γὰρ σοὶ συνεργήσας εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κἀμοὶ συνήργησεν εἰς τὸ λούσασθαι.

Gal 2:8

He who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me for the Gentiles.

ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.

Though this case presents something other than *quotation*, the exact grammatical outline of this unique NT expression appears to have been taken over for Thecla's speech. As in Gal 2:8 there are two corresponding phrases: (a) ὁ γάρ + participle + instrumental dative + εἰς + noun; (b) finite verb + καί + instrum. dat. + εἰς + (verbal) noun. It is hard to see that this amount of agreement, both in form and in meaning, is the result of chance. Indeed, the critical apparatus in *Aa* reports that several MSS actually conform the text of *APl* to Gal 2:8: in CE, συνεργήσας becomes ἐνεργήσας; in B, κἀμοί is read as καὶ ἐμοί; and in F, συνήργησεν goes to ἐνήργησεν.

(28) ***APl* 4 <B.8>** **A**

> [Though Hermippus, Hermocrates's older son, is angry with Paul,] Dion, his younger son, *heard Paul gladly* ([ⲛⲉ]ⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ [ⲁ]ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲛⲉϥ ⲡⲉ).

See above on 3.20 <4>. For ⲉϩⲛⲉϥ=ἡδέως, see Crum, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ϩⲛⲉ- (p. 690a). The Coptic text at 3.20 <4> reads ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉϩⲛⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ.

(29) ***APl* 7 <A.10>** **A**

> Hieronymus condemned [Paul] to the beasts, *after having him scourged* (φραγελλώσας).

See above on 3.21 <2>.

(30) ***APl* 11.1 <13>** **A**

> [Patroclus, revived, is sent back to Nero] with the others who were *of Caesar's house* (μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ὄντων ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας).

Phil 4:22

> All the saints greet you, especially those *of Caesar's household* (ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας).

See also 11.1 <3> "a great number of believers from the house of Caesar." The author of the *APl* appears to recall that memorable Pauline greeting—the last four words are identical, though one or author might have written ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Καίσαρος or some other equivalent.

It is, of course, now well known that Paul's phrase contains no reference either to the rank of those specified[14] or to their place of residence;[15] in this latter the author of *APl* has perhaps misunderstood it. More importantly, while the Greek no doubt stands for the *domus* (or *familia*) *Caesaris*, as is regularly observed (see, e.g., *APt* 3, where are listed seven people *de domo Caesaris*; cf. Phil 4:22 Vg. *de Caesaris domo*), the Greek expression is rare in extant texts.[16] Even the unknown author of the epistle *To the Laodiceans*—a Pauline patchwork particularly indebted to Philippians—was content to quote only the first half of the verse: "The saints greet you."[17]

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[14] So already J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (4th ed.; London: Macmillan, 1885) 171: "the whole of the imperial household, the meanest of slaves as well as the most powerful courtiers."

[15] So already Adolf Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East* (2d ed.; 1927; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978) 238 and n. 3.

[16] Lightfoot (*Philippians*, 167 n. 22) cites but two occurrences: Philo *In Flacc.* 35 and Hippolytus *Adv. haer.* 9.12. *TLG* reports several in Athanasius, John Chrysostom, and Origen; all, of course, with reference to Phil 4:22. MM offers nothing from the papyri.

[17] Aside from this apocryphal epistle, *BP* 1 and 2 cite only *APl* 11.1 (i.e., 10.1 in Vouaux's enumeration) for Phil 4:22.

(31) *APl* 11.5 <8> A

[Paul is beheaded; milk spurts on the soldier's clothing:] And when they saw it, the soldier and all who stood by were amazed, and glorified God who had given Paul such glory.

ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης καὶ πάντες οἱ παρεστῶτες ἰδόντες ἐθαύμασαν καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόντα Παύλῳ δόξαν τοιαύτην.

Matt 9:8

When the crowds saw it, they were afraid [v.l. amazed], and they glorified God, who had given such authority to men.

ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐφοβήθησαν [v.l. ἐθαύμασαν C L θ *f*13 1006. 1342. 1506. *M* (f) sy^{h}] καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόντα ἐξουσίαν τοιαύτην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

This is the third time the author of the *APl* is to be suspected of being indebted to the Synoptic story of the paralytic's healing (see above on 11.1 <4> [Mark 2:4] and 11.1 <6> [Mark 2:8]). Here it has to be Matthew's version that is used, since Matthew's report of the reaction of the crowd differs considerably from those of Mark and Luke, except that possibly the author has also recalled the Lukan parallel, in which the imperfect ἐδόξαζον appears (Luke 5:26).

Curiously, Vouaux missed this Matthean (and possible Lukan) reference in 11.5 <8>. He did detect it, however, in the longer ending (from MS G) of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (=*APl* 3) as printed by Grabe (Vouaux, 232-38 [here p. 234, the ref. in *BP* 1. 248]=*Aa* 1. 271-72): Thanks to her miracles and devotion, Thecla's fame spreads far and wide; those whose loved ones have been cured are "glorifying God, who had given such grace to the virgin Thecla (δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν δόντα τοιαύτην χάριν τῇ παρθένῳ Θέκλῃ)."[18] Again, the impress of the canonical text is unmistakable. Further, in the Latin recension of the martyrdom (*Passio sancti Pauli apostoli*; *Aa* 1. 23-44), at his resuscitation Patroclus "began to glorify God, who had given such power to humankind (*et coepit glorificare deum, qui dedit potestatem talem hominibus*)" (*Pass. Paul.* 3 <8>; *Aa* 1. 27)—what follows the comma exactly reproduces the Vg. of Matt 9:8.[19]

Something similar to the phrase in Matt 9:8 shows up at the end of *APt* 15: Peter strikes Simon dumb, at which all the brethren "glorified the Lord who had shown these things to men (*illi magnificabant dominum qui haec hominibus ostenderat*)." Ironically, if the *APl* is dependent on the *APt*, and if the allusion to Matt 9:8 in *APl* 11.5 <8> derives from *APt* 15, then it must be that the author of the *APl* has deliberately brought the allusion more fully in line with the canonical text.

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18 Following Vouaux, Wolf-Dietrich Köhler (*Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* [WUNT 2/24; Mohr-Siebeck, 1987] 464) cites only the longer ending of *APl* 3 as possibly reflecting Matt 9:8.

19 The fragmentary episode in Tyre may also reflect this Matthean verse. After an exorcism, 6 <B.2> states that "But when the crowd saw <these things in the power> of God, they praised him who < . . . > to Paul."

III. The Acts of the Apostles

D

(32) ***APl* 3.34 <3>** **D**

"the name of Jesus Christ"

Also in 3.34 <5>; 4 <A.4>. Cf. Acts 2:28; 3:6; 4:10; 8:12; 10:48; 16:18 (see also 2 Thess 3:6 "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ"). In the NT, only in Acts 8:12 (n.b. Vg.: *in nomine I. C.*); 8:16 "in the name of the Lord Jesus"; 19:5 (ib.); and 10:48 (ἐν) is the phrase used in connection with baptism, as in *APl* 3.24 <3>.

(33) ***APl* 7 <B.20>** **D**

And as Paul thus testified (or: adjured God) (διαμαρτυρομένου ταῦτα), ...

Acts 20:21, 23, 24

[several uses of the same verb]

The verb διαμαρτύρεσθαι is used more frequently in Acts than in any other NT book (x9); but cf. Luke x1; 1 Thessalonians x1; 1 Timothy x1; 2 Timothy x2; Hebrews x1.

(34) ***APl* 11.4 <3>** **D**

[Paul to Nero:] "I will arise and appear to thee (in proof) that I am not dead, but alive to my Lord Christ Jesus, who is coming to judge the world (ὃς ἔρχεται τὴν οἰκουμένην κρῖναι)."

Acts 17:31

God has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness (ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ) . . . .

Cf. Acts 10:42. Acts 17:31 clearly alludes to Ps 9:9 (or 96[95]:13; 98[97]:9) καὶ αὐτὸς κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, and, like the psalm, attributes the judging to God rather than to Jesus Christ.

(35) ***APl* 11.6 <1>** **D**

Then Paul came *about the ninth hour* (περὶ ὥραν ἐννάτην) . . .

Acts 10:3

[Cornelius sees a vision] *about the ninth hour* (περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην) of the day" [cf. 10:9 v.l. περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην for περὶ ὥραν ἕκτην]

Aa reads περί with MS A, against P and PH; the Latin has an equivalent preposition: *circa horam nonam* (§18 [*Aa* 1. 42]; cf. Acts 10:3 Vg. *quasi hora diei*

nona). The precise three-word phrase occurs in Acts 10:3; but cf. Matt 20:5; 27:46; Acts 3:1.

C

(36) *APl* 3.21 <2> C

[The governor] had Paul scourged and *drove him out of the city* (ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν).

Acts 13:50

But the Jews incited the devout women . . . against Paul and Barnabas, and *drove them out of their district* (ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν).

Acts 14:19

But Jews came from Antioch . . . ; and . . . they stoned Paul and *dragged him out of the city* (ἔσυρον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως), ...

See also 2 <B.2> "thrust him out of their city."

(37) *APl* 3.24 <2> C

"Father, *who didst make heaven and earth* (Πάτερ, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν) . . . ."

Acts 4:24

"Sovereign Lord, *who didst make the heaven and the earth* (ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν), ..."

Acts 14:15

". . . that you should turn from these vain things to a living God *who made the heaven and the earth* (ὃς ἐποίησεν [v.l. τὸν ποιήσαντα D] τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν)."

Cf. 8 <C.6> "One is God, who has made heaven and earth."

This expression, of course, conveys a central biblical affirmation.[20] But in the LXX, the finite verb is far more common than the participial form (as in *APl*): the latter is found only in Ps 113:23 (115:15) (in the dat.); 120(121):2 (gen.); 123(124):8 (gen.); 133(134):3 (nom.); 145(146):6 (acc.); LXX Dan 4:34 (dat.); Bel 5 (acc.). So if we are looking for verbatim quotation, in the OT it will

[20] For the OT, see Gen 1:1; 2:4; 14:19 (ἔκτισε), 22 (id.); Exod 20:11 (also in LXX Deut 5:14 Vat.); 31:17; 2 Kgs 19:15; 2 Chron 2:11(12); LXX 1 Esdr 6:13; Neh 9:6; Jud 13:18 (ἔκτισε); Esth 4:17; AddEsth 4:17 (=13:10); Ps 113:23 (115:15); 120(121):2; 123(124):8; 133(134):3; 134(135):6 (different expression); 145(146):6; Zech 12:1 ("stretched out the heavens and founded the earth"); Isa 37:16; 42:5 ("who created the heavens . . . , who spread forth the earth"); 45:18 (note parenthetical remarks); 51:13 (". . . and laid the foundations of the earth"); Jer 39(32):17; LXX Dan 4:34; Bel 5.

have to come only from Ps 133(134):3: "May the Lord bless you from Zion, he who made heaven and earth!"

In the NT, on the other hand, the verb *ποιεῖν* occurs but twice in any form with "heaven and earth," i.e., in Acts 4:24 and 14:15 (see also above, on 3.17 <2>; 4 <A.3>; 7 <B.12>).[21]

B

(38) *APl* 3.3 <2> **B**

> [The end of the description of Paul:] for now he [Paul] appeared like a man, and now he had the face of an angel (*ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν*).
>
> **Acts 6:15**
>
> And gazing at him [Stephen], all who sat in the council saw that his face was like the face of an angel (*εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου*).

Though there is little verbal agreement here, this case is comparable to 3.2 <3> (Gal 1:22-23) and 3.40 <5> (Gal 2:8) reviewed above. Among the authorities consulted by *BP* 1 and 2, the only other passage recognized as a citation of or allusion to this passage is Tertullian *De res.* 55.9 (ANF 3. 588b-89a): "So also Stephen had already put on the appearance of an angel, although they were none other than his human knees [cf. Acts 7:60] which bent beneath the stoning." Further, a *TLG* search shows that combinations of *προσωπ-* + *ἀγγελ-* are uncommon in all periods. It also shows that in early Christian authors, though Acts 6:15 is quoted from time to time (e.g., twelve times by John Chrysostom), it is Zech 3:1 that attracted attention (e.g., in Justin *Dial.* 115.2; Athanasius; Epiphanius; Eusebius); and the LXX of Zech 3:1 speaks of an angel's "face" only because of its literal rendering of the Hebrew idiom in the MT: "He showed me Joshua the high priest standing *before* the angel of the Lord."

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21 Schneemelcher ("Die Apostelgeschichte," 213 and n. 35) takes refuge in the judgment of Dibelius, cited in Haenchen (*Acts*, 226 n. 2): the phrase in the *APl* is a "literary formula."

(39) *APl* 3.17 <5> **B**

[Castellius hears Paul's defense; but for the time being] he commanded Paul to be bound and led off to prison until he should find leisure to give him a more attentive hearing.

Acts 24:25

[The response of Felix to Paul's defense:] "Go away for the present; when I have an opportunity I will summon you."

(40) *APl* 3.42 <1> **B**

[Tryphaena enters the house of Onesiphorus in Iconium,] *and threw herself down on the floor* (καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος) where Paul had sat and taught.

Acts 22:7

[Saul/Paul sees a great light from heaven:] "*And I fell to the ground* (ἔπεσά τε εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος) and heard a voice . . . ."

See also 7 <B.7> "Sit on the floor." BAGD (*s.v.* πίπτειν [p. 217b]) notes that, apart from Acts 22:7, πίπτειν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος occurs in the Greek Bible only at 4 Macc 6:7: "He [Eleazar] fell to the ground (πίπτων εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος) when his body could no longer endure the pain." Indeed, the prepositional phrase is itself found elsewhere only in Dan 6:25b (Theod.): καὶ οὐκ ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ λάκκου.[22]

As for patristic writers, *TLG* reports the uses of εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος as follows: Athanasius (=Acts 22:7); Basil; Gregory of Nyssa; John Chrysostom (x5); Macarius; and Procopius. In other words, no author conceivably familiar with oral or written traditions behind Luke-Acts has the phrase. It is found in *Apoc. Esdr* 4.21: "And they [Michael, Gabriel, et al.] led me down to the foundation (καὶ κατήγαγόν με εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος) of Apoleia . . . ."[23] Philo has the phrase εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος in *De somn.* 2.140.2: "And are we then to prostrate ourselves *on the ground,* and endeavor to propitiate and adore thee?" But of pre-Christian works cited in *TLG* (e.g., Aesop; Aristotle; Euclid), only the *History of Alexander,* of uncertain date and provenance, has εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος with the verb πίπτειν.

It therefore appears that the particular combination of the phrase εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος with the verb πίπτειν is all but unattested in writings possibly known to or used by the author of the *APl*; the single exception is Acts 22:7. So two options lie before us: to suppose either that, by some happy coincidence, the author of the *APl* chose what is a singular phrase in Acts; or that he or she was in fact knowingly imitating a usage familiar from the canonical book of Acts.

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22 LSJ (*s.v.* ἔδαφος [p. 477b]) cites only Acts 22:7 for the noun with the preposition εἰς.

23 Text in Constantin von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1866) 28; ET in *OTP* 1. 575.

(41) ***APl* 11.1 <2>** **B**

> *When Paul saw them* [Luke and Titus] *he was glad* (οὗς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος ἐχάρη), so that he hired a barn . . ."
>
> **Acts 28:15**
>
> *On seeing them* [the brethren in Rome] *Paul thanked God* (οὗς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ) and took courage.

The first to identify this possible allusion/quotation was Schmidt (*AP*, 215). Two considerations suggest that the close verbal similarity is other than coincidental. First, the setting is very similar: Paul is awaited in Rome by fellow Christians, and he will soon begin teaching in a hired dwelling (cf. Acts 28:30—note the same questions of translation in both Acts and the *APl*). Second, though the *APl* frequently uses the aorist participle of ὁρᾶν and comparable expressions (e.g., 3.4 <1> καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος; 3.34 <4> καὶ ἰδοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκες; 7 <B.7> ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὴν Παῦλος; 10 <A.12> καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἠσπάσατο), only in 11.1 <2> is this particular phrase found. Indeed, an indication of its rarity is the appearance of the participle with this relative pronoun only five times in pre-second century texts in the *TLG*, in none of which is thanksgiving the result.

(42) ***APl* 11.1 <3>** **B**

> The news [of Paul's arrival and teaching] was spread abroad, and *many souls were added* (καὶ πολλαὶ ψυχαὶ προσετίθετο) to the Lord.
>
> ***Acts 2:41* (cf. 2:47; 5:14; 11:24)**
>
> . . . and *there were added* (καὶ προσετέθησαν) that day *about three thousand souls* (ψυχαὶ ὡσεὶ τρισχίλιαι).

See also the Coptic Appendix (Kasser): "a great crowd was added to the faith." Three times the *APt* has a similar phrase (9; *Mart.* 31 [2]; 33 [4]), but each lacks mention of "souls" and hence relates more closely to Acts 2:47 than to 2:41.

A

(43) ***APl* 3.24 <3>** **A**

"O God *the knower of hearts* (καρδιογνῶστα), ..."

Acts 1:24

And they [the eleven] prayed and said, "Lord, *who knowest the hearts of all* (σὺ κύριε καρδιογνῶστα πάντων) . . . ."

Acts 15:8

And *God who knows the heart* (ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός) bore witness to them [i.e., the gentiles].

The title καρδιογνώστης is found neither in the Greek OT (including Apocrypha) nor in other pre-Christian writings.[24] And though God as the knower of human hearts is a biblical idea,[25] the actual word καρδιογνώστης is found in the NT only in Acts.

Now, in assessing the possible connection between Acts and the *APl*, two influential but exaggerated claims must be addressed. The first is Haenchen's assertion that καρδιογνώστης was "a favourite expression of post-apostolic Christendom."[26] If by "post-apostolic" is meant the era of the so-called apostolic fathers, then the only extant support to be found is *Herm. Man.* 4.3.4: "For those, then, who were called before these days, did the Lord appoint repentance, for the Lord knows the heart (καρδιογνώστης γὰρ ὢν ὁ κύριος)."[27] The other witnesses cited by Haenchen are *APl* 3.24 <3>, Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 5.14.96 (=5.96.4), and the *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.24.6; 3.7.8; 4.6.8; 6.12.4; 8.5.6. Since just a few pages earlier Clement explicitly quotes Acts 17:22-23 as what "Luke in the Acts of the Apostles relates that Paul said" (5.82.4 [ANF 2. 464a]), it is to be suspected that he has Acts 1:24 or 15:8 in mind when he states in 5.96.4 that God "is expressly called by us [i.e., Christians] the

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24 Moulton-Geden, *s.v.* καρδιογνώστης (p. 525a).

25 See, e.g., 1 Sam 16:7; 1 Kgs 8:39; Ps 44:21; Prov 15:11; Rom 8:27 (ὁ ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας). MM (*s.v.* [p. 321b]) compares Jer 17:10: "I the Lord . . . try the heart (ἐτάζων καρδίας)."

26 Haenchen, *Acts*, 162. Schneemelcher ("Die Apostelgeschichte," 213 and n. 36) simply quotes Haenchen here in defense of the independence of the *APl* over against Acts.

27 Édouard Massaux (*The Influence of the Gospel of Matthew on Christian Literature Before Saint Irenaeus*, vol. 2: *The Later Christian Writings* [New Gospel Studies 5/2; Leuven: Peeters; Macon, GA: Mercer, 1990] 133) discusses the relation between *Herm.Vis.* 4.3.4 and Acts 4:12, but ends with the non-committal opinion that "a comparison with Acts 4:12 seems at least possible." BAGD (*s.v.* [p. 404b]) notes that the word is found "only in Christian writings," and in addition to *Herm. Man.* 4.3.4 cites one other text, *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 10.13, which speaks of "an apology in presence of the heart-knowing God" (ANF 8. 282a). Cf. *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 1.33.1: "Therefore Abraham, when he was desirous to learn the causes of things, and was intently pondering upon what had been told him, who alone knows the hearts and purposes of men, . . ." (ANF 8. 86a).

Searcher of hearts" (ANF 2. 467a).[28] As for the *Constitutions*, their contribution to the debate is necessarily limited, since they are regularly dated in the late fourth century.[29]

The second claim that appears to be without adequate warrant for the early period is that of H. J. Cadbury and Kirsopp Lake, that "καρδιογνώστης is found chiefly in Christian liturgical use."[30] This hypothesis, which probably originated with Erwin Preuschen,[31] is certainly defensible from the third century on. But in Acts 15:8, in our earliest post-NT witnesses (*Hermas*; Clement), and in the *Didascalia* the phrase is not included in prayer, let alone "liturgy"; hence there is simply too little evidence to conclude that the author of the *APl* recalled the phrase from established liturgical usage—to the extent that one can speak of such a thing before the third century.[32]

(44) ***APl 5 <C.2>*** **(PHeid only)** **A**

> [Paul prays:] "O God, *look down upon their threats* (ϭⲱⲱⲩⲧ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲡⲉⲓⲗⲏ), and suffer us not to fall."

Acts 4:29

> [Peter and John, released from custody, pray:] "And now, Lord, *look upon their threats* (ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν), and grant to thy servants to speak thy word with boldness."

Apart from Acts 4:29, the noun ἀπειλή is found in the NT only at Acts 4:17 (as an addition in Ψ *M* sy^{h}; cf. E [it]); 4:29; 9:1; Eph 6:9; in other early Christian literature only in *1 Clem.* 58.1 ("Let us then . . . escape the *threats* which have been spoken by wisdom aforetime to the disobedient") and *Herm. Man.* 12.6.2 ("Do not fear the *threat* of the devil"). With a verb of seeing, its use

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28 See further *Strom.* 6.101.5 (ANF 2. 503b): "For we have heard that God knows the heart, not judging the soul from (external) movement, as we men; nor yet from the event."

29 The Syriac *Didascalia* 24 (one of the sources of the *Constitutions*), the original Greek of which may date from the early third century, quotes Acts 15:8 as part of a lengthy extract from Peter's speech in Acts 15:7-11. Jesus as "knower of hearts" reappears in the *Acts Thadd.* 3 (*Aa* 1. 274, line 15); but this apocryphal writing post-dates the Abgar legend.

30 Cadbury and Lake, in F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, part 1: *The Acts of the Apostles* (5 vols.; 1920-33; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 4. 15 n. 24.

31 See MM, ibid.

32 It is intriguing to discover, however, that in Hippolytus *Apost. trad.* 3.4 the word appears alongside another divine title that appears in *APl* 3.24 <3>. Thecla prays: "O God, the knower of hearts, *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ* . . . ." The prayer for episcopal consecration in Hippolytus here reads: "O God and *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ* . . . , Father, who knowest the hearts {of all} . . . ." Hippolytus, of course, knows the *APl*, and apparently approves of it (see his *Commentary on Daniel* 3; this work is usually dated ca. 204 CE). Further, the *Apostolic Tradition* is generally held to be conservative—"already on its way to become obsolete as a manual of Christian practice the day it was first published" (Gregory Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome* [Henry Chadwick, rev. ed.; London: Alban; Ridgefield, CT: Morehouse, 1992] xi).

is confined to Acts 4:29. *BP* 1 and 2 report not one citation of or allusion to Acts 4:29 before the third century.

(45) *APl* 7 <B.11> A

> [Paul addresses Artemilla:] "God alone abides, and the sonship that is given through him in whom men must be saved."
>
> μόνος δὲ ὁ θεὸς μένει καὶ ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ διδομένη υἱοθεσία ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι.[33]

Acts 4:12

> "And there is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we [v.l. you] must be saved."
>
> καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἡ σωτηρία, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς [ὑμᾶς B 1704 *pc*].

Haenchen observes that Luke's expression "has a close affinity" with *Herm. Vis.* 4.2.4, where the Church in the form of a young woman commends Hermas for eluding the Leviathan:

> "You did well to escape it . . . because you cast your care upon God, and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that salvation can be found through nothing save through the great and glorious name (δι' οὐδενὸς δύνῃ σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος)."

The affinity leads Haenchen to this conclusion: "hence [Luke's expression] stands revealed as a turning to account of a Jewish formula"; further, that "Luke adopted the formula as it lay to hand, and was not the first to lend it a Christian significance."[34]

Haenchen's remarks presumably apply to Luke's use of "the name" as a theologoumenon. But this is not the important point of contact between Acts 4:12 and *APl* 7 <B.11> since, despite the *APl*'s frequent mention of "the name [of Jesus Christ]" (partly documented above), here there is no reference to it. Instead, the short phrase ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι stands as a most striking parallel, i.e., the *necessity* (δεῖ) of a specific means of salvation, something already made clear in 7 <A.2>: "But hear in what manner *thou must be saved* (καθὰ δεῖ σε σωθῆναι)."

Several considerations suggest that the *APl* derives these words from Acts 4:12. First, the combination δεῖ + σωθῆναι is unique to Acts 4:12 in the NT and the so-called apostolic fathers. Second, apart from one reference in the orator Antipho (5th cent. BCE), the *TLG* finds no pre-Christian use of the Greek phrase; and among post-NT authors there are only a few Christian writers

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33 The text of *APl* 7 <B.9-11>, including this sentence, reappears (presumably by scribal error) in PH after 11.3 <7> (see Schmidt, *ΠΠ*, 62, lines 11-12).

34 Haenchen, *Acts*, 217-18 and n. 7.

(Athanasius, Basil, John Chrysostom), along with Olympiodorus and Porphyry.

Among authors of the early period, for citations of or allusions to Acts 4:12 *BP* 1 cites Ignatius *Mag.* 10.1 ("For whoever is called by any name other than this [*sc.* "Christian"] is not of God"), three references in Irenaeus,[35] and *Acts Pet.* 17. This final reference, of course, raises again the vexed question of the relation between the *APl* and the *APt.* The problem is exacerbated by the latter's survival at this place only in Latin, and by the fact that there are, in fact, *two* possible allusions to Acts 4:12 in *Acts Pet.* 17.[36] Fortunately, only the first is relevant here: "For he [the Lord Jesus Christ] is the Son of the invisible God; in him you must be saved (*in quem te necesse est salvari*)" (contrast Acts 4:12 Vg. *in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri*). But what sets *APl* 7 <B.11> apart from *Acts Pet.* 17 and the other references is the additional shared ingredient: a passive participial form of διδόναι—"given." This connection is especially evident because, in the specific phrase in the *APl*, the participial phrase ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ διδομένη υἱοθεσία is resumed, not with the expected (and presumably naturally grammatical) ἐν ᾗ ("in/by which," fem.: "in/by which [sonship/adoption]"), but with the neut. or masc. relative: ἐν ᾧ ("in/by which/whom [*sc.*, name or person]").

(46) ***APl* 10 <A.20>** **A**

> [Paul is teaching in Rome:] "And so long as they [Israel] kept the things of God he gave them *of the fruit of the loins* (ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος), ..."

Acts 2:30

> "[David] being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn . . . that he would set *one of his descendants* (ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ) upon the throne, ..."

Aside from Acts 2:30, in the NT ὀσφύς is found in Mark 1:6 (//Matt 3:4; of John the Baptist); Luke 12:35 "Let your loins be girded . . ."; Eph 6:14 "having girded your loins with truth"; Heb 7:5 ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος Ἀβραάμ; 7:10 ἐν τῇ ὀσφύϊ . . . Μελχισέδεκ; and 1 Pet 1:13 ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν. *BP* 1 reports the use of Acts 2:30 in the *APl*; in Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1.113; in Irenaeus *Dem.* 36 (cf. *Adv. haer.* 3.21.5); and in Justin *Dial.* 68.5—all with reference either to Acts 2:30 or to 2 Sam 7:12-16 ("I will raise up your offspring after you . . . and I will establish his kingdom").[37]

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[35] *Dem.* 96 "But 'every one that shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved' [Joel 2:32=LXX 3:5; quoted in Acts 2:21; Rom 10:13]; and 'no other name of the Lord has been given under heaven, whereby men are saved' [Acts 4:12]"; *Adv. haer.* 3.12.4 (ANF 1. 431a) "'[Neither is there salvation in any other: for] there is none other name in heaven, which is given to men, whereby we must be saved' [Acts 4:12]"; *Adv. haer.* 4.17.6 (ANF 1. 484b) "But what other name is there which is glorified among the Gentiles than that of our Lord, by whom our Father is glorified, and man also?"

[36] See Léon Vouaux, *Les Actes de Pierre* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1922) 324-25, 328-29 (also 416-17; 456-17).

[37] Ps 132(131):11, referred to by Schneemelcher, has τῆς κοιλίας rather than τῆς ὀσφύος.

(47) *APl* 11.6 <4> A

[The continuation of Paul's rebuke of Nero: Nero will be the recipient of] "many evils and great punishment"—"*and that not many days hence* (οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας)."

Acts 1:5

"for John baptized with water, but *before many days* (οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας) you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit."

PH (Schmidt, *ΠΠ*, 70, lines 8-9) reads ταύτας ἡμέρας, thus fully conforming the reading in the *APl* to that of Acts 1:5.[38] (According to *Aa* 1. 116 n. 9, MS A omits ταύτας.) Schneemelcher minimizes the correspondence: the extent of verbal agreement is so small, and the formulation so common, that it is scarcely possible to speak of conscious quotation.[39]

But extant literary remains suggest otherwise. The combination of πολλάς with ταύτας makes for a highly unusual expression in Greek: it never occurs in pre-Christian writers in the *TLG* database, and in post-NT writings only in quotations of Acts 1:5.[40] This phrase has sometimes been regarded as a Latinism, or as a Semitism; Cadbury and Lake remark that it is reminiscent of LXX Exod 2:23 ("in the course of those many days [μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας]") and Exod 4:18 (id.).[41] But despite available references (none in the LXX or NT) to comparable phrases with the preposition πρό,[42] there is nothing for μετά. So we must choose between four possibilities: that its presence in *APl* is the result of coincidence; that ταύτας (or the entire expression) was introduced by a copyist or redactor; that the author of the *APl* found this unique expression in a source dependent on Acts; or that it comes, in fact, from Acts 1:5 directly.

Summary and Conclusions

The above selections anticipate the fuller listing in the Appendix, and the obvious conclusion that certain references to the NT are few. But in an author of any sophistication with other sources at hand this might have been expected; indeed, frequent quotation would necessarily have betrayed

38 J. K. Elliott, perhaps missing the allusion, translates "not many days ago"—i.e., the killing of Paul is an example of Nero's unjust shedding of unrighteous blood (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 388). However, Elliott's predecessor, Montague Rhodes James, seems to have spotted it: "not many days hence"—i.e., you shall die soon (*The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1924] 296.

39 Schneemelcher, "Die Apostelgeschichte," 213.

40 The expression does recur, in a text dependent on *APl* 11.6 (both contextually and verbally), in *Mart. Pet. Paul* A 64: after the body of Peter has been reclaimed, people from Jerusalem declare that "Nero himself, *after these not many days* οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας will be utterly destroyed" (*Aa* 1. 172; ANF 8. 485b).

41 Cadbury and Lake, *Acts*, 7 n. 5. On the phrase as a possible ("vulgar") Latinism, see J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts," in Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, 2. 43.

42 See BDF §226 (p. 120b).

anachronism. The *APl* is no work of exegesis; nor is it a pastiche. If most or all of the handful of passages rated A or B reflect the actual use of the NT by the *APl*, then while Schneemelcher's paradoxical statement quoted at the outset—that "knowledge of Acts and independent shaping of the *APl* are not mutually exclusive"—is to be affirmed, it raises once more the question of the nature of "dependence" in this case.

Perhaps more importantly, it suggests that the author of the *APl* quite consciously—we might say, wilfully—differed from Acts in the portrayal of Paul's exploits. For example, the probable narration of only one missionary journey, over against the three in Acts, seems to have been a matter of indifference, though Rordorf, following Schneemelcher, makes much of it.[43]

Instead it appears that this new author produced his or her new account with precisely the resources that have been conjectured: legends about Paul (and Thecla), for which Acts offered no precedent; ascetic traditions and teachings, promoted "for certain definite ecclesiastical and theological purposes";[44] an emerging vernacular of late second-century Christian lection and liturgy; and various fragments, some recalled and quoted *verbatim*, from the text of the NT—including Acts.

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43 Rordorf, "In welchem Verhältnis?" 235; the same goes for the absence of "the Jews" in the *APl*.

44 Schneemelcher, "Acts of Paul," 233.

Appendix

NT quotations and allusions listed in *BP* 1; several from Vouaux and Schmidt are added. Entries from *BP* 1 are unmarked; others as follows: * = from Schmidt, *AP*; ** = from Vouaux; *** = from Schmidt, *ΠΠ*; § = from Schneemelcher, "Acts of Paul"; §§ = not previously proposed; G = the longer ending (MS G) of *APl* 3.44 (in *Aa*); 3.45 = other additions to *APl* 3 (in Vouaux). Multiple same-verse entries (e.g., in Colossians; 2 Timothy; Philemon) usually indicate personal names (e.g., Demas, Onesiphorus).

Matthew		
2:1,5	10 <A.25>	C
2:9	10 <A.11>	D
2:23**	10 <A.25>	D
3:12 par.	7 <A.7>	C
3:17 par.	3.37 <3>	C
4:1**	3.44 (G)	D
4:13***	10 <A.25>	D
4:16	10 <A.26>	C
4:17 par.	10 <A.25>	B
4:24§	10 <A.28>	C
5:4	3.6 <1>	B
5:7	3.6 <6>	A
5:8	3.5 <2>	A
5:9	3.6 <2>	B
8:19 par.	3.25 <3>	C
9:8	3.44 (G)	A
9:8§§	11.5 <8>	A
9:25	8 <C.5>	D
10:1-4	10 <A.28>	D
10:7	10 <A.25>	B
10:8§	10 <A.28>	C
10:28	7 <A.1>	B
10:42	3.6 <7>	C
11:5	10 <A.28>	C
11:29§	3.6 <8>	D
13:42,50§	9 <A.6>	C
14:25 par.	10 <A.5>	B
15:29-31§	4 <A.2>	C
16:16	3.42 <2>	D
16:27	11.4 <11>	B
17:5	3.22 <5>	C
17:5	3.34 <6>	D
17:5	3.37 <3>	C
19:26*	4 <A.2>	B
20:8	3.31 <3>	B
23:35	11.6 <4>	B
25:34	3.6 <1>	D
26:47	3.15 <1>	C
27:19	3.21 <1>	C
27:23 par.	3.20 <3>	C
27:26 par.	3.21 <2>	A
27:46	11.6 <2>	D
28:8	11.7 <1>	C
Mark		
1:11 par.	3.37 <3>	C
1:13	3.44 (G)	D
1:15§§	7 <A.5>	B
2:4	11.1 <4>	B
2:8	11.1 <6>	C
3:11	3.44 (G)	A
3:16-19	10 <A.28>	D
5:7 par.§§	3.29 <2>	C
5:43§	4 <B.3>	D
6:20§§	3.20 <4>	A
6:20§§	4 <B.7>	A
6:48 par.	10 <A.5>	A
8:38 par.	11.4 <11>	C
10:27 par.	§4 <A.2>	B
11:23 par.	10 <B.4>	B
14:48 par.	4 <D.4>	D
14:61***	2 <B.1>	B
15:4§	3.16 <3>	C
15:14 par.§§	3.20 <3>	C
15:15 par.	3.21 <2>	A
15:26	3.28 <3>	A
Luke		
1:79	10 <A.26>	D
3:17	7 <A.7>	D
6:12	9 <B.5>	D
6:13-16 par.	10 <A.28>	C
6:23	7 <B.22>	D
8:8	11.1 <11>	D
8:28§§	3.29 <2>	C
9:16 (in BP 1 as 9:32)	3.44 (G)	D

9:26 par.	11.4 <11>	D
9:57 par.	3.25 <3>	C
10:39	3.18 <2>	C
12:4	7 <A.1>	D
14:2	4 <A.1>	C
14:11	4 <E.2>	D
23:18	3.20 <3>	C
23:18	7 <D.1>	C
24:1-4	11.7 <1>	D
John		
1:9	3.42 <2>	D
3:15	3.37 <6>	C
5:4	3.44 (G)	D
6:5§§	3.23 <3>	B
6:19	10 <A.5>	C
6:29§	10 <B.9>	C
8:24§§	7 <A.4>	B
9:29§§	3.16 <1>	B
11:25§	11.4 <7>	C
11:40	3.44 (G)	C
11:42§	10 <B.9>	D
12:28	3.44 (G)	B
18:36	11.4 <6>	D
Acts		
1:5	11.6 <4>	A
1:16	11.1 <6>	B
1:24	3.24 <3>	A
2:11	3.1 <2>	C
2:11	3.18 <2>	B
2:30	10 <A.20>	A
2:38	3.34 <3>	C
2:38	7 <B.24>	D
2:41§	11.1 <3>	B
3:6	4 <A.4>	D
4:8	9 <A.5>	B
4:8	11.3 <3>	A
4:12	7 <A.2>	C
4:12	7 <B.11>	A
4:24	3.24 <2>	C
4:24	8 <C.6>	C
4:29§	5 <C.2>	A
5:17	3.15 <1>	C
6:15	3.3 <2>	B
7:52	10 <A.21>	D
8:12	3.34 <3>	D
8:12	7 <B.24>	D
8:32	3.21 <4>	D
9:4-8	4 <D.9>	D
9:9	3.8 <5>	C
9:17	4 <F.1>	D
10:3§§	11.6 <2>	D
13:5	3.40 <3>	D
13:13-§	5 <A.1>	D
13:50	2 <B.2>	B
13:50	3.19 <4>	D
13:50	3.21 <2>	C
13:51	3.1 <1>	D
13:51	3.26 <1>	D
14:15	3.17 <2>	D
14:15	3.24 <2>	C
14:15	4 <A.3>	D
14:15	7 <B.12>	D
14:15	8 <C.6>	C
14:19	2 <B.2>	B
14:19	3.21 <2>	C
15:3	11.1 <3>	D
15:8	3.24 <3>	B
15:32	3.41 <2>	D
16:17	3.37 <5>	C
17:31	11.4 <3>	D
18:9	4 <D.1>	D
19:24-	7 <A.10>	D
19:29	7 <A.8>	C
20:7-12	11.1 <4>	C
20:9	8 <A.4>	D
20:21,23,24	7 <B.20>	D
21:11	9 <B.5>	D
22:7	3.42 <1>	A
23:11§	7 <B.20>	D
23:11	11.1 <1>	D
24:25	3.17 <5>	B
25:6	11.1 <1>	D
27:1	11.1 <1>	D
27:40	10 <A.1>	D
27:44	11.1 <1>	D
28:15§	11.1 <2>	B
28:30-31	11.1 <2>	C
Romans		
1:3	3.1 <2>	D
1:7	10 <A.13>	D
3:2§§	3.42 <1>	C
3:4§§	3.14 <2>	D
6:10	11.4 <11>	C
6:13	10 <A.24>	D
8:15,23	7 <B.11>	D
8:17	3.5 <6>	C

8:38	11.4 <4>	D
9:4***	7 <B.11>	D
11:36	3.42 <2>	D
11:36	7 <B.12>	D
12:17§	2 <B.3>	C
13:13	7 <A.3>	D
14:8	11.4 <3>	B
14:18	3.5 <5>	D
14:18	3.6 <7>	D
15:6	9 <A.11>	D
15:6	11.7 <4>	C
1 Corinthians		
3:12	7 <A.3>	C
3:13	7 <B.10>	D
3:16	3.5 <3>	C
5:3	3.2 <3>	D
6:3	3.6 <5>	A
6:14	11.5 <2>	D
7:29	3.5 <6>	A
7:31	3.5 <5>	D
7:31	3.6 <5>	C
7:33,34§§	3.23 <3>	C
8:4	3.9 <2>	D
8:4-6	7 <A.5>	D
12:2	7 <A.3>	D
15:53	3.38 <2>	D
2 Corinthians		
1:3	3.24 <3>	D
5:11	3.5 <7>	D
6:7	10 <A.16>	D
6:16	3.5 <3>	C
7:5	9 <A.1>	D
10:10	4 <D.6>	D
Galatians		
1:4	10 <A.24>	D
1:22-23§§	3.2 <3>	B
1:22-23§§	3.7 <2>	B
2:8	3.40 <5>	A
4:4	3.17 <3>	C
4:5	7 <B.11>	D
5:20-	7 <A.3>	D
6:6	3.39 <4>	D
Ephesians		
1:5	7 <B.11>	D
1:6	3.1 <2>	D
1:13§§	10 <A.16>	D
1:21	7 <A.3>	D
4:5-6	7 <A.5>	D
Philippians		
1:11	3.4 <4>	D
3:8	7 <B.8>	D
4:22	11.1 <13>	A
Colossians		
1:5§§	10 <A.16>	D
1:12	10 <A.21>	D
1:16	7 <A.3>	D
1:25	7 <D recon.>	D
4:14	3.1 <1>	D
4:14	3.12 <1>	D
4:14	3.14 <1>	D
1 Thessalonians		
1:9§§	3.14 <4>	D
1:9§	3.17 <2>	D
2:9	3.7 <1>	D
2:9	7 <B.3>	D
2:9	7 <B.15>	D
2 Thessalonians		
1:3	3.18 <3>	D
1:7	3.37 <6>	D
1 Timothy		
1:10	7 <A.3>	D
1:17§	11.2 <7>	D
1:17	11.7 <4>	D
1:18§	11.2 <12>	D
1:20	3.26 <2>	D
2:5§	7 <A.5>	D
2:7	10 <A.3>	D
5:21§	7 <B.20>	D
5:22	3.5 <3>	D
5:22	3.12 <2>	C
6:15	11.2 <7>	D
2 Timothy		
1:7	11.2 <25>	C
1:11	9 <B.5>	D
1:11§	10 <A.3>	D
1:15	3.1 <1>	D
1:15	3.12 <1>	D
1:15	3.14 <1>	D
1:16	3.2 <1>	D
1:16	3.23 <1>	D
1:16	3.25 <1>	D

1:16	3.26 <1>	D
2:3§	10 <A.16>	D
2:3	11.2 <13>	D
2:3	10 <A.16>	D
2:3	10 <A.21>	D
2:4§	11.2 <12>	D
2:14§	7 <B.20>	D
2:15§	10 <A.16>	D
2:15	11.1 <2>	D
2:18	3.14 <2>	C
3:1	3.25 <4>	D
3:11	7 <B.10>	C
4:1	7 <B.20>	D
4:10	3.1 <1>	D
4:10	3.12 <1>	D
4:10	3.14 <1>	D
4:10-11	11.1 <1>	D
4:14	3.1 <1>	D
4:14	3.26 <1>	D
4:19	3.2 <1>	D
4:19	3.23 <1>	D
4:19	3.25 <1>	D
4:19	3.26 <1>	D
4:22	3.4 <2>	D
Titus		
2:14	10 <A.24>	D
Philemon		
24	3.1 <1>	D
24	3.12 <1>	D
24	3.14 <1>	D
Hebrews		
2:4	10 <A.17>	D
4:14	3.17 <3>	D
5:2	11.4 <5>	D
9:15	10 <A.22>	D
12:11§§	3.4 <4>	D
James		
1:12	10 <A.24>	D
1:18§§	10 <A.16>	D
2:19§	7 <A.5>	D
3:18§§	3.4 <4>	D
1 Peter		
1:20	10 <A.25>	C
4:11	3.43 add.	D
4:11	3.45	D
2 Peter		
1:19	10 <A.25>	D
1:21§	7 <D.5>	D
3:7§	7 <B.10>	D
1 John		
1:7	3.6 <4>	D
Revelation		
1:6	3.44 add.	D
1:6	3.45	D
3:10	9 <A.2>	D
5:13	3.44 add.	D
9:20	7 <A.6>	C
14:4§	3.12 <2>	D
20:8	10 <A.19>	D

Defining Allegory in Philo's Exegetical World

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The aim of the present paper is to try to bring into focus the self-consciousness of the Allegorists[1] to whom Philo refers—to try to see what they thought they were attempting or accomplishing as Biblical exegetes. By speaking of these Allegorists as "they," I do not by any means wish to suggest that all of Philo's references to other Allegorists pertain to a single group. There are two primary problems to consider. First, Philo does not often say much about them, let alone about how they viewed themselves. Second, it is frequently difficult to separate Philo's ideas from those of the exegetes he describes. And this is more of a problem with the Allegorists than with Literalists, since Philo typically identifies himself as an allegorical exegete (see, e.g., *Plant.* 36; *Somn.* 2.142).

By the term "Philo's exegetical world" I refer to the community of exegetes, the assumptions about biblical interpretation and the general accumulated body of interpretations of specific passages with which Philo and his audiences (readers or hearers) were familiar in first-century Alexandria. When one thinks of actual persons who composed "the community of exegetes," we must think of some individuals who were personally acquaintances of Philo, others who were simply his contemporaries, and individuals who lived before his time whose views were known to him by report or written statements. The primary sources for knowledge in this area are Philo's writings, especially passages in which he explicitly mentions the existence and views of other exegetes. Philo's audiences, especially those for whom the Allegorical Commentary was written, must have been largely composed of persons appreciative of allegorical interpretation. Hence they, too, must be counted as part of his exegetical world.

What exactly did the work "allegory" denote or connote in Philo's exegetical environment? From Philo's own works one gains the impression that to him "allegorical" would basically mean any interpretation which was not literal.[2] Pagan rhetorical theorists like Heraclitus (the first-century interpreter of Homer) spoke of allegory as a trope whereby one thing is used to

[1] Hereafter in this paper "Allegorists" and "Literalists" (capitalized) should be understood to designate *only* those allegorical and literalist interpreters of the Bible to whom Philo refers.

[2] Cf. my essay, "Philo's References to Other Allegorists," *Studia Philonica* 6 (1979-80) 41-76, esp. 42.

speak of another.[3] In the traditions of interpreting or reinterpreting Homer, allegorical exposition was often linked with (or developed on the basis of) etymologies and efforts to answer moral criticism of behavior Homer ascribes to gods. Allegorical interpretations often emphasized cosmological phenomena, though some stressed the spiritual development of souls. Claims were put forward by some interpreters that Homer, understood in the *correct* fashion by means of allegorical exegesis, was the father of Greek philosophy and science. Still, the basic pattern of allegorizing was not connected with an attack on the moral or social values of the Greco-Roman culture. A fundamental thesis of a new book by David Dawson is that, by contrast, Philonic allegory should be conceived not so much as an exegetical technique as a sustained program of cultural usurpation.[4]

Three Recent Interpretations of Philonic Allegory

Dawson's book and two other recent major studies of Philo raise important questions for approaching the Allegorists he mentions. A brief sketch of the positions of Thomas Tobin, Richard Goulet, and Dawson may be a helpful preface to our investigation.

Tobin's book offers a careful examination of the discussions of the creation of humanity in Philo's writings.[5] He argues that several pre-Philonic layers of interpretation can be distinguished in Philo's commentaries when they deal with how humanity was created. He contends that Philo tends to use the technical vocabulary of allegory only in reference to the "allegory of the soul" (147) and that he is the first writer whom we know to have affirmed the legitimacy of both allegorical and non-allegorical levels of interpretation (155).[6] Furthermore, speaking of the other interpreters specifically of the creation of man, Tobin remarks:

> Previous interpreters of the creation account did not use allegorical terminology to describe what they were doing. Although the techniques of allegorical interpretation were used at previous levels of interpretation, the terminology was not. In other words, previous interpreters of the creation account gave no indication that they thought of their interpretations *as* allegorical" (148).

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[3] *Héraclite: Allégories d'Homère* (ed. F. Buffière; Paris: Sociéte d'edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1962) 5.2. Cf. R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event* (Richmond: John Knox, 1959) 37-39. A convenient collection of ancient definitions is offered in Philip Rollinson and Patricia Matsen, *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1981) 111-15 (see also Rollinson's discussion of classical theories, pp. 3-28).

[4] David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[5] Thomas Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation* (CBQMS 14; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983).

[6] In a footnote, however, Tobin argues that "Philo was probably not the only Jewish interpreter to maintain the validity of both levels of interpretation," but "he certainly seems to have been the most prominent among them" (156-57, n. 51).

He also argues that Philo incorporates the interpretations of other Allegorists into his own commentaries because he, unlike previous exegetes, considers all these interpretations to have validity, even though some are more congenial to him than others (162).

Richard Goulet offers a comprehensive survey of the entire Philonic corpus, though he emphasizes passages that apparently reveal pre-Philonic interpretations.[7] Goulet contends that true allegorical exposition involves the rejection of the literal meaning of the text. In ancient Judaism it is best found in a great allegorical commentary on the Pentateuch written a generation or two prior to Philo by a group he refers to as φυσικοί. All of Philo's non-fictive references to other exegetes refer to that commentary.[8] Since Philo himself regularly approves both literal and allegorical interpretations, he himself is not an allegorist in the strict sense of the term. Goulet also does not find genuine allegory in Aristobulus, Pseudo-Aristeas, or the Wisdom of Solomon; but he finds traces in Pseudo-Aristeas of allegorical interpretations taken over but not developed by that writer (532-41). The true allegory of the pre-Philonic commentary was distinguished by a secularizing, demythologizing tendency: the φυσικοί were uninterested in Jewish ritual and ethics and sought to find beneath the words of Moses teachings of Stoic philosophy and science that emphasized human self-sufficiency (41; 519-24). Philo incorporated their interpretations into his own writings, but twisted them and added to them to bring out his own radically different notions of dependence on God.

In his book David Dawson compares the allegorical approaches of three ancient Alexandrians: Philo, Valentinus, and Clement of Alexandria. He contends that allegorical interpretation as practiced by all three was a means of "cultural revision" (119, 235-38, 246 n. 16). It should not be conceived simply or primarily as a matter of literary or hermeneutical technique (1).[9] In contrast to Valentinus, whose norm was personal experience mythologized, and Clement, whose norm was the Logos *and* scripture (Old and New Testaments), for Philo the norm is the text of the Jewish Bible (LXX). The Bible is the "lens" through which he views the world.[10] Philo employs

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[7] *La philosophie de Moïse: Essai de reconstitution d'un commentaire philosophique préphilonien du Pentateuque* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1987).

[8] Goulet contends that all Philo's references to literalist exegetes are fictional: they are mere rhetorical devices employed to indicate the level of exegesis rejected by true allegorists.

[9] Approaching the subject from another angle, Pin'has Carny also argues that Philonic allegory is more than a method of reading texts; it is the means by which Philo created "a whole structural vision of the universe, which in turn determined his work as an interpreter." In a recent essay summarizing research he has published in Hebrew, Carny maintains that scholars have generally not grasped the distinctiveness and complexity of Philo's concept of allegory ("Philo's Uniqueness and Particularity," in Uffenheimer, Benjamin and Henning Graf Reventlow, *Creative Biblical Exegesis: Christian and Jewish Hermeneutics through the Centuries* [JSOTSup 59; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988] 31-38).

[10] As Dawson himself indicates, his approach to interpreting allegory is partly indebted to the view of religion elaborated by George A. Lindbeck (*The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984]). Lindbeck speaks of "the culture-forming power of the biblical outlook" and of "absorbing the universe into the bibical world" (134-35).

allegory as a means for subverting the dominant pagan Greco-Roman culture: he claims that the best pagan ideas are the secret meaning of the Bible which allegorical interpretation discloses, and he insists that the God-inspired Moses presented those ideas long before the pagans did (the pagans indeed borrowed or stole from Moses). Paganism in its best moments is thus not repudiated but captured and placed in subjection to the Jewish religious tradition (107-113).[11] The meanings of "literal" and "allegorical" and the distinctions between them are relative and fluctuate over time: the literal level of meaning is fundamentally what a particular culture assumes to be "obvious" in relation to the world and texts (7-8).[12] Philo uses allegory largely to portray the life of the soul in relation to a world created by God as a suitable environment for soul-making.[13] At the same time he insists on obedience to the Mosaic laws as interpreted at the literal level in order to maintain Jewish identity and to argue that the Jewish people are under the special protection of God, whose ultimate intention is to lead all nations to embrace those laws—i.e., to convert to Judaism (112).

It is not the purpose of this paper to evaluate these books as interpretations of Philo, but rather to consider how well their views shed light on the allegorical exegetes to whom Philo refers. From these three studies[14] we might glean at least the following questions about those Allegorists:

1. Did they use allegorical terminology or in other ways indicate that they were conscious of using allegorical methods?
2. Did they accept literal as well as allegorical interpretations of the same Biblical passages?
3. Did they favor secular as opposed to religious (God-centered) interpretations?
4. Did they view their work as subverting the dominant culture of Greco-Roman-Egyptian paganism?

Listening for the Self-Descriptions of the Allegorists

In the Greek passages[15] describing other Allegorists, the following terms occur, and they appear to represent a kind of technical vocabulary[16] for allegorizing:

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11 Dawson quotes with approval Erich Auerbach's contention that the Jewish Bible "seeks to overcome our reality: we are to fit our own life into its world" (Dawson 235).

12 A good example of a Philonic passage that may be held to offer "allegorical" or "literal" interpretations, depending on the reader's viewpoint, is *QG* 1.8 (see Tobin 159-60).

13 The interpretations focused on human experience are "ethical," those on the nature of the world as the context for the soul's development are "cosmological" (Dawson 98).

14 They are essentially independent of one another. Goulet does not mention Tobin. Dawson does not discuss Tobin's views and does not mention Goulet.

15 By limiting ourselves to the Philonic texts preserved in Greek, we can be most sure of Philo's original terminology.

16 Cf. the terms listed as "allegorical terminology" in Tobin 53-54, 147. See also Hanson, *Allegory and Event*, 40-41.

ἀλληγορία	*Post.* 7; *Plant.* 36; *Somn.* 1.102; *Spec.* 2.147; *Contempl.* 78
ἀλληγορεῖν	*Mut.* 67; *Somn.* 2.142; *Abr.* 99; *Contempl.* 28
ἀλληγορικός	*Somn.* 2.142
σύμβολον	*Migr.* 89; *Mos.* 2.98; *Spec.* 3.178; *Contempl.* 29
συμβολικός	*Somn.* 1.118; *Abr.* 99, 147; *Spec.* 3.179
τροπικός	*Ios.* 151
ὑπόνοια	*Migr.* 89; *Congr.* 170-72; *Contempl.* 29, 78
φύσις	*Contempl.* 29
φυσικός	*Post.* 7; *Abr.* 99

Tobin correctly observed that such technical terms do not appear specially in relation to pre-Philonic interpretations of humanity's creation. But they appear plentifully in Philonic passages dealing with other parts of the Bible, and this fact by itself suggests that these Allegorists were quite self-conscious regarding their hermeneutical enterprise. It seems likely that they deliberately approached biblical interpretation with concepts and methods they knew to be employed by pagan interpreters of Homer.

Apart from tallying individual terms, we find in a number of Philonic passages suggestions of hermeneutical theorizing which may well go back to the other Allegorists. Some major passages of this sort may be usefully reviewed.

In *Somn.* 1.102 Philo says that a particular passage in Genesis cannot be meaningfully interpreted on the literal level and introduces an allegorical exposition with these words:

> Let us in accordance with the rules of allegory make such remarks as are appropriate. We say . . . (*λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἑπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρέποντα . . . φάμεν. . . .*).[17]

Although there is no overt reference to other exegetes in this passage, the phrase "the rules of allegory" has tantalized many Philonic scholars. Does Philo refer to a set of rules that other Allegorists had devised, or does he follow a set of rules systematically himself?[18] In any case, he can assume that *his*

[17] All Greek texts and translations are from the LCL edition.

[18] In *Spec.* 1.287 Philo speaks of the "canons" of allegory. Nowhere, however, does Philo explain what these rules might be, though some modern scholars have attempted to distill sets of "rules of allegory" from Philo's writings. See David I. Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck], 1992) 199-200. It seems perfectly possible, however, that Philo is speaking loosely, as one today might say "So-and-so plays by the rules" without having any specific set of rules in mind. Goulet (545-46) develops a contrast between Philo and his predecessors on this point.

readers know what it means to turn to allegorical exposition and that they have some notion of standards or typical features of non-literalist interpretation.

In three passages Philo introduces an allegorical interpretation by reporting that he has heard it from others. Thus in *Ios.* 151 he writes:

> I have heard, however, some scholars given an allegorical exposition of this part of the story in a different form (ἤκουσα μέντοι καθ' ἑτέραν ἰδέαν τροπικώτερον τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀκριβούντων). It was as follows. The king of Egypt, they said, was our mind, the ruler of the land of the body in each of us over which he is invested with kingly power. When this mind becomes enamored of the body. . . . .

These other Allegorists interpreted this part of the Genesis narrative in relation to the "the allegory of the soul," though not necessarily one emphasizing the soul's relation to God.

In *Abr.* 99, after summarizing at the literal level the Genesis 12 narrative concerning Abraham, Sarah, and the king of Egypt, Philo writes:

> I have also heard some natural philosophers (φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν) who took the passage allegorically (ἀλληγορούντων), not without good reason. They said that the husband was a figure (συμβολικῶς) for the good mind, judging by the meaning given for interpretation of this name that it stood for a good disposition of soul. The wife, they said, was virtue, her name being in Chaldean Sarah but in our language a sovereign lady, because nothing is more sovereign or dominant than virtue. Now in a marriage where the union is brought about by pleasure, the partnership is between body and body, but in the marriage made by wisdom it is between thoughts which seek purification and perfect virtues. Now the two kinds of marriage are directly opposed to each other. For in the bodily marriage the male sows the seed and the female receives it; on the other hand in the matings within the soul, though virtue seemingly ranks as wife, her natural function is to sow good counsels and excellent words and to inculcate tenets truly profitable to life, while thought, though held to take the place of the husband, receives the holy and divine sowings.

Here we see Allegorists who explain or justify their interpretation on the grounds of etymologies of "Abraham" and "Sarah."[19] Philo proceeds (§§101b-102) to offer another allegorical interpretation of his own: observing facts in their "naked" truth (which is obscured through language), we can recognize that, although ἀρετή is a feminine noun, virtue is really masculine in nature, while thought is female and passive. Philo shares with these other Allegorists the conviction that the patriarchal marriage signifies the relationship between mind and virtue. The term φυσικοί suggests that these Allegorists are devoted to the discovery of Nature in its deepest meaning.[20]

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19 Cf. Lester L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo* (BJS 115; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 126-27, 201. On the relation between etymology and pagan allegorizing, see Dawson 23, 43-47.

20 Some interpreters (e.g., Bousset, Goulet) have seen here the self-designation of a distinctive group of Allegorists. But this is the only Philonic passage that appears to use φυσικοί in this way. In *Post.* 7 the term is apparently used of all Allegorists (cf. the use of

In *Spec.* 3.178, after setting forth a literal interpretation of the law about punishing women who defend their husbands improperly, Philo introduces another line of interpretation as follows:

> I have heard another interpretation from highly gifted men (*θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν*) who think that most of the contents of the law-book are outward symbols (*σύμβολα*) of hidden truths, expressing in words what is left unsaid. This explanation was as follows. There is in the soul a male and female element just as there is in families. . . . The male soul assigns itself to God alone as the Father and Maker of the Universe and the Cause of all things. The female clings to all that is born and perishes; it stretches out its faculties like a hand to catch blindly at what comes in its way, and gives the clasp of friendship to the world of created things with all its numberless changes and transmutations, instead of to the divine order, the immutable, the blessed, the thrice happy. . . .

Philo proceeds to suggest that Moses's law about the cutting off of the woman's hand is not to be taken literally (§179—in contrast to the "common" interpretation of the regulation presented in §175). The "real" (allegorical) meaning favored by these other Allegorists, which Philo seems to accept himself, is that we should cut off from our minds all thoughts linked with the realm of birth and death, which for these Allegorists is also symbolized by the female as opposed to the male. In §180 Philo adds that he will add "another thought, following where the study of nature (*φύσις*) leads me": one should cut off any tendency in one's soul to honor the material world more highly than God. The commandment is rightly understood when understood symbolically as enjoining control of one's thoughts so that they are not dominated by materialism rather than religion.[21]

In *Abr.* 200 a literal interpretation is followed by an allegorical one, which is presented as:

> obscure to the many but recognized by those who prefer the mental to the sensible and have the power to see it (*οἱ τὰ νοητὰ πρὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδεχόμενοι*).

Here we also seem to have Platonic contrasts of "the many" and "the few" (the latter term distinguishing persons capable of grasping allegorical interpretations) and of the sensible and noetic worlds.

The most detailed descriptions of the allegorical actitivities of the Therapeutae are presented in two passages. In *Contempl.* 28-29 we learn that their spiritual discipline consists in daily study:

> They read the Holy Scriptures and seek wisdom from their ancestral philosophy by taking it as an allegory (*ἀλληγοροῦντες*), since they

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φύσις in *Contempl.* 29 and 64). Cf. the use of *φυσικῶς* by Aristobulus in Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8.10.2 (376B).

21 Clearly the interpretation that Philo himself adds here is "pious" in the sense of demanding reliance on God; the interpretation of the other Allegorists *might* have emphasized a kind of Platonic contrast between the perishable realm of generation and that of imperishable Ideas, without direct reference to God.

> think that the words of the literal text are symbols of something whose hidden nature is revealed by studying the underlying meaning (ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥητὴ ἑρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης). They also have writings of men of old, the founders of their way of thinking, who left many memorials of the form used in allegorical interpretation (πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις ἰδέας) and these they take as a kind of archetype and imitate the method in which this principle is carried out.

Thus the Therapeutae deliberately practice a form of scriptural study based on written models, commentaries on the Bible in an allegorical form (ἰδέα). When the community assembles, the sermonic address of the President is characterized as follows:

> The exposition of the sacred scriptures treats the inner meaning conveyed in allegory (ἐν ἀλληγορίαις). For to these people the whole law book seems to resemble a living creature with the literal ordinances for its body and for its soul the invisible mind laid up in its wording. It is in this mind especially that the rational soul begins to contemplate the things akin to itself and looking through the words as through a mirror beholds the marvelous beauties of the concepts, unfolds and removes the symbolic coverings and brings forth the thoughts and sets them bare (γύμνα) to the light of day for those who need but a little reminding to enable them to discern the inward and hidden through the outward and visible (§78).

The idea of "looking through the words" suggests that ultimately the words of scripture are less important than the invisible realities to which they point. The image of a mirror suggests that part of the "deep knowledge" sought is self-knowledge.[22] G. Bruns argues that Philonic allegory is essentially not a method of reading a text but a form of spiritual living.[23] That fits well with Philo's account of the Therapeutae. He says that their allegorical study was "a contemplation of the verities of nature (φύσις), following the truly sacred instructions of the prophet Moses" (§64).[24]

A striking analogue to this description is found in the midst of Philo's account of the Essenes, whose philosophical interests he says are centered on the existence of God, the creation, and ethics—on such matters "they take for their trainers the laws of their fathers." On the Sabbath they gather in synagogues attentively.

> Then one takes the books and reads aloud and another of especial proficiency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. For

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22 Cf. James 1:22-25. James implies that true self-understanding comes through outward observance of the law.

23 G. L. Bruns, "The Problem of Figuration in Antiquity," in G. Shapiro and A. Sica (eds.) *Hermeneutics: Questions and Prospects* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984) 151.

24 In his concluding paragraph (§90) Philo says the Therapeutae are devoted to the contemplation of φύσις and succeed in living "in the soul alone."

> most of their philosophical study takes the form of allegory (διὰ συμβόλων), and in this they emulate the tradition of the past (*Prob.* 82).

Here, too, Philo suggests that a living community of Allegorists consciously interprets the Bible in accord with a standard from the past. Philo emphatically portrays both communities as devoted to allegorical study; but he never directly offers any sample of their exegesis.[25]

Perhaps Philo's most celebrated description of other Allegorists and their self-understanding is provided in *Migr.* 89-93. It is significant that this passage appears in the midst of a larger discussion about the value of a good reputation. Many genuinely good persons, he says, have aroused hostility from their neighbors because they ignored general opinion (§86). He continues:

> We should take thought for fair fame as a great matter and one of much advantage to the life which we live in the body. And this fair fame is won as a rule by all who cheerfully take things as they find them and interfere with no established customs, but maintain with care the constitution of their country.
>
> There are some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols (σύμβολα) of matters belonging to the intellect, are over punctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen and in what is seen to be stewards without reproach. As it is, as though they were living alone by themselves in a wilderness, or as though they had become disembodied souls (ἀσώματοι ψυχαί), and knew neither city nor village nor household nor any company of human beings at all, overlooking all that the mass of men regard, they explore reality in its naked absoluteness (τὴν ἀλήθειαν γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρευνῶσιν). These men are taught by the sacred word to have thought for good repute, and to let go nothing that is part of the customs fixed by divinely empowered men (θεσπέσιοι) greater than those of our time.

Philo does not identify these "divinely empowered men," but it seems at least possible that he is alluding to Allegorists of past generations who made a point of obeying the Mosaic laws outwardly, while probing their "inner" meaning. He implies that the Allegorists he criticizes are not so great as those earlier ones, who had regard for the physical as well as the spiritual. They live, he says, as though in the wilderness—far away from critical neighbors. He goes on to mention four specific areas of ritual law, implying that the Allegorists he is criticizing affirm the stated symbolic interpretations and reject outward obedience:

> (1) It is quite true that the Seventh Day is meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings. But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid down for its observance. . . . (2) It is true

[25] A point stressed in my essay, "Things Philo Said and Did Not Say about the Therapeutae," *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers*, 673-83.

> also that the Feast is a symbol of gladness of soul and of thankfulness to God, but we should not for this reason turn our backs on the general gatherings of the year's seasons. (3) It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit under which the mind supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own power: but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcising. (4) Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shown us by the inner meaning of things (*οἱ δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλούμενοι*).

It is noteworthy that Philo seems to imply that these "extremists" have not realized (or put into practice) the full implications of their principle of rejecting ritual behavior. Philo then proceeds to argue from an important image:

> Nay, we should look on all these outward observances as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as resembling the soul. It follows that, exactly as we have to take thought for the body, because it is the abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter of the laws.

The comparison of the relationship of Literal and Allegorical to that of Body and Soul has already been said to be part of the hermeneutical theory of the Therapeutae.[26] It appears to be echoed in *Abr.* 88 and 147 and may have been an image widely used by Allegorists striving to go beyond the realm of the physical.[27] In *Migr.* 93, however, Philo, takes up the image to argue for physical obedience: as the soul's place of residence, the body should not be ignored. Philo concludes with two further arguments:

> If we keep and observe these, we shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are the symbols (*σύμβολα*); and besides that we shall not incur the censure of the many and the charges they are sure to bring against us.

Literal obedience, he suggests, can enhance understanding of the symbolic meaning. Finally, it will protect Allegorists from the accusations of "the many." The concern for maintaining a good reputation that dominates the larger context of this passage suggests that consideration for the opinion of "the many" (presumably the majority of Jews in Alexandria) is a primary reason, in Philo's view, for keeping the ritual laws at the literal level.[28]

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[26] It has sometimes been suggested that *Migr.* 89-93 is a veiled critique of the Therapeutae. But the Therapeutae kept the Sabbath (*Contempl.* 32) and probably other parts of the ritual laws at the outward level as well; and they did live in the wilderness (*Contempl.* 19-20), whereas these "extremists" apparently do not (*Migr.* 90).

[27] On the connection of Philo's use of the image with later Christian distinctions between allegorical and literal interpretation, see Annewies van den Hoek, "The Concept of *σῶμα τῶν γραφῶν* in Alexandrian Theology," *Studia Patristica* 19: 250-54.

[28] Philo does not mention ethical as opposed to ritual commandments, though the interpretation of circumcision in relation to passions (*Migr.* 92) implies ethical sensitivity. Presumably the critics of these Allegorists would have seized on the label of moral antinomianism if that could have been plausibly pinned on them. See also Peder Borgen

Philo does *not* say that these Allegorists questioned the meaningfulness of literal interpretation of the Mosaic laws. They viewed the literal level of interpretation as perfectly meaningful; what they did was refuse to practice the laws interpreted at the literal level on the ground that they should concern themselves only with immaterial things. Furthermore, Philo associates himself with these Allegorists even while scolding them. He agrees with all their symbolic interpretations of ritual laws, but then adds "Yet, let us not. . . ." He, too, is interested in the pursuit of "the naked truth" of immaterial realities. He is an Allegorist, mildly reproving fellow Allegorists, largely for the sake of preventing criticism from "outsiders."[29] Subsequently he remarks that "it is characteristic of a perfect soul to aspire both to be and to be thought to be, and to take pains not only to have a good reputation in the men's quarters, but to receive the praises of the women's as well" (§96).

Some General Issues

In the light of passages like those we have examined, what can we make of Goulet's contention that the pre-Philonic allegorical commentary (which Philo constantly referred to in his references) was marked by a strong "secular" character, emphasizing the powers of the human mind rather than reliance on God? Some of the passages surveyed do stress the power of human beings to master their passions without emphasizing overtly the God-human relationship. Others, however, dwell on that relationship. Perhaps some Allegorists were more "secular" (more focused on human psychology than on religion) than others—or perhaps some interpreted the Bible in relation to human nature and its capacities without intending to imply disrespect or indifference toward God (one might in such a case speak of a "naïve secularism"). Some of the passages we have considered, however, clearly indicate Allegorists who maintained a God-centered viewpoint. The "extreme" Allegorists of *Migr.* 91-92 interpret the Sabbath as a symbol of God's unceasing activity and "the Feast" as a sign of joy and gratitude toward God.[30] The Therapeutae, whom Goulet thinks might have been behind the "secular" pre-Philonic allegorical commentary are emphatically represented by Philo as devoted to the God of Moses (e.g., *Contempl.* 4, 26, 29, 68, 85, 87, 90).

What of Dawson's theory that Jewish allegory represented a bold victimizing of Greco-Roman culture whereby all its good elements were said to have originated with Moses? None of the passages describing Allegorists that we have examined in itself bears obvious traces of prejudice against

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Philo, John and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity (BJS 131; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 65-70.

29 Y. Amir (in J. Mulder and H. Sysling, eds. *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible* [Assen: 1988] 444) suggests with little argument that this is not a very serious concern for Philo. Considering the obvious prominence of the Literalists in Alexandrian Jewish community, however, Philo's interest in avoiding censure is entirely understandable.

30 With regard to circumcision, Philo mentions two symbolic meanings in *Migr.* 92: excision of the passions and elimination of thoughts of human self-sufficiency. The more religious second one *might* be Philo's addition. For a somewhat different reading, see Goulet 40.

pagans[31] or a tone of conquering a non-Jewish culture. None refers to the claim (attested in Aristobulus and Philo) that pagan authors borrowed or stole their best ideas from Moses. Philo himself sometimes vehemently asserts the superiority of his religious heritage over all pagan culture, and other Allegorists may have done the same—but our evidence does not show that they did so.

On the other hand, allegorical interpretations that stressed the power of the mind to rule or conquer the passions seem to us so close to contemporary pagan teachings that we may well—from our modern point of view—speak of a tendency to turn Jewish scriptures into code presentations of non-Jewish messages. But at what point did the loyalty of Allegorists to Judaism become doubtful? First-century Alexandria surely contained pagans who affirmed belief in a single God deserving of unqualified human devotion, and Philo himself praises certain pagans as having come *close* to the truths of Moses.

Part of the problem with evaluating Dawson's thesis is to interpret its meaning. Does "victimization" occur if it seems to twentieth-century scholars that Plato and other pagan writers were used or abused by hellenistic Jewish writers attributing to Moses thoughts which historically originated with the pagans? Does Dawson's thesis depend on a consciousness among ancient hellenistic Jews that they were engaged in cultural subversion? Or is the "victimization" really a façade or cover for victimizing in the opposite direction: Jewish scriptures and Judaism being drained of their literal or natural meaning, which is then replaced by pagan concepts and values through the deceptive transformative "magic" of allegorizing?[32] Peder Borgen has described Philo as "a conqueror on the verge of being conquered."[33] Was hellenistic Judaism in the persons of these other Allegorists on the brink of capitulation to paganism?

Insofar as Allegorists concentrated their attention on Jewish scriptures, they were deciding to maintain one crucial mark of Jewish identity. Dawson finds some of the most important signs of Philo's own loyalty to Judaism not in his allegorizing but in his obedience to the laws of Moses at the literal level.[34] But even Allegorists who gave up all such ritual observances were insisting on a basic form of Jewishness so long as they sought wisdom in the Jewish Bible. Bréhier once remarked that Philo regularly assumes that revelation and reason coincide.[35] One might say of the other Allegorists that he mentions (and also of Philo) that they assumed no essential or inevitable conflict between devotion to the Jewish scriptures and recognition of the truths

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31 Such feelings of hostility or disdain are attested in Philo's treatise on the Therapeutae in some passages (*Contempl.* 5-8, 14-16, 48-63, 68). These appear to be Philo's own attitudes (largely paralleled in his other writings), but the Therapeutae *may* have shared them.

32 Goulet's theory of a fundamentally secular pre-Philonica allegorical commentary comes close to this: that work used allegory as a means of overthrowing the traditional religious culture of Jews.

33 "Philo of Alexandria: A Critical and Synthetically Survey of Research Since World War II," *ANRW* II.21.1: 150-54.

34 See Dawson 117-19.

35 Bréhier, Emile. *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Etudes de philosophie médiévale 8; Paris: J. Vrin, 1950) 314.

to be found in pagan culture. Whatever culture wars or conquests had occurred in the past or might occur in the future, Philo does not depict these Jewish Allegorists as intentional cultural imperialists.

Clearly one of the notable features of Philo's devotion to allegorical exegesis is his simultaneous affirmation of literal interpretation. An oscillation between both levels in a way that accepts the validity of each is perhaps the most distinctive feature of the *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim et Exodum*, and it is found in a number of other Philo's writings (in *De Abrahamo* this oscillation has a particularly prominent place). Such writings assume that Philo's implied readers also accept both kinds of exegesis. Philo never seems to need to justify interpretation at the literal level,[36] though sometimes he is moved to attack literalists who reject all allegorizing.

Did other Allegorists besides Philo and his readers affirm the value or validity of exegesis at both literal and allegorical levels? The Therapeutae, though principled Allegorists, also observed the Sabbath and probably other parts of the Mosaic law at the literal level. Philo does not explicitly say that other Allegorists did approve literal exegesis, but he does not say they did not.[37] Neither does he say explicitly that other exegetes besides himself could entertain more than one allegorical interpretation of the same passage. He generally does not seem interested in giving rounded accounts of other exegetes and their viewpoints (apart from the Therapeutae), but usually mentions them in passing as he moves to present allegorical interpretations. Philo clearly does not, however, expect his readers to be surprised when he suggests that one can approve both literal and allegorical levels of interpretation and more than one allegorical interpretation. He nowhere seems to think it necessary to argue for his frequent practice of affirming multiple layers of meaning in relation to a single Biblical passage.

Tobin remarks in one passage (160) that there was a fundamental tension or contradiction in Philo's use of the methods of pagan allegorical interpretation while maintaining belief in the literal level of interpretation. Yet most Jews attracted to allegorizing must have been conscious immediately of the problem involved in rejecting literal interpretation of the Mosaic laws and obedience to the ritual laws understood at that level. No such problem would exist for pagans like Cornutus or Heraclitus as they reinterpreted Homer. The maintenance of Jewish identity largely hinged for Philo—and surely for many other Jews of his day, including many other Allegorists—on an orthopraxy grounded in literal interpretation of the Pentateuch.[38]

Conclusions

Philo mentions the existence of other allegorical exegetes in many passages, and he sometimes provides limited descriptions of them (though it is always difficult to draw a sharp line between his views and those he ascribes

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[36] As noted above, even in *Migr.* 89-93 the issue is not literal interpretation but obedience at the literal level.

[37] Cf. Tobin 156 n. 51.

[38] Cf. A. Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* (BJS 161; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), esp. 51-75.

to the other exegetes). Some of his descriptions strongly imply that at least some of these Allegorists were self-conscious about practicing a distinctive, non-literal mode of interpretation; they developed or maintained theories (or at least metaphors) to conceptualize the connection of scripture with unseen realities and employed technical terms probably taken over from pagan allegorists. Philo uses various terms to refer to the Allegorists, suggesting that he does not think of them as forming a single group or consistently agreeing on methods or results.

While some Allegorists rejected outward observance of the Jewish ritual law, there is no reason to think that most did so (*Migr.* 89-93 is the *only* passage that directly speaks about this problem in all of Philo's writings—which suggests this was a limited "problem"). Philo freely offers literal and allegorical interpretations (often more than one) of the same scripture passage, and probably many other Allegorists did so as well. While some of the interpretations Philo attributes to the Allegorists have a "secular" character in the sense of not directly referring to God, none has an obviously anti-religious character and a number of them explicitly deal with the God-human relationship.

It is possible from a modern standpoint to speak of all these Allegorists and Philo as well as involved in a broad program of "cultural revision." But, judging simply from Philo's descriptions, it seems likely that these other Allegorists did not typically regard themselves as militant subversives. Their primary interest was not gaining a victory over paganism but comprehending more fully the wisdom contained and concealed in scripture.

Philo and the Greek Tradition of Allegorical Exegesis

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The question of Philo's relationship to the method of allegorical exegesis practised by Greek scholars of Homer (and perhaps other poets) at least since the early Hellenistic era, but exemplified only in such later works as 'Heraclitus', *Homerika Problēmata,* and Pseudo-Plutarch, *The Life and Poetry of Homer,* and then picked up by later Platonists, from Porphyry on, as a tool for the explanation of Plato, is a matter which I have dealt with before this,[1] but which seems to me now, over ten years on, to merit further consideration.

What we find both in Philo and in the Hellenic tradition, as I described it, is a distinctive set of procedures regarding the dividing up of the text, the distinguishing of *theoria* and *lexis,* the treatment of previous authorities, named and otherwise, the raising and solving of *aporiai,* and, above all, the distinguishing of various levels of interpretation, literal (or 'historical'), ethical and 'physical' (and even, on occasion, 'theological'), at which the chosen text may be taken. I trust that it may be regarded as accepted, on the basis of the many parallels that I have provided, that Philo and the Neoplatonists are the beneficiaries of a common tradition of exegesis. What I would like to explore in more depth on the present occasion is a question which I rather glossed over earlier, that is, just what form or forms of exegesis might have been available to Philo himself, and what theoretical justifications of the practice of allegory were extant in his time.

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One thing, I think, that we can agree on is that there was not yet in Philo's time any tradition of allegorical exegesis of the works of Plato. What we do observe, going back even to the Old Academy, and Xenocrates in particular,[2] is a type of exegesis of the dialogues which seeks to extract a set of coherent and mutually consistent *dogmata* from them, making use in the process of a procedure much indulged in by Philo, the adducing of parallel passages. If,

[1] 'The Formal Structure of Philo's Allegorical Exegesis' in *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria,* by David Winston and John Dillon, Scholars Press: Chico, 1983, pp. 77-87.

[2] Although works such as that of Hermodorus *On Plato* (frags. most conveniently collected in Margherita Isnardi Parente, *Senocrate–Ermodoro: Frammenti,* Naples, 1982, pp. 157-60) no doubt played their part as well.

for instance, we are concerned with the doctrine of the *telos,* or purpose of human life, we will start from the famous passage of the *Theaetetus,* 176B, which gives us the *telos* of making ourselves like unto God so far as is possible (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν), but this will be linked up with *Timaeus* 90CD and even with certain passages of the *Republic* (6.500CD and 10.613B), where the same sentiment is expressed, and a commentary on any of these passages will tend to evoke a reference to the others.[3]

This is not properly allegorization, of course, merely dogmatization, but the one process can shade off into the other as soon as one becomes concerned to extract from a given passage a dogma which Plato appears not to be propounding explicitly, but only hinting at. We find such a situation particularly in respect of topics in philosophy which really only found their full formulation considerably after Plato's time, in the context of the Hellenistic Schools.

A notable example of this would be the topic of free will and determinism, a problem the full force of which was not felt until Stoics such as Chrysippus posed the challenge of determinism in its starkest form in the early third century BCE. Once it was stated, however, loyal Platonists, at least after the revival of dogmatism in the first century BCE, could not accept that the Master did not have a position on the question, and the search began for proof texts from which a doctrine might be derived.

The most obvious such text was that passage from the myth of *Republic* 10 which concerns the apportionment of lots and the choice of lives (617D-620D), but most particularly the speech of the Prophet (617DE). This could be linked up with certain pronouncements in the *Timaeus* (e.g., 41DE) and in *Laws* 10 (e.g., 903B-904E), to produce a position supporting relative free will, but it involved drawing out of these passages somewhat more than appeared at first sight to be in them, and it is this process which comes close to *allēgoria* in the strictly etymological sense of the word.[4]

* * *

The man who provides us with this etymology is Heraclitus (or 'Pseudo-Heraclitus'?), the author of the so-called *Allegories of Homer,* or more properly *Homerika Problēmata,*[5] who composed his work, in all probability, somewhat after Philo's time, but is certainly dependent on older material.[6] In chap. 5 of

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[3] This formulation of the Platonic *telos* seems to show up first in Eudorus, *ap.* Stob. *Anth.* II 49, 8ff., earlier Platonists, including Antiochus of Ascalon, having adopted versions of the Stoic *telos,* 'living in conformity with Nature'. Eudorus actually distinguishes a 'physical', an 'ethical' and a 'logical' formulation of this, in the *Timaeus,* the *Republic* and the *Theaetetus* respectively (referring, no doubt, to the passages mentioned above).

[4] One example of this is Alcinous's treatment of the topic in the *Didaskalikos,* chap. 26, where he actually combines *Rep.* 617DE with the 'ordinance of Adrasteia' from the *Phaedrus* myth (248C).

[5] Ed. F. Buffière, Les Belles Lettres: Paris 1962.

[6] The most generally accepted date, endorsed by Buffière (*op. cit.,* p. x), is late first cent. CE, but the author himself provides no real clues, and there seems no reason why he could not be at least a contemporary of Philo.

the work, he gives us this concise definition: "The strict definition of allegory is that mode of discourse which says one thing, but signifies something else than that which is said."[7]

As can be appreciated, this covers a rather wider range of discourse than that normally included under the heading of allegorical exegesis, as indeed Heraclitus intends it to. It also covers a good deal of what Middle Platonists were doing to Plato, in the way of identifying *dogmata* in the dialogues, so long as it is being admitted that Plato himself is only hinting at the doctrine in question in a given passage.

A most interesting document in this connection is one the existence of which has been known for many years, but which is still in the private possession of Professor Raymond Klibansky, who claims to be in the process of editing it, but who has kindly allowed it out meanwhile on limited circulation. This is a fragmentary Middle Platonic summary of the doctrines of Plato which he found, in Latin translation, appended to a manuscript of the works of Apuleius. It is a pretty feeble-minded work in many ways, but it is of great interest nonetheless, as exemplifying a stage in the dogmatization of Plato's works of which we had hitherto no substantial evidence, though strong suspicions. One knew, for example, that such a man as Harpocration of Argos had composed a *Commentary on Plato* in twenty-four books, but we have only fifteen rather exiguous reports of its contents.[8] In this document we have at least a glimpse of what a work such as that of Harpocration might have looked like, though on a much smaller scale.[9]

At any rate, we do not find any clear example of allegorizing in the 'narrow' sense within the Platonic tradition before the time of Porphyry, in the late third century CE. Admittedly, a lost work of Numenius, *On the Secret Doctrines of Plato* (Fr. 23 Des Places), sounds interesting, but its one surviving fragment (preserved by Eusebius) is not very encouraging. However, examined closely, it does give evidence of a procedure which 'Heraclitus' would count as *allēgoria*. Numenius declares that, in the *Euthyphro,* Plato wished to criticise Athenian popular theology, but was afraid that, if he did so directly, the Athenians would disgrace themselves again by doing to him what they did to Socrates, so instead he produced the absurd figure of Euthyphro, who may be understood to stand for the Athenians in general. We do not have to agree with this theory to accept that it embodies an important principle, that Plato may say one thing and mean another. It is very possible

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7 Ὁ γὰρ ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύων τρόπος, ἕτερα δὲ ὧν λέγει σημαίνων, ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται.

8 Collected by me in 'Harpocration's Commentary on Plato: Fragments of a Middle Platonic Commentary', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 (1971), 125-46 (repr. in *The Golden Chain,* Aldershot, 1990, XIV).

9 A good example of the author's procedure is the entry for the 'contents' of Book 6 of the *Republic;* the reader can judge how closely this actually corresponds to what we find in Plato: "*In sexto* solum ingeniosum ait philosophum, et consequentiam habere inter se virtutes, et excepta virtute aliud bonum nihil esse. Mundum autem ratione et ordine administrari, quia sit natura aliquid honestum, bonum, legitimum, iustum; ad quae referendas esse leges eas quae scripto constent." As we see, many basic tenets of Stoic ethics are discerned in the text, and with some ingenuity and patience we could identify the passages on which this is based.

that Numenius went very much further than this in his 'allegorization' of Plato (after all, he had to fill up his book somehow), but we have unfortunately no indications surviving.

We do know, of course, that Platonists of this period were prepared to allegorize Homer. Numenius himself is attested to have done so in whatever work it was which Porphyry is utilising as the chief source for his essay *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey,* and the anonymous author of the *Life and Poetry of Homer,* on the basis of the philosophical section of his work (§§ 112-144), seems to be loosely of the Platonist persuasion, though perhaps not a professional Platonist. This latter man, though, is not indulging in allegory in the narrow, but only in the broader sense, identifying the various doctrines of later philosophy as present by implication in Homer's work. For instance, in chap. 114 he argues (by adducing some very strained interpretations of a number of passages) that Homer regarded the supreme deity as incorporeal and intelligible, while in chap. 129 he demonstrates that Homer is quite well aware of the three parts of the soul later identified by Plato. An extract from the former passage will illustrate his line of reasoning:

> If we are to enquire into this question also, whether he knew of God as intelligible, we will not see him stating this straight out, inasmuch as he is expressing himself in poetry, which contains a high degree of the mythological, but nevertheless it is possible to deduce this from the passage where he says:
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> "She found the son of Kronos, of the far-carrying voice, sitting apart from the others" (*Iliad* 1.498),
>
> and in the passage where Zeus himself says:
>
> "Yet verily, for myself will I abide here sitting in a fold of Olympus, wherefrom I will gaze and make glad my heart." (*Il.* 20.22-3).
>
> For this isolation of his and his not mingling himself with the other gods, but rejoicing in his own company, while resting quiet and constantly administering the universe, is a characterization of the nature of the intelligible god.

It is a nice point, I think, whether such a passage is to be regarded as employing allegory in the strict sense or not. Pseudo-Plutarch certainly regards this no differently from his identifying references to the *logikon, thymikon* and *epithymētikon* in much more straightforward contexts, where Achilles, for example, is pondering a decision κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν (*Il.* 1.193), or Odysseus is addressing his heart (*Od.* 20.18). In each case, the true meaning lies just beneath the surface of the text, obscured by unavoidable mythological adornment.

My purpose in drawing attention to this is simply that, if we can arrive at an understanding of what men like Heraclitus and Pseudo-Plutarch thought they were doing, we have a prospect of estimating more accurately what Philo thought he was doing.

As for Heraclitus, he is engaged primarily in a defence of Homer against his detractors, both philosophical and literary. He makes this clear in his

opening chapters, where he asserts that the only way to save Homer from charges of immorality and artistic incompetence is to recognise that his works must be understood *allēgorikōs:*

> If there some people who, in their ignorance, do not comprehend the allegorical method of Homer, and who have not penetrated into the recesses of his wisdom, but who cast an unexamined judgement as to its truth, not recognising the philosophical nature of what is being said, and fasten upon the appearances of his fictional account, let us dismiss such people from consideration! As for us, who have purified ourselves with ablutions within the sacred precincts, let us follow, under the guidance of the poems, the traces of his sacred truth. (chap. 3)[10]

This is surely laying it on the line in a way of which Philo would have thoroughly approved: the distinction between the surface and the deep recesses of Homer's text, the implication that Homer is not only a philosopher but the founder of philosophy, the mystery terminology (the image of purifying oneself with ablutions is particularly dear to Philo, as we know).[11] It is certainly tempting to suppose that, if Philo was not acquainted with this work of Heraclitus (and there is no absolute chronological bar to his being so acquainted), then he had come upon one or other of the earlier Hellenistic works on which Heraclitus is basing himself, where a number of the same arguments were presented.

One such work that we can identify is that of Herodicus of Babylon, a pupil (or possibly more distant follower) of Crates of Mallos, founder of the Pergamene school of Homeric exegetes, who plainly dealt with the same kind of Homeric *problēmata* as Heraclitus, for the same reasons (defence of Homer's competence and piety), and who probably provides Heraclitus with most of his solutions.

As is the way with many ancient authors of Heraclitus's type, he only reveals his sources to us in the most incidental way, by mentioning a given source's view on some detail, but a detail of such a sort that the treatment of the larger topic is implied. And so it is with Heraclitus and Herodicus. Herodicus is mentioned (chap. 11, 2) near the end of the first topic treated, which is the plague sent by Apollo at the beginning of the *Iliad,* as arguing that the Greeks did not really settle down to the siege of Troy until the tenth year of the war, and that thus there was no real opportunity for a plague to arise from natural causes before that; but it is clear that this assertion formed part of a general discussion of the plague which proceeded very much along the lines followed here by Heraclitus. We may take it, then, that, a century or so before Heraclitus, and well before Philo's time, the Stoic philosopher and Homeric

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10 Εἰ δ' ἀμαθῶς τινες ἄνθρωποι τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ἀλληγορίαν ἀγνοοῦσιν οὐδ' εἰς τὰ μύχια τῆς ἐκείνου σοφίας καταβεβήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἀβασάνιστος αὐτοῖς ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσις ἔρριπται, καὶ τὸ φιλοσόφως ῥηθὲν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὃ μυθικῶς δοκεῖ πλάσαι προσαρμόζουσιν, οὗτοι μὲν ἐρρέτωσαν. ἡμεῖς δ οἱ τῶν ἀβεβήλων ἐντὸς περιρραντηρίων ἡγνίσμεθα, σεμνὴν ὑπὸ νόμῳ τῶν ποιημάτων τὴν ἀληθείαν ἰχνεύωμεν.

11 E.g., *Somn.* 1.226: "For when the holy word (ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος) had cleansed us with the water of sprinkling made ready for our sanctification (τοῖς εἰς ἁγιστείαν εὐτρεπισθεῖσι περιρραντηρίοις), and bringing us to the test had decked us with the varied richness of the secrets of true philosophy . . . ; *Spec. Leg.* 1.191.

exegete Herodicus (himself, no doubt, borrowing much from his master Crates[12]) composed a work in defence of Homer's wisdom, piety and coherence very much in accordance with which we have from the pen of Heraclitus.

My claim would be that it is this work, or something very like it from the same stable, that first set off Philo off on his great quest for the true meaning of the books of Moses. The situations, after all, are very similar. To a sensitive young Hellenised Jewish intellectual, the trivialities and inconsequentialities (if not the apparent impieties) of the Pentateuch, especially when adverted to satirically by ill-intentioned gentiles of the type of Apion, constituted an embarrassment and a scandal. An excellent parallel to this embarrassment, however, could be discerned in that felt by Greek intellectuals about the poems of Homer, once they came to be regarded as repositories of wisdom and models for correct behaviour, and the solution offered by such men as Crates and Herodicus in their exegetical works must have been seized on gratefully by Philo as providing the key to the correct interpretation of the works of Moses.[13]

We do not find quite such a comprehensive introductory defence of his procedure by Philo as we do, in his introduction, by Heraclitus[14], but later on, in the midst of his great enterprise, in the introduction to his account of the Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues (*Conf.* 2-14), stung by the suggestion on the part of certain ill-conditioned persons[15] that Moses is here simply borrowing the Greek myth of the Aloeadae (and the folktale about all animals once upon a time having had a common language), he provides a more comprehensive defence of Moses' method, which is very much along

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12 Crates himself is referred to by Heraclitus (only to be disagreed with), later in the work (chap. 27, 2), on the question of the true meaning of the casting of Hephaestus out of Olympus (mentioned in *Iliad* 1.590-4). What we have here, I would conjecture (on the basis of many other such instances throughout later Greek literature) is a case of Herodicus venturing to disagree with, and 'improve on', his master's interpretation on a particular point, and this being picked up on by Heraclitus. Again, what we have is a significant detail, showing where the true source of Heraclitus's inspiration lies.

13 I am not suggesting that Philo was the *first* of his race and culture to observe this parallel, and draw conclusions from it about the possiblity of allegorizing the Pentateuch, but I would maintain that he is the first to develop a coherent vision of what Moses is up to, deriving from the School of Pergamum's view of Homer—what Samuel Sandmel, in his little book on Philo (*Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction,* Oxford and New York, 1979, p. 24), calls his 'grand Allegory'.

14 In the introduction to the *De opificio mundi,* where one might expect to find something such, he contents himself with a brief remark (*Opif.* 2) to the effect that Moses, in presenting his account of his laws (he seems to have in mind here Plato's procedure in his *Laws*), "refrained on the one hand from stating abruptly what should be practised or avoided, and on the other hand, in face of the necessity of preparing the minds of those who were to live under the laws for their reception, *he refrained from inventing myths himself or acquiescing in those composed by others."*

15 Whether these are hostile gentile critics or Jews who have given up the practice of their faith (like his nephew Alexander) is not quite clear from Philo's words: οἱ μὲν δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πατρίῳ πολιτείᾳ. This could be interpreted to mean "dissatisfied with *their* ancestral constitution."

the same lines as that composed by Heraclitus, with the practice of *allēgoria* presented as a solution.

It has been pointed out by those who, like the late Valentin Nikiprowetsky,[16] objected to the idea that Philo is a 'systematic philosopher' that one can provide allegorical interpretations of a text, often involving philosophical doctrines, without oneself being a philosopher, and indeed it is probable that neither Heraclitus nor Pseudo-Plutarch were themselves professional philosophers. It is, after all, the purpose of both of them to prove, not that Homer is merely a *philosopher* (though he is claimed as the founder of all philosophical schools of thought, among other things), but that he is the world's greatest authority on everything. However, with Philo and Moses the case is clearly otherwise. Philo is not maintaining that Moses knows everything about military tactics, or medicine, or agriculture, or ship-building; what he does wish to maintain is that he is a profound philosopher, or more exactly a philosophical law-giver, after the manner of Plato in the *Laws* (though Philo would never put it that way); and one cannot, it seems to me, make such a claim if one does not have a reasonably coherent philosophical perspective oneself.

This I believe Philo has, but I do not feel it incumbent on me to defend that position once again on the present occasion. What I want to do instead is to examine a Philonic exegesis of a significant passage of the Pentateuch, and present a thematic comparison of it with a similar exegesis by Heraclitus, with a view to studying any elements of procedure that may reveal themselves.

* * *

Let us start with Heraclitus, and take his opening topic, mentioned above, the plague sent by Apollo on the Greek army at the beginning of Book I of the *Iliad,* in punishment for Agamemnon's disrespectful treatment of his priest Chryses, since this is given particularly extended coverage by Heraclitus (chs. 6-16).

As he makes clear at the outset, the reason for dealing with this episode by the allegorical method is that its literal interpretation has attracted hostile comments from critics of Homer, such as the notorious Zoilus. How, it is mainly asked, can Homer present Apollo as punishing the whole Greek army in this way for the misbehaviour of one man, and why in particular should he have attacked first the dogs and mules, who were absolutely innocent victims? Homer, in other words, is being accused both of impiety and of artistic incompetence.

Heraclitus counters these arguments, as befits one dependent on Stoic sources, by giving a 'physical' exegesis. Apollo, he explains, is simply the sun, and he provides various proofs of that identification, including (chap. 7) the interpretation of a series of epithets of Apollo drawn from a work by one Apollodorus, *On the Gods.* He also adduces the fact that in the combat of the gods in Book 20 (67-8), Apollo is ranged against Poseidon, plainly because the fire of the sun is a natural opposite to the water of the sea. We may note this adducing of parallel passages to reinforce one's point, as being a standard

16 In *Le commentaire de l'écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie* (Leiden, 1977).

feature of Philo's method also. The point of identifying Apollo with the sun, of course, is that this demonstrates that the plague was a purely natural misfortune, the sun, especially in the summer months, in conjunction with large bodies of people and animals camped together in one place, and the proximity of marshy ground and stagnant pools of water, being a chief cause of plague.

He then (chs. 8-10) launches into a proof, which we may suspect, as I have mentioned above, to have been derived from Herodicus, that the action of the *Iliad* takes place in the summer, and this involves the adducing of numerous passages from throughout the poem showing that (a) the days were long, (b) the nights were warm, (c) the ground was dry, and there was consequently much dust, and (d) that people sweated very easily.

This in turn leads (chap. 11) to the *aporia,* which is what is being specifically responded to by Herodicus, as to why, if the conditions that the army was in were conducive to plague, at least in the summers, did plague not strike before the tenth year of the war? The answer provided is that for the first nine years the army kept on the move, ravaging various allies of the Trojans up and down the coast, and they really only settled down to the siege in the tenth year.

Having now dealt with what one might term the *theoria* of the passage, or *ta pragmata*—its overall meaning, or the truths contained in it—Heraclitus turns, in chs. 12 to 16, to a consideration of the details of the text, in order to confirm his interpretation: very much the move from *theoria* to *lexis* which we see being followed later, with varying degrees of formality, by Neoplatonic commentators, and which is also familar to Philo[17]. Heraclitus introduces this move with the phrase: νῦν τοίνυν καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος εἰρημένα περὶ τῆς νόσου διασκεψώμεθα, which shows that he knows what he is doing.

The first detail noted is the whistling of Apollo's arrows (l. 46). This is interpreted in accordance with the Pythagorean doctrine of the music and harmony of the spheres, and is seen as simply the sound that the sun makes as it moves through the heavens (chap. 12).

Next, there is the statement that Apollo "came on like unto night" (l. 47). This is explained as being an accurate description of how daylight appears in time of plague—the light of the sun is obscured by vapours. Then there is the detail that Apollo "seated himself far off from the ships", and launched his arrows from afar (ll. 48-9). This proves that his arrows are really the rays of the sun, which itself is far off.

A number of other details are adduced (for instance, dogs and mules are naturally the first victims of plague because they live closer to the ground and are thus more vulnerable to the noxious vapours), but the structure is already clear by now: an initial *aporia* is raised, and dealt with, first, on the general level, and then by the exegesis of details of the text. Here the exegesis is all on the 'physical' level; no ethical conclusions are drawn. This is simply a consequence of the nature of the passage. In the case of the next topic, Athena's restraining of Achilles by pulling his hair (*Il.* 1.194-200), an ethical

17 See the passages collected in Dillon, *Two Treatises,* pp. 78-9.

dimension arises as well as a physical one (sc. Homer's recognition of the three parts of the soul), and so it does in many other instances.

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With this exegesis of Homer we may, I think, profitably compare Philo's exegesis of the Tower of Babel story mentioned above. Here, as in the case of Apollo's Plague, detractors have had a field day. First of all, Moses is accused of plagiarising Greek mythology[18], and then of using it to tell a silly story:

> They (sc. the detractors) point out that the division of speech into a multitude of different kinds of language, which Moses calls 'confusion of tongues', is in the story brought about as a remedy for sin, to the end that men should no longer through mutual understanding be partners in iniquity, but be deaf in a sense to each other[19] and thus cease to act together to effect the same purposes. But no good result seems to have been attained by it. For all the same, after they had been separated into different nations and no longer spoke the same tongue, land and sea were constantly full of innumerable evil deeds. For it is not the utterances of men but the presence of the same cravings for sin in the soul which causes combination in wrongdoing. (9-10, trans. Colson)

Here the silliness of the story is emphasised. If God intended to improve mankind's behaviour by confusing their tongues, he conspicuously failed in his object, and this is an unworthy story to tell of God (even as the sending of the plague is an unworthy story to tell of Apollo).[20] Philo must therefore resort to allegory, in order to recast it in an acceptable form. What he comes up, in fact, is an ethical allegory, focussing on the individual soul, and making use of a number of Platonist motifs in interesting ways.

Since Philo's exposition is immensely more complex than that of Heraclitus, it will be necessary merely to excerpt the main heads of exegesis, leaving aside the characteristically Philonic elaborations, involving chains of parallel passages, both primary and secondary. It is unfortunate, in fact, that no exegesis of this passage of scripture survives from *QGen.*, as that would have constituted a much closer parallel to Heraclitus, but we can isolate the basic structure of *Conf.* without too much difficulty.

Philo starts (14) by declaring that the passage only makes sense if one looks at it as a representation of the state of the individual soul, when that soul is in a state of total perversion. Here he contrasts his approach interestingly with that of literal interpreters[21]:

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18 Actually, Philo could have reasonably turned the argument against the Greeks, had he wished, and convicted them of plagiarising a Mesopotamian story, but this would not have suited his case, since it would still leave Moses dealing in mythology.

19 The text is corrupt here, but the sense is adequately served by Mangey's <μὴ> after κεκωφωμένοι.

20 In fact, it is by no means clear, in the original story, that Yahweh had any good intentions towards man at all, but that is by the way.

21 The passage is unfortunately corrupt at a critical point; something like Colson's supplement seems necessary to complete the sense.

> Those who take the letter of the law in its outward sense, and provide for each question as it arises the explanation which lies on the surface, will no doubt refute on their own principles the authors of these insidious criticisms. <But we shall take the line of allegorical interpretation, not> in any contentious spirit, nor seeking some means of meeting sophistry with sophistry. Rather we shall follow the chain of logical sequence (τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμῷ), which does not admit of stumbling, but easily removes any obstructions and thus allows the argument to march to its conclusion with unfaltering steps. (trans. Colson)

Plainly he is contrasting his procedure with that of literal exegesis, even if we do not have the exact words in which he does that. The phrase ὁ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμός is interesting, as being an expression of Philo's conviction that once one has fastened on the key to the meaning of a passage, all the details of the text should fall into place to support that interpretation, in a logical order.

Having stated his general principle of interpretation, then, he finds confirmation of it in each of the individual parts of the passage in turn, beginning with the statement: "The whole earth was one lip, and one voice for all (11:1)." This he interprets (16-22), in respect of the individual soul, as a 'disharmony, tuneless and unmusical' of external, bodily, and psychic evils, dominating an individual, and rendering him utterly perverted. It is this sad situation that God intervenes to change for the better.

Normally, in Platonic parlance, the idea of psychic harmony betokens the exercise of virtue, with the irrational parts of the soul in due subordination to the reason, but Philo turns this around. One can arrive also at a perverted 'harmony', with the reason and the spirit totally at the service of the passions (21).[22] Philo even adduces the ship of state image (22), owing something, no doubt, to Plato's use of it in *Republic* 6.

This, then, is the meaning of "all the world being of one lip". He plays further variations on this up to § 59, but we need not follow him in that. The next phrase to be dealt with (60-82) is "They moved from the east (or 'the rising') and found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there (11:2)." Philo has relatively little to say about this, except to point out that 'finding' suggests that the wicked actually seek out evil, while 'dwelling' reminds us that the good man does not feel at home in the material world, but regards himself as merely a 'sojourner' there.[23]

When it comes to the building of the city and the tower (11:3-4), he has a good deal more to say (83-133), but basically the brick-making is the analysing and shaping of evil-minded thoughts, and the baking with fire is the employment of sophistical arguments to buttress them. The resulting

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22 Admittedly, Plato does by implication envisage such a 'perverted harmony' in his description of the soul of the tyrannical man in *Republic* 9, though without putting it in just those terms.

23 παροικεῖ μὲν ὁ σοφὸς ὡς ἐν ξένῃ σώματι αἰσθητῷ, κατοικεῖ δ' ὡς ἐν πατρίδι νοηταῖς ἀρεταῖς.

tower is the attempt of these sophists "to rise to the region of celestial things, with the arguments of impiety and godlessness in their van (114)."

It is at this stage that God intervenes: "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower." Such a statement is for Philo clear evidence that the text must be taken non-literally (τροπικώτερον), since there can be no question of God himself descending to earth, or changing his state at all. What is the case, however, is that his powers and *logoi* are all-pervasive, and it is through them that he affects the situation (134-9). What he does, through the agency of his powers, is to inflict total confusion (σύγχυσις) upon the impious, which means that their powers are so annihilated that neither separately nor in combination can they work mischief (189). To reinforce this point, Philo makes use of the Stoic theory of mixture, according to which *synchysis,* by contrast with *mixis* or *krasis,* denotes a blending so complete that the original ingredients are destroyed. This done, the Lord 'disperses' the wicked ("The Lord dispersed them thence", 11:8), in order that he may sow goodness in the world (196): "Thus God the planter (φυτουργός) wills to sow noble living throughout the universe, and to disperse and banish from the commonwealth of the world (ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πολιτείας) the impiety which He holds accursed. Thus the evil ways which hate virtue may at last cease to build the city of vice and tower of godlessness."

This, of course, gives only the bare bones of Philo's exegesis, but I trust that it adequately reflects ὁ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμός. Philo effectively transfers the field of reference of the Tower of Babel story to the human soul, and presents it as an illustration of God's providential care for us. All the details of the text are, by the exercise of various degrees of ingenuity, pressed into service to confirm this interpretation.

When I was originally considering the possible relationship of Philo to his Hellenic sources, I was bothered by the fact that the best attested sources (that is, commentaries on Homer emanating from the school of Pergamum) were firmly Stoic in orientation, whereas Philo, although he is certainly willing to borrow Stoic formulations on occasion, has a transcendentalist and immaterialist perspective which is thoroughly inimical to Stoicism. Indeed, in many passages, Stoic-style exegeses (e.g. for the two Cherubim in *Cher.,* or the 'fathers' of Abraham in *Abr.*) are mentioned only to be rejected as inadequate. I was therefore inclined to postulate a very shadowy tradition of 'Neopythagorean' Homer-exegesis as intervening between the Stoics and Philo, necessarily in around the first century BCE, which, apart from providing a background to his transcendentalism, would help to explain his love of number-mysticism. On reflection, I now think that this is a case of multiplying entities unnecessarily. After all, neither Heraclitus nor Pseudo-Plutarch are faithful adherents of Stoicism, nor indeed of any school (they both, for instance, entertain the Platonic doctrine of the tripartite soul, but also a nmber of Aristotelian concepts as well, such as the aether as a fifth element). It is not therefore necessary to be a Stoic in order to make use of an originally Stoic tradition of allegorical exegesis. It can be adapted quite readily to one's own philosophical perspective, and it was certainly not beyond the wit of Philo to do this. Once one has grasped the technique, one can see that it is not necessarily tied to any one philosophical tradition. I would therefore now see no problem in postulating the products of the Pergamene School of Homer-

exegesis, to which one can confidently attach the names at least of Crates of Mallos and Herodicus of Babylon, as the immediate Vorlage of Philo's own allegorical method.

First-Century Galilee from Archaeology and from the Texts

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Questions to Be Addressed:

1. What would be the distinctive in the material culture that might elicit comment on the part of a traveler? What would the traveler see in Galilee that he or she did not see elsewhere? What would the traveler *not* see that might seem a striking omission?
2. How easy was travel in Galilee? Was it really a haven for bandits and others occupying the social fringe?
3. Who else would the traveler see on the road? Were the roads dominated by the military or by peddlers or by farmers traveling to market?
4. What does one see in Galilee that is distinctively Jewish? At what level of society does this appear? That is, does distinctively Jewish material culture occupy public or private space?

I. Data

1. Major Sites excavated in Lower Galilee or in the valley of the lake: Capernaum, Chorazin, Sepphoris, Magdala, Arbela, Hammath, Philoteria, Nazareth, Beth She'arim, Jalame, Iotapata, and Horvat Amudim.
2. Upper Galilean Sites Excavated or surveyed: Khirbet Shema, Meiron, Gush Halav, en-Nabratein, Meroth, Rama (inscription), Thella (Yassud-Ha-Maʿale—inscription and building), Kefar Hananiyah, and Alma.

II. Some Observations:

1. There is a highly developed local trade network upon which the citizens of Galilee transported goods and services from village to village, to town, and to cities, and vice-versa. Parts of this network in terms of the Roman road system have been known for some time. However, we have had no archaeological method for detecting pre-Hadrianic roads until recently. Therefore the classical maps of the Roman road system have presented no traces of any pre-Hadrianic road system.

Earlier in this century scholars worked backwards from the evidence of Roman milestones, but also from the Madaba mosaic map of the sixth century. For example, the early editions of Avi-Yonah's *Map of Roman*

Palestine, (1931, 1935, and 1940), gave us a network that hardly seemed to allow the traveler of the first century access to Galilee. This is true even in the last edition of its successor, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquest (536 BC–AD 640)*, revised by Anson Rainey and Charles Pfeiffer and published in 1977. In chapter 1 of Part III, "The Roman Road System," Avi-Yonah only shows the pre-Hadrianic roads more or less bracketing Galilee on the west at the Mediterranean coast and on the east beyond the sea of Galilee in the road from Beth Shean-Scythopolis to Damascus. No Pre-Hadrianic road crosses the Galilee. Indeed, even after Hadrian, according to Avi-Yonah's map, one could travel from Ptolemais-Acco inland to Tiberias, or one could travel from Legio to Sepphoris. It is no wonder that generations of scholars of the New Testament and of early Judaism grew up believing that the Galilee was more or less inaccessible.

If we turn to a more recent map, namely, "Eretz Israel during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods," which reflects the extensive knowledge of Israel Roll (edited by Yoram Tsafrir and Leah Di Segni, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1993), we find marked advance over Avi-Yonah's work, but a similar pattern. On this map we see that lower Galilee is outlined by (1) a major, attested road which traverses Lower Galilee from Acco to Sepphoris and thence to Tiberias. Nine milestones are shown on that map. (2) From Tiberias a Roman road leads south on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee and thence to Scythopolis-Bethshean. (3) From Scythopolis-Bethshean a major road of the second century departs west and a little north to Khirbet Ladd, and then turns southwest to Legio in the western Jezreel Valley. Fourteen milestones are known from this road. (4) A major second century Roman road leads north from Legio to Acco-Ptolemais. Five milestones are known from this road. (5) Furthermore, to the far north there is now an attested road that leads from Bethsaida-Julias nearly nine Roman miles west past Chorazin. Roll proposes that this is the road that connects Bethsaida-Julias with Acco-Ptolemais.

Another second century Roman road virtually bisects Lower Galilee east and west. This is the road from Legio which leads northeast, then north from Legio to Sepphoris. Thirteen milestones have been found on that road.

If you object that, as far as we know, these are primarily second century roads, then you are quite correct. But are we therefore to conclude that first century Galilee possessed no means of communication apart from second century military roads?

As a matter of fact, we can deduce by archaeological methods that a pre-second century extensive trade network existed that connected the villages, towns and cities of Lower Galilee, Upper Galilee, the rift, and the Golan. Our evidence is first the tracing of the local production of ordinary pottery vessels from all of Galilee and part of the Golan Heights to ancient Shikhin, Kefar Hananiah, and Nahf, a small village near Rama in Upper Galilee. Adan-Bayewitz has demonstrated by neutron activation analysis that first century pottery vessels manufactured at Kefar Hananiah were transported 24 kilometers as the crow flies from that village to Sepphoris. Furthermore, 75% of the Early Roman common table wares of Sepphoris from the first century CE were manufactured at Kefar Hananiah. Another 15% of the common wares of Sepphoris of the first century CE and later were manufactured hardly

1.5 kilometers away at the ancient village of Shikhin. Surely it is striking that the majority of the common table wares of Sepphoris were imported from a Galilean village many times further away than the nearby pottery production village of Shikhin. Furthermore, it is not merely that these wares were sold at Sepphoris. By the same neutron activation methods Adan-Bayewitz has demonstrated that these wares were sold everywhere in Lower Galilee, Upper Galilee, and the western Golan Heights. Evidently it was not difficult to move the village productions of Kefar Hanania, Shikhin, and Nahaf as well as other localities to their markets everywhere within the Galilee and to the western villages of the Golan Heights.

If the manufacturers and sellers of pottery vessels transported their products to market with relative ease, then it follows that the same is true for other products. In fact we may soon be able to demonstrate a similar success with raw glass manufacturing centers and the dispersal of their product. A fourth century village, Jalame, in western Galilee, was given over to glass vessel production. Why not other such centers in the first century?

The trade network made it possible for certain villages to devote themselves to a single product. We have already seen that Shikhin, Kefar Hananiah, and Nahf were given over to the production of pottery vessels. This is both a literary and an archaeological fact. We have also known for some time from literary evidence that certain areas were wheat production centers: the plain of Arbela and therefore the town of Arbela (*y. Pe'a* 20a) and Kefar Hittaya ["Village of Wheat"] hardly five kilometers west and little south of Arbela, Hukkok ten kilometers west of Capernaum (*y. Pesaḥ.* 27c), and Chorazin (*b. Menaḥ.* 85a), which is about three kilometers north and a little west of Capernaum. The Jerusalem Talmud distinguishes the wheat of Sepphoris and the wheat of Tiberias (*y. B. Qam.* 6d), which may be a contemporary, i.e., fourth century bit of common knowledge that Tiberias and Sepphoris were central markets for wheat. The same assumption informs other texts (*Gen Rab.* 79; *Midr. Pss.* XII, 53a). If we investigate with care, we may find centers for other agricultural products such as olives, barley, wine, and flax, but also for finished products such as cloth, clothing, basketry, perfumes, and metal fittings.

We know from archaeological survey that wine presses are to be found on many hilltops in Lower Galilee. These are basically of two types, a simple type that relies upon treading the grapes and a later type that relies upon a screw press as well as upon treading out the vintage. In general we take the simple type to be earlier and the screw type to be later, i.e., Byzantine. Some pottery and coin finds tend to support this chronological division.

Wine manufacture, storage, and shipment is one of the most important industries of the ancient world, as we know both from texts and from archaeological evidence from the Iron Age forward. We have the names of at least seven villages and cities that were involved in the wine industry in some fashion: Sepphoris, Tiberias, Kefar Sogane, Sallamin, Acchabaron, Beth Shearim, and Gennesaret (*J.W.* 3.3=45; 3.10.8=519; *M. Menaḥ.* 8:6, *y. Meg.* 72d; *Qoh. Rab.* 3.3, *m. Kil.* 4:4 [Salmin]; *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 30a [Acchabaron]). Furthermore the name of the Valley of Beth Ha-Kerem ("House of the Vineyard") and the village of the same name in that valley, implies that wine production was its major industry.

This economic analysis can be extended to include other kinds of agricultural and industrial products. but the point is that an extensive specialized agricultural and industrial production implies a vigorous trade network. That is, there can be little doubt that these products both industrial and agricultural were moved to market on well-defined if not paved roads. After all, we now have the publication of an extensive Iron Age road system that has been detected and confirmed archaeologically and in the Biblical and extra biblical evidence. It seems reasonable to infer that the trade and communication network for the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods in the Galilee is at least equally important and subject to the same kind of archaeological survey and study.

One also needs to consider what some take to be merely anecdotal evidence, but which seems to be the staple of the field anthropologists. I am referring to the ethnographic information given by local informants, the older the better. It is possible to interview old settlers, Arab villagers, and even shepherds and gain usable information. This was known by Gustav Dalman and other in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When engaged in surface survey it is simply invaluable to ask locals at work in the fields how to get from here to there. They invariably know, and often know that their grandparents took a slightly different route that is no longer usable. perhaps from earthquake damage in 1927 or for some other reason.

Finally I mention the evidence of pilgrim texts of the Byzantine to the early Arab periods. These texts give us important evidence about the distance one could comfortably travel in a day on good roads, details of food and drink for the traveler, and questions of security. It is inappropriate simply to work backwards from these texts to the first century. What one can do is determine that, on the average, the fourth or fifth century traveler walked or rode a maximum of about 18 Roman miles in one day. If we halve that figure to allow for poorer roads (perhaps paths) in the first century, we still find that a traveler from Sepphoris in the virtual center of Lower Galilee can travel east to the border with Tiberias, to the west to Gaba, to the north to Sogane, and to the south to Tarbenet. This traveler can reach a point anywhere within 240 square Roman miles of territory. Since the map in question gives us about one village of other locality per six square Roman miles, then the traveler from Sepphoris has access potentially to about 40 villages one short day's journey away. If this seems high to you, then my I remind you that the 1984 survey of Sepphoris located one hamlet per 1.5 km. distant from Sepphoris near the major wadis.

Simply as an aside, the villages and hamlets of Galilee were certainly connected by paths and tracks, much as the villages and hamlets of nineteenth century Galilee were connected. Of course by the nineteenth century most of the ancient routes were eroded and forgotten but not in all cases. Before the twentieth century habit of cutting away a hill for a road was in vogue, the route that a modern road-building crew might take was often surprisingly close to the ancient route. This was because the constraints of topography were about the same for modern road builders as they were for ancient road builders.

The foregoing analysis simply provides us with a picture of more or less ease of travel within the Galilee. Of course there are topographic difficulties, but few of them are barriers. Furthermore it is clear that the Galileans move

their products to market, and there seems to be little reason to continue to insist that Galilee was isolated in any sense. After all, we find finished ceramic products of the first century imported from as far away as Italy in excavations in the Galilee.

At this point I would like to add an archaeological datum. This summer at our excavations at Sepphoris we asked for and received permission to follow the Legio-Sepphoris road and investigate some possible ancient regional roads around Sepphoris that do not seem to be part of the Roman road system. We also cut at least one probe across the Legio-Sepphoris road to date the structure of the road and its associated uphill terrace wall. There is reason to believe that the second century road was founded on a known but unpaved route that took one from Sepphoris south and a little west toward the west end of the Plain of Jezreel. In other words, the Roman engineers were not trail blazing in unknown territory, they could see a track or route before their eyes that took them almost to their destination at Legio. Only the first four miles of this road from Legio to Kh. Ladd seem to be built *de novo*. Second, there is clearly an alternative road that ran past Sepphoris in the valley just to the west. This road has no milestones and is not mentioned as an alternative route in ancient texts. Yet it can be traced, with a few interruptions from modern agriculture, from a point about three Roman miles west of Sepphoris to its outlet into the Beth Netopha valley west of Shikhin, about one Roman mile northwest of Sepphoris. This road surely connected the major Roman road from Acco to Sepphoris with a cut-off, as it were, which by-passed Sepphoris and allowed the traveler access to the villages and hamlets west of Sepphoris. It seems to me that is likely that we will find similar regional roads elsewhere, if we will look. These regional roads were in place long before Hadrian and made up part of the regional network.

I would now like to turn to another question, namely, what would be the distinctive in the material culture that might elicit comment on the part of a traveler. To put it another way, what would the traveler see in Galilee that he or she did not see elsewhere? What would the traveler NOT see that might seem a striking omission?

There are two answers to this question. First may I point out that which is most visible is the village or town lay-out (city planning, if you will), then architecture. Excavation of about twenty sites in Galilee seems to confirm that ordinary houses are not distinctive in the Galilee. Galilean domestic architecture appears to have a constancy in the eastern Mediterranean. We must remember that these are owner-built homes of native materials. Since the most easily available native material is stone, then it follows that stone is what was used. Little attention was given to the exterior except to make the walls unaffected by the weather. This means extensive plastering with a lime and clay plaster, a technique that requires almost daily maintenance during the winter rains.

But the point in all this is that the traveler from some other part of the eastern Mediterranean world would not find the Galilean houses distinctive. They were rectilinear in plan, flat-roofed, and used stone and plaster to advantage. From the outside would see virtually blank walls occasionally pierced by high, small windows and by doorways with wooden doors bolted from the inside.

Furthermore the layout of the village or town, its city planning, does not seem to be distinctive either. It appears that the Hippodamian grid is not the norm, but some kind of order in the sense of block is typical. Topography plays an important role to distort the grid in steep areas. In any case there seems to be no reason to conclude that the traveler would be surprised by the city, town, or village planning that he or she might encounter.

The other answer is based on public architecture. If we look at what the traveler sees on approach to a major city in Turkey, Syria, or Egypt, then we expect to see many mausolea lining the road. In this way the traveler has a chance to see the names of the major families of the city or town displayed prominently in epitaphs. The traveler is even able to gauge the relative wealth of the families from the resources put into family mausolea.

But this picture does not seem to pertain, in the main, to the cities and towns of Galilee. Of course mausolea and public epitaphs are known, but there is nothing to compare to Ephesus or Miletus in Asia Minor or the Timgad in North Africa. This might appear to be a striking omission to a seasoned traveler, who might even inquire about the custom whereby the locals conceal the architecture of death and burial rather than displaying it.

This is at least partially true even of the great catacombs of Beth Shearim. First, we do not know that their facades stood on an ancient road. But even if they did, their architecture resembles public architecture for the living. Only the stone doors of the entries might give away their sepulcher nature to the traveler.

On the other hand additional public buildings in various population centers would not seem to be distinctive. The building elements would be familiar, as would their plans. This is true of basilicas, theaters, amphitheaters or circuses, hippodromes, city gates, fora or agora, and the like. The traveler might find a certain comfort in the fact that public architecture seemed altogether familiar. Public buildings in effect declared that they belonged to the broader Greco-Roman culture.

When the population in the Galilee decorated their buildings, they used recognizable Roman forms. They cut high relief floral and other decorations into the facades which resemble decoration anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean. On the other hand, the low-relief geometric and floral decorations of the Second Temple do not appear in Lower Galilee—yet. The only datum that suggests a local adaptation of Greco-Roman norms is that the Corinthian order of columns is not fluted. To reiterate, public buildings would impress the traveler as belonging to the eastern Mediterranean, Greco-Roman world he knew.

But are there cultural artifacts that a traveler might encounter that would surprise him or her? I think the answer to this is that he or she would first have to move into private space to find such surprises. For example, what we identify as synagogue buildings at twenty synagogue sites in Upper and Lower Galilee have one architectural feature that seems to be almost a constant. This is the habit of their builders to place a row of columns between the benches against the walls and the central worship space. This is a most peculiar arrangement, given the habit of the Romans to place rows of columns behind the backs of gathered spectators or participants in a bouleuterion or in an ecclesiasterion, or even in a theater. It seems to me that the simplest

explanation for why this space was organized in such a unique fashion is that the builders were copying a similar arrangement seen in the Second Temple in Jerusalem. We forget that Josephus explains that all the courts of the temple were adorned with colonnades. Thus the Court of Women, the Court of Israel, and the Court of the Priests would all present this feature. As one watched the sacred proceedings in the Court of the Priests from the vantage of the Court of Israel, one would be watching between columns. (There are so far thirteen lower Galilean synagogue sites: Capernaum, Chorazin, Sepphoris, Tiberias, Hammath-Tiberias, Philoteria, Kefar Hananiah, Magdala-Taricheae, Beth Shearim, Horvat Amudim, Nazareth, Japhia, and Arbela. In addition, there are Seven Upper Galilean synagogue sites: Khirbet Shema, Meiron, Gush Halav, en-Nabratein, Meroth, Dalton, and Bar'am. Finally, there are two possible first century "synagogues": Magdala and Capernaum. Nabratein seems to have an early second century CE synagogue or prayer hall.)

One indicator that such a feature in synagogue buildings is to be interpreted as a re-presentation of sacred space in the Second Temple is its striking omission from several published Samaritan synagogues. This is true of at least four of the recently published synagogues—albeit of the fourth century and later—excavated within sixteen kilometers of Mt. Gerizim. (Y. Magen, "Samaritan Synagogues," *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents.* Edited by F. Manns and E. Alliata. Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Major 38, 1993: 193-227).

Even if one objects that these synagogue buildings are third or fourth century or even later, then one must point out that this architectural feature is also found in the putative first-century synagogues of Magdala-Taricheae and Capernaum, and certainly in Gamala across the lake. This feature is only recognizable inside the building. The exterior of the building would resemble Roman buildings of the period anywhere else they were seen.

This is even the case for what we identify with some controversy as Jewish ritual baths beneath the floors of houses or nearby at Sepphoris, Jotapata, Khirbet Shema, Meiron, and other Galilean sites. It would be impossible in the main for our hypothetical traveler to see one of these ritual baths, if indeed that is what they are, unless he was invited into private space.

The same analysis pertains to Jewish tomb art and tomb contents. Our traveler might see a tomb facade outside some ancient city and may not be surprised. Most of the tombs identified as Jewish have blank facades or the facade is decorated with grape tendrils, Doric or Corinthian columns, or other familiar motifs. The traveler might wonder why there are not depictions of deities familiar from the Greco-Roman pantheon depending on how strange this omission may have seemed.

Jewish tomb art and tomb inscriptions would, in the main, be encountered inside the tomb. But this is private space, and it is hard to see why a law-abiding traveler would be entering such private space on his or her travels.

A unique item in the material culture of the Early Roman Jewish world was a class of soft, white stone vessels which appear in no less than sixty-five sites all over ancient Palestine. At least fourteen of these sites are in Upper and Lower Galilee (Gush Halav, Nabratein, Meiron, Kefar Hananya, Capernaum, Yodfat, Ibelin, Kefar Kenna, Sepphoris, Reina, Nazareth, Bethlehem of Galilee, Migdal Ha-Emeq, and Tiberias, see Yitzhak Magen, *"Purity Broke out in Israel":*

Stone Vessels in the Late Second Temple Period. Haifa: University of Haifa, 1994). In fact, a site for the manufacture of these vessels has been found at Reina about six kilometers north of Nazareth.

These vessels were evidently designed to meet the requirements of laws of purity. They seem to be distinctively Jewish, as they only superficially resemble the marble vessels well known in the Roman world. They are both hand-made and made by turning on a lathe.

Among the items hand-made from soft stone are those vessels commonly called "measuring cups" with one and sometimes two handles, and a square bowls with ledge handles under the rims. Others which were turned on a lathe include large, barrel-shaped vessel with a pedestal base and no handles and small cups or chalices with no handles. The large, late-turned vessels play a role in the pericope of the turning of water into wine at Cana of Galilee in John 2:6. It is interesting that this pericope is set in a Galilean site.

It is true that we find these vessels in our excavations in Galilee. It is also true that we only find them in Early Roman, even first century CE, contexts. During the 1994 excavations at Sepphoris conducted by the University of South Florida Excavations at Sepphoris, we found many fragments of the lathe-turned vessels in first century contexts, and sometimes well-worn in later contexts.

The point of this recitation is that our hypothetical traveler of the first century would likely and mainly encounter this marker of Jewish material culture in private space. The public space where he or she might see them would be in market stalls where they were sold as an item of specialty manufacture. Thus the traveler may not notice that there is a unique set of items in Jewish Galilee unless he or she visits a market on market day and unless someone is selling them in that market.

Speaking of markets, and therefore of economics and the medium of exchange, it has been known for some time that the motifs on Jewish coins are, in the main, familiar to a non-Jewish audience. Therefore the usual run of coins that our traveler might handle in the town and villages of Galilee would likely appear more or less ordinary to him or her. This is certainly true of the city coins of Tiberias, which honor the emperor Tiberius and feature his portrait from the very beginning of minting coins in that Galilean city. On the other hand the coins of Herod Antipas, the Ethnarch of Galilee and of Perea, and the city coins of Sepphoris minted by Antipas, might surprise the traveler because of the lack of a ruler's portrait on their obverse. There is both familiarity and unfamiliarity in the coinage of ancient Palestine, though this is true of the entire empire.

Is it possible for archaeological evidence to tell us anything about the social realities of first century Galilee? I think the answer is an unequivocal "yes." First, it was an accidental discovery at Hefzibah in the Bethshean Valley (the eastern extension of the Jezreel) that disclosed for us a set of Greek inscriptions recording for posterity the correspondence between Antiochus III "the Great" (223-187 BCE), the Seleucid Greek ruler, and a certain Ptolemaios, the Strategos or local owner and governor of a huge estate near Bethshean. The strategos was de facto if not de jure a despot or ruler of his estate, which included villages. It seems that the villagers worked his land and lived upon it in villages which he owned in fee simple.

This Ptolemaios, then was one of the first documented estate owners in Galilee. Such land ownership is well known in Josephus and in the New Testament, and attests to a social reality in which numbers of farmers work and live upon the lands of wealthy owners. Archaeological surveys of the Galilee and other regions of ancient Palestine confirm that large farmhouses, presumably of wealthy land owners, dot the landscape. It is premature to make firm estimates of how much of the land was in the hands of wealthy landowners, but it is enough to be formative in the unfolding of social reality in the first century.

From archaeological surveys in Galilee it is possible to posit another dimension of social reality. It seems that there are more farmers on small plots of land than those plots will support. This suggests that the small land owner had to work for wages for somebody else at least part of the time, or else develop a specialty on the side which could be marketed. Thus the simple designation "peasant" for this social stratum is misleading, since these people appear to have also been artisans and small entrepreneurs as well as agricultural laborers. This fact of life appears to have enforced a diversification in social roles that remains largely unrecognized in modern scholarship.

As an aside here, it needs to be said that recent research into the number of people that the land can sustain with ancient agricultural methods seems to suggest that we will have to revise downwards our previous population estimates. This is true of the figures gathered by Fiensey, in the surveys of certain scholars in Israel, and of the doctoral research of Don Wendland at Northwestern University. It is difficult to say as yet what this might mean for our understanding of the New Testament and other ancient Jewish Literature, but it might change our interpretation of the word "crowd" in the New Testament. It may also force us to move the decimal point to the left when interpreting Josephus' numbers.

Finally let us turn our attention to the presence of Rome, especially in the sense of the military. It seems to have been the military units after all that transmitted Roman cultural norms most rapidly and most immediately. It was Roman legions not engaged in battle who built roads, bridges, and even some architectural entities, such as aqueducts. The Roman legions lived off the land, and the Roman ideal of farming the land resulted in Roman officers renting farms, vineyards, and orchards in the places of their assignment.

But the main archaeological evidence for the Roman military presence in Galilee is post-Second Revolt. This evidence is in the form of Roman milestones, of which the earliest inscribed examples are Hadrianic and in Latin. The second evidence is epitaphs for Roman soldiers in Greek, which are also post-Hadrianic. The third is roof tiles of the Sixth Roman legion, which appeared to have its prime camp at Legio, but which seemed to manufacture roof tiles in lower Galilee.

Are we to conclude with E. P. Sanders that there were really no Roman soldiers in the Galilee? I does not follow that there were really no soldiers in Roman Galilee. If it is true that Gabinius set up a synedrion at Sepphoris in Galilee in 55 BCE, then how were its judgments enforced? We do not yet have an early first century Latin inscription from the Galilee, such as the famous Pontius Pilatus inscription from Caesarea, but when they are found they are

likely to be in Greek. The early epitaphs of Roman soldiers in Syria are in Greek.

It seems clear that the archaeological evidence, in sum, supports a picture of the Galilee that participates more or less completely in the Roman world of its day in public space, This does not tell us anything yet about private attitudes or whether the local citizenry was glad or sad about Rome's presence, whether they were rebellious or conforming. It only tells us that they played by Rome's cultural rules. They were recognizably part of the Roman empire such that our hypothetical traveler knew where he or she was in the social world we call the Roman Empire.

On the other hand it is also true that we can detect certain items of Jewish identity in private space. This seems to be the place where we should look for Jewish practice, Jewish material culture, and therefore recognizable Jewish values and attitudes. As archaeologists refine their methods and above all their means of interpretation of the meaning of their finds, it will be possible to construct ever more accurately this world and leave behind the speculations of those uninformed by this picture.

The Historical Jesus and Archaeology of the Galilee: Questions from Historical Jesus Research to Archaeologists

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What used to be called "Biblical archaeology" was designed to work hand in hand with analysis and interpretation of biblical texts. The practice of biblical archaeology was so tied to interpretation of biblical texts and history that the great William F. Albright has been accused of not really having been an archaeologist (Dever; cf. Lance). In a somewhat simpler earlier phase of both biblical study and archaeology, the relationship could be understood in fairly simple and direct terms: sometimes archaeological findings would confirm literary sources, at other points archaeology would supplement and complement information from literary sources, perhaps adding a new angle or fresh nuance, and occasionally archaelogical findings would raise new questions or even supply revolutionary new discoveries of texts or sites (recently Levine 1984:76).

That was before we realized that all particular terms and texts as well as artifacts and architecture were embedded in a particular social world, such that ascribing meaning to them requires some sense of the historical social world (context of meaning) through which their meaning is mediated and in which it is discerned. Archaeologists as well as biblical scholars are now acutely aware of the resultant complexification of our enterprise. "Precisely *how* does archaeological material confirm [or deny] literary data?" asks Strange (1993:24). Not directly, but only through "a model of the social world of an ancient society." Strange finds the principal division of scholarly opinion as well as labor to lie between "a model of the social world of an ancient society derived from archaeological material [and] a model of the social world of an ancient society derived from the literature" (1993:24; cf. Lance: 100). The task would then be for "those reconstructions of social reality of Galilee based upon archaeology to be tested against those derived from ancient literature and epigraphy, so that the two reconstructions can gradually come to correct and interpenetrate one another" (29).

That discernment of the division of scholarly opinion and labor, however, appears to miss the actual state of scholarly affairs. Archaeologists and historians (of Second Temple Judea and formative "Judaism" who work primarily from literary sources) have been reading each other even if they rarely talk with one another or attend each other's SBL or ASOR sessions at

annual meetings. Moreover, archaeologists regularly utilize literary sources to illuminate as well as parallel their material finds, and historians draw on material remains unearthed by archaeologists (on Galilee, e.g., Freyne, 1980 and 1988). More to the point, the models of the social world used by both archaeologists and textual scholars are not necessarily derived from archaeological and textual sources, but derived from other scholarly fields, modern Western assumptions about social life, and/or the standard (often theologically determined) conceptual apparatus of our field(s). The principal division of scholarly opinion and interpretative models, moreover, lies not between archaeologists and textual interpreters, but between some literary interpreters and archaeologists who find each other's reconstructions attractive and other literary interpreters and archaeologists who find each other's reconstructions attractive.

Historical Jesus scholarship, however, has not been involved in this conversation until very recently, and then in only very fragmentary ways. Sanders (1985) makes no use of archaeology, Horsley (1987) draws on it only indirectly, Mack (1988) makes two references to Meyers and Strange, 1981. Oakman (1986) draws on archaeology more substantively, in connection with agriculture, but Crossan (1991) cites archaeologists only at the very beginning of his book, to help place Lower Galilee into a pan-Mediterranean context.

The principal reason for this lack of interest in archaeology is surely the focus (growing out of the history of scholarship) on the sayings of Jesus purposely taken out of their literary context (and hence usually out of the social context indicated in the literary context). But there are a number of other interrelated factors that can be discerned in the orientation and agenda of recent books on Jesus. Many of the latter are dealing only with religion (e.g., Sanders, 1985), not yet open to the probability that what modern Westerners assume is a separable religious dimension was embedded with political-economic life, even kinship, in ancient Palestine (Horsley, 1987; 1989b). Many also did not yet find the fundamental paradigm and received conceptual apparatus by which "early Christianity" emerged from (a basically monolithic Palestinian) "Judaism" problematic, but only certain key issues in need of correction (e.g., Sanders, 1985). As long as one of the key issues was whether Jesus should be understood as a sage (Mack; Crossan) or a prophet (Sanders) or both (Borg 1987; Horsley 1987), discussion focused exclusively on literary sources. Also, the question of whether Jesus was basically a-political (Mack) or politically engaged (Borg 1984; Schüssler Fiorenza; Horsley 1987) did not call for illumination from archaeology. Similarly, the debate about whether Jesus was advocating primarily an (itinerant, radical) individual lifestyle (Mack; Crossan) or renewal of (local) community life (Borg 1987; Schüssler Fiorenza; Horsley 1987, 1989b) was focused on interpretation of key sayings. The same was true for the issue of whether, in understanding the context to which Jesus was responding, one needed to attend only to ideas (Downing) or to political-economic relations and social movements (Horsley, 1985; 1987; 1989b; Crossan) did not lead in the direction of archaeology. Not even the questions of whether social (class) conflict is important (Horsley, Crossan, Mack) or unimportant (Sanders) led Jesus researchers into archaeology, although the latter may well eventually shed a great deal of light on the issue.

Interpreters of the historical Jesus and early Jesus traditions have finally reached for recent archaeological studies of Galilee in support of their contention that Lower Galilee at least was under strong Hellenistic and cosmopolitan influence (Mack; Crossan). Interestingly enough, those who argue that Galilee was staunchly loyal to Torah and Temple can reach for the same archaeological studies (Freyne 1988). However, virtually all of these recent investigations of Jesus, whether or not they cite archaeologists, have something in common: an increasing attention to the social world (or at least the cultural world) in which Jesus operated. Why? Distrusting the Gospel framing and narratives, even for historical verisimilitude, Jesus scholars have traditionally focused on sayings. Standard procedure is to isolate individual sayings from literary (hence also social) context for form critical and other analysis on basis of all the variants. But meaning is contextual! The sayings have no meaning when isolated. So the scholar-interpreters make their creative contribution: the creation of a meaning-context for the sayings so that a meaningful Jesus can be constructed. In recent years, however, this is less dependent on traditional Christian theological categories and increasingly inclusive of various historical cultural and even social (or political!) elements. Some studies still accept the received picture of a more or less monolithic "Judaism." Others, impressed by perceived parallels in Hellenistic philosophy, posit a similar cultural ethos for Jesus. Still others further investigate the Palestinian historical context for a more precise sense of the contemporary social forms and movements. Practitioners of all of these approaches, however, are now eager to see what archaeologists have to offer.

As Jesus scholars enter the conversation between archaeologists and historians, then, it will be important to recognize from the outset that operative assumptions, interpretive models and scholarly conceptual apparatus frame and shape the use of sources, both literary and material. Two prominent "Jesus books" can be used to illustrate that their constructions of the cultural world of "Judaism" or Galilee are derived less from ancient literary and/or archaeological sources than from the received conceptual apparatus of our own field(s) or from the conceptual apparatus of other fields.

The key to Sanders's construction of the historical Jesus through interpretation of texts is his assertion that in late-second Temple times there was a widespread belief in a future rebuilt temple (Sanders, 1985: chaps. 1-2). But that claim is only ostensibly derived from late prophetic and Jewish apocalyptic texts themselves, in which the motif of a rebuilt temple is rare, but is derived from a modern scholarly scheme of Jewish eschatological expectations constructed synthetically from many texts and then projected into particular texts (presumably on the basis that if other motifs of the scheme are present, then the rebuilt temple must have been assumed as well). Ironically, this follows a sharp critique of other (largely German Lutheran) theologically-influenced scholarly models of Jesus and "Judaism."

Crossan's highly influential recent book illustrates not only the determining role of scholarly models of the social world, but the dependence of archaeologists' constructions (of social worlds) on literary sources as well. The key to Crossan's construction of the historical Jesus through interpretation of individual sayings—which he and several generations of form-critics and historical Jesus questers have painstakingly isolated and compared—is the

pan-Mediterranean hypothesis with which he begins the book. Attempting to take critically into account the elite, male, literate filters that obscure our view of the first century, he utilizes instead the construction of a pan-Mediterranean culture by British social archaeologists (Pitt-Rivers, Peristiany, *et al.*), based upon field work among modern Mediterranean peoples. He links Jesus with that pan-Mediterranean culture by means of a reconstruction of the social world of Galilee derived from recent archaeological reports (15-19). Ironically the key points in that reconstruction are taken by "archaeologists" from scholarly analysis of texts or from textual sources. Most of the information about Sepphoris taken to indicate that Lower Galilee, the scene of Jesus' activity, was part of the cosmopolitan Hellenistic-Roman (i.e., Mediterranean) world—i.e., that Sepphoris was an administrative center of Roman provincial government (Meyers 1979:698) and that Sepphoris had courts, a fortress, a palace, two markets, archives, royal bank and an arsenal (Overman, 164)—were taken from Josephus and/or (late) rabbinic literature. The final step in the argument, implicitly linking Jesus with the cosmopolitan cultural currents supposedly dominant in Sepphoris, is based on an SBL seminar paper which, in turn, is based ostensibly on Goodman (1983:88-89). Ironically, not only is Goodman's argument (*despite* indications to the contrary both in literary sources for Galilee and from elsewhere in the Roman antiquity) that there was no "cultural split" between city and country in Galilee based on inferences from literary sources, but it focuses on (primarily rabbinic) *Jewish Aramaic culture* around the time of Judah Nasi, claiming that by then the Hellenistic-Roman culture of Sepphoris and Tiberias were merely empty shells left over from Herodian days!

Because scholarly investigation and construction depend so heavily upon the viewpoint, assumptions, models, and concepts used in interpreting "the data," the principal issues and differences of scholarly opinion in discussions between those who focus on literary sources and archaeologists will likely fall, not along, but across the "disciplinary" lines.

Given (1) the recent recognition that literary and archaeological evidence can be related only when located within an intelligibly constructed social world, and (2) the determinative role of assumptions, models, and methods in the construction of social worlds, it seems that the appropriate starting point for discussions between Galilean archaeologists and Jesus scholars would be a critical review of our assumptions and approaches, our models and methods. Since archaeologists have been working on sites in Galilee for over two decades, with periodic reflection on their methods, while studies of Jesus have only recently begun to reflect critically on the Galilean context of Jesus ministry, it seems that the Jesus scholars should, at the outset of discussions, attend to the work of the Galilean archaeologists even in order to formulate appropriate questions about the social world of Galilee. This can be done dialectically across two levels, first focusing on the level of approach (broadly speaking: assumptions, overall models, perspectives, etc.), and then moving to reports on results and interpretations of particular archaeological excavations, with periodic references to those reflections on approach.

Since, by our own mutual admission, we are both at a relatively elementary stage with regard to theory, in a transitional stage with regard to methods, and in some confusion once we realize that standard basic

conceptual categories that we have both been using may be inappropriate to ancient literary and material sources, there should be no need for defensiveness on either side as we work cooperatively for more appropriate reconstructions of the Galilean social world.

Learning from Archaeologists' Reflections on Approach

It may be no coincidence that both textual interpreters and archaeologists, somewhat uneasy about the apparent limitations of the standard methods and conceptual apparatus in which we were trained, began conversations with related academic disciplines somewhat over two decades ago. While some of us on the text interpretation side were reading Hobsbawm on social history or the comparative historical sociology of Lenski, "biblical" archaeologists were attending to the work of anthropological, particularly New World archaeology. One sample of these broadening reflections on assumptions and methods is the set of papers on the "New Archaeology" published in BASOR 242 (1981) from an ASOR panel at the 1979 AIA Centennial Meeting. In that connection, Dever (p. 18) made the comment that "in *theory and method* in [Syro-Palestinian archaeology], we are today approximately where American archaeology was in the late 1940s" (cf. Willey and Sabloff 1974: 131-211). Or, as Strange put it candidly: "at the level of interpretation, . . . we are badly in need of theoretical underpinning [and without it] we have not the slightest clue how to proceed to dig up religion apart from temples, art, and ritual paraphernalia" (1982:87-88).[1]

Well prior to that 1979 panel, of course, Strange and Meyers and others were attempting to implement in the field of Upper Galilee the regional approach they had learned partly from the "new archaeology" and related developments. In addition to "interpretation" and "locational analysis" (horizontal density patterns of artifacts within a single site), Strange singles out "settlement archaeology" as an important new development in their approach, i.e., giving attention to "the relationships of various elements within a site to one another, or relationships of the sites to one another" (1982:85). The job of the settlement archaeologist is "to isolate variables at work in his particular region and account for them in some sort of overview or reasonably comprehensive interpretation" (1982:86). He then discusses settlement archaeology procedure in ecological terms with no attention to the political-economic relationships between different sites—until he gets to site size/hierarchy, which leads him to central place theory.

It may be instructive to compare both the agenda of those who pioneered settlement archaeology and how it is being used and broadened by archaeologists such as Renfrew currently. To mention only a few significant studies, Willey (1953) made social organization a legitimate object of archaeological study. With the realization that individual sites formed networks went the recognition that settlement patterns "were important sources of information about social, political, and religious institutions of

[1] There may be no collective self-critical reflection in Jesus scholarship parallel to that in archaeology, although there has been individual criticism a-plenty during the last decade (e.g., Sanders 1985; Horsley 1989b).

prehistoric societies" (Trigger 1989:284). Adams (1965, 1981) showed that irrigation systems in early Mesopotamia tended to expand and collapse in response to political changes rather than being a major cause of them. Sanders (1979) demonstrated that changing forms of political-economic organization and historical events have helped shape the size and distribution of settlements in the valley of Mexico.

Discussing settlement archaeology within their chapter on "Social Archaeology," Renfrew and Bahn (1991:153ff.) focus on social organization and the exercise of power or dominance among sites. Were there differences in rank or classes, and if so were these controlled with some centralized system (as in the ancient Near East)? "Different kinds of society need different questions." Since digging up a whole region is impossible, random sampling of sites such as villages must be supplemented with an attempt to locate the centers of power, which helps lend a sense of the political organization of the region (158). In this connection they virtually reject central place theory, developed in connection with modern southern Germany (Christaller 1933). Directly pertinent to our concerns with the social world of Galilee/Palestine, they make a special point that for literate societies, historical records can answer many of the social questions (162). Also directly pertinent to our concerns, these archaeologists recognize that "religion" is ordinarily not separate from the basic social forms, although it may operate at various levels, local and regional (182-193), and they point out that "ethnicity is difficult to recognize from the archaeological record" (169).

Taking our cues from these archaeologists who recognize (a) the determinative importance of the broader political-economic system that dominates the settlements of a region, (b) that there are different kinds of political-economic systems, and (c) the importance of using literary sources when available, we can develop a more complex and comprehensive approach than either biblical archaeologists or textual scholars have ordinarily practiced. It is not difficult to discern some of the principal aspects of such a broad approach. Then we can attempt to sketch a construction of ancient Galilee accordingly.

Critical Use of Sources: In an understandable yet problematic procedure, NT scholars or archaeologists who are fully aware of the necessity of critical assessment of the biblical text or material artifacts cite other sources (esp. Josephus or the rabbis) without much critical assessment. Part of our excuse is that we are still dependent on handbooks, reference works, and secondary literature written without all the critical tools now available. Given the plethora of information and techniques that have been developed in recent decades, it is impossible for an individual scholar and difficult for a team to be comprehensive and thorough. Nevertheless, it is important to be at least minimally critical in the use of any source. Like the Gospels, Josephus and the rabbinic literature have a point of view and a social location—as we do ourselves! Moreover, the use of different kinds of sources should correspond. For example, if we are pursuing a *regional* archaeological analysis, then we should not sort out tidbits of literary information on particular places but utilize *regionally* and *relationally* the "histories" of Josephus or the opinions of the rabbis.

The Dominant Political-Economic System (and model for it): What happened not only in and around Sepphoris but in and around Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida was directly and indirectly dependent on the operation of the Roman empire, whether in the brutal suppression of a popular insurrection or in the period reassignment of districts to different client rulers for their economic exploitation. Precisely because the dominant political-economic system was a major determining factor for city and village life, it is important to find the appropriate models in which we can understand its operation and effects. It is almost certainly inappropriate to continue projecting market models derived from early modern commercial and modern capitalist economic systems.[2] Other models, however, have been suggested for understanding political-economic relations in the Roman empire and/or the ancient Near East, (1) whether by Max Weber and his (largely structural-functional) heirs such as Sjoberg and Lenski, or by Karl Marx and subsequent scholars drawing upon historical materialist analysis such as de Ste. Croix, and (2) whether based primarily on Roman data, such as T. F. Carney, on Greek and Roman data, such as Jones and Finley, or on a synthesis of ancient Mediterranean, medieval European, and Asian data, such as Sjoberg, Lenski, and Kautsky. Under the Romans, as under the Ptolemies and Seleucids before them, the basic traditional ancient Near Eastern tributary or redistributive system was apparently left intact in areas such as Judea and Syria, while it was also being steadily impacted by distinctive features of the Roman and Greek city-state system such as "private property."

Subordinate Social Forms and Patterns of Social Relations and Appropriate Models for Them: Component subordinate social forms and patterns must be intelligible in the context of the larger political-economic system. Generally towns and villages were semi-independent (self-governing) communities politically-economically subordinate to client rulers (such as Antipas or the Temple-state in Jerusalem). The component units of villages were the households, the basic social unit of production, including crafts as well as the agriculture on which the whole system was based (Wolf). Intra-regional intervillage trade would have to be intelligible in that context. As settlement archaeologists came to recognize, each of these levels of social activity were "shaped by factors that differed in kind or degree from those that influenced other levels" (Trigger 1989:285).

Historical Perspective: The historical dimension must be taken into account in every major consideration.[3] While our categories of reflection on social life

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2 Even in a major article raising questions about the full adequacy of the Polanyi model of an administered "redistributive" political-economic system in the ancient Near East, Adams (1974) insists that interregional trade was still closely connected with tribute and/or labor services to "administrative institutions (whether in ritual or political guise)," with a "redistributive" management of "surpluses" and a long-distance "procurement network" for luxuries and necessities for the state or ruling elite.

3 Perhaps a retrospective note of caution should be sounded with regard to the "New Archaeology" in this connection. It tended to follow the lead of the social sciences in attempting to produce "objective" generalizations useful in the management of modern societies. With that commitment went a certain anti-historical bent which undervalued particular national or ethnic traditions in favor of the viewpoint driving their own research. The comments by Dever (1981:21) at the 1979 BASOR panel on the "New Archaeology" contrasting (particularizing!) history and (scientific!) archaeology reflect

tend to be abstract and static, social life itself is subject to the impacts of major historical changes such as those in Palestine in late second Temple times. A synchronic construction of the cities in Lower Galilee based on evidence from the first through the fourth centuries CE may be simply misleading when then projected into the early first century. This is particularly important when relying on archaeological evidence, since the latter is relatively sparse for the early first century but is far more abundant and varied in the middle and late Roman strata. Moreover, considering that in a relatively limited area one city had been rebuilt and another new city founded within two decades, "urban-rural relations" in Galilee during the lifetime of Jesus would not have fit normal patterns known from later Galilee or from cross-cultural material. The "cultural infuences" as well as social-economic impact would have been dramatically new.

Relational Rather Than Essentialist Conceptual Apparatus: Since historical social reality operates and is comprehended primarily as a dynamic network of relationships, it makes sense to avoid imposing reified abstractions and essentialist concepts that do not elucidate the social world of dynamic social relations.

Brief Sketch of the Historical Context in Roman Galilee

For purposes of this discussion of Galilee it may suffice to begin a sketch of the wider historical political-economic context with the Hasmonean take-over in 104 BCE from the Itureans in the vacuum left by the decline of the Seleucid empire. Galileans (probably largely the descendants of northern Israelites) thus became subject to Jerusalem rule for the first time since the rebellion against the David monarchy in Jerusalem over eight hundred years before. Apparently the Hasmoneans controlled Galilee, as they did other districts, through garrisons in fortified towns, such as Sepphoris, Jotapata, and Gischala (Schatzman; more on this issue below). For Galileans, subjection to Roman rule after 63 BCE meant extraordinary levies of taxation as well as the terror and intimidation typical of Roman treatment of conquered peoples, e.g., the enslavement of thousands at Magdala/Tarichaeae (*J.W.* 1.180, 272-74; *Ant.* 14.120, 218-21). After several military campaigns to suppress sustained Galilean resistance to his conquest of his Rome-bestowed kingdom, Herod ruled Galilee apparently through the fortified administrative town of Sepphoris. It may not be coincidental that the popular insurrection after Herod's death centered around Sepphoris, the "administrative" center of the Jerusalem governments, with the royal fortress being a special target. Roman troops brutally suppressed the revolt in 4 BCE, as they did again the wider insurrection of 66-67 CE.[4] Rome designated Herod's son Antipas as client ruler to be supported by the people of Galilee and Perea, as his economic base (*J.W.* 2.95). The economic impact of this new arrangement must have been especially severe for the relatively limited territory of Galilee during the first

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the unfortunate dichotomizing of this phase of archaeology. Regional archaeology can be historical without being unscientific.

[4] Thus Galileans, particularly in Capernaum, Chorazin and other villages near Magdala and in Nazareth, Cana, and other villages near Sepphoris, would have had memories or first hand experiences of relatives' and friends' enslavement by the Romans.

generation of the first century CE, as Antipas proceeded not only to rebuild/expand Sepphoris as his fortified "ornament" of a capital, but to found the completely new city of Tiberias as well less than twenty years later.

That the political-economic system was still basically tributary or "redistributive" is indicated at several points in Josephus's accounts. Besides the reference to Antipas's "income" or economic base, the dependence of client regime and Roman tribute alike on the agricultural labor and "harvest" of the peasantry in indicated in the reported conversation of the Herodian nobility with Petronius about the dangers of the peasant protest/strike leading to a "harvest of banditry" (*J.W.* 2.199-201; *Ant.* 18.269-75). Josephus himself, of course, schemed to control the imperial grain stores in Upper Galilee as well as the royal grain stores in the Great Plain during the insurrection of 66-67 (*Vita* 71, 119). It is thus inappropriate and in fact misleading to treat politics and economics (and religion, for that matter) separately (as do Theissen 1978 and Freyne, 1980; 1988:chap. 5; and to a degree, Goodman 1983), since they were inseparable. The *Tetracomia* of Upper Galilee in mid-first century CE was one political-economic subdivision in the Roman political-economic administration of Galilee; the toparchy centered in Tarichaeae or Tiberias subject to Agrippa II was another.

That the fundamental local social-political form was the self-governing village (politcally-economically subject to regional and imperial rulers) is also evident from Josephus's histories. This appears not only in his exaggerated/programmatic statements (the "204 cities and villages," *Vita* 235, and the "densely populated villages, all above 15,000 inhabitants," *J.W.* 3.43), but also in his accounts of incidents at particular villages during his activity in Galilee in 66-67.

Thus, literary sources, which archaeologists such as Renfrew recommend utilizing as much as possible, indicate that Galilee consisted primarily of villages and towns subject to the political-economic-religious rule of Jerusalem for a hundred years prior to its subjection to Antipas and his newly (re)built cities.

Learning from Reports on Archaeological Expeditions in Galilee

With some of these considerations of approach and the wider political-economic context in mind, we can review several reports on recent archaeological expeditions in Galilee for elucidation on particular facets of the social world of Galilee, particularly in early Roman times. Proceding in this way involves a number of limitations. It will not produce a balanced assessment of the Galilean social world as a whole; the sites available for excavation and the sites excavated are limited and provide selective data. Thanks to the innovative excavations in villages of Upper Galilee we finally have more systematic and refined evidence for some villages, but that is still concentrated in villages of one region. Thanks to the two major expeditions to Sepphoris, the information on that city is burgeoning, but little is available for Tiberias. Focusing on recent archaeological reports also means dealing primarily with the issues that those reports may illuminate. Subdivision and organization of the material is also problematic. It is impossible to separate the cultural-religious-ethnic dimensions from the political-economic-domestic;

the attempt to do so for procedural purposes will repeatedly involve overlap. Similarly, since villagers and townspeople were ruled and taxed by rulers, sometimes in multiple levels, it is impossible to separate analysis of villages and towns from that of cities; procedural attempts to focus on one or the other requires consideration of their relationship.

Political-Economic Relations in Early Roman Galilee

Beyond the Debate of Rural versus Urbanized

In 1980 (before the application to Palestine of comparative sociological analysis of traditional agrarian societies!) Freyne concluded that the social world of Galilee consisted primarily (but not exclusively!) of peasant villages, with cities lying on the perimeter.

> What was distinctive . . . was their non-involvement in the larger commercial life of the area. . . . Their life style and occupation did not bring them into any kind of meaningful contact with the real agents for social change. When work or market did involve such interaction it was a purely formal affair that was not likely to alter peoples' lives to any great extent. The older value system of the folk tradition that had resided in the villages remained intact. . . . Horizons were limited because the rhythm of life was determined by the seasons, and so there was no sense of unrest or frustration. (195)

He reaffirmed this conclusion in 1988 after reviewing the intervening archaeological explorations in Galilee:

> Thus literary and archaeological sources combine to confirm a picture of an essentially rural Galilee, whose inhabitants are committed to the peasant way of life and live in villages, though surrounded by a circle of Greek-style cities on the periphery. (145)[5]

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[5] Since Freyne is the only scholar to have attempted a more complete picture of the social world of Galilee primarily from literary sources, we may appreciatively honor his achievement and what we have learned from him, precisely while moving to a more appropriate historical reconstruction informed by historical sociology and comparative studies. At points he has recognized some fundamental points about political-economic relations in ancient Galilee/Palestine, even though he does not follow them through in the rest of his presentation. For example, he knows the concept of a "redistributive economy" (157) and he recognizes that villagers were economically "constantly under pressure from . . . city-based people" (155), because "the city needed the countryside . . . [for] food production . . ." (148). Nevertheless, the market or commercial economic model dominates his analysis, just as it does that of Meyers, Hanson, *et al.* Not only were Galileans taking advantage of "extended opportunities for trading" through "the great Phoenician trading centers" (156) but even the villagers were producing for the market (154, 159), with those engaged in "the fish industry" and "the grain industry" seizing the opportunities of "marketing, both local and international" (157-160; although he does not repeat the "agrobusiness" hypothesis from 1980). Perhaps this commercial construction of the Galilean economy enables Freyne to conclude that Antipas brought "a definite stability to Galilee and cushioned it from . . . the harsh realities of village existence elsewhere" (154, and repeatedly, 139, 150, 152, 155-56). The "local market" and "essential services" which "the city provided" (148) the peasants apparently obscure from

Simultaneously, however, in a pendulum-like reaction, some interpreters of recent archaeological explorations in Galilee pushed an opposing picture: Lower Galilee, at least, was heavily urbanized, indeed as urbanized as anywhere else in the Roman empire! Interestingly enough, these interpreters cited some of the same archaeological reports and Josephus references and used the same commercial economic model for Galilee as did Freyne. Although those interpretations were somewhat provisional, some Jesus scholars have already used them as building blocks for sketches of a relatively urbane Jesus.

The understandable excitement that attended some of the recent excavations in Lower Galilee, however, appears to have led to considerable overinterpretation not based on more circumspect and comparative surveys of sites, critical appropriation of earlier studies, critical use of literary sources, and critical consideration of the political-economic context. A prominent facet of the excitement appears to have been the size of the population in the cities and large towns of Lower Galilee, estimated at 30,000 for Sepphoris, somewhat less for Tiberias and Magdala, and even 12,000-15,000 for Capernaum! In a survey of population in the late Roman-Byzantine period, one of maximum density, Broshi (1979) cites figures for the areas of Diocaesarea (Sepphoris) and Tiberias that indicate medium-sized cities (60 and 40 hectares, respectively, compared with Caesarea at 95 or Aelia Capitolina at 120). If the density of the Galilean cities was more comparable to that of Pompeii, at 125-156 per hectare, than that of Ostia, at 435 (see Reed 1992), then the population of Sepphoris and Tiberias would have been below 10,000, and if the areas of those cities were smaller at their (re)building early in the first century than at maximum size in the Late Roman period, then the population would be correspondingly less. The excitement may start waning a bit. Given Broshi's still generous calculations for Western Palestine as a whole, a million at most in the late Roman-Byzantine height of population, even if Galilee were one of the more densely populated districts in the first century, its population would have been under 150,000. There has apparently not yet been sufficient time to calculate the carrying capacity of the land in Galilee, e. g., that of the territory around a particular site in relation to the other sites in the region, a calculation

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view the "redistributive economy" which funded the building of precisely those "the Herodian centers" which were in command. The only troubles for villagers were the "petty squabbles" and "small-town animosities" (154; the article cited makes just the opposite point, i.e., that such local conflicts were rooted in the disintegration of village communities partly caused by the economic pressures from "those who lived in cities"). The intense hostility in 66-67 CE reported by Josephus is dismissed as evidence of "only occasional outbursts of rural aggresssion" (150). Freyne also casts a relatively broad and trusting net for sources. For example, Luke provides the evidence for the claim that "the Galilean Pharisees belonged to the propertied classes . . . who controlled the wealth" (140, 161), as well as for both the Capernaum centurion as "benefactor of the Jews" and "the synagogue ruler" (141). Luke (5:17) is also the only source for the *nomodidaskaloi* who supposedly live in every village of Galilee, and the *komogrammateus* is "well-documented" (152)—but only for Egypt, not for Palestine. He apparently accepts the views of the wealthy Jerusalem-based priest Josephus that "Jerusalem had special links with the Galilean countryside" (150), although it is unclear just what the basis is for the assumption that there was "a shared religious world view" between Jerusalem-based landlords and their Galileans tenants (151).

that would go far toward a realistic sense of population and urban-rural dynamics.

The excitement over the urbanization of Lower Galilee has also emphasized trade. But it is highly unlikely that trade would have been more important in the political-economy of Galilee than in areas bordering the Mediterranean (where it was of minor importance relative to local agriculture). As Broshi (and Josephus before him) emphasized, Palestine was basically self-supporting agriculturally, with relatively little exported and no agricultural imports to speak of. As noted above, assessment of the kind and social level of trade requires greater attention to the broader political-economic system operative in Galilee.

Interpretations emphasizing the urbanization of Lower Galilee, moreover, are basically synchronic treatments, drawing evidence from across several centuries into a composite construction, with their authors' interest being the context of later "Christianity" and "Judaism." It would be quite unwarranted to misunderstand these interpretations as focused precisely on the early first century context of Jesus' ministry. There is also a reliance on essentialist concepts, and a tendency to believe that the presence of a few key Hellenistic-Roman urban buildings means the presence of a complete Hellenistic-Roman urban ethos. It seems that in order to draw appropriately on the recent archaeological excavations in Galilee, our approach must be more historically precise, more critically comprehensive in terms of the dominant overall political-economic system, and more relational in terms of the political-economic power relations between cities and villages.

History and Political-Economic Relations: Villages and Towns

Because of their inherent interest for Christians, both Nazareth, the village where Jesus ostensibly grew up, and Capernaum, the village where his "ministry" ostensibly was centered, were explored by early archaeologists. However, they were not excavated in what more recent archaeologists would consider a systematic manner.

There is general agreement that Nazareth was an "agricultural" village and that, while near the sity of Sepphoris, it was somewhat off of a main route, which would have gone through the much larger nearby village of Jappha. Although archaeological finds at Nazareth date from the Middle Bronze Age and Middle (and Late) Iron age (900-539 BCE; Bagatti 1:29-32), Meyers and Strange conclude that a more substantial village was "refounded" in the second century BCE (i.e., prior to the Hasmonean take-over in the Galilee), judging from more extensive remains from that time (1981:57). "This implies that the village was less than two-hundred years old in the first century CE, but that it continued to be attractive to settlers" (57). Crossan has speculated, somewhat along the lines of a colonization model of the Hasmonean take-over of Galilee, that "the refounding of Nazareth may well reflect that territorial expansion" (1991:17). Strange, however, recently pushed back the "refounding" to the third century BCE, well before the reestablishment of Jerusalem rule in the Galilee (*ABD* 4.1051). Reports on population (and area) also vary, Strange having recently reduced his earlier estimate from "1600-2000" down to "a maximum of 480" at the beginning of the first century CE, while pointing out that in the fourth century, Jerome still refers to Nazareth as

a *viculus* rather than an *oppidum* (i.e., it had not grown much; *ABD* 4.1050; Bagatti 1.28). The question of the date of "refounding" is also important precisely in relation to the question of the cultural ethos in Nazareth at the time of Jesus. If the first century village was as small as 400-500 and if, as Meyers and Strange admit, there was an older village on the site, is too much being made of the discontinuity entailed in the "refounding"—especially considering that the circumstantial evidence for it being "thoroughly Jewish" (the supposed settlement of the priestly course of Hapizzez there) turns out to be much later ?

On Capernaum the different digs and reviews thereof provide mutual criticism among archaeologists. The Franciscan excavators believe that the "village of Nahum" existing at the time of Jesus originated in the Hellenistic period, although they have also found remains of a Late Bronze dwelling (13th BCE) and pottery of Middle Bronze and Persian periods (Corbo 866-67). Recent excavations in the Greek Orthodox area of Capernaum have found underneath a second or third century Roman bathhouse the remains of a similar building from the first century, and under that only remains of an Early Bronze wall, but nothing in between (Laughlin: 57). Capernahum was laid out in 40 x 40 meter blocks each with three or four one-story (multi-family) houses with individual rooms opening onto common courtyards. The one-room "church" in the "House of St. Peter," (7.0 x 6.5 meters) existed in the first century, judging by the early Roman pottery and coins sealed under the floor. Because of Jesus' association with the village, it quite early became a pilgrimage site for Christians who left a great number of graffiti in various languages and who eventually built a larger church on top of the earlier "house church."

The plan of the second or third century Roman bathhouse suggests "it was built for Roman bathers rather than Jews" (Laughlin 57); after the Roman reconquest of Galilee in 67 and particularly after the Bar Kokhba Revolt, there was undoubtedly greater Roman (military) presence in Galilee generally. One would like to know more about the function of the first-century building under the later bathhouse. Until we know more about the building, however, it does not seem justified to conclude either from archaeological finds to Gospel texts (Luke 7:1-10//Matthew 8:5-13, cf. John 4:46-53) or vice versa that there was a Roman military presence rather than Roman client rulers' military presence at Capernaum, near the border between Antipas's and later Agrippa II's territory.

The border situation of Capernaum leads to greater trust in the historical verisimilitude of Mark's narrative arrangment of the "call" of a "tax-collector" (2:1,13-14), suggesting a tax-office was located there. Meyers and Strange believe that in addition to agriculture and fishing, "trade was surely also important" (1981:59). The border situation also makes it likely that "trade" was more important at Capernaum than at other villages, although it would have been largely transit trade.

In recent discussions the estimated size of "the village of Nahum" has been the most important issue interpretation of the historical Jesus. Both the Franciscans and the recent excavators in the Orthodox territory agree that the first century CE village had a population of around a thousand at most, which had been Strange's earlier estimate as well (Loffreda 1972:20; Laughlin 57;

Strange 1976). The dramatically higher figure of 12,000 to 15,000 was proposed by Meyers and Strange, keying from the estimate of the area covered by ruins by Captain R. E. Wilson in 1871 (1981:58). Reed's critically comparative analysis of method in estimating population provides a sobering response to recent excitement over the supposedly extensive "urbanization" of Lower Galilee into which that seriously inflated figure fed (Reed 1992). Reed calculates a population of 1,700, far closer to the older and most recent figure of under 1000.

By far the most information now available on Galilean villages comes from Upper Galilee. Meyers, Strange, *et al.* carried out an innovative "regional approach" pioneered by Aharoni in Palestine, to a whole set of villages in Upper Galilee (E. Meyers 1976; 1979; 1985; Meyers, Kraabel, Strange 1976; Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1979; Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1981; Meyers and Strange 1981:31). Working with painstaking controls on chronological stratigraphy, they made carefully chosen and well-defined (and necessarily limited) excavations in the set of neighboring villages Meiron, Khirbet Shemaʿ, Gush Halav and Nabratein. In contrast to New World anthropological archaeology, in which such a regional approach had been practiced for some time, but for which little no literary sources were available, Meyers, Strange, *et al.* drew regularly upon literary as well as archaeological evidence, in an "archaeological-*literary* approach." Indeed, since "the overwhelming bulk of archaeological and other materials coming out of Galilee dates to the Middle-Late Roman period [135-365 CE] and later," the literary references (pertinent) to these sites are particularly important for the earlier period. This makes a critical assessment of the "reading" and use of literary sources all the more important with regard to first century CE Galilee.[6] Moreover, instead of using Josephus and rabbinic texts piecemeal primarily to identify particular sites, a *regional* "archaeological-literary approach" should presumably adopt a regional approach to the literary sources as well.

The combination of literary and material evidence attests already existing villages in Upper Galilee which come under Hasmonean control at the time of Alexander Janneus. If we take Josephus's self-portrayal as the great Jewish general (worthy of opposing Vespasian!) into account, we have reason to doubt his reports that he fortified all those villages and towns, including both "Mero/Ameroth" and "Gischala" in Upper Galilee. Josephus, however, also reports that John of Gischala built up the already existing walls of his native place and that Titus then directed his troops to pull down some of those walls after the village surrendered in 67 CE (*J.W.* 4.117). These reports can be joined with a critical reading of *m.* *ʾArak.* 9:6, which must be a second-century CE projection back to the time of Joshua of the "old" fortresses of the Hasmoneans and/or Herodians prior to the wars of 4 BCE and/or 66-67 CE. This combination of these texts provides a fairly solid indication that Gischala was a Hasmonean-Herodian fortified town, serving somewhat the same function as the larger fortifications at Jotapata and Sepphoris. That implies also that whatever Hasmonean (or Herodian) military garrison was in the area was based at Gischala, and not at Meiron.

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6 Criticism of both Josephus's historiography and rabbinic literature has developed considerably since Meyers and Strange pioneered regional archaeology.

To then combine the (critically read) literary sources with the material evidence, "the significant quantities of Chalcolithic, Early Bronze, and Middle Bronze pottery, . . . significant quantities of Iron II material, . . . several nearly complete bowls [from the Persian period]," and the Hellenistic coins and ceramics found there, Gush Halav must have been a well-established settlement for centuries before the Hasmonean regime took over at the very end of the second century BCE. While virtually no previous Hasmonean coins were found in these villages, large numbers of Janneus's mints were present. The likely presence of a Hasmonean military fortress at Gush Halav also provides us with a more realistic sense of precisely how the Hasmonean regime was attempting to "reintegrate distant segments of the population into the religious and political life of their kingdom" (Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1979:36; cf. Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1981:155).

With regard to the political-economy of the villages of Upper Galilee, while their interpretation utilizes the fragments of both literary and material evidence, it appears to jump to some unwarranted conclusions. The excavators describe one Middle Roman building at Meiron as a "large domestic-industrial complex" that manufactured barrels for the shipment of olive oil to Tyre in exchange for grain and money. This, they suggest, was one of several local crafts and industries related to the superabundant production of olives, the vicinity of Meiron having been "the center of the entire olive oil industry in Roman Palestine" (Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1981:157-58). Even more striking to the excavators is the "high incidence of excavated coins . . . from Tyre" found in Meiron and nearby villages, which leads them to conclude that Upper Galilee, far from being an isolated backwater, was oriented toward Tyre economically. Claiming Josephus's portrayal of John of Gischala as a typical businessman exploiting the law of supply and demand, they assert, as a "basic building block" of their work, that from the late Hellenistic period until the end of the Roman period, "the villagers of Upper Galilee were marketing their oil and other products in the direction of Tyre and receiving Tyrian money in return" (Meyers, in Hanson, 1980:1-2; Hanson 1980:53). That, in turn, becomes the basis for the generalization that "the businessmen" of Upper Galilee were involved in a thriving trade with Syria generally and Tyre in particular (Meyers, in Hanson 1981:3).

The literary and material evidence, however, will not bear the weight of interpretation placed upon them. The literary reference cited is only one of Josephus's parallel accounts of John of Gischala, *J.W.* 2.591-92, where he writes vaguely about John gaining a monopoly of the olive oil crop in Galilee in order to supply "the Judeans in Syria" with oil. The report in *Life* 73-74 is far more precise: "The Judeans living in Caesarea Philippi, having been shut up, at the king's order . . . had requested John to supply them with pure oil for their personal use . . . and John sent off all the oil in the place" (Gischala?), with Josephus's own reluctant permission. It is not difficult to see which of these is the more credible. Most problematic for Meyers's and Hanson's use of the incident reported by Josephus, however, is that this was an *ad hoc*, one-time-only arrangement in the midst of the crisis of nascent revolt of 66-67, Thus the incident can hardly be used as evidence for a supposed general practice of marketing Galilean olive oil in Syria generally and the port of Tyre in particular by "the businessmen" of Upper Galilee, let alone as the

basis of projecting a thriving generalized trade between Upper Galilee and Syria/Tyre.

The incidence of Tyrian coins unearthed in Meiron and nearby villages would also seem incapable of bearing the weighty conclusions that Meyers and Hanson place on them. The non-archaeologist reader has the impression from previous scholarly discussion based on numismatic evidence generally that Tyrian coinage is the most frequently found throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, including nearly everywhere in Palestine, and that it was probably the standard coinage against which others were measured and exchanged, including in the Jerusalem Temple. Indeed evidence of a coin horde found at Magdala that Hanson mentions in a footnote (74 coins of Tyre, 15 of Acre, 17 of Gadara, etc.) compares interestingly with the 3rd century coins found at Meiron (25 from Tyre, 2 each from Acco, Petra, Bostra, etc.). Would we conclude that entrepreneurs of the fishing "industry" in Magdala were trading (directly) with Tyre? Or is the incidence of Tyrian coins in that horde simply another indication that Tyrian coinage was the standard coinage most in circulation, perhaps because it was minted in the greatest quantity (by some political decision or diplomatic arrangement high up in the Roman imperial regime)? If, as Hanson himself points out, "Tyre was a major supplier of money in the Levant," then the incidence of Tyrian coins in Upper Galilee would have been nothing unusual and may not imply trade with Tyre.

The "building block" laid into place for the work in Upper Galilee with such excitement by Meyers (in Hanson, 1-4) illustrates just how much interpretation of material and literary remains depends upon the model of political-economic relations presupposed by the interpreter. Considerably more Hasmonean (particularly Jannean) coins were found in Upper Galilee than Tyrian coins. They were taken to indicate Hasmonean military presence. Interpretation of the Tyrian coins, however, along with a report by Josephus, as indicating trade with Tyre involved the projection of an anachronistic commercial model onto the ancient Galilean political-economy.[7]

Far more promising than coins as potential evidence for trade in ancient Galilee is pottery. Because it was a basic item of everyday household use, almost indestructible in its fragments, capable of being located and dated in its types, usually traded simply from place of production to place of use, and recovered in large quantities at every site, quantified collections of excavated pottery can potentially provide evidence of trading patterns. Adan-Bayewitz (1993) has analyzed pottery from many sites in the Galilee and the Golan with sophisticated new techniques, such as neutron activation analysis. He has been able to demonstrate that much of the common cooking ware used

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[7] If we simply scuttle this "building block" as without foundation and utility, then there is no need for mental gymnastics to make such a contradictory item as thriving trade with Tyre fit into the otherwise consistent "pattern of factors that are the peculiar features of Upper Galilean economy," an area "tied to the Golan with distinctive features of pottery, an area of architectural conservatism that used local materials for construction, an area of limited goods for export" (Hanson, 67). The only material evidence that suggests interregional trade and cultural contact is the fine ware found principally in a few large houses of the third-century CE, that is, trade confined to luxury goods for the well-to-do.

throughout Galilee was made at Kefar Hananya, a village located between Upper and Lower Galilee (1993; Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman, 1990). As we might expect, given the weight of pottery and the high cost of overland transport, the relative quantity of Kefar Hananya pottery found varied inversely with the distance from the village.

What inferences can be drawn from the findings of Adan-Bayewitz's analysis of the relative distribution of Kefar Hananya pottery? With admirable scholarly restraint he notes that "in a rigorous sense, by determining the place of production and the recovery of sites of common pottery we learn about trade in that one commodity." He hopes, however, that "it is entirely possible that pottery, as the best preserved and most common of ancient artifacts, is only a symptom of more widespread commercial, and perhaps cultural, interaction which has left no other tangible trace" (1993:247). Exercising less restraint, others have claimed that what Adan-Bayewitz himself hopes is a possibility has become a proven fact of ancient Galilean economic and cultural life.

As Adan-Bayewitz himself points out, "manufacture and trade in the Roman world were primarily local. Self-sufficiency in basic products was a fundamental principle of the ancient economy" (19). Nevertheless, he and others repeatedly use the term "marketing" with regard to Kefar Hananya pottery. The combination of material and literary evidence he presents, however, indicates that pottery was not "marketed" in the early modern mercantile sense or in the modern capitalist sense. Virtually all of the rabbinic literary evidence for sale has the potter selling at his workship (which Adan-Bayewitz believes must have been the "most prevalent" for sales to those in nearby settlements) or taking the pots directly to the buyer in other settlements (229-30). One reference in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Maʿaś.* 2.3, 49d) seems to portray Kefar Hananya potters as peddlers (*rokhlim*) of their own products, going around to four or five villages before returning home for the night. But Adan-Bayewitz's own study of all the rabbinic references to the term *rokhel* reveals a specific type of itinerant peddler who carried small products of light weight and relatively high value such as cosmetics or spinning goods in their baskets. Significantly, the term is never used in connection with pottery (1985; 1993:232). So pottery would not have been marketed by middlemen such as peddlers. The distribution pattern of Kefar Hananya pottery taken together with rabbinic references to the transport and sale of pottery and other goods thus suggests limited social interaction among Galilean villages or between villages and the two major cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias. The distribution of the pottery itself apparently would have entailed interaction primarily between the potters of Kefar Hananya and their customers.

It is unclear, finally, how the distribution of pottery from Kefar Hananya and Shikhin, adjacent to Sepphoris, would change or challenge the general picture of Galilee as primarily (not exclusively!) agrarian and of the exploitation of the Galilean peasantry by the wealthy and powerful residents Sepphoris, Tiberias, and (earlier) Jerusalem (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman, 1990:171-72, nn. 47 and 48, without explaining their claims and somewhat misrepresenting the studies cited). Adan-Bayewitz, however, leaves us with a

far clearer picture of local trade in one significant product that is precisely traceable, thanks to his pioneering work.

Arguments for a trading network based on pottery distribution, like the argument about trade between Upper Galilee and Tyre, assume a commercial or market model of economics, although at least Adan-Bayewitz is aware that most "trade" in antiquity was local. As indicated in the opening discussion of approaches, however, the Romans had left in place the basic "tributary" or "redistributive" political-economic system that had prevailed in Palestine for centuries, with the (various levels of) rulers taking taxes, usually in kind, from the villagers. As long as we are pursuing an archaeological-literary approach, we need only recall Josephus's account of (his and John's competing designs on) "the imperial (Caesar's) grain stored in the villages of Upper Galilee" (*Vita* 71) or his account of the peasant strike revealing how both the Herodian rulers in Tiberias and their Roman patrons were directly dependent economically on the peasant harvest (*Ant.* 18.269-75; *J.W.* 2.199-201). As illustrated by the distribution of pottery, there was indeed local trading; but it was a subsidiary aspect of the basic political-economic system.

History and Political-Economic Relations: The Cities

Sepphoris appears to have been the principal administrative city through which (much of (Galilee) was ruled and taxed by a series of imperial regimes, from at least the Ptolemies through the late Roman empire. Thus even if it were not situated in such proximity to Nazareth, Jesus' "home town," it would still have made a major impact on the Galilee of Jesus' ministry and movement. A settlement must have existed at Sepphoris by the 7th-6th centuries BCE, judging from the substantial quantities of Iron II potsherds uncovered at the site, as well as during the Persian period, perhaps as a military fortress (Meyers, Netzer, Meyers, 1992:10). It appears as a military fortress at the beginning of Hasmonean rule in Galilee, in the first literary attestation of Sepphoris, Josephus *Ant.* 13.2.5. Numerous Hasmoneans coins along with other late Hellenistic artifacts and traces of architecture support indications in Josephus that Sepphoris was already an important stronghold in Galilee even before Gabinius based one of five regional *synedria* there in 57 BCE (Meyers 1992:323; Meyers, Netzer, Meyers, 1992:19). Presumably Herod continued to use Sepphoris, with its military fortress, as an administrative base in Galilee. Josephus reports that the leader of the insurrection in Galilee after the death of Herod, Judas son of Ezekias, attacked the royal fortress and arsenal (*Ant.* 17.271; *J.W.* 2.56; some inaccuracies in Meyers, Netzer, Meyers 1992:10-11).

What happened after the death of Herod the Great is of considerable potential importance for interpretation of Jesus, whether in terms of the direct impact of events there on people in nearby villages or in terms of longer range political-economic and cultural impact on Galilean villagers generally. The literary evidence has been well-known for some time: Josephus writes that, in retaliation for the insurrection led by Judas son of Ezekias, Varus, legate of Syria, burned the town and enslaved the inhabitants (*Ant.* 17.289; *J.W.* 2.69). Herod's son Antipas, having been entrusted with rule of Galilee and Perea by the Romans, then "fortified Sepphoris to be the ornament of all Galilee, and called it Autocratoris" (*Ant.* 18.27). Thanks to the industrious and painstaking

efforts of the two major and on-going archaeological expeditions at the site, we now have an ever increasing amount of material evidence for Sepphoris as well. With regard to events after the death of Herod, however, there some disagreement between leaders of the two expeditions. "The Joint Expedition has found no trace of violent destruction in the Herodian period [but rather] a great degree of continuity between the Late Hellenistic and early Roman (Herodian) structures" (Meyers, 1992:323). In excavations of building after building, however, the University of South Florida expedition discovered the founding on bedrock in the early Roman period, suggesting considerable rebuilding that would coincide with Antipas's reported grand scheme to "fortify Sepphoris to be the ornament (*proschema*) of all Galilee" (*Ant.* 18.27; Strange, 1992). The respective dating of the Roman theatre at Sepphoris reflects these different "readings" of the site, Meyers *et al.* dating it at the end of the first century CE or later (Meyers, Netzer, Meyers 1992:33), while Strange and Longstaff find construction by Antipas to be more credible (Strange and Longstaff, 1985:299; 1987:280; Strange 1992:342). Josephus, of course, does not say that the Romans destroyed the town. But he does suggest that Antipas did some (re-)building, at least of fortifications. And depending on the dating of the building of his new capital city of Tiberias and how long we estimate the construction to have taken, we would expect one with the pretentions of a Roman client "king" to have established a capital suitable for his station as soon as possible following his appointment, with Sepphoris being the obvious site as the traditional administrative town. Can further assessment of current findings at Sepphoris and/or future finds provide further clarity or certainty regarding the (re-)building of Sepphoris as a Roman city, with buildings such as the theatre, including whether this was done by Antipas soon after 4 BCE or later—or earlier by Herod?

History and Political-Economic Relations: Cities and Villages

Partly because social conflict is not usually one of the topics dealt with by either biblical studies or archaeology, we have hardly even inquired whether certain archaeological finds might be pertinent. As long as we are pursuing an "archaeological-literary" approach, however, we can avail ourselves of the literary evidence for persistent tensions between Sepphoris and the Galilean populace of the surrounding villages. Their escalation to overt hostilities in 4 BCE and again seventy years later may form a telling frame for the context of the historical Jesus.

Judging from Josephus's accounts (*J.W.* 2.56; *Ant.* 17.271), the attack on the royal fortress led by Judas son of Ezekias after the death of Herod in 4 BCE was a popular insurrection, apparently by peasants in the sorrounding area. Most striking, even allowing for exaggeration by Josephus, was the vehement hostility of "the Galileans" to Sepphoris at the time of the revolt in 66-67 CE. Despite the implication in Josephus's first comment about it (*Vita* 30), this conflict cannot be dismissed as due only to the pro-Roman stance of Sepphoris in 66. It was part of a general and long-standing resentment by the Galilean villagers for the cities (and/or the wealthy and powerful Herodian and/or Roman officials who lived there) from which they were ruled (e.g., *Vita* 373-75). In addition to these accounts in Josephus, several of the Gospel texts containing "urban features" express serious suspicion if not hostility about

"urban" institutions such as the courts or *synedria* or governors and kings (e.g., Matt 5:25-26//Luke 12:57-59; Matt 10:17-19).

As noted above, the combination of literary and material evidence indicates that Sepphoris had been the principal town from which Galilee was administered, i.e., from which the people were taxed, since at least Ptolemaic and Seleucid times, and continued in that function under the Hasmoneans and Herod. The rebuilding of the city as Antipas's "ornament," followed by the completely new foundation of Tiberias not long thereafter, would have meant an unusually heavy economic burden on the Galilean and Perean peasantry subject to Antipas. That would seem to provide reason to believe that popular resentment may have been building early in the first century. Then the social disintegration after mid-first century (manifested in the many bands of brigands already active at the outbreak of revolt in 66), presumably at least partly rooted in the economic pressure on peasants, would have become the occasion for increasing expression of hostility towards Sepphoris. Josephus's accounts of Galilean hostility to Sepphoris fits both reconstructions of the political-cultural ethos of city in the first century CE, whether the Strange-Longstaff evidence of extensive (re-)building activity probably by Antipas (including the theatre) or the Meyers *et al.* picture of a city dominated by aristocratic Jewish families. Although he believes it subsides by later in the second century, Meyers understands the "tensions between town and city," the "widespread opposition to the direct and indirect rule of the Roman administration . . . and to the urban elite" as an important factor in the first century (1992:322-326). Strange and Longstaff, moreover, provide a window onto what may have been another dimension of the tension once Antipas added the "Roman urban overlay" (see further below).

To focus on villages such as Nazareth in the immediate orbit of Sepphoris, it is curious that there is virtually no mention, by scholars fully aware of events taking place around Sepphoris in 4 BCE and 66-67 CE, either of the insurrection led by Judas son of Ezekias and the punitive Roman retaliation in 4 BCE or of the valiant resistance offered by the nearby village of Jappha in 67 to the again devastatingly Roman reconquest (*J.W.* 3.289-306). In both cases, the devastation and slaughter and enslavement of the people would likely have made a serious impact on the surviving people of the area for generations.

Although ancient literary sources indicate latent and occasionally manifest hostility between Galilean villages and Sepphoris (and the elite of Tiberias), tensions consistent with archaeologists' reconstructions of early Roman Sepphoris and acknowledged by some archaeologists, much of the recent archaeological work on Galilee assumes a high degree of economic and cultural interaction and continuity between city and village. This appears to be one of the intended connotations of the recent emphasis on the "urbanization" of Galilee in the first century (and after). Economically, this includes a high volume of "trade" and a dependency of villages on the city for markets and services as well as protection. Even Meyers, who stressed the urban-rural tensions in the first century envisions later in the same article that "people from the surrounding area probably also flocked to Sepphoris on such occasions [as when the theatre was functioning], either to attend the theatre or to hawk their wares" (1992:333). Since we are only beginning to address

questions of the political-economic relations and social interaction between the villagers and Sepphoris or Tiberias, a careful review of the limited evidence available along with critical attention to an appropriate model of the historical political-economic relations is in order.

Adan-Bayewitz speculates, reasonably it would seem, that for Tiberias or Sepphoris and their environs, twenty-five km. away, Kefar Hananya pottery must have been sold by middlemen at "central market places." Yet the references he cites provide little or no evidence for these cities as "market centers," the numerous rabbinic references to city markets pertaining largely to (Gentile) cities outside of Galilee (1993:233 n. 7). Would it not seem equally possible that pottery was "ordered" or "commissioned" or "procured" from the potters by those who needed pots? That is, would potters from those specialized villages would have "marketed" their pots in Sepphoris to Sepphorites, or simply produced on demand? The main argument against the notion that Sepphoris and Tiberias as "central market places" were the principal means of "marketing" Kefar Hananya pottery, of course, is that the amount of Kefar Hananya pottery found at sites varies inversely with distance from the site of production, not from Sepphoris or Tiberias. Moreover, the fact that the majority of common cooking ware in Sepphoris came from that village does not necessarily indicate that villagers near Sepphoris were buying their pots at a "central market" in the city. Indeed, as Adan-Bayewitz himself makes clear earlier in his study, pottery was apparently distributed primarily by the potters themselves directly to buyers in other places, and not primarily through "central markets" in Sepphoris and Tiberias.

It seems all the more unlikely, therefore, that we can extrapolate from the distribution of Kefar Hananya pottery to a more general system of commercial and cultural interaction. To do that we would need reason to believe that many villages specialized in some product such as cosmetics or spinning goods or oil or wine and then either "marketed" their products in a "central market" or traded with numerous other villages. The literary evidence of peddlars and the general evidence of non-specialization in agriculture (to which we shall return below) make this highly unlikely. The production of pottery itself, on the other hand, being dependent on the availability of the right kind of clay, would likely have been concentrated in specialized villages such as Kefar Hananya and Shikhin. Trade in pottery was relatively unique, was local, and involved limited specialized contact primarily between producer-seller and buyer-user. That trade, particularly in heavy items such as pottery was largely localized within a region of limited radius, as demonstrated by Adan-Bayewitz's study, is also supported by analysis, e.g., of the distribution of Hellenistic braziers imported from outside Palestine: they are found only in coastal urban sites, handy to transport by sea, and not inland (Rahmani; Grunneweg and Perlman).

The distribution of pottery, therefore, would not be a good indicator of intervillage and city-village trade and interaction, let alone of interregional economic and cultural contact. In any case, a picture of masses of Galilean peasants heading into Sepphoris to market their agricultural products is inappropriate to the political economic system imposed on ancient Galilee in increasingly direct form from the Hasmoneans through Antipas.

As for "services," the urban literate elite of ancient Roman cities (along with some of their modern counterparts) may have believed that the cities provided services such as peace, protection, law, and religious ceremonies for the villagers, but we might like to consider the villagers' viewpoint on the matter as well. There is extremely limited evidence on this matter, since the non-elite left few literary remains, which makes it all the more important to inquire critically of the Gospel literature on just such questions. A passage cited to illustrate how communities such as Nazareth were "dependent villages" in relation to Sepphoris, *Vita* 346, indicates that the dependency worked the other way around economically: Sepphoris was in a strong position politically-militarily because it was surrounded by numerous villages which would supply its economic needs.

Culture and Cultural Relations

The task of assessing the cultural character of Galilee in the early first century CE is difficult in the extreme. The evidence, particularly the archaeological data, is extremely limited. Partly because of the paucity of material evidence, both archaeologists and historians have relied upon literary evidence. But Meyers's repeated claim that Josephus portrays the Galileans generally as "Torah-true" is based solely on a 1973 Duke University dissertation which preceded much of the development of a critical reading of the historian's accounts (1976:93; 1979:693, 701). Freyne's parallel argument (1980) that Galileans were solidly loyal to Temple and Torah was based on later rabbinic references, many of which appeared to suggest just the opposite of what he was arguing. His work also preceded the development of more critical methods of reading rabbinic texts by Neusner *et al.* There would thus appear to be little reliable literary (as well as no archaeological) evidence that in the first century CE Galilean culture, Galileans' traditions, customs, loyalties, etc., were basically the same as those known through Jerusalem-based sources or later rabbinic literature.

Any critical consideration of Galilean culture must take into account the divergent history of Galilee and Jerusalem-Judea prior to the reestablishment of Jerusalem rule in the north only a century before the time of Jesus. Prior to 104 BCE, Galilee had not been under the rule of Jerusalem since the Israelite revolt against the Davidic monarchy over eight centuries earlier. Following two-hundred years' rule by a separate Israelite monarchy in the north, Galilee was thereafter under the rule of one foreign emperial regime after another, while presumably villagers continued to cultivate and develop their own Israelite traditions. As Meyers, Strange, Meyers recognize with regard to the Upper Galilean villages, it was only in the early first century BCE that the Hasmonean regime would have been in a position to "reintegrate distant segments of the population into the religious and political life of their kingdom" (1979:36). Even then it is unlikely that the Hasmonean regime would have mounted a systematic effort to conform the indigenous (Israelite) traditions and customs of Galilean villages to Jerusalem-developed traditions, since Alexander Janneus was occupied with wars of conquest and virtual civil war with thousands of prominent Jerusalemites and Judeans and the last Hasmoneans were divided against themselves shortly thereafter. Meyers and

other archaeologists have argued that there were significant regional differences within Galilean culture. More significant for interpretation of Jesus and Jesus movements, however, were the historically determined regional differences between Galilee and Jerusalem.

In addition to the different historical experiences of Galilee and Jerusalem-Judea there were particular influences on Galilee in the early first century, i.e., in the generation of Jesus and his followers, that likely influenced people in villages and towns; we need mention only the massive and costly building projects of Antipas. Finally, lest we assume that "influences" only work downwards upon villages and towns, we must consider how the villagers and townspeople were reacting to those influences. Thus, whatever fragmentary evidence is available must be assessed within the framework of these historical and social-structural relations.

Brief Notes on Two Key Issues to Remain Unaddressed Here

Synagogues: It is increasingly evident that the buildings identified as "synagogues" in the villages and towns of Galilee date from the mid-third century CE and after (most recently Foerster 1992). I explored the implications of the lack of archaeological evidence for synagogue *buildings* for earlier periods in a 1989 SBL Annual Meeting paper (publication forthcoming). The most important point is that the *synagogai* in Mark and Q (and in Matthew and in Luke, except 7:4) are clearly not religious buildings but local village assemblies (as in the meaning of the Greek word!). Other important points are that there is no indication in Mark and Q and Luke, and I would argue also not in Matthew as well, that the Pharisees were leaders of the *synagogai* or that there was any conflict between the *synagogai* and the Jesus movement(s) (vs. Kee 1990).

Languages: The committees planning these sessions believed that, since the issue of languages in Galilee has been extensively discussed and no unusual new evidence has been unearthed of late, we should not focus on the issue—while fully acknowledging its great importance. Indeed, it is unclear how we could make any further progress on the question of who used what languages in Galilee with what proficiency until we have a much clearer sense of the political-economic structure and the dynamics of social interaction in Galilee. Thus in this context we simply stress the importance, in assessing inscriptional and other evidence for language usage, of establishing the social location and purpose of the evidence. For example, inscriptions from Beth Shearim are not good evidence for language usage in Galilean towns and villages at the time of Jesus, not only because they are largely much later and many of them from diaspora Jews, but because Beth Shearim was apparently part of the royal land (assigned to Queen Berenice in the 60s, Jos., *Vita* 118-19), and not a part of Galilee in the early Roman period. A more precise historical sociology of language is to be desired!

Culture and Cultural Relations: Villages and Towns

With this more complicated apparatus for posing questions of culture in first century CE Galilee, we might ask Meyers and Strange for clarification on what they meant, more precisely, by their assertion that Nazareth "was a thoroughly Jewish settlement" (Meyers and Strange 57). Can we assume that

the pre-Hasmonean village consisted of families descended from former Israelites? The question is, then, how closely conformed to Jerusalemite culture the village had become in the next century. The "circumstantial" evidence offered by Meyers and Strange that it "was thoroughly Jewish" consists of the tradition about the priestly courses having resettled at various sites in Galilee and elsewhere after Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 CE. The eighteenth course of Hapizzez is listed as located at Nazareth in the late Roman inscription found at Caesarea. (As pointed out above, if there is any historical reliability in this tradition, the date of resettlement may well be well into the second century.) The reasoning goes, "to be acceptable to priests [Nazareth] would have to be an unmixed city" (Meyers and Strange, 57). Such reasoning seems flawed insofar as another course, that of Jediah, supposedly resettled in Sepphoris, which was clearly a "mixed city," as pointed out by Meyers himself for the period immediately after 70. This piece of "circumstantial" evidence is thus not only about an uncertain later development, but its application is based on flawed reasoning.

Another argument for the culture of Nazareth is based on Finegan's belief that the multishafted burial chambers (*kokim*; or *loculi*, in Latin) of the kind found at Nazareth had become "the canonical form of the Jewish family grave" from around 200 BCE.

This argument is also problematic once we are aware of the diversity within Jewish Palestine and of the divergent historical-cultural of Galileans and Judeans/Jerusalemites prior to Hasmonean rule in Galilee. From what sites was it determined that the *kokim* were the standard "Jewish" form of burial, and were such *loculi* standard elsewhere? The question of the date of "refounding" discussed above is also important precisely in relation to the question of how closely the village culture of Nazareth would have become conformed to Jerusalem-based traditions and practices by the time of Jesus. If the first century village was as small as 400 and if, as Meyers and Strange admit, there was an older village on the site, is too much being made of the discontinuity entailed in the "refounding." The issue may hinge on just how distinctively Judean (vs. general Palestinian or Hellenistic-Roman) those *kokim/ loculi* may have been.

On Capernaum the archaeological literature does not focus on the cultural identity or commitments of the inhabitants. Would the Hellenistic-period village have been "Israelite"? Laughlin (59) speculates that "the expansion and economic growth" was "probably fueled by an influx of Jews from Judea" after the two revolts of 66-70 and 132-135; but that supposed Judean influx is well after the time of Jesus. *If* the the first century building under the later bathhouse were to produce evidence for a small military garrison of the Romans and/or their client rulers Antipas and Agrippa II, what impact might that have had on the villagers?

A major hypothesis resulting from the *regional* approach implemented in the excavations of Upper Galilean villages has been that the distinctive geographical and topographical features of Upper Galilee (in contrast with those of Lower Galilee) "had profound influences on the material culture of the north in general if not upon the entire socio-economic and social-religious picture" (1979:689-90, 694-95). Inscriptions indicate bilingual Greek and Aramaic-Hebrew in Lower Galilee, whereas Aramaic-Hebrew dominates in

Upper Galilee. A number of ceramic types are found only in Upper Galilee and the Golan, and the architecture in Upper Galilee suggests a "regional conservatism in art" (1976:97-99; 1985:126; Meyers and Strange 1981:47). A conservative religious orientation would also appear to be the best explanation of the apparently endogamous family evident in the bones of the family tomb in Meiron spanning strata II through IV (1981:158). This distinctive regional "conservative" culture, however, had been traditional in the area, according to Meyers. By contrast, the "great urban centers linked to the more pagan and hence Greek-speaking west, with its more cosmopolitan atmosphere," the "very administrative centers of the Roman provincial government," provided dominant cultural influences that small towns such as those associated with Jesus (Nazareth, Nain, Cana, Capernaum) could not have escaped (Meyers 1976:101).

With hindsight on the overall presentation of "Galilean regionalism," even in its "Reappraisal" (Meyers 1985), something does not sit right about the overall "argument" as it integrates literary and archaeological materials. The archaeological evidence on the basis of which Upper Galilee is judged to be solidly "Jewish," even "conservative," is almost all "middle and late Roman," largely third and fourth century CE, and from villages.[8] On the other hand, the evidence on which Lower Galilee is judged to be more cosmopolitan and Roman-Hellenized in culture is either introduced in connection with Jesus-Nazareth-Sepphoris in the first century or is heavily weighted toward materials from sites such as Beth Shearim, Hammat-Tiberias, Magdala, i.e., cities or large towns near cities, and in the case of Beth-Shearim not even clearly considered part of "Galilee" in the first century and certainly not typical (cf. Meyers and Strange, 44). The comparison is thus between Upper Galilean villages and Lower Galilean cities, between upland villages in late antiquity and lowland cities and towns more at the earlier period of the initial impact of the cosmopolitan Roman Hellenist culture.

The evidence from the middle and late Roman strata of the Upper Galilean villages, moreover, reflects a major influx of Judeans, even priestly clans, according to Meyers. There appear to be severe problems of evidence, literary as well as material, with regard to this hypothesis. Meyers claims that "the list of priestly courses, Josephus, and the rabbinic literature are the best guides to settlement in the absence of archaeological" evidence (1979:701; Meyers and Strange 46). Josephus makes no mention of such migration to Upper Galilee. The lists of priestly courses come from late rabbinic literature and medieval liturgical poems called *piyyutim* (Miller, 1984:122-27), except for fragments of a fourth century inscription from Caesarea, suggesting that re-settlement of priestly courses in such places as Caesarea, Sepphoris, and Meiron may have happened well after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Rabbinic references to resettlement in (mostly Lower) Galilee usually pertain to the

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8 What are the criteria for the rather vague terms "Jewish" and "conservative" applied to Upper Galilean material culture? One suspects they have something to do with rabbinic literature (the still-functioning sources for what in our scholarly minds is a quasi- or crypto- "normative" Judaism, particularly once we are in rabbinic times). But we believe that the Mishnah itself was promulgated by Judah ha Nasi, friend of emperors, who produced this epitome of "Judaism" in the midst of that large urban center of cosmopolitan culture Diocaesarea (Sepphoris).

rabbis themselves. It may be significant that standard histories of the Jews under Roman rule (such as Avi-Yonah 1976; Smallwood 1976) do not mention any such migration. Thus the supposedly massive re-settlement of Judeans in the north would appear to be a rather shaky explanation for such archaeological findings as "the scarcity of synagogue remains in Galilee before the 3rd century" or the fragments of "Jewish art" in the north "in the main limited to menorahs, eagles, and simple decorative elements" or certain types of pottery (Meyers, 1976: 99). The few *miqvaot* found in these villages are also from the later period (Middle-Late Roman), and the identification of one as a *miqveh* has been questioned (Foerster).

We are left with a number of questions. Meyers asserts that, "on the basis of material culture alone, it would appear that Upper Galilean village life was firmly rooted, with its own distinctive elements, by the time the Second Temple was destroyed" (1976:101). Given that representatives of Jerusalem rule would have influenced the area for only a century prior to 4 BCE and that the supposed influx of Judeans was later, presumably Upper Galilean village life was firmly rooted in traditional northern "Israelite" culture. That would presumably have made it different from Jerusalem culture as well as from the Hellenistic-Roman influenced culture in the cities of Lower Galilee. Would the presence of a military garrison in Gush Halav have made a difference in that village? Although Meyers, Strange, *et al.* find no evidence of participation in the revolt of 66-67 in the villages themselves (except presumably the literary evidence for Gush Halav!), John of Gischala and others fled to Jerusalem. Does that suggest loyalty to the Temple or simply a desperate flight from and continuation of resistance to the Roman reconquest? Finally, we are left wondering what evidence, literary or material, there might be for regional variation between the *village* culture of Upper Galilee and the *village* culture of Lower Galilee.[9]

Can any further angle on Galilean village culture be gained from comparison with the culture of the Lower Galilean cities or from the presumed influence from that urban culture?

Culture and Cultural Relations: The Cities

As noted above, the combination of archaeological remains from Iron II through Hellenistic and Hasmonean times and Josephus's suggestion that the Hasmoneans took over an already defensible fortress indicate that Sepphoris had been an administrative center under the Ptolemies and Seleucids. One would presume, therefore, that Sepphoris was a Greek-speaking Hellenistic town when the Hasmoneans took it over. Would Alexander Jannaeus have replaced all the Greek-speaking Hellenistic inhabitants with Judeans, or just the officers/aristocracy at the head of the administrative apparatus there? In this connection, it would be helpful to know more about the "Greek words in Hebrew letters in Sepphoris as early as the Hasmonean period" which

[9] For example, since the series of expeditions to Meiron, Khirbet Shemaʿ and Gush Halav, it has been determined that both Upper Galilee and Lower Galilee were heavily supplied with cooking ware pottery from Kefar Hananya, a village situated directly between the two regions. It may be unclear to the non-archaeologist just how this relates to the distinctively Galilean bowls found in the Upper Galilean villages.

apparently "refer to titles or data that may be associated with officials or official functions of the city" (Meyers, 1992:330). The Hasmonean regime was otherwise characterized by increasing Hellenistic influence, particularly under Alexander Jannaeus. Do these Greek words for administrative officers and functions in Hebrew letters mean that despite Hebrew being the official administrative language of the city, Greek terms and culture continued to thrive in the town? Given the wars of conquest and the virtual civil war between Alexander Jannaeus and opposition groups and the weakness and internal divisions among the Hasmoneans thereafter, it seems unlikely that much energy would have been devoted to conforming the cultural ethos of Sepphoris, let alone of Galilee generally, to what was standard in Jerusalem.

In any case, the Hasmoneans controlled Sepphoris only two generations before Herod conquered his Rome-sponsored kingdom and systematically rooted out the remaining Hasmonean family and high officers. Given his practices elsewhere of sponsoring Hellenistic-Roman style building projects and administration, there is little to suggest that Herod would have fostered a distinctively Judean administration and culture (religion) in Sepphoris.[10] There certainly is no reason to think that Herod would have utilized priests as administrators in Sepphoris rather than in the Temple administation then preoccupied with the massive reconstruction of the temple complex in Jerusalem. There appears to be no real evidence, literary or material, to support the assertion that "Sepphoris was apparently the home town of many priests, some of whom even served as high priests in the Jerusalem Temple" (Meyers, Netzer, Meyers 1992:10). Given Miller's critical analysis (1984:62-88, 120-27) of the references in Josephus and rabbinic texts that were previously taken synthetically as a basis for such speculation, it can no longer be imagined that the high priest Matthias (end of Herod's reign) was from Galilee (Stern 1974:272, n. 2), let alone that Joseph ben Ellem was a "priestly aristocratic landowner in Sepphoris" (Freyne 1980:165, 285). Rabbinic awareness of priestly presence in Sepphoris can be dated to the latter half of the second century CE at the earliest (Miller 1984). We may speculate that some of the Hasmonean officers stationed in Sepphoris would likely have been priests, but they may not have survived Herod's purges. Perhaps we simply cannot know, on the basis of current evidence, whether there was much of a distinctively Judean or priestly presence at Sepphoris during the century of Jerusalem rule of Galilee through Sepphoris.

The two teams currently excavating at Sepphoris have dramatically different interpretations of the character of the city during the first century CE. Meyers, seeing basic continuity from Hellenistic into early Roman times, argues that the archaeological record "supports the picture of Sepphoris presented by Josephus and some of the rabbinic literature, i.e., that Sepphoris from the first century CE onwards was a city inhabited by many well-to-do aristocratic Jews of a priestly background" (Meyers 1992:322). "There can be little doubt that . . . virtually all of the inhabitants of Sepphoris in the first century were Jewish. . . . The considerable first-century remains that have

[10] Since it is not at all clear that a "synagogue" was found at Masada, one can hardly argue that Herod may have "supported synagogue Judaism privately," (vs. Meyers and Strange 1981:24).

been uncovered . . . point to a Torah-true population" (Meyers, 1992:324-25). He envisages the city as having become more mixed and culturally cosmopolitan only later, with an influx of Roman soldiers after 70 and the installation of a gentile administration of "Diocaesarea" under Hadrian. The Jewish culture of the city was reinforced when refugees from Judea moved into Galilee, some to Sepphoris, with the priestly clan of Jedaiah in particular locating there either before or after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Meyers, 1992:326; Meyers, Netzer, Meyers 1992:12).

Meyers's claims that virtually all the inhabitants of first century Sepphoris were Jewish and that they were "Torah-true" seems to move beyond the limited base of available evidence.[11] There were a number of "Greeks" in Tiberias at the outbreak of the revolt in 66 (*Vita* 67), and, since Sepphoris had by then been a city of direct Roman administration for nearly thirty years (remaining staunchly pro-Roman during the great Revolt), we would expect there to have been more "Greeks" or "Romans" (at least non-Judeans and non-Galileans) at Sepphoris than at Tiberias. The claim that the population was "Torah-true" places a great deal of weight on both the presence of ritual baths (*miqvaot*) and burial customs (Meyers 1992:325).[12] Perhaps we could reach greater precision in our analysis by abandoning essentialist definitions in favor of a more realistic sense of mixed culture. One could imagine Sepphorites of Judean, even priestly heritage continuing traditional burial customs and ritual bathing while participating fully in the life of the administrative city of a Roman-sponsored client ruler, which would likely have involved use of Greek. Finally, if there could have been an increased and/or intensified (distinctively) Judean presence in Sepphoris after 70 CE and especially after 135 CE, when Roman-pagan presence was intensifying, then surely Judeans can have lived in Sepphoris in some sort of cultural accommodation or assimilation to Hellenistic-Roman culture earlier in the first century.

Strange and Longstaff have a very different interpretation of first-century Sepphoris: "Herod Antipas's reconstruction of Sepphoris marked its transition from a Greek city to a Roman one" (Longstaff 1990:12). Indeed, Strange (1993) has recently put forward a bold hypothesis with implications for the environs of Sepphoris as well as the city itself. Once the Romans conquered the area, they "imposed a distinctive *urban overlay* upon a base, namely the local, Jewish culture in first-century BCE Judea" (31). "This 'urban overlay' . . . bore the major institutions, ideas, and symbols of Roman culture in Judea. The

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11 It is unclear on what basis Meyers claims that Josephus portrays Sepphoris as "inhabited by many well-to-do aristocratic Jews of a priestly background" in the first century.

12 Was burial outside the city precincts distinctive to Judean customs? If the *miqvaot* date from the *end* of the second Temple period to the end of the Roman period (Meyers, Netzer, Meyers 1992:29), are they good evidence for earlier in the first century? One wonders both how a chamber with a stepped entrance is deemed a distinctively Judean *miqveh* and when these *miqvaot* are dated. An earlier assessment was less certain (Meyers, Netzer, Meyers 1986:18) Moreover, "a water installation very similar to a *miqveh*" was found in the villa which also had the dramatic mosaic portraying Dionysiac symbols, rituals, and processions (Meyers 1992:332). There were several other *miqveh*-like pools in another villa (Strange, 1992:345). Are both the *miqvaot* and the burial customs delineated in the Torah?

local Jewish culture, on the other hand, bore its own institutions, ideas, and symbols" (without much disruption by the overlay, 32). This overlay could be "a successful graft onto the local culture" because "as a matter of fact, the Jewish culture was already rural and urban and to some extent Hellenized, and therefore prepared for Roman dominance." (32) "The symbols of specifically Roman culture, sometimes on a co-opted Hellenistic base, included baths, hippodromes, theatres, amphitheatres or circuses, odeons, nymphaea, figures, wall paintings, statues, triumphal monuments, temples, etc . . . (33). "Symbols of the Jewish foundation include the Second Temple, synagogues or places of assembly, art forms with Jewish symbols (menorah, ethrog, lulab), and tombs." The current excavations at Sepphoris, therefore, afford the scholarly world an excellent test case for distinguishing local institutions and symbols and their Roman counterparts in the archaeological record" (35).

At first glance, Strange's hypothesis of "Roman urban overlay" would appear to have considerable promise for interpretation of Sepphoris. Continuing disagreement about the date of the theatre does not prevent us from realizing that a Roman client ruler would indeed have been eager to design his capital in accordance with the imperial Roman ideology. Herod the Great had set the tone with his building projects, including temples, stadia, hippodromes, and newly founded cities at key locations in his realm. Antipas is often described in New Testament studies as a "Jewish king," perhaps because of his aniconic coins. It seems doubtful that Judeans would have viewed him so. Certainly the priestly aristocrat Josephus and/or the Jerusalem priestly provisional government at the beginning of the great Revolt of 66 did not view him as particularly loyal to "the laws of the Judeans" (to use Josephus's phrase). In building his second capital, Tiberias, he had both desecrated a cemetery and decorated his royal palace in violation of the law and ancestral tradition of the Judeans (*Ant.* 18.38; *Vita* 64-65). It would seem rather that Antipas would have established a Roman-Hellenistic style capital at both Sepphoris and Tiberias, befitting the background and position of a Roman client ruler in the East, who had been raised in Rome and who both socialized and competed with other such Roman client rulers (so also Longstaff 1990:12). Moreover, the Roman character of the city would have continued after Antipas's death, since Sepphoris served as the Roman administrative city in Lower Galilee, and again received the official archives and bank from the rival administrative center in Tiberias. The persistent pro-Roman stance of Sepphoris during the revolt of 66-67 was consistent with its function and ethos as a Roman administrative city in which role it had been (re-)built by Antipas. Thus Sepphoris very likely symbolized Roman domination. At least "the theatre itself announce[d] 'Rome!'" (although it may have been built after Antipas, when Rome ruled directly in Sepphoris). Although excavators have not yet found that many of the principal "symbols" of the Roman overlay, Sepphoris can be seen as fitting into a general pattern of "Roman urban overlay" given the prominence of so many of those other "symbols" elsewhere in Herodian Palestine.

Many of the statements Strange makes in developing his hypothesis, however, may be questionable, so much so as to require serious re-thinking of how the dominating "overlay" would have stood in relation to the dominated

society and its culture. To say that the relation of Jewish cultural elements would have varied with whichever element of the culture is under discussion (38) does not mean that any given element can be discussed in abstraction from the overall context of cultural domination and subordination! To say that Jewish culture was already urban as well as rural and therefore prepared for Roman dominance (32) is both untrue of Galilee in particular and flies in the face of the history of Palestine during what archaeologists call the "early Roman" period (Pompey through Bar Kockba). To say further that:

> the idea 'city' in ancient Judea expressed what the locals had in mind, no more and no less. It is not basically a foreign idea with which they found themselves burdened. . . . The citizens of the city . . . gave expression to their idea of a city by planning the city, building it, and living in it (34),

assumes that we already know both the character of the city and the background of the inhabitants, and that they determined the building.

If our purpose is better understanding of the Galilean social world, then particular cultural forms, imposed or indigenous, cannot be considered out of the context of the dynamics of a history that featured massive popular rebellions against the Roman conquerors and/or their client rulers in 40-37 BCE, 4 BCE, 66-70 CE, as well as several *ad hoc* protests and resistance movements. Galilee in particular was not particularly "urbanized" prior to Antipas's construction of two capitals (and archaeologists have apparently not yet determined just how large the fortified administrative town of Sepphoris was under the Hasmoneans and Herod. The popular attack on the royal fortress after the death of the Roman client king Herod, is a vivid indication that Galilean "culture" was not exactly "prepared for Roman dominance." We have vitually no clear evidence about who the initial inhabitants of Antipas's "ornament" would have been, much less that they were "locals" (whether that means Judeans or Galileans). If they were Herodian officers from Caesarea or Sebaste, Strange would have a point. If they were Jerusalemites or previous residents of Sepphoris, Antipas's "Roman urban overlay" would likely have been at least somewhat strange. In any case, city-(re)building was sponsored by the Roman client ruler(s) and designed by his/their men. In the case of Tiberias, of course, we have Josephus's account that the new population forced into the city had virtually nothing to do with the planning, let alone the conception of the newly founded city.

In fact, Strange appears to have two mutually incompatable notions of the relations between the overlay and the indigenous culture. On the one hand, he talks of Antipas having an opportunity for a synthesis of foreign innovation and local tradition. On the other hand, he suggest that "the local Jewish culture, on the other hand, bore its own institutions, ideas, and symbols" without much disruption by the overlay (32). The latter appears to ignore striking examples of how the very "Jewish symbols" he mentions had already been dramatically affected by the influences of Hellenistic-Roman culture and political domination. The most obvious example is the Temple, which Herod had massively rebuilt and in which there were now prayers and sacrifices for Roma and the emperor led by high priests who were now the creatures of the Romans' client king. Synagogue buildings, of course, did

not exist yet in the first century, unless we mean a *proseuche* such as the one in Tiberias, a city built as another prime example of the "Roman urban overlay." Strange himself comments later that "Jewish architecture is difficult to pinpoint in the first century." That would presumably be because rulers determined major building projects, and they were pressing precisely "the urban overlay." Thus for both of Strange's (mutually incompatible) notions of the relations between the overlay and the indigenous culture, the outstanding problem remains the lack of evidence for just what the indigenous culture may have been in and around Sepphoris!

That first century Sepphoris was probably dominated by a degree of "Roman urban overlay" (hence was not an exclusively "Jewish" city) does not mean that it was "cosmopolitan." It is curious that, while Meyers is at pains to find Sepphoris completely "Jewish" and "Torah-true" in the first century in recent discussions of the city itself, he claimed that Sepphoris and "the other great urban centers" of Lower Galilee were linked with "the pagan, and hence Greek-speaking west, with its more cosmopolitan atmosphere and multilingual population" and the centers of Roman provincial government through which these "dominant cultural tendencies" influenced the villages of Lower Galilee (Meyers, 1979:697-98). What evidence, literary or material, do we have?

The literary evidence is relatively more plentiful for Tiberias, although the city would have been in existence for only ten or fifteen years by the time of Jesus' "ministry." Although it had some features of a "Roman urban overlay," Tiberias must not have been all that cosmopolitan, judging from Josephus's accounts of his dealings with the city in 66-67. As mentioned above, Antipas had built the city without scruples about violating the cemetery on the site and decorated his royal palace with features objectionable to the later provisional high priestly regime in Jerusalem. In addition to the royal palace, the other principal great public building was the "stadium," although there was also an apparently sizeable *proseuche* where a large public political meeting could be held. Among the residents fifty years after the founding were some "Greeks," although not a substantial enough group to hold their own in 66 against the resentful popular party led by Jesus son of Sapphias (*Vita* 66-67). The ten "principal men" (many with Latin names) who dominated the city politically-economically, were apparently officers in the then toparchy administration of Agrippa II. Justus, professional intellectual and rival historian to Josephus, was also directly dependent on the patronage of Agrippa II. Perhaps this tiny provincial elite had pretentions to cosmopolitan culture. They did resist the orders of the provisional high priestly government in Jerusalem to tear down the royal palace because of the objectional representations in its decor (*Vita* 65-66). If those "Greeks" and Herodian officials cultivated a degree of cosmopolitan culture, then it was apparently a thin veneer. The bulk of the Tiberians, the sailors and the poor, Josephus considered mere riff-raff, whose ancestors were inauspicious people from the surrounding territory forced into the city as colonists (*Ant.* 18.37-38). They killed the Greeks and, together with "Galileans" from nearby villages, burned and looted the royal palace (*Vita* 66-67). We can surmise whether the motives were political-economic resentment or cultural or both.

We may suspect that Sepphoris was more "cosmopolitan" than Tiberias. As noted above, it had been a Hellenistic administrative town, in which the Hasmoneans apparently continued to use Greek titles for their officers stationed there. Whether or not Herod the Great did much building there, he is unlikely to have displaced any existing Hellenistic elements, considering his general sponsorship of Hellenistic-Roman culture elsewhere. And it seems likely that Antipas would have sponsored features of a "Roman urban overlay" (such as, possibly, the theatre) in Sepphoris advertising Roman power and his own position as Roman client ruler. We are left to surmise whether he would also have sponsored professional Hellenistic intellectuals, as his father sponsored the historian Nicholas of Damascus and Agrippa II sponsored Justus of Tiberias. Sepphoris, however, was quickly displaced as Antipas "ornament" by the new capital Tiberias, losing the archives and the royal bank as well as other important patronage of Antipas. Although we have no information on the possible social divisions at Sepphoris parallel to that on Tiberias, the cultured elite at Sepphoris (through whom all that cosmopolitan influence would supposedly have been spread into Lower Galilee) would also likely have been a small percentage of the populace. Given the lack of literary or archaeological evidence we can only speculate whether through or underneath that elite there were carriers of cosmopolitan culture in the city.

Although it is thus probably going beyond the evidence to say that first century Sepphoris (or Tiberias) was a center of cosmopolitan culture, it is also inappropriate to say the city was a center of "Galilean urban culture" (Meyers 1992:326). That is an odd phrase particularly when compared with the use of terms by our principal literary source, Josephus, who uses "Galileans" for people from villages precisely over against Sepphoris and the elite in Tiberias. As evident from literary and archaeological evidence together, Roman-Hellenistic urban culture was brought into Galilee precisely in the (re)building of Sepphoris and Tiberias. Josephus writes that Antipas had to coerce people of disgracefully humble origins to provide adequate settlers for Tiberias (most likely Galileans from the immediate area?), but says nothing about Sepphoris in this connection. Is there any indication that Sepphoris and Sepphoreans in the first century included any culture and traditions distinctively Galilean? The theatre, of course, announced "Rome." If there were any Judeans, particularly priests, in first century Sepphoris, they would likely have been originally from Jerusalem and their culture Jerusalem-priestly in its roots (as still prominent in the Mishnah!). It is noteworthy that passages in the Mishnah make clear distinctions between the respective regional customs of Judea, Perea, and Galilee. In the first century, the urban culture of the (recently rebuilt?) "royal" city of Sepphoris must have seemed like a foreign body set down upon Galilean culture of the villages: as "urban overlay," a cultural mixture dominated perhaps by Roman political-cultural freatures.

There is no question but that it had an impact upon Galilean villagers. But given the political-economic structure it seems likely that defensive reaction outweighed assimilation or acculturation, particularly at first, with adjustments taking place over a period of time.

Cultural Relations: City and Village

Recent archaeological reports have emphasized the (cosmopolitan) cultural influence of the cities on the villages, indeed have posited a good deal of cultural continuity between city and village, at least in the supposedly highly urbanized Lower Galilee. As mentioned above, in discussion of regionalism, Meyers states that the "great urban centers" linked to the Greek-speaking West, with its more "cosmopolitan atmosphere," provided dominant cultural influences that small towns such as those associated with Jesus (Nazareth, Nain, Cana, Capernaum) could not have escaped (1976:101). So also, as noted, Strange suggests that "Jewish culture was already . . . to some extent Hellenized, and therefore prepared for Roman dominance" so that the imposition of the Roman urban overlay onto the Jewish base was unproblematic (Strange, 1993:32,41). Accordingly, he discusses a number of "urban features of Mark and Q" without discerning any serious tension between city and village life (41-47).

The issue of possible (cosmopolitan) cultural influence of the cities of Lower Galilee on the surrounding village culture, however, can and should be posed far more precisely. To establish that there were certain (cosmopolitan or Roman urban) cultural features present in Sepphoris or Tiberias does not take us very far. Cultural influences cannot be assessed aside from the context of political-economic relations through which they work and the reaction of the people influenced, which would also be determined both by their background and by the predominant forms of social relations.

(a) Any influences from Sepphoris or Tiberias on Galilean villagers would have been mediated through the structure of social relations in Galilee, which would have determined the impact of those influences and the people's reactions to them. The general (structural) relationship between Sepphoris or Tiberias and the surrounding villages was, as noted above, one of ruling city and ruled/taxed villages. Some recent discussions have imaged Nazareth and other villages as "satellite" or "dependent" villages of Sepphoris. As noted above, however, the dependency worked the other way, cities obtaining their support from the villages, precisely because villages and towns were subjected to regimes based in cities. On the other hand, villages and towns generally handled their own affairs, with the ruling cities attending to them primarily when collecting taxes—or possibly suppressing unrest. Given that most villagers would have produced most of what they consumed (including most crafts), plus a percentage for taxes taken by the officers based in the city, it seems that villagers' trips into the city to market their produce would have been a major factor of urban-rural interaction. Thus visits for economic reasons to the city would likely have been infrequent and specialized (the potters of Kefar Hananya or Shikhin delivering their products?).

Do we have evidence that villagers interacted with the city in other ways, e.g., for "services" or "entertainment"? Local conflicts and disputes were handled locally by the semi-autonomous village or town governance ("assemblies" and "courts"). Cultural interaction of villagers with Sepphoris was probably infrequent. Boatwright finds that outside Rome itself theatres were normally used only five to twenty-five times a year and, more importantly, were used predominantly for political-cultural affairs (what we might call "civil religious" ceremonies?). The Sepphoris theatre (which may

not have been built until after the time of Jesus anyhow) had a capacity of only 5,000, i.e., only enough for (roughly half of) the adult Sepphorites themselves. Thus it seems highly unlikely that "people from the surrounding area probably flocked to Sepphoris on such occasions [as theatre spectacles], either to attend the theater or to hawk their wares" (Meyers 1992: 333).

(b) In the particular case of urban cultural influence on villagers in early first century Galilee, we would also have to consider how recently and suddenly the "urbanization" had happened. The building of Tiberias and the expansion/rebuilding of Sepphoris had been carried out within the first twenty years of Jesus' own generation (is there any evidence of building activity in Galilee under Herod?). Compounding the economic impact of such "development" on the peasantry would have been the political-cultural impact of a Roman client ruler and his "Roman urban overlay" located directly in newly built or expanded cities right in Galilee (whereas previously the Hasmoneans and Herod were at a distance in Jerusalem).

(c) Finally, we would have to consider the reaction of the people to the impact of cultural influences as mediated through the political-economic structures. Although Galilean villagers may not have interacted frequently with the cities, that did not mean that they did not have images of what went on in the rulers' cities. The synoptic Gospels may provide a window or two onto some of those images: "great banquets" and rulers' birthday celebrations (Luke/Q 14:16-24; Mark 6:17-28); "look, those who put on fine clothing and live in luxury are in royal palaces" (Luke/Q 7:25).

The impact of and reaction to new and/or intensified cultural influences from the cities cannot be separated from the impact of and reaction to new and/or intensified political-economic forces. There appears to be a paucity of material evidence. The literary evidence of villagers' reaction to Sepphoris or Tiberias was hostile, as sketched above. Was the targeting of the royal palace by the rebels around Sepphoris in 4 BCE simply to obtain arms, or also an attack on a political-cultural symbol or Herodian rule? When numbers of "Galileans" joined the riff-raff of Tiberias in the attack on the royal palace in Tiberias in 66 CE, were cultural hostilities mixed in with political-economic resentment?

The picture that seems to result from this more complicated analysis is that, indeed, (Roman, royal, and perhaps cosmopolitan) cultural influences were having an impact on the villagers of Lower Galilee, but that at least a sizeable number of those villagers were reacting negatively to those influences.

(d) Insofar as Galileans appear to have been reacting against cultural and political-economic impact stemming from Sepphoris and Tiberias in the first century, they must have been reacting on the basis of and in defense of some culture (along with concrete interests) of their own.[13] But what was that

[13] Even if traditional Galilean culture had been under pressure for some time, we should not imagine it had simply disappeared. We believe that the Mishnah itself was promulgated by Judah ha Nasi in the midst of Diocaesarea (Sepphoris), by around 200 CE supposedly a large urban center of cosmopolitan culture. It seems clear that traditional rabbinic-Jewish and other Palestinian culture could survive, even thrive directly in the midst of (or is it over against?) cosmopolitan Greco-Roman culture. And if traditional culture could thrive in Diocaesarea, then how much more in the villages and towns?

culture more precisely, and what material and literary evidence do we have for it? The above survey of recent archaeological reports on particular sites has generated virtually no material evidence in this connection (the *kokim* in Nazareth?). The fragmentary or circumstantial evidence for those sites from literary sources turns out to be of considerably later date and from (or concerning) people who migrated into Galilee at a later date. It is a sobering realization that, when looking for evidence of Galilean popular culture in the first century, we come up empty—except for the reflections contained in the Christian Gospels or in early rabbinic literature and perhaps a few indicators in Josephus.

Presumably our assumption or "working hypothesis" remains that the culture of Galilean villages and towns, the traditions and customs which guided local family and community life, were (broadly speaking) "Israelite." That is, Galilean culture shared common traditions with Jerusalem/Judea which had been reinforced during the century of direct rule from Jerusalem. This continuing assumption or working hypothesis rests on a number of interrelated indications. Josephus reports that from the time of the Hasmonean take-over of Galilee, the inhabitants were expected to live "according to the laws of the Judeans." Although certain traditions in the Gospel of John express a tension with "the Judeans," and although other Gospel materials express opposition to rulers and ruling institutions in Jerusalem, many sayings of and stories about Jesus in Mark and Q and other Gospel sources presuppose, mention, or "renew" the cultural traditions of Israel. Although early rabbis complain about lack of respect for their rulings, they assume that the variant customs operative in Judea and the different regions of Galilee all belong in and are to be related to the heritage of Israel. Josephus also provides a few windows onto common Israelite practices of circumcision and sabbath observance in Galilee, and mentions at one particularly dramatic point that the leader of the popular party in Tiberias used a copy of "the laws of Moses" as a rallying symbol (against the ostensible representative of the provisional Jerusalem government, interestingly enough!). There is even some evidence, though minimal, of possible positive Galilean attachment to the Temple: however complex their motives may have been, numbers of Galilean villagers protested Gaius' plan to erect his bust in the Temple, and although it has been grossly overblown, there was some pilgrimage from Galilee to the Temple for major festivals.

Thus, although it was not conformed to Jerusalem culture which (we presume) is somewhat better known from literary sources, Galilean village culture would appear to have been solidly rooted in Israelite traditions. It was apparently on the basis of and in defense of that indigenous culture that Galileans reacted to the political-economic impact and cultural influences stemming from the recently built or expanded cities in Lower Galilee.

Implications: Issues of Jesus and the Social World Of Galilee

As indicated in the introduction above, now that we have abandoned the older attempts to positive material "proof" of the reliability of biblical reports, the relevance of archaeological explorations for Gospel texts and the historical Jesus will be mediated through critical construction of the social world of

Galilee. In that context, then, we can assess the implications of the recent archaeology of Galilee for some key issues in recent discussions of the historical Jesus.

Jesus and Judaism

Recent archaeological explorations of Galilee are dramatically reinforcing our sense of the diversity within "Judaism" or "Jewish Palestine" in late second Temple times. For some time we have been aware of the differences between Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. More recently we have realized that ordinary Judeans did not necessarily share the views of the Pharisees and often came into conflict with the priestly aristocracy. Now we must factor in regional diversity. Not only was there apparently regional diversity within Galilee, but Galilee had undergone different historical experience for hundreds of years prior to the Hasmonean take-over. Galilee had been under Jerusalem rule, presumably with exposure to the Torah and some sort of relations with the Temple, for only a hundred years before the death of Herod and the birth of Jesus. There is no literary or material evidence and little historical likelihood that over such a short period of time Galilean culture had become conformed to what may have been standard in Jerusalem or Judea. This is partly because we are not sure what was standard anyhow, given the differences between, say, the Pharisees and the high priestly aristocracy.

Since there is such diversity within "Judaism" or "Jewish Palestine," therefore, these standard old essentialist categories may not be particularly helpful when we are dealing with particular parties, institutions, or regions. We may still include Galilean culture or traditions within our concept of early "Judaism," but we need more precise descriptive and analytical categories to understand the particular social and cultural relations of Galilee (particularly prior to the time when rabbinic Judaism was located there). We need to discuss literary and archaeological evidence in more nuanced and relational terms. Recognition of party, social locational, and regional diversity and a shift to analysis in terms of social relations means that the old (Christian theology determined) discussion of "Jesus versus Judaism" or "Jesus versus the Law" should be laid to rest.

Some of us have pressed into service the distinction anthropologists make between the "great" or official tradition and the "little" or popular tradition to understand phenomena such as popular movements mentioned by Josephus or the wisdom of Jesus over against that of professional literate sages (Horsley 1984; 1985; Crossan 1991). Those traditions generally run parallel and influence each other, while also usually standing in some tension. Moreover, for there to be social conflict, there would have to be some social relationship. Hence we could analyze the conflict between Galileans and Jerusalem in relational terms, without having to use essentialist concepts. A ready illustration of how precisely such a distinction fits the Gospel sources for traditions about Jesus is the "pronouncement story" in Mark 7:1-23 (previously used as an illustration of "Jesus vs. the Law/Judaism), in which the Pharisees and scribes based in Jerusalem are represented as pressing their "traditions of the elders," over against which Jesus appeals to "the commandment of God."

A Cynic Jesus midst a Cosmopolitan Lower Galilee?

What were almost passing comments by Meyers about cosmopolitan influences in Lower Galilee and provisional interpretations of archaeological finds as evidence of urbanization there became the basis for constructions of Jesus as a Cynic-like counter-cultural sage in the midst of a cosmopolitan or pan-Mediterranean culture in Lower Galilee. A review of the archaeological and literary evidence, however, suggested that there may have been little more than a thin veneer of cosmopolitan culture even in the cities of Lower Galilee in the early first century CE, and a reaction against such culture at least in and around Tiberias.

As for Cynic influence in particular, it is difficult to understand how it would fit in the particular circumstances of Galilee in what must have been a transitional time as it adjusted to the new urban presence in its midst, both economically and culturally. We have the general sense that Cynic philosophers were, as Mack puts it, "unconventional" or "countercultural," challenging if not flaunting the conventional culture and morality. That would fit better in a situation of a long-standing conventional culture. But both Judean culture and Roman-Hellenistic culture would have been relatively new in Galilee and (from the extremely fragmentary evidence we have reviewed above) present primarily in the capital cities. Over against which culture would a Galilean Cynic have been unconventional? the traditional mores and popular tradition of the villages, the relatively new official Judean traditions which Pharisees or other representatives of the official Judean centered in Jerusalem were likely pushing, or the Roman urban overlay so recently imposed in Sepphoris and perhaps Tiberias? In the Galilean context, the last two simply were not conventional established culture. The Cynic model would seem to fit a different situation. Galileans would have been "cynical" in a very different sense, e.g., about kings in their palaces and finery or fancy banquets among the elite (cf. Luke/Q 7:24-25; Luke/Q 14:16-24; Mark 6:17-29).

Is there reason to believe that Jesus and other low-level artisans and peasants were assimilating (to) imperial and/or urban cosmopolitan cultural influences any more than were the rabbis later, who were even more exposed to those influences in Diocaesarea and Tiberias? In compiling the Mishnah, Judah the Prince provides a vivid case of preserving the traditional culture while playing imperial politics to the hilt on its own terms. For a leader of a popular movement, of course, actively renewing the traditional culture would likely have meant more oppositional politics, by contrast with Judah's cultivating friends in high imperial positions.

Vagabonds or Debtors?—and Taxes

For his radical itinerant lifestyle Theissen needs a Galilee with a number of people who are poised to become rootless at the call or challenge of an itinerant lifestyle. Mack and others need individuals who are already rootless. That there was the required supply of people makes sense if one assumes an overburdened populace *and* a somewhat overpopulated Galilee (Josephus's exaggerated image of hundreds of villages burgeoning with thousands of people). The reports on archaeological sites reviewed indicated that not only the population of already settled sites but also the number of sites was

expanding during the early Roman period. That is, Galilee was not already "full" of people; there was room for people cut loose from the land and village to relocate. Yes, there were moveable people, but they had other good options more in accord with traditional values than those posited for Jesus' teaching by Theissen and Mack.

An alternative way of construing the situation would appear to fit the evidence for the political-economic situation of first century Galilee better. The economic impact of Antipas's building programs following upon the heavy taxation of Herod would likely have left many producer-households heavily in debt. Expansion of settlements would fit the same situation, with either Herod or Antipas or both managing the expansion of settlements in order to expand their economic base (cf. Herod's practice in Batanaea and Trachonitis, and Antipas's means of populating Tiberias, *Ant.* 17.23-26; 18.36-37). Jesus' teachings on cancellation of debts would fit handily into such a situation whether or not one construes it simply as teaching or as part of a more concrete program of local community renewal.

Regardless of whether we opt for vagabonds or debtors as the more important for the activity of Jesus, this debate points to a centrally important issue that archaeologists might be capable of addressing: the cost and likely relative impact on Galilee and Perea of Antipas's building projects. The cost of Solomon's building projects was a major issue for the Deuteronomistic historians, with major impact on subsequent historical events (see 1 Kings 4-11). The cost of Herod the Great's building projects and of his lavish gifts to Hellenistic cities and to the Roman imperial family looms prominently in Josephus's accounts. What was likely the extent and the time-frame of Antipas's expansion of Sepphoris and founding of Tiberias and what would have been the cost in terms of labor and support? How was that cost financed or managed? With all the archaeological explorations of major building programs in classical antiquity along with other comparative archaeology, would it be possible to estimate the cost of such building programs and the impact on a ruler's economic base if spread over a limited period of time?

Finally, all of these ruminations in review of archaeological reports on the Galilee for relevance to understanding the historical Jesus bring me back to the starting point. Neither archaeologists nor biblical scholars can naively anticipate any longer that a material find will somehow prove the veracity of a text. Conversations between archaeology and textual analysis will necessarily be mediated through some model of the historical social world of the Galilee in which both material and textual evidence were rooted. Some of the received conceptual apparatus of our respective fields may turn out to be inappropriate. Key will be mutually critical efforts to learn from each other and to refine our construction of the Galilee in which Jesus lived and worked for the renewal of Israel.

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Ritual in Gnosticism

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An action divorced from its primary practical context, ritual bears a symbolic or semiotic character. It usually serves to promote group formation and social solidarity and to negotiate understanding among members of the species. Such actions are religious when they signal a turning towards something extra-human or super-human; indeed the very act of turning away from the human context has an eminently social function. Usually this something is described as the sacred, something experienced as powerful, overwhelming, majestic, solemn, enchanting. This experience is portrayed symbolically by the juxtaposition of things threatening and alluring (pain, entrapment, exclusion, death, and sterility on the one hand, and nourishment, liberation, inclusion, life, and sexuality on the other); by gestures of submissiveness alongside displays of power; and by sudden alterations of darkness and light, covering and uncovering, stability and movement, sound and silence. This quasi-language signals and creates situations of anxiety in order to overcome them and leads from isolation and fear of abandonment to the establishment of solidarity and the reinforcement of status. Ritual helps to overcome situations of crisis by replacing the apathy of ordinary everyday experience with focused activity. Although religious ritual borders on magic (in the sense of the non-salvific coercion of a particular outcome apart from divine sanction), particularly when consciously practiced by an individual, its primary character is social and collective, a way of participating in the often traditional framework of social communication, and its strongest motive is the fear of isolation from the greater whole.[1]

Although both Gnostics and Platonists seemed to have sought this sense of integration and well-being primarily through conceptual means—the interpretation of texts and traditions, the use of analogy, argumentation, speculation, and mythical narrative—they also engaged in ritual activity, repeated patterns of behavior, both as individuals and groups.

Gnostics share with Platonists the notion that salvation is the ultimate extrication of the soul or inner person from the bodily realm coupled with an ascent to its point of origin in the divine world. After the example of Plato, many Platonists until the time of Plotinus and Porphyry could use visionary terminology associated with the mystery religions to characterize this ascent,

[1] I have here paraphrased the admirably succinct definition of ritual given by W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (transl. J. Raffan, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 54-55.

but there is no evidence from this period that it was to be effected by ritual means. After the time of Plotinus, however, many Platonists adopted a form of ritual known as theurgy, in which embodied souls were brought into a sympathetic resonance with the divine *Logoi* that informed the natural world; divine powers were invoked to enter the phenomenal world in the form of purified souls intended to reveal their divine source in the body and other physical objects, so as to assist the ascent of the practitioner's soul during this life and as well as its final ascent.[2] In apparent contrast to this late Platonic theurgical ritual, the salvific rites offered in Gnostic sources of the same period continue to appear as symbolic enactments of the more typically Neopythagorean and Plotinian goal of extricating every soul from the physical world altogether, even when one can detect in these sources a quite positive valorization of the psychic and spiritual cosmos.

This paper surveys ritual acts described or alluded to in various Gnostic sources, original and heresiological, and where appropriate, to comment upon their relation to Platonic doctrine and ritual. These will include rites of lustration, investiture, chrismation, the sacral meal, sacral marriage, sexual sacramentalism, ritual verbal performances, and ascensional and contemplative practices in both individual and group endeavor. The paper will concentrate mostly on Sethian and Valentinian sources, adducing other material when appropriate.

The rituals practiced by the Gnostics, most of which they share with—and sometimes derived from—Christians, are the result of transferring rather simple, everyday acts, such as washing, applying salves and balms, changing clothes, eating and sharing a meal, arising upon awakening, and engaging in sexual intercourse, into a symbolic setting and discourse. The main preoccupation of the Gnostics seems to have been the overcoming of an experience of alienation and isolation, and they developed a number of elaborate myths in which they, like other groups, elevated these otherwise rather common acts into rites which had the power to overcome this alienation, and achieve a sense of solidarity and authenticity by realistic enactments of personal transformation and integration into a larger whole. Compared with non-Gnostic Platonists, they subjected a wider range of these ordinary acts to symbolic enactment, no doubt because they inherited many such enactments from other religious movements known to them, such as Judaism, Christianity and the mysteries, or simply because many Gnostics were already adherents of those movements and were merely applying a Gnostic twist to them.

For Gnostics as well as Jews and Christians of various stripes, the loss and recovery of a sense of integration and solidarity—personal, social, and cosmic—were expressed in two basic myths. One was the myth of a vertiginous fall from the heights, in which the human soul, like a bird having lost its wings, had plummeted to earth, loosing direct contact with its

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[2] Of course the ultimate goal of theurgists was the soul's return to its stellar origin (Proclus, *Hymn* 3). Iamblichus (*de mysteriis* V, 26.9-18) describes the stages of prayer, whose efficacy lies entirely with the gods: initial contact and acquaintance with the divine, establishing a common noetic bond, petition for divine gifts, and finally the "sealing" of the ineffable union.

native element; its only hope of return was the acquisition of a new set of wings, a task hindered by the beguiling conditions of its new environment, which led to a gradual forgetfulness of its homing instinct. The other basic myth was that of the primal androgyne, the supposed ultimate, bisexual progenitor of all of humanity, who underwent the primeval experience of being sundered in two, into male and female, thus creating an elementary crisis of estrangement and loss of the divine image, and the need to heal this split by the reunion of the two sexes. This myth was extremely widespread. Platonists possessed a version of it in Aristophanes' famous encomium on Eros in Plato's *Symposium*, portraying Zeus' sundering and weakening of the original humans, creating their urge to reunite.[3] Jews and Christians read Gen 1:26-27 as portraying a masculofeminine Adam, made in the true image of the God who transcended gender altogether, an image which was lost in the fateful division into a separate male and female (Gen 2:21-22). These myths of division and alienation underlie many of the traces of Gnostic ritual known to us, in particular the rites of baptism, investiture, chrismation, and sacral marriage. These rites serve to reverse that alienation: when the soul regains its wings and homing instinct, it is no longer a captive. When the primal image of God is restored, man is no longer divided—not even by the most fundamental division of all, male and female.[4]

Of these four fundamental rites, baptism, though its origins lie in the sphere of repeatable acts of lustration and purification, seems to be an initiatory rite generally practiced only once as the initial break with one's flawed past and an entrance into a new state of reunification, while the other three seem to be repeatable acts of celebration and intensification of one's awareness of that reunification. Closely associated with baptism are the act of chrismation and investiture, which early Christian texts often treat as a postlude to baptism; indeed baptism and chrismation were both called "seals," marking one as reborn and belonging to God. While these rites appear to be unrepeatable acts of initiation, the sacral meal, the eucharist, though often following baptism,

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[3] *Symposium* 189d-191a: "For in the beginning there were three races of men, not the two of male and female as now, but also a third sharing the nature of both, whose name is extant but the creature not. For at that time there was an androgyne, a single species and name shared by both male and female . . . their strength and vigor was awesome and their arrogance was great. . . . taking thought, Zeus said, 'It seems to me that there is a strategy by which these humans might both survive and cease from their intemperance by becoming weaker; I propose to split them in half, and therewith they will be weaker' . . . having said this, he split the humans in two . . . since their nature was bisected, each yearned to unite with its other half." The themes of original androgynous unity and its superiority, the divine jealousy, the split, the attendant weakness and the urge to reunite all return in Gnostic thought.

[4] On this myth and its application to the Pauline baptismal reunification formula of Gal 3:8, see W. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 13 (1974), 165-211. Among the references cited by Meeks, *op. cit.* p. 188, n. 102 are the Marcosians, *apud* Irenaeus, *Haer.* I, 18.2 = Epiphanius *Panarion* 34.16.4-5; Naasenes, *apud* Hippolytus, *Refutatio* V, 7.7-15; *Ap. John*, BG 8502, 27,20-25 = NHC III, *1*: 7,23-8,5; NHC II,*1*: 5,5-14; *Gos. Phil., passim*; Simonians, *apud* Hippolytus *Refutatio* VI, 18; *Exegesis on the Soul*, NHC II,*6*: 127,24; the lists of paradoxes found in Hippolytus *Refutatio* VI, 17.3 and *The Thunder*, NHC VI,2: 13,16-14,5 || *Orig. World*, NHC II,*5*: 114,7-16 || *Hyp. Arch.*, NHC II,*4*: 11-17. On the whole, see Jacob Jervell, *Imago Dei*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960, 161-65.

was repeatable. The sacral marriage known as the "bridal chamber," though its origins lie in biblical metaphor, seems to be a peculiarly Gnostic ritual; although it usually had an eschatological reference, it could become repeatable, particularly when enacted as an explicitly sexual sacrament.

Besides these major rituals, Gnostics share with all groups the ritual use of speech, especially prayer formulas (doxologies, aretalogies, petitions, etc.), hymns, aretalogies, recognition formulas, and ecstatic utterances (chants, syllables of power, glossalalia, etc.). Particularly intriguing is the rite of contemplative, visionary ascension; although one tends to think of this as the practice of isolated individuals, it acquired the status of a rite, not only among the devotees of Hermes Trismegistus, but especially among the Sethian Gnostics, probably because it was originally developed in a baptismal context. Other forms of ritual behavior not easily characterized as specific rites may include certain explicit life-styles clearly separating an individual or community from the norm, mostly of an encratitic sort, which include fasting, heremitic withdrawal, celibacy, or the erection of images, statues, and cultic buildings.

Because of its foundational significance for several associated rites and its widespread attestation in Gnostic texts, I begin this survey with the baptismal rite as practiced by various Gnostic groups.

Baptism

Sethian Baptism

The Sethian gnostic treatises from the Nag Hammadi Library contain not only numerous accounts of visions of the transcendental world and its contents, but also numerous references to baptisms, washings, anointings and sealings, and numerous instances of various prayers, doxologies and hymns mentioning or directed to a rather fixed set of divine beings. Such references generally occur in stanzaic, even hymnic, passages to be found especially in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Apocalypse of Adam*, *Melchizedek*, *Zostrianos*, *Apocryphon of John*, and *Trimorphic Protennoia*. They apparently refer to a sequence of ritual acts involving a kind of baptism, which the texts often designate by the term "the Five Seals." The Sethian texts providing the most detail about the Five Seals are the *Gospel of the Egyptians* and the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, but they do not reveal the precise ritual character of these Five Seals, with the result that the rite must be reconstructed from their rather allusive allusions to it. The texts contain no liturgical rubrics. Baptism is an extremely well-attested rite in the early Christian world, where it and the various symbolic acts that comprise this rite are commonly called "seals." So the basic puzzle is the meaning of the term "five": does it refer to a single act performed five times, e.g. a quintuple immersion in contrast to the typically triple immersion of Christian baptism, or does it refer to five ritual acts comprising the rite, or to some mysterious transcendental Pentad of names (*Trimorphic Protennoia* NHC XIII,*1*: 49,28-32) or aeons (*Apocryphon of John* NHC II,*1*: 6,2-10)?[5] The texts do not tell us. By way of comparison, the normal

[5] The main passages are: *Gos. Egypt.* (the series of prayers in III,*2*: 65,26-68,1 and the doxologies in IV,*2*: 59,13-29; III,*2*: 49,22-50,17; 53, 12-54,11; 55,16-56,3; 61,23-62,13); *Apoc.*

Christian baptismal rite contained at least four procedures: removal of outer garments and renunciation of the devil, removal of all garments and anointing with oil, baptismal immersion, and reclothing in white garments; often this was supplemented by a fifth, the chrismation.[6]

Adam (the visions of the thirteen kingdoms, V,*5*: 77,27-82,19, and the concluding sections in 82,19-85,31); *Melch.* (the aretalogies of Gamaliel and Melchizedek in IX, *1*: 5,17-6,10 and 14,16-18,7 respectively); *Zost.* (esp. NHC VIII, *1*: 5,11-7,22; 15,1-21; 47,1-63,9); the Pronoia hymn of *Ap. John* (II, *1*: 30,11-31,25); *Trim. Prot.* (sporadically throughout the aretalogical passages and especially in the recitation of XIII, *1*: 48,15-35 and in other, more expository passages, e.g., 36,5b-7a; 37,1b-3a; 37,35; 41,21b-24a; 45,12b- 20; 46,16-19a and 48,top-48,12a). The term "the Five Seals," mostly referring to some kind of baptism, occurs in *Ap. John* II,*1*: 31,24; IV,*1*: 49,4; *Gos. Egypt.* IV,*2*: 56,25; 58,6; 58,27-28; 59,27-28; 66,25-26; 74,16; 78,4-5; III, *2*: 55,12; 63,3; 66,3; the Bruce untitled treatise 32,10 [Schmidt-MacDermot]; and *Trim. Prot.* XIII,*1*: 48,31; 49,27-28; 47,29; 50,9-10). The fundamental study of these remains that of J.-M. Sevrin, *Le dossier baptismal Séthien* (BCNH Études 2, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986.

6 By mid-second century, the Christian baptismal ritual comprised (with regional variations) approximately the following sequence of acts (in certain regions preceded by a two-day fast and an all-night vigil culminating with the rite performed in darkness): 1) renunciation of sin and Satan (later spoken with outstretched arms and facing westwards), sometimes coupled with removal of the outer garments, standing in penance on sackcloth or goatskin, and a pre-baptismal anointing with olive oil (a gesture of healing) and cruciform signation on the forehead, (either as a kind of exorcism or as an *epiclēsis* of the Holy Spirit); 2) an optional signation with oil on the forehead, after which the postulant strips naked (reminding the postulant of the primal nudity of Adam and Eve in the Garden; in cases where there was a baptistery, stripping occurred after entrance into the inner chamber, called by Cyril the Holy of Holies); 3) an optional complete pre-baptismal anointing with oil; 4) water baptism by immersion accompanied by invocation of "the Names" (usually threefold and including affirmations of creedal interrogations, later spoken eastward); 5) emergence from the water (in which the baptizand is to imagine himself as clothed in a radiant garment); 6) an optional post-baptismal anointing of various parts of the body with oil or myrrh (absent in the Syrian rite, and thus likely a secondary addition); 7) investiture (usually in white clothing, signifying receipt of the light of immortality, supplemented in Egypt much later with a crowning); 8) in the Western Church, a post-baptismal anointing (chrismation) of the head by the priest or bishop with oil or myrrh; and 9) an imposition of hands, usually by the bishop, which may include a further anointing and "sealing" on the forehead. Any one of these acts, the anointings (prior to baptism conceived as apotropaic, after baprism as confirmation), the imposition of hands or the baptism itself might be called a "seal." To judge from the *Acts of Thomas* 26-27, the ascent from the water (Syriac version) or the chrismation (Greek version) may also involve luminous appearances of the Savior; Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 1.61.11-12) characterizes the baptismal washing as "enlightenment" (*phōtismos*). See J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origins and Early Development* (Graecitus Christianorum Primeva 1, Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1962), Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition*, sec. 21 in the editions by both Dix (London, 1937) and Botte (Paris, 1946), the ancient Syrian liturgy reconstructed by A. F. J. Klijn from the Syriac "Life of John" and other sources ("An Early Christian Baptismal Liturgy," in *Charis kai Sophia: Festchrift Karl Rengstorf* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964], 216-28), and the convenient collection of texts in E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, [London: SPCK, 1970]). While for non-Sethian Christians this ceremony would be followed by a kiss of peace and the Eucharist, the Sethian ritual appears to have been complete in itself, and effective of salvation. The Sethian rite of the Five Seals (investiture, baptism in the Living Water, enthronement, glorification and enlightenment in *Trim. Prot.* 48,15-35; 45,12-20), includes acts similar to those in 2 Enoch 22 (stripping of earthly garments, anointing, investing, enlightening) and in The Testament of Levi 8,2-10 (investing as priest and king, anointing, washing,

The Sethian texts are unusual in that, perhaps to a greater degree than is the case with the corpora of other Gnostic groups, they conceive the baptismal rite as a series of visionary experiences resulting in complete enlightenment and therefore total salvation. In spite of the allusions to ritual acts that could indeed be enacted by ordinary human beings, the importance of the rite lay primarily in the spiritual plane, an emphasis characteristic of Christian and probably non-Christian baptizing circles throughout the first century. The Sethian baptismal water was understood to be of a celestial nature, a Living Water identical with light or enlightenment. Although in earlier Sethian treatises this rite is usually said to be "received," later treatises portray a self-performable contemplative technique that could be enacted either by means of—or independently of—outward ritual actions. Terms that ordinarily refer to ritual acts, such as "baptism," "immersion," "disrobing," "enrobing," "stripping off," "putting on," "sealing," and the like, also designate acts of mental transformation, conceptual refinement and abstraction from the world of psychic and sensible experience, abstention from previous behavioral dispositions, "unlearning" of older and adoption of new perceptions of self and world, and entrance into a higher state of enlightenment. It is natural to assume that such a mental transformation arose out of the individual experience of actual cultic and ritual praxis of a sort that could be taught and enacted either while participating in the physical setting and associated gestures of the rite or quite apart from them.[7] We do not know whether this

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feeding, drinking, further investing and crowning). In Test. Levi 18,6-7 at the advent of the eschatological priest, a star arises, emitting the light of knowledge, the Father's Voice issues from the heavenly temple, and the spirit of understanding rests upon him in the water. The similarity of these motifs to those of the synoptic accounts of Jesus' baptism is obvious. Similar baptismal motifs occur in the *Odes of Solomon* (11,7-16: drinking Living Water, stripping away of folly, investing with radiance and enlightenment; 24,1-5: the Voice of the dove above the Messiah and the opening of the abysses). The sequence of acts in the Sethian Five Seals is also nearly duplicated in the Mandaean *Maṣbuta* as summarized by Kurt Rudolph, *Die Mandäer. II. Der Kult* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N.F. 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 88-89: investiture, entrance into the "jordan," triple self-immersion, triple immersion by the priest, triple signation with water, triple drink, crowning or wreathing, invocation of divine names, ritual handshake (*kušta*), and ascent from the "jordan." Like many of these baptismal materials, the Sethian baptismal materials seem consistently to link the descent of the savior (Seth or Christ as the Logos) into the world with the descent of the baptizand into the water or world of chaos, and the visionary ascent of the baptizand out of the water or world into the light with a sort of royal enthronement of the baptizand. The similar pattern of various of the NT Christological hymns may also be seen against such a baptismal environment (e.g., Phil 2:6-11; Col 2:9-15, Jn 1:1-16).

7 Such stripping, disrobing and attendant nakedness denote separation from the profane condition of ignorance and entrance into a liminal state. At this point, the initiate or the visionary is "neither this nor that, and yet is both" (V. W. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage" in *Forest of Symbols* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967], 98), neither enlightened nor unenlightened, but inhabiting a liminal state of literal or figurative nakedness, humility, and passivity, with no claim to status or possession of knowledge. The third phase of the initiatory "rite of passage," aggregation, means incorporation not only into a new state of awareness and into the elect group which inhabits this state, but also the advent of a new cosmic situation, such as the defeat of the hostile cosmic powers and the dissolution of chaos. In the Sethian treatises, typical metaphors for aggregation are Pronoia's gathering of all her members,

rite was a once-for-all initiation, as it appears to be in earlier Sethian treatises, or was administered repeatedly; later treatises witness what seems to be a gradual extraction of the clearly repeatable visionary component from the baptismal setting.

In the earlier Sethian texts which portray the advent of salvation as coincident with the third and final manifestation in this world (the first two occur in primordial times)[8] of the divine mother Barbelo, she confers the gift of salvation in the form of a baptismal rite called the Five Seals. According to the so-called *Gospel of the Egyptians*, on the third and final descent of the heavenly Seth into the world to save his progeny ("seed"), he is equipped with a Logos-begotten body prepared for him "by the virgin" (the "male virgin" Barbelo), the Providence of the supreme deity, in order to "establish the holy baptism" (a reference to the inaugural baptism of Jesus?) and "put on" Jesus, through whose crucifixion he defeats the powers of the thirteen aeons. According to the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, Protennoia (Barbelo) descends for the third time as the Logos, confers the Five Seals, and finally puts on Jesus, removes him form the cross, and bears him and her seed aloft into the holy light. Similarly, the Pronoia aretalogy concluding the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1: 30,11-31,25) depicts the figure of Pronoia (Barbelo) as conferring the Five Seals on her third and final descent. The primary actor behind the scenes is the divine Mother Barbelo, who appears to be a higher, unfallen double of Sophia, the divine wisdom. The imagery of water, light, ascent and descent found in the Pronoia hymn and in the *Trimorphic Protennoia* seems heavily indebted to the Hellenized Jewish wisdom

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or in the contemplatve ascent, "standing," and being assimilated to increasingly higher levels of reality. As Plotinus observed, such transformed persons thought themselves superior in rank to the very stars, even to the gods themselves (*Ennead* II, 9.9.43-60).

8 The Sethian scheme of salvation is centered around the supreme trinity of the Father, Mother and Son: the Invisible Spirit, the male virgin Barbelo who is the Invisible Spirit's First Thought (Ennoia, Protennoia), and their offspring, the divine Autogenes (identified as Christ in the Christian Sethian treatises; in an unpublished paper, "The Feminine Principle in Platonic and Gnostic Metaphysics," I have tried to show that the Father-Mother-Son nomenclature is likely to be an adaptation of the Father, Mother, Child triad developed by Plato in *Timaeus* 48-52, representing respectively the transcendent Forms as father, the receptacle and nurse of becoming as mother, and the images comprising the phenomenal world as child or offspring). The main agent of salvation is the Mother Barbelo, who in various guises descends into the world to rescue the spiritual substance which had been captured in human bodies through the ignorant act of the Archon Yaldabaoth, the aborted offspring of Barbelo's lower double, Sophia. Typically, Barbelo descends thrice into the world. First she projects the image of Adamas, the archetypal human, which the Archon undiscerningly incorporated into a psycho-somatic human copy. Second, once the Archon had sundered Eve from Adam, the Mother (as the Epinoia of light) descends to enlighten the primeval couple by causing them to eat of the tree of knowledge and enabling them to produce their son Seth in the true image of God. Seth becomes the father of an "immovable race" of potentially enlightened people destined to live a perilous life among the mass of immoral humanity descended from Cain, the illegitimate son of the physical Eve by the Archon. Her third and final salvational act is her descent to the contemporary members of that race, the contemporary Sethian Gnostics, taking on the form of the divine Logos, or Christ, or of Seth himself.

tradition.[9] These two works appear to be old, likely contemporaneous with the Johannine prologue with which they share a common vocabulary and mythological structure, suggesting an early date for these works, perhaps the early second century CE.

The Sethian text most replete with data for the reconstruction of the ritual acts that comprise Sethian baptism is the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2* and IV,*1*). In it, this baptism involves the begetting of the saints through invisible secret symbols, the "killing" (Coptic ϩⲱⲧⲃ, IV,*2*: 75,3-4; III,*2*: 63,3-12 has ϩⲱⲧⲙ, "reconciliation") and renunciation of both the world and the "god of the thirteen aeons," and the invoked (ἐπίκλητοι) presence of certain of holy, ineffable beings along with the light of the Father. Although Seth is said to have appeared in the primeval world to deliver his race from the Archon's destructive acts (the flood and conflagration), the Mother now sends him for a third time. At his appearance along with certain divine beings or angels who are to guard the incorruptible race until the consummation of the age, the "great men of the great Seth" receive a vision of various spiritual beings whose names occur repeatedly in the baptismal sections of the Sethian treatises.[10]

Evidence of ritual activity abounds in this text. In NHC III, *2*: 65,26-66,8 it is said that through the incorruptible man Poimael, those "who are worthy of (the) invocation (ἐπίκλησις), the renunciations (ἀποτάξεις) of the Five Seals[11] in the spring-baptism will know their receivers (παραλήμπτορες) as they are instructed about them." In III,*2* 66,9-68,1 there follows a long prayer in which the baptizand praises the Living Water "Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus" as the eternal Jesus who truly is, the glorious name that is now upon and within him, granting him immutability and the armor of light. Stretching out his hands while yet folded, the baptizand apparently symbolically portrays the containment of the inner light or the circle of all those who have received enlightenment, and praises the man (Seth?) who raises up the man (Jesus?) in whose name the baptizand will be purified. Having received the incense of life (the Holy Spirit?), the baptizand has mixed it with "water after the model

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9 According to it, the exalted Sophia is the fountain or spring (cf. Sirach 15:3; 24:30; Philo, *Fuga* 195) from which flows the Word like a river (Philo, *Somn.* 2.242; cf. *Fuga* 97). She is also equated with the living water of which God is the source (cf. Prov 16:22; 14:27; Cant 4:15 and Bar 3:12 with Jer 2:13; 17:13 [LXX], Jn 4:10; 7:38 and *Odes of Solomon* 11:5-9; 30:1-6). She is the Mother of the Word through whom the universe came to be (Philo, *Fuga* 109), the mother of all creatures (Philo, *Det.* 115-116). To be baptized in her water is to receive true Gnosis. Her Voice is the revelation of the truth. The same sort of myth of descent applied to Barbelo or the First Thought in the Sethian treatises figures also in the story of Sophia in 1 Enoch 42 and other sources—such as the Johannine prologue—where Wisdom (or the Logos) descends to find a place to dwell among men, but meeting with initial failure, reascends or tries again.

10 They include: Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus the living water, Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous, who preside over the "spring of truth" or "the gate of the waters," Seldao and Elainos who preside over the "mountain" (perhaps Charaxiō [III,*2*: 68,13], "mountain [Heb. הָר] of the worthy [Gk. ἀξιῶν]"), the Four Lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe, and Eleleth along with their "ministers" Gamaliel, Gabriel, Samblo and Abrasax, and finally Yoel, who presides over the divine name with which one is baptized.

11 Here one might interpret the Five Seals as five renunciations, but it seems to me unlikely.

of the archons" (presumably the earthly water of his baptism), now to live with the savior in the peace of the saints.

Here one has a series of references to certain gestures and verbal performances capable of ritual enactment: renunciation, invocation, naming of holy powers, doxological prayer to the living water, receipt of incense, manual gestures, as well as baptismal immersion itself. Whether any of these acts, and if so, which ones, comprise the Five Seals is difficult to tell; certainly renunciation, invocation, and the extension of the arms were frequently part of the baptismal rite in the wider church.[12] Throughout, the use of the passive voice for ritual actions and the use of plural references to the saints begotten "through instruction" suggests a community ritual in which there were initiates and officiants, as well as a tradition of prescribed actions and declarations.

What is more, it may be that the entire *Gospel of the Egyptians* and not just its conclusion has a ritual or liturgical function. There are five doxologies (IV,2: 59,13-29; III,2: 49,22-50,17; 53,12-54,11; 55,16-56,3; 61,23-62,13) punctuating the completion of various stages of its cosmology, which invoke a fixed set of beings.[13] This doxological inventory has the fixity of a liturgical formula. If the term "Five Seals" originally designated a fivefold or five-stage baptismal procedure, it may be that the *Gospel of the Egyptians* was read aloud during the administration of each phase of the ritual: after the reading of each of the five sections of the cosmology, the baptizand might have repeated this doxology as a way of affirming the receipt of each of the Five Seals. A similar correlation between baptismal sealings and depictions of the structure and deployment of the transcendent world occurs also in *Zostrianos*, although there the sealings are clearly given a celestial, rather than earthly, setting.

Furthermore, in both the *Gospel of the Egyptians* and the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, the final act of salvation is the descent of Seth in the form of the Logos or of the Logos in the form of Christ, who "puts on," that is, appears in the form of, Jesus. The salvation of Jesus implied in these two texts certainly reflects Christian influence, but of an extremely polemical sort, since rather than being the savior, Jesus becomes the one saved. In view of this Sethian Christological reinterpretation, one would characterize the present form of these two texts as reacting to rather than merely submitting to Christian influence.

The *Apocalypse of Adam* contains a dream vision revealed to Adam by three glorious men who narrate a third saving mission conducted by an illuminator whose origin is unknown to the evil powers. Thirteen opinions of his origins are rejected; in reality he comes from a great aeon to enlighten his elect. The illuminator experiences neither birth nor generation, nor does he receive nourishment, glory and power in the beyond and then "come (down) to the water." The Illuminator is not first born into the world and then baptized

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[12] The components are similar to those found in early Christian baptismal liturgies; see above, note 6.

[13] They include the Invisible Spirit, Barbelo, the thrice-male Child, the male virgin Youel, Ephesek the Chikd of the Child, and the Doxomedon aeon. A similar set of beings as are invoked in the doxologies of Melchizedek (IX,1: 5,17-6,10; 14,16-18,7), there revealed by Gamaliel and pronounced by Melchizedek as he is baptized.

in the waters of the Jordan, which the author or redactor regards as polluted and chaotic.[14] Instead, the Illuminator remains above in the light where he resides with the three imperishable illuminators Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus, the Living Water, and first appears in the world not at his own "birth" or baptism, but at the time he baptizes his "seed," who receive his name on the water.[15] At some point, angelic beings will bring the truth to the earthly Sethians in a way independent of the written word of the evil creator, a truth that is communicated by a holy baptism through a logos-begotten illuminator who descends to the water during baptism. Thus there is a distinction between the holy baptism with Living Water and a baptism ordained by the creator and practiced by his servants who have polluted the water of life.

Using nomenclature reminiscent of that found in the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Trimorphic Protennoia* identifies the initiator and bringer of salvation, conferred on her third descent in the form of the Five Seals, as Protennoia or Barbelo, the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit.[16] At various points throughout the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, the triple descent of Protennoia and the various forms in which she appears, namely as Voice, Speech and Word, are interpreted by means of concepts which are drawn from the Sethian baptismal terminology: the Voice is said to be the unpolluted spring from which flows Living Water, characterized as radiant light.[17]

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14 In the Sethian theogony and cosmogony, a similar distinction is maintained between the transcendent luminous living water in which Barbelo emerges as a faithful reflection of the Invisible Spirit's thought (cf. *Ap. John* NHC II, *1*: 4,18-28) and the dark and chaotic waters below produced by the downward inclination of Sophia, from which the demiurge produces the physical cosmos as merely a pale and inauthentic reflection of the divine aeons (e.g., *Zost.* NHC VIII, *1*: 9,16-10,18; *Hyp. Arch.* NHC II, *4*: 87,11-20 and parallels). See Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 5.19.21, and below on Justin's *Baruch.*

15 Clearly these 13 "birth stories" about the Illuminator are being reinterpreted in the light of earlier traditions about the descent of the spirit upon Jesus at his baptism. See below on the Basilideans, and J. M. Robinson, "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)," in *Jesus and Man's Hope* (175th Anniversary Festival on the Gospels at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary) *Perspective* 11, 2(1970), 99-129, especially 119-129.

16 She appears in three successive forms: First, as Father, she is the divine but as yet inarticulate Voice of the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit who presides over the establishing of the heavenly dwellings for her members and descends to chaos to loosen their bonds. Second, as Mother, she is the articulate Speech of the Thought who overthrows the old aeon ruled by the evil powers and announces the dawn of the new age. Third, as the Son, she is the fully articulate Logos who adopts the guise of successively lower powers, descends to and enters the "tents" of her members, puts on Jesus, thus rescuing him from the cross, and leads her members back to the light by means of the celestial ascent ritual of the Five Seals.

17 Gnosis, or perhaps the seed of Seth; cf. *Gos. Egypt.* III,*2*: 56,4-13. Cf. the radiant light with which the Invisible Spirit is surrounded in *Ap. John* II, *1*: 4,18-26, as well as the important place given to the Four Lights. The Word, bearing Living Fruit, pays the tribute of this Fruit to the Living Water, which it pours out upon Protennoia's "Spirit" (i.e., her gnostic "members" who share affinity with her) which originated from the Living Water but is now trapped in the soul (i.e. the psychic realm) below. The baptismal rite of the Five Seals is the celestial ascent by which one strips off the psychic and somatic garments of ignorance (cf. Col 2:11-15). It transforms and purifies Protennoia's members within those aeons from which Protennoia initially revealed her masculine likeness

Rather than designating a fivefold immersion in the Living Water, the Five Seals are interpreted as a five-stage ritual of ascension, which serves to strip the inner spirit of its chaotic psychic and material garments and reclothe it with shining light. The spirit is invested with the robes of light, enthroned, baptized by Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous in the spring of Living Water, glorified with the Fatherhood, and raptured into the light (perhaps the Four Lights) by the servants of the Four Lights Kamaliel, [..]anen and Samblo (48, 15-35). Clearly the rapture into the light is the equivalent of the baptismal φωτισμός spoken of by Justin, Cyril and other patristic authors. The five stages of this ascensional rite do not seem to follow in an intuitively obvious sequence (e.g., in 45, 13-20 one has the following sequence: glorification, enthronement, investiture, baptism and becoming Light). Indeed, since most cults practiced naked baptism, one might expect the order: baptism, investiture, enthronement, glorification and final rapture (see above, note 6).

In the concluding section of the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, the Five Seals are equated with the "ineffable ordinances of the Father," taught by Protennoia to her "members," "the brethren." The Five Seals are said to be "complete by means of Nous." Whoever possesses the Five Seals "of these particular names"[18] has stripped away all ignorance and darkness and has put on a shining light, permanently free from ignorance and the power of the hostile archontic forces, and experiencing a mutual indwelling with Protennoia until the time when she gathers all her members into her eternal kingdom. Here the Five Seals are connected with communicable doctrine and the ability to name and experience the presence of certain spiritual beings, a doctrine which entails the stripping away of the ignorance of common perception and the adoption (putting on) of an appropriate way of seeing things. The rite is the dramatization of this process, and the Sethian myth its narratization. The fact that this text refers to the recipients of the baptismal ascent ritual in the first person plural and as "brethren" suggests a (Sethian) community with a well-established tradition of water baptism that has been conceived as a mystery of celestial ascent, and which brings Gnosis (NHC XIII,*1*: 48,33-34) and total salvation.

In many ways, the Sethian text that most abounds with baptismal imagery is *Zostrianos*, although the extant remains do not mention the Five Seals, and the imagery has been divorced from any actual water rite. Throughout the first sixty or so pages, it seems that Zostrianos is baptized at least twenty times in the course of his ascent, once at the airy earth (the atmosphere below the moon), seven times in the copies of the aeons (the planetary spheres), once in the Transmigration (παροίκησις, probably the sphere of the fixed stars), and four times in the Repentance (once for each of the Four Lights), for a subtotal

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(43,20-25; probably in the form of the Autogenes who established the Four Lights), and it clothes them with radiant light (48, 7-14).

18 NHC XIII, *1*: 49:29-30: ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϥⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ. The use of the Coptic relative clause ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ in the absolute seems odd; perhaps it once had a predicate, now lost, providing a more specific gloss on the Five Seals. As it stands, its antecedent is "these names," presumably the names of the beings named in 48:15-35. The effect of this phrase is to identify the Five Seals with a (ritual) invocation of the names of these spiritual beings, the baptizers, guardians, investitors, rapturers, glorifiers, enthroners and others associated with the baptismal rite.

of thirteen. At the level of the Self-begotten Ones he is baptized four times by the traditional Sethian baptizers and purifiers, each time standing as an angel upon the level of each of the Four Lights, and again for a fifth time at the level of Autogenes, where he becomes divine and enters the aeon of Barbelo. In a further baptism at the level of the Triple Male Child, he becomes truly existing, and lastly, it seems that he is baptized once again at the level of Protophanes, where he becomes perfect, for a subtotal of seven, and a grand total of some twenty or more baptisms, washings and sealings. Although the fragmentary state of the text precludes certainty on the total number of baptisms or their precise significance, here baptism here has become interpreted as a metaphor for the process by which a visionary becomes assimilated to the being and nature of each level of the transcendent realm to which he ascends.

Zostrianos portrays a visionary and auditory experience which has no explicit ritual setting. Terms which may once have had a ritual reference now serve only as means to articulate the various stages of a visionary ascent. Celestial baptisms denote stages of increasing spiritual enlightenment, while the earthly experience of the non-spiritual mass of humanity is regarded as a "baptism with death" (NHC VIII,*1*: 131,2). Perhaps *Zostrianos* lies at the terminus of a process of development in which a traditional practice of visionary ascent that originally arose in the context of Sethian baptismal practice as it is reflected in the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, and the *Gospel of the Egyptians* was subsequently transformed from an original practice of water baptism into a self-contained and self-performable contemplative practice engaged in either by lone individuals or by groups (as the *Three Steles of Seth*, NHC VII,*5*: 126,31-127,22 makes clear). Perhaps it is merely a later expression of an original but alternative trajectory of visionary practices that developed alongside but independently of the Sethian communal water rites. Knowledge of the nature of the Sethian encounter with both Platonism and Christian forms of gnostic Sethianism would certainly help to resolve this puzzle.

As an immersion in water, baptism may also have a negative connotation, especially when it signifies immersion in materiality, symbolized by the chaotic waters underlying the natural cosmos. Gnostics applied this negative connotation to what they considered to be the lower baptism undergone by non-Gnostic Christians. Like the *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V, *5*: 84,4-85,30) and *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII,*1*: 131,2-5), the *Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII, *1*: 30,21-27; 37,19-38,6) speaks also of an impure baptism in a dark water that enslaves, evidently a polemic against ordinary water baptism. The Archontics, whom Epiphanius (*Panarion* 40.2.6-8) presents as an offshoot of the Sethians, reject completely the baptism and sacraments of the Church as deriving from the inferior law-giver Sabaoth; to shun baptism is to enhance the prospect of acquiring of the gnosis enabling their return to the Mother-Father of the All.

Valentinian Baptism

The patristic accounts of the Valentinian baptismal practices agree on three basic features of Valentinian baptismal practice.[19] The first is the presence of two separate baptisms among the Valentinians. The "psychics" had access the "normal" Christian one, while the "pneumatics" could gain closer contact with the divine by second rite which Irenaeus and Hippolytus called the "redemption." Rather than devaluing the standard, psychic baptism, as Irenaeus thinks, both the Nag Hammadi sources and patristic sources, such as Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, demonstrate great concern for the psychics. Secondly, patristic accounts all agree that these rituals were salvific sacraments, and thirdly, they associate baptism (perhaps both baptisms) with the remission of sins. The *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (76-86) characterize the first, water baptism as a "sealing" done in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, which gives psychic Christians power over sin, allowing them to be reborn, control the impure spirits, and gain entry to the marriage feast in the End Times. Baptism affords access to saving knowledge, as *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78 states:

> Until baptism, they say, Fate is effective, but after it the astrologers no longer speak the truth. It is not the washing alone that makes us free, but also the knowledge of who we were, what we have we become, where we were, into what place we have we been cast, whither we are hastening, from what we are delivered, what birth is, and what rebirth.

According to Hippolytus, (*Refutatio* VI,41), Marcus taught that a second washing or baptism, called the "redemption" (ἀπολύτρωσις), was available to Christians through him. It normally required special and extensive instructions beforehand, but a bishop could also administer it to those who were on their deathbed. Anyone undergoing the rite of redemption belonged to "the perfect power and inconceivable authority," and was no longer affected by sin. According to Irenaeus (*Haereses* I, 21.2), psychic baptism is said to have been inaugurated by John the Baptist with a view to repentance, and instituted by the visible Jesus for the remission of sins. Redemption, on the other hand was brought by Christ descending on Jesus, with a view to perfection; this is another instance of the widespread Gnostic adoption of the traditions about Jesus' inaugural baptism, in which he sees the heavens opened, and receives both the Spirit and adoption as Son of God. Hippolytus (*Refutatio* VI, 35.5) attests that the Italian Valentinians considered Jesus' body to be psychic, but made pneumatic and raised from the dead at his baptism by the Spirit, said to be the Logos of his mother Sophia. As in the Sethian treatises, traditions about the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus at his baptism justify the distinction; indeed Irenaeus speaks of the Valentinian tendency to gather gospel allusions (e.g. Lk 12:50; Mat 20:20) to support the necessity of another baptism. The remission of sins is linked to baptism, and thence to repentance, the psychics, and the ministries of John and the visible Jesus. Redemption, on the other hand, is linked to pneumatics, perfection, and Christ descending on Jesus.

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[19] According to the detailed analysis of M. R. Desjardins, "Baptism in Valentinianism," a paper delivered at the 1987 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature.

According to the Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (22.1), the male angelic counterparts of Valentinian Christians are themselves baptized through the redemption of the same name which descended to redeem Jesus at his own baptism. These angels are baptized "for the dead," that is, for the earthly Valentinians, imparting to them the name of the son by which they are enabled to pass through the Limit into the Pleroma. The imposition of hands, apparently in connection with the baptismal rite, confers the angelic redemption, tantamount to being baptized in the same name as was one's angelic counterpart.

For the *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,5: 127,25), Valentinian baptism is equivalent to the redemption, the second baptism (the baptism "in the fullest sense" as opposed to "the baptism which we previously mentioned"). Redemption occurs when one confesses faith in the names of the Trinity and is equivalent to entering a state of tranquillity, enlightenment and immortality; it is the bridal chamber. It is the ritual which above all others that functioned as the seal of the union between the author's community and the Father, who grants knowledge of himself in exchange for the believer's confession of faith.

According to the *Gospel of Philip*, becoming perfect by acquiring the spiritual resurrection while yet on earth enables Christians to bypass post-mortem suffering in the Middle (μεσότης) and proceed directly to the Father and his rest. Such perfection is enabled by no less than five sacraments.[20] In baptism, one strips off the old self and puts on a spiritual body; the chrism confers the Holy Spirit, creating the spiritual or pneumatic person; the eucharist does the same, except using the symbols of bread and a cup of wine mixed with water, probably on a repeated basis. The redemption seems to be an oil rite, perhaps a sort of confession or extreme unction (like the Mandaean *Masiqta*), or perhaps a post-baptismal chrismation as was customary in the western (but not Syrian) church. The bridal chamber seems to be a proleptic enactment of one's final entrance into the Pleroma, perhaps symbolized by a ritual kiss (cf. the kiss of peace in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the ritual handshake [*kušta*] in the Mandaean *Maṣbuta*).

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20 For sacraments in the Gospel of Philip, see R. M. Grant, "The Mystery of Marriage in the Gospel of Philip," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 [1961]: 129-40; H.-M. Schenke [and Johannes Leipoldt], "Koptisch-gnostiche Schriften aus den Papyus-Codices von Nag-Hammadi," *Theologische Forschung*, no. 20 [Hamburg-Bergstadt: Reich, 1960], 35-38; Eric Segelberg, "The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel according to Philip and its Sacramental System," *Numen* 7 (1960), 189-200; *idem*, "The Baptismal Rite according to the Coptic-Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi," in *Studia Patristica* V, ed. F. L. Cross, TU 80 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 117-28; *idem*. "The Gospel of Philip and the New Testament," in *The New Testament and Gnosis: Essays in honour of Robert McL. Wilson*, ed. A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1983); D. H. Tripp, "The 'Sacramental System' of the Gospel of Philip," in *Studia Patristica in Three Parts*, ed. E. A. Livingstone, (Oxford: Pergamon, 1982), 1.251-60; Wilson, The Gospel of Philip, 17-23; and C. Trautmann, "Organization communautaire et pratiques rituelles," *Histoire et archéologie* 70 (1983), 44-51; and H. Green, "Ritual in Valentinian Gnosticism, *Journal of Religious History* 12 (1982), 109-24. Cf. especially the doctoral dissertations of H.-G. Gaffron, "Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigkeit der Sakramente" (Bonn, 1969) and J.-M. Sevrin, "Practique et doctrine des sacraments dans l'Evagile selon Philippe" (Louvain, 1972).

The *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,*3*: 67,28-30) names these five sacraments, evidently in order of importance, although their distinctiveness is often blurred, perhaps because they are understood as being all interdependent. As Meeks observes, it illustrates the tendency of motifs originally connected with baptism to become distinct rituals, as the mythical context of these motifs also becomes more elaborate.[21] Thus, while the receiving of the garment or body of light is still connected with baptism in some of the sayings in the *Gospel of Philip* (75,21-24, cf. 76,25-30), in others the clothing with light is effected by the chrism (74,12-22) or the bridal chamber (78,5-9). These rites are arranged in an ascending order (69,14-29), e.g. the chrism is superior to the baptism (74,12-13), yet baptism can include redemption (69,25-26), and chrism the eucharist (74,36-75,11), although the supreme rite is the bridal chamber (64,31-70,22).[22] Because of this overlapping, it is really impossible to tell whether these were enacted separately, or in combination.

It seems likely that the first three rites (baptism, chrism, and eucharist, perhaps unrepeatable) were included in same initiation ceremony, while the redemption and bridal chamber constituted a sort of second baptism (cf. 75,1-2), and were capable of repetition. According to Desjardins,[23]

> Baptism, reinforced by chrism (the "second baptism" done with olive oil—73,17-18), actually provides immortality. In these two rites, purification occurs visibly through water and invisibly through fire and light (57,22-28). Jesus has purified and perfected the water at baptism (77,7-9) and God has "dyed it" (63,25-30), yet it is still possible for someone to emerge from the water baptism without having received the Holy Spirit 64,22-31). So, "it is fitting to baptize in the two, in the light and the water. Now the light is the chrism" (69,11-13). This dual baptism provides the resurrection (69,25-26) and perfection: "He who has been anointed possesses everything. He possesses the resurrection, the light, the cross, the Holy Spirit; the Father gave him this in the bridal chamber" (74,18-22). In turn, this resurrection requires a spiritual flesh, which the eucharist provides. (56,26-57,22; cf. also 75,14-24)

According to 69,14-70,4, just as the Jerusalem temple supposedly consisted of a succession of enclosing chambers, the Holy enclosing the Holy of the Holy which in turn encloses the Holy of the Holies, so also baptism includes the resurrection and the redemption, which latter occurs in the bridal chamber. In turn, this resurrection requires a spiritual flesh, which the eucharist provides (56,26-57,22; cf. 75,14-24).

In agreement with he *Gospel of Philip*, the liturgical supplements to *A Valentinian Exposition* (esp. 41,21-38) clearly distinguish a second baptism differing from the ordinary Christian baptism, though it does not describe it.

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21 "The Image of the Androgyne," 190-191.

22 So M. R. Desjardins, *Sin in Valentinianism* (SBL Dissertation 108; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 95. It may be that the very positive evaluation of baptism the *Gospel of Philip* 61,12-20; 64,22-31; 69,4-14; 73,1-8 and 75, 21-25 belongs to an early stratum of this work in contrast with other material that deprecates baptism in favor of chrism and especially the Bridal Chamber.

23 *Sin in Valentinianism*, 95-6; "Baptism in Valentinianism," p. 18.

Like the *Gospel of Philip, A Valentinian Exposition* understands the first baptism as the forgiveness of sins, but whose effect seems to be the same as the "redemption" or second baptism described in patristic sources: it elevates the recipient out of the world into the aeon. In both treatises the first baptism seems to be connected with an anointing and a eucharist, although the significance of the latter seems to be attenuated. In the *Gospel of Philip*, which seems to refer to the rites of redemption and bridal chamber as a sort of second baptism, the chrism becomes the central part of the baptismal rite, overshadowing the eucharist altogether.

Just the treatise *Zostrianos* portrays Sethian practice of visionary ascent as a series of baptisms, washings and sealings, the *Gospel of Philip* (69,4-14) draws an explicit connection not only between vision and baptism, but also vision and the chrism, and further associates both with rebirth and the restoration to the condition of the primal androgyne: "Through the holy spirit we are indeed begotten again, but we are begotten through Christ in the two. We are anointed through the spirit. When we were begotten we were united. None can see himself either in water or in a mirror without light. Nor again can you see in light without water or mirror. For this reason it is fitting to baptize in the two, in the light and the water. Now the light is the chrism."

Other Testimony concerning Gnostic Baptism

Many other Gnostic groups practiced baptism. According to Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses* I, 23.5), Menander's disciples were baptized into his own name, receiving resurrection in the form of aglessness and physical immortality. According to Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* I, 21.146,1-4), the disciples of Basilides calculated the date of Jesus' baptism, on which they celebrated on the fifteenth of Tybi (January 6) by spending the previous night in scripture readings; it is possible that this sect witnesses the first known instance of a 365 day lectionary year that began with the Epiphany celebration of Jesus' baptismal enlightenment (φωτισμός) at the Jordan.[24] The Naasenes (Hippolytus, *Refutatio* V, 7.19 7.40; 9.18) understood baptism as a spiritual birth ("from water and the spirit," Jn 3:5) and entrance into immortality through Jesus the "true gate" (cf. Jn 10:9); it included washing in "living water" (the water above the firmament) and an anointing from a horn "at the third gate."[25] The gnostic Justin's book of *Baruch* (*apud* Hippolytus *Refutatio* V, 27.1-4) distinguishes between the water below the firmament belonging to the evil creation and the springing well of living water above the firmament belonging to the Good one; only pneumatic persons drink of, that is wash in, the latter, while the psychic and material wash in the former. Here the sapiental metaphor of drinking from the water of wisdom is

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24 See D. Vigne, "Enquête sur Basilide," in *Recherches et Tradition: Mélanges patistriques offerts à Henri Crouzel, S.J.* (Théologie Historique 88, Paris: Beauchesne, 1992), 285-313. Basilidean Christology is based, not on the passion, but the baptism of Jesus; according to Hippolytus (*Ref.* VII, 26.8-10), the third Sonship receives the light from the Holy Spirit descending with a fragrant ointment like a bird from the Ogdoad at the time of his baptism, which Hippolytus misinterprets as the coming of the Spirit on Mary at the time of Jesus' birth (a similar confusion appears in the *Apocalypse of Adam*).

25 Perhaps an allusion to eastern gate of the heavenly temple through which the glory of the Lord entered, as envisioned in Ezekiel 43:1-5.

interpreted as baptism,[26] yet one notes again the strong distinction between ordinary Christian baptism and pneumatic baptism as expressed in the dual baptism of the Valentinians and the harsh polemic against water baptism in the *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V,*5*: 84,4-85,30; cf. *Zostrianos*, NHC VIII,*1*: 131,2-5). In the second *Book of Jeu* (chs. 45-52) one finds a most elaborate baptismal rite that affords entry into the Treasury of Light. In a ritual setting featuring a table set with bread, pitchers of wine and water, herbs, and incense, the disciples of Jesus don linen robes and myrtle crowns to receive a sequence of three baptisms (in living water, fire, and the Holy Spirit) in which they acquire certain ciphers and names as "seals" allowing them to ascend through the aeons. Unfortunately, the manuscript ends before Jesus reveals the great "mystery of the forgiveness of sins" required for ultimate entrance into the Treasury of Light.

Simonian Gnosticism illustrates the central role of the ritual recovery of the androgynous image (here called the undifferentiated "root" power, Hippolytus, *Refutatio* VI, 18.2, 18.4). The separation and reunion of the male and female elements in mankind underlies the legend of Simon and his consort Helen which was already known before the time of Justin Martyr.[27] The late *Apophasis Megale* quoted by Hippolytus (*Refutatio* V, 17.1)suggests that it may have taken the form of a baptismal ritual:

> According to Simon, then, that blessed and incorruptible being lies hidden in every being potentially (δύναμει), not actually ἐνεργείᾳ); that is he who stands, took his stand, and will stand (ὁ ἑστώς, στάς, στησόμενος): who stands on high in the unbegotten power, who took his stand below in the chaos of waters when he was begotten in an image (εἰκών), who will stand on high with the blessed infinite power if he be fully formed (ἐξεικονίσθῃ). For, he says, there are three that stand, the [un]originate being, who (they say hovers over the water [cf. 6.14.4], is not set in order, the perfect heavenly being who is recreated according to the likeness, who becomes in no respect inferior to the unoriginate power. This is the meaning of their saying, 'I and thou are one, thou art before me, and I am after thee.' This, he says, is one power, divided as being above (as infinite) and below (as λόγος?), self-generating, . . . its own mother, its own father, its own sister, its own consort, its own daughter, its own son, . . . unity, the root of all things.

Being (re)-formed in the image, equated with "being begotten" and occurring "in the stream of waters," suggests a cultic act like baptism, as in *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 68: "As long as we were children of the female only, as of a dishonorable union, we were incomplete, childish, without understanding, weak, and without form, brought forth like abortions, in short, we were

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26 The Hermetica (*CH* IV 3-6, "The Cup") interprets the receipt of Gnosis as a baptism in the "cup" of intellect (νοῦς) reserved only for a few, who by immersing themselves become perfect men, able to see the Good, despise the body, and hasten upward to the One.

27 See E. Haenchen, "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis?" in *Gott und Mensch* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1965], 289-91, 297f.; *contra*, K. Beyschlag, "Zur Simon-Magus-Frage," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 68 [1971]: 395-426, and R. Bergmeier, "Quellen vorchristlicher Gnosis," in *Tradition und Glaube*, ed. G. Jeremias *et al.* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971], 200-220.

children of the woman (i.e., Sophia). But having been given form (μορφωθέντας) by the Savior, we are the children of the man (husband) and of the bride-chamber."[28] In fact, Hippolytus (*Refutatio* VI, 19.5) says the Simonians called a rite of apparent sexual promiscuity in imitation of Simon (and Helen) "the holy of holies," the same metaphor used for the rite of the bridal chamber in *Gospel of Philip* 69,14-70,4. It therefore likely that the Simonians possessed rituals analogous to the Valentinian baptism and bridal chamber, which might account for the report in pseudo-Clement (*Homilies* 2, 23-24) that Simon was a disciple of John the Baptist.

A striking parallel to the Simonian legend is the myth of the soul's abuse, transformation, and joining to her heavenly "bridegroom" found in the Nag Hammadi treatise the *Exegesis on the Soul*, which seems to have Simonian affinities. It regards what seems to be the vehicle of the soul as its womb, surrounding it as a dirty and polluted garment (cf. esp. NHC II,*6*: 131,13-132,2). The restoration of the soul's former nature, which it possessed before it had fallen into the body and prostituted itself to the materialistic life, is called the baptism of the soul; the "womb of the soul" is on the outside like male genitals until purified by baptism, when it is "turned inward" to regain the freshness of its former nature.[29]

Among the Sethians, Simonians, and especially the Valentinians, the sacramental means of restoring the androgynous wholeness of the inner person through ritual acts centered on baptism presupposes a cultic community with a strong sense of corporate identity. In other gnostic circles, however, the same quest and its mythical justification could be focused exclusively upon a subjective transformation of consciousness leading away from sect formation and toward a radical isolation of the individual. Within Sethianism, the exclusive concentration on the singular experience of an individual visionary like Allogenes or Zostrianos or Marsanes in the Platonizing Sethian treatises might lend itself to such a development, although the *Three Steles of Seth*, apart from Seth's initial praise of his father Geradamas, is explicitly cast in the first person plural as a communal exercise in contemplative ascent.

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[28] According to Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 191-193., the primary allusion is the anthropogony of Genesis 1, but the in the clause, "if he be fully formed [ἐὰν ἐξεικονίσθῃ]," the verb (ἐξ)εικονίζεσθαι (be "iconized") appears to be a technical term in the *Megale Apophasis*, equivalent to "to become perfect" (γενόμενος τέλειος, *Refutatio* 6.18.1).

[29] Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 193-4, connects this peculiar simile with the metaphor of making "the inner like the outer" in *Gospel of Thomas* logion 22: "When you make the two into one, and when you make the inner like the outer and the outer like the inner, and the upper like the lower, and when you make male and female into a single one, so that the male will not be male nor the female be female, when you make eyes in place of an eye, a hand in place of a hand, a foot in place of a foot, an image in place of an image, then you will enter [the kingdom]." Variant forms of this saying occur in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 3.13.92 (citing the Gospel of the Egyptians and Julius Cassianus), 2 Clement 12:2, and, without mention of male and female, Acts of Peter 38 and Acts of Philip 140. Meeks also cites logion 106, "When you make the two one, you shall become sons of man;" logion 11, "On the day when you were one, you became two. But when you have become two, what will you do?" and logion 4, "Many who are first shall become last and they shall become a single one."

The trend towards individual isolation is evident in the *Gospel of Thomas* and in the encratite Christianity of eastern Syria, where most scholars locate the Thomas tradition. The theme of "making the two one" in the *Gospel of Thomas* likely derives from baptismal liturgies, particularly Syrian ones.[30] But its ideal of "singleness," expressed in the Coptic ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ or the Greek μοναχός, signifies celibacy and isolation from society. Indeed, the Hag Hammadi *Testimony of Truth* (esp. 69,8-24) specifies that true baptism is the renunciation of the world, rather than a ritual sealing of one entering the faith administered by the (defiled!) fathers of the world: the Son of Man baptized no disciples.

Jesus' Inaugural Baptism as a Paradigm for Visionary Enlightenment

The baptismal lore of many of the foregoing groups, especially the Sethians and those associated with Valentinus and Basilides, make a good deal out of the traditions of Jesus' inaugural baptism.[31] Within the NT, visionary experience is connected not only with heavenly ascensions, but also with baptism, especially the inaugural baptism of Jesus; outside the NT, it is also connected with the manifestation of light (e.g., frg. 4 of the *Gospel of the Ebionites*, Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.13.7; Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 88.3 [fire]). The widespread attestation of this phenomenon suggests that the feast of Epiphany originally celebrated the incarnation in context of Jesus' baptism rather than his virginal birth; unlike the passion, this was an event that could be shared by almost all Christians, including Gnostic Christians.

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[30] Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," *History of Religions* 5 (1965), 217-38, shows that the main elements of logion 37, undressing, being naked without shame, treading upon the garments, and being as little children, all point to an origin of this saying "within archaic Christian baptismal practices and attendant interpretation of Genesis 1-3" (p. 218).

[31] In Mark 1 par. Jesus is baptized in the Jordan by John, and coming out of the water, he sees the heavens opened and the spirit of God descending upon him and hears the heavenly voice pronounce him as Son of God. The parallel in Matthew agrees, but has reservations about Jesus' submission to John's baptism. The Fourth Gospel, like Luke, suppresses Jesus' explicit baptism by John, and furthermore demotes John to a mere Voice of one crying in the wilderness, whose only subsequent function is to bear witness to the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus (cf. Heracleon, Frg. 5, *apud* Origen, *Comm. in Joh.* VI, 20-21). Rather than being the subject of John's water baptism, the Fourth Gospel (Jn 4:7-15) understands Jesus as the source of Living Water, which to drink means eternal life; although he has baptized Judaean people in water (3:22; 4:1), there will be a time when he will baptize with the Holy Spirit, which the author identifies with living water (Jn 7:37-39). In John 3:3-5, rebirth as a condition of seeing the kingdom is equated with being born of water and spirit; one thus reborn through baptism is uniquely empowered to "see" the Kingdom. While the obvious reference seems to be to Johannine Christians, the Fourth Gospel's lack of explicit accounts of Jesus' birth and baptism on the earthly plane combine with this conception of being born from above as an additional reference to the untraceable—and thus divine—origin of the Savior who brings light into the world. The parallel with the explanation of the origins of the Illuminator in the *Apocalypse of Adam* is obvious. Like the Johannine Gospel's conception of Jesus as the one who will provide living water, the *Trimorphic Protennoia* regards the Logos who descends with the Five Seals as the one who pours forth Living Water upon the Spirit below out of its source, which is the Father / Voice aspect of Protennoia, called the unpolluted spring of Living Water. Perhaps it would not be going too far to suppose that Johannine and Sethian conceptions of baptism had a common origin.

As we have seen, with its awesome associations with death and rebirth, baptism becomes a principal occasion for visionary experience. A notable instance is the baptismal vision of king Gundaphorus in the *Acts of Thomas*. According to the Syriac version (20), when the baptismal party enters the bathhouse, Jesus appears, but only his voice was heard "since they had not yet been baptized." After the initial anointing, the invocation of the Name and the Spirit, and baptism proper, as the participants were emerging from the water, there appeared a luminous youth carrying a blazing torch whose light overpowers the illumination afforded by the many oil lamps illuminating the proceedings. The Greek version (26-27) does not explicitly mention the baptism proper: during the night, before the anointing and baptism of Gundaphorus, the participants received an audition from the Lord, but not a vision "not having received the added sealing of the seal." When Gundaphorus receives the chrism in oil, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Wisdom and the five rational faculties are invoked, whereupon the Lord appears briefly as a luminous youth with a burning torch. In both versions, upon daybreak, after the candidate was again clothed, the apostle celebrated the eucharist. The Syriac version makes it clear that the occasion was the nocturnal baptism of Gundaphorus, and that the audition came prior to baptism, while the vision of the Lord occurred immediately upon their emergence from the water.[32]

Investiture

Investiture typically follows upon naked baptism. The metaphor of replacing an old garment with a new one, which occurs repeatedly in Gnostic baptismal contexts, can signify several religious acts: a shift from a life of vice to one of virtue, religious conversion, a change of life-style, and initiation, where it signifies the death and rebirth of the initiate and assimilation of divine power.[33] In baptismal contexts, the garment that is discarded (cf. the "garments of skin," Gen 3:21) signifies the physical body, while donning the "robe of light" signifies the restoration of the lost Image of God.[34] The "Paraphrase of Seth," which Hippolytus (*Refutatio* V, 19.22)

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[32] Erik Peterson, "Einige Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Papyrus . . . ," in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* [Rome, Freiburg, Vienna: Herder, 1959], 194-96, collects numerous texts recounting epiphanies of Jesus at baptism in the form of a *paidion, neaniskos*, or the like.

[33] Meeks, "Image of the Androgyne," 184 cites examples; behavioral change: Col 3:8, Eph 4:17-24, Philo, *Som.* 1. 224-5, *Acts of Thomas* 58, *Teachings of Sylvanus* (NHC VII,*4*: 105,13-17), *Testament of Levi* 8:2; donning armor for the eschatological holy war (Isa 59,17; Sirach 5:18-20): 1 Thess 5:8; Rom 13:12; Eph 6:10-17, *Gos. Egypt.* NHC III,*2*: 67,2-3; shift in life-style from indulgence to austerity: Col 2:11, 3:9-10; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 4.20, *Acts of Thomas* 58; initiatiory investiture: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11. 24.

[34] I repeat some useful references of Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 183-88; for the "garments of skin" signifying the body: Philo, *QG* 1.53); Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 55.1 and *Strom.* 3.95.2; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 1.10; Tertullian *De resurrectione* 7; *Apocalypse of Moses* 20: 1-3; *Val. Exp.* (NHC XI,*2*: 38,14-21); the garments of light: *Acts of Thomas*, chs. 112-3; *Odes of Solomon* 25:8; Tertullian *De baptismo* 5; ps-Clement, *Homilies* 17. 16; Mandaean *Canonical Prayerbook* [Drower] no. 51, p. 47, no. 49, pp. 43-4 (*Masiqta*), no. 9, p. 8 (*Maṣbuta*; cf. E. Segelberg, *Maṣbuta: Studies in the Ritual of Mandaean Baptism* [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1958], 115-30). See A. F. J. Klijn, "An Early Christian Baptismal

attributes to the Sethians, understands baptism as washing in and drinking from a cup of living, springing water by which the believer, like the savior, puts on the form of a servant, escapes earthy ties and is reclothed with a heavenly garment.

The *Trimorphic Protennoia* also applies the motif of putting on garments to the savior's salvific descent. On her third descent as the divine Logos, when Protennoia reveals herself to her members in human likeness ("in their tents," NHC XIII,*1*: 47,13-25; cf. Jn 1: 9-4), she makes herself invisible to and unrecognized by all the celestial powers by wearing their "garments" until she reveals herself to her brethren by conferring the Five Seals. Similarly in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2*: 63,23-64,3), Pronoia causes Seth to establish the holy baptism of the Five Seals through a "logos-begotten" body, Jesus the living one, whom Seth put on. To be compared is the depiction of the descent of the initially unrecognized Logos in Johannine prologue, which may have arisen in a baptismal context.

Likewise, in the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,*2*: 56,20-59,18), the revealer undergoes an incognito descent (changing his likeness at each cosmic level), his "third baptism in a revealed image," in which he appears in the form of Jesus in order to defeat the cosmic powers through their ignorant attempt to crucify him. The Docetics (according to Hippolytus, *Refutatio* VIII, 10.6-8) considered Jesus to have two bodies, his fleshly body acquired through his human parent Mary, and another body, received at his baptism in the Jordan as the type of the former; the former body was nailed to the cross, deceiving the archons and powers, yet his nakedness was covered by his baptismal body, perhaps to be understood as an ethereal garment or subtle body rather like the vehicle (ὄχημα) of the soul. Even the *Gospel of Truth* (20,28-28), which proclaims that Jesus, although clothed with eternal life, died on the cross, he nevertheless stripped himself of the "perishable rags," put on imperishability, and ascended to heaven, invulnerable to the powers stripped naked by forgetfulness.

Putting on clothes appropriate to the cosmic level one occupies so as to make one invulnerable or invisible to the powers applies not only to the descending revealer, but also to an enlightened being as it ascends into the aeonic world. A fine example is the royal garment sent to the revealer in the "Hymn of the Pearl" (*Acts of Thomas* 108-113). The new garment is often so luminous and brilliant that it blinds the cosmic powers that oppose the soul's ascent (*Pistis Sophia* ch. 59 [p. 74 Schmidt]). According to the *Gospel of Philip* (58,15-16; 70,5-9; 76,22-28), in the union of the bridal chamber, one sacramentally acquires a garment of light that makes one invisible to the hostile powers; unlike earthly garments, such heavenly garments put on "by water and fire" (baptism and chrism) are better than those who put them on (57, 19-23. In *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3: 50,10-34; 58,26-37), the metaphor of changing clothes is applied to Allogenes ecstatic removal from the fleshly (and psychic?) garment of ignorance and investiture with a "great power," enabling him to know things unknown to the multitude and obtain a vision of the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo. A non-Sethian example of stripping

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Liturgy," in *Charis kai Sophia: Festchrift Karl Rengstorf* (Leiden: Brill, 1964), 216-28, and of course J. Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," *History of Religions* 5 (1965), 224-30.

and reclothing in the context of an ascent is offered by the *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,*3*: 31,24-64,3), where the soul, come to her senses, strips off this world, replacing it with her true garment, her bridal clothing, in which she enters the fold and unites with her true shepherd.

Alongside the metaphor of being invested with a new garment, one sometimes finds the royal image of being crowned. In *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII,*1*: 129,12-16; cf. 57,13-24), when Zostrianos descends from the Kalyptos the Protophanes level in the Aeon of Barbelo, he joins "those who are unified" blesses the higher powers, becomes παντέλειος, is written in glory, sealed, and receives a perfect crown. In a non-ritual context, the royal image of investiture, coronation and enthronement occur side-by-side in the *Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,*4*: 87,11-13; 89,10-34; 112,10-27), where one is urged to put on the shining robe of wisdom and holy teaching, the crown of Paideia, and sit on the throne of perception; those who contend well will gain dominion, unlike the fools, who are invested with folly, crowned with ignorance and sit on the throne of nescience.

Chrismation

The Sethians

Although the Sethians do not appear to have had a ritual of chrismation, they used the term as a metaphor in two basic contexts. The first is that of the anointing of the third member of the Sethian Trinity of Father, Mother and Son with the "goodness" (χρηστία, a pun on χριστός and χρίσμα) of the Father, the Invisible Spirit immediately after his conception by the Mother Barbelo, found in the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*: 6,23-26 and parallels), the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2*: 44,22-24), and the *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,*1*: 37,30-35). This is probably based on an interpretation of the Gospel accounts of Jesus' baptism, when he is established as Son of God. The second occurs in the conclusion of Eleleth's revelation to Norea, wife-sister of Seth in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*: 97,1-5), where it is promised that the Father will send the "true man," probably Seth, within three generations to anoint the souls of his progeny, the undominated generation, with the unction of eternal life.

Valentinian Chrismation

The relation of the Valentinian chrism to the baptismal rite has been discussed above. The *Gospel of Philip* (57,22-28; 67,2-9; 69,5-14; 78,1-10; 85,21-86,18) understands the chrism as fire, in the sense of intense light which gives form and beauty. One is begotten again (reborn) by baptism in water and anointing with the chrism through the Holy Spirit as a sort of "baptism" in light. It seems that this is the same light that is kindled in the bridal chamber. The doxology of *A Valentinian Exposition* (XI, *2A*: 40,1-29 refers to the Valentinian rite of anointing, which was performed either before the first baptism or simultaneously with it, enabling the recipient to overcome the power of the devil, who dominates the flesh and struggles against God.

Marcus (Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1.21.5) also practiced a rite of unction by pouring ointment or a mixture water and oil of balsam upon the heads of his flock, which had the effect of making one invulnerable to the powers and

authorities, allowing the inner man to ascend to the invisible by sloughing off the soul (to be delivered to the Demiurge), and the body (to be left behind on earth). Evidently some Valentinians perform the unction in connection with baptism, while others claim that going to the water is unnecessary. Irenaeus calls this casting away of the chain of the soul the redemption. Epiphanius (*Panarion* 36.2.4-8) adds that the followers of Heracleon perform this unction upon the dying so that the "inner man" of those who receive it will become invisible to and untouchable by the principalities and authorities on high as they ascend, leaving the body on earth and consigning the soul to the Demiurge. The inner man, a son of the pre-existent Father, appeals to the motherless mother Sophia, the mother of Achamoth, as its source, while the inferior powers and the Demiurge know nothing higher than Achamoth, a female created from a female.

Sacral Meal

The Valentinian Eucharist

In the *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,*3:* 75,15-24), it is said that the eucharistic cup of water and wine contains the Holy Spirit; to drink it conveys the perfect man; in 53,21-24, the eucharist is identified with the crucified Jesus (who brought bread from heaven, 55,6-15), which may explain why this rite seems underplayed in the *Gospel of Philip* (e.g., 74,1-2). In the act of baptism, the living water is a body that replaces the body stripped off in the act of pre-baptismal disrobing.

The Valentinian Marcus (Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* I, 13.1-5) celebrated a eucharist with a cup mixed with a wine that was understood to be the purple and red blood of Grace and was repeatedly administered in large doses to wealthy women, making them deranged. Moreover, Marcus is said to have proclaimed himself to be this Grace as well as the bridegroom whose luminous seed a woman, as bride, is to receive "in her bridal chamber" in order to enter together with him into the One. Women are induced to acts of prophesy by being allowed to babble nonsense spontaneously, supposedly repaying this gift of prophesy by granting their possessions and bodies to Marcus.

Other Instances of the Eucharist: Ophites, Carpocratians, and Borborites

Epiphanius (*Panarion* 37.5,6-7) describes a curious ritual meal practiced by the Ophites in which they worship a snake (Irenaeus says they identified the paradisical snake with the Devil!) as a royal source of knowledge by offering it bread:

> For they have an actual snake, and keep it in a sort of basket. When it is time for their mysteries they bring it out of the den, spread loaves around on a table, and call the snake to come; and when the den is opened it comes out. And then the snake . . . crawls onto the table and coils up on the loaves. And this is what they call a perfect sacrifice. And so, someone has told me, not only do they break the loaves the snake has coiled on and distribute them to the recipients, but they each kiss the snake besides . . . and they offer a hymn to the Father on high-

again, as they say, through the snake—and so conclude their mysteries.

Finally, Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* III, 2.10.1) reports that the Carpocratians celebrate an apparently nocturnal common meal that he calls a "love feast," after which they extinguish the lamps and command the women present to engage in sexual intercourse as a divine duty. Epiphanius reports similar activity on the part of the Borborites, whom he connects with the Sethians (see below on sexual sacramentalism); in particular, he mentions two communal meals of theirs: a eucharist consisting of offering up and consuming menstrual blood and spent semen withheld from intercourse as the blood and body of Christ, and a Passover meal devoted to the consumption of a mangled fetus extracted from any woman who accidentally happens to become pregnant during such sexual exchange (*Panarion* 26.4.5-5.6).

Sacral Marriage

The metaphor of marriage and the bridal chamber in Gnostic usage can refer both to the experience of spiritual reunification as well as to overtly sexual union. In either case, the underlying myth is that of the recreation of the primal androgyne through the union of male and female, whether that be taken as man and woman, intellect and soul, or the earthly seed and its angelic counterpart. As enlightened beings, the Gnostics generally considered themselves alone capable of understanding the true significance of sexual union, considering the non-Gnostic as worldly and animalistic, experiencing not love, but only lust: "A bridal chamber is not for the animals, nor is it for the slaves, nor for defiled women; but it is for free men and virgins" (*Gospel of Philip* 69,1-3; cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* I 6.3; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 68). While the question of Gnostic sexual practices will be discussed under the heading of sexual sacramentalism, here I want to comment on its use as a metaphor for spiritual unification.[35]

The application of the concept of human marriage to the achievement of unity with a transcendent reality is frequent in classical Judaism, where God is the husband of his bride Israel; the metaphor of marriage also appears in the New Testament, not only where Jesus refers to himself as the bridegroom, but especially in the Pauline corpus (1 Cor 6:15-17, 2 Cor 11:1-2; Eph 5:22-23) as a symbol for the relation of Christ and the Church. Although Christian Gnostics likewise draw on these biblical concepts, uppermost in their minds as well as those of Jewish Gnostics was the notion of the primordial unity of humankind as expressed in Gen 1:26-27, according to which Adam was created as a single masculofeminine being in the image of God.

The primordial sin or fault underlying human existence that had to be overcome was the creator's ignorant act of separating this originally androgynous into separate male and female persons. In the act of physical union, the offspring was thought to receive the human form from the male, while its physical and emotional essence was provided by the female. The same held for the spiritual world as well; spiritual perfection lay in

[35] See especially J.-M. Sevrin, "Les noces spirituelles dans l'Evangile selon Philippe," *Le Muséon*, 87 (1974), 143-193.

androgyny, so when a spiritual being such as Sophia undertakes to produce offspring without a male consort, the result is defective, a formless abortion lacking the male element of form. This being the character of her offspring, both her son, creator of the natural world, and his cosmic product are likewise defective. The rectification of the creation depends on introducing into it a potential source of its reunification.

The Sethian myth conceives this to be accomplished when the image of God (Adamas), the original human androgyne, is primordially projected as the archetype upon which the creator unwittingly bases his own human copy. Once he realizes that his androgynous copy is superior to him, he splits it into male and female, but it is too late. In spite of the creator's attempts to subvert the primal couple, by reuniting themselves they can now recreate their original androgyny, which they do in the birth of Seth, the "other seed." Like the divine Adamas, he is a true ("triple," i.e., androgynous) male Child, as is the "immovable race" he engenders.

While a few Gnostic groups such as the late Sethian Borborites sought to replicate this primeval union through non-reproductive sexual union, most, like the earlier Sethians eschewed sexual union, which the they considered to typify the adulterous race of Cain. One might therefore effect a symbolic union on the transcendent plane through ritual means, the Sethians through baptismal ascension, and the Valentinians by an eschatological sacred marriage, the bridal chamber.[36] In the latter act, recourse was had not only to the myth of the primal androgyne and the NT notions of the marriage of Christ and the church, but also to Neo-Pythagorean speculation on the properties of unity.[37]

In the Valentinian view, having abandoned her male consort, Sophia's ultimate human offspring from Adam and Eve onward, both males and females, were regarded as weak female seed lacking the element of form which could only be restored by an ascent to the Pleroma and marriage with the male angels which the savior had prepared for them. In this way they could eternally enjoy the harmonious syzygetic union experienced by all the undescended aeons there. As in the metaphysics of the Platonic psychology of the individual, every human was a split personality. One's higher rational, active—and thus masculine—aspect of the self, had been primordially sundered from one's emotional, passional, receptive, and thus essentially feminine aspect of the self. The natural link with the divine world, the intellect or highest part of the soul was still resident in the transcendent world, although cut off from the soul and body now that formed one's link with the

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36 The Sethians effected the return to androgyny by stripping away the "psychic and corporeal thought" in the acts of baptism and contemplative ascent, by which they could "flee from the madness and the bondage of femaleness and choose the salvation of maleness" (*Zostrianos*, NHC VIII,*1*: 131,5-8).

37 Even quantities could always be divided in such a way as to leave a space in the middle capable of receiving an extra member, while the division of odd quantities always left over precisely such a single member in the middle. The number one, being indivisible, was thought to embrace both these properties, and thus androgynous, while even quantities were female and odd quantities were male. Thus the unity of the One could best be approximated by the union of male and female. In the ideal realm of the Pleroma, all spiritual beings dwelt in the form of syzygetic pairs.

everyday physical world. The goal of life was therefore to recover this lost unity, which would involve detaching a soul overly enamored of its bodily vehicle from the body, or detaching the rational part of the soul from its irrational and impassioned psychic vehicle, so as to effect its reunion with the higher intelligence.

For the Gnostics who appropriated such views, the reunion of the psyche with one's intellect was thus tantamount to coming together in an act of marriage, whether enacted through contemplative union, symbolic rites, or actual physical union. The following Valentinian citations make the point clear:

> As long as we were children of the female only, as of a dishonorable union, we were incomplete, childish, without understanding, weak, and without form, brought forth like abortions, in short, we were children of the woman. But having been given form by the Savior, we are the children of the man (husband) and of the bride-chamber. (*Excerpta ex Theodoto* 68)

> If the woman had not separated from the man, she would not die with the man. His separation became the beginning of death. Because of this Christ came to repair the separation which was from the beginning and again unite the two, and to give life to those who died as a result of the separation and unite them. But the woman is united to her husband in the bridal chamber. Indeed those who have united in the bridal chamber will no longer be separated. Thus Eve separated from Adam because it was not in the bridal chamber that she united with him. (*Gospel of Philip* 70,9-22)

In the *Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,*6*: 132,2-133,9), which seems to have certain Simonian affinities, the restoration of the helpless female soul wallowing apart from her spiritual home in the brothels of materiality is effected by the advent of the marriage of the female soul with her intellectual masculine counterpart, her true husband. The reunification of the irrational, passionate aspect of the soul with her celestial, intellectual component as her true husband and master, from whom physical embodiment has separated her, is interpreted as a reversal of the primordial separation of Eve from Adam in the Garden of Eden: "They will become a single flesh" (Gen 2:24, 3:16; cf. 1 Cor 6:15, 11:1; Eph 5:23). The *Testimony of Truth* (NHC IX,*3*: 31,24-32,16; 34,32-35,23), which also seems to have certain Simonian affinities, likewise uses the imagery of the soul as the bride who strips off this world and learns from the evangelists about the inscrutable One, adorning herself for this her true shepherd with her bridal clothing "in beauty of mind," whereupon:

> She found her rising. She came to rest in him who is at rest. She reclined in the bride-chamber. She ate of the banquet for which she had hungered. She partook of the immortal food. She found what she had sought after. She received rest from her labors. (NHC IX,*3*: 35,8-16)

The image of entrance into the bridal chamber and receipt of the new, imperishable wedding robe occurs also in the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,*2*: 57,7-58,4) as a metaphor for the soul's receipt of Intellect and entry

into the heavens. It is called a "mystery" effected by the revealer's incognito descent (changing his likeness at each cosmic level), his "third baptism in a revealed image," to defeat the cosmic powers through the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus.

The Valentinian Mystery of the Bridal Chamber

Of course, it was the Valentinians who made the most extensive use of the metaphor of marriage as a designation for the eschatological reunion of the Savior Jesus with Sophia and of her spiritual seed with the male angels of the Savior:[38]

> When the whole seed is perfected, then, they say, will the mother, Achamoth leave the place of the Middle, enter into the Pleroma, and receive her bridegroom, the Savior, who came into being from all (the aeons), with result that the Savior and Sophia, who is Achamoth, form a pair (syzygy). These then are said to be bridegroom and bride, but the bridal chamber is the entire Pleroma. The spiritual beings will divest themselves of their souls and become intelligent spirits, and, without being hindered or seen, they will enter into the Pleroma, and will be bestowed as brides on the angels around the Savior. The Demiurge passes into the place of his mother Sophia, that is, into the Middle. The souls of the righteous will also repose in the place of the Middle, for nothing psychic enters the Pleroma. When this has taken place, then (they assert) the fire that is hidden in the world will blaze forth and burn: when it has consumed all matter it will be consumed with it and pass into non-existence. According to them the Demiurge knew none of these things before the advent of the Savior. (Ptolemaeus, *apud* Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* I, 1.7.1; cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 63-65)

The Savior and Sophia are interpreted as the bridegroom and bride, and the place of their union is the "bridal chamber," the divine realm of the Pleroma of spiritual aeons. Thus the Pauline metaphors of the Church as bride and Christ as bridegroom are combined with the story of the fall and restoration of Wisdom, the cosmic soul, and the restoration of the individual psychic beings created by her. As Christians, the Valentinians maintained the Christian rites of baptism, eucharist, and the chrism, but seem to have developed their own ritual enactment of their expected eschatological marriage to their celestial angelic counterparts.

In *Adversus Haereses* I, 13.1-21.5, Irenaeus describes some of the Valentinian rituals known to him. In so doing he polemically contrasts the disagreement among the Gnostics with the supposed unified practice of his own church. They include a mystic rite with certain invocations designed to effect a spiritual marriage, mirroring the syzygetic union of the pleromatic aeons, in a bridal chamber prepared beforehand. Others perform a water baptism in the name of the Father of All, Truth the Mother of All, and the Christ who descended on Jesus. Some utilize Hebrew invocations of Achamoth to effect redemption as a communion with the pleromatic powers, and others replace

[38] See R. M. Grant, "The Mystery of Marriage in the Gospel of Philip," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1969), 129-140.

this with a "redemption" in which a mixture of oil and water is poured on the head with certain invocations. Some boast an angelic redemption or restitution (ἀποκατάστασις) featuring an anointing with balsam oil in the names of Iao (Yahu) and Jesus of Nazareth that frees one's soul from the powers of this age. Still others, he says, reject all such tangible symbolic acts involving the body or soul which derive from deficiency, claiming that the true redemption occurs only through inner, spiritual man's knowledge of the ineffable Greatness.

In the Nag Hammadi corpus, the *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,*5*: 122,12) portrays the Pleroma as the bridal chamber in which the elect spiritual beings will experience ultimate restoration as the bride of the savior, while the "called" psychic humans, the "men of the Church," will serve as attendants outside the pleroma in the aeon of "images," until they receive instruction, upon which all will receive the restoration together; in Irenaeus' account of the Ptolemaic theology (*Adversus Haereses* I, 7.1), the lower Sophia, Achamoth, enters the Pleroma or bridal chamber as the bride of the Savior, while the spiritual ones put off their souls, enter the Pleroma and unite with the savior's angels. In the *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,*5*: 128,30), the bridal chamber is also identified with baptism, as another expression of the agreement and indivisible union of the knower (the Valentinian gnostic) with the known (the Savior).

In the *Gospel of Philip*, the sacral marriage has multiple symbolic referents. The fundamental mythical motif of the restoration of the broken unity of Adam is still present (NHC II,*3*: 68,22-26, 70,9-22), but, as in the introductory quote from Irenaeus, the biblical legend is now overshadowed by theogonic myths of the Valentinian school. The sacramental union in the Bridal Chamber has its archetype in the union of the Savior with the previously barren Sophia. According to 71,3-15, the body of Jesus the Savior was produced in the pleromatic bridal chamber from the union of the Father of the All with the "virgin who came down," presumably the higher Sophia before her fall from the Pleroma; from this origin, it descended to establish this union of bride and bridegroom as the way for his true disciples to enter into his pleromatic rest.[39] This union is perhaps represented on another level by the legends of Christ's association with Mary Magdalene,[40] and its fulfillment in the eschatological union of the Gnostic's true self (the female bride, or "seed," or εἰκών) with its corresponding male "angel" as bridegroom (58,10-14; 65,23-

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39 *Gos. Phil.* 63,30-32: cf. Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* I 1-8 ; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 43-65; H.-M. Schenke [and Johannes Leipoldt], "Koptisch-gnostiche Schriften aus den Papyus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi," *Theologische Forschung*, no. 20 [Hamburg-Bergstadt: Reich, 1960], 35-38.

40 This is a typical example of the favored or "beloved" disciple theme found in Mat 16, throughout the Fourth Gospel, and in the Thomas literature (*Gos. Thom.* 14, the *Book of Thomas the Contender*). Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 190, n. 111 refers to *Gos. Phil.* 63,30-32: "[Sophia], called the barren, is the mother of the angels, and the consort (κοινωνός) of [Christ] is Mary Magdalene." In *Gos. Phil.* 61,10-11, κοινωνία means sexual intercourse, though perhaps not physical; in 63,30-36 Christ is said to love Mary and to have kissed her often, presumably impregnating her (as the Savior, in the Valentinian scheme, made the barren lower Sophia pregnant), since "it is by a kiss that the perfect conceive and give birth. For this reason I we also kiss one another. We receive conception from the grace (χάρις) which is in one another." (59, 1-6).

25: cf. 78,33-127,5). According to the *Gospel of Philip* 86,1-18, becoming a son of the bridal chamber is the only means to receive the light. Although in this world it is present only as an image of the truth, this light grants absolute imperturbability throughout the rest of this life as though he were already living in the Pleroma. The theme of restoration of man's primeval unity is thereby projected onto the macrocosmic plane, where it symbolizes the reintegration of the Pleroma to its precosmic state. The *Gospel of Philip* (84,14-85,21) represents the bridal chamber or Pleroma, Christ, and the spiritual elect with the imagery of the heavenly temple and high priesthood similar to that found in the NT Letter to the Hebrews (6:19-20; 9:2-5). The reality of the Pleroma, symbolized as the Holy of Holies, has been concealed from those inhabiting the outer courts of the cosmos from the time that the inferior creator fashioned the world, available to those outside only in types and images. But now the veil separating the Holy of holies from the outer courts of the cosmos has been rent, and these outer courts of the temple-like cosmos will be destroyed. Their creator, the demiurge, will not enter the Holy of holies, but will ascend to the Hebdomad below Horos, the lower boundary of the Pleroma. When the outer precincts of the cosmic temple are destroyed, the merely psychic members of the Valentinian community will be saved by the church, symbolized by the ark, while the truly pneumatic members, those belonging to the priesthood, will be able to go through the veil into the Pleroma in the company of the high priest, the Savior.

The actual ritual involved in the sacred marriage of the Valentinians cannot be determined with certainty. Given its eschatological reference, Gaffron considers it to have been the believer's last sacrament, a "death sacrament" rather like the Mandaean *Masiqta*.[41] As one might expect of any mystery rite, the *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,*3*: 82,7-26 makes it clear that the mystery of the bride chamber is reserved for the pneumatic members of the Valentinian community alone. The intercourse of bride and bridegroom is private, pure and undefiled; the pneumatic bride may reveal her true nature only to those who may enter the bridal chamber every day: her father, mother, and the friend and sons of the bridegroom. The *Gospel of Philip* (69.1-5) specifies that "a bridal chamber is not for the animals, nor is it for the slaves, nor is it for defiled women; but it is for free men and virgins." Meeks notes the parallel in *Gospel of Thomas* logion 75: "The μοναχοί are the [only] ones who will enter the bridal chamber," but here the bridal chamber seems only a metaphor, rather than a cultic anticipation, of "the kingdom."[42] Although no cultic acts are described in the *Gospel of Thomas*, baptism is presumably presupposed. "Male and female" are to be made "one," but it is an unequal union, since the female must become male if she is to become a "living spirit" (logion 114).[43] As Meeks notes, the μοναχός in the Gospel of

41 "Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium," 191-222.

42 Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 193-196, citing also the parallel in logion 49. "Blessed are the solitary (μοναχηός) and elect [or, "blessed and elect are the solitary"] for you shall find the Kingdom, . . . because you come from it (and) you shall go there again" (trans. Guillaumont et al.). The gnostic conception of "the kingdom" here is reinforced by the following logion, "We have come from the Light, where the Light has originated through itself. It [stood] and it revealed itself in their image."

Thomas is beyond sexuality, "like a little child" (*Gos. Thom.* 22), whose innocence of sexuality is portrayed in the removal of clothing without shame—like Adam before the Fall (logion 37, cf. logion 21).[44]

The heresiologists, most of whose information about ritual details was likely inferred from reading Gnostic treatises, concluded, sometimes correctly, that the rite of the bride chamber involved physical sex relations.[45] The *Gospel of Philip* disparages actual cohabitation, even though it is an "image" of the true union "in the Aiōn."[46] As early as 1959, H.-M. Schenke speculated that the outward symbol of the Valentinian rite of the bridal chamber was the "holy kiss," on the basis of the *Gospel of Philip* 59,2-6 ("For it is by a kiss that the perfect conceive and give birth. For this reason we also kiss one another. We receive conception from the grace which is in one another"), and 63,30-64,2 naming Mary Magdalene as Christ's most beloved disciple, whom he often used to kiss.[47] The popular practice of the wider church tends to confirm that the kiss did have an important place.[48] As Meeks concludes, "whatever the Gnostics did in the marriage sacrament, it clearly distinguished them, in their opinion, from those who were merely baptized and anointed. It was the sacrament of the elite, the *teleioi*."[49]

Sexual Sacramentalism

The Simonians and Valentinians

While many gnostic groups of the second and third century advocated and practiced a sexual and dietary encratism approaching a true demonization of sexuality, other groups rejected such as practice as ineffective and deceptive, transforming the moral indifference typical of its libertine opposite, free sexual exchange, into sacred ritual. According to Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses* I, 23.4), the Simonians worship images of Simon Magus and Helen, as well as engage in various occult practices, including exorcisms,

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43 The phrase "become a living spirit" is perhaps an allusion to Gen. 2:7, possibly even a pun on "Eve." In *Exc. ex Theod.* 79 the female "seed" becomes male when it is "formed" (*μορφωθέν*).

44 "The Image of the Androgyne," 194, referring to J. Z. Smith's "The Garments of Shame," comparison of the homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who contrasts nudity at baptism, when shame is still felt, with an eschatological nudity without shame. Meeks also adduces logion 21, where clothing represents the physical body by which one is connected temporarily to the world, "the field."

45 Grant thinks this likely (*Vigiliae Christianae* 15, p. 139). *Gos. Phil.*. 61, 5-12 redefines adultery as "*κοινωνία* between those who are not alike," i.e. between Gnostics and non-Gnostics (cf. 78,25-79,12). See below under sexual sacramentalism.

46 64,30-65,1, 76.6-9, 85,29-86,4. Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* 3. 29, describes the Valentinian "marriage" as "spiritual."

47 Schenke,"Das Evangelium nach Philippus," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 84 (1959), 1-26, and "Koptisch-gnostiche Schriften aus den Papyus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi," p. 38 *contra* Grant, *Vigiliae Christianae* 15, p. 139.

48 Cf. 58,30-59,6. According to the *Apostolic tradition* of Hippolytus, only those are admitted to the kiss of peace who have received both baptism and chrismation. The catholic rite, however, keeps men and women separate for the kiss (18.3-4; 22.3,6).

49 "The Image of the Androgyne," 191.

incantations, philters, and erotic magic. Hippolytus, (*Refutatio* VI, 19.5) specifies further specifies that this erotic magic took the form of sexual intercourse as a means of experiencing spiritual union. In *Adversus Haereses* I, 13.1-5, Irenaeus indicates that the Valentinian Marcus interpreted the rite of the bride-chamber in a sexually explicit way, claiming himself to be the Grace whose luminous seed should be deposited "in her bridal chamber" as a way of imitating the pleromatic syzygetic union of male and female aeons, thus entering into the One together with him.

A Sethian Offshoot: the Borborites

According to Epiphanius (*Panarion* 26.3-12), the later Sethians, whom he calls Borborites, Barbelites, Phibionites, Stratiotici and Coddians, engaged in a thorough-going sexual sacramentalism. Their symbolic actions included a ritual handshake (featuring tickling beneath the palms of joined hands), a love feast in which spouses were exchanged, homosexual intercourse on the part of a special class called Levites, naked prayer featuring the elevation to the 365 Archons (e.g., Iao, Saklas, Seth, Daveithai, Eloaeus, Yaldabaoth, Sabaoth, Barbelo, the Autogenes Christ, and the supreme Autopater) of hands smeared with semen and menstrual blood (apparently symbolizing the elevation of the host and wine commemorating the "passion" of Christ), and consumption of the same as a form of eucharist. If one of the women accidentally conceived, the fetus was extracted and sacramentally consumed to prevent the further dispersal of the divine spirit in another human body.

According to Stephen Gero,[50] "the central, distinguishing feature of the sect, its devotion to the so-called *sperma* cult, described by [Epiphanius] in vivid detail, can hardly be dismissed as a prurient invention. In the simplest of terms it involved the extraction, collection and solemn, sacramental consecration and consumption of bodily fluids, male and female, which contributed to the further propagation of the human race, and thus to the continued entrapment of the divine substance by the evil archons. In these fluids is concentrated the spiritual element, found scattered in the world, in particular in food-stuffs (including meat!), of which the initiates can and should partake. The mythology proper is a version of the Barbelo-gnostic myth, as known from Irenaeus and the *Apocryphon of John.*" Although Epiphanius does not say that they called this rather unrestrained ritual sex a "mystery" or rite of the bridal chamber, it seems clear that its intent was the same, effecting a restoration of the lost primordial unity by physical coupling and attempting to reverse the natural course of the propagation of the species.

Verbal Performances

A large and varied class of ritual expression can be loosely gathered under the head of ritual speech, which can include glossalalia, traditional verbal formulae, spells, oaths, conjuration, invocations, evocations, *voces mysticae,*

50 S. Gero, "With Walter Bauer on the Tigris: Encratite Orthodoxy and Libertine Heresy in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity," in C. W. Hedrick and R. Hodgson, eds., *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986), 287-307.

συνθήματα, and prayers of various sorts addressed to transcendent powers, good and evil alike.

The Basilideans (Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* I, 24.4) are said to engage in magic, conjuring of the dead, spells, calling up of spirits, and the invocation by name of each of the angelic beings belonging to the 365 heavens: "The person who has learnt these things, and knows all the angels and their origins, becomes invisible and incomprehensible to all the angels and powers." In his *Contra Celsum* (VI, 31), Origen describes numerous verbal formulae employed by the Ophites as passwords used by the ascending soul to mollify the hostility of the heavenly rulers blocking their entrance into the divine world. These formulas bear a striking resemblance to the first person self-predicatory recognition formulas attributed to the Gnostic revealer who likewise used them in the course of his own descent and reascent to disarm the hostile cosmic powers. As the ascending soul traverses the spheres of the powers (the solitary king, Yaldabaoth/Saturn, Iao, Sabaoth, Astaphaios, Ailoaios, Horaios), it announces to the respective rulers its special status as purified and freed from the archontic powers, possessing the divine light and life, imbued with the power of the Mother. Thus:

> But you, archon Yaldabaoth, to whom power belongs as first and seventh, I go with confidence as a ruling Logos of pure Nous, as a perfect work for the Son and the Father, bearing by the imprint of a stamp the symbol of life, having opened for the world the gate which you had by your aeon closed; as a free man I go past your power. Grace be with me, yes, Father, be it with me. (*Contra Celsum* VI, 31)

Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses* I, 21.5) also attributes similar formulas to Valentinians who, in the context of a death-bed anointing are provided with recognition formulas by which they identify themselves to the demiurge as a son of the pre-existent Father who invokes the higher Sophia as the supreme Mother whose power greatly transcends that of the demiurge's mother, the lower Sophia Achamoth.

The ultimate ancestor of this genre of passwords seems to be found either in the dialogues of Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, or, more likely, in the Orphic-Bacchic gold leaves inscribed with hexameter instructions to the dead about the path to be followed in the other world, such as this one from Hipponion:

> In the house of Hades there is a spring [i.e. Lethe, of forgetfulness] to the right; by it stands a white cypress. Here the souls, descending, are cooled. Do not approach this spring! Further you will find cool water flowing from the lake of recollection. Guardians stand over it who will ask you in their sensible mind why you are wandering through the darkness of corruptible Hades. Answer: "I am a son of the earth and of the starry sky, but I am desiccated with thirst and am perishing; therefore quickly give me cool water flowing from the lake of recollection." And then the subjects of the Chthonic King (?) will have pity and will give you to drink from the lake of recollection. . . . And indeed you are going a long, sacred way which also other *mystai* and *bacchoi* gloriously walk.

In Gnostic literature, one finds verbal formulae, often in the context of ecstatic prayer and praise, which are clearly intended as syllables of power. Sometimes these syllables are enigmatic abbreviations for articulate utterances, sometimes they have nearly the character of Hindu mantras, as in the chanting of strings of vowels in semi-numerical groupings, where the emphasis seems to lie in the sonority and repetitiveness of the verbal performance. In this regard, the following passage from the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,2: 66,9-68,1) is exemplary:

> **ⲓⲏ ⲓⲉⲩⲥ ⲏⲱ ⲟⲩ ⲏⲱ ⲱⲩⲁ**! Really truly, O Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus, O living water, O child of the child, O glorious name, really truly **ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲟ ⲱⲛ**(i.e., 'O existing aeon'), **ⲓⲓⲓⲓ ⲏⲏⲏⲏ ⲉⲉⲉⲉ ⲟⲟⲟⲟ ⲩⲩⲩⲩ ⲱⲱⲱⲱ ⲁⲁⲁⲁ{ⲁ}**, really truly, **ⲏⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲱⲱⲱⲱ**, O existing one who sees the aeons! Really truly, **ⲁⲉⲉ ⲏⲏⲏ ⲓⲓⲓⲓ ⲩⲩⲩⲩⲩⲩ ⲱⲱⲱⲱⲱⲱⲱ**, who is eternally eternal, really truly, **ⲓⲏⲁ ⲁⲓⲱ**, in the heart, who exists, **ⲩ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲉⲓ, ⲉⲓ ⲟ ⲉⲓ, ⲉⲓ ⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ** (or: Son forever, Thou art what Thou art, Thou art who Thou art)! This great name of thine is upon me, O self-begotten Perfect one, who art not outside me. I see thee, O thou who art visible to everyone. For who will be able to comprehend thee in another tongue? Now that I have known thee, I have mixed myself with the immutable. I have armed myself with an armor of light, I have become light. For the Mother was at that place because of the splendid beauty of grace. Therefore I have stretched out my hands while they were folded. I was shaped in the circle of the riches of the light which is in my bosom, which gives shape to the many begotten ones in the light into which no complaint reaches. I shall declare thy glory truly, for I have comprehended thee, **ⲥⲟⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲓⲁⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲱ ⲁⲉⲓⲉ ⲟⲓⲥ**, O aeon, aeon, O God of silence! I honor thee completely. Thou art my place of rest, O son **ⲏⲥ ⲏⲥ ⲟ ⲉ**, the formless one who exists in the formless ones, who exists, raising up the man in whom thou wilt purify me into thy life, according to thine imperishable name. Therefore the incense of life is in me. I mixed it with water after the model of all archons, in order that I may live with thee in the peace of the saints, thou who existeth really truly for ever.

This presentation of ecstatic prayer is notable in that it mentions the bodily gesture, rather like a Hindu *mudra*,[51] of extending ones hands in the act of prayer (cf. 3 Mac 2:2; in *Odes of Solomon* 21, 27, 37, 42 a sign of the crucifixion), indeed while they are folded, forming a circle to symbolize one's containment of the inner light. The prayer also contains an apparent reference to water baptism, in which ordinary physical water ("in the type of the archons") is converted into living water by mixing it with the spirit ("incense of life") possessed by the baptizand; rather than being purified prior to of baptism by invocation of the Spirit or by holy oil, the baptismal water is here purified by the one undergoing baptism, since he has already received the light.

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[51] E.g., the very ancient anjali-mudra is a gesture of adoration and prayer with hands joined; see Poduval, *Kathākil and the Diagram of Hand Poses*, Trivandrum, 1930.

In the Gnostic treatises one finds also extended doxologies in praise of the aeonic powers. In the Sethian treatises, there are the four particularly striking parallel doxologies in *Allogenes* (XI,*3*: 53,32-54,37), the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,*5*: 126,5-13), and *Zostrianos* (VIII,*1*: 51,6-52,25 and 88,9-25). They recite a traditional list of *nomina barbara* designating divine beings invoked in the course of the mystical ascent through the Aeon of Barbelo.[52] In fact the entire *Three Steles of Seth* is essentially an extended doxology in praise of the Sethian Father, Mother, and Son triad, praising the powers and deeds of Autogenes, Barbelo and the supreme Invisible Spirit; it appears to have been composed for use in a community-oriented practice of contemplative ascent.

Aretalogical doxologies also are found in the Hermetic Corpus. In the Nag Hammadi library, the *Prayer of Thanksgiving* (NHC VI,7), which occurs also in Greek (Papyrus Mimaut) and at the end of the Latin *Asclepius*, is a combination of petitions with doxological praise, which is concluded by a mutual embrace (ἀσπάζεσθαι, cf. the "kiss of peace) and a communal meal of "sacred food that has no blood in it" (65,3-7). This prayer follows the Hermetic treatise *The Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth*, which itself contains the extended prayer of an unnamed initiate to his spiritual father Hermes Trismegistus. Having attained Hebdomad, Hermes guides the initiate towards the Ogdoad and Ennead, where he sees that his guide is Intellect itself and, along with other angels and souls, he sings a hymn of praise to the Father in silence. The prayer seems to be regarded as "spiritual sacrifice" (cf. Rom 12:1), and contains petition, aretalogical doxology, and ecstatic chanting of vowels spoken in the first person plural; it is followed later by a hymn with a similar chant in the first person singular (NHC VI,*6*: 55,23-61,18). Taken with other Hermetic prayers (*Corpus Hermeticum* I, 31-32; XIII, 16-20; *Asclepius* 41), these prayers indicate an established community ritual in which visionary experience is expressed in prayers of praise, thanksgiving and ecstatic formulae, and celebrated in a meal. There is also the very similar doxological *Prayer of the Apostle Paul* included in the front of the Jung Codex (NHC I,*1*).[53]

Three of the five supplements *A Valentinian Exposition* (NHC XI,*2a*, XI,*2d*, and XI,*2e*) are prayers, separated by two short catacheses on the nature of baptism. The first is a pre-baptismal invocation of Christ to anoint baptismal candidates with the power to "trample on the heads of snakes and scorpions and all the power of the Devil" (Lk 10:19; cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 76); this is very similar to the pre-baptismal practice of exorcising the devil through the acts of anointing with oil and penitence by standing on sackcloth or goatskin.[54] The other two prayers are pre-eucharistic thanksgivings. Although not part of a ritual setting, two other prayers might be mentioned, which are petitions for release form the troubles of this life, one at the conclusion of the

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[52] The names of these beings stand out in contrast to most Sethian *nomina barbara* by the fact that most of them are Greek compounds in -eus, -os, -nis, -is and -ios, in keeping with the Graecisizing, Platonizing terminology of these treatises.

[53] On prayer in Gnostic sources, see E. Segelberg, "Prayer among the Gnostics? The evidence of some Nag Hammadi Documents," in *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, Papers Read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th-13th, 1975), ed. M. Krause, (Nag Hammadi Studies 7, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 55-69.

[54] See Smith, "The Garments of Shame," 225-233.

Book of Thomas the Contender (NHC II,7: 145,8-16), and James' prayer for a speedy death at the conclusion of the *Second Apocalypse of James* (NHC V,3: 62,13-63,29).

The frequent use of *nomina barbara*, syllables of power, and phrases in languages other than one's own (cf. the Aramaic baptismal formulae quoted in Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* I, 21.3) is succinctly explained in *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI,2 (Asclepius to King Ammon):

> Expressed in our own native (Egyptian) tongue, the discourse (λόγος) keeps clear the meaning (νοῦς) of the words (λόγοι) [at any rate], for its very quality of sound, the very intonation of the Egyptian names, have in themselves the actuality (ἐνέργεια) of what is said. So as far as you can, O King—and you can do all things—keep this our discourse from translation, in order that such mighty mysteries may not come to the Greeks, and the disdainful speech of Greece with all its looseness and its surface beauty, so to speak, take all the strength out of the solemn and the strong—the energetic speech of Names. The Greeks, O King, have novel words, effecting demonstration only; and thus is the philosophizing of the Greeks—the noise of words. But we do not use words; we rather use sounds filled full with deeds.

As Socrates says in the *Cratylus* (439a; 424bc), "names rightly given are the likenesses and images of the things they name." He who would imitate the essence of things in speech must give them a name; to analyze them, one must "separate" the syllables and letters, "first the vowels, and then the consonants and mutes, into classes according to the traditional distinctions of the learned, also the semivowels, which are neither vowels nor yet mutes, and distinguish into classes the vowels themselves." Of course, more desirable is a kind of knowledge that grasps reality directly, without names.

The most striking instance of Gnostic texts containing words and symbols of power is the *Books of Jeu* in the Bruce Codex. Nearly every page portrays tables and lists of divine names, powers and attributes in the form of *voces mysticae et barbara* intended to be pronounced, as well as numerous graphic images that were perhaps intended to be gazed upon until a trance-like state resulted. The graphic συνθήματα (tokens), appearing as they do on the pages of a codex, seem to presuppose private appropriation on the part of the reader rather than communal recitation, and thus approach the phenomenon of the "reading mystery" (*Lesemysterium*), a term coined by Reitzenstein to characterize the gradated reading of the *Corpus Hermeticum.*

Although apparently independent of ritual contexts, the alphabet mysticism and magic scattered throughout the pages of Gnostic literature are to be used as words of power.[55] It consists of mysterious combinations of letters, syllables, the seven vowels and seventeen consonants of the Greek alphabet, and the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet which are arranged in various sequences and patterns (κλίματα), where each permutation of order is significant, as is the pronouncing of these sounds. Particularly important is

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55 See F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 2nd. ed, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1925 and A. Dieterich, "ABC-Denkmäler," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 56 (1901), 77-105.

the use of names, especially the Tetragrammaton and other Semitic formations such as Sabaoth and Abrasax, names for the δαίμονες of the planetary Hebdomad, as well as a multitude of φρικτὰ ὀνόματα and ὀνόματα ἄσημα καὶ βάρβαρα, whose significance is hard to ascertain.[56] The primary example of these is of course the Greek magical papyri. Although space and complexity forbids treating these phenomena here, perhaps the most extensive Gnostic examples are Irenaeus' account (*Adversus Haereses* I, 13-22) of the alphabetic and numerical speculations of the Valentinian Marcus, and the unfortunately very fragmentary phonological, arithmological, and astral speculations on the shape of the soul in the Sethian treatise *Marsanes* (NHC X,*1*).

Ascensional and Contemplative Practices

The Sethian Platonizing Treatises

In the treatises *Allogenes*, *Three Steles of Seth*, *Zostrianos* and *Marsanes*, salvation is not brought from above to below by divine visitations, but rather occurs through the Gnostic's contemplative ascent through ever higher levels of the divine realm. Here one finds an exemplary visionary, Allogenes or Marsanes (probably alternative designations for Seth), utilizing a self-performable technique of successive stages of mental detachment from the world of multiplicity, and a corresponding assimilation of the self to the evermore refined levels of being to which one's contemplation ascends, until one achieves an absolute stasis and cognitive vacancy characteristic of deification. The *Three Steles of Seth* presupposes a three-stage ascent to the Autogenes, the aeon of Barbelo, and the supreme One. *Allogenes* depicts a similar three-stage ascent, but begins at the aeon of Barbelo, and adds an ascent through the supra-intelligible levels of the Triple-Powered One of the Invisible Spirit, culminating in a "primary revelation" of the Unknowable One. A similar ascent is portrayed in *Zostrianos*, except that it has been supplemented by a series of initial stages within the sense-perceptible realm, and each successive stage of ascent after these is associated with a certain baptismal sealings. *Marsanes* merely comments on certain features of the ascent, which its author claims to have already undergone.

The text that most warrants the treatment of this contemplative ascent as an established ritual is the *Three Steles of Seth*, in which the aretalogical doxologies of Seth in honor of his father Geradamas, the Aeon of Barbelo, and the ultimate pre-existent One are provided for the use of both individuals and a community: "Whoever remembers these and always glorifies shall be perfect among those who are perfect and impassive beyond all things; for individually and collectively they all praise these: and afterward they shall be silent. And just as it has been ordained for them, they will ascend. After silence, they will descend from the third, they will bless the second, and afterward, the first. The way of ascent is the way of descent" (NHC VII,*5*: 127, 6-21). In the first Stele, Seth praises his father Geradamas as his intellect, as Autogenes (self-begotten), the "Mirotheid" (Mirothea is the mother of Adamas

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56 See P. C. Miller, "In Praise of Nonsense," in *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman*, ed. A. H. Armstrong (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 481-505.

in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, NHC III,*2*: 49,1-12) who presides over Seth's "alien" seed, the immovable race; then Seth and Geradamas praise the thrice-masculine aeon Barbelo who came forth to the middle to empower and bestow crowns and perfection upon them. The second Stele is directed by the "perfect individuals" to Barbelo as their three-in-one source, the source of all multiplicity, the projected image ("shadow") of the "first pre-existent One," the bestower of divinity, goodness and blessing; the "individuals" petition her to save them by uniting them. The third Stele is directed to the pre-existent One, the only and living Spirit, the Existence, Life and Mind of the All, whom they entreat to present a "command" that they might be saved; at that point, the petitioners recognize that they have been saved, and therefore offer praise and glory. Each stele marks a stage on the contemplative ascent to the One. Just as Seth, spiritual ancestor of the Sethians, praised and joined his father Adamas in the praise of the Mother Barbelo, and of her source, the pre-existent One, so the members of the Sethian community are to follow the same pattern in their own ascent to the aeon of Barbelo and receive the revelation of the Invisible Spirit.

The treatise that most likely contains the key to the ritual origins of the Sethian ascensional rite is *Zostrianos*, since, as noted above, it marks the various stages of Zostrianos' visionary ascent with certain baptisms, sealings, washings in various "waters." It is perhaps also significant that *Marsanes* (NHC X,*1*: 2,12-4,24) enumerates the entire sequence of the ontological levels underlying these treatises as thirteen "seals."

Of these texts, it is *Allogenes* that most clearly portrays the method of this ascent, so it will form the basis of the following exposition, even though it narrates the ascent as that of an individual, and enumerates the levels of ascent slightly differently than the others.

The cosmology of these treatises is tripartite, but belongs to the four-level ontology of Speusippus, the Neopythagoreans and Plotinus, which posits a highest realm beyond even being itself, below which one finds an atemporal, intelligible realm of pure being, followed by a psychic realm, characterized by time and motion, and finally a physical realm at the bottom of the scale. The following summary of the ontology of *Allogenes* will suffice to indicate the ontological structure of the entire group:

The highest being, corresponding the Plotinian One, is the Unknowable One or Invisible Spirit, characterized by non-being existence, silence and stillness; he is not an existing thing and is completely unknowable (XI,*3*: 62,23-64,14). *Marsanes* (X,*1*: 2,12-23)appears to add yet another level, the "unknown, silent One" beyond even the Invisible Spirit.

The second major level is that of the Aeon of Barbelo, the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit, characterized as a non-discriminating, incorporeal, [timeless] knowledge (XI,*3*: 51,10-11). The Barbelo Aeon is subdivided into three levels which correspond to aspects of the Plotinian hypostases of Intellect and Soul: 1) the domain of "the authentic existents" (*τά ὄντως ὄντα*, the *νοητά*) presided over by Kalyptos (the Hidden One, a sort of *νοῦς νοητός*) rather like the Plotinian Intellect; 2) the domain of "those who are unified" (i.e. "exist together," cf. *Ennead* IV.1.1: *ἐκεῖ [ἐν τῷ νῷ] ὁμοῦ μὲν πᾶς νοῦς . . . ὁμοῦ δὲ πᾶσαι ψυχαί . . .*) presided over by Protophanes (the First Appearing One, a sort of *νοῦς θεωρητικός* or *κινούμενος ἀκίνητος ὤν*), rather like the Plotinian cosmic

Soul; and 3) the domain of the "(perfect) individuals" (perhaps individual souls) presided over by Autogenes (the Self-begotten One, a sort of demiurgic νοῦς διανοούμενος) who operates to rectify the realm of Nature, rather like the Plotinian individuated soul.

The third level, Nature, is merely mentioned in passing as a realm whose defects are continually rectified by Autogenes, and appears to hold no interest for the author of *Allogenes*, although the treatise *Marsanes* (X,*1*: 5,23-26) regards this realm as entirely worthy of salvation.

The mediator between the Invisible Spirit and the Aeon of Barbelo is an entity called the Triple-Powered One. This being is mentioned sometimes independently, and sometimes in conjunction with the Invisible Spirit.[57] By a static self-extension, the Invisible Spirit through his Triple-Powered One becomes the Aeon of Barbelo (XI,*3*: 45,21-30; cf. *Zostrianos* VIII,*1*: 8,18-9,28). Thus the Triple-Powered One is the potency (δύναμις) of the Unknown One and/or Invisible Spirit by which he unfolds himself into the world of Being and Intellect. It is said to consist of three modalities or phases: That-which-is (Being or Existence), Vitality, and Mentality (XI,*3*: 49,26-38)

In *Allogenes*, the Triple-Powered One is identical with the Invisible Spirit in its Existence-phase, discontinuous with the Invisible Spirit but identical with Barbelo in its Mentality-phase, and in its emanative or Vitality-phase, it is simultaneously continuous and discontinuous with both the Invisible Spirit and Barbelo. *Allogenes* attributes also to the Unknowable One / Invisible Spirit a similar triad of attributes, but characterizes them as acts rather than qualities or substances: "he exists, lives and knows without mind, life or existence" (61, 32-39).

Bearing in mind that the Aeon of Barbelo is considered to be 1) the "knowledge" or "first thought" of the Invisible Spirit (51, 8-32), that 2) it contains the perfect Mind Protophanes, and 3) contains in its Kalyptos-level the realm of pure being (τὰ ὄντως ὄντα), one arrives at an enneadic structure for the metaphysical ontology of Allogenes. At the level of the Invisible Spirit, the Being-Life-Mind triad is present as the pure activity of existing, living, and thinking (expressed as verbal infinitives); on the level of the Triple-Powered One, it is present as a triad of abstract qualities (existence, vitality, mentality), and on the level of the Barbelo Aeon, as a triad of substantial realities: being, life and mind (Kalyptos as Being and Protophanes as Mind, although its life-component is not given a distinct identification).

In reality, all three levels are only separate phases of the unfolding of the Invisible Spirit by means of its Triple-Powered One into the Aeon of Barbelo. Rather than being a triad of principles distributed vertically among different planes of reality, the Existence, Life, Intellect triad is seen as a dynamic three-in-one principle in which each phase of the triad, while containing the other two, is named by the phase of the triad that predominates at each stage of its unfolding. In the accompanying diagram, the underlined term indicates the

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57 This being is mentioned sometimes separately (XI, *3*:45,13-30; 52,19; 52,30-33; 53,30; 55,26; 61,1-22; regularly in *Marsanes*) and sometimes in conjunction with the Invisible Spirit (XI,*3*: 47,8-9, 51,8-9; 58,25; 66,33-34; cf. *Zost.* VIII,*1*: 20,15-18; 24,12-13; 97,2-3; 128,20-21) as "the Triple-powered Invisible Spirit" or "the invisible spiritual Triple Powered One."

relative predominance of one of the three modalities. The first phase coincides with the Invisible Spirit and the third phase with the Aeon of Barbelo, in effect giving rise to a median phase in which the Triple-Powered One is discontinuous with both the Invisible Spirit and Barbelo, having a quasi-hypostatic character of its own.

Unknowable One / Invisible Spirit	*Exists*	Lives	Knows
Triple-Powered One / Eternal Life	Existence	*Vitality*	Mentality
Barbelo / First Thought	Being	(Life)	*Mind*

The Visionary Ascent

Allogenes (XI, *3*: 58,26-61,21) tripartitions the contemplative ascent into separate but successive stages in accord with the tripartitioning of its general ontology, since the object of the ascent is to become assimilated with each higher level of being through which one passes. Each stage of the ascent is prefaced by instruction from a revealer. The technique of the initial ascent through the lowest level of the intelligible realm, the Aeon of Barbelo is revealed by the "male virgin" Youel (57,29-58,26). The technique of the culminating ascent through the Triple-Powered One is revealed by the three "luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo" (58,26-61,22), and is structured in terms of the tripartite nomenclature previously applied to the Triple-Powered One in 49,26-38. The technique of the final union with the Unknowable One, however, cannot be conveyed by a positive descriptive revelation, but only by a "primary revelation of the Unknowable One"; this turns out to be the long negative theology in 61,32-64,36, by which one acquires the saving gift of learned ignorance. On completion of the ascent and revelation, Allogenes' appropriate response will be to record and safeguard the revelation (68,16-23) and entrust its proclamation to his confidant Messos (68,26-end).

Stage 1: The Ascent through the Aeon of Barbelo

The revealer Youel instructs Allogenes concerning the initial part of the ascent to "the God who truly [pre-exists]," which requires a perfect seeking of the Good within oneself, by which one knows oneself as one who exists with the pre-existent God. According to 50,10-36, the wisdom conveyed by Youel's initial revelation of the Aeon of Barbelo and of the Triple-Powered One will restore Allogenes to his primordial, unfallen condition. It will invest Allogenes' "thought" with the power requisite to distinguish between "immeasurable and unknowable" things, the contents of the Barbelo Aeon and the principles beyond it, causing Allogenes to fear that his learning has exceeded normal limits. One notes again the metaphor of putting on a garment.

In 52,7-21, after Youel's initial revelation of the contents of the Aeon of Barbelo, Allogenes reports that his soul went slack with disturbance. Turning to himself, he sees the light surrounding him and the Good within him and becomes divine, which Youel interprets as a completion of wisdom sufficient to receive a revelation of the Triple-Powered One.

Interpreted in the light of the ontology of the treatise, it seems as if Allogenes has become successively assimilated to the various levels of the

Barbelo Aeon: first, to the level of the "individuals" within Autogenes, and second, to the level of "those who are unified" within Protophanes, and third, to "those who truly exist" in Kalyptos.

In her fifth discourse (55,33-57,24), Youel promises Allogenes that, after an incubation period of a "hundred years" (during which he presumably is to engage in self-contemplation, experiencing "a great light and a blessed path," 57,27-58,7), he will receive a revelation from the "luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo." This revelation will convey only so much as is necessary to know without Allogenes forfeiting his own kind. If Allogenes is successful in this, he will receive a conception (ἔννοια) of the pre-existent One and know himself as one "who exists with the God who truly pre-exists" (56,18-36), which will make him divine and perfect.

At the conclusion of the "hundred years" of preparation, Allogenes reports that he saw Autogenes, the Triple Male, Protophanes, Kalyptos, the Aeon of Barbelo, and the "primal origin of the of the One without origin," that is, the Triple-Powered One of the Invisible Spirit (57,29-58,26). One should probably understand this as Allogenes' ascent through the various levels of the Aeon of Barbelo up to and including the lowest aspect ("blessedness" or Mentality) of the Triple-Powered One, which would be identical with the entirety of the Aeon of Barbelo itself. Up to this point, Allogenes still bears his earthly "garment" (58,29-30).

This initial vision culminates with Allogenes' receipt of a luminous garment by which he is taken up to "a pure place" (58,31), where he transcends ("stands upon") his knowledge (characterized by blessedness and self-knowledge) of the individual constituents of the Barbelo-Aeon. He is now ready for "holy powers" revealed to him by the "luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo" to encourage him to "strive for" an even higher knowledge toward which he had already "inclined," namely "the knowledge of the Universal Ones," that is, of the Triple-Powered One and the Invisible Spirit (59,2-3).

Stage 2: The Ascent through the Triple-Powered One

The ascent beyond the Aeon of Barbelo to the Unknowable One is first revealed to Allogenes by holy powers (59,4-60,12) and then actually narrated (60,12-61,22) by Allogenes in a way quite similar to the revelation, yielding what amounts to two accounts of the ascent. Having surpassed his active, earthly knowledge and inclining toward the passive knowledge of the Universal Ones (the Triple-Powered One and the Invisible Spirit, 59,2-3), Allogenes attains first the level of blessedness (i.e., Mentality), at which one knows one's proper self, sees the good in oneself and becomes divine (59,9-13; 60,14-18). Next, as he "seeks himself," he ascends (ἀναχωρεῖν) to the level of Vitality, characterized by an undivided, eternal, intellectual motion, a supra-eidetic realm, where one achieves partial stability (he stands not firmly but quietly, 59,14-16; 60,19-28). Finally Allogenes achieves the level of Existence, characterized by a completely inactive "stillness" and "standing" (59,19-26; 60,28-37). He is filled with a "primary revelation of the unknowable One" that empowers and permanently strengthens him, enabling him to receive an incognizant knowledge of the unknowable One.

At this point, having assimilated himself to the primal modality of the Triple-Powered One, Allogenes can no longer ascend to any higher level;

only in the case that he becomes afraid can he further withdraw, and that only "to the rear because of the activities" (59,34-35; cf. Plotinus, *Ennead* III,8.9,29-40; VI,9.3,1-13). He must not "seek incomprehensible matters," but must avoid any further effort lest he dissipate his inactivity and fall away from the passivity, concentratedness, and instantaneousness of the primary revelation to follow (59,26-60,12; cf. 64,14-26; 67,22-38). Allogenes is told be "incognizant" ("ignorant" or "non-knowing") of the Unknowable One, that is, not to exercise any faculties of the active intellect, lest this activity initiate a movement that would destroy the stability he has achieved. Even to fear this extreme inertness is such a mental activity, and necessitates a withdrawal to a previous level of contemplation. Once he receives the primary revelation, he must therefore "still himself" and remain completely self-concentrated ("do not further dissipate") and refrain from any exercise of the active intellect, even if it should be a "luminous ἔννοια," which might replace and therefore destroy the inactivity conveyed to him by the Unknowable One.[58] In a state of utter passivity, Allogenes receives a "primary revelation of the Unknowable One" (59,28-29; 60,39-61,1) characterized as a cognitively vacant knowledge of the Unknowable One (59,30-32; 60,8-12; 61,1-4). This knowledge can be articulated only by an extensive negative theology (61,32-62,13; supplemented by a more affirmative theology, 62,14-67,20).

The sequence of Allogenes' mental states therefore moves from relative to permanent stability, and from self-knowledge to mental vacancy: 1) At the level of Mentality, characterized by silent stillness, he "hears" the Blessedness of true self-knowledge. 2) At the level of Vitality, characterized by the eternal circular ("undivided") motion of the supra-eidetic realm, and still seeking himself, he achieves partial stability. 3) At the level of Existence, characterized by total stability and inactivity, he achieves a complete stability, permanently strengthened by the indwelling of the Triple-Powered One. 4) Allogenes is filled with the "primary revelation of the Unknowable One," which allows him to know the Unknowable One and his Triple-Powered One insofar as he maintains a state of complete incognizance and mental vacuity.

The sequence of Allogenes' mental states is also the reverse of the sequence of the dominant phases or ontological modalities in which the Triple Powered One unfolds into the Aeon of Barbelo. His initial state is called Blessedness, a condition associated with a silent (non-discursive?) self-contemplation characteristic of "Mentality," which designates also the lowest phase of the Triple-Powered One's three phases of Mentality, Vitality and Existence. He is then instructed to move from this state to a less stable state, that of "Vitality," which is characterized by an eternal circular motion that still includes a "seeking of oneself." Then, in order to gain a state of ultimate stability, he is to move on to the level of Existence, the phase in which the Triple-Powered One is identical with the Invisible Spirit, who is absolutely at rest and contains all in total silence and inactivity. In each case, the contemplation of entities on ever higher ontological levels is characterized as a form of the contemplator's self-knowledge, suggesting that the consciousness of the knowing subject is actually assimilated to the ontological character of the level that one intelligizes at any given point.

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58 Cf. Plotinus, *Ennead* V, 8.11.23-24; 33-34.

Allogenes thus presents two levels of knowing: One is achievable in the world, and is characterized by the actual vision of what was communicated in the auditory revelations imparted by the emissary-revealer Youel; it suffices to have a vision of each of the beings comprising the Aeon of Barbelo up to and including the lower aspect of the Triple-Powered One. The other is achievable, not in the world, but only after elevation to a pure place, and is to be imparted by an apophatic "primary revelation" from the Luminaries of Barbelo's Aeon; it enables one to experience directly the realm beyond intellect and even being itself occupied by the upper levels of the Triple-Powered One and the Unknowable One. The first level of knowing is active and discursive, involving knowledge of one's self as well as the ability to experience one's assimilation to the various levels comprising the intellectual and psychic realm of the Barbelo Aeon (58,38-59,3; 59,9-16): from individuated soul to unity with the cosmic soul to the intellectual domain of the authentic existents. The second level of knowing is passive; strictly speaking it is not knowledge at all, but culminates in a non-knowing, non-discursive knowledge with no awareness of distinctions, even that between knower and known, an utter vacancy of the cognitive intellect, a "learned ignorance" (59,30-35; 60,5-12; 61,1-4) called a "primary revelation of the Unknowable One" (59,28-29; 60,39-61,1).

Stage 3: The Primary Revelation

The extensive negative theology occupying the last third of *Allogenes* exhibits a close relationship between the negative ontological (apophatic) predications of the Invisible Spirit and the non-cognitive contemplation of him.[59] It turns out that the primary revelation conveying the ultimate vision of the supreme reality is identical with its object: the Invisible Spirit is the very primary revelation by which he is known (*Allogenes* 63,9-19). The Invisible Spirit is so unknowable that he is in some sense his own unknowable knowledge, and forms a unity with the ignorance that sees him; in fact he seems to be equated with the state of mental vacancy itself (*Allogenes* 63,28-64,14). Yet one cannot simply use the equation between the unknowable deity and the primary revelation or incognizant knowledge by which he is known as a way of knowing or speaking about him. To equate him with either knowledge or non-knowledge is to miss the goal of ones' quest (*Allogenes* 64:14-36). It is nevertheless clear that *Allogenes* assumes that it is possible to achieve a consubstantiality between the known, the means of knowledge and the knower: the unknowable deity is united with the ignorance that sees him, which is identical with his own self-knowledge. By implication, he is also united with the non-knowing visionary as well. Thus there is an isomorphism, indeed an identity, between both the epistemic and ontic states of the knower, the known and the means of knowledge at each stage of the ascent.

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59 See R. T. Wallis, "The Spiritual Importance of Not Knowing," in *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality*: Egyptian, Greek, Roman, ed. A. H. Armstrong (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 460-480; as Wallis notes, the knowledge of God as divine silence in *Corpus Hermeticum* X is similar.

The prototype of this threefold ascent is found in Plato's *Symposium* (210a-212a), in the speech where Socrates recounts the path to the vision of absolute beauty into which he had been initiated by the wise Diotima. The method consists of a three-stage qualitative and quantitative purification or purgation of the soul by a redirection of Eros, the moving force of the soul, away from the lower realm to the higher.[60] The qualitative purgation is a progressive shift of attention from the sensible to the intelligible realm in three levels of knowing, which correspond to three levels of experience: physical beauty, moral beauty and intellectual beauty; these are the objects respectively of the bodily senses, the ethical components of the soul, and the intelligizing, contemplative faculty of the reflective soul. The quantitative purgation is a shift of attention away from individual instances of beauty, to the ideal beauty of all forms, and finally to absolute beauty itself, which then discloses itself as a sudden and immediate intuition. The next higher stage is therefore achieved by a purifying and unifying synthesis of the experience of the lower stage. As in the *Symposium*, so also in the *Republic* (532A-B) the final moment of attainment is conceived as a revelation of the supreme form. After long preliminary effort, one's soul or mind has transcended discursive science, dialectic itself, for an unmediated vision of or direct contact with the object sought. No longer does one "know about" the object things that can be predicated of it, but one actually possesses and is possessed by the object of one's quest.

In the first four centuries of our era to which the Barbeloite treatises belong, the Platonic tradition regarded metaphysics or theology as the highest of the three stages of enlightenment or spiritual progress.[61] It corresponded to the highest stage of initiation into the mysteries and was in fact called ἐποπτεία, the supreme vision of the highest reality, tantamount to assimilating oneself to God insofar as possible (Theaetetus 176B).[62] This traditional Platonic quest is found not only in Plato, but also later in Philo of Alexandria (who however shunned the notion of assimilation to God), Numenius, Valentinus, Albinus (i.e., Alcinous, the *viae analogiae, negationis, additionis* and *eminentiae* of *Didaskalikos* 10.5-6; cf. 28,1-3), Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* V, 11.70.8-71.5), Origen (*Contra Celsum* VII, 42) and especially Plotinus (*Ennead* VI,7.36). What is generally common to these visionary ascents is initial purification, usually through some form of instruction involving the use of analogies, negations, and successive abstraction until the contemplative mind has become absorbed in its single object (the One, the Good, the Beautiful, etc.) at

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60 See the analysis of E. O'Brien, *The Essential Plotinus* (New York: Mentor Books, 1964), 16-17.

61 P. Hadot, "La métaphysique de Porphyre," in *Porphyre* (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique XII; Vandoeuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1960), 127-129 (citing Chalcidius, *In Tim.* 272; 335, and Proclus, *In Tim.* I, p. 202 Diehl) points out that Porphyry's systematic arrangement of Plotinus' Enneads conforms to this scheme (*Enn.* I = ethics; *Enn.* II, III = physics; *Enn.* IV, V, VI = epoptic, the objects of contemplation), as do certain Neoplatonic prescriptions for the order of the study of Plato's dialogues (*Republic* = ethics; *Timaeus* = physics; *Parmenides* = theology).

62 See Plutarch, *de Is. et Os* 382D-E; Clem. Alex., *Strom* I.28.176.1-3; Theon. Smyr., *Expos.* p. 14,18-16,2; Origen, *In cant. cant.* p. 75,6 [Baehrens].

which point one "suddenly" sees the ultimate source of all these;[63] here philosophy and intellection give way to ecstasy.

Concluding Observations

By way of conclusion, it can be seen that the purpose of Gnostic ritual was uniformly salvific, a means to restore the primordial unity of the human person. This process might be conceived on a relatively more biblical basis, as uniting the male and female components of an original androgyne that wrongfully underwent a primeval division. Or, on a more Platonic basis, as the restoration of the soul to the original psychic substance from which its ungrudging maker extracted and incarnated it; its (metaphorically feminine) irrationality acquired from contact with materiality must be subjected to its higher, undescended, rational or intellectual (metaphorically masculine) component. The Gnostics illustrated the original perfection of the soul by the pairing and agreement of the pleromatic aeons, and its degradation is illustrated by the lack of cooperation between male and female at the moment of the inception of the physical cosmos and its creator, which become characterized by victimization and oblivion on the one hand, and by presumption and antagonism on the other. The physical bodies into which the divine substance was thereby incarnated must be stripped away like an old garment and replaced with the luminous garment made of that substance; they must be thoroughly washed away and the inner person immersed in the living water of wisdom, anointed with the fragrance of the divine spirit, and wed with its other but higher self.

In contrast to Gnostic rites of baptism, investiture, chrismation, and the sacral meal—whose effect depends on a combination of divine initiative and revealed insight (Gnosis)—the practice of ritual speech, sexual sacramentalism, and to some extent contemplative ascent, come closest to the kind of ritual acts which effect their own work (*ex opere operato*). Baptism, investiture, chrismation, and even the sacral meal are typically said to be received or undergone. Similarly, the rite of sacral marriage is usually portrayed as an eschatological gift, something to be awaited. On the other hand, ritual sex, speech, gesture, and contemplative ascent depend much more on individual initiative and technique. In this sense, they border on theurgical rites insofar as they exploit acquired knowledge of certain cosmic sympathies and/or properties of physical actions that serve to assimilate oneself to transcendent forces or levels of reality. Simonian, Valentinian, and especially Sethian materials witness both self-actualized and conferred ritual procedures, and portray salvation sometimes as "self help" and "other help" process. Particularly notable is the distinction between Sethian texts which portray the advent of salvation as brought from above to below by the supreme Mother and those that portray it as the result of a self-actualized contemplative ascent. To be sure, a divine revelation showing the path is required; Allogenes is still dependent on divine powers like Youel and the luminaries of the aeon of Barbelo to reveal to him the way of ascent, yet once he receives the revelation, he makes the ascent in an unaided fashion. Of course, in almost

63 So also Plotinus, *Ennead* VI, 7.34.8.

all texts that portray an ascent to the supreme One, Gnostic and Platonic alike, the final vision of the One is ultimately vouchsafed. Nevertheless, the salvific goal seems to involve the transfer of one's inner essence from below to above, rather than conjuring the manifestation of the divine powers here below. Vivid manifestations of divine beings occur in the Gnostic texts, yet they are uncoerced, free manifestations of the divine unrelated to any causal connection or affinities innate to the created realm, and usually are witnessed by august figures who themselves have a heavenly origin (Seth, Jesus) or by figures who are singled out by divine choice (Zostrianos, Marsanes, Allogenes, Thomas and other disciples of Jesus). Salvation is achieved by the return of the soul to its original state, not by a rectification of the physical world it has come to inhabit. This is not merely to repeat the old adages about the anticosmicism and antisomaticism often ascribed to the Gnostics, many of whom valued corporeality as a vehicle of revelation.[64]

Because of the wide variation of Gnostic attitude and implementation, the relation of Gnostic ritual to later Platonic, especially thurgical, ritual cannot be simply characterized. It cannot be said that one is fundamentally based on biblical motifs and the other on Platonic concepts. Although the theurgists do not seem to employ the myth of the primal androgyne, even given its fundamental significance for gnostic myth and ritual, it cannot be said that all Gnostics employed it. Nor can it be said that one is anticosmic while the

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64 Cf. the veneration of the visible Jesus in the Valentinian *Gospel of Truth* and *Gospel of Philip*, in the "Carpocratian" Marcellina's worship of Christ's image (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 25.6), and Zostrianos' willing post-ascensional re-adoption and invigoration of his "image" so as to preach the truth (NHC VIII,*1*: 130:5-9). Indeed, according to the *Gospel of Philip* (77,2-6), "the holy person is completely holy, even including his body. Taking up bread, he makes it holy, as also the cup or anything else that he takes up and sanctifies. Then how will he not sanctify the body too?" To be sure, one can find anti-cosmic passages, particularly in the earlier Sethian texts, yet in this corpus one also finds Marsanes at the conclusion of his ascent saying "<I have come to know> in detail the entire realm of incorporeal being, and <I> have come to know the intelligible world. <I have come to know>, while deliberating, that in every respect the sense-perceptible world is [worthy] of being saved entirely" (NHC X,*1*: 5,19-26). The demiurgic activity of the divine Autogenes in *Allogenes* (NHC XI,*3*: 51,25-35), by which he rectifies the defects of nature, likewise affirms the value of the cosmos without overlooking its problematic nature (which Platonists, including theurgists like Iamblichus, also recognized). Late Sethian ritual, such as the sexual rites of the Borborites, is ambiguous: on the one hand, the unrestrained practice of intercourse seems affirmative of bodily existence, yet the practice of *coitus interruptus* and consuming the aborted and mangled bodies of accidentally conceived fetuses is certainly a denial of the value of bodily life. Real contempt for the body arises mostly in the encratite movement with which Judas the Twin was associated; witness the uncompromising hatred of the body and its natural passions in the *Book of Thomas the Contender*: "Woe to you who love intimacy with womankind and polluted intercourse with them! Woe to you in the grip of your bodily faculties, for they will afflict you! Woe to you in the grip of the evil demons! Woe to you who beguile your limbs in the fire!" (NHC II,7: 144,91-4). And yet the underlying core of this text is an *epitome* of Plato's teaching on the transmigration of the soul gathered principally from the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Republic*, and *Timaeus* that has undergone a radical encratite reworking. Persons of this stripe would have no truck with Platonic theurgists who sought to embody the demiurgic powers of nature through ritual means. Any hint of cosmic sympathies and affinities would be attributed by them to demonic forces; theirs was a dualism of absolute opposition, not mimetic dependence.

other is procosmic, or that one is individualistic and noetic while the other is communal and dependent on revelation, or that the one is self-actualized while the other is divinely initiated.

As stated in the introduction, it may be taken that theurgy is a ritual practice in which embodied souls were brought into a sympathetic resonance with the divine *Logoi* that informed the natural world and that these divine powers were invoked to enter the phenomenal world in order to reveal their divine source. And yet, apart from an appeal to a Posidonian doctrine of cosmic *συμπάθεια*, that seems precisely the intent of the invocation of the numerous divine beings, the living water itself, and those who preside over it and the Name, and the receivers, guardians, and purifiers necessary to effectuate the Sethian baptismal rite. Indeed, it remains that ultimate salvation in both outlooks is ultimately a matter of revelation and divine initiative, for at the summit of all ritual and contemplative effort, the Supreme "suddenly" manifests itself, as both Plato and the Gnostics discovered.

Hearing and Seeing but Not Saying: A Look at Revelation 10:4 and 2 Corinthians 12:4

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Interpreters as early as Origen have compared the prohibition in Rev 10:4, "Seal up what the seven thunders have said and do not write it down," with 2 Corinthians 12:4, where Paul tells of someone who "heard things that are not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat." Origen linked the puzzle of Rev 10:4 with the equally vexing enigma of the unutterable utterances of 2 Cor 12:4 and with Mk 4:34. Recognizing the allusion to Ezek 2:8-3:3 in Rev 10:8-11, he arrived at the following reading:

> Ezekiel receives a roll of a book with writing within and without, in which there was mourning, lamentation, and woe; and when the Word commanded him he ate the book lest he should write it down and betray its contents to people who were unworthy. John is also recorded to have seen and done a similar thing. Moreover, Paul heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a human being to utter. Jesus, who was superior to all these men, is said to have spoken the Word of God to his disciples privately, and especially in places of retreat. But what he said has not been recorded. . . .

John teaches us the difference between matters that may and that may not be written down when he says that he heard seven thunders teaching him about certain subjects, and forbidding him to commit their words to writing.[1]

While subsequent interpreters have not accepted Origen's suggestion that Ezekiel's consumption of the scroll served to safeguard the contents of the scroll from unworthy eyes,[2] the link he drew between Rev 10:4 and 2 Cor 12:4 has remained intriguing. In this study I will neither presuppose nor demonstrate any literary interdependency between Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12:1-10, and I do not intend to suggest that both texts reflect a common underlying source.[3]

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1 *Contra Celsum* 6:6. Translation adapted from that by Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965). Also see Origen, *In Ioannis Evangelium* 13:5, where Rev 10:4 and 2 Cor 12:4 are brought to bear on Jn 21:25.

2 See E. F. Davis, *Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy* (Bible and Literature Series, 21; Sheffield: Almond, 1989).

3 The background and context of 2 Cor 12 have been the focus of extensive study. See, for example, J. W. Bowker, "'Merkabah' Visions and the Visions of Paul," *JSS* 16 (1971) 157-

I will seek to understand the prohibition in Rev 10:4 by reading it side by side with 2 Cor 12:4, insisting on this undertaking despite Jürgen Roloff's dismissive verdict that "It is too simple to see an analogy here with the heavenly visions that were imparted to Paul and whose contents he consciously set aside from his preaching to the churches as religious encounters that concerned him only in a very personal way."[4] André Feuillet leaves the door to a juxtaposition of Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12:1-10 just barely open, clarifying Rev 10:4 by pointing to Dan 8:26 and Rev 22:10 with the claim that

> The sense of these two texts is so clear that it should be unnecessary to look any farther for the sense of our passage. The idea of the communication of heavenly messages which must not be revealed until a long time after they are read, and to be kept secret in the meanwhile, is a common feature of the Apocalyptic literature in general. Commentators of this passage have often suggested some sort of divine revelation of a particularly unspeakable nature, such as those which St. Paul describes in 2 Cor. XII:4. We would not wish to exclude this last explanation . . . given the fact that John, unlike Daniel, is commanded not to seal what has been written, but to seal and not to write.[5]

I want to pry the door just a bit further open than Feuillet leaves it, allowing movement in both directions by suggesting that the grounds for studying Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12:1-10 side by side are more substantial than the secrecy motif and Paul's use of *apokalypsis* in 2 Cor 12:1, 7.[6] It may be worth noting that while interpreters of Rev 10 occasionally refer to 2 Cor 12:1-10, interpreters of 2 Cor 12 only rarely make any mention of Rev 10. My study will indirectly suggest that this oversight is unfortunate, because a comparison of the two texts also substantially clarifies Paul's argument in 2 Cor 12.

Important studies have already investigated dream, vision and heavenly ascent narratives in the Graeco-Roman context, and in the literature of both Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity.[7] Several more specific studies

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173; H. J. Klauck, "Die Himmelfahrt des Paulus (2 Kor 12,2-4) in der koptischen Paulus-Apokalypse aus Nag Hammadi (NHC V/2)," *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 10 (1985) 151-190; P. Schäfer, "NT and Hekhalot Literature: The Journey into Heaven in Paul and the Merkavah Mysticism," *JJS* 35 (1984) 19-35; J. D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable. Paul's Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic and Early Christian Contexts* (Studies in Judaism; Lanham: University Press of America, 1986).

4 *The Revelation of John* (Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 124.

5 "The Value of the Apocalypse for the Solution of the Eschatological Problem," in *Johannine Studies* (Staten Island: Alba House, 1965) 219.

6 Thanks to Michael F. Hull, whose insightful suggestions prompted me to investigate these texts more closely.

7 See M. Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature* (Judentum und Umwelt; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984); J. S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980) 1395-1427; M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish & Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); A. F. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980) 1333-94.

have focused on 2 Cor 12.[8] With that in mind, this paper has limited goals and advances modest claims, also hoping to steer clear of the peril of what Samuel Sandmel called "parallelomania."[9] Gershom Scholem yielded to this temptation, comparing 2 Cor 12:1-4 with the story of the four rabbis in *pardes*, a comparison judged methodologically inconsistent by Peter Schäfer.[10]

Hoping to avoid this danger and others that might arise from embarking on a comparative study in the strict sense, I prefer to identify what follows as a juxtapositional study. It will proceed according to the following itinerary. After presenting a broad overview of the context and organization of Rev 10 and then of 2 Cor 12:1-10, I will offer a series of three progressive juxtapositions: (1) knowing and not telling; (2) the scroll and the thorn; (3) contests of authority in context. At each point I will present material from Rev 10 and then from 2 Cor 12:1-10, juxtaposing these texts in order to see what can be teased out at the end.

Reflection on Waldemar Janzen's "Withholding the Word" provided the catalyst that set the present study in motion. Commenting on Jer 42:1-6, Janzen focuses on v.4, the prophet's response to the people's request for prayer. Jeremiah replies, "Very well, I am going to pray to the Lord your God as you request, and whatever the Lord answers you I will tell you; I will keep nothing back from you." Janzen hypothesizes that these words of reassurance reflect a "century-old tension between prophet and community" and that "In this tension the prophet's strength lay solely in the access to the divine word, and to pronounce it or to withhold it was the only leverage he could exert."[11]

Both Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12 present tensions between disclosure and non-disclosure: the narrator withholds information he has received during an ecstatic audition and informs the audience in writing that he knows more

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8 See J. D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic and Early Christian Contexts* (Studies in Judaism; Lanham: University Press of America, 1986). Also see "Die Himmelfahrt des Paulus (2 Kor 12,2-4) in der koptischen Paulus-Apokalypse aus Nag Hammadi (NHC V/2)," *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 10 (1985) 151-190; and B. H. Young, "The Ascension Motif of 2 Corinthians 12 in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Texts," *GTJ* 9 (1988) 73-103. In *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to his Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 71-86, A. T. Lincoln devotes a section of his chapter on 2 Corinthians to the third heaven in 2 Cor 12.

9 "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13.

10 G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd. rev. ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965) 14-19; P. Schäfer, "New Testament and Hekhalot Literature: The Journey into Heaven in Paul and in Merkavah Mysticism," *JJS* 35 (1984) 19-35. Like Scholem, J. W. Bowker ("'Merkabah' Visions and the Visions of Paul," *JSS* 16 [1971] 57-73) is drawn too easily into comparisons of Paul's visions with rabbinical materials.

11 "Withholding the Word," in *Traditions in Transition: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (eds. B. Halpern and J. D. Levenson; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981) 100.

than he is permitted to divulge.[12] Much effort has been expended in satisfying scholarly curiosity over what the seven thunders might have said in Rev 10:3 and just which things are "not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat" in 2 Cor 12:4, yet little has been made of these texts as expressions of the connection between narrative control and rhetorical strategy. I will propose that, in different ways, the apostle Paul and the prophet John exploit the tension between disclosure and non-disclosure of heavenly information to reassert their authority in crisis situations where they perceive threats to that authority. In response to such dangers, the restriction of access to information is an exercise of the power which Paul claims as an apostle and which John claims as a prophet.

In both texts, disclosure follows nondisclosure. John is forbidden to write what the seven thunders said, yet he must then take the open scroll from the angel's hand, swallow it and embody its contents in prophetic proclamation. Paul stands under the prohibition to reveal the *arrēta rēmata* but receives instead the *skolops tę̄ sarki* by which he is enabled to pronounce a more appropriately apostolic proclamation of Christ's power perfected in weakness.

Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12:1-10 in Context

Revelation 10

Formally, Rev 10 is commonly understood as a prophetic commissioning or recommissioning scene. With Rev 11:1-14, it falls between the sounding of the sixth trumpet (9:13-21) and the seventh trumpet (11:15-19), constituting the second of three so-called intercalations (7:1-17; 10:1-11:14; 12:1-14:20).[13] In addition, Rev 10:1-11:13 falls between the announcement in 9:12, "The first woe has passed. There are still two woes to come" and the announcement in 11:14 that the second woe has passed and that the third is imminent.[14] What follows Rev 10 is the symbolic measuring of the sanctuary (11:1-2) and a narration of the activity and the fate of the two prophetic witnesses (11:3-13), a description which maintains a thread of thematic continuity with the order John receives in 10:11 to "prophesy again about many peoples and nations and languages and kings."[15]

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[12] Such literary tensions between disclosure and nondisclosure are by no means confined to biblical literature. In Apuleius' *The Golden Ass* (XI, 23), Lucius only reluctantly provides partial satisfaction for readers curious to know what transpired and what he saw during his initiation in the temple. Lucius then requires that his readers hold the disclosure in confidence: "*Ecce tibi retuli quae, quamvis audita, ignores tamen necesse est: ergo quod solum potest sine piaculo ad profanorum intelligentias enuntiari, referam.*"

[13] See J. Lambrecht, "A Structuration of Revelation 4, 1-22, 5," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. Lambrecht; BETL 53; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1980) 95-99. I agree with C. H. Giblin, who contends that the first two intercalations are better understood as enlargements of the sixth seal and the sixth trumpet, not interludes or intercalations (*The Book of Revelation: The Open Book of Prophecy* [GNS 34; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991] 90, 108).

[14] See U. Vanni, *La struttura letteraria dell'Apocalisse* (Aloisiana 8a; Brescia: Morcelliana, 1980) 131-133; Giblin, *Revelation*, 116-117.

[15] On Rev 11, see C. H. Giblin, "Revelation 11.1-13: Its Form, Function and Contextual Integration" *NTS* 30 (1984) 433-459. E. Lohmeyer is among those who maintain that Rev

As a commissioning scene, Rev 10 builds on the inaugural vision of 1:9-20 and introduces a new element, an open scroll in the hand of a mighty angel (10:2) which is mentioned again in 10:8 and once again in 10:9-10.[16] Mention of a scroll links this chapter with the seven-sealed scroll in Rev 5, a scroll which is progressively unsealed by the Lamb beginning in 6:1. The angelic command to swallow the scroll and John's execution of that order in 10:8-11 recalls Ezek 2:8-3:11, in which the same symbolic gesture forms part of Ezekiel's commissioning vision. The ingestion of this document underscores and amplifies the command John receives from the risen Christ during his inaugural vision: "Write in a book what you see and send it to the seven churches" (1:11).[17]

Rev 10 falls fairly neatly into three sections: vv. 1-4, 5-7 and 8-11. Verses 1-4 introduce the vision of a powerful angel's descent from heaven, describing that angel's appearance (v. 1) and his position straddling land and sea (v. 2). The seer mentions the open scroll in the angel's right hand without further comment on its significance, moving quickly to mention the angel's outcry like a lion's roar (v. 3). The voice of the seven thunders follows (v. 3), with the seer's attempt to record this audition and the double imperative pronounced by a heavenly voice demanding that the seer seal up what the seven thunders said and not write it down (v. 4).

The angel of 10:1 is reintroduced in v. 5, a reintroduction which repeats the earlier description of the angel's position. This angel's solemn oath (v. 6) looks ahead to the seventh trumpet and, with an allusion to Amos 3:7, declares God's announcement of the divine *mysterion* to the prophets. It is significant that the second (10:5-7) and third (10:8-11) sections conclude with references to prophecy, the second focusing on the prophets as privileged recipients of divine disclosures (10:7) and the third focusing on John's prophetic activity.

In 10:8-11, the heavenly voice of v. 4 is reintroduced with specific reference to its previous hearing. In v. 8 the narrator tells us, "the voice I heard from heaven spoke to me again." Once again a two part imperative is issued: the heavenly voice commands the seer to take the scroll from the angel's right hand, and the angel orders the seer to ingest the scroll (v. 9). As he does so, and as the scroll's sweet taste in his mouth gives way to bitterness in his stomach (v. 10), the seer's renewed prophetic obligations are disclosed (v. 11).

2 Corinthians 12:1-10

Despite the notorious difficulties involved in understanding the composition history of Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, nearly all scholars acknowledge a dramatic change in tone from 2 Cor 9 to 2 Cor 10-13, a shift that suggests the original independence of these latter four chapters from the preceding chapters. Regardless of how they address the problem of the literary integrity of 2 Corinthians, most interpreters recognize the integrity of chaps. 10-13 as polemical chapters in which Paul engages in an energetic self-

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11:1-14 presents the contents of the open scroll of Rev 10 (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes* [HNT 16; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1970] 87.

16 The three occurrences of *biblaridion* in Rev 10:2, 9, 10) are the only NT instances of this expression. It is clear that the *biblion* of 10:8 is the same document.

17 See Vanni, *La Struttura*, 134-140.

defense of his apostolic mission against those whom he brands as "false apostles" (2 Cor 11:13).[18] Formally, these chapters can be classified as ironic apology.[19]

2 Cor 12:1-10 must be understood within the context of the "fool's speech," 2 Cor 11:1-12:13, in which Paul sets aside the reticence of chap. 10. There he expresses unwillingness to engage in boastful self-promotion in response to his opponents' claims and justifies this reluctance in 10:17, "Let the one who boasts, boast in the Lord."[20] In 11:1 Paul introduces his change in strategy by asking the indulgence of his readers: "I wish you would bear with me in a little foolishness. Do bear with me!" In 11:16-21 he moves on to establish safe rhetorical distance between the modest Paul of 10:17, who would only boast in the Lord, and a Paul who finds himself compelled to engage in spirited boasting. He does so by playing the fool, and by boasting in character as such to match his opponents' claims with even stronger counterclaims (11:21b-33). The "fool's speech" proper, introduced in 11:1-21a, extends from 11:21b through 12:10. 12:11-13 serves as the conclusion of the "fool's speech" (12:11: "I have been a fool!),[21] and in 12:14-13:10 Paul warns the Corinthians of his imminent return to their city.[22]

As for 2 Cor 12:1-10, Paul's "fool's speech" continues there under a new heading, "I will go on to visions and revelations of the Lord."[23] This pericope itself can be subdivided into two sections, vv.1-4 and 5-10.[24] Each section begins with a mention of boasting: *kauchasthai dei* (v. 1) and *hyper tou toioutou kauchēsomai* (v. 5). Both sections mention revelations: v. 1 *apokalypseis kyriou*; v. 7: *tōn apokalypseōn*.[25] The turn from third person description to the first person

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18 See V. P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984) 30-54; R. P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40; Waco: Word, 1986) xl-lii.

19 On the genre(s) of 2 Cor 10-13, see J. W. McCant, "Paul's Thorn of Rejected Apostleship," *NTS* 34 (1988) 551-52.

20 Furnish suggests that this may be Paul's adaptation of Jer 9:24 (LXX) (*II Corinthians*, 474).

21 Martin (*2 Corinthians*, 430) notes that *gegona afrōn* in 12:11 is the terminus of the inclusion that opens in 11:1 (*afrosynes*).

22 On the organization of 2 Cor 10-13, see Ulrich Heckel, *Kraft in Schwachheit: Untersuchungen zu 2. Kor 10-13* (WUNT 2/56; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1993) 6-50.

23 Against Windisch and Bietenhard, Furnish sides with R. Bultmann and D. Georgi in suggesting that "the absence of articles and the use of the plural indicate only that Paul is taking up a general topic, not that he has numerous and specific *visions and revelations* in mind" (*II Corinthians*, 524).

24 J. A. Crafton follows a different approach, suggests that at this point Paul's fool's speech includes three anecdotes that parody his opponents' strategy: the story of Paul's escape from Damascus as a parody of heroism in battle (11:32-33), a heavenly ascent in which no revelation is received (12:2-4), and in 12:7-9 a failed prayer for miraculous healing (*The Agency of the Apostle: A Dramatistic Analysis of Paul's Responses to Conflict in 2 Corinthians* [JSNTSup 51; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991] 129).

25 The plural is found only here in the NT, whereas Paul uses the singular quite frequently and in several different senses. For example, according to Furnish (*II Corinthians*, 524), it occurs in Rom 2:5; 8:19; 1 Cor 1:7 referring to the manifestation of eschatological events; in Gal 1:12 to refer to the revelation by which Paul received the Gospel; in Gal 2:2 to describe divine instruction regarding his itinerary; and in 1 Cor

singular in 12:5 also marks the distinction between the first section and the second.[26]

Focusing still more closely, commentators who note the parallelism in 2 Cor 12:2-4 come to very different conclusions about its significance. Some have taken the parallel descriptions of heavenly ascent together with the plural *optasias kai apokalypseis kyriou* in v. 1 and the plural *apokalypseōn* in v. 7 as indications that Paul is describing more than one heavenly ascent.[27]

J. D. Tabor suggests that Paul presents a two stage ascent with the third heaven as an intermediate goal and Paradise as its summit.[28] However, most interpreters hold that these verses describe one experience, and that the parallelism can be successfully explained as something other than redundancy.[29]

A. T. Lincoln offers a psychological explanation for the literary parallelism, opining that Paul, reluctant to reveal such an intimately personal experience, "has to repeat himself before he can bring himself to conclude the account."[30] A more likely solution is offered by Josef Zmijewski, who recognizes vv. 2-4 as an instance of synthetic parallelism whereby the second description takes up and advances what is presented in the first description of the same event.[31]

The First Juxtaposition: Knowing and Not Telling

Revelation 10

In the transition from vision to audition that takes place in 10:3, John moves from detailing the mighty angel's appearance and position to a description of the angel's outcry. He writes that the angel's loud cry sounds like a lion's roaring, but fails to indicate whether the angel is saying anything, whether this outcry is articulate speech.[32] This is not the Apocalypse's only comparison of a voice or a loud voice with some imposing sound from the

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14:6, 26 to indicate revelation which took place during the public worship of the Corinthian church.

26 For a review of the various explanations of why Paul uses the third person to describe what commentators agree is a report of personal experience, see Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 543-544.

27 Martin, himself convinced that these verses refer to one experience, lists several patristic commentators (Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus and Tertullian) and several modern authors (Denney, Plummer, Filson, Schlatter) who maintain that Paul presents two separate events here (*2 Corinthians*, 403). An even more complete presentation of the various positions is presented by Heckel, *Kraft in Schwachheit*, 57-58.

28 *Things Unutterable*, 115-121. C. Rowland also holds that Paul presents a two stage ascent (*The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* [London: SPCK, 1982] 381-82).

29 *II Corinthians*, 542. Also see J. Zmijewski, *Der Stil der paulinischen "Narrenrede": Analyse der Sprachgestaltung in 2 Kor 11,1-12,10 als Beitrag zur Methodik von Stiluntersuchungen neutestamentlicher Texte* (BBB 52; Köln-Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1978) 331-335.

30 "'Paul the Visionary:' The Setting and Significance of the Rapture to Paradise in 2 Cor 12:1-10," *NTS* 25 (1978-79) 204-20; also Idem *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 77.

31 Ibid., 335.

32 On the use of *mykatai* in 10:4, see P. Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (CNT 14; Lausanne: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1981) 152.

natural realm. In 1:10, John describes "a loud voice like a trumpet" which addresses him, a voice John turns to face and to recognize as one "like the Son of Man," the risen Christ whose voice is then compared to the sound of many waters in 1:15. John's heavenly ascent in Rev 4 is introduced in v. 1 by a reference to the same voice described according to its first articulation as "the first voice, which I had heard speaking to me like a trumpet."

In Rev 14:1-5, John's vision of the Lamb standing on Mount Zion together with the 144,000 is accompanied by an audition where a triple comparison describes the sound John hears: "I heard a voice from heaven like the sound of many waters and like the sound of loud thunder; the voice I heard was like the sound of harpists playing on their harps." Several chapters earlier, the description of the voice in Rev 6:1 is even closer to what we find in 10:3. There the opening of the first seal is followed by the articulate speech of one of the four living creatures, "calling out, as with a voice of thunder" to summon forth the bow-wielding rider on a white horse.

In the context of Rev 10, then, it would be consistent with what we find elsewhere in the Apocalypse that sounds made by an angel would represent articulate speech, whether or not the contents of that articulation are specified. However, elsewhere in the Apocalypse, *phōnē* is also used to denote inarticulate noise rather than the sound of coherent speech. In several instances, these noises are likened to other and presumably somewhat more familiar sounds. For example, in Rev 9:7 the wings of the locusts unleashed at the sound of the fifth trumpet make a noise like that "of many chariots with horses rushing into battle." It is possible, then, that Rev 10:3 presents a tension between the articulate and the inarticulate, a tension that is highlighted by the distinction between the angelic shout and the utterance of the seven thunders. This ambiguity is underlined by the way in which the auditory sequence is presented: "when he shouted, the seven thunders sounded their voices."[33]

In the Apocalypse, thunder is mentioned in four instances as a member of the formula *astrapai kai phōnai kai brontai* (4:5; 8:5; 11:19; 16:18), a formula that signals theophanies and their effects.[34] The common contention that the sevenfold *qôl YHWH* of Ps 29 furnishes the background for the seven thunders of Rev 10:3 does not simplify matters.[35] While the psalm provides the right number and the right connection between thunder and divine speech, the *qôl YHWH* of the psalm does not *say* anything intelligible. That does not mean this voice is without effect: the thunderous sound has a profound, all-encompassing cosmic impact that manifests the power of its speaker.

What does establish the sound of the seven thunders as articulate speech is their hearer's act of writing down their utterance. Though aborted by the intervention of a heavenly voice in 10:4, this writing can be understood as an instance of the sort of prophetic activity that is called for in 10:11. It might be

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33 To Lohmeyer, the angel's outcry cannot be limited to words because of its divine nature. The angel's shout and the reply of the seven thunders is an ineffable divine dialogue to which only John is privy (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 85).

34 See Vanni, *La Struttura Letteraria*, 141-148; R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993) 199-209; Lambrecht, "A Structuration of Rev 4, 1-22, 5," 93-95.

35 See H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London: Macmillan, 1909) 127-128.

said that an allusion to Amos 3:7-8 frames Rev 10:4, beginning with the comparison of the angel's cry to a lion's roar in Rev 10:3 and concluding with same angel's first articulate utterance in Rev 10:7. If this is so, the seer's action in Rev 10:4a can be understood in the light of Amos 3:8 "The lion has roared; who will not fear? The Lord God has spoken; who can but prophesy?" Let us take this one step further: if John's activity in Rev 10:4a can be understood as appropriate submission to the prophetic impulse, then the prohibition that follows in 10:4b becomes that much more puzzling, since it short-circuits a prophetic undertaking that Rev 1:3, 11 has specifically qualified as a matter of writing, a literary undertaking.

Unannounced, a disembodied heavenly voice interrupts John's writing of the utterance by the seven thunders. The voice pronounces a twofold prohibition: *sphragison ha elalēsan hai hepta brontai, kai mē auta grapsēs.* Ugo Vanni points out that the two imperatives are not synonymous: the first, *sphragison,* implies that something has already been written; the second, *mē grapsēs,* forbids writing.[36] The order to seal up what the seven thunders said reflects Dan 12:4, "But you, Daniel, keep the words secret and the book sealed until the time of the end." As Roloff points out, this is an instance of a motif common in the apocalyptic literature: the visionary seals the written disclosure of the divine plan in order to conceal it in the present and to preserve it intact for the eschatological generation to read.[37]

Rev 22:10 takes up this apocalyptic motif: the order not to seal up the "the prophetic words of this book" is explained, "for the time is near." The command to leave the book unsealed indicates the proximity of the end time, a proximity proclaimed from the very beginning of the Apocalypse (1:3).

From 6:1 to 8:1, the unsealing of the seven-sealed scroll introduced in 5:1 indicates the progressive movement towards that goal. The seven-sealed scroll is described in 5:1 as *gegrammenon esōthen kai opisthen* and the "prophetic words" in 22:10 have already been written in "this book." Yet, in the case of Rev 10:4, H. B. Swete notes that in Rev 10:4, "the application of the metaphor to unwritten utterances is a bold innovation."[38]

G. R. Beasley-Murray minimizes the impact of this innovation, arguing that while *sphragison* should mean "Don't make known what you have written," in the context of Rev 10 it means "Don't reveal what you have heard."[39] A closer look at seals and sealing in the Apocalypse suggests that this suggestion is at least slightly overcasual. The noun *sphragis* and the verb *sphragizō* appear in connection with written documents that are to be unsealed or sealed, and with reference to the marking of the faithful with "the seal of the living God" (7:2). This feature of the Apocalypse's symbolic grammar

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36 *La Struttura Letteraria,* 137-138. Here Vanni takes issue with W. Bousset, who argued that the two imperatives function all but synonmously here (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes* [MeyerK 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906] 309). R. H. Charles, while recognizing that *sphragizein* is "a technical apocalyptic term," nevertheless holds that *sphragison* and *me grapses* "are practically synonymous" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920] 1:262).

37 *Revelation,* 124.

38 *The Apocalypse of St. John,* 128.

39 *Revelation* (NCB; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 172.

makes it safe to suggest that the heavenly voice's command in 10:4, *sphragison ha elalēsan hai epta brontai* identifies the utterance of the seven thunders as an intelligible divine pronouncement. In contrast to the divine seal that marks the faithful, those who belong to the Beast are distinguished by its mark (*charagma*) on their right hands or foreheads (13:16), imposed by the beast from the land, which is identified in 19:20 as the "false prophet."

Vanni suggests the likelihood that the aorist *mē grapsēs*, the second part of the voice's command in 10:4, has a punctual sense, "do not write (for the moment)." To Vanni, this indicates that the seer is to remember what he has heard (sealing it securely in his memory) in order to communicate it at the appropriate moment in the future.[40] This understanding is reinforced by the connection between Rev 10:4 and the eschatological sealing motif of Dan 12:4.[41] According to Rev 10:7, the appropriate eschatological moment during which prophetic transmission of the divine *mystērion* is called for will come with the sound of the seventh angel's trumpet.[42]

All of this frames the question of the purpose and place in Rev 10 of the angelic shout, the response of the seven thunders and the prohibition against recording that utterance in vv. 3-4. Charles Homer Giblin has proposed that "God's silencing (10:4) the noisy thunders, which replied to the angel's roar (10:3), enables the angel articulately to proclaim (10:6-7) the document which he holds (10:6-7)."[43] This strikes me as somewhat reminiscent of suggestions offered by early twentieth century commentators including W. Bousset and R. H. Charles, according to whom 10:3-4 is something of an interruption.

Bousset believed that the order to seal up the pronouncement of the seven thunders served to justify John's omission of what must have been a well-known septenary sequence.[44] That is based on the view that the presence of the article in 10:3, *hai hepta brontai*, means that the utterance of "the seven thunders" was an extant source with which John's audience would have been familiar. Charles labeled these verses an intermezzo that interrupts the Dan 12-inspired vision of the mighty angel, and that vision resumes in v. 5 with the reintroduction of the angel and the subsequent report of his oath.

Rejecting Bousset's hypothesis, Charles argues that if the aim of the intermezzo were "purely literary," this would suggest that John had stepped aside from his visionary experience to take up the work of an editor. Charles proposes instead that we "treat the statement as a *bona fide* one, and view it in the same light as St. Paul in 2 Cor xii. 4."[45]

It is precisely at this point that we must be especially cautious about falling into the kind of facile comparison of Rev 10:4 and 2 Cor 12:4 that preconceives the "things that are not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat" of 2 Cor

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40 *La Struttura Letteraria*, 138.

41 On this motif in Daniel, see J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993) 341-42, 399; A. Lacocque, *Le Livre de Daniel* (CAT 15b; Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1976) 181.

42 Vanni, *La Struttura Letteraria*, 138.

43 *The Book of Revelation*, 109, n. 85.

44 *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 309. Also see I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John: Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (New York: Macmillan, 1919) 577-78.

45 *Revelation* 1:261-62.

12:4 as matters too sacred to be repeated and as the equivalent of what the seven thunders said.

2 Corinthians 12: 1-10

Paul's rapture into Paradise yields only an audition report: no vision report is provided, in striking contrast to other accounts of heavenly ascent, which contain extensive reports of disclosures are made to the visionary.[46] Further, 2 Cor 12:4 gives no specific account of what was heard, except for the twofold description *arrēta rēmata ha ouk exon anthrōpō lalēsai.* Both peculiarities make sense if 2 Cor 12:1-4 is to be understood in the context of Paul's "fool's speech" as a parody of a heavenly ascent, as H. D. Betz has indicated.[47]

The scanty double designation of what Paul heard warrants a closer look. First, the compound expression, *arrēta rēmata,* is a NT *hapax.* Outside the NT, *arrētos* refers to that which is not to be spoken either because it is beyond human powers or because it is too sacred to be divulged.[48] The second phrase, *ha ouk exon anthrōpō lalēsai,* indicates that the *arrēta rēmata* are neither ineffable nor unintelligible, since they are the object of a prohibition. Whatever they may have been, Paul is forbidden to divulge the unutterable utterances he heard.[49]

Paul's own nondisclosure of the *arrēta rēmata* has not prevented both ancient and more recent readers of 2 Cor 12:1-4 from speculating about what Paul heard and about its significance both as an experience and an account. In antiquity, Irenaeus testified to gnostic conjectures about and elaborations of Paul's heavenly ascent (*Adv. Haer.* II.30.7), of which the Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V/2) is the clearest extant example.[50]

The positions of recent interpreters can be located along two axes, either suggesting Paul's reticent reluctance to share what must have been an intimately personal experience, or else emphasizing the irony of this heavenly ascent narrative in the context of the "fool's speech." Along the first axis of investigation, C. K. Barrett suggests that, "far from cultivating this kind of experience," Paul "rather disparaged it, and laid no weight on it in his exposition and defence of the Gospel."[51] Noting that comments like Barrett's are typical of the majority opinion, Tabor champions a different view, denying that Paul disparaged ecstatic experience and contending instead, "his recounting of his ascent to heaven is his way of affirming in the boldest

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46 See Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven,* 72-94; Rowland, *The Open Heaven,* 75-189, "The Content of the Heavenly Mysteries;" M. E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, & P. D. Miller, Jr.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 414-452.

47 *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu seiner "Apologie" 2 Korinther 10-13* (BHT 45; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1972) 84-92.

48 *BAGD,* s.v. *arrētos.* Also R. P. Spittler, "The Limits of Ecstasy: An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians 12:1-10," in *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation* (ed. G. F. Hawthorne; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 263-64; Tabor, *Things Unutterable,* 122.

49 See Martin, *2 Corinthians,* 405-406.

50 See Klauck, "Die Himmelfahrt des Paulus;" Young, "The Ascension Motif," 95-99.

51 *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1973) 34.

possible manner that he is one commended by the Lord."[52] In a somewhat similar vein, Martin writes "Though we may come away somewhat frustrated and disappointed at the lack of information given here . . . perhaps Calvin's dictum is right in that this experience was 'to strengthen Paul by special means that he might not give way, but might persevere undaunted.'"[53]

Along a second axis, Betz holds that the heavenly ascent narrative belongs entirely to the role of the boasting fool which Paul takes on here for the sake of the argument against his opponents. To Betz, this leaves open the question of whether 2 Cor 12:1-4 actually represents an incident in Paul's own life.[54] The emphasis Betz has placed on situating the argument of 2 Cor 12:1-4 in the context of Paul's argument in 2 Cor 10-13 represents a fundamental reorientation of attention from historical and biographical concerns to rhetorical and literary questions. More typically, historical critical efforts had been directed toward unearthing the autobiographical substratum of this heavenly ascent narrative, seeking to establish the precise reference of details like "fourteen years ago" in 12:2 and searching for some correlation of this account either with the descriptions of Paul visionary experience in Acts (especially the accounts in Acts 9; 22; 26 of the Damascus road experience), or with the autobiographical material in Gal 1-2 and 1 Cor 15.[55]

The Second Juxtaposition: A Scroll and a Thorn

Revelation 10

Commands are addressed to the visionary in two closely interrelated instances, the first negative and the second positive. The first is the order pronounced by a heavenly voice in 10:4 to seal up what the seven thunders said, to refrain from writing down their pronouncement. In 10:8 the same voice issues another order. It commands John to take the open scroll from the hand of the mighty angel whose descent from heaven was announced in 10:1, whose outcry in 10:3 was followed by the utterance of the seven thunders, and on the basis of whose oath in 10:5-7 the eschatological import of prophetic revelation is made clear. That angel itself addresses John in 10:9, specifying the voice's command in v. 8 by ordering John to ingest the scroll. Once John obeys this command, he experiences the effects the angel warned him to expect: "it was sweet as honey in my mouth, but when I had eaten it, my stomach was made bitter" (10:10). At that point, *both* the angel and the heavenly voice address John, insisting that he prophesy again.[56]

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52 *Things Unutterable*, 38.

53 *2 Corinthians*, 406.

54 *Der Apostel Paulus*, 89.

55 Lincoln, who accuses Betz of going "too far in subordinating content to form" (Lincoln, "Paul the Visionary," 209), himself regards 2 Cor 12 as a "valuable glimpse into the life of Paul the visionary" (Ibid., 204).

56 Swete holds that *legousin* in v. 11 is "the plural of indefinite statement," and so "whether the words come from the heavenly voice (vv. 4, 8) or from the angel (v. 9), or from some unknown source, is not obvious or material" (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, 131). After admitting, "The plural *legousin* is difficult," Charles also suggests that it is a plural of indefinite statement (*The Revelation of St. John*, 1:269). I am more sympathetic to

In Ezek 2:8-3:3, from which Rev 10:8-11 draws its principal metaphor, the scroll which the prophet is to eat "had writing on the front and on the back, and written on it were words of lamentation and mourning and woe" (Ezek 2:10). In Rev 10:2 John tells us that the scroll the angel holds is open, and in v. 8 its openness is mentioned by the heavenly voice that tells John to take it from the angel. Despite this emphasis on the scroll's openness, there is no mention of its contents, and commentators have been quick to seek to fill the gap by supplying what the text does not. Suggestions range from Victorinus' identification of the scroll as the Apocalypse itself, to Feuillet's suggestion that while the scroll of Rev 5 is the Old Testament, the little scroll contains the New Testament.[57] Alongside efforts that correlate the open scroll of Rev 10 with the sealed scroll of Rev 5, others take the diminutive designation of this document as a *biblaridion* (10:2, 9, 10) as an indication of its modest extent.[58] Many have suggested that the contents of the little scroll are disclosed in 11:1-13, while some suspect that the little scroll includes all of Rev 12-22.[59] Richard Bauckham straddles the fence: "11:1-13 contains the revelation of the scroll *in nuce*. Later chapters of Revelation will greatly expand on it, but the central and essential message of the scroll is given most clearly here."[60]

Like the utterance of the seven thunders, the contents of the little scroll remain indeterminate: John refrains from writing what he has heard, and refrains from reading the contents of the scroll he ingests into the Revelation. The tension between disclosure and nondisclosure established in 10:4 persists here. In 10:4 John writes that he has heard what the seven thunders said, that he was about to inscribe their pronouncement, and that he refrained from doing so in obedience to the command of a voice from heaven. John first mentions the open scroll in his description of the angel's appearance in 10:2, just before angel and the seven thunders speak. Then the scroll does not figure any further until vv. 8-11, where he takes it from the angel's hand, swallows it, and experiences the effects about which he had been warned. Thus the mention of the scroll in vv. 2 and 8-11 frames two angelic utterances (the outcry "like a lion's roar" in v. 3 and the oath in vv. 6-7), and the utterance of the seven thunders.

On this basis it might perhaps be concluded that Rev 10 makes the point that eating is more important than writing. That point need not be passed over lightly: I am suggesting that the order to refrain from writing what the seven thunders said is understandable in the light of the subsequent command to ingest the scroll. In other words, John's prophetic attention is redirected from

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Lohmeyer's suggestion that the plural unites the angel and the heavenly voice in a more emphatic pronouncement (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 87). Giblin also recognizes that the plural is significant, for the mention of both voices together focuses attention on the prophetic task they outline in v. 11 (*The Book of Revelation*, 109, 111).

57 Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin* (CSEL 49); Feuillet, "The Value of the Apocalypse," 217-18, 227. So also Sweet, *Revelation*, 176.

58 Also see R. Bergmeier, "Die Buchrolle und das Lamm (Apk 5 und 10)," *ZNW* 76 (1985) 225-42.

59 For example, Charles (*The Revelation of St. John*, 1:269) and Lohmeyer (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 87) hold that the scroll contains chap. 11. Bousset holds that the scroll contains all of chaps. 12-22.

60 *The Climax of Prophecy*, 266.

the seven thunders to the scroll. This suggestion finds support in 10:7, where the angel's oath announces that "in the days when the seventh angel is to blow his trumpet, the mystery of God will be fulfilled, as he announced to his servants the prophets." Prevented from writing by a heavenly voice, John's prophetic activity is rechanneled by the very same voice.

This disclosure answers the nondisclosure of 10:4: By taking and swallowing the scroll in 10:10, John becomes the recipient of the *mystērion tou theou* announced by God to *this* prophet. He is the recipient of this disclosure, not its author, and the manner of its reception guarantees the authority and integrity of the disclosure *and* of its prophetic vessel. The scroll John swallows is preserved from the sort of tampering against which 22:18-19 guards the Apocalypse, while John and the scroll become indistinguishable. Once swallowed, the scroll is no longer open or accessible: the disclosure or nondisclosure of its contents depends entirely on the prophet who contains it. Once he has swallowed the scroll, John *must* prophesy: *dei se palin prophēteusai* (10:11).

2 Corinthians 12:1-10

Most interpreters hold that 2 Cor 12:1-4, 7-10 refer to two distinct incidents, events which fall under the general heading of *optasias kai apokalypseis kyriou.* For example, we have seen that Betz identifies vv. 1-4 as a parody of a heavenly ascent. Betz likewise identifies vv. 7-10 as a parody of an aretalogy which takes the form of a (failed) healing miracle.[61] It might thus be seen as the third member in a series of foolish boasts which begins with the parody of military victory in 11:32.[62]

Robert Price offers a very different understanding of the relationship between vv. 1-4 and 7-10, contending "that the 'revelations' of verse 7 have a more immediate antecedent, i. e., the 'unutterable utterances' . . . of verse 4. Thus the thorn will have been inflicted in direct connection with the heavenly secrets disclosed to Paul on the particular occasion described in our passage."[63] Price attempts to demonstrate that 2 Cor 12:1-10 portrays a single incident, proposing the following reconstruction:

> Paul finds himself caught up into heaven. There he is treated to ineffable revelations. Waxing proud over his enviable position, Paul suddenly finds himself the object of attack by a punishing demon or angel. Paul appeals thrice to the exalted Lord on the heavenly throne before him, who finally declares that Paul must learn his lesson, i. e., "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness."[64]

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61 "Eine Christus-Aretalogie bei Paulus (2 Kor 12,7-10)," *ZTK* 66 (1969) 288-305.

62 See E. A. Judge, "The Conflict of Educational Aims in New Testament Thought," *Journal of Christian Education* 9 (1966) 44-45.

63 "Punished in Paradise (An Exegetical Theory on II Corinthians 12:1-10)," *JSNT* 7 (1980) 35.

64 Ibid, 37.

Even Price admits, "This picture may seem to some readers a bit too outlandish to be plausible."[65] Yet the effort to salvage some connection between vv. 1-4 and 7-10 may actually be worth exploring. That is because we can identify at least four features which establish a literary bridge between the two sections of 2 Cor 12:1-10, whether or not Paul is referring to a single experience. This remains possible despite Jerry McCant's observation that "Making a transition from the rapture story (12. 1-5) to the thorn in the flesh (12. 7-10) is difficult because of text-critical and stylistic problems in v. 6."[66] The four "bridge" features are:

(1) the reference to boasting in v. 1, in vv. 5-6 (transition) and in v. 9;
(2) the mention of revelations in v. 1 and in v. 7;
(3) the mention of the Lord in v. 1 and in v. 8;
(4) the mention of Christ in v. 2 and in vv. 9-10.

Using these four features, Paul establishes a consistent argument by carrying vocabulary introduced in vv. 1-4 into vv. 7-10. The careful transition from the third person to the first person in v. 5 helps to confirm this. While Price's conclusion that 2 Cor 12:1-10 presents one experience is highly unlikely, these features give evidence that the juxtaposition of the two incidents in 2 Cor 12 is not casual, and that it is not merely a matter of cataloguing parodies that counter the boasts of Paul's opponents.

On the contrary, in v. 7 Paul indicates that the *skolops tē sarki* was given *tē hyperbolē tōn apokalypseōn dio hina mē hyperairomai.* He further qualifies the *skolops tē sarki* as *aggelos Satana, hina mē kolaphizē* and repeats the purpose of this affliction, *hina mē hyperairomai.* 12:7 is notoriously difficult, prompting Barrett to write that it "can hardly be in the form that Paul intended it to have, though it may possibly be in the form in which he wrote, or dictated, it."[67] One of the key issues in translating the verse is the question of its connection with the previous verse. on the one hand, Barrett decides that v. 7a should not be attached to v. 6, and offers "what it is perhaps hardly fair to call a translation, but does represent Paul's meaning and uses his words as far as possible," that is "And because the revelations were so marvellous, that I might not be unduly exalted there was given me a thorn in my flesh, and angel of Satan sent to beat me, that I might not be unduly exalted."[68]

Furnish, on the other hand, follows Zmijewski and links vv. 6 and 7a, and offers the following rendering of vv. 6-7:

> For should I wish to boast, I will not be a fool, for I shall be telling the truth. But I am declining to do this, so that no one can credit me with something beyond what one may see me doing or hear from me, specifically, because of the extraordinary character of the revelations. For this reason, that I not be overly exalted, there was given to me a

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65 Ibid. Price's theory is rendered more implausible by its uncritical reliance on Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition.*

66 "Paul's Thorn of Rejected Apostleship," 564. On the text critical and stylistic issues involved, see Furnish, *II Corinthians,* 527-28; and also B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (N.P.: United Bible Societies, 1971) 585.

67 *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* 313.

68 Ibid., 314-15.

thorn in the flesh, an angel of Satan to abuse me, that I not be overly exalted.[69]

This version more adequately links the two portions of Paul's boasting in 12:1-10, clarifying the nondisclosure of the *arrēta rēmata ha ouk exon anthrōpō lalēsai* of 12:4 by redirecting the attention of his audience to the embodied disclosure of Paul's weakness. While the *arrēta rēmata* remained inaccessible, lying "beyond what one may see me doing or hear from me," Paul's weakness was obvious to the Corinthians. Limiting ourselves to evidence of this from chaps. 10-13, in 10:10 we find Paul's quotation of an accusation levelled against him by his opponents at Corinth: "They say, 'His letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible.'"

12:1-10 paradoxically undoes the contradiction of which the "super-apostles" (11:5) accuse him: by refusing to disclose the unutterable utterances, Paul disarms himself, basing the credibility of his apostolate instead on the weakness of which the *skolops tē sarki* is a token. Whatever the "thorn in the flesh may have been," it occasions Paul's insistent prayer for deliverance. That prayer results in the oracular response, "my grace is sufficient for you, because power is made perfect in weakness," (10:9) that leads to the New Testament's archparadox in v. 10b, "When I am weak, then I am strong."[70]

It is also possible that 12:7-10 sheds a different light on the confessions of ignorance in 12:2-3 about whether the heavenly ascent of the "person in Christ" was in the body or out of the body. Paul professes no such uncertainty in 12:7-10, where the *skolops tē sarki* yields knowledge of weakness.[71] Uncertainty about embodiment accompanies the nondisclosure of what was heard during the heavenly ascent, while the insistent torment of the thorn in the flesh yields embodied certainty about the message of the paradoxical power of weakness. Thus 2 Cor 12:1-10 presents more than a juxtaposition of two narratives of extraordinary experience: an ironic contrast is established whereby the humiliation of the thorn in the flesh is revealed to be more important for the apostle than the exaltation of the heavenly ascent.

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69 Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 513, 528; Zmijewski, *Der Stil der paulinischen "Narrenrede"*, 354-55.

70 See the overview of major proposals about the "thorn in the flesh" provided by Furnish (*II Corinthians*, 548-550), and also K. Prümm, *Diakonia Pneumatos. Der zweite Korintherbrief als Zugang zur apostolischen Botschaft. Auslegung und Theologie* (Rome: Herder, 1960-67) 1:660-64. On 12:9-10 see Heckel, *Kraft in Schwachheit*, 112-120, and Heckel's treatment of the resolution of the paradox in 13:3-4 (Ibid., 121-142); G. G. O'Collins, "Power Made Perfect in Weakness: 2 Cor 12:9-10," *CBQ* 33:528-37.

71 See E. Schweizer, "*sarx*," *TDNT* 7:125-135; E. Schweizer & F. Baumgärtel, "*sōma, sōmatikos, syssōmos*," *TDNT* 7:1024-1094. Noting that *sōma* and *sarx* are sometimes equivalent for Paul, Schweizer writes, "In Corinth, Paul came up against a piety in which the chief concern was the spirit . . . In contrast Paul speaks of the body. For him this is in the first instance sheer corporeality and as a close equivalent of *sarx* it can denote the concrete presence of the apostle," as it does in 1 Cor 5:3 and 2 Cor 10:10" (Ibid., 1063).

The Third Juxtaposition: Contests of Authority in Context

Revelation 10

Rev 11:7-10 graphically depicts the ghastly fate of the two prophetic witnesses, "because these two prophets had been a torment to the inhabitants of the earth."[72] In 19:20, the beastly pair first introduced in chap. 13 meet their fate, "thrown alive into the lake of fire that burns with sulfur." One of these, the wonder-working beast from the land which was first introduced in 13:11-18, is identified in 19:20 as "the false prophet."

On the heavenly level and on the earthly level, the Apocalypse involves a duel over authority, and, more specifically, over prophetic authority. In the messages to the seven churches (2:1-3:22) it becomes clear that John's voice is not uncontested. The Ephesian church receives praise from the risen Christ because it "tested those who claim to be apostles and found them to be false" (2:2) The Thyatiran church is criticized by the risen Christ for its tolerance of "that woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophet and is teaching and beguiling my servants to practice fornication and to eat food sacrificed to idols" (2:20).[73]

John employs three key strategies to defend the prophetic authority of the Apocalypse. The first strategy involves the vilification of opponents, using insults drawn mainly from the biblical repertory. For example, John's opponent at Pergamum is labeled "Balaam, who taught Balak to put a stumbling block before the people of Israel, so that they would eat food sacrificed to idols and practice fornication" (2:14).[74] Another opponent at Thyatira is labeled "Jezebel," and is accused of the same offense (2:20).

A second strategy involves John in unmasking the links between his human opponents and God's demonic opponents, and depicting the cosmic battle against God in which they are engaged: "Then I saw the beast and the kings of the earth with their armies gathered to make war against the rider on the horse and his army" (19:19). Just as John's opponents are portrayed as soldiers in the service of demonic powers bound for ultimate defeat, those who side with John are enlisted in the ranks of a heavenly army that is bound for victory.

A third strategy involves John in demonstrating the divine authorization of his own mission and the authority of the text which is its result. This strategy comprises claims in defense of the book itself, including the blessing pronounced on the reader and the audience (1:3), the blessing pronounced on those who heed its prophetic message (22:7), and the curses which threaten those who might add to the book or subtract anything from it (22:18-19). This third strategy also includes John's demonstration of his own divine authorization, and the description of John's specific prophetic portfolio.

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72 On the two prophetic witnesses of 11:3-13, see Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 273-83.

73 See the approach to the messages to the seven churches presented in J.-P. Ruiz, "Betwixt and Between on the Lord's Day: Liturgy and the Apocalypse," *1992 SBLSP*, 666-671.

74 See Prigent, *L'Apocalypse*, 52.

This strategy is deployed from the outset: the Apocalypse's very first verse identifies John as the last link in the chain of transmission of disclosure that moves from God to Christ to his angel, and to "his servant John." This is reconfirmed in Jesus' words to John at the end of the book: "It is I, Jesus, who sent my angel to you with this testimony for the churches" (22:16a). During the inaugural vision (1:9-20), John is twice commanded by the "One like the Son of Man" (1:13) to write what he sees (1:11, 19), and the command to write is repeated at the beginning of each of the seven messages to the churches in Asia (2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14). John's mission is to transcribe the edicts of the risen Jesus to the churches.

If John's job description were to be surmised exclusively from the data furnished in 1:9-3:22, he might be classified more accurately as a scribe or a secretary than as a prophet. In fact, nowhere in the Apocalypse is John himself directly identified as a prophet. By juxtaposing the interrupted transcription of the seven thunders' utterance with the ingestion of the open scroll, Rev 10 might well function to correct the misperception that prophetic activity was exclusively a scribal undertaking.

Such mid-course corrections are not unusual in the Apocalypse: the two occasions on which John attempts to worship an angel (19:10; 22:8-9) provide another example.[75] On both occasions, the angel redirects John's gesture of reverence away from himself and towards God, who is its only appropriate object. That is not all: in both cases the angel identifies himself as John's fellow servant, and in both cases the angel makes reference to prophecy. In 19:10 the angel tells John, "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," linking testimony of/to Jesus to the prophetic spirit. In 22:9, the angel redirects John's worship by clarifying his relationship to

John: "I am a fellow servant with you and with your brothers the prophets, and with those who keep the words of this book." John's gesture of obeisance is inappropriate because he and the angel are of equal dignity as "fellow servants" of God. The angel's reference to "your brothers the prophets," clearly implies that John himself is a prophet, and it follows from 1:1 that the mediation of *apokalypsis* is a task in which both angels and prophets are involved.

As a prophetic commissioning scene, Rev 10 is a definite instance of the third strategy by which the Apocalypse demonstrates and describes the authority of its bearer. When the mighty angel cries out and the seven thunders speak, John sets about the task of writing, clearly established in 1:9-3:22 as the characteristic activity by which his inaugural commission is exercised. Yet John is prevented from transcribing the thunders' voices, and the juxtaposition of that prohibition with the ingestion of the open scroll redefines his prophetic authority. This revision, drawing on Amos 3:7-8, underlines the prophet's privilege as divine confidant, as recipient of the eschatological *mystērion.*

In effect, Rev 10:3-4 decenters the text in order to relocate authority in the person of the prophet. This is striking and surprising in a document that consistently claims its own authority, but not entirely contradictory. The swallowing of the scroll indicates that the authority embodied in the prophet

[75] See Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 120-140.

John is itself inscribed authority. That is true even though the open scroll once ingested can no longer be read. The difference between the absolute nondisclosure of the seven thunders' utterance and the message of the open scroll is that this embodied text remains accessible in the person of the prophet and in his proclamation. However, even that authority is decentered by the distance between the prophet on Patmos and the churches of Asia, a distance that is bridged only by the text of the Apocalypse.

This instance of the third strategy is not undermined by its apparent circularity. The displacement of authority from a text that is never begun (the transcript of the seven thunders' utterance) to a text that is never read but ingested (and which therefore becomes coextensive with the prophet and his activity), with the geographical distance of the prophet from the churches, ultimately serves to validate the text of the Apocalypse as an effective literary link between the churches and the prophet-author. Thus the displacement of authority from a text never begun leads to the conferral of authority on the text of the Apocalypse as the document through which access is granted to the *mystērion tou theou* disclosed to the prophets.

2 Corinthians 12:1-10

Debate over the identity of Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians has drained many an academic inkwell, and there is no reason to add to that excess here.[76] More pertinent for our purposes is the question of how Paul's juxtaposition of the heavenly ascent and the thorn in the flesh in 2 Cor 12:1-10 contributes to the argument he mounts against these opponents. Furnish points out that Paul's strategy involves countering "each of his rivals' claims with claims of his own: (1) he, too, is of Jewish stock (11:22); (2) his career as an apostle distinguishes him as a better minister of Christ than his rivals are (11:23-29); and (3) he himself is no stranger to extraordinary religious experiences (12:1-4)."[77] The added twist in these counterclaims is the role which Paul adopts in stating them. This is not a conventional *synkrisis*, but, as Betz has helped us to understand, a deliberate parody of this Hellenistic rhetorical convention.

This counterstrategy subverts the self-promotion of Paul's opponents, whom he ridicules as "super-apostles" (11:5), according to the exaggeration of their claims, to expose them as "false apostles" (11:13). In the epilogue to the "fool's speech," Paul restates his strategy and its purpose: "I have been a fool! You forced me to it . . . I am not at all inferior to these super-apostles, even though I am nothing. The signs of a true apostle were performed among you with utmost patience, signs and wonders and mighty works" (12:11-12).

Paul's distance from the Corinthian community heightens the credibility gap and threatens to give his opponents on the scene the upper hand. Paul brings that very point to the attention of his readers in 10:10 by repeating the charge that the boldness of his letters is undermined by the weakness of his bodily presence. The juxtaposed incidents of 12:1-10 are key elements of Paul's response to this charge.

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76 See the treatment in Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 48-54.

77 Ibid., 532.

Recalling Janzen's remarks concerning the leverage a prophet could exert by pronouncing or withholding the word to which he had exclusive access, something analogous might be said of the apostle Paul's strategy in 2 Cor 12. Whereas a vividly detailed report of heavenly ascent might have been put to powerful use in a bold letter, Paul provides the emphatic opposite of such a report. He distances himself from the incident in time (v. 2, "fourteen years ago"), and in the repeated confession of ignorance as to whether or not the rapture was bodily.[78] The third-person account of the rapture into paradise yields no vision report, and the audition report is a hollow nondisclosure. This is not a matter of protecting the privacy of an intimate religious experience. If it were, Paul might well have omitted the report altogether. The apostle reclaims the power of written communication by withholding information to which he had access (the unutterable utterances) and by boasting in writing of the thorn in the flesh, the embodied *semeion* of the weakness that is a paradoxical authenticating mark of his apostleship. Far from denying the weakness of his bodily presence, Paul capitalizes on it.

Conclusions: Beyond Juxtaposition

If I have tested my reader's patience with a series of jarring juxtapositions, it is because I have sought to suggest that placing Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12 side by side allows us to attend to significant juxtapositions *within* these texts. In Rev 10, the unwritten utterance of the seven thunders is juxtaposed with the swallowed scroll; in 2 Cor 12:1-10 the unutterable utterances are set beside the thorn in the flesh. We find more than juxtaposition: both texts present carefully articulated contrasts.

By presenting contrasts between what the seven thunders said and the swallowed scroll, and between the unutterable utterances and the thorn in the flesh, Rev 10 and 2 Cor 12 generate tensions between document and author/narrator, tensions that are resolved in favor of the author/narrator. What the seven thunders may have said is immaterial: what does matter is that the scroll-swallower *must* prophecy. What the unutterable utterances may have been is unimportant: what does matter is that Paul *must* boast of his weakness. Moving one step further, the tensions within these texts reveal tensions between their authors and their addressees. John, at a distance from the seven churches of Asia, faces challenges to his prophetic authority on several fronts. Paul, far from the Corinthian community, faces challenges to his apostolic authority. Both authors confront these challenges by subverting the conventions of textuality. John does not write what he heard the seven thunders say, and Paul does not disclose the unutterable utterances that he heard. John eats a document, experiences discomfort, and becomes an embodied prophetic document. Paul, afflicted by the thorn, embodies the weakness that proclaims the power of Christ.

Neither text allows attention to remain focused on the author-prophet or the author-apostle for very long. In both instances, authority is redirected from the narrator to the narration. The shift from the seven thunders to the scroll and

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78 While claiming ignorance on his own part as to whether or not the rapture was bodily, Paul ascribes this knowledge to God, repeating "God knows" in vv. 2 and 3.

from the unutterable utterances to the thorn replaces authority in the text of the Apocalypse and in the text of Paul's letter to the Corinthians. John's defense of his prophetic mission rests on the testimony of the document in which that mission finds expression among the churches in Asia, while Paul's defense of his apostolic mission relies on the proclamation of the power of weakness which takes written form in the text of his correspondence with the Corinthian church.

Population Numbers, Urbanization, and Economics: Galilean Archaeology and the Historical Jesus

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There has been an explosion of interest in Galilee among New Testament scholars in recent years. A renewed interest in the historical Jesus has provided much of the impetus for examining Galilee as the social setting for Jesus' ministry, but considerable credit must be tendered to recent archaeological surveys and excavations in the Galilee. Ever since the Meiron Excavation Project's survey of Galilee and the Golan, the ensuing excavations at villages in the Upper Galilee, and E. Meyers's work on Galilean regionalism, New Testament scholars have attempted to integrate these findings into their reconstructions of the Galilee and its implications for the historical Jesus.[1] It is worth noting that while the method of how to integrate archaeological evidence into literary studies continues to be discussed and debated, the spade has in fact determined the agenda for the book, unlike previous generations: As four excavation teams continue work at Sepphoris and another has begun at Tiberias, New Testament scholars have begun to discuss in earnest the extent and significance of the urbanization of Galilee.[2]

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1 E. Meyers, J. F. Strange, and D. Groh, "The Meiron Excavation Project: Archaeological Survey in Galilee and Golan, 1976," *BASOR* 230 (1976) 1-24; E. Meyers, A. T. Kraabel, and J. F. Strange, *Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Khirbet Shema*, (ASOR 42; Durham: Duke University Press, 1976); E. Meyers, J. F. Strange, and C. Meyers, *Excavations at Ancient Meiron* (Cambridge: ASOR, 1981); E. Meyers and C. Meyers, *Excavations at the Ancient Synagogue of Gush Halav* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990); on E. Meyers's work on Galilean regionalism, see "Galilean Regionalism as a Factor in Historical Reconstruction," *BASOR* 221 (1976) 93-101, "The Cultural Setting of Galilee: The Case of Early Judaism," *ANRW* 2.19.1 (Berlin: Walter DeGruyter, 1979) 686-701, "Galilean Regionalism: A Reappraisal," *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, Vol. V, ed. W. S. Green (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 115-131. On how the results of these excavations have influenced New Testament studies, one need only compare S. Freyne's earlier *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 BCE to 125 CE: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1980) with his later *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988).

2 J. A. Overman, "Who Were the First Urban Christians? Urbanization in Galilee in the First Century," *SBL 1988 Seminar Papers*, ed. D. J. Lull (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 160-168; D. Edwards, "First Century Urban/Rural Relations in Lower Galilee: Exploring the Archaeological and Literary Evidence," *SBL 1988 Seminar Papers*, 183-199, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of Lower Galilee in the First Century: Implications for the

In the process, numerous voices have sought to characterize the whole Galilee as a highly urbanized area within the Mediterranean world.[3] The use of population numbers in the scheme reveals the climate in studies on the historical Jesus. The case of Capernaum, Jesus' base of operations according to the Gospels, provides a kind of barometer. In spite of the dearth of evidence in the Gospels, the lack of epigraphic sources, the dubious figures given by Josephus, and the complexity involved in estimating an ancient locale's population, scholars have wagered numerous estimates of Capernaum's population in the first century. Capernaum has traditionally been described as a small fishing village of under 1,000 or fewer inhabitants.[4] More recently, however, scholars have been willing to endow Capernaum with a much larger population of between 12,000 and 15,000.[5] Even estimates as high as 25,000 have been entertained.[6] Such inflated figures are now commonly accepted in the scholarly literature, and are cited without evidence or argument.[7]

Given the use of population numbers in scholarly literature, often with forceful rhetorical value, it is appropriate to ask some simple questions: What value are population numbers in determining the ethos of a region or site? Can population numbers in antiquity be determined with accuracy? In what ways can archaeology assist in determining an area's urban character? What does this imply for studies on the historical Jesus?

Nascent Jesus Movement," *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. Levine (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992) 53-73; H. C. Kee, "Early Christianity in the Galilee: Reassessing the Evidence from the Gospels," *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 3-22; S. Freyne, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee: Some Suggestions from the Literary Sources," *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 75-91; J. Strange, "Some Implications of Archaeology for New Testament Studies," *What Has Archaeology to Do with Faith?*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992) 23-59; for an extensive bibliography on the issue of whether or not Jesus visited Sepphoris, see S. Miller, "Sepphoris, the Well Remembered City," *BA* 55 (1992) 74-83.

3 H. C. Kee, "Early Christianity in the Galilee," 3-22; J. A. Overman, "Who Were the First Urban Christians?" 160-168; some recent attempts to accentuate cynic parallels to the historical Jesus have also stressed a more urban Galilean environment, F. G. Downing, *Christ and the Cynics* (JSOT Manuals 4; Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), and "The Social Contexts of Jesus the Teacher: Construction or Reconstruction," *NTS* 33 (1987) 449; B. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993) 51-68.

4 S. Loffreda, *A Visit to Capernaum* (Jerusalem Franciscan Press, 1972) 20; B. Baggati, "Capharnaum," *MB* 27 (1983) 9; J. F. Strange, "Capernaum," *IDBSup* 140.

5 J. F. Strange and E. Meyers, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981) 58.

6 H. C. Kee, "The Import of Archaeological Investigations in Galilee for Scholarly Reassessment of the Gospels" (paper presented at the 1989 meeting of the SBL in Anaheim, CA).

7 Overman, "Who Were the First Urban Christians?" 162. A. J. Saldarini, "The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict in the Galilee," *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 27 n. 9.

Value of Population numbers

While interest in ancient population numbers continues to be discussed in scholarly literature, it is clear that neither epigraphic inscriptions nor literary texts of antiquity had any interest in the *total* population of cities or territories, nor in distinguishing the population of a city from its territory. The well know stone inscription citing the census by P. Sulpicius Quirinius in 6-7 CE cites Syrian Apameia as having 117,000 *free* inhabitants (*CIL* 3 Sup. 6687). This inscription illustrates two problems in using epigraphic evidence for population estimates. First, the census counted only those who were free—it did not include slaves, nor likely children, nor certainly the very poor. Thus P. Harvey, in discussing the epigraphic evidence for population numbers, reminds us of Brecht's dictum, "Die im Dunkeln sieht man nicht," . . . nor did one apparently count them in antiquity.[8] Secondly, the number 117,000 includes both the population of the urban core of Apameia as well as the population of the surrounding villages and territory. The primary purpose of the census in antiquity was for establishing tax rates of a given administrative district, and thus the numbers of the few surviving census reports—none survive for Galilee—reflect the total number of citizens within any given district, and do not distinguish between cities, villages, or rural areas.[9]

In ancient literary texts, population numbers are often stereotypical and grossly exaggerated. Frequently ancient authors invoked multiples of the term myriad simply to describe a large quantity of people, without having exactly 10,000 people in mind.[10] David Hume chastised ancient authors for their fanciful exaggerations as early as 1742: "With regard to remote times, the numbers of people assigned are often ridiculous, and lose all credit and authority."[11] Josephus's figures, the only population estimates of first century Galilee, lack credibility. His general comments on Galilee, that its inhabitants "have always been numerous," and that "the towns are thickly distributed," deserve a fair hearing (*BJ* III.iii.2). But his specific numbers are fanciful

8 P. Harvey, "Calculo de la poblacion de la antigua Roma: Datos, modelos y metodos," *Semana de Estudios Romanos VI* (Instituto de Historia, Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso, 1991) 177. R. P. Duncan-Jones has worked on estimating total population numbers from inscriptions detailing gifts such as the distribution of *sportulae* to its citizens; he multiplies the number of free males on the inscription by a factor of 3.5 to determine the entire population, "City Population in Roman Africa," *JRS* 53 (1963) 85-90 and "Human Numbers in Towns and Town-Organizations of the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Gifts," *Historia* 13 (1964) 199-208.

9 Harvey, "Calculo de la poblacion" 177-179.

10 *BAGD* 529 defines μυριάς, 10,000, as both a literal number and "of a very large number, not exactly defined." On the unreliable use of this term and numbers in general in Josephus, see A. Byatt, "Josephus and Population Numbers in First Century Palestine," *PEQ* 105 (1973) 51; M. Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1980) 6; and S. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979) 201.

11 "Essay XI: Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations," *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* (ed. E. Miller; Indianapolis: Liberty*Classics*, 1985) 422. Hume criticized notions of a superior golden age in antiquity in which the alleged grandeur of Rome (whose population was estimated at over 14,000,000 by Montesquieu!) was contrasted the decadence of the present.

exaggerations. If one takes his numbers literally, that "even the villages," which he numbers at 204 in *Vita* 45, "are all so densely populated that the smallest contains more than 15,000 inhabitants" (*BJ* III.iii.2), then the Galilee must be credited with an absurd 3,000,000 inhabitants![12] While epigraphic sources do not attempt to accurately measure the exact number of all inhabitants, literary sources, such as Josephus, are fanciful exaggerations. His concern is not accurate numbers, but is aimed more at self-aggrandizement, in presenting himself, his army, and his nation as a worthy foe for Vespasian, his legions, and Rome.

Moreover, while figures in literary texts from antiquity can not be trusted, discussion of the city in Graeco-Roman literature tended to concentrate on the nature of the *polis*. Population size was certainly not a criterion for a polis.[13] Aristotle was not at all impressed by the size of Babylon's population—it was for him a symbol of elephantiasis rather than civilization—he was concerned with the ideal polis, which in his opinion would have to limit its population.[14] M. I. Finley noted the conceptual difficulty of defining the *polis* from literary sources and how discussions of the *polis* proper tend to become paralyzed by the bewildering variety of administrative definitions, tax distinctions, or philosophical ideals; he therefore suggested that administrative definitions should be ignored "because they are technical matters marginal to a study of the city. . . ."[15]

If literary descriptions of the *polis* are avoided, and one looks instead to archaeology as a means of defining the city in antiquity, then population numbers become important. This is first and foremost because population numbers of sites in antiquity can reasonably be estimated, whereas issues relating to a site's political status and power, or the perception of the site's power by those living in and outside the city, are difficult to determine *from the archaeological record.*[16] Archaeological data can provide numbers from

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12 A. Byatt ("Josephus and Population Numbers," 52) has noted this and other problems in Josephus's numbers. One of his examples: if the smallest village is said to have at least 15,000 inhabitants, then how can the largest village, Japha, have 17,130 inhabitants (*Vita* 45), only 2,130 more?

13 Overman, "Who Were the First Urban Christians," 162: ". . . Some time ago A. Alt determined that more important than the population of a city or region is establishing the apparatus and institutions that such a center might possess (A. Alt, "Galiläische Probleme," *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte Des Volkes Israel,* Band II (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche, 1953) 384ff)."

14 Cited in M. I. Finley, "The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (1977) 305. After surveying and examining the number, size, and function of *poleis* in the Graeco-Roman world, N. Pounds concluded that most *poleis* were, in terms of population, surprisingly small, most having populations under 4,000 inhabitants (N. Pounds, "The Urbanization of the Classical World," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59 (1969) 143, 153.

15 Finley, "The Ancient City," 305-306.

16 Overman suggests that "the designation *city* has mostly to do with power, whether economic, political, or symbolic" ("Recent Advances in the Archaeology of the Galilee in the Roman Period," *Currents in Research* 1 (1993) 47-48). It is difficult to discuss, from the archaeological record, the issue of power, although J. Strange has addressed this issue in terms of the semiotics of architecture, "Some Implications of Archaeology for New Testament Studies," *What Has Archaeology to Do with Faith?,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W.

different sites, and these numbers can be compared, and the impact of relatively high population centers on the rural areas can be investigated. If population numbers are accepted as a primary descriptive category in a model for the city in antiquity, then the relationship between the city and country can also be examined in terms of how much of the agricultural and manufactured products from the country were consumed by the city.

Placing importance on population numbers as a descriptive category whereby sites in the Galilee can be compared is motivated primarily by a practical reason—sites can be measured and partially excavated by archaeologists, and their populations can be estimated. Nevertheless, this approach does, in many ways, approximate Finley's model of the ancient city as "the consumer city."[17] In this model, the ancient city is closely tied to agriculture, a point illustrated by the geographer Strabo when he "promised (4.1.5 and elsewhere) that the newly conquered western and northern barbarians would become civilized as soon as they settled down to agriculture and therefore to urban life."[18] In this model, the fact that the city's population fed off the countryside's agricultural supply is stressed, and that the city's architectural features were made possible by the countryside's products is acknowledged. Hence in addition to gauging a site's population, the degree to which the site invested the income derived from the land in its public buildings need also be considered. Defining the city in this way ideally suits the archaeological method, which, in addition to estimating populations, can examine the presence and quality of public buildings: government buildings, theaters, *agorai*, fountains, *horrea*, aqueducts, temples, walls, gates, colonnaded streets, and courts. It must be noted, however, that viewing the city as a consumer does not necessarily imply a parasitic relationship—the city functioned also as a market for the surrounding rural areas.[19]

P. Weaver (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992) 31-41. I prefer to heighten the importance of population size and discuss the level of "consumption" of a city, which can be more reasonably established for sites from the archaeological record.

17 M. I. Finley, "The Ancient City," see also, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 123-149. See also Pounds, "The Urbanization of the Classical World," and P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) 26-40. For a recent and failed attempt to overturn the consumer city model, see D. Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) and the scathing review by R. Saller in *Classical Philology* 86 (1991) 351-358.

18 M. I. Finley, "The Ancient City," 305-327.

19 K. Hopkins, "Economic Growth in Towns in Classical Antiquity," *Towns and Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, eds. P. Abrams and E. A. Wigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 35-77. K. Hopkins represents the most radical end of the spectrum of those following the so-called "new orthodoxy" on the ancient economy founded by A. H. M. Jones and M. I. Finley. He agrees with the basic notion of the consumer city, but notes that: "the ideal type of the consumer city has much to recommend it; . . . providing we realize that in reality, ancient towns also served other functions: they were administrative centers, they were garrison towns, they were centers of exchange both between towns and regions, and between townsmen and the surrounding country side." D. Edwards has adopted this aspect of the consumer city stressing a high level of trade and exchange between rural and urban areas, see his, "First Century Urban/Rural Relations in Lower Galilee," and "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of Lower Galilee." See also D. Adan-Bayewitz and I. Perlman "The Local

Population Numbers in the Galilee: Capernaum

The best way to determine an ancient town's population is by examining the extent of its ruins and the density of living quarters. Many archaeologists and ethnographers have noted the direct correlation between population and settlement area.[20] Population estimates can be made by multiplying the number of hectares of a site by an approximate number of people per hectare. This was the technique used to arrive at a population of between 12,000 and 15,000 for Capernaum. It relied on an earlier description of the ruins by Captain Wilson of the British Army, who in 1871 reported that: "The whole area, half a mile in length by a quarter in breadth [750 by 375 meters] was thickly covered with the ruined walls of private houses . . . ."[21] If this report is taken literally, then Capernaum's area was 30 hectares. Multiplying the area by a coefficient of 400 to 500 persons per hectare, the population can be estimated at between 12,000 and 15,000 inhabitants.[22] Two variables however, need to be scrutinized: the extent of the site's ruins, and the type and density of living quarters.

The southern extent of the site's ruins is easily defined by the lake, and the maximum northern extent is determined by a *mausoleum* containing several Roman *sarcophagi.* Although there is reason to believe that the level of the lake was lower in antiquity, the remains of an ancient promenade establish a precise boundary to the south. The promenade is also of help in determining the eastern and western boundaries of Capernaum. The harbor facilities

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Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period," *IEJ* 40 (1990) 153-172. From preliminary discussions, one should anticipate that E. Lapp's dissertation still in progress at Duke University under E. Meyers on Palestinian and Galilean lamps will confirm this outlook as well; Meyers, "Jesus in His Galilean Context," Endowment for Biblical Research Lecture (Washington, November 21, 1993) typescript, 15-16.

20 The basic correlation between population size and settlement area has been demonstrated by various studies. See W. Sumner, "Estimating Population by Analogy: An Example," *Ethnoarchaeology: Implications of Ethnography for Archaeology*, ed. Carol Kramer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 168; Pounds, "The Urbanization of the Classical World"; R. Schacht, "Estimating Past Population Trends," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 10 (1981) 124-131. D. W. Read, "Towards a Formal Theory of Population Size and Area of Habitation," *Current Anthropology* 19 (1978) 312-317; Y. Shiloh, "The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of a Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas, and Population Density," *BASOR* 239 (1980), 25-35. I have examined the applicability of other means of estimating Capernaum's population in "The Population of Capernaum," *Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity 24* (Claremont, 1992) 4-9.

21 Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis and Early Christianity*, 58. They cite Capt. R. E. Wilson and Capt. R. E. Warren's *Recovery of Jerusalem: A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1871), 269, see also 345.

22 The coefficient of 400 to 500 is not explicitly stated in Strange and Meyers. It is given by M. Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine," 1. But Broshi stresses that "this figure represents the maximum density in built-up areas" (1). Furthermore, in his calculations Broshi deduces one quarter of the area to account for "public and open spaces" (5). Y. Shiloh sets an extraordinarily high coefficient of 400 to 500 for the Iron Age walled cities in Israel ("The Population of Iron Age Palestine," 30).

connected to the promenade extend some 800 meters along the shore.[23] Two important questions are whether or not the limits of Capernaum coincided with the entire harbor strip, and whether or not the current remains of the harbor strip were in use in their entirety during the first century. Both questions must be answered negatively. The ruins of Capernaum are visibly shorter than the harbor facilities.[24] Furthermore, the easternmost portion of the ruins do not antedate the 7th century CE.[25] Excavations on the Greek Orthodox property under the direction of V. Tzaferis have determined that Capernaum's center shifted eastward during the seventh century CE After the Persian conquest and Byzantine re-conquest of Palestine "a new town of entirely different plan was constructed, east of the earlier town. . . . Capernaum of the 7th century AD lay mostly in previously unsettled areas spreading north and east of the synagogue area."[26] The northernmost and easternmost areas, built-up during a later period, can not therefore be included in estimates of the population of *first century* Capernaum. The settled area prior to the Persian conquest is "limited to a short, narrow strip" along the sea measuring no more than 350 by 500 meters.[27] Thus the *maximum* area occupied by first century Capernaum is 17 hectares (350 m x 500 m).

Determining the density of living quarters in Capernaum during the first century is more difficult than determining the area covered by its ancient ruins. Population density in antiquity rests on the assumption that the human numbers correspond to the material remains. Certainty is elusive, since some houses might have been abandoned, or some rooms unused, while other houses might have been overcrowded, with family members sleeping in the courtyards. Certainty is also elusive because excavators have only recovered a fraction of first century Capernaum—much of it having vanished as the inhabitants of later periods renovated and rebuilt earlier structures.[28]

Since much of first century Capernaum lies either unexcavated or has been, archaeologically speaking, destroyed, help must be sought elsewhere to

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23 M. Nun, *Sea of Galilee: Newly Discovered Harbours from New Testament Days*, Revised Edition (Ein Gev: Kinnereth Sailing, 1989) 25.

24 Nun, *Sea of Galilee*, 26. Captain Wilson makes no claim to accuracy, i.e., he is not reporting on a scientific survey. This should be clear from his estimate of the extent of Chorazin's ruins which he says "cover an area as large, if not larger, than the ruins of Capernaum" (347), and from the repetitive phrase "about a mile" to describe distances.

25 V. Tzaferis, *Excavations at Capernaum, Volume I 1978-1982* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989) 216, see also 2-3, 4 (for Area C), 9 (for Area D).

26 Tzaferis, *Excavations at Capernaum*, 216.

27 Tzaferis, *Excavations at Capernaum*, 216. This is close to the area of 200 m x 500 m given by the various Franciscan authors. And even here one cannot be entirely sure that the entire area was inhabited during the Roman Period.

28 Lack of first century evidence plagues all archaeological research on the historical Jesus in Galilee, see E. Meyers, "Jesus in His Galilean Context," 3.

estimate the density of living quarters.[29] Assistance by analogy can be found in two excavations of ancient towns whose state of preservation permits population estimates of some veracity: Ostia, the port city of ancient Rome at the mouth of the Tiber river, and Pompeii, the Italian city covered by Mount Vesuvius's eruption in 79 CE. Each provides well preserved data for the density of its living quarters. And each has been rather fully excavated. The port city of Ostia was extensively—and rapidly—unearthed between 1938 and 1942 in preparation for a planned international exhibition. Although the Blitzkrieg-like speed of the work destroyed evidence, in Meiggs' words, "the immediate gain of seeing an almost complete ancient city is for the present generation no mean compensation."[30]

Ostia was one of the most densely populated cities in the Roman Empire. Hemmed in by the Tiber and a swamp, the city grew vertically as people were attracted by the opportunities created by the harbor facilities. Apartment buildings, *insulae*, in Ostia often exceeded four stories, but were on average three stories high.[31] Examining the city plan of Ostia *insula* by *insula*, room by room, J. E. Packer determined that the city's population inside the walls did not exceed 25,000.[32] This estimate should be increased slightly to 30,000 for two reasons: Packer assumes that the unexcavated third of Ostia contains the same proportion of living quarters to public buildings—temples, baths, streets, storage magazines, and a forum. But likely the excavators tended to concentrate on and migrate towards public structures. Thus the unexcavated areas probably have a higher ratio of private residences to public spaces. Second, Packer is overly conservative in assigning only one person to each *cubicum*, and a family of four to each shop, even to large shops with mezzanine floors and back rooms. A population of 30,000 within the entire area enclosed by Ostia's walls (69 hectares), renders a population density of 435 persons per hectare.

Pompeii was a much more typical Italian city. Pompeii owed its prosperity to the fertile soil of Campania, the bread basket of Italy. The city grew in semi-regular geometric patterns into an irregular oval shape. The city walls, which by the first century were heavily decorated and fulfilled no defensive purpose,

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29 For this reason, R. Naroll's method for determining a settlement's population cannot be applied to Capernaum, see "Floor Area and Settlement Population," *American Antiquity* 27 (1962) 587-89. He suggests that the ratio of the total number of inhabitants to the total enclosed and roofed living space is 1:10 (i.e. one inhabitant per 10 m^2 of such space). The roofed and enclosed space in first Century Capernaum can not be determined. See Shiloh's criticisms, "The Population of Iron Age Palestine," 27.

30 R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1973) 5.

31 Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 240ff., 533. See also G. Hermansen, *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981) 51 note 27.

32 J. E. Packer, *The Insulae of Imperial Ostia* Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome XXXI (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1971) 70. On my reasons for adjusting these numbers, see "The Population of Capernaum," 13 n. 35. For an even lower estimate, see G. Reed Storey, "Preindustrial Urban Demography: The Ancient Roman Evidence," (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1992), 402-411.

enclosed an area of 64 hectares.[33] In contrast to Ostia, Nero's new-style architecture of multi-storied apartments (*insulae*) had made little headway in Pompeii: the houses and shops were mostly single or double storied.[34] The vertical urge to accommodate growth in Pompeii was modest. In Grant's words, it was done in "piecemeal fashion," with staircases and upper rooms added unobtrusively to a house's overall plan; the tendency was rather "for large old houses to be split up."[35] Rooms facing the street were turned into shops, and mansions were often split into multi-family dwellings. Recent estimates based on dwelling space suggest a population between 8,000 and 10,000 for Pompeii.[36] A population of this size within Pompeii's walls (64 hectares), renders a population density of 125-156 persons per hectare, considerably lower than in Ostia.

One would expect the population density of Capernaum to be much closer to that of Pompeii than that of Ostia. Like Pompeii, most of Capernaum's dwellings were single story. Most of the extant walls and foundations were crudely made of basalt, and could not have supported a second story.[37] Other houses in Capernaum, analogous to the type found throughout Southern Syria and Northern Galilee, did have a second floor—but certainly not a third, fourth, or fifth as at Ostia. In addition to the courtyard, portions of the ground floor may have been used for stables as well.[38] Unlike either Pompeii or Ostia, there was no city wall to push the population density upward. New buildings could simply be added on the periphery of Capernaum, as was the case during the 7th century CE.

What, then, was its population size at the time of Jesus? The maximum area covered by the ruins of the early Roman Period can not have exceeded 17 hectares. The population density, based on the type and distribution of buildings, could not have exceeded 150 persons per hectare. Therefore the total population of Capernaum at the time of Jesus could not have exceeded 2,550 inhabitants. This would be the highest possible population, and very likely, the population was considerably lower: a population coefficient of around 100

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33 The precise number is uncertain, since on the eastern side the walls were torn down to accommodate new buildings, see M. Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius: Pompeii and Herculaneum* (New York: Penguin, 1971), 53.

34 Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius*, 127,

35 Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius*, 127.

36 H. Escheman, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji* Römische Abteilungen, siebzehntes Ergänzungsheft (Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle, 1970) 60-61. Jongman, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*, 108-112, suggests, on the basis of Pompeii's agricultural territory, that Eschenbach's estimate of 8,000-12,000 is plausible. J. C. Russell estimates, on the basis of similarity between the Pompeian houses and medieval towns which he has extensively studied, that the population density would be 100 persons per hectare in Pompeii, likely too low, since he assumes that the social spectrum for medieval society corresponds to Roman society—one would expect more poor and slaves to have lived outside traceable buildings.

37 V. C. Corbo, "Aspetti urbanistici di Cafarnao," *Liber Annuus* 21 (1971) 272.

38 Tzaferis, *Excavations at Capernaum I*, 217, esp. note 12. H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria, Division II, Section A: Southern Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1907), 120-123.

persons per hectare is much more reasonable. An estimate of 1,700 for the population of Capernaum is most reasonable.[39]

Given this relatively modest population in Capernaum, it is appropriate, within the model of a consumer city, to examine the level to which Capernaum functioned as a center of consumption for the surrounding rural agricultural products, invested its income in public buildings, and served as a market center. An area of just over three by three kilometers would produce enough grain to sustain a population of 1,700.[40] This is an area which could easily be traveled from Capernaum itself, and undoubtedly most of the land needed by the Capernites was worked by them as well. The demand of such of population did not impinge on the agricultural produce of rural areas beyond a three km radius. At the same time, especially since it had an anchorage along the Sea of Galilee, Capernaum would have attracted people outside of this radius to trade, barter, buy and sell produce and commodities.[41] Turning to the architectural features of Capernaum, it is striking how many public features typical of urban life in the Graeco-Roman world were lacking: it had no wall, no aqueduct, no theater, no colonnaded thoroughfares, no administrative complex, no temples. It did, however, have a synagogue, which in a Jewish context functioned as a religious temple as well as a civic building. The harbor facilities and promenade along the lake, however modest, must also be considered public buildings. And there is evidence, at least in later periods, for a market area. But in no way can Capernaum be described as a site that invested a large part of its income—which likely did not amount to much anyhow—in public buildings.

The Populations of Sepphoris and Tiberias

The sites of Sepphoris and Tiberias differ from Capernaum both in respect to population size, and in respect to methodological problems for determining population size. The sheer size, in terms of the area covered by the ruins, vastly exceeds that of Capernaum. Furthermore, unlike Capernaum, both

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39 Tzaferis estimates the population between 1,500 and 2,000, *Excavations at Capernaum I*, 216.

40 My calculations are as follows: The average annual per capita consumption of grain in antiquity was 250 kg. 1,700 people would require 425,000 kg. A good return on 150 kg seed in Galilee would return 850 kg (after setting aside 150 kg for seed). 500 hectares would produce the 425,000 kg of grain necessary for the population of Capernaum. Given a bi-annual fallow, 1,000 hectares total would be needed, an area of just over 3 x 3 km. If half of all produce went towards taxes, an area of still only 4.5 x 4.5 km would be needed. For the "proxy-data" on crop yields in antiquity and Palestine, see A. Ben-David, *Talmudische Ökonomie I* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974) 106; Garnsey and Saller, *The Roman Empire*, 78-82; and J. K. Evans, "Wheat Production and Its Social Consequences in the Roman World," *CQ* 31 (1981), 432f. See also M. Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1980) 7; D. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Question of His Day* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston: Edwin Mellon, 1986) 28.

41 Finley's discussion of village markets to which people came from a 5-6 mile radius comes to mind here, *The Ancient Economy*, 107. R. MacMullen's heuristic "15 mile radius for three quarters of all trade in the Roman Empire" comes to mind here as well, "Market Days in the Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 333.

cities were settled, at various levels throughout history, up to the modern period. Finally, the excavations at both sites have not yet established sufficient probes throughout the site's ruins to determine the extent of the area occupied during the first century.

The area covered by Tiberias, like Capernaum, can be clearly defined on at least one side by the lake. Remains of the wall encompassing the ruins of Tiberias are best preserved from the Byzantine period, and may not accurately reflect the situation during the Roman period—though one would expect the Roman walls to have encompassed either the same or smaller area. The maximum extent of the first century ruins of Tiberias, based on an outline of the (mostly) Byzantine wall and including the protrusion to protect the Church above Mount Berenice, is about 80 hectares.[42]

The extent of the ruins of Sepphoris, like Tiberias, by far out-measure those of Capernaum. Because of the continuous inhabitation of the site until 1947, and the planting of trees all along the acropolis, probing the extent of the first century city has proven extremely difficult. Previous estimates put the ruins of the site during the Roman-Byzantine periods at 60 hectares.[43] A more recent estimate by J. Strange of the USF Excavations at Sepphoris puts the area enclosed by the walls at just under 50 hectares—but he notes that the ruins beyond the wall to the southeast *may extend up to* another 50 hectares.[44] Thus the area of first century Sepphoris may have been as high as 100 hectares.[45]

The size and extent of ruins points to a significantly higher population at Sepphoris and Tiberias than Capernaum or other typical Galilean towns, villages, or hamlets. The ruins atop Bethsaïda's tell, the site fashioned into Julias by Herod Philip on the other side of the Jordan, cover only 10 hectares; the ruins of Gaba, built by Herod the Great for his retired cavalry, measure 14 hectares; the ruins of Gath Hepher, reputed village of Jonah, measure 5 hectares; and the ruins of many Galilean hamlets or nucleated farms cover only a single hectare or less.[46] While size suggests higher populations, the

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42 My calculations are based on Y. Hirshfeld's map (excluding Hammat Tiberias), first published in "Tiberias: Preview of Coming Attractions," *BAR* 17.2 (1991) 46; a larger copy of the same map appears in "The 'Anchor Church' at the Summit of Mount Berenice near Tiberias," *Qadmoniot* 26 (1993) 120. Similar estimates have been given by Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine," 4-5 and Landau, "The Site of Tiberias," *Eretz Kinnaroth* (Jerusalem: Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, 1950) 49 (Hebrew) cited in M. Avi-Yonah, "The Foundation of Tiberias," *IEJ* 1 (1950-1951) 164-164.

43 Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine," 4-5. I realize, especially in light of my scrutiny of previous estimates of Capernaum's area, that such estimates of the overall ruins are inadequate—but they must suffice at the present time until full reports of the site are published and synthesized.

44 I am grateful to J. Strange for sharing with me the plans of the USF Excavations at Sepphoris. Strange's estimates are based in large part on the 1984 and 1985 surveys reported in "Six Campaigns at Sepphoris," *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 343, and R. A. Batey, "Subsurface Interface Radar at Sepphoris, 1985," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14 (1987) 1-8.

45 In previous estimates, I calculated the population of Sepphoris using 60 hectares, "Places in Early Christianity" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1993) 68-70; see also E. Meyers, "Jesus and His Galilean Context," 6.

46 R. Arav and J. J. Rousseau, "The Bethsaïda Excavations: Historical and Archaeological Approaches," *The Future of Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. B. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 77-106; A. Siegelmann, "The Identification of Gaba

fact that both Sepphoris and Tiberias were walled cities also drives up the expected population density. Historical and ethnographic comparisons show that as a rule walled settlements are more densely populated than open settlements.[47] For this reason one would expect Sepphoris and Tiberias's population density to be higher than Capernaum's—likely higher than Pompeii's but likely not as high as Ostia's. Many of the private houses excavated in the domestic quarters of the western side of the acropolis had foundations strong enough to support a second story, and foundations of a vaulted building in the market area on the eastern side of the hill could have supported three stories.[48] Using a coefficient of 300 persons per hectare, used most frequently for walled cities of the Levant, the city of Tiberias would have had a population of around 24,000. If we assume a population density of 300 persons per hectare for the walled city of Sepphoris and only 175 for the inhabited areas outside the walls, then Sepphoris would have also had a population of around 24,000.[49]

These numbers rest on reasonable assumptions and methods, however, they are not definite, in large part because of the limited first century areas exposed and published by the excavators of both Sepphoris and Tiberias. The numbers are valuable, especially for comparison to Capernaum and the other smaller sites of the Galilee. The impact of so many people in Sepphoris and Tiberias on the entire Galilee, especially when they are viewed as consumer cities, must be taken seriously. After their founding as major centers by Herod Antipas, the agricultural practices of the Galilee were not only completely realigned, but were also stretched. Lower Galilee could no longer be considered as a series of villages, hamlets, and farms. The entire agricultural focus turned to feeding Sepphoris and Tiberias. A population of 24,000 in Sepphoris would require the produce of at least the entire Beth Netofah and Tir'an valleys, as well as all the land along the Nahal Sippori.[50]

Hippeon," *PEQ* 116 (1984) 89-93; Z. Gal, *Lower Galilee during the Iron Age* ASOR Dissertation Series 8 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 12-35.

47 See F. Hassan, *Demographic Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1981) 67, citing especially the study of R. J. Wenke, "Imperial investments and Agricultural Developments in Parthian and Sussanian Khuzistan: 150 BC to AD 640" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1975). The massive walled cities of the Bronze Age in Palestine also had higher population densities (around 250) as the result of security concerns (M. Broshi and R. Gophna, "The Settlements and Populations of Palestine During the Early Bronze Age II-III," *BASOR* 253 [1984], 42, 49). Similar estimates (300 persons per hectare) have been made for the walled cites of the Aegean during the Bronze Age, see C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilization* (London: Methuen, 1972), 251. Iron Age cities in Palestine also had higher population densities (Shiloh, "The Population of Iron Age Palestine"). Broshi and Gophna criticize Shiloh's high number, "The Settlements and Population of Palestine," 51 note 4. In contrast, "rural settlements in Mesopotamia fall well short of 200 persons per hectare" (R. McC. Adams, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981], 350; numbers around 150 are also given by Sumner, "Estimating Population by Analogy," 165-166).

48 Strange, "Six Campaigns at Sepphoris," 349-350.

49 Up from my earlier estimate of 18,000, "Places in Early Christianity," 70.

50 Based on crop yields and consumption of grain in antiquity as discussed in note 40. The Beth Netofah valley (5000 hectares), the Tir'an Valley (3000 hectares), and the area

The fertility of these valleys was likely the main reason why Herod Antipas located his new city where he did. While the Galilean agricultural scene had been composed of peasant smallholders, tenant farmers, pastoralists, and primitive cultivators who grew everything necessary for sustenance within easy walking distance, now entrepreneurial farmers and landowners, who grew a single cash crop on a larger scale for the granaries at Sepphoris, became necessary.[51] It is common to assume that the villagers and peasants in the valleys would be responsible, by means of taxation, to bring their produce to Sepphoris, but certainly a substantial number of Sepphoreans were also involved in agricultural production. Not only did a labor force leave Sepphoris for the fields, especially during harvest time, but produce was also brought back to Sepphoris for production: Wine installations, olive presses, granaries, threshing floors, and millstones have been found surrounding and even inside Sepphoris.[52] Sepphoris, and much the same is to be expected of Tiberias, realigned agricultural practices to accommodate its many citizens, many of whom would have provided the necessary labor for agriculture and the production of food.

Sepphoris and Tiberias also became centers of consumption in terms of raw materials for their architecture and manufactured goods for their citizens' daily lives. Local limestone had to be quarried and hewn into ashlars appropriate for Herod Antipas's city. Tesserae had to be struck for the mosaics covering the floors of both the private houses of the affluent and the public buildings they sponsored.[53] Limestone had to be dug and processed for the frescoes which covered many walls and plaster which covered many floors. Some items that were not readily available locally, such as marble, had to be imported, at an enormous cost, from outside Galilee.

It must be noted, however, that neither Sepphoris nor Tiberias shows the same kind of appetite for materials, buildings, and particularly works of art which symbolized Roman culture, in contrast to Caesarea Maritima and Scythopolis, the major cities in Palestine. In both Caesarea and Scythopolis, imported marble columns are ubiquitous. They have not been found at the same level at Sepphoris nor at Tiberias. In fact it must be stressed that very few of the typical features of a Roman city have been found at Sepphoris, most date to after the more intense Romanization after the Bar Kochba War and the stationing of Roman legionaries at Legio.[54] The theater's date, though disputed

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around the Nahal Sippori (over 1000 hectares) contain the most arable land of the Galilee, see Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*, 3.

51 Analogous situations can be seen in Italy, Samnium, and Lycia, see P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 44-45, J. R. Patterson, "Settlement, City and Elite in Samnium and Lycia," *City and Country in the Ancient World*, eds. J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1991) 147-168.

52 J. Strange, "Six Campaigns at Sepphoris," 343.

53 The famous Dionysos mosaic, dating to the early third century, was made up of tesserae of twenty-three different colors, most of them from local limestone. Some, however, seem to have been brought from farther away, E. Meyers, E. Netzer, C. Meyers, *Sepphoris* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 42.

54 Meyers, "Jesus and His Galilean Context," 21; Z. Safrai, "The Roman Army in Galilee," *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 103-114.

in large part because of different pottery readings, may well be late first century; and initial reports on the market street suggest a first century date as well; but the aqueduct was built in the second century; the Dionysiac villa dates to the third century; and other features are simply lacking in the first century or have not been found yet: no temple, no evidence of an imperial court, no palace, no gymnasium, no hippodrome, no odeon, no nymphaeum, no euergistic inscriptions.

Furthermore, at both Caesarea and Scythopolis, artworks in Graeco-Roman style are plentiful, many coming from as far away as the Cape-Vathy quarry in northern Thasos.[55] A good proportion of marble artifacts from Roman Caesarea Maritima—five out of thirty one—are also of Thasian marble.[56] It should come as no surprise that such examples of imperial art have been uncovered at Caesarea, Palestine's major port, and Scythopolis, Palestine's largest and perhaps wealthiest city. But they have been found neither at Sepphoris or Tiberias, nor at other inland Galilean sites.[57] Although most often discussed in terms of religious preferences, a simple reason might just be the prohibitive cost of overland trade. Furthermore, a careful examination of the dates of the examples of imperial art, whether marble statues or decorated columns, reveals a meager presence during the early Roman period and a marked increase after the second Jewish war. M. Fisher has examined the distribution and dating of figured capitals in Roman Palestine, and concluded that initially architectural figural decorations were imported to coastal sites and the largest inland cities, but that subsequently a provincial style was developed that imitated and modified the imperial art with its own preferences and with local materials.[58]

Fisher's analysis confirms the relatively low level of international trade in the ancient Roman economy. Wealthy cities or citizens were able to afford

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55 R. Gersht, "Dionysiac Sarcophagi from Caesarea Maritima," *IEJ* 41 (1991) 145-156, "The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," *PEQ* 116 (1984) 110-114. Tyche is also frequent on city coins, including those of Caesarea. Tyche can also be found on much later coins of Tiberias, G. F. Hill, "Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 5 (1912) 3. R. Gersht, "The Reader of the Scroll from Caesarea Maritima," *Tel Aviv* 13 (1986) 67-70, Plate 4. Z. Yeivin, "Bet Shean Project," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1987/1988* vol. 6 (Jerusalem: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1988) 7-45; F. Vitto, "Two Marble Heads of Goddesses from Tel Naharon-Scythopolis," *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 33-45. Z. Pearl and M. Margaritz, "The Marble Source of the Tel Naharon-Scythopolis Heads," *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 46-47.

56 Z. Pearl, "Archaeological Marble in Israel—Chemical and Mineralogical Analysis" (Diss., Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, 1989), cited in Pearl and Margaritz, "The Marble Source of the Tel Naharon-Scythopolis Heads," 47. Therefore marble works of art tend to be found along the coast, or inland only in the major cities, L. Y. Rahmani, "Roman Miscellanea," *IEJ* 39 (1989) 66-75, with figures from Ashkelon and Haifa. The same can be said of the Hellenistic braziers in Israel, Gunneweg and Pearlman, "Hellenistic Braziers from Israel: Results of Pottery Analysis," 235.

57 The decorated *sarcophagi* from Beth Shearim, on the extremity of Galilee, are examples of later provincial art, though of course with themes adopted from imperial art; see R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

58 M. Fisher, "Figured Capitals in Roman Palestine. Marble Imports and Local Stones: Some Aspects of 'Imperial' and 'Provincial' Art," in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1991 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991) 119-144.

imported architectural materials and artifacts, as well as luxury items, from great distances, but as this demand was realized, local shops—it is hardly proper to call them industries in our sense of the word—sought to fill the need. Capitalizing on the high cost of overland transport, local imitations competed with imports. For example, small vases containing ointments were imported from Lycia from the third century BCE continuing into the first century CE to sites along the coast, and a few major inland sites. Initially these perfume or pharmaceutical bottles with a distinctive shape were imported into Palestine, but at a later period local imitations, produced likely at Tel Anafa north of the Sea of Galilee, begin to appear.[59]

There is evidence in Galilee that the demand for a variety of local goods arose with the foundation of Tiberias and Sepphoris. Markets for consumption and distribution were established in Tiberias and Sepphoris. The latter city attracted a stone-vessel manufacturing site near the village of Reina, some four km to the south-east, and three km north of Nazareth. The site is typical of local manufacturing centers: it "consists of a scatter of stone vessel debitage on an apparently uninhabited hilltop" near a village.[60] A pottery manufacturing site, one and a half km north of Sepphoris, has been identified from an abundance of pottery "wasters" found. Likely the village of Shihin mentioned in rabbinic literature, the satellite village of Sepphoris was a major producer of bowls and jugs for the city.[61]

In addition to attracting small centers of production in their immediate surroundings, Sepphoris and Tiberias also provided a market for the consumption and distribution of wares from further removed sites. In an important study of pottery in Galilee, D. Adan-Bayewitz traced the distribution of household pottery produced at Kefar Hananya, a small village in northern Galilee some 25 km from Sepphoris. The distribution of the common kitchen ware in Galilee is predictable, given the high cost of overland transport which lowered profits as distances increased: "in settlements near the manufacturing center virtually all the cooking ware is from that center, while in more distant settlements the relative quantities are inversely related to their distance from the center."[62] Kefar Hananya wares are virtually absent outside

59 M. Hershkovitz, "Miniature Ointment Vases," *IEJ* 36 (1986) 50-51.

60 Z. Gal, "A Stone-Vessel Manufacturing Site in the Lower Galilee," *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 25*-26*, 179-180. From an ethnographic perspective, the discarded vessels are of note because they represent the only northern examples of the type of vessels found at Jerusalem and other Judean sites. One should keep in mind that even the largest industries of the Roman world, the Arretine and Gaulish Samian fine ware producers, were typically shops with 20 to 30 workers, and the largest is said to have only some sixty slaves. These were the largest industries, of course; most were small at the household level, D. P. S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach* (London: Longman, 1982) 1-128.

61 Strange, "Six Campaigns at Sepphoris," 351-35, 354, where the site is described as a locality "where ten or so families, or more, pursued a single industry." It was typical during the Roman period that small pottery shops sprang up all around major centers, since production was usually confined to a family business, Peacock, *Pottery in the Ancient World*, 75f., 156-158. At Gaba, the site of the city is some fourteen hectares, but the industrial sites around the city extend to an area covering over sixty hectares, Siegelmann, "The Identification of Gaba Hippeon," 93.

62 D. Adan-Bayewitz and I. Pearlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period," *IEJ* 40 (1990) 170.

of a twenty-five km radius, yet they comprise roughly half of the common kitchen ware of the city of Sepphoris. Even though it is on the twenty-five km periphery of Kefar Hananya, after which the ware drastically drops off, Sepphoris provided a lucrative market, compensating for the relatively lengthy overland transport. Furthermore, the market at Sepphoris seems to have served as a secondary distribution point for the Kefar Hananya ware, which was resold, often filled with agricultural products from around Sepphoris.[63] Very likely Tiberias had similar economic arrangements with local manufacturing sites as well, and its location on the lake would have hastened traffic with other sites on or near any shore of the lake. There is evidence of Kefar Hananya ware in Hammat Tiberias, although a more logical market than Tiberias for distribution across the lake would be Capernaum or Tarichaeae, on the northern edge of the Sea of Galilee.[64] None of the Kefar Hananya ware antedates the founding of Sepphoris and Tiberias, so that their function as a consumer and a market must be seen as an important factor in local trade and production.

The archaeological picture of Sepphoris and Tiberias's economic importance, both in terms of local villages within its region and in terms of inter-regional trade, must be placed in perspective, not only as it relates to Capernaum, but also as it relates to major centers in the region. I. Hopkins has plotted the major urban centers, minor urban centers, towns, villages and rural centers, and has shown how these form an efficient network of economic and administrative interaction.[65] Major urban centers throughout the Roman empire tend to be predictably spaced, and incorporate a series of minor urban centers on the periphery of their territories, with close economic and administrative ties to their surrounding regions. The major urban centers along the Levant—Caesarea Maritima, Scythopolis, and Tyre—form a rough triangle. Galilee lies beyond the immediate reach of each of these major urban centers. Only Scythopolis lies within twenty five km of Galilee. But with the founding of Sepphoris and Tiberias, no area of Galilee lies outside a twenty-five km radius of these two minor urban centers.[66] Therefore Tiberias and Sepphoris must be seen as minor urban centers, dominating the agricultural landscape of the Galilee, but not large enough to attract substantial international trade. In contrast, Capernaum represents a smaller, perhaps what could be considered a satellite village, on the periphery of Tiberias's sphere of influence.

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63 Adan-Bayewitz and Pearlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris," 170-171.

64 Edwards suggests the importance of the lake for distribution to the Golan and across the Jordan Rift, see "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos in the First Century," 57, esp. note 19, citing D. Adan-Bayewitz, "The Pottery," "The Excavations of an Ancient Boat in the Sea of Galilee," *Atiqot* 19 (1990) 89-96; C. Fritsch and I. Ben-Dor, "The Link Marine Expedition to Israel, 1960," *BA* 24 (1961) 57-58.

65 I. Hopkins, "The City Region in Roman Palestine," *PEQ* 112 (1980) 19-32. Unfortunately, he leaves Tyre out of the discussion, which must be included in any discussion of Galilee. I have modified his analysis by including Tyre.

66 Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos in the First Century," 59, notes that "If one takes R. MacMullen's fifteen-mile radius to markets seriously, then nearly every village in the Lower Galilee would fall within range of the two major cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias."

Conclusions for the Historical Jesus

1. In examining the first century population numbers of three Galilean sites, I have sought to stress the importance of Sepphoris and Tiberias, especially relative to Capernaum, to the whole of the Galilee. While much of the scholarly discussion on the urban character of Galilee is overblown, or certainly over simplified, one cannot deny that as consumer centers with 24,000 inhabitants, Sepphoris and Tiberias shifted both the agricultural and commercial focus of Galilee onto themselves. The level of trade and agricultural needs do not, however, measure up to the major urban centers of Palestine such as Caesarea or Scythopolis, not to mention Antioch or Alexandria.

2. One therefore must assume that the inhabitants of Galilee had knowledge, both firsthand and certainly secondhand, of Sepphoris and Tiberias, whether through commercial contacts or as agricultural suppliers, or even as beneficiaries of services. In this context, an examination of the Gospels reveals traces of awareness and possibly even interaction with these cities on the part of Jesus and his followers, particularly in portions of the Sayings Gospel Q: Jesus assumes his followers will go to cities (Q 11:8,11); royal palaces (Q 7:25); market places (Q 7:32, 11:43), plazas (Q 10:10, 13:26, 14:21), courts and prisons (Q 12:57-59), city gates (Q 13:24), city banquets (Q 14:16-24), and banks (Q 19:23) are all present in Q.[67] Significantly absent from the Gospels, but especially in Q, is an awareness of those aspects of the Graeco-Roman *polis* which are most often associated with "gentiles" or "paganism." But this should not come as a surprise, since the archaeological profile of Sepphoris and Tiberias does not include imperial or pagan temples, gymnasia, hippodromes, odeons, nymphaeae, or euergistic inscriptions.

3. From an archaeological perspective, the key question that arises is the attitude towards the Galilean cities of Tiberias and Sepphoris on the part of the villagers and rural inhabitants. This question becomes acute since Jesus can be placed within a village context, first in Nazareth and then in Capernaum. I suggest that the primary source for understanding the Galilean attitude towards these two cities be the authentic sayings of Jesus themselves, and that we first look to these for the Galilean attitude. At this point it is sufficient to say that these two cities are not singled out for condemnation by Jesus, and hence cannot be described as the locus of animosity for the Jesus movement, nor likely for Galilean society in general.

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67 On the urban imagery in Q, and Q's location in Galilee based on both urban, rural, and agricultural imagery, see my "The Social Map of Q," *Jesus' Followers in Galilee: Social and Literary Studies on Q*, ed. J. Kloppenborg (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, forthcoming).

The Archaeology of First-Century Galilee and the Social Interpretation of the Historical Jesus

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> The conflict between Jesus and his Jewish opponents was thus an intra-Jewish conflict (with the elite who represented the dominant ethos) about how to interpret the tradition. It was a hermeneutical struggle with sociopolitical consequences. (Borg 1991: 13)

> It was only when the implied challenge of the full ministry in Galilee was recognised for what it was, first by the scribes, but then also by the priestly aristocracy, that plans had to be made to have him removed, predictably in the Jerusalem setting, not the Galilean. (Freyne 1988: 238)

This paper draws together several lines of reflection that have developed for the author over the last several years, especially through participation in excavations at Jotapata.[1] After preliminary consideration of difficulties facing every social interpreter of Jesus, the paper sketches three interlocking models for the social interpretation of Galilee at the time of Jesus, suggests questions and theses that might be entertained by archaeologists, and proposes an interpretation of the historical Jesus in the light of the social models and archaeological questions.

One of the essential commitments of a theoretical approach to interpretation is the rejection of purely inductive work. No human interpreter is completely devoid of preconceptions; there is no "purely objective" social or historical interpretation. Historians often talk about "the evidence," as though its social significance were positively evident to everyone. Theoretical sophistication urges that interpreters "look for" things, that evidence (from the Latin *ex* "out of," *videre*, "to see") is "drawn out" only in relationship to a larger

[1] I am pleased to acknowledge that my two seasons of digging were supported by an Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Study Grant, by a Regency Award from Pacific Lutheran University, and by a two-year Catholic Biblical Association Archaeology Stipend. Preliminary aspects of this study were supported by a Regional Society of Biblical Literature minigrant. I am grateful to my wife and sons for their support and for putting up with many deprivations while I was in Israel. Initial drafts of this paper were improved by critical comments received from Pacific Lutheran University colleagues, from Context Group colleagues, and from participants in a Pacific Northwest Regional AAR/SBL presentation session.

picture or perspective. This is why systems thinking is so helpful, because it encourages the tracing of interconnected social phenomena.

Part of the problem modern scholarship has had in interpreting the social world of the historical Jesus stems from the general hermeneutical difficulties of ethnocentrism and anachronism. Social and cultural realities were structured differently in ancient Mediterranean societies. Bruce Malina and Richard Rohrbaugh (1992) have stressed that European or North American experience is often misleading when interpreting biblical societies. Their approach works to overcome modern subjectivity through the utilization of interpretive models informed by cross-cultural studies.

A number of recent attempts to investigate the Jesus traditions or the social environment of Jesus have drawn upon the macrosociology of Gerhard Lenski.[2] Lenski has been helpful for identifying key issues in the social stratification of agrarian societies. His theory has also highlighted the dimension of power and privilege in the social structure. Despite his claim to mediate and move beyond functionalism and conflict theories, Lenski's schema is rather static and only of very limited significance in understanding or interpreting historical dynamics in the social picture. His theory needs to be complemented in a way that lends understanding of historical dynamics.

Systems models offer a way to do this in parsimonious and powerful ways. A systems approach to society highlights dynamics within a coherent system. While systems theories are weak in the analysis of causation, and in some forms hinder conflict analysis, they help to elucidate the interrelationship of social phenomena. Routine human actions build social institutions and contribute to the "equilibrium" of the system. In historical situations of social stress, human actions become more complex, leading to forces of disequilibrium and perhaps even system breakdown. In addition to the cultural perspectives developed by Malina and Rohrbaugh and the picture of agrarian social stratification presented by Lenski, the views of Talcott Parsons (1971) can be of use in the model-building to follow.[3]

Whatever theoretical stance an interpreter takes, he or she will need to be able to discern grounds for conflict in the archaeological and literary records. One is struck by the very different depictions of Galilee in Sanders 1993, on the one hand, and in Horsley 1987, on the other. Sanders sees no real grounds for conflict under "the good Herods," while Horsley sees a "spiral of violence." Part of this debate depends upon whether the interpreter draws in comparative models. Since Horsley utilizes peasant studies and recognizes the political realities of a colonial situation, he understands the precipitating grounds for discontent and the difficulties of rectifying them.

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2 Lenski 1984; Lenski and Lenski 1987. Saldarini 1988a, 1988b and Fiensy 1990 utilize Lenski in various ways. See the important discussion in Duling 1993: 649-52.

3 While Parsons treats of "modern societies," his theoretical perspective on social institutions has cross-societal value (Collins 1988: 57): "Parsons' system is extremely abstract, since it intends to supply basic components for the analysis of any society that has ever existed or might exist . . . ." Bellah 1970 shows the power of such a theoretical approach for understanding religious evolution in relation to social function. See Malina's important discussion (1986: 68-97, based upon Parsons) of Generalized Symbolic Media.

Having an explicit set of theory-informed models helps in understanding why conflict is present. If conflict is a part of the picture for understanding Jesus, that conflict need not become our own. Jesus was a first-century Jew; this fact has been underemphasized in some recent Christian Jesus scholarship. To recognize conflict involving Jesus is indeed to recognize first-century, intra-Jewish conflict—not to endorse conflict between modern Christian and Jewish interpreters. Social interpretation in the future will increasingly depend upon cooperative sharing of information and scholarly collaboration.

The Social World of Jesus: Three Interlocking Models

Models are not reality. They are useful simplifications of reality to aid in understanding.[4] The models in this paper are homomorphic, not isomorphic, to use Carney's terminology (1975: 10). They abstract important features rather than reproduce every detail. Historians can get lost in the details of study without explicit conceptual models for interpretation. Overconfidence in inductive method may lead to subjective readings of data. Models help correct for subjectivity and inform the interpreter as to what to look for. This procedure will be every bit as important for the archaeologist as it will be for the interpreter of the historical Jesus.

Model One: The Primacy of Family in Jesus' Social World

Mediterranean culture generally has emphasized the primacy of the family.[5] The most likely explanation for the preeminence of this social domain lies in the environmental adaptation demanded of peoples living in the circum-Mediterranean world. Life in a climate where rainfall is unpredictable, as well as life threatened repeatedly by encroaching mountain tribes, has socialized Mediterraneans to trust only those in firm interpersonal relationship (Crossan 1991: 12).

Whatever the comprehensive causes of this primacy, even a cursory investigation of ancient literature will show how significant family is in autobiographical or biographical considerations. For instance, the first words of Josephus' *Life* are "my family" (*emoi de genos*). Likewise, Matthew's Gospel presents what the early church considered (from its placement in first rank) the authoritative story of Jesus. Matthew begins the story by reference to the putative genealogy of Jesus, tracing his lineage back to glorious ancestors of Israel.

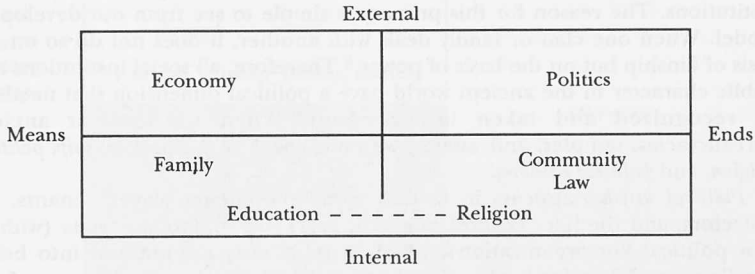
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4 De Raadt (1991: 9) defines a model as "a portion of knowledge set apart for a particular social purpose." The social purpose for the models in this paper is the understanding of the social purposes of Jesus of Nazareth.

5 Malina 1993: 84, 119-26; Pilch and Malina 1993: *s.vv.* "Agonistic Society," "Dyadism," "Family-Centeredness," "Parenting."

Model Two: A Basic Social-Systems Model

Talcott Parsons attempted to develop a social-systems model that would be of cross-societal value and help to understand social action in a variety of institutional settings. A simplified version of his scheme appears below:[6]



Social roles and institutions are built out of routine actions socialized within the primary context of family and within the secondary context of community. Education and religion play important roles in this socialization process. Law codifies the institutional structures of communal life in the abstract. Political actions and economic actions are, moreover, concrete externalizations of these socialized patterns. Family and economy, reproduction and production, represent the "means" for society's continuance. Community and politics govern actions toward "ends."

We can rank the socio-cultural (value) domains of Jesus' Mediterranean context as follows:

Kinship - Politics - Economy

Religion plays an undergirding role (as the Parson's model suggests). Since civil and criminal law in both Roman and Jewish tradition had numinous and religious connotations, the model helps us to see and to understand why religion will be present in the family, political, and perhaps even economic realms.

Our modern value system reverses the above ranking. North Americans value economic individualism. For this reason, economy is the primary variable in U.S. behavior. Family structures are very weak in consequence. The individual, after all, has to be free to "make a living."

As the first paragraphs of Josephus' *Life* demonstrate, a first-century Judean stands within a family or clan whose interests and values play a significant role in the social action of the individual. Furthermore, Josephus makes it clear that illustrious families dominate others. The game of power and prestige is zero-sum.

A single clan in the ancient Mediterranean world could conceivably have conducted its entire life "internally." There would be an internal power ranking, with males over females, fathers over children and slaves, older over younger, etc. There would be a religious life of the clan, and its activities to

6 This graphical summary of societal community within Parson's four-function social theory is derived from chapter 2, "System Theories," in Collins 1988: 58.

feed, clothe, and provide amenities for its members could be labelled economic. Here, then, we talk about *domestic politics*, *domestic religion*, and *domestic economy*.[7]

What is often ignored in discussions of ancient societies is the primacy of power and prevalence of power-structured relationships within ancient institutions. The reason for this primacy is simple to see from our developing model. When one clan or family deals with another, it does not do so on the basis of kinship but on the basis of power.[8] Therefore, all social institutions of a public character in the ancient world have a political dimension that needs to be recognized and taken into account. When we look at ancient bureaucracies, temples, and estates, we must speak of *political kinship*, *political religion*, and *political economy*.

Political kinship appears in faction members, clients, slaves, tenants, tax collectors, and the like. *Political religion* appears with the temple state (with its own political kin organization), which is religiously rationalized into being "God's estate." The focus of political religion is the majesty and honor of the deity, i.e., worship. This worship demands appointments, so religious taxation (a rationalized political reality) is a necessity. *Political economy* identifies taxes, debts, forced extraction of goods and labor, production for redistribution (redistributive economy), and production for trade. Power relations govern all of these phenomena.

Model Three: An Elaborated Systems Model for Understanding Jesus' Social World

The most comprehensive model for the work of this paper grows out of the preceding building blocks, but adds a systems aspect as well.[9] The arrows in the following "Systems Model for the Social Interpretation of Jesus" attempt to indicate feedback and feedforward loops through attached pluses and minuses.[10]

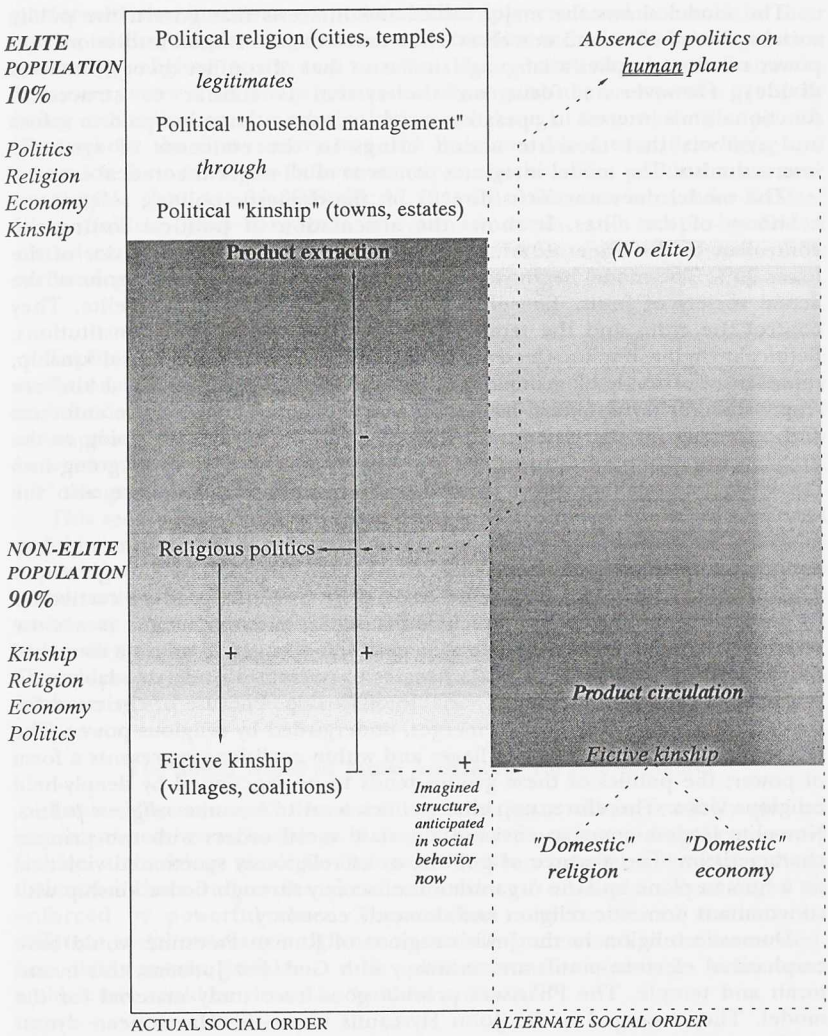
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7 Note that the Greek word *oikonomia* means "household management."

8 As Marshall Sahlins has shown for tribal societies, *Tribesmen* (Prentice-Hall, 1966), family or quasi-familial relations are governed by reciprocity exchanges of one kind or another. However, relations with strangers or enemies exhibit negative reciprocal characteristics. To do the stranger or enemy harm is the ordinary thing.

9 A related model can be found in Oakman 1993: 204.

10 A feedback loop indicates resistive or diminishing action; a feedforward loop indicates amplifying action.



Systems Model for the Social Interpretation of Jesus

The model shows the major values and interests that govern the public social action of elites and non-elites. Note that a focus on social institutions and power relations implies a language similar to that of conflict theory (interests divide). However, a focus on the system is similar to structural-functionalism's interest in operative social structures. Attention paid to values and symbols that motivate action brings in the concerns of symbolic interactionists. The model integrates concerns of all major theoretical camps.

The model does not focus directly on the domestic politics, religion, or economy of the elites. It shows the articulation of political institutions controlled by the upper 10% and the value-concerns in the behavior of the lower 90%. The model begins to be much more nuanced now in terms of the actual society of Jesus. The elite here is the Herodian-Judean elite. They control the cities and the temple, the key political(-religious) institutions. Political religion implies (feeds forward into) the need for political kinship, represented strongly by groups in cities and towns. These "political kin" are responsible for the "political household management." They are the enforcers and collectors for the system. They are responsible for actually going to the pressing installation and insuring the purity of oil and wine or of going into the village and taking grain from the threshing floor. They are also the accountants for the system.

From the non-elite side, a basic issue therefore in a low-productivity, low-energy, semi-arid ecological adaptation is whether there will be enough to eat. The non-elite provide the productive labor, only to see the produce carried off by tax collectors. When not much is produced anyway, hunger is a close relative.[11] The model indicates that *human political institutions* are a source of difficulty for the non-elite. Their strategies of resistance understandably tend to organize around the primary variable of kinship. Because of the need for concerted action, *fictive kinship* emerges, undergirded by religious power. The formation of fictive kin ties in villages and within coalitions represents a form of power; the politics of these groups tends to be sanctioned by deeply-held religious views. Therefore, non-elite politics tend to become *religious politics.* Non-elite leaders come to envision alternate social orders with two primary characteristics: The absence of politics, or of religiously sanctioned violence, on a human plane *and* the organization of society through fictive kinship with concomitant domestic religion and domestic economy.

Domestic religion in the Jewish regions of Roman Palestine would have emphasized election motifs and intimacy with God. For Judeans, this meant torah and temple. The Pharisees provide good case study material for the model. They emerged under John Hyrcanus when the Hasmonean dynast realigned himself politically with the Sadducees. Outright war between Pharisees and Hasmoneans ensued under Jannaeus. The Pharisees apparently represented a non-elite protest group from within the political kinship structure. Primarily lay, they formed fictive kingroups called *ḥavûrôth*; members were *ḥavērîm.* They emphasized the keeping of the whole law, even for laity. Thus, they embraced the purity regulations of the priests in daily life. Why did they do this? I suggest that originally Pharisees

11 The reader can consult Oakman 1986 or Crossan 1991: 43-46 for more extended discussions of these realities.

performed the functions of political kinship mentioned above.[12] In their service of the temple, they became very familiar with the Mosaic legislation governing religious purity and taxation. They, therefore, came to know the laws even better than the priests and to distinguish themselves as a group by living according to the whole law, even though they were not priests. Throughout the first-century BCE, the Pharisees dared to criticize king and priest for their failure to adhere strictly to the law. The political costs were predictable (Jos. *Ant.* 13 §§288-91; 17 §§41-46). What can be said for Galilee? Were Galilean Jews like Jesus of Nazareth torah- and temple-loyal?[13] A consideration of such questions must be deferred until we examine how archaeology might contribute to social understanding.

Summary

Explicit social theory or models need to be a part of every interpretive endeavor, because every interpreter brings preconceptions to the task. Theory and models help to control for anachronism and inappropriate cultural assumptions. Systems models, stressing the interrelationship and interplay between cultural values/symbols and social action, can help interpreters "look for" things more appropriately.

This section has stressed the importance of family and power, kinship and politics, within the social world of Jesus. The use of models will help us explore how Herodian and Judean elite families dealt with non-elites through social institutions characterized by power inequities. The systems model helps us to see that non-elite social action, conversely, was underwritten by culturally informed values that envisioned alternate institutions. Contemporary realities of power would shape non-elite imagination of a community without political economy.

The Social World of Jesus: Archaeological Interpretation

Future discussions of the social world of Jesus will increasingly give an important role to archaeology.[14] For enhanced understanding first-century Galilee, archaeology needs to distinguish between cultural and social indices. Cultural indices reflect the prevalent values of a people, often urged or enforced by powerful elites. These values may be shared formally by different social classes (though not necessarily understood in the same way). For first-century Judaism, such phenomena as aniconic coins and architecture could be viewed as "cultural artifacts."[15]

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12 Saldarini's work (1988a and 1988b) is important in this connection.

13 Freyne's work has explored these questions quite thoroughly. The present considerations will urge a reconsideration of his results.

14 The works of Freyne, Meyers, and Strange, as well as Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990, Edwards 1988, 1992, and Overman 1988, give basic reasons for this statement.

15 In the excellent, though now somewhat dated, summary of Meyers and Strange (1981), cultural discussion predominates. The authors refer to "cultural indicators" (33), "cultural factors" (35), the pluralism of Galilean culture (38), etc., and generally treat of linguistic and "religious" indices. That these indices tend to reflect the interests of elites does not receive discussion. Again, Strange's recent article (1992: 31-32) focuses on Rome's

Archaeological social indices, however, must be of such a character that they can reliably identify social differentiation within a cultural group. The identification of social indices implies recognition of social "fault lines" introduced into material culture by inequities of power or wealth. Sometimes cultural indices can play a socio-interpretive role, for instance, when select Jewish groups might adopt Hellenistic coins embossed with pagan motifs. The archaeologist will want to determine, so far as this is possible from the material record, how such coins were handled or viewed by all social strata. The following reflections, therefore, are intended to be suggestive of the kinds of social information archaeologists might be seeking or examining to clarify the issues central to this paper.

Settlements

Most archaeology in Palestine up until recently was based upon work in ancient cities. This made sense in terms of historical investigations. "Biblical archaeology" correlated urban stratigraphic records with the literary record. Typological sequences of pottery were needed for determining archaeological periods. Coins aided in developing the basic chronologies required for future work.[16]

However, as interest has grown in the social interpretation of the literary and archaeological records, a more extensive and comprehensive assessment of archaeological remains has been needed. Previous surveys have been useful mostly to acquire cultural indices. The regional articles in the *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, for instance, provide perspectives on historical and cultural developments; they are less helpful for sociological interpretation. What seems called for are in-depth surveys of a wide variety of sites in Galilee, with special attention devoted now to towns and villages. Only in this way will powerful social indices be identified.

Archaeological method, of course, is a critical factor. The so-called Israeli method has seemed most useful for ascertaining cultural information. The American method, influenced as it is by general anthropology and concerns for total societal reconstruction, is best suited for refinement toward using the material culture for social interpretation.[17]

The following areas of archaeological inquiry might contribute further to the social interpretation of Galilee.[18]

"urban overlay" upon "Jewish culture." There is no suggestion of similar "overlays" within Jewish culture.

16 The works of W. F. Albright or G. E. Wright come to mind. Moorey 1991 chronicles the rise and decline of biblical archaeology, characterizing its basic weakness as "simplistic explanation" (175).

17 The article of Shanks (1987) indicates some of the issues at stake. See the comments of Gottwald 1985: 59, 63.

18 My experiences at Jotapata have informed these suggestions. Excavations began there in 1992 under the direction of Douglas Edwards, Mordechai Aviam, and David Adan-Bayewitz. Aviam and Adan-Bayewitz directed the second season (1993). Because the results have not been finally published, I am reluctant to indicate more than general impressions about the site. My interpretations are personal and preliminary. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the directors, who have ultimate responsibility for publication.

Buildings

Some preliminary work is available for illustrating how building remains can help us do social interpretation. David Fiensy provides a synthesis for supporting further work on the archaeology of the lower classes. He shows how building remains—isolated farms, houses, courtyards, alleys, villages—might provide significant social information (Fiensy 1991: 119-46).

Social interpretation needs not only information from the cultural-political centers, the cities, but also now from towns and villages. Most of Jesus' contemporaries lived in villages; towns like Jotapata and Cana, Capernaum and Magdala, represented the domiciles of the political kin of the Herods and Judean elites. These sites will fill out our understanding of political economy in Galilee.

Monumental Structures, Waterworks, Roads

Archaeologists need to begin asking what labor requirements are involved in archaeological remains like waterworks or roads. To what extent do these projects represent the accumulation of forced labor (Horsley 1987: 6)? Work of Dar and others, for instance, showed that each of the 962 stone towers in Samaria, weighing about 150 tons apiece and probably serving as artificial caves for estate wine production under the Ptolemies, were the result of 300-400 days of labor.[19]

Coins

A *desideratum* for social interpretation in Galilee would be a specialist publication that provided detailed coin profiles for all excavated and surveyed sites. Furthermore, archaeologists need to give sustained attention to the context of coin finds: What types of hoards are found in cities, towns, or villages? Are these accumulations likely derived from commerce or rent extraction? Where are silver coins "contextualized"? Where are bronzes discovered?

It is known that the temple tax was to be paid in Tyrian money (*m. Bek.* 8:7). It is probable that Herodian rents and taxes were paid in this currency as well, since in lower Galilean towns (Gamala, Chorazin, Bethsaida, Jotapata) the prevalence of Tyrian coins is notable. It may reasonably be asked, therefore, how the presence of Tyrian coinage relates to political economy. Would the coin record bear out the thesis: Silver coinage, especially the Hellenistic types established at Tyre and Acco, supplied the basic money of the political economy—both in terms of taxation (Herodian realm, temple) and commerce (Tyre connection)? My suggestion is that Tyrian coinage reflects the political sway of Tyre, even in the domains of the Herodians and high priests.[20]

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19 Fiensy 1990: 32; Applebaum 1978; Dar 1986. Seeman 1993 offers some valuable suggestions about the adverse economic impact of the founding of Herod's two Galilean cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias.

20 The text of Acts 12:20 is suggestive of the political conflict between the Herods and Tyre. Jesus' temple action reflects, I think, his anger at the total compromise of the priests with the constellation of imperial powers.

Would archaeological work also bear out the thesis of Polanyi that bronzes were token money only intended for rudimentary commodity exchanges or for conversion into silver by money-changers (with commissions—another form of taxation)?[21] Consider the results of a concordance study of the New Testament: The silver *denarius* is associated with political economy, especially debt (Matt 18:28), estate payment (Matt 20:2, 10), taxation (Mark 12:15), and commerce (Luke 10:35; Rev 6:6). The non-elite are most likely familiar only with bronze coins: The two *lepta* of the widow (Mark 12:42); Jesus asking, probably not disingenuously, about the inscription and image on a silver coin (Mark 12:15).

The coins of the first revolt offer equally suggestive information. Silver shekels of the first Jewish-Roman war have been discovered for all years. These typically have the inscription "Jerusalem the Holy" (holiness a priestly interest) and were probably used to pay the temple tax. Bronze coins found at Masada bear inscriptions "For the freedom of Zion" or "For the redemption of Zion," while a unique bronze type at Gamala is inscribed "For the redemption of Holy Jerusalem." As Hengel points out, "It is a remarkable fact that 'freedom' does not, as it does in the case of the coins of the second revolt, refer predominantly to Israel, but is applied fundamentally to Zion."[22] The clear association of bronzes with a concern for Zion's freedom likely indicate a concern about temple taxation. The bronze revolt coins may mark as much a revolt against the temple as against the Romans.

Archaeological work, it can be seen, needs to become precise enough to identify in the coin record differing circulation patterns and economic systems with quite different purposes. The vertical system of taxation and commerce was by far the most significant. Thus, MacMullen's comment about the local nature of "seventy-five percent" of economic exchanges in the Roman empire is a meaningless statistic without some assessment of the percentage of the total system product involved in those exchanges.[23] Social interpretation needs to suspect that quantity of total exchange is seriously misleading index for volume of exchange (perhaps up to seventy-five percent was moving vertically).

Bath Complexes

Up until now, *miqva'oth*, or ritual bath complexes, have been significant cultural indicators for a Jewish presence in the Galilee. For first and second-century Sepphoris, the excavations on the western side of the acropolis have uncovered significant evidence for a "Jewish quarter." The presence there of private ritual baths, utility mosaic floors, and burials outside of the city precincts would show, in this interpretation, both a concern for ritual purity (baths) and aniconic sensitivities demonstrated through no depiction of plants, animals, or humans on mosaic floors (Meyers 1992: 325).

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21 Polanyi 1977: 116-19 and especially 258-64.

22 Hengel 1989: 118; for another accessible discussion of the coins, see Betlyon 1992: 1087.

23 See the comments of Edwards 1992: 55, who thinks MacMullen's views permit the inference that Galilean cities were not parasitic. This view ignores the political nature of Galilean economy.

A consideration of where *miqva'oth* appear in towns and outside cities gives pause to a simple cultural interpretation.[24] As is well-known from the Mazar excavations at the temple mount and from Avigad's work in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, *miqva'oth* are clearly associated with concern for the purity of the temple and with the likely pre-70 CE domiciles of the high priestly families.[25] The Judean Essenes at Qumran clearly had concern for ritual bathing, attested both in the Scrolls and in the archaeological remains (La Sor 1987). The bath complexes in the western palace of Herod at Masada may also indicate that monarch's concern to abide by Judean purity regulations. The wealthy and powerful could have these in domestic contexts.

What is striking about the *miqva'oth* in rural Judea is their association with economic installations, mostly pressing installations. These installations were provided by the estate owner for the workers to insure the ritual purity of the product.

In Galilee, the same pattern seems to hold outside the cities. At Gamala, a *miqveh* appears beside the oil press. At Chorazin, although probably from a much-later period, one finds *miqva'oth* near economic installations. Jotapata seems to show a similar configuration. Interestingly, the *miqva'oth* (?) in Nazareth do not seem associated with the oil/wine presses.[26] Their absence at installations associated with other Galilean Jewish villages would be a significant social index. Presses from this period in western Galilee appear to lack *miqva'oth* as well, but this is perhaps related to the dominance there of Acco (Frankel 1992).

I suggest that for Jewish villagers in Lower Galilee *miqva'oth* were associated with political economy, and thus with *political* religion. Therefore, Galilean peasants had ample reason to detest purity concerns, along with the product extraction linked to them. Peasant anger compromised village loyalty to the temple, since it was the temple and levitical law that mandated such arrangements.

Pottery

The work of Adan-Bayewitz is noteworthy in pointing toward new ways of gleaning social information from the artifactual record. His tracing of pottery origins and distribution by detailed analysis of chemical profiles of

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24 The following ideas about ritual baths occurred to me while working in Galilee. Marianne Sawicki has made a similar observation in the IOUDAIOS forum (January 1994): "These pools turn up everywhere *but* with the synagogues." Ronny Reich's ASOR presentation (1993 Annual Meeting), "*Miqwa'ot* (Jewish Ritual Baths) in Rural Regions in the Second Temple Period," showed that purity baths were often part of Judean estate pressing installations.

25 Results are conveniently summarized in Avigad 1976 and Mazar 1980.

26 Bagatti 1969: 52-57, 119-23, 219-33; Bagatti and Tzaferis 1993: 1104. These plastered basins, discovered under the Churches of the Annunciation and St. Joseph, seem unrelated to the presses. The basins likely come from a time later than the early first century and show evidence of cultic functions. Could they be installations associated with the removal of the high priestly course to Nazareth after 70 CE? Otherwise, they might have been *loci* for Jewish Christian baptisms. See, however, the discussion in Meyers and Strange 1981: 132, 136.

pottery clay is a real step forward from simple morphological identifications. We accept Adan-Bayewitz's basic conclusions that Kefar ananyah and Kefar Shikhin manufactured the basic cooking wares and storage vessels respectively for Lower Galilee in the early Roman period (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990).

The discoveries of Adan-Bayewitz have seemed to support the notion that Lower Galilean society was well-integrated (low level of conflictual relations) and thoroughly commercialized, so that villagers could buy or trade pottery much as we would visit the store for dishware. It is at this point that the lack of an explicit systems model in Adan-Bayewitz's work leads to an unlikely conclusion. For it is much more likely, given what we have looked at in this paper, that powerful interests controlled the two pottery villages—especially when Shikhin was very close to Sepphoris and manufactured the basic vessel of liquid commerce—and that the distribution of these products reflects rather the outcome of monopoly than of a free market. Furthermore, one might ask whether other pottery manufacturing outlets could have existed *de jure* (given the necessary supplies of local clay), but did not *de facto* because of the prevailing socio-political arrangements. This is a matter that requires further inquiry. Furthermore, to speak of markets, as Adan-Bayewitz and Edwards do, is to ignore the results of comparative studies like Polanyi's that indicate "market" as we understand that word did not exist in antiquity; ancient markets were not price-markets; politics and "kinship" governed the dynamics of exchanges, distorting the purely economic rationality that modern people associate with markets.[27]

Archaeologists should give attention, in addition to formal pottery typologies and quantitative studies of pottery remains, to what types of vessels appear where. In towns, for instance, one might expect to find many storage jars and *pithoi* precisely because towns were the enforcement or collection points for rent and tax extraction. What kinds of volume do extant storage jar remains indicate? We will look below at the Unjust Steward parable of Jesus with precisely this question in mind.

Stone vessels, finally, like *miqva'oth*, have come to be recognized as cultural indices of ritual purity concern.[28] These, not surprisingly, have been found in the wealthy area (Upper City) of ancient Jerusalem, at Qumran, and at Masada. They become social indices for political economy and political kinship contexts, i.e., they correlate well with the domiciles of the powerful or their agents.

Summary

Archaeology will have much to offer in the future for the social interpretation of Galilee. The interpretation of material artifacts is not exempt from the problems of textual interpretation. The interpreter has to have "some idea" of what is going on while approaching the material record. Social-systems modeling urges that archaeologists look for social indices that map social and economic structures and relations. As James F. Strange has noted,

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27 Polanyi *et al.* 1957; Polanyi 1977: 42-43, 126-42.

28 Stone vessels were not susceptible to uncleanness (e.g., *m. Kel.* 10:1).

such modeling and interpretation will go hand in hand with work on the literary traditions.[29]

A Proposal for the Social Interpretation of Jesus

Systems models and archaeology can help to control the on-going vigorous discussion about the Jewishness of Galilee and the meaning of the earliest Jesus movement. To this task we turn.

Burton Mack has recently published a brilliant analysis of Q that provides a good sounding board for the ideas developed here. He sees the earliest collection of Jesus' sayings in Galilee (Q1, 40s CE) projecting an image of a cynic teacher. The Q tradents celebrate an ever-present kingdom of God through a playful, freedom-loving lifestyle. With the second stratum of Q (60s CE), clear marks of disappointment enter the picture. Besides the addition of material appealing to the "epic" tradition of Israel (Jonah, Solomon), Q2 condemns "this generation" for rejecting the messages of John and Jesus, who are now envisioned in the line of Wisdom's emissaries. In Q2, Jesus is understood in relationship to an imminent apocalyptic visit from the Son of Man. Q3 completes the tradition before its assumption into the canonical Gospels of Luke and Matthew. In Q3, Jesus quotes scripture to Satan and grieves over Jerusalem. Mack sees this stratum reflecting the aftermath of the Jewish-Roman war.

It is striking in Mack's methodology to note that he sees most of the canonical "mythologizations" as derivative from the original Q material. While Mack acknowledges that miracle traditions and pronouncement stories have independent trajectories, he is unwilling apparently to admit that Mark or John might have had independent lines to Jesus or Jesus traditions (e.g., the passion narrative). The methodological result of this is quite clear: Jesus could not be the "big bang" for the Jesus movements (always plural in Mack's book). Mythologization of Jesus happened early (Q2) and often (Q, Paul, Mark). However, Q is ironically the big bang of all mythologizations, and it shows Jesus to have been a cynic teacher.

These results mandate that Galilee be understood as a highly Hellenized place and that the Judean orientation of Jesus be minimized. This is precisely how Mack proceeds in his characterization of Galilee (1993: chap. 4). He depicts it as a cosmopolitan area strongly permeated by Hellenistic culture. He is also at pains to argue that "Judaism" in Galilee is like Samaritanism or Hellenized Judaism elsewhere. Only weak ties to Jerusalem or the temple are imagined.

This proposal can be evaluated as follows: It seems reasonable to say that some literate group, early on and likely in Galilee, understood Jesus as a cynic sage. Mack and others have shown this beyond a shadow of a doubt.[30] However, this characterization has not shown that the historical Jesus is best understood in this way. Scholars like Freyne, Crossan, Sanders, and Vermes raise important questions for Mack's portrait, because they see the historical

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[29] Strange 1992: 25 provides a nice flow chart for how this interpretive coordination might work.

[30] Mack 1993; Crossan 1991: 72-88, 287-302.

Jesus in some definite relationship to the traditions of Israel. A further difficulty with Mack's theory: How could a so-thoroughly Hellenized Jesus and sayings-gospel be brought back so quickly into a certifiably Jewish domain in Q2? Why did not the Q tradition continue in its original "purely Hellenized" trajectory, so that Gospel of Thomas was its only legacy? This problem remains unresolved in Mack's presentation.

Mack rightly underscores, though, how difficult it may be to characterize the relationship between Jesus and Judaism. Jesus is not purely and simply a Judean, the way the Pharisees, Essenes, and Sadducees are Judeans. These three Judean groups known to us from Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and rabbinic traditions are all identifiable because of their relationship to the temple. All three have measurable concerns for purity and for interpreting levitical traditions in Moses. The Jesus tradition shows uneasiness about simply fitting Jesus into temple and purity concerns without qualification.[31]

As Mack observes, the Samaritans could give equal attention to Moses and no scholar today would call them "Jews." Should this designation be given to Galileans without further ado? Freyne and others have shown that *some* Galileans at least were devoted to the temple, if not overly to purity concerns. Freyne has also suggested that some Galileans were Israelites who survived after the Assyrian conquest (Freyne 1980: 38). Gary Rendsburg has proposed that "Israelians" continued in Galilee from 722 BCE through the time of the Mishnah, since there are clear linguistic contacts between Israelian Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew (1992: 227, 235). 2 Chronicles 30 makes this suggestion quite persuasive, and it is an especially important text for the recognition of Israelians by Judeans at the time of Passover—a point we shall develop further.

We shall continue to call these Galileans "Jews," because of some measurable concern for both Jerusalem temple and Mosaic torah, with the proviso that we understand "Palestinian Judaism" in the first-century as a very broad and pluralistic designation and that we specify Jesus' Judaism in a way that does not fit neatly with Phariseeism, Essenism, or Sadduceeism. It is to a sketch of this relationship, and an attempt to account for why a Galilean Jew ends up crucified in Jerusalem, that we finally turn in this paper.

Jesus and the Kingdom of God

Most recent Jesus studies have acknowledged Jesus' focus on "kingdom of God." For most of the twentieth century, the expression "kingdom of God" has been read against an apocalyptic Jewish background; in recent times that judgment has been contested.[32]

It seems remarkable in the light of our previously developed model that Jesus would pick a political metaphor to be central to his preaching (Horsley 1987: 170). As Jesus' articulation of non-elite Jewish aspirations in Galilee, it is our thesis that his central symbol signifies the removal from the human plane of politics, i.e., political society and political economy. The rule of God

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31 Vermes 1993: 14 (after the temple incident Jesus "calmed down" and remained temple-loyal) and 22-26 (Jesus did not violate sabbath, food laws) is unhelpful. Crossan 1991: 322 shows a far more likely programmatic conflict with the temple system.

32 Borg 1991: 1-2; Crossan 1991: 284, 292; Mack 1993: 124; Evans 1993 all see a wisdom background. Sanders 1993: 448 continues to hold out for the older Schweitzer view.

confers power to act here and now for the one who "enters it." We reach this judgment as follows:

Crossan is surely correct in identifying healing and eating as central motifs of the Jesus movement. The exorcism of demons or the healing of bodies makes the kingdom real and present for the degraded, the unclean, and the expendables (Lenski's bottom classes). These actions of Jesus represent not only healing of bodies but restoration of people to the community.

Jesus' "open commensality" is surely one of the central metaphors for what kingdom means. The beautiful quote by Peter Brown sums up this connection to kingdom: "In the straitened Mediterranean, the kingdom of Heaven had to have something to do with food and drink" (quoted in Crossan 1991: 366). As with the healing of bodies, so the feeding of people has to do centrally with community.

> Commensality was, rather, a strategy for building or rebuilding peasant community on radically different principles from those of honor and shame, patronage and clientage (Crossan 1991: 344).

However scholars may evaluate the last phrases—Bruce Malina (1988) would disagree on the "radically different principles"—the emphasis on a communal outcome to feeding is very important. On these basic points, Crossan has offered very powerful arguments.

Concern for community in the historical Jesus undercuts the Mack approach in a fundamental way. For he (and those who would go along with him) sees "community formation" at a later point. Indeed, if Jesus was a cynic individualist, community formation was far from his aim. Mack's early Q stratum, then, offers support in his mind for a group of social dropouts. Crossan's instincts seem more to be correct, especially given that a Jewish Jesus will always imagine a community in response to God's reign.

We see, in terms of our elaborated model, that Jesus as an advocate of non-elite interests in Galilee envisions the emergence of an alternative social order under God's reign; this reign implies a community of fictive kinship. Its emergence, however, is hindered as long as the prevailing political order remains. There are indications in very ancient Jesus material of a critique of the political order.

Jesus' Critique of the Herodian-Judean Political Order

In the analysis by Crossan, Luke 9:57-58 is the only one of the so-called Son of Man sayings with multiple independent attestation. Crossan argues that the saying recollects an original Jesuanic idiom, when he occasionally used the semitic phrase to refer to humanity generally.[33] Crossan makes the prescient remark, "its meaning will demand much further context for final interpretation" (1991: 256).

This saying, in fact, makes eminent sense in a Galilean context. Its meaning within Q1 could be used to support a cynic appreciation for natural living. In such a reading, foxes and birds would have their natural homes, but human beings have to build "unnatural dwellings." This gives a rather

[33] Crossan 1991: 255-56. Crossan includes this saying in Q1 +1/2.

general sense to the *logion*, but one that might have been compelling to those who thought non-conformity meant a rejection of all social life.

A different reading emerges through familiarity with Jesus' old neighborhood. Nazareth stands near the location of ancient Sepphoris, Herod's capital city. The Q saying luminesces quite differently in a real social context: Jesus is said to refer to Herod as "that fox" (Luke 13:31-33); Sepphoris derives from the Hebrew word for bird.[34] The "birds of the air," the Sepphoreans, control the villages and the product of the land. The large oil and wine presses, perhaps with their accompanying ritual baths, serve the elites. They are signs of the extraction of product, of its removal from profane or local use, and of its transfer far away. The tentacles of commercial Tyre and the temple system reach across the land. The Phoenician, Herodian, and Judean elites alike benefit from the Roman peace. The Herodian and Judean-oriented elite at Sepphoris have everything they need, but the ordinary person has nothing! The ordinary person meanwhile goes away hungry. "For to him who has will more be given; and from him who has not, even what he has will be taken away" (Mark 4:25 and pars.). The *Foxes Have Holes* saying is critical of society, as the Q tradents thought, but its original concern was blame of political society, not praise of nature.

A similar picture emerges from a study of Luke 16:1-7 (8). The steward (*oikonomos*) is situated somewhere within the political kinship structure of Jesus' Galilee. Perhaps the rich man lives in Sepphoris, while the steward oversees an estate in the fertile Beth Netofa Valley to the north. What hermeneutical possibilities does the systems perspective suggest for Luke 16:1-7 (8)?[35]

Here as in other parables of Jesus, the kingdom of God hovers behind the narrative. Does Jesus tell the story: 1) with sympathy for the master's interests and values? 2) to hold up the behavior of the steward as a negative or a positive example? 3) out of sympathy for the debtors?

Verse 8a, which is not considered by Jeremias (1963: 45-46) to be a part of the original parable of Jesus, would perhaps support hermeneutical Option 1 if included. One possible reading of the parable in this form identifies the *kyrios* ("master," "lord") of verse 8 with the steward's master (verse 3). Scott advances literary arguments in favor of this identification (Scott 1986: 38-41). Though the steward is labeled "dishonest" (*oikonomos tēs adikias*), the master finds the steward's shrewdness admirable. What the master particularly admires, we are probably to understand, is the steward's political wisdom; for by utilizing the master's resources yet once more to acquire a brood of clients, the steward's "benefactions" set him up royally for the near future.

This interpretation would overlook, however, the injury of the master's interests by the steward's behavior (Kloppenborg 1989: 486). The following social consideration might urge that Jeremias is correct in rejecting verse 8 as

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34 Luke 13:32 is rated -3/1 by Crossan.

35 Jeremias 1963; Fitzmyer 1974; Scott 1986, 1989: 255-66; and Kloppenborg 1989 are basic for the following discussion. Crossan 1991 does not discuss this parable, because it is not multiply attested. For one of the best discussions of the social import of this parable, see now Herzog 1994, which came into my hands after this section on the Luke 16 parable had been completed. Herzog independently corroborates some of the conclusions reached here.

a part of the original parable: The master typically would not have appreciated the steward's continuation of the ripoff. Columella (mid-first century) relates the advice of Cornelius Celsus (early first century):

> [Celsus] says that an [illiterate] overseer . . . brings money to his master oftener than he does his book, because, being illiterate, he is either less able to falsify accounts or is afraid to do so through a second party . . . . (Quoted from Lewis and Reinhold 1955: 171)

Material in the synoptic tradition graphically depicts a possible outcome for impropriety or malfeasance in stewardship. Consider the extremely harsh treatment of Matt 24:45-51//Luke 12:42-46: The offending slave is cut in two (*dichotomeō*). Was the steward's meditation (Luke 16:3) designed to provoke laughter from Jesus' audience?[36]

It does not seem likely (at least to this writer) that Jesus' original intent was simply to evoke the audience's outrage or delight at the injury of the master's interests. Furthermore, it seems unlikely, on the basis of the previous considerations of this paper, that Jesus told a simplistic morality story to justify the interests of the landlord class. Option 1, therefore, appears to be ruled out. In a similar vein, Jesus probably did not tell this parable strictly to hold the steward's action up for censure or blame (option 2a). Such a reading would only make sense from the master's point of view.

In favor of the view that Jesus portrays the steward as a hero (option 2b), Jeremias holds that verse 8a reflects a change of subject in the earliest Jesus tradition to bring out Jesus' own attitude toward the steward's behavior. In this reading, the Lord (Jesus) praises the shrewd action of the steward. The question then arises, what is praiseworthy about the steward's deed? Jeremias concludes simply that the steward acts resolutely in a crisis and that Jesus held this behavior up as exemplary in his eschatological message. Besides the objection that Jeremias' eschatological reading is outmoded, the trouble with this interpretation is that the hearer/reader of the parable is expected to suspend moral judgment on what transpires and to grasp simply that the "end" (the eschatological times) justifies the means (radical and apparently selfish behavior). The parable rather seems to invite moral judgment (in first-century terms) to come into play; the original hearers were undoubtedly captivated with the moral implications of such a story (see also Danker 1972: 173).

Proceeding to option 3, we might expect Jesus to be sympathetic to the victims of this story, namely, the people who were under both the master's and the steward's power. Jesus, of peasant origins, shared the values and outlook of the Palestinian peasantry to some extent. He took interest in the plight of victims.[37] The two central characters in Luke 16:1-8 are beneficiaries of the Galilean political economy that disenfranchised and disinherited so many small peasants. What does the parable mean when viewed from the underside of his society?

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[36] Scott 1989: 263 has a similar idea. Kloppenborg 1989: 489 sees the master on trial in the court of public opinion.

[37] See my discussion of the Good Samaritan story, Oakman 1992.

The nature and value of the debts involved in the story need to be discussed. The significance of the debt remission also requires consideration.

Jeremias offers the following suggestion about the nature of the debts:

> The debtors . . . are either tenants who have to deliver a specified portion (a half, a third, or a quarter) of the yield of their land in lieu of rent, or wholesale merchants, who have given promissory notes for goods received. (1963: 181)

Jeremias correctly sees private debts here. We are not to think of a public debt; the parable presents a different social situation from the one envisioned in Matt 18:23-34. On the other hand, it is probably unlikely that wholesale merchants are involved; the items in the Lukan text would more likely be "exported" from the estate by merchant middlemen in exchange for silver coinage.

That the debtors are tenants seems the most likely scenario. Are these then individual tenants? Examining the value of the debts may help to decide here. Jeremias, on the basis of the work of Dalman and others, thinks that 100 cors of wheat is the yield of 100 acres or 550 cwt. (= 27 short tons or 25 metric tons). An independent calculation indicates that 100 cors is 30 metric tons, over 1000 bushels of wheat, and the yield of 99.5 acres.[38] The Mishnah attests rents in the 10 cor per annum range (*m. B. Mes.* 9:7-10). The likelihood is that few small cultivators, who undoubtedly comprised the majority of tenants in early first-century Palestine, could have been responsible for the rent of 100 acres. Most tenants (and their families) farmed between 5 to 10 acres—a fact suggested by the late first-century report about the land holdings of Jesus' relatives: When summoned before Domitian, these relatives claimed 39 *plethra* (1 *plethron* = either 0.5 or 1 *iugerum* = either 0.3 or 0.6 acre; 39 *plethra* = either 6 or 12 acres) between two families.[39] Similarly, Jeremias notes that 100 baths of oil were the product of 146 olive trees or nearly 4000 liters of oil. Assuming a typical Galilean storage jar volume of about 15 liters, this would amount to 267 jars of oil.[40] A typical peasant family probably could not care for so many trees or have so many jars of oil, but a village certainly could.

Hence, these are representatives of tenant villages paying the (annual?) rent assessed against former village lands now part of a large estate somewhere in Galilee. The representatives, probably styled *kōmogrammateis* as in the Hellenistic period, were the village tax accountants responsible to the landlord for the entire village obligation. As the story clearly indicates, these persons were literate (Luke 16:7).

How much were the debts worth? Jeremias calculates that the 100 cors of wheat were worth 2500 *denarii* and the 100 baths of oil, 1000 *denarii*, but since "oil was dearer than wheat" he sees a rough equality between the debt remissions (1963: 181). In Galilee, the presumed original setting for Jesus' parable, the price of oil was extremely variable, because of the prevalence of olive orchards. The evidence for oil prices in Josephus and in rabbinic

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38 Done with the computer program at the end of Oakman 1986.

39 Further discussion in Oakman 1986: 61. See also Fiensy 1990: 93-95.

40 Jar volume is calculated based upon the measurements in Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990: 165.

material indicates a fairly large range between the times oil was plentiful and the times oil was dear. A *denarius* might buy anything between 2 and 40 liters of oil.[41] Hence, Jeremias cannot be so sure that oil was dearer than wheat in the Galilean context. He is correct in saying that for both cases large debts were involved.

If this reading of the type of debt is correct, these debts were a heavy burden upon the local villages and representative of the changing social situation under the Romans. Not only were the debts burdensome, but their nature implies significant loss of local control over the product of the land. The reduction of the peasants' ties to the overlord to a relationship of economic exploitation would produce a great deal of resentment (Mark 12:1-12).

Does the steward's strategy of debt remission lead to a tactical power gain or is a fundamental change of relationship between the steward-enforcer of the political economy and the debtors envisioned? These two interpretive sub-options of hermeneutical Option 3 need to be explored for a moment.

There does not seem to be any indication within Jesus' narrative that the steward is in fact repentant of his former behaviors and that now a truly new possibility has opened up.[42] The steward continues in his former behavior of embezzlement and acts in his own interests with the two debt remissions. Furthermore, as has been suggested already, the steward's self-interested benefactions put the debtors in his debt. Gift-giving in the ancient Mediterranean world brought with it the expectation of reciprocity; to give to someone else obligated them.[43]

The steward obviously counts on certain effects to follow his debt remission scheme. He is sure that his new friends will "welcome me into their houses" (v. 4). His tactics carefully demonstrate his new-found affections. He does not tell the debtors what they owe the master, as might be expected from the master's plenipotentiary, but asks each debtor what they owe. These presumably give a "low estimate." Then, the steward underbids even that low estimate. Finally, the debtors themselves are told to write their own contract. Would this be the normal course, or another opportunity for further reductions? The debtors are in his power, albeit a different kind of power than formerly.[44]

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41 Heichelheim 1959: 184-85 conveniently gathers the major literary source material. Calculation again done with the computer program in Oakman 1986.

42 This consideration speaks against Fitzmyer's interpretation (1974: 176-77). He follows Derrett in thinking that the steward has simply foregone usury. Kloppenborg 1989: 481-86 provides additional arguments against these views.

43 Discussion in Malina 1993: 101, 103, and hint on 115. Surely the meaning of Jesus' similitude preserved by Luke at 11:5-8 hangs upon the same social assumption: A villager may not get up at midnight to provide for someone because he is a friend, but to keep the other in debt he certainly will. The meaning of the word *anaideian*, upon which this interpretation is hinged, is disputed, but the Egyptian papyri strongly urge the meaning "shameless desire for personal gain." The "friend" will make a loan at midnight on this basis.

44 Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992: 373-75) see the master also within the power of the steward, because the master's honor is also increased within the community by the steward's actions. The master cannot but praise the steward. Hence, Malina and Rohrbaugh find a good cultural reason to retain v. 8 as part of the original parable. Their

It is not easy to see how this message coalesces with Jesus' overall message of the kingdom of God. Perhaps the key to a genuinely new option within the situation lies in seeing the core element of debt forgiveness. The peasantry view the debt collection as "theft" and unjust. Rigorous enforcement of debt collection led to violence (again Mark 12:1-12). The story suggests that if folks can lower the debts even a little bit, and can live as friends—even if not under strictly mutual obligation—then the Galilean situation can improve, if only infinitesimally.

In reference to the kingdom, there is implied here a "lesser to the greater" moral argument. If the steward's dishonest personal machinations can have beneficial social effects, how much more will the debt forgiveness accomplish that is practiced under the conviction of the imminence of God's reign? Jesus is fascinated with the community-building possibilities of debt remission.[45]

Jesus' story contains humor, irony, social critique, and the suggestion of new possibilities all rolled into one. While the original meaning remains uncertain, a combination of steward as hero and debt remission as a moral good gives the most satisfying result, since the parable focuses on the behavior of the steward but has implications for the debtors as well. Jesus' parable envisions the "conversion" of the political enforcers of the Galilean economy to the alternate social order of fictive kinship under God's rule. With the undermining of enforcement or attraction of members of the enforcer (political kinship) class to his movement, Jesus was certainly going to come to the attention of the authorities and become a marked man.

The Galilean Life of Jesus and His Judean Death

Various suggestions have been offered about the relationship between Jesus' Galilean life and Judean death.[46] Freyne 1988, Crossan 1991, and Mack 1993 have all underscored the differences between Galilee and Judea and the need to take the distinction seriously in historical Jesus scholarship. This section proposes how the various strands of social, archaeological, and textual interpretation might finally be woven together.

Evans 1993 provides a starting point. He sees in Jesus' execution as "King of the Jews" an elite move to stop his proclamation of God's kingdom. Crossan, Mack, and especially Miller 1991 have shown the difficulties in supposing that the canonical passion narratives give us the actual course of events at the end of Jesus' life. Passion narrative, trials, and burial are substantially literary

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interpretation, however, deflects attention from the socio-political implications of the story.

45 The story of Zacchaeus, though attested only in Luke 19:1-10, recalls this fascination. For further discussion of debt forgiveness, see Oakman 1986: 149-56. Herzog (1994), though he contextualizes the parable scene somewhat differently, sees similar dynamics and also suggests that the parable's import lies in the forgiveness of debts. Kloppenborg 1989: 492 considers the "swerve" in v. 8 to signify that the master is "'laughing' at his own honour and at the honour-shame codes with which the story has operated." This interpretation is striking, but like Malina's and Rohrbaugh's only indirectly offers critique of social realities structured by honor-shame dynamics.

46 Evans 1993 supplies the title for this final section. I have also been stimulated by Evans 1989 and Richardson 1992, papers to which I responded at national meetings.

fictions. Miller thinks even the temple incident is Marcan creation. How can these historical reconstructions or deconstructions be answered?

Mack's and Miller's viewpoints can be answered briefly. The problem in Mack's perspective lies fundamentally in its non-Jewish Jesus and its inability to account for the interest of a Galilean cynic in Judea. Mack's and Miller's shared perspective on creative elements in the passion narrative is surely correct, but Crossan's understanding of the character of such creative work—from event to process or from process to event—will undermine the deconstructive or accidental reading and underscore the essential historical truth the canonical evangelists point to: The meaning of Jesus' death in relation to Passover is not early Christian invention. To establish a final major point of this essay, an excursus is necessary.

It is fascinating to work through Josephus' explicit references to the Passover feast in order to make a judgment about his understanding of it. His usual habit is to characterize Passover by "the feast of unleavened bread" (*J.W.* 2 §§10, 224, 244; 4 §402; *not* 6 §423; *Ant.* 18 §90 or 20 §106). It is at this feast that Archelaus slaughters those protesting Herod's murder of the men who had torn down the golden eagle (*J.W.* 2 §10; *Ant.* 17 §213). Under Cumanus, a soldier's unseemly gesture leads to a riot (*J.W.* 2 §224; *Ant.* 20 §106). Crossan notes that this event nearly provokes the Jewish-Roman war twenty years prematurely. Quadratus the Syrian Legate has to visit Jerusalem (Crossan 1991: 184). Likewise, Vitellius (*Ant.* 18 §90) and Gallus visit Jerusalem at this feast (*J.W.* 2 §280). The Sicarii act at this time to raid Engeddi (*J.W.* 4 §402). John murders the partisans of Eleazar at the feast (*J.W.* 5 §99). It was at this time that omens appeared in the temple (*J.W.* 6 §290). And it is at this time that the catastrophic war against Rome broke out (*J.W.* 6 §421).

Antiquities 3 describes the institution of the *Pascha* sacrifice, "seeing that in this month we were delivered from bondage to the Egyptians" (§248). This is as much as Josephus ever says about its meaning; he never explicitly links Passover with contemporary aspirations. Both *Jewish War* and *Antiquities* emphasize that the people participate in the sacrifice *in groups* (*J.W.* 6 §423; *Ant.* 3 §248).

The Samaritans desecrate the temple at Passover time (*Ant.* 18 §30). This act is not simply a hostile jab against Judaism, but occurs after Judea (and Samaria in train) has become a Roman province (in the governorship of Coponius, 6-9 CE). Here the Samaritans perform a symbolic action in response to the perceived betrayal of the Mosaic tradition. A chapel of the Emperor is no better than a chapel of Pharaoh!

Passover is not mentioned at all in *Against Apion.* Here Josephus is content to counter the slanders of Manetho about the Exodus, the purpose of which in Josephus' mind was to found Jerusalem and the temple (*Ag. Ap.* 1 §228).

Surprisingly, Brandon and Hengel make little of a Passover concern among the Zealots.[47] Crossan (1991: 160-67) refers to the several magicians or

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47 Brandon 1967; Hengel 1989. The thesis of this section needs further review by revisiting the earlier works on the Zealots. Hengel's statement

> One can look in vain in the Old Testament, in the Book of Ecclesiasticus and in the Qumran documents for an equivalent to the Greek term *eleutheria* in its purely political meaning.

prophet figures who led people into the wilderness to relive the conquest of the land. Josephus, of course, downplays their significance and popularity. Nevertheless, these figures are important indicators of the significance of liberation readings of Moses for the non-elites in Judea. The Fourth Philosophy, "founded" by Judas of Gamala at the time of Judea's incorporation into the Roman provincial system (and of the census of Quirinius), had a simple tenet: God is the only Lord, and to pay Roman taxes was to admit to slavery. This was a radical reading of the implications of Exodus 20:1-3 for the Galilean-Golan Jewish situation under the early empire. Later, Gamala was to make a desperate last stand against Titus (*J.W.* 4 §§70-83).[48] Horsley comes closest of our interpreters to seeing Jesus in relationship to Passover.[49]

Jesus' Death (However It Occurred) and Passover

Our model and previous discussion prompt us to explore how Jesus' non-elite vision coheres with the basic tradition of Israel. One of the oldest parts of the Passover Seder, seen by its Aramaic, reads:

> This is the bread of poverty which our forefathers ate in the land of Egypt. Let all who are hungry enter and eat; let all who are needy come to our Passover feast. This year we are here; next year may we be in the Land of Israel. This year we are slaves; next year may we be free men.[50]

Crossan is at pains to show that Jesus' message, like cynicism, urges voluntary poverty, freedom, and kingdom. The freedom of the cynic philosopher grows out of his self-sufficiency. In this, the cynic finds freedom from social convention. As a free individualist, the cynic is his own king.[51] This is highly suggestive for the interpretation of Jesus, with his proclamation of kingdom, but both Crossan and Mack decontextualize a Jewish Jesus in order to make the cynic philosophical connection.

The Passover Seder passage, known in similar (if not identical) form to the Jewish Jesus, seems the far more likely basis for making these points. Note

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> The first appearance of the Hebrew concept for 'freedom' that can be precisely dated occurs significantly enough at the time of the Jewish War, when we find the word *hērûth* [on coins of the Jewish War]. (1989: 116)

overlooks the meaning of the Exodus and the appearance of *hôrîn* in the Passover Haggadah, surely a pre-70 conception! Hengel senses this in a later comment: "As soon as Israel's freedom came to be based, in the Haggadah, on the liberation from Egypt, the political question came to the surface . . ." (1989: 119).

48 The idea that Gamala was loyal to Rome, Jos. *Life* 46, seems untenable. See Horsley 1987: 82-83 for an account of the relationship between Judas and Exodus.

49 He makes this connection several times without drawing the conclusion we are drawing: Horsley 1987: 45, 50, 82, 93, 155, especially 189 (discussion of allusion to Exodus 8:19 in Luke 11:20), and 300. Horsley explicitly denies (1987: 179) that Jesus' frequent festive meals can be explained by the once-a-year Jewish Passover meal.

50 Glatzer (1979: 20-21) conveniently supplies pointed text, English translation, and notes. Segal (1963: 241) makes no firm judgment on the antiquity of the Haggadah, though he refers to Finkelstein's views that this material was pre-70 CE.

51 Crossan 1991: 79: "Notice, in the flow of that passage [in Epictetus], the sequence from 'nothing' to 'free' to 'king,' the logic of poverty leading to freedom leading to royalty."

that poverty (and its alleviation!), rule (over land), and freedom are equally hallmarks of Israelite consciousness. Jesus leaves the issue of rule to God. He and his followers practice domestic economy (eating) and religion (healing, "sons," "freedom") in response.[52]

Furthermore, the Beatitudes, among the oldest and best Jesus traditions,[53] are concerned with just these matters. Consider the following table:

Passover Haggadah	*Beatitudes*
The bread of poverty	Blessed are you poor
Let all who are hungry	Blessed are the hungry
This year we are here	Blessed are those who mourn

The last element of the Aramaic introduction holds the words, "next year may we be free men" (*benê ḥôrîn*, lit. "sons of freedom"). In Matt 17:25-26 Jesus tells Peter, in relation to the temple tax, that "sons are free." In terms of Jesus' program of domestic religion, the alternate social order ("kingdom") of God does not involve political taxation as the Judean temple does.[54] Jesus' vision grows out of the foundation story of Israel.

In discussing Jesus' meal practices, Crossan claims:

> We have moved from, first, open commensality during the lifetime of Jesus through, second, general eucharistic meal without and then with a bread and wine (cup) emphasis and on, third, to specific passion remembrance, celebration, and participation. (1991: 365)

This judgment needs reconsideration. Crossan reaches it in a series of steps (1991: 360-64) by asserting that Jesus' "open eating": 1) followed the standard Greco-Roman meal pattern of food/drink, 2) was not a distinctive sort of meal, 3) is still reflected apart from a Last Supper/Passover connection in *Didache* 10, and 4) only later was ritualized as such by Paul (1 Cor 11) and Mark (14).

Once it is seen that *Didache* 9-10, kept together, contain striking elements of a Jewish Passover meal (which had cup and blessings before and after the meal), the force of Crossan's conclusion is diminished.[55] The cup was the first element blessed (Greek: *eucharisteō*) in the Passover rite (*Did.* 9:1-2). The blessing of bread preceded the Passover meal proper (*Did.* 9:3; 10:1). Another blessing followed the meal, in conjunction with the third cup of wine, i.e., the "cup of blessing." This thanksgiving would properly dwell upon God's creative power and the gift of food and drink for humanity (*Did.* 10:3). Jeremias (1966: 117-18) discussed *Did.* 9-10, but missed its real significance. Jeremias thought it showed the separation of Lord's Supper from an Agape meal. What it really shows is the consistent practice (Paul, Mark, *Didache*) of

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52 Horsley (1987) sees all of this too, though not as sharply as through the systems framework: Chap. 7, "The Kingdom of God and the Renewal of Israel" links God's "politics" with feasting (170, 178), healing (181), and freedom (188). Chaps. 8-9 speak of "Renewal of Local Community" (fictive kinship).

53 Crossan 1991: Luke 6:20 (Q1 +1/3), Luke 6:21a (Q1 +1/2), Luke 6:21b (Q1 +1/3).

54 Horsley 1987: 288, 300 comes close to saying this: Jesus' temple action and words announce God's judgment against the Herodian temple-system.

55 The following discussion draws upon Segal 1963, Behm 1965: 732-37, Jeremias 1966, and Saldarini 1984.

eating Jesus' meal as a Passover meal whenever (1 Cor. 11:26) it was eaten! Crossan, underemphasizing Jesus' Jewishness as he does, has neglected to consider that Jesus' open table was founded upon the Passover meal and practiced as such regularly and even in Galilee.[56] Thus, Mark 14 can be "true" as "process to event," recollecting Jesus' customary practice of daily Passover remembrance.

Summary

We are now in a position to summarize the argument of this last section: If, as Evans argues and Crossan seems to accept, the death of Jesus was contingent upon his Galilean activity, we can now say that Jesus' Galilean commensality also included Passover bread and wine celebrations. That is, Jesus' commensality was shaped at every point during his Galilean life by his understanding of the root tradition of Israel; therefore, even if process has shaped the passion narrative especially at the point of Last Supper, that process had to have included Jesus' understanding of his own tradition. This makes great sense if other Galileans, like Judas of Gamala, understood their tradition as a liberation tradition. Therefore, the interpretations of Passover attributed to Jesus ("This bread is my body," "this wine is my blood of the covenant") should preeminently be understood as significations of the inner meaning of his Galilean activity. His healing as a social symbolization as well as his eating as a reconstitution of peasant community were both and equally contributions to the covenant community that the Moses tradition evoked.

Jesus, therefore, is best not read against Judean levitical traditions. He was not as Schweitzer thought an apocalyptic prophet or a messianic futurist. Messiahs and apocalyptic prophets were Judean preoccupations. Samaritanism, the Fourth Philosophy, and Jesus' own Galilean Judaism found their fullest theological context within Exodus, not within Leviticus.

Conclusion

This paper has provided a set of models and a set of proposals and questions for archaeologists that might have some utility for the clarification of the competing interpretive options about the social character of Galilean society and the Jesus movement. The last section of the paper urges that the political-economic context for Jesus' activity and his alternate vision growing out of basic Jewish traditions be given greater salience in the present discussion. Systems thinking, archaeological evidence emerging from the ground, and criticism of the Jesus traditions converge on the same interpretive result: The non-elite, Galilean Jesus made sense within his Jewish tradition, was opposed to Herodianism and Judeanism in Galilee on a principled basis, and finally went to his death for the sake of Passover freedom. Jesus' brief but enormously

[56] Saldarini 1984: 32 and Behm 1965: 734 insist that the Passover meal had to be eaten in Jerusalem. They do not consider the political nature of this requirement: Deut 16:2 is understood in later tradition, e.g., Tob 1:6, to refer to Jerusalem; Exod 23:15, 17 had not been so specific. Segal's discussion (1963: 20-25) shows that Jub. (49:16, 21) stresses the requirement to eat in Jerusalem, while Ezekielos does not mention it.

influential career can now be understood as a midrash upon Israel's foundational story.

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The Blessing of all the Families of the Earth: Jesus and Covenant Traditions in Luke-Acts

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Characterizing Jesus in Luke-Acts is a daunting task infected with perils of partiality and false abstractions. Readers who probe the text for semes of characterization inevitably bypass some and construct a deficient personage dislocated from the narrative world. But this essay is even more partial and abstract because it is an experiment in tracing thematization through Luke-Acts from foundations in Luke 1-4. It depends on scrutiny of the semes in Luke 1-4 but thereafter advances selectively on the trail of Jesus' fulfillment of a Davidic rule in fidelity to God's promise to Abraham.

Relating Jesus to covenant traditions is part of a multi-faceted question of who Jesus is that includes his relationship to culture. How, anchored in local society, is he is related to the larger culture? What place does he occupy in the great scheme of things?

1. Foundations

Absent from his own debut, Jesus first appears in Luke-Acts only as a promise. He makes the transition from promise to embryo in an atmosphere of uncommon divine favor. In the unveiling of this divine favor, the stories of Mary and Elizabeth embrace each other.[1] The fruitless womb of a woman advanced in years is in interplay with the fruitless womb of a young virgin. Further, each suffers negative social evaluations that play out cultural scripts of honor and shame.[2] Elizabeth is barren, Mary is pregnant outside marriage. In both cases extraordinary modes of conception underline God's benevolence, and God's benevolence reverses the negative social evaluations (Luke 1:25, 28, 30, 58). Even fetus to fetus declares knowledge (1:41, 44). The divine mercy in one story plays with and off the grace in the other in a cumulative theocentric pattern of uncommon favor.

Second, Jesus appears only as a promise in a context where the offspring of Elizabeth and Mary are themselves God's favor to Israel. Mary considers the

[1] See R. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 1, *The Gospel According to Luke* (FFNT: Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 15-20.

[2] B. Malina and J. Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. J. Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991) 25-65.

fetus in her womb to be God's mercy to Israel (1:54), and Zechariah consider's Elizabeth's baby a case of God's care and mercy for Israel (1:68, 72). Further, the two offspring are bound to each other in kinship—a cultural location that assigns inherited boundaries for social roles.[3]

Although readers first hear of Jesus only as a promise, they are able to locate the promise in a particular time and place, elements necessary to individualize him.[4] Zechariah receives Gabriel's promise in the days of Herod the Great (1:5). After Zechariah's service in the temple, Elizabeth conceived (1:24), and Jesus first appears as a promise in the sixth month of her pregnancy (1:26). Further, readers are able to situate Jesus as a promise in the city (*polis*) of Nazareth in local Galilean Jewish culture.[5]

As Jesus first appears only as a promise, characterization[6] takes place by epithet, evaluation of other characters in varying degrees of reliability, relationships among characters, and anticipated action. Epithets come first from Gabriel, a character of preeminent reliability.[7] Gabriel confers a popular name on the promised child, and though Luke-Acts shows some interest in the meaning of names (Acts 4:36), the meaning of Jesus never moves beyond an implicit level. But Gabriel also applies to him the epithet "great" in parallel with "son of the Most High" (Luke 1:32) and reiterates these with "holy" and "son of God" (1:35). Great and holy have implied antitheses in inferior and profane.[8] These antitheses come into conjunction in the promised Jesus, and Gabriel's prediction anticipates that Jesus will take a comic turn away from the borderline between the antitheses in the direction of greatness and consecration to God. Thus, these are evaluative terms coming from a character of unquestionable reliability. Additionally, Jesus' relationship with God is spelled out clearly as son of God. This relationship itself is evaluative, and it

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3 D. Gowler, *Host, Guest, Enemy, and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisee in Luke and Acts* (Emory Studies in Early Christianity 2; New York: Peter Lang, 1991) 23-26.

4 I. Watt, "Realism and the Novel," *Approaches to the Novel: Materials for a Poetics* (ed. R. Scholes; San Francisco: Chandler, 1961) 68.

5 Though archaeology establishes that Nazareth in the time of Jesus was a village, for the readers of Luke-Acts it is a city. *Pace* L. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina 3; Collegeville: Liturgical, 1991) 36. See J. Strange, "Nazareth," *ABD* 4. 1050.

6 Characterization here presupposes literary theory that readers construct characters out of semes (clues) in the text. R. Barthes, *S/Z* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974) 67; J. Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975) 203, 236-37; S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978) 126; S. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London: Methuen, 1983) 33-41, 60-70; T. Docherty, *Reading (Absent) Character: Towards a Theory of Characterization in Fiction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983).

7 I depend here on my emendation of Robert Alter's hierarchy of the degree of certainty in relation to reliability. R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981) 117; R. Brawley, *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) 22.

8 See my discussion of the symbolic voice, *Centering on God*, 182-85. These epithets and their antitheses go beyond Davidic messianism and fit honorific titles in the larger Greco-Roman world. F. Bovon, *L'Évangile selon Saint Luc (1,1-9,50)* (CNT 3a; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991) 76.

anticipates that Jesus will be prominent in Jewish culture, that is, distinguished above others by contributing value to society.[9]

Blended in with these voices is yet another—action.[10] Gabriel predicts that Jesus will rule on the throne of David. This anticipated action is the basis for Elizabeth's evaluation of Mary and Jesus as blessed and for her application of the epithet lord to the unborn Jesus (1:43). Similarly, it is the basis for Zechariah's oblique reference to the promised one as a horn of salvation.[11] Because the narrator evaluates Elizabeth and Zechariah as righteous and blameless (1:6), they also speak as reliable characters.

Further, Gabriel's promise is both analeptic and proleptic. Underlying the anticipated rule of Jesus in the future is a cultural repertoire of covenant traditions that reaches back into Israel's past. When Gabriel's promise launches Jesus into the future on the throne of David (1:32-33), it also propels him back to the Davidic covenant. Further, the recall of the covenant plays a successor texts off a precursor in a revisionary relationship.[12] In 2 Kgdms 7:12-13, Nathan promises that a descendant of David will rule on the throne of David forever. The LXX uses the singular *sperma* to speak of the dynasty. Luke 1:32-33 evidently takes the *sperma* as a reference to one descendant—Jesus—and construes the covenant as the eternal rule of that one offspring. The successor twists the precursor by draining away the sense of an ordinary dynasty and filling the void with an everlasting rule of one offspring. But the successor does not overthrow the precursor. Rather, it depends on it so that the interplay between the two raises discernment to a new level, a gain in meaning. The successor re-centers the precursor by providing readers a new perspective from which to view it, but the only way readers gain the new

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9 B. Malina and J. Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (FFNT; Sonoma: Polebridge, 1988) 40.

10 Action in a variety of contexts is the dramatization of character. W. Harvey, *Character and the Novel* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965) 33; L. Perrine, *Story and Structure* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1978) 68; Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, 143; R. Barthes, "An Introduction to the Structuralist Analysis of Narrative," *New Literary History* 6 (1975) 252; Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, 108-189; Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 35, 61; Docherty, *Reading (Absent) Character* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983) 7.

11 The reference is oblique because Zechariah prophesies at the birth of John but speaks of the horn of salvation from the house of David (Luke 1:69), an allusion to Jesus because John's parents are of priestly descent (1:5).

12 My discussion of revisionary relationships depends on theories developed and reiterated by H. Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); *Kabbalah and Criticism* (New York: Seabury, 1975); *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); *Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); *The Breaking of the Vessels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

perspective is to continue to hear the voice of 2 Kgdms 7:12-13, and this re-centers Gabriel's prediction by securing it in a promise of the past.[13]

Gabriel thus launches the characterization of Jesus into a foreshadowed future dragging an anchor in a covenant of the past. As this characterization advances through the narrative, semes come in sequence and are cumulative.[14] But the sequence of clues does not form merely a linear accretion because narrative progresses not so much by realizing anticipations as by revising them.[15] The narrative stokes readers' curiosity and dins revisions into them.

Thus, as Gabriel's promise gives way to Mary's song, there is a notable revision in covenant traditions. By implication Mary anticipates a reversal of power that fits a Davidic ruler. God reverses Mary's personal status from shame to honor as a vivid case of a reversal on the level of the community.[16] But readers who anticipate a reiteration of Gabriel's allusion to the Davidic covenant have been snared into an equivocation. Their anticipation of the Davidic covenant depends on partial knowledge of what is true in the narrative world.[17] Unexpectedly Mary recalls God's promise to *Abraham* (Luke 1:55), and readers must revise their anticipations. There is a hint that Mary has not abandoned the Davidic covenant because the last line of her song couches the Abrahamic covenant in a textual pattern associated with the Davidic covenant: *tō Abraam kai tō spermati autou eis ton aiōna* (1:55) is parallel to *tō Dauid kai tō spermati autou heōs aiōnos* in 2 Kgdms 22:51.

With respect to the question of relationships to the social order, I follow Keith Roberts' morphology. According to his schema, Jewish culture can be classed as a dominant national culture in the larger Greco-Roman culture.

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13 For a detailed discussion of revisionary relationships between precursor and successor texts in Luke-Acts see R. Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech: Revisionary Allusions to Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, Forthcoming). This is a synchronic approach to allusions quite in contrast to a diachronic promise-fulfillment schema as in N. Dahl, "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976) 66-86.

14 J. Darr, *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992) 42-43.

15 W. Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose and Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) 278; P. Brook, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) 23. I gladly accept as an advance John Darr's critique of some of my work as neglecting sequence and accumulation (*On Character Building*, 87-91). In turn I suggest an emendation for Darr's work in that reading is not merely linearly progressive but also retrospective, and in that it proceeds not merely by fulfilling anticipations but by revising them. Similarly, D. Gowler, *Host, Guest, Enemy and Friend*, 182-83.

16 R. Tannehill, "The Magnificat as a Poem," *JBL* 93 (1974) 268, 272, 274; idem, *Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 1. 28-29. Mary's *tapeinōsis* is socio-economic but also situational–pregnant outside marriage. Cf. Bovon, *Évangile selon Saint Luc*, 89; V. Robbins, "Socio-Rhetorical Criticism: Mary, Elizabeth and the Magnificat as a Test Case," in *The New Literary Criticism and the New Testament* (ed. E. McKnight and E. Malbon; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, Forthcoming).

17 Barthes, *S/Z*, 75-76. For Barthes, equivocation is a mixture of truth and evasion that is a strategy of delay to stimulate readers' interest without resolving the narrative prematurely.

Roberts identifies a subculture as counter-cultural if, in its conflict of values with the dominant culture, it becomes self-sufficient and self-propagating. In contrast, an ephemeral counter-culture is contracultural. Further, he notes that counter-cultures are movements within a system. From the point of view of the dominant culture, those who champion the counter-culture are "heretics" rather than "aliens." Moreover, he identifies distributive justice as a particular criterion of values.[18]

The relationship of Elizabeth and Mary to society is reflected in how they espouse values in relation to the dominant order. Elizabeth contravenes Mary's social stigma—pregnant outside marriage—by calling her blessed (Luke 1:42). Otherwise, she concurs with social values by accepting her own reversal from disgrace to favor. In contrast, Mary challenges established distribution of power and goods and uses counter-cultural rhetoric to claim God's favor for Israel.[19] Further, her claim of blessedness from generation to generation anticipates a movement that persists through time, a mark of counter-culture in contrast to a contraculture, which survives no longer than a generation. Geographically, however, the foundation in Davidic and Abrahamic traditions draws limits around a hope that is local within the Roman empire—for the house of Jacob.

Zechariah resolves the ambivalence between Davidic and Abrahamic covenants. He echoes Gabriel's allusion to the Davidic covenant by speaking of a horn of salvation in the house of God's servant *David* (1:69).[20] But then he grounds this salvation in God's fidelity to a promise to *Abraham* (1:72-73). The tension between the two covenants disappears in a blaze of complementarity. The Davidic covenant is a particular way God's promise to Abraham comes to fulfillment.[21] So tethering the characterization of Jesus to the Davidic covenant anchors it in the Abrahamic covenant.

What do Mary and Zechariah mean when they allude to God's promise to Abraham? Zechariah associates it with the liberation of the people—an implication of a counter-cultural point of view. Beyond that, out of the cultural repertoire readers may ponder three possible foci for God's promise to Abraham: land, descendants, and blessing. Any resolution depends on progressive discovery of what is true in the narrative world.

At the birth of Jesus readers accumulate reiterations of Davidic images in correlation with another individualization of Jesus in time and space. A

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18 K. Roberts, "Toward a Generic Concept of Counter-Culture," *Sociological Focus* 11 (1978) 111-26.

19 To read the magnificat as moving from the particular case of Mary to an all embracing eschatological reversal of human society (so Tannehill, "Magnificat as a Poem," 274) seems to me to go beyond the emphasis of the second strophe on *Israel* as God's child (Luke 1:54).

20 For an interpretation strongly linking *keras* and *anatolē* to Davidic messianism see M. del Carmen Oro, "Benedictus de Zacarias (Luc 1,68-79) ¿Indicios de una cristología arcaica?" *RevistB* 45 (1983) 153-70. Cf. Bovon, *Évangile selon Saint Luc*, 105.

21 The Abrahamic covenant is mediated through Davidic traditions. R. Clements has shown that some of Israel's traditions already unite Abrahamic and Davidic covenant traditions (*Abraham and David: Genesis XV and Its Meaning for Israelite Tradition* [Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1967] 47-60, 81-2). Luke-Acts appropriates such an amalgamation out of the cultural repertoire.

synchronization locates Jesus' birth in the period of the reign of Augustus at the time of a census when Quirinius was governor of Syria (2:1-2). Historical problems notwithstanding,[22] the synchronization locates Jesus literarily. It also revises readers' constructs of the relationship to culture. Up to this point the narrative has presupposed local Jewish culture. Now readers detect that Jewish culture is a national culture embedded in imperial Roman culture. But on the local level, Jesus' temporal position is correlated with a location in Bethlehem that in turn is linked to Jesus' Davidic descent (2:4). Jesus makes the transition from promise to fetus in Nazareth. But his transition from fetus to child follows a trail from Nazareth to the city of David and reiterates Jesus' Davidic descent from Luke 1:32.

The characterization of Jesus in relation to other characters[23] begins with maternal bonding—the mother wrapping her baby in bands of cloth.[24] But auspicious signs are interwoven into the parental bonding. Mary places the infant in a manger, and an angel announces Jesus' birth to shepherds.[25] The angelic message reiterates that Mary's offspring is God's favor for the people of Israel (2:10, 14). It also reinforces the Davidic connection and characterizes by the epithets savior, messiah, and lord (2:11). At this stage, savior builds thematically on Zechariah's horn of salvation, and readers likely anticipate the peace of 2:14 in terms of salvation from enemies (1:71). Messiah comes out of a complex cultural repertoire. Nevertheless, Jesus' descent from David in the context of Gabriel's recall of the Davidic covenant underlines the sense of *christos* as a venerable anointed ruler.[26] If *kurios* were on human lips, it might mean nothing more than English "sir." But on the lips of a divine messenger and in the context of its usage already in Luke as an epithet for God (cf. the LXX), readers may be in the process of revising their understanding toward a religious connotation.[27]

The shepherds confirm part of the second angelic message. They discover the baby wrapped in bands of cloth and lying in a manger. The correspondence between the angel's prediction and their discovery (2:12, 16-17) confirms the validity of the remainder of the angelic message—"What had been told them about this child"—an analeptic recall of savior, messiah, lord.

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22 The problems of the census and of synchronizing Quirinius as governor of Syria with the time of Herod the Great are notorious. For a well-informed discussion see J. Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20* (WBC 35A; Dallas: Word, 1989) 99-102. Nolland's revival of the suggestion to translate the genitive absolute in which Quirinius appears as ". . . before Quirinius became governor . . . " is *possible* but *probable* only when one is aware of the problems of anachrony.

23 Harvey, *Character and the Novel*, 52.

24 R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977) 399, 419.

25 See Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 419.

26 See F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (London: Lutterworth, 1969) 147. On the use of *christos* in the sense of "anointed one" in Luke-Acts see R. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 12-13.

27 W. Foester and G. Quell, "*kurios*," *TDNT* 3. 1058-1095; Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 73-114.

The characterization of Jesus by parental bonding resumes with the circumcision and naming. The analeptic recall of the giving of the name by the angel aligns Mary and Joseph with Gabriel's ideological (evaluative) point of view (2:21).[28] Further, the circumcision, naming, purification, and presentation provide Jesus and his parents a socio-religious location. Purification and sacrifice presume compliance with scripture and a Jewish cultural script of purity, but the sacrifice of a pair of pigeons also locates Jesus and his parents among a class of people unable to afford to sacrifice a sheep (Lev 12:8). Further, these incidents presume the validity of Jerusalem in the repertoire of the national culture as the center of the universe and the point of contact between heaven and earth.[29]

Notably, the piety of Simeon and Anna combines with their location at that point of contact to align them with the ideological point of view that is dominating the narrative. A revelation to Simeon applies the epithet *ho christos kuriou* to Jesus (Luke 2:26). Simeon also anticipates future action summarized as salvation and symbolized by light and glory (2:32). The rhetoric up to this point tacitly supports Jewish national culture as a counter-culture to imperial Roman culture. But the symbols light and glory compound relationships to culture. They imply the antitheses darkness and disgrace, and these antitheses come into conjunction in Jesus who thereby becomes a sign of oppositions (*sēmeion antilegomenon*, 2:34) and a borderline between a tragic and comic outcome for many in Israel. Their rising or falling depends on how they move away from the borderline toward light and glory or toward darkness and disgrace (2:35). Anticipated tragedy impinges on the characterization of Jesus by maternal bonding—opposition to Jesus wounds his mother. Thus, in forecasting division in Israel, Simeon implies a counter-culture within the Jewish national culture.[30]

The narrator gives the content of Anna's prophecy only indirectly. Nevertheless, it is clear for readers that she and her hearers associate Jesus with the redemption of Jerusalem (2:38). This prolepsis lures readers into another equivocation—truth mixed with evasion. The cumulative expectations of characters entice readers to anticipate a political, nationalistic deliverance.[31] But readers do not yet have a reliable key for resolving what is true in the narrative world, so they buy into expectations that will be revised as the narrative progresses.

The characterization of Jesus in terms of parental bonding resumes at Luke 2:39 accompanied by the reliable narrator's first evaluative comments about Jesus—strength, wisdom, and divine favor. These evaluations are partially

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28 With respect to point of view I follow B. Uspensky, *A Poetics of Composition: The Structure of the Artistic Text and Typology of Compositional Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

29 On the temple as a model of the universe and Jerusalem as the *axis mundi* see Josephus, *Ant.* 3.6.4. §123; 3.7.7 §180-87; Philo *On the Special Laws* 1.66-67; *On Noah's Work as a Planter* 126; *Moses* 2.88; *b. Yoma* 54b; *b. Sanh.* 37a; Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews*, 118-32.

30 Roberts, "Generic Concept of Counter-Culture," 113.

31 Because the redemption of Jerusalem presupposes reclaiming the city as an institution, the overtones suggest a counter-culture against imperial Rome. Institutionalization is a mark of counter-culture. Roberts, "Generic Concept of Counter-Culture," 113.

proleptic in that the following episode reiterates the wisdom and divine favor. Further, the parental bonding once again is linked to a socio-religious location. Jesus and his parents are annual pilgrims to Jerusalem for Passover. But the characterization by parental bonding becomes intricate. The narrative implies no neglect in the parents' travel without their twelve year old son and a subsequent three day separation. Mary clearly expresses parental concern for Jesus, and significantly she says, "*Your father* and I . . ." (2:48, emphasis added). Rather, these details imply Jesus' autonomy because of a prior commitment to another father who stands over against them: *en tois tou patros mou* (2:49). But the relationship to Mary and Joseph increases in complexity because Jesus returns home and is obedient to them. Finally, this episode reiterates the characterization of Jesus in terms of maternal bonding in correlation with the narrator's second evaluative comments about Jesus—wisdom, divine and human favor (2:51-52). Human favor reiterates the positive evaluation of Jesus by the temple teachers (2:47) and signifies a positive evaluation in Jewish national culture.

Characterization of Jesus by relationships continues with John the Baptist. The narrator informs readers that the *hrēma theou* came upon John and so establishes him as a reliable character. John builds cumulatively on the references of Mary and Zechariah to God's promise to Abraham. Mary has explicitly acclaimed God's promise for Abraham's descendants forever. But John drastically qualifies the commonsensical notion of descent from Abraham. Rather than natural progeny, the criterion for possessing Abraham's heritage is the fruits of repentance.[32] John implies no institutionalization to sustain his alternative vision, and therefore it is contracultural within the Jewish national culture.[33] But he advocates just distribution of goods as an alternative to existing practice even as he tacitly supports the tax and military systems of the dominant culture (3:10-14).

Intertwined with John's qualification of Abrahamic descent, the narrator informs readers about public curiosity that John might be the messiah. The narrative thus raises a question of John's identity and resolves it by an implicit contrast to public expectations. Over against public expectations, John characterizes Jesus by evaluative comments that compare Jesus with himself. Jesus is more powerful and worthy than John, and because John's interlocutors raise the question of whether or not he is the messiah, by implication the mightier one may well be.[34] Further, John anticipates that Jesus will perform a more efficacious baptism than his. He also predicts Jesus' action of gathering and sifting (3:15-17), reiterating Simeon's prediction concerning the rise and fall of many in Israel and implying boundaries of an alternative culture within the Jewish national culture.

In this context, does Jesus claim the heritage of Abraham by bearing fruits of repentance? Apparently so, because he submits to baptism, ostensibly at the

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[32] J. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in Early Christian Controversy* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991) 108-109.

[33] Roberts, "Generic Concept of Counter-Culture," 113, 118.

[34] Contra J. Fitzmyer who thinks that Jesus rejects John's anticipation of an eschatological messenger (*The Gospel According to Luke I-IX: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* [AB 28; New York: Doubleday, 1981] 666).

hands of John.[35] Because John has made evaluations of and predictions for Jesus, by submitting to baptism Jesus endorses John's message, and reinforces his own characterization. But the narrative does not linger on John's baptism because other factors take over the scene. (1) In addition to accepting baptism, the adult Jesus launches out into his first action—he prays. Jesus' prayer expresses a relationship with God, but the accompanying descent of the Holy Spirit shows that his prayer is also associated with the experience of heavenly powers.[36] Notably, readers overhear the most reliable voice in the narrative world declare unreservedly that Jesus is God's beloved son (3:22). Readers who remember Gabriel's prediction in 1:32, 35 discover who fulfills the prediction and calls Jesus the son of the Most High—none other than the Most High (cf. 4:41; 8:28; 9:35; Acts 9:20; 13:33).

After these dramatics, Luke-Acts brakes suspense to a crawl with a list—a genealogy.[37] But the genealogy builds cumulatively on Jesus' relationships with God and with David and Abraham. In close context, John the Baptist has discredited physical descent as a sign of Abrahamic heritage, but Jesus qualifies on these grounds too. Further, the virginal conception and the voice from heaven (Luke 3:22) have appeared as bases for Jesus' identity as God's son. Now the genealogy reiterates the identity of Jesus as God's son.[38] Thus, both kinship and divine legitimation mean that if Jesus fulfills Davidic and Abrahamic covenants, he will not violate his inherited social role.

But an antagonist brings the characterization of Jesus as son of God under scrutiny. The devil craftily presents Jesus a challenge that plays out the cultural script of honor and shame:[39] "If you are the son of God, command this stone to become a loaf of bread" (4:3). Will Jesus as God's son receive divine provisions as did Israel, personified as God's child, by issuing a command like Moses?[40]

Commentators easily catch that the devil is calling into question Jesus' identity as God's son. But readers of the second temptation may also catch overtones of Davidic and Abrahamic covenants as the cultural repertoire has already been mediated through the thematic development. That is, the devil offers a quick resolution to Gabriel's promise concerning Jesus' Davidic rule.

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35 H. Conzelmann's thesis that Luke-Acts separates Jesus from John and de-emphasizes John's role in Jesus' baptism is unlikely (*The Theology of St. Luke* [New York: Harper & Row, 1961] 21, 26). Cf. C. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 15. The recounting of John's death before the baptism of Jesus is likely a literary anachrony. In the context of John's baptismal activity, Jesus' baptism by John is a foregone conclusion. See Tannehill, *Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 47-53.

36 H. Greeven, "*euchomai*," *TDNT* 2.803.

37 Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 94-95.

38 A venerable line of kinship characterizes Jesus with a claim to honor in its own right. See Gowler, *Host, Guest, Enemy and Friend*, 16-26, 69; from a modern perspective Docherty, *Reading (Absent) Character*, 62-63.

39 On challenge and riposte as social communication of cultural scripts of honor and shame see Malina and Neyrey, "Honor and Shame," 29-32.

40 For a more detailed development see R. Brawley, "Canon and Community: Intertextuality, Canon, Interpretation, Christology, Theology, and Persuasive Rhetoric in Luke 4:1-13," SBLSP 31 (1992) 422-26. On Mosaic echoes in the temptation see J. Dawsey, "The Unexpected Christ: The Lucan Image," *ExpTim* 98 (1987) 297-98.

The devil offers Jesus all the kingdoms of the world (4:6). But by NT times, God's promise to Abraham was widely construed as a promise to give Abraham and his descendants the whole world.[41] Thus, the devil's promise of a universal regency plays with and off the Abrahamic covenant in the cultural repertoire as it is mediated through the thematic development of Luke-Acts.

The third temptation throws up another challenge for Jesus as God's son to reiterate God's care for Israel, personified as God's child, by a test that the devil has devised. For Jesus, to put God to the test is to repeat Israel's distrust of God in the wilderness.[42] Common to all three temptations is the devil's urging for Jesus to act for his own sake.[43] But with the testimonies of Mary and Zechariah in the background, Jesus persists in acting in fidelity to God's promises to Abraham and his descendants. Further, for Gabriel's prediction of an eternal rule to come to fulfillment, Jesus must also rule over the devil. So Jesus resists the challenges, the devil relents, and thus the temptations augment Jesus' characterization as son of God and heir to Abraham through David.

If the first action of the adult Jesus is prayer, the second, anticipated only by the twelve year old Jesus in the temple, is teaching—teaching in synagogues (4:14-15). Jesus does not offer an alternative to the synagogue but participates in it. Further, his reading of scripture in Nazareth presumes literacy. Thus, he makes his inaugural speech as an educated synagogue teacher situated in local Jewish culture in Nazareth.

Readers master the cumulative characterization of Jesus only by continually flashing back to the beginnings and working forward. Thus, vital groundwork is in place when Jesus the synagogue teacher announces: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me" (4:18). Because he interprets this Isaianic quotation as reflecting its original context, Joseph Fitzmyer claims that it has to do with a prophetic rather than a messianic anointing.[44] But to confine Luke 4:18 to a prophetic anointing is to fail to catch the revisionary relationship between precursor and successor texts. In light of flashbacks to Gabriel's prediction, Jesus' claim revises the precursor, twisting the Isaianic prophetic anointing by adding a complement of a messianic anointing to it. The anointing means that Jesus will act out of divine motivation for the sake of others. Thus, Jesus is anointed (shades of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Jesus' baptism) in order to fulfill God's promise to Abraham through a Davidic rule by bringing good news to the poor, release to

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41 Sir 44:19-21, *Jub.* 17:3; 19:21; 22:14; 32:18, Rom 4:13; Heb 2:5; *Mek.* Ex 14:31. Cf. Philo, *Life of Moses* 1.155. For a more detailed argument see Brawley, "Canon and Community," 426-28.

42 For a more detailed argument see Brawley, "Canon and Community," 428-29.

43 Focusing on the needs of others is characteristic of communitarian distributive justice (Roberts, "Generic Concept of Counter-Culture," 119) and stands against greed at the expense of others in a limited goods society. H. Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom: Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel* (OBT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 76-83.

44 Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-X*, 529-30, 532. Cf. J. de la Potterie, "L'onction du Christ," *NRT* 80 (1959) 240-46; Hahn, *Titles of Jesus in Christology*, 381, 404, n. 209; G. Nebe, *Prophetische Züge im Bilde Jesu bei Lukas* (BWANT 7; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989) 68, 70. Against Fitzmyer see Tannehill, *Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 1. 63.

the captives, restoring sight to the blind, and liberating the oppressed in a messianic jubilee.[45] The appeal to scripture appears to support the dominant Jewish national culture. But the appeal depends on a revisionary understanding of scripture. Moreover, the inclusion of people who have been marginalized under Jesus as the anointed one is a revision of national culture, that is, a subculture that constitutes a counter-culture.

As with the case of the devil's opposition, other characters in the story bring Jesus' identity under scrutiny. Although Luke 4:18 is not restricted to a prophetic anointing, the people of Nazareth nevertheless reject Jesus because of his prophetic identity and thereby confirm it.[46] It is therefore as a prophet anchored in the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants that Jesus teaches. But his prophetic identity is also tied up with action. Jesus verbalizes the expectation of people for him to do what he has done in Capernaum. Historical anachrony or not,[47] this is a literary anachrony.[48] That is, readers have no knowledge of what Jesus does in Capernaum until the following episode. The narrator presents him there as a synagogue teacher whose very speaking possesses power and draws astonishment from his audience (4:32). In addition, a focal instance of Jesus' deeds in Capernaum characterizes him. He engages in combat with an unclean demon, subdues it, and restores a possessed man to his place in society.[49]

Readers revising their anticipations now have strong clues that a struggle between Jesus and the powers of evil is (1) the way Jesus begins his accession to Davidic rule and (2) the way God's promise to Abraham is coming to realization. Jesus' Davidic rule means reclaiming a man who is outside the pale and restoring him to society—an implicit sanction of the social order as revised by such inclusions. But it is also to say that the healing of a man with an unclean demon is a particular case of God's help for Israel according to the promise to Abraham (see 1:55; 71-73).

Jesus similarly manifests Davidic rule in fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant in the healing of Simon's mother-in-law. Her household service not only confirms the healing but also signals her restoration to society (4:38-39).

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45 J. Sanders, "From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults; Studies for Morton Smith* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 88, 91; A. Strobel, "Die Ausrufung des Jubeljahrs in der Nazarethpredigt Jesu: Zur apocalyptischen Tradition Lc 4:16-30," in *Jesus in Nazareth* (ed. W. Eltester; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) 42-44; S. Ringe, *Jesus, Liberation, and the Biblical Jubilee: Images for Ethics and Christology* (OBT 19; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 36-45.

46 Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews*, 6-27. This is the first dramatization of the rise and fall of many (Luke 2:34) and of gathering and sifting (3:17).

47 Some scholars take *ereite* in Luke 4:23 as a literal future. Against this see W. Eltester, "Israel im lukanischen Werk und die Nazarethperikope," in *Jesus in Nazareth* (ed. W. Eltester; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) 141.

48 On the value of anachrony (analepsis and prolepsis) for characterization see B. Long, "Framing Repetitions in Biblical Historiography," *JBL* 106 (1987) 390-92; Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 39-83; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 1. 21.

49 G. Theissen analyzes healing stories by locating characters in three fields, demonic, human, and divine (*The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983] 43-45, 74-80, 134-37). Jesus manifests divine power in driving the demon out of the human field.

Further, a narrator's reiterative summary associates healings and exorcisms with Jesus' messianic identity. The anointing that Jesus claims in 4:18 plays out in liberating people oppressed by disease and demons in fulfillment of his Davidic rule as the anointed son of God (4:41).

In the progressive discovery of what is true in the narrative world, Jesus leaves Capernaum over objections. Readers get some resolution of why he leaves. His purpose is to proclaim good news to other cities. In addition, Jesus' rule over the house of Jacob receives another name. It is called the kingdom of God (4:43-44). This kingdom is not a new social order but a revised social order. The alternative to the dominant national culture is the realization of an order that has been living under the old order primarily as a promise. Thus, its shape is both familiar and novel—revisionary.

2. On the Trail of Trajectories

For the purposes of this paper, I restrict the broad search for semes in order to focus on two lines of reiteration. (1) I call attention briefly to reiterations that build on the implication in the temptations that Jesus does not act on behalf of himself. In Nazareth Jesus characterizes himself by claiming that his anointing is on behalf of others who are oppressed (Luke 4:18). From the narrator's perspective, Jesus shuns prominence and, rather than public acclaim, chooses a solitary relationship with God—prayer (5:15-16). In addition, Jesus asserts that he calls sinners to repentance like a physician who heals the sick (5:31-32). He manifests his orientation toward others particularly in table fellowship,[50] and antagonists juxtaposed to him set off his orientation toward others by their self-assertiveness. Jesus himself caps his characterization as a benefactor by declaring that he is among his disciples as one who serves (22:27).

(2) In reducing complexity to relative simplicity, I note that Jesus must expand his version of Davidic rule in fidelity to God's promise to Abraham to the other cities (4:43). As partial and falsely abstracted as this portrait may be, Luke-Acts characterizes Jesus henceforth as one who fulfills this revisionary hendiadic covenant tradition—the Davidic and Abrahamic covenants collapsed into one—widening out from the local culture. From this perspective, I suggest a revision of Jeffrey Siker's thesis that Luke-Acts associates Abraham with pious poor people who are marginalized and with people who bear fruits of repentance as John the Baptist demands in Luke 3:8. According to Siker, these paradigmatic associations with Abraham emerge from Mary and Zechariah and from four other incidents in Luke-Acts, namely, the healing of a crippled woman (13:10-17), the parable of Lazarus and the rich man (16:19-31), the repentance of Zacchaeus (19:1-10), and the healing of a lame man in Acts 3:1-10.[51]

Siker's thesis begs for scrutiny. First, does the role of Abraham hang on the piety and repentance of human actors, or on divine promise? Does not the

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[50] E. Schweizer, "Zur lukanischen Christologie," in *Verifikationen; Festschrift für Gerhard Ebeling* (ed. E. Jüngel; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1982) 51.

[51] Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, 104-121.

theocentric literary world of Luke-Acts unfold as a fulfillment of *God's* fidelity to a promise to Abraham?

Second, if Jesus' mission is to establish his Davidic rule in fidelity to God's promise to Abraham, then whatever Jesus does from the time of his baptism is a manifestation of that underlying purpose. Thus, Abraham is not associated merely with Mary and Zechariah and Siker's four other episodes. Rather healings with the accompanying restoration of people to society become focal instances of God's mercy in remembrance of the divine promise to Abraham (e.g., Luke 5:12-16; 5:17-26). On his way to restoring people to society, Jesus and people associated with him break through socio-cultural barriers that revise readers' construals of society—touching a leper (5:13), an unclean woman touching Jesus (8:43-48), eating grain on the sabbath (6:1-5), healing on the sabbath (6:1-11), eating with outcasts (5:29), encroaching on divine prerogatives in forgiving people (5:20; 7:48), healing the slave of a gentile centurion and a Gerasene demoniac (7:1-10; 8:26-39). In the sermon on the plain Jesus reorders values and social relationships in his role as a Davidic ruler (6:20-49). All this is evidence that Jesus' relationship with the Jewish national culture is revisionary.

Further, because Jesus is God's promise for the house of Jacob (1:32-33), in contrast to Siker's association of Abraham with the marginalized and pious, Luke-Acts invokes the strength of God for Israel as a populace in remembrance of God's promise to Abraham (1:54-55, 68-74). With such a cornerstone, Siker's four episodes relay God's promise to Abraham and amplify readers' construals of these events as vivid instances that dramatize fulfillment of that promise. So in driving toward realizing Gabriel's promise of Jesus' Davidic rule, Jesus heals a crippled woman in a synagogue (13:10-17). As in other focal instances, the story correlates breaking through socio-cultural barriers with breaking the bondage of Satan. Jesus violates sabbath norms in order to reclaim a daughter of Abraham from satanic bondage and restore her to the kingdom of God. The incident restokes readers' memories of God's promise to Abraham and dins into them the realization of Gabriel's prediction in Jesus.

A brief word is in order before moving to Siker's second case. After the healing of the crippled woman, Luke-Acts revises readers' anticipations that the kingdom of God is purely a restoration of the present order. Jesus predicts an eschatological reversal of status when his audience sees Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God (13:27-30).

The rich man and Lazarus (16:19-31) revises the norm that wealth equals blessing. Further, rather than experience relocation, the rich man remains in the field of the demonic.[52] In stark contrast, the story relocates Lazarus from beyond the social pale to the bosom of Abraham—a vivid parallel to the reversal in the magnificat.[53] As the narrator of the parable, Jesus remains ostensibly outside the story. But an allegorical allusion to his resurrection

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52 There is implicit motivation for the rich man's reversal in that he does not bear fruits of repentance according to the criterion of John the Baptist (Luke 3:9). So Tannehill, *Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 1. 145; Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, 117.

53 J. York, *The Last Shall be First: The Rhetoric of Reversal in Luke* (JSNTS 46; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 62-63.

(16:31) makes the parable a reflection of the larger story that contains it.[54] So, on the one hand, the story reaches back to Abrahamic traditions so that readers comprehend the incident as fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham. On the other hand, readers continue to revise expectations that the kingdom of God is purely a restoration of the present order. That is, the story foreshadows reversal beyond the boundaries of society in the land of the living. In this fashion, the incident restokes readers' memories of God's promise to Abraham and dins into them the realization of Gabriel's prediction in Jesus.

The account of Zacchaeus (19:1-10) also features breaches of socio-cultural boundaries in order to reclaim a human being from the demonic field and restore him to a proper relationship with the divine. Jesus initiates the violation of barriers by becoming the guest of one with whom social relationships are suspect—an implicit characterization of Jesus as deviant (19:7). The restoration of Zacchaeus to society is correlated with the violation of barriers. Further, Jesus provides the reason for restoration—Zacchaeus is a descendant of Abraham. Repentance then comes as a result of the restoration rather than as a cause of it. So this episode also restokes readers' memories of God's promise to Abraham and dins into them the realization of Gabriel's prediction in Jesus.

Another explanatory word is in order before considering the healing of a lame man in Acts 3. From the time of the attempt of the people of Nazareth to throw Jesus from a precipice (Luke 4:29), opponents periodically attempt to characterize Jesus as a deviant (e.g., 5:21, 30; 6:7, 11; 7:34 [indirectly]; 11:15; 15:2; 19:7). But characterization of Jesus as deviant by opponents becomes particularly acute in his trial. Jewish social regulators persuasively mobilize public opinion and enlist Pilate in order to declare Jesus deviant and to erase him from the social order in an unequivocally successful degradation ritual (Luke 22:66-23:49).[55] So the claim that Jesus fulfills God's promise to Abraham requires a redefinition of him from deviant to prominent. Therefore, Peter attempts to surmount the degradation ritual by juxtaposing it to God's attestation in Acts 2:23-24. Clearly as a fulfillment of Gabriel's prediction (Luke 1:32-33), Peter locates the risen Jesus on the throne of David at the right hand of God (Acts 2:30, 34-36). The outcome builds on the themes of the rise and fall of many in Israel and gathering and sifting. The rhetoric supports a subculture as an alternative to the dominant Jewish national culture as messianism revises it. At this point, an incipient institutionalism is clear (2:42-47). So the rhetoric is counter-cultural.

In comparison with Siker's other three episodes, Jesus occupies quite a different position in the story of the healing of a lame man in Acts 3:1-10. Now risen and enthroned, Jesus acts through Peter and John to restore the lame man to society. A violation of protocol again accompanies the restoration when Peter and John take over the temple—invading the home base of priests and Sadducees. Further, a striking revision of readers' expectations occurs when Peter throws Moses into the mix of covenant traditions. Jesus is the prophet like Moses promised by Moses himself (3:22). Revisions occur on two

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54 For theory on the literary device of *mise en abyme* see L. Dällenbach, *The Mirror in the Text* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

55 This is based on a summary of labelling and deviance theory from Malina and Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names*, 35-51, cf. 85-89.

levels. On the level of the relationship between precursor and successor texts, there is a revision of Deut 18:15-16. Moses anticipates that God will raise up a series of prophets as the need arises. But Luke-Acts draws on a cultural repertoire which construes the prediction as *one* eschatological prophet.[56] On the level of progressive discovery of what is true in the narrative world, notions of a prophet like Moses add new dimensions to images of Jesus as Davidic and Abrahamic, not in conflict but in complementarity. That is, just as the Davidic covenant merges with the Abrahamic, so also the prophet like Moses is a particular way God's promise to Abraham comes to fulfillment.[57] Covenant traditions in Luke-Acts are not only hendiadic but hendiatreisic.

Almost as if it were disguised, however, the connection between the healing of the lame man and God's promise to Abraham has received insufficient notice. Peter's speech does not merely abandon the lame man and become an occasion to preach to the crowd. Rather, Peter's recall of God's covenant with Abraham at the end of the episode (Acts 3:25) makes the healing a particular case of the fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham in Jesus. So this episode also restokes readers' memories of God's promise to Abraham and dins into them the realization of Gabriel's prediction in Jesus.

Of utmost significance for the cumulative effect of reading, Peter's speech gives readers the content of God's promise to Abraham: "And in your *spermati* all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (3:25). Any equivocation about the focus of the promise on land, descendants, or blessing is at least partially resolved in favor of blessing. Further, there are strong clues of a revisionary relationship with the Abrahamic covenant. Acts 3:25 has a high volume of verbatim repetition of Gen 22:18 LXX but provides a variation on the repetition at a crucial point. In place of *panta ta ethnē* Acts reads *pasai hai patriai.* In view of Peter's specific address to "Israelites" (3:12), the variation clearly implies that all the families of the earth includes Israel among recipients of the promised blessing rather than merely the Gentiles.[58] In addition, contextual links indicate that Acts 3:25 takes the singular *spermati* to refer to one descendant of Abraham rather than all his descendants (shades of Luke 1:32-33).[59] Thus Acts twists the promise, emptying out its connotation that the descendants of Abraham will be the channel of blessing to the Gentiles, and raises meaning to a new level with Jesus as the channel of blessing to all the families of the

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56 Hahn, *Titles of Jesus*, 352-88.

57 On background for the Mosaic covenant as a way the Abrahamic comes to fulfillment see Clements, *Abraham and David*, 75-78, 81-82. Acts 15 shows that Luke-Acts does not appropriate keeping the Mosaic law as a particular way God's promise to Abraham is fulfilled.

58 R. Tannehill correctly emphasizes the place of Jewish people in God's promise (*The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 2, *The Acts of the Apostles* [FFNT: Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990] 55-57).

59 L. Johnson contends that Acts 3:25 does not make a "messianic midrashic use of the singular" (*The Acts of the Apostles* [Sacra Pagina 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992] 70). On taking the singular as a reference to Jesus see H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 30. The cumulative evidence from Luke 1:32 on and the parallels with the healing of the lame man through Jesus in 3:16 and with God's *pais* who blesses in 3:26 provide strong clues that 3:25 does revise the precursor by taking the singular *spermati* as a reference to Jesus.

earth. The revision does not dispense with the precursor but remains in tension with it so that readers attain a new perspective—reorientation by disorientation. In this context the healing of the lame man is a concrete manifestation of God's promise to Abraham and foreshadows the blessing of all the families of the earth. The rhetoric implies support for a subculture as messianism revises Jewish national culture but equally implies that the Jewish national culture as revised will impinge upon the larger dominant Greco-Roman culture—for the blessing of all the families of the earth.

The concentration of Acts 3:25 on blessing does not exhaust the content of the Abrahamic covenant. Stephen, a reliable character, emphasizes land and descendants as foci of God's promise (7:2-8, cf. 13:19). According to him, the time of God's promise to Abraham drew near when God sent Moses back to Egypt (7:17, 34). But God's rescue of Abraham's descendants from Egypt and their occupation of Canaan did not deplete the promise because Moses himself predicted a prophet whom God would raise up (7:37). The promise to Abraham has a future after the rescue from Egypt and the occupation of Canaan. Thus, this is another case of the complementarity of covenant traditions. Just as in the case of the Davidic ruler, the prophet like Moses is a particular way God's promise to Abraham comes to fulfillment.

The banked fires of God's promises flame up again in Acts 13. After a résumé of Israel's history from the sojourn in Egypt to David, Paul presents Jesus as a promised Davidic heir (13:23). A reiteration of John the Baptist's introduction of Jesus follows (13:24-25; cf. Luke 3:16). Then Paul characterizes Jesus, in a slightly convoluted way, as the fulfillment of what God promised to the ancestors who are of the family of Abraham (Acts 13:26, 32). Further, Paul elaborates God's promise by citing Isa 55:3 and Ps 15:10 LXX. The citation from Isa 55:3 is so partial that it is difficult to determine the meaning of *ta hosia Dauid ta pista.* But the Isaianic context clarifies that it is the Davidic covenant: "I will covenant with you an eternal covenant, *ta hosia Dauid ta pista* (Isa 55:3 LXX, author's trans.).

This is to say that two references to the Davidic covenant bracket an allusion to God's promise to Abraham's family. These echoes of covenant traditions come mediated through a tradition in the cultural repertoire that has already amalgamated covenant traditions. Moreover, the progressive unfolding of what is true in the narrative world mediates the echoes so that readers hear an amalgamation of covenant traditions which holds promise for all the families of the earth. Thus, in Pisidian Antioch, Gentiles are added on to the revised social order. The rhetoric supports a subculture as messianism revises the Jewish national culture and implies that it penetrates the dominant Greco-Roman culture as a divine blessing.

3. A Few Broad Strokes

Jesus first appears in Luke-Acts only as promise. But in Luke-Acts, no promise is an island; no promise stands alone. When Jesus first appears only as a promise, Gabriel embeds him in another—God's promise to David. From the time he is in his mother's womb, Mary and obscure but reliable Zechariah stretch God's covenant with David back to Abraham. Due caution for the partiality and false abstraction of this essay notwithstanding, Jesus' place in

the great scheme of things depends on God's promise to Abraham. But it depends on a revisionary understanding of that promise. Jesus is the *sperma* of Abraham in whom all the families of the earth will be blessed. Moreover, Jesus' place in the great scheme of things is played out in local culture. His relationship to that culture is also revisionary. Jesus integrates the marginalized into a Jewish subculture that constitutes a counter-culture to the dominant Jewish national culture. Luke-Acts presents Jesus as engaging in an internecine struggle with the dominant Jewish national culture for the heritage of Abraham. He is a dissenter within the family rather than a stranger from without. His weapon for the struggle is persuasion,[60] and when it is successful, people enter the alternative culture voluntarily. Inasmuch as Jesus provides an alternative to the national culture, he is counter-cultural, counter-cultural not in a revolutionary but in a revisionary sense, and the revision of tradition and society is part of the persuasion.

It is well known that Luke Acts presents Jesus as fulfilling God's plan. That plan, however, is not divine whim devoid of content. Rather, God's plan is to bless all the families of the earth through a messianic agent named Jesus. Luke-Acts views this as happening by a counter-culture that revises the Jewish national culture and penetrates the larger Greco-Roman culture.

Because this essay is fraught with partiality and false abstraction, the character of Jesus far exceeds its basis in God's promise to Abraham. But is the characterization of Jesus ever valid apart from God's promise to Abraham?[61]

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60 F. Bovon, "Le dieu de Luc," *RSR* 69 (1981) 283.

61 G. Lampe ("The Lucan Portrait of Christ," NTS 2 [1956] 160-75) and Dawsey ("The Unexpected Christ," 296-300) both have positive discussion of echoes of Elijah, Moses, and David in the Lucan Jesus without any discussion of Abrahamic reverberations. Lampe makes one passing reference to the covenant with Abraham ("Lucan Portrait," 164).

Jesus as Healer in Luke-Acts

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The characterization of Jesus in Luke's narrative gives prominence to his role as σωτήρ ("Savior"); he embodies God's salvation for Israel, and through his chosen witnesses, he extends that salvation to the "ends of the earth."[1] This role of Jesus encompasses both the offer of forgiveness for the sinful and the provision of healing for the sick.[2] The aim of this study is to explore the activity of the Lukan Jesus as healer,[3] an aspect of the broader narrative presentation of Jesus as bearer of God's salvation to the people of God.

We consider first the perspective on Jesus' healing activity provided by the Lukan narrator in narrative summaries, including the treatment of the theme in Acts. We then examine in considerable detail the narration of the healing stories themselves, before turning to address the healer's own interpretation of his work in his teaching and proclamation. After discussing briefly the

1 The narrative identifies Jesus as σωτήρ (Luke 2:11; Acts 5:31; 13:23), as σωτήριον (Luke 2:30; cf. 3:6), and as bearer of σωτηρία (Luke 19:9; cf. Acts 4:12; 13:26,47; 16:17). By his own description, his activity has the purpose of "saving" the lost (Luke 19:9).

2 As well as a message of hope for the poor. The Magnificat celebrates a grand reversal of circumstance affecting powerful and powerless, rich and poor (1:51-53), a theme actualized in the ensuing narrative primarily in Jesus' *words* (e.g., 4:18; 6:20-26; 7:22; 12:16-21; 16:19-31). On the close link between repentance/forgiveness and salvation, see, e.g., Luke 1:77; 7:36-50; cf. 24:47; Acts 5:31.

3 Significant recent studies of the topic of healing in Luke-Acts, generally as part of the larger question of the place of miracles in Luke's narrative, include: Paul J. Achtemeier, "The Lucan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus: A Preliminary Sketch," *JBL* 94 (1975) 547-62, reprinted as "The Lukan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus: A Preliminary Sketch," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978) 153-67 [page references herein will be to the Talbert volume]; Ulrich Busse, *Die Wunder des Propheten Jesus. Die Rezeption, Komposition und Interpretation der Wundertradition im Evangelium des Lukas* (FB 24; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977); Augustin George, *Etudes sur l'Oeuvre de Luc* (Paris: Editions Gabalda, 1978) 67-84, 133-48; Walter Kirchschläger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken aus der Sicht des Lukas. Ein Beitrag zur lukanischen Redaktion* (Klosterneuberg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981); Howard Clark Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World. A Study in Sociohistorical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 190-220; Helge K. Nielsen, *Heilung und Verkündigung: Das Verständnis der Heilung und ihres Verhältnisses zur Verkündigung bei Jesus und in der ältesten Kirche* (Acta Theologica Danica 22; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 137-53; Dennis Hamm, "Acts 3:1-10: The Healing of the Temple Beggar as Lukan Theology," *Bib* 67 (1986) 305-19; John J. Pilch, "Sickness and Healing in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991) 181-209.

relation of Jesus' healing activity to that of his disciples, we conclude by highlighting significant ways in which Jesus' work as healer contributes to the Lukan characterization of Jesus.

1. Narrative Summaries Concerning Jesus' Healing Activity

a. Narrative Summaries in the Speeches of Acts

Two of Peter's speeches in Acts recall the public ministry of Jesus in a way that highlights his role as healer (2:22; 10:38). We take as our point of departure this retrospective on Jesus' healing activity. Peter's Pentecost discourse begins its description of Jesus with mention of the δυνάμεις, τέρατα and σημεῖα ("mighty deeds, wonders, and signs") that God performed through him among the "Israelites" Peter addresses. While healings are not expressly mentioned, there can be no doubt that they are to be numbered among these mighty acts of God.[4] According to Peter, these acts serve a legitimating function; Jesus has been attested (ἀποδεδειγμένον) by God through them, even as he later is authenticated, despite his death on the cross, as Messiah and Lord by virtue of the resurrection (2:23-36). It would appear, then, that one ought to be able to discern in such acts as Jesus' cures of the sick the hand of God. The theocentric cast of 2:22 is clear: God is the author of these extraordinary deeds of Jesus.[5]

Peter's address to the group gathered at Cornelius's home also recalls Jesus' healing ministry, and again does so in a decidedly theocentric fashion. The apostle presents Jesus as one anointed by God with the Holy Spirit and power (δύναμις), one "who went about doing good (εὐεργετῶν) and healing (ἰώμενος) everyone who was oppressed by the devil—because God was with him" (10:38). This depiction, echoing the gospel's account of the inauguration of Jesus' ministry,[6] indicates that Jesus' benevolent acts of healing spring from the power and Spirit of God. It also suggests, from the other side, that sickness stems from the agency of the devil. On the basis of this clue, we may expect to discover within the gospel that language of sickness/healing converges with language of demonic possession/exorcism, and, further, that Jesus' healing acts are interpreted as an assault upon the dominion of Satan.

b. Narrative Summaries in Luke

The Lukan narrator consistently correlates healing and teaching/preaching activity in the narrative summaries of Jesus' public ministry. Only

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4 Note the coupling of signs and wonders with "healings" in Acts 4:30.

5 As 2:43 already indicates (and cf. 4:30), the apostles, too, will be empowered to perform "signs and wonders" that validate their message.

6 Recall the descent of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism (3:22); the presence of the Spirit during the wilderness ordeal (4:1; contrast Luke's πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ["full of the Holy Spirit"] and ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ["he was led in the Spirit"] to Mark's formulation, τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ["the Spirit drives him out into the wilderness"]); Jesus' return to Galilee ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος ("in the power of the Spirit," 4:14); and of course Jesus' appropriation of Isaiah 61:1-2 in the synagogue at Nazareth (4:18: πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με; "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because [the Lord] has anointed me").

the notices in Luke 4:15 and 13:22 mention teaching alone, apart from healing. At first glance, 8:1 appears to fit this category, but vv. 2-3 introduce as Jesus' patrons women whom he had healed of evil spirits and sicknesses (ἀσθενείαι).[7] On the other hand, the summaries in 4:40-41 and 7:21 point only to cures, but in each case the narrative context balances that healing with mention of proclamation (4:42-44; 7:22). The mission of both Jesus (5:15-16; 6:17-19; 9:11) and his disciples (9:1-2,6; cf. 10:9, from the mouth of Jesus) encompasses the message of God's sovereign rule *and* acts of healing.[8]

Narrative summaries regularly pair healing of sickness and exorcism of unclean spirits (4:40-41; 6:17-19; 7:21; 8:2; 9:1-2), so that the reader is able to draw a distinction between the two conditions. Nevertheless, as in Acts 10:38, language of exorcism and language of healing tend to merge. Crowds throng to Jesus to be healed of their diseases (ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ νόσων αὐτῶν), and we learn (6:18) that those who were troubled by unclean spirits were *healed* (ἐθεραπεύοντο). Again in 7:21 Jesus responds to those with evil spirits (as well as diseases) by healing them (ἐθεράπευσεν).[9] The same pattern obtains in 8:2. Exorcism, it would appear, is in Luke a mode of healing. Conversely, the linkage between disease and evil spirits implies that both disorders stem from the same (demonic) source.

Finally, these narrative summaries attribute healing to a δύναμις which can issue from Jesus and be mediated by touch (6:19; cf. the narrator's explanatory remark within a healing story in 8:46), and which can also be imparted by him to the twelve (9:1, δύναμις καὶ ἐξουσία). While God is not identified within the summaries as the source of this healing power to which Jesus and his disciples have access, the reader[10] will recall that Jesus began his ministry as one "full of the Spirit" (4:1) who acts ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος ("by the power of the Spirit," 4:14), as one "anointed" and commissioned by the Spirit (4:18), and will therefore draw the appropriate conclusion. The theocentric formulations of Acts 2:22 and 10:38, noted above,

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7 Among them Mary Magdalene, formerly possessed by seven demons. This characterization anticipates Jesus' parabolic image (in 11:24-26) of seven evil spirits coming to inhabit a person previously plagued by just one. Both figures impress upon the reader that exorcism (healing) must lead to positive ego construction, but they do so by pointing in opposite directions. Mary left her demons behind her and attached herself to Jesus as disciple and patron. The unfortunate parabolic victim of 11:24-26 was freed of one evil spirit only to fall under the sway of many more. In Luke's narrative world, one who has been healed must go on to accept Jesus' invitation to community and so embrace the sovereign rule of God.

8 See Kirchschläger, *Exorzistisches Wirken*, 269-72; Busse, *Wunder*, 478; Achtemeier, "Lukan Perspective," 156-57; George, *Etudes*, 74; G. W. H. Lampe, "Miracles in the Acts of the Apostles," in *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in Their Philosophy and History*, ed. C. F. D. Moule (London: Mowbray, 1965) 163-78: 168.

9 The narrated healings in the presence of John's disciples (a feature absent from Matt 11:2-6) set up Jesus' message to the Baptizer: "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard. . . ." In a similar way, a narrated exorcism in 11:14 (lacking in Mark 3:20-27) prepares for the debate concerning the source of Jesus' power to cast out demons (Matt 12:22 enriches Mark in the same way).

10 That is, my construction of the narrative's implied reader. When real readers are in view, I will refer to authorial readers or Luke's readers.

reinforce this interpretive move by the reader.[11] Jesus aids all who have need of healing,[12] and he does so by divine power working through him.

2. Healing Stories in Luke

Luke's gospel includes twelve healing stories[13] (4:38-39; 5:12-16; 5:17-26; 6:6-11; 7:1-10; 7:11-17; 8:40-42, 49-56; 8:43-48; 14:1-6; 17:11-19; 18:35-43; 22:50-51), four exorcism stories (4:33-37; 8:26-39; 9:37-43; 11:14), and one account which might be labeled an exorcistic healing (13:10-17).[14] It is striking that these scenes are distributed throughout the narrative, with several in the travel narrative (including the uniquely Lukan stories in 13:10-17; 14:1-6; and 17:11-19) and one at Jesus' arrest (22:50-51).[15] Analysis of the Lukan narration of individual healings discloses several significant patterns; we call attention here to nine. Luke: (a) enhances the severity or poignancy of the condition; (b) displays reserve in detailing the techniques of the cure; (c) coordinates healing and teaching/proclamation by placing the healing act within a teaching frame; (d) links healing to the faith of the person in need; (e) emphasizes the response to the healing, on the part of both (i) the healed person and (ii) the observing crowd; (f) does not describe the emotional state and motivation of the healer; (g) subsumes Jesus' healing activity under the activity of God; (h) blends features of exorcism and healing; and (i) employs speech by Jesus within healing episodes to address several thematic concerns, including the correlation of faith and healing, extension of salvation to gentiles, and fidelity to Jewish law.

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11 Of course, Jesus' own claim that it is by the "finger of God" that he casts out demons, and therefore that the sovereign rule of God has arrived (11:20), scores the same point.

12 The summary notices highlight the broad scope of Jesus' healing ministry. He heals "all" the sick and exorcizes "many" demons (4:40-41); a vast crowd from "all" Judea and Jerusalem, as well as from the region of Tyre and Sidon, flocks to Jesus to hear him and receive healing (6:17-19); he cures those among the crowds who need healing (9:11); and he grants the twelve power over "all" demons (9:1).

13 For the purposes of this study, no distinction will be made between the acts of healing and raising the dead.

14 In 13:10-17 Jesus frees the woman of a physical disorder caused by a "spirit of sickness" (*πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας*) and later describes her as "bound" by Satan for eighteen years (v. 16). Also in the healing of Simon's fever-stricken mother-in-law (4:38-39), a healing story is penetrated by exorcistic features: Jesus "rebuked" (*ἐπετίμησεν*) the fever and it "left" her. Only Luke has Jesus address the fever as if it were a demon. From the other direction, the witnesses report the "saving" of the demoniac of 8:26-39 (*ἐσώθη*), a term elsewhere used of the sick healed by Jesus (6:9; 8:48; 17:19; 18:42). The narrative clearly draws sickness and demonic control into the same orbit. In similar fashion, Matthew three times reports the "healing" (*θεραπεύειν*) of a person possessed by an unclean spirit (12:22; 15:22,28; 17:18).

15 Mark reports one healing in the vicinity of Jerusalem (10:46-52) but none thereafter. Matthew, by contrast, pictures Jesus conducting a healing ministry in the temple (21:14)!

a. The Severity and Poignancy of the Disorder

Lukan narration consistently heightens the dramatic force of healing episodes by enhancing the severity or pathos of the condition.[16] On three occasions, Luke (and only Luke) identifies the sick or dead individual as an "only" son or daughter (7:12; 8:42; 9:38).[17] The case of the widow's only son (at Nain, 7:11-17) is particularly poignant because, the reader may surmise, the woman is now deprived of her sole means of support.

The narrator also employs several other devices to lend dramatic intensity to the episode. We are informed that it is the *right* hand of a man that is "withered" (6:6; contrast Mark 3:1; Matt 12:10). Simon's mother-in-law suffers from a "high" fever (4:38). The centurion's servant is "about to die" (7:2; contrast Matt 8:6). And on three occasions the long duration of the disorder is stressed (8:27, 43; 13:11).[18] Certainly an important effect of this Lukan tendency to "inflate" the healing miracle is to impress upon the reader the extraordinary power of Jesus the healer.

b. Reserve Concerning Healing Techniques

Partly through omission of specific Markan material and partly through redaction of stories he does include, Luke achieves a reduction in details of thaumaturgical technique. It is possible that Luke's reader processes this feature of Lukan narration as a distancing of Jesus from the practice of magic.[19] Neither Mark 7:31-37 nor Mark 8:22-26 appears in Luke's gospel.[20] As a result, several vivid details portraying the healer's techniques (use of spittle, physical contact with tongue, ears, and eyes, the Aramaic expression *Ephphatha*[21]) are missing from the Lukan narrative. Moreover, the two-stage healing of Mark 8:22-26, which seems to diminish Jesus' δύναμις, also falls from view. In fact, the Lukan Jesus invariably heals by a word alone, by simple touch or through a combination of the two.[22] Details surrounding the

16 See Reginald H. Fuller, *Interpreting the Miracles of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 85; Nielsen, *Heilung*, 150-51.

17 Cf. George, *Etudes*, 80.

18 Cf. also Acts 3:2; 4:22; 9:33; 14:8.

19 Cf. the Beelzebul debate in 11:14-23 and the recurring concern in Acts to show the Christian movement as distinct from, and superior to, magic (8:9-24; 13:8-12; 19:11-20; see Achtemeier, "Lukan Perspective," 161-65; cf. Kee, *Miracle*, 211-18; *idem*, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times* [SNTSMS 55; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986] 95-121). Actually, claims regarding magical practice have much more to do with intergroup polemics and with the labeling of socially deviant behavior than with the presence or absence of manipulative techniques. See the important critique of Kee's approach in Susan R. Garrett, *Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989) 29-31.

20 Also missing from Luke is the encounter between Jesus and the Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7:24-30), with its disdainful remark about gentiles *and* its vindication of the gentile's bold faith.

21 Suggestive of a magical formula; cf. the omission of *talitha cumi* from Mark 5:41 (Luke 8:54).

22 By word alone: Luke 4:35; 4:39 (contrast Mark 1:31); 5:20, 24; 6:10; 8:32-33; 9:42; 17:14 (also, healing at a distance, with no specific word reported: 7:9-10). By word in conjunction with touch: 5:13 (significantly, Jesus touches an "untouchable" leper); 6:14

cure carry much less weight in Luke than do their soteriological meaning (healing as a facet of salvation) and the character of the needy person's participation in the healing event.

c. Healing and Teaching/Proclamation

As in the healing summaries, Luke typically coordinates healing and teaching in the healing stories. The mechanism is insertion of a healing episode within a narrative frame that presents Jesus in the role of teacher.[23]

d. Healing and Faith

Faith (πίστις) figures prominently in the Lukan narrative, as both cause and effect of healing.[24] As in Mark, Luke's Jesus can attribute healing to the faith of the needy individual: "Your faith has saved (σέσωκεν) you" (8:48; 17:19; 18:42).[25] The reassurance given to the synagogue ruler whose daughter has just died makes a similar point, although here faith belongs not to the sick individual but to her parents (8:51).

The sequence of healing and faith in the story of the ten lepers (17:11-19) has seemed problematic to some,[26] for the narrator reports that the men were healed en route to the temple, and yet Jesus later tells the Samaritan who alone displayed gratitude, "Your faith has healed [saved] you" (v. 19). Perhaps the faith in view was demonstrated in the willingness of each of the ten to go to show himself to the priests.[27] On the other hand, the faith which Jesus praises in the Samaritan surely ought to have something to do with the way he, unlike the others, honors God and Jesus. It may help to observe that there is a progression of terms by which the healing event is described. The ten lepers were "made clean" (ἐκαθαρίσθησαν) on their way to the temple, then the Samaritan discovers his cure (ἰάθη). At his return, Jesus queries, "Weren't ten made clean?" And then the thankful Samaritan is told, "Your faith has saved

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(Jesus touches the funeral bier); 9:54; 13:12-13. By physical touch alone: 8:43-48 (the sick woman initiates the contact)—but note the concluding word by Jesus; 22:51. The cure of the man with dropsy does not mention the mode or medium of healing (14:4).

23 Luke 4:31-32,38; 5:17; 6:6; 7:1; 13:10. Note further that the father of the demoniac boy addresses Jesus as "teacher" (9:38), and that the healing of the man with dropsy (14:1-6) occurs within the context of "table talk" in which Jesus instructs his dinner companions.

24 On the role of faith in the miracles of healing in Luke-Acts, see Achtemeier, "Lukan Perspective"; George, *Etudes*, 141-43; Nielsen, *Heilung*, 181-83; Luke Timothy Johnson, *Luke* (Sacra Pagina 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1991) 143-44. George argues that Luke "admits an apologetic value to miracle, but only in the sense that the miracle contributes to the genesis of faith, not that it imposes it . . . ." (142-43).

25 Matt 9:20-22 presents an even clearer correlation of faith and healing/salvation. In Matthew's compressed version of the cure of the woman with a chronic flow of blood, the healing is no longer a spontaneous event triggered by contact between her hand and Jesus' garment, but instead a deliberate response on Jesus' part to the woman's bold faith. While she expresses the hope, "If only I touch his robe, I will be healed [saved: σωθήσομαι]," the notice of her cure *follows* Jesus' commendation of her saving faith.

26 See, e.g., Achtemeier, "Lukan Perspective," 160.

27 Cf. Johnson, *Luke*, 262. The story of Naaman may lie in the background, although of course that "foreigner" initially refused to "go and wash in the Jordan," as directed by the prophet Elisha (2 Kgs 5:10-12).

(σέσωκεν) you." This trajectory in the story appears to suggest that beyond the experience of healing, something more is required if one is to be genuinely whole, healthy, saved.[28] Healing comes from the Savior, but it participates in the larger and more important reality of salvation only when it leads to a certain kind of response. To judge from the example of the Samaritan in this episode, one ought to praise God and thank the healer through whom God extended the gift of healing.[29] In other words, faith can be not only a precursor of healing (e.g., 5:20; 7:9; 8:47-48; cf. Acts 3:16; 14:9) but also an outcome of healing; indeed, it is *the* appropriate response, although the protagonists of the narrative are met also by hostile resistance. This pattern, whereby faith (or its antithesis, rejection) is elicited by the event of healing, appears in sharp relief in Acts (e.g., 5:12-16; 8:13; 9:35, 42),[30] but is already evident in the gospel's emphasis on the reception accorded to Jesus' deeds of healing. Salvation, in the full sense of the term, comes only to those who have faith.

e. The Response to the Healing

Lukan narration rivets the reader's attention on the responses elicited by the act of healing. To a degree, Mark and Matthew also depict witnesses' reactions to the miracle, with that reaction often serving as the demonstration of the healing (Mark 1:27; 2:12; 3:6; 5:15-17; 7:36-37; Matt 8:33-34; 9:8,33-34; 12:14,23; 15:31).[31] Yet Luke consistently and emphatically attends to his characters' responses to the event.

(i) Responses by Healed Individuals

Luke six times characterizes the healed person's response with the word παραχρῆμα ("immediately"). First, Simon's mother-in-law serves Jesus and the disciples without delay (4:38-39).[32] This διακονοῦν constitutes proof of the healing and also scores the point that the experience of healing appropriately leads to a gesture of gratitude. Second, the healed paralytic rises at once and gives glory to God as he leaves (5:25). This latter note, an enrichment of the Markan account, defines the ideal response of a healed individual (see also 13:13; 17:15; 18:43; cf. Acts 3:8-9). Third, the woman plagued by a flow of blood announces to all the people her immediate cure upon touching Jesus' robe

28 Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28/28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981-85) 2.1151; David L. Tiede, *Luke* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988) 298.

29 Gerd Theissen (*The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983] suggests that while Mark highlights *tested* faith that must endure difficulty, and while Matthew accents *petitionary* faith, Luke emphasizes *grateful* faith, as seen in the Samaritan leper as well as other beneficiaries of Jesus' healing activity [5:25; 8:47; 18:43].

30 Cf. Acts 13:8-12, where a punitive miracle (the temporary blindness of the magician Elymas) evokes a proconsul's faith. One of the striking asymmetries of Acts in relation to the gospel is the prominence of such punitive miracles (Acts 5:1-11; 8:8-9; 12:18-23; 19:13-20) alongside the healing activity of the apostles, Philip, and Paul.

31 Matthew twice gives general narrations of healing activity in which the place normally reserved for acclamation of the miracle is given over to a scriptural fulfillment motif (with Jesus as the Isaianic servant: 8:17; 12:15-21). It is particularly interesting that 12:15-21 explains the concealment motif in terms of the silence of the servant of God.

32 A Lukan embellishment (contrast Mark 1:31; Matt 8:15).

(another distinctively Lukan touch, 8:47). In a similar way, the healed demoniac goes public with the news of his healing (κηρύσσων, 8:39).[33] Fourth, the synagogue ruler's daughter gets up immediately (8:55). Fifth, a woman bent over by a "spirit of sickness" is made straight (ἀνωρθώθη) at once and proceeds to praise God (13:13). Finally, a blind man, after his immediate healing, "follows" (ἠκολούθει) Jesus and gives glory to God (18:43). The reader sees displayed[34] in the behavior of this anonymous blind man—both in his insistent request for help and in his reaction of following Jesus—the crucial advance from the experience of healing to the posture of discipleship, a theme already sounded in the account of those women who became disciples and patrons of their healer (8:2-3).

(ii) Responses by Observing Crowds

The narrator also regularly depicts the response of the crowd who witness a healing event. The reactions vary, from astonishment or amazement[35] to fear,[36] from rage or hostile opposition[37] to rejoicing[38] and praise of God.[39] Jesus' healing deeds do not escape notice (as will also be true of the apostles in Acts). And because they provoke divergent reactions, they cannot be said to provide unambiguous validation of Jesus' work. Yet, to believing eyes, the mighty deeds of Jesus do give occasion to offer praise to God. We will need to explore this topic further in relation to Lukan sayings of Jesus.

f. The Healer's Emotional State and Motivation

With only one exception, the Lukan narration of healing stories avoids any mention of Jesus' emotion and motivation.[40] The exception that proves the rule (ἐσπλαγχνίσθη, "he had pity," in 7:13) deepens the pathos of that scene (see the discussion above). In another context, where Mark reports Jesus' anger

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[33] On the other hand, in sharp contrast to Mark 1:45, the cleansed leper of Luke 5:12-16 does *not* spread word of his cure; rather "the word" gets out. The Lukan narration here avoids the jarring defiance by Mark's cleansed leper of Jesus' command to silence.

[34] Or the hearer is told. Consistently, the paper employs visual metaphors in describing the reader's interpretive moves. It is well for *my* reader to substitute aural metaphors appropriate to oral performance and reception of this narrative.

[35] Luke 4:36 (θάμβος); 5:26 (ἔκστασις); 8:56 (ἐξέστησαν, of the parents); 9:43 (ἐξεπλήσσοντο); 11:14 (ἐθαύμασαν). It is noteworthy that where the audience in Mark 1:27 is amazed that the unclean spirits are "obedient" to Jesus (ὑπακούουσιν), observers in Luke 4:36 simply assert that he commands the unclean spirits "and they come out." The effect of this reshaping of the story is that a reader is perhaps less likely to conclude that Jesus is aligned with evil forces (so the unit anticipates the debate of 11:14-23).

[36] φόβος/φοβοῦσθαι in 5:26; 7:16; 8:35,37.

[37] Luke 6:11 (ἄνοια); 13:14 (ἀγανακτῶν).

[38] Luke 13:17 (ἔχαιρε). It is characteristic that this passage sharply distinguishes the reaction of the crowd (who rejoice) from that of Jesus' opponents (who are indignant and then shamed by Jesus' counter-criticism).

[39] Luke 5:26 (joined to astonishment and fear); 7:16 (coupled with fear); 19:37, 43. Cf. also 9:43, where onlookers are astonished at God's majesty (μεγαλειότης).

[40] Cf. George, *Etudes*, 137; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 209. Mark and especially Matthew, by contrast, often indicate Jesus' emotions and motivation (Mark 1:41,43; 3:5; Matt 9:36; 14:14; 16:32; 20:34). The Matthean Jesus heals as the compassionate servant of God.

toward critics of his practice of healing on the Sabbath (3:5), Luke shifts the anger, now presented as a mindless rage (ἄνοια), to Jesus' antagonists (6:11).[41]

g. Jesus' Healing as Divine Activity

Lukan healing stories, true to the perspective supplied by Peter in Acts (2:22; 10:38), are thoroughly theocentric; they point through Jesus to the activity of God.[42] We have already drawn attention to Luke's consistent emphasis upon the response of both healed individuals and observing crowds to Jesus' acts of healing. The substance of these responses is significant, for they invariably (unless the reaction is hostile) address praise to God.[43] The account of the returning leper in 17:15-16 betrays especially careful formulation. Upon discovery of his healing, he returns "glorifying God" (δοξάζων τὸν θεόν, v. 15), and then, falling to his feet before the one who healed him, he *thanks* Jesus (v. 16). One properly gives gratitude to Jesus, but praise to God whose work of healing Jesus performs.

The exorcism story of 8:26-39 likewise ties together Jesus' benefaction and the action of God. At the close of the episode, Jesus directs the man, formerly a demoniac, to "relate all that *God* had done" for him (v. 39). The narrator then informs us that the man "went away proclaiming all that *Jesus* had done for him." Jesus' exorcistic deeds are here interpreted as the work of God liberating persons from domination by evil powers.

Moreover, Luke relates Jesus' miracles of healing to the scriptural paradigm of the mighty prophet of God, and this linkage, too, points through Jesus to the work of God in Israel's history. Jesus himself connects his cures and exorcisms "today and tomorrow" to the destiny that awaits him on the following day in Jerusalem, where all prophets go to die (13:32-33).[44] Especially revealing, though, is the raising of the widow's son at Nain (7:11-17). This passage contains significant echoes of Elijah's raising of the widow's son at Zarephath (3 Kgdms 17:17-24 LXX):[45]

Luke 7:11-17	3 Kgdms 17:8-24
(11-12) . . . ἐπορεύθη εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Ναϊν. . . ὡς δὲ ἤγγισεν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἰδοῦ . . . καὶ αὐτὴ ἦν χήρα . . .	(10) . . . ἐπορεύθη εἰς Σαρεπτὰ καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐκεῖ γυνὴ χήρα
(15) . . . καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ . . .	(23) . . . καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸ [τὸ παιδάριον] τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ . . .

In addition, though without verbal contact, the crowd's acclamation of Jesus as a "great prophet" through whom "God has visited [God's] people"

41 Similarly, the summary notice of 9:11 makes no mention of Jesus' compassion, unlike Matt 14:14.

42 Cf. George (*Etudes*, 140), who suggests that Luke's insistence on the divine activity in the miracles opposes a "divine man" notion in which the thaumaturge is master of his own extraordinary powers. See also Kee, *Miracle*, 204.

43 The healed person praises/glorifies God: 5:25; 13:13; 17:15-16; 18:43. The witnessing crowd praises/glorifies God: 5:26; 7:16; 9:43; 19:37, 43.

44 Note the wordplay: "Behold, I cast out demons and accomplish (ἀποτελῶ) cures today and tomorrow, and on the third [day] I am finished" (τελειοῦμαι, i.e., die).

45 Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.656; Johnson, *Luke*, 120.

(Luke 7:16) materially resembles the widow's response to Elijah's raising of her son: "Behold, I know that you are a man of God and [that] in your mouth is [the] true word of the Lord." Like the great prophet Elijah, Jesus, too, is empowered by God to speak the word of truth *and* to heal the sick (that is, in this context, raise the dead). In Jesus' public ministry in Israel, divine visitation of the people is underway.[46]

These impressions are reinforced by the depiction of Jesus at prayer before healing the demon-possessed boy (9:42).[47] The same may be said of the motif of (divine) δύναμις issuing from Jesus to effect healing (8:46; cf. 6:19).

h. Exorcism and Healing

Lukan healing stories evidence the pattern, already detected in the narrative summaries as well as Acts 10:38, of a fluidity of usage blending exorcistic and healing language.[48] In 9:42 Jesus "rebukes" (ἐπετίμησεν) the unclean spirit afflicting a boy, an act which results in a *cure* (ἰάσατο). And the account of the Sabbath healing of a "daughter of Abraham" (13:10-17) represents a fusion of sickness and possession terminology: πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας ("spirit of sickness," v. 11); ἐθεράπευσεν ("[Jesus] healed," v. 14); ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς ("Satan bound [her]," v. 16). Perhaps the report of leprosy "departing" a man made clean by Jesus (5:13) is yet another example.[49]

This pattern suggests that for Luke both disease and the specific condition of demonic possession stem from Satan's activity in the world. Accordingly, Jesus' healing work represents an assault against Satan's oppressive domination of human beings.[50] Since Luke's Jesus also speaks in these terms, we will revisit this theme in the next section of the paper.

i. Words of the Healer and Thematic Concerns of Healing Stories

Before turning to consider Jesus' interpretation of his healing work within Lukan discourse material, we first note three themes to which words of the healer draw the reader's attention within the healing accounts.

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46 See Tiede, *Luke*, 150-53.

47 Luke's rearrangement of the Markan pattern here is intriguing. The motif of prayer, introduced in Jesus' final explanatory remark to the disciples (Mark 9:29), finds its way into the narration of the healing, now as preparation for the exorcism.

48 On this phenomenon, see Kirchschläger, *Exorzistisches Wirken*, 267-69; George, *Etudes*, 70-71, 75, 134-35; Peder Borgen, "Miracles of Healing in the New Testament," *ST* 35 (1981) 91-106: 98; Rudolf and Martin Hengel, "Die Heilungen Jesu und medizinisches Denken," in *Der Wunderbegriff im Neuen Testament*, ed. Alfred Suhl (Darmstadt: Wissenchaftliche, 1980) 338-73: 353. George points out (75) that Luke, by assimilating disease and possession, conforms to the fashions of Greek medicine in his era.

49 Of course, the disorder termed λέπρα ("leprosy") is not to be equated with the disease bearing that name in modern society (i.e., Hansen's disease). For discussion of the problem, see, e.g., Mirko D. Grmek, *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) 160-61; Stanley G. Browne, "Leprosy in the Bible," in *Medicine and the Bible*, ed. Bernard Palmer (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986) 101-25; David P. Wright and Richard N. Jones, "Leprosy," *ABD* 4.277-82; Marshall, *Luke*, 208.

50 For an excellent study of Luke's handling of the demonic, see Garrett, *Demise*.

i. Healing and Faith

To return to a theme already developed (2.d above), the words of Jesus within several healing stories focus the relation of healing to faith. It is the healer himself who links the experience of healing/salvation to the faith of the person in need. The reader is left the task of discerning exactly what that faith is and how it draws one into the orbit of salvation. Toward this end, Luke's careful balancing of proclamation, healing, and other tangible expressions of Jesus' acceptance (forgiveness of the sinner, meal fellowship) suggests the understanding that "saving" faith is such by virtue of its receptivity to the divine offer of salvation. Access to the healing δύναμις of God runs parallel to the sinner's access through repentance and forgiveness to the realm of God.

ii. Healing and Inclusion of Outsiders within the Community

Two healing stories feature the faith of outsiders (one concerning a gentile soldier, 7:1-10; the other concerning a Samaritan "foreigner," 17:11-19). In each case, the faith of the outsider proves superior to that of community insiders, a point Jesus does not fail to score. While gentile mission to the farthest reaches of the earth must await Acts and the faithful witness of the apostolic community, these two passages represent an initial realization of the paradigm shift announced by Jesus at the outset of his ministry (4:16-30).[51] In the era of divine benefaction inaugurated by Jesus, barriers to the non-Jewish world are to be torn down.[52] Faith, and with it salvation, is not the exclusive property of the Jewish nation. Jesus, through his healings as well as his meals and parables, invites marginalized outsiders into the realm of God.

iii. Healing and Fidelity to the Law of Moses

On several occasions, healing acts by Jesus serve the primary purpose of provoking debate centering on fidelity to the Jewish law. Sabbath observance, of course, is the chief issue, surfacing in 6:6-11; 13:10-17, and 14:1-6. Jesus' opponents claim that non-emergency interventions are inappropriate on the Sabbath; they can wait a day (13:14). Jesus, though, re-frames the issue of Sabbath keeping in terms of a radical either/or: either one is doing good/saving life, or one is doing harm/destroying life; one may not opt to do nothing (6:9). And surely it is right to honor human need beyond the care shown to beasts of burden (13:15; 14:5). The Lukan Jesus does not jettison Sabbath keeping but defines it in terms of the priority of human need and the value of sustaining human life (cf. also 6:1-5).

That Jesus honors the scriptural law is clear from his instructions to lepers to show themselves to the priests who are authorized to pronounce the men

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51 Cf. also the healing of the (presumably gentile) Gerasene demoniac (see Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.735).

52 The healing of the centurion's servant paints in vivid colors the barriers separating Jew and non-Jew (the embassy of elders, professed unworthiness to host Jesus), anticipating the transitions of Acts (e.g., Acts 10:1-11:18).

cleansed and therefore restored to the religious community (5:14; 17:14).[53] Jesus' healing ministry in Luke—violation of Pharisaic Sabbath norms notwithstanding—is consistent with fidelity to the scriptural Torah, rightly understood.

Finally, the healing of the paralytic (5:17-26) poses the question of Jesus' divine authorization to forgive sins. As with the Sabbath healings, the cure here simply provides the occasion for religious/halakic debate. Ironically, the force of the objection lodged by Jesus' critics (v. 21: "Who can forgive sins but God alone?") is considerable. It turns out, though, that Jesus *is* divinely authorized to forgive sins. In this scene, healing is but an illustration and validation of that authority.[54]

3. Jesus the Healer Self-Interpreted

For all the healing stories and summary passages in the gospel, it is especially through the vehicle of Jesus' own words that the meaning of his healing acts within the story is communicated. The relevant sayings all appear in the first half of the travel narrative (10:8-15, 17-20, 23-24; 11:14-26, 34-36; 13:32; 14:13, 21).

As part of his mission charge to the seventy(-two), Jesus directs the disciples to heal the sick (*θεραπεύετε τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς*) in the cities they enter, and to announce the near approach of the reign of God (10:9). If their work of healing and proclamation is not received, they are to move on, yet not before issuing a now ominous reminder that *ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* ("the reign of God has drawn near," 10:10-11). The following verses (12-16) then comment on the rejection of God's messengers, first the disciples (v. 12) and then Jesus (vv. 13-16). What fortunes await a city that refuses to receive Jesus' emissaries? Sodom will fare better on "that day" (the arrival of the reign of God). Jesus then singles out three cities, presumably because of their earlier failure to respond to his work:[55] Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum. The *δυνάμεις* performed in Chorazin and Bethsaida ought to have issued in repentance, that is, in readiness for the approaching rule of God. Even Tyre and Sidon would have taken the hint (a slap in the face reminiscent of 4:25-

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53 In Luke 5:14 Jesus expressly directs the healed leper to complete the ritual prescribed by Moses, "as a proof to the people." In the case of leprosy, healing can only be demonstrated by the priest's certification of purity.

54 This is one of two passages in the gospel that correlate healing and forgiveness, sin and sickness (the other is 5:27-32). Does the narrative support the view that sickness is caused by sin? Jesus in 13:1-5 firmly disavows the belief that disaster stems from human sin, although he also urges his audience to repent, lest worse befall them. Certainly the dominant perspective in the story is that disease reflects the operation of evil in the world, and therefore that healing requires not an act of repentance but the initiative of a "stronger one" who can thwart Satan's designs (Luke 10:13 suggests that repentance on the part of the audience ought to be the *outcome* of healing). Yet sickness and sin are closely related as two dimensions of Jesus' work: he empowers sick and sinner alike to enter the sphere of God's sovereign rule (of salvation).

55 Capernaum is the only one of the three explicitly mentioned as a mission stop earlier in the narrative (4:31-43). At the time, the response of Capernaum to Jesus' *δυνάμεις* seemed positive, at least in comparison to Nazareth. Jesus' retrospective in 10:13-15 forces the reader to reevaluate the earlier episode.

27). And as for Capernaum, it may have lofty aspirations but its destination is Hades.

These stern sayings picture the consequences of rejection of God's messengers. Healing is closely tied to the message *and* to the reality of God's rule, and unless one embraces that reality, the experience or witness of healing miracles has no efficacy for salvation. Verses 21-24 display the other side of the coin. Divine disclosure has come to some (*νήπιοι*, "infants") in a way that leads not to cuplable rejection but to beatitude. So Jesus can pronounce blessed the eyes that see Jesus' activity (and that would include the miracles of healing), long awaited by ancient prophets and monarchs. In Luke 11:34-36 ("the eye the lamp of the body") Jesus picks up this focus upon sight, asserting that without a sound eye physical and spiritual health is impossible.[56] Blessed indeed are the eyes that see what Jesus does—if, that is, they are truly able to see.

The woes against Chorazin and Bethsaida show that the experience of healing is not sufficient; repentance and acceptance of the reign of God are crucial. A similar perspective informs Jesus' reaction to the returning seventy(-two) disciples, who are jubilant because they have discovered that the demons are subject to their authority (in Jesus' name, 10:17). He indeed granted them this power, yet what is more important is their place in God's realm (that their names be written in heaven, 10:20). This reserve about exorcistic successes implies that salvation includes them but involves much, much more.

We come now to the critical passage, 11:14-26. At issue here is the source and therefore the meaning of Jesus' exorcisms. The debate is prompted by a specific act of exorcism.[57] Against the charge that Jesus taps demonic power to perform these extraordinary feats,[58] the exorcist/healer counters with a constructive statement of the meaning of his actions. (1) Common sense shows that Satan (=Beelzebul) cannot be the source of Jesus' power, because if he were, one would have the absurd situation of Satan defeating himself (vv. 17-18). (2) Other Jews ("your sons") practice exorcism, and does anyone suggest they do so by demonic power? (v. 19). (3) The instrumentality of Jesus' exorcisms, in fact, is the "finger of God,"[59] and *that* means that God's sovereign rule has come upon (*ἔφθασεν*) his audience (v. 20). (4) To overpower a strong man and remove his goods, it takes a stronger, better armed man, and Jesus is that stronger man who is engaged in removing "goods" (people oppressed by evil spirits) from Satan's control.[60]

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56 For a helpful recent discussion of this passage, see Susan R. Garrett, "'Lest the Light in You Be Darkness': Luke 11:33-36 and the Question of Commitment," *JBL* 110 (1991) 93-105.

57 In its brevity the account represents almost the "ideal type" of the stereotypical healing miracle: (1) condition of need (a person is mute because of a demon); (2) healer's intervention (he was casting out a demon; it came out); (3) demonstration of the healing (the mute man speaks); (4) acclamation (the crowds were amazed).

58 On the other hand, some challenge Jesus to perform a sign from heaven, but Jesus seems to reply only to the charge that he is in league with demonic forces (e.g., *λέγετε*, v. 18).

59 The sentence is a real condition ("If indeed . . ." or "Since . . .").

60 On Luke 11:14-23, see Garrett, *Demise*, 43-46.

Luke's reader encounters here Jesus' direct claim that God is the source of his healing power.[61] Moreover, these events have decisive eschatological import, for through them God's reign is even now advancing upon Israel. That is only possible because God has empowered Jesus to wrest control of the world from Satan. By releasing persons from the oppressive domination of evil forces (possession, but also in Luke's narrative world sickness), Jesus is performing the work of reclaiming God's people for God's rule. That is to say, Jesus' ministry of cures and exorcisms is an integral part of the message and reality of the *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, and Jesus' role as healer derives its meaning from its participation in the rule of God through which salvation comes (at Satan's expense!) to Israel and to the whole world.

Jesus goes on to show, via the parable of 11:24-26, just how important it is that the experience of exorcism (or healing) be taken up into a larger reality that gives constructive shape and meaning to life. A person freed from the control of one demon remains easy prey for a host of more vicious demons, unless that life is claimed and reshaped by participation in the powerful realm of God.

Twice in the table talk of Luke 14, Jesus points to persons with physical disorders as the sort of folk one ought to invite to a banquet,[62] and as the sort of folk who are accepting Jesus' invitation into the realm of God (14:13, 21). We have seen the close connection between Jesus' healing deeds and the message of God's rule. Once again in this context, Jesus interprets his cures in relation to the rule of God (v. 15). He does so, however, in a way that emphasizes the need to integrate into the community persons who have only a liminal existence on the margins of society because of their affliction (persons who are poor, crippled, lame, and blind).[63] That business of restoring to the community persons marginalized by sickness is what Jesus is doing, and it is what he urges others to do as well (v. 13).[64]

One passage remains for brief comment. In 13:32 Jesus, replying to Pharisees who would warn him about Herod's malevolent designs, describes the "today and tomorrow" of his ministry as a time of healing and exorcism, after which he will be "finished," that is, die a prophet's death at Jerusalem (v. 33). Healing acts are for Jesus part and parcel of a prophetic calling, but so too is rejection and death.

4. Jesus the Healer and His Successors

Jesus' healing activity is not confined to the gospel but continues in Acts through his chosen witnesses. Their work closely parallels his own, as they heal lame men (Peter, 3:1-10; Paul, 14:8-18), the blind (Saul himself, a healed healer, 8:17-18), and a paralyzed man (9:32-35), as they raise persons from the dead (Peter, 9:36-43; Paul, 20:7-12), and as they perform an exorcism (16:16-18).

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61 Even as God is the author of the commandments to Moses, conveyed "by the finger of God" (Exodus 31:18).

62 Since they cannot reciprocate, God will, to the advantage of the generous host.

63 Not to mention others, especially those afflicted with *λέπρα*, whom he might have included in the list, which I take to be illustrative and not exhaustive.

64 On this theme, see Johnson, *Luke*, 143-44.

Moreover, the narrator provides general summaries of the apostles' (5:12-16) and Paul's (19:11-12) healing miracles.[65] Jesus' successors are, like Jesus, divinely empowered for their task of preaching and healing (see, e.g., the petition of 4:29-31). In their persuasive speech and mighty signs of healing is to be detected the divine hand. The narrator's statement in 19:11 is clear: *God* performed miracles through the hand of Paul. Peter's remark in 3:12 is equally clear: the apostles do not heal by their own power (δύναμις) or piety (εὐσέβεια). The theocentric cast of Jesus' healing work remains intact in the mission of his followers. It is therefore no surprise that prayer can precede the act of apostolic healing (9:40).

Healing and exorcism in Acts are often performed "in the name of Jesus" (3:6, echoed in 3:16 and 4:9-10; 4:30; 16:18). The exorcistic power residing in the name of Jesus is featured also in the delightful tale of the seven sons of Sceva (19:13-17).[66] Demons bow to the authority of Jesus, but do not acknowledge the presence of that authority when the name of Jesus is being exploited by unauthorized exorcists. In addition, Ananias advises Saul that Jesus, the Lord, had sent him to restore Saul's sight (9:17), and Peter informs Aeneas, "Jesus Christ heals (ἰᾶται) you" (9:34). God continues in the post-ascension era to bring health through the agency of Jesus.

Of course, the disciples' healing activity had begun already during Jesus' public ministry (Luke 9:1-6; 10:1-12,17-20). The narrator indicates that Jesus gave to the twelve the power and authority to heal and exorcize (9:1-2), and Jesus himself later says as much, upon the return of the seventy(-two) from their mission of preaching and healing (10:19).

It is true that after the ascension of Jesus some things are new and different.[67] Nevertheless, the reader of Luke-Acts will be impressed above all by the remarkable continuity in the story; the divine work of healing carried on by Jesus continues in the hands of his successors. God's salvation, including the healing of physical and spiritual disorders, presses outward beyond the borders of Israel until it reaches the ends of the earth.

5. Jesus as Healer and Luke's Characterization of Jesus

What does Jesus' role as healer contribute to the Lukan characterization of Jesus? Several significant points emerge from our analysis. First of all, it is striking that, with only one exception (Luke 7:13), Luke does not portray the emotions or motivations of the healer. The character Jesus, in the role of healer, points readers to the possibilities of wholeness and health within the realm of God, and instructs them on the meaning of sickness and healing. The narrative does not open windows onto Jesus' personality.[68]

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65 It is intriguing that the closest parallel to these two summary narratives is to be found in Mark 6:53-56, a passage missing from Luke's gospel!

66 See the treatment of this story in Garrett, *Demise*, 89-99.

67 Not least the need to preach and heal in the "name" of Jesus, and the prominence of punitive miracles in the narrative.

68 Which is to say that the narrative uses characterization the way ancient texts did. See Mary Ann Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1988) 76-78, 124-25.

If the singular note concerning Jesus' compassion (7:13) is any indication, the healing stories *do* communicate something of the mercy and graciousness of God, who purposes the well-being of sick people and draws them into the company of the saved. Lepers are cleansed and sent to priests who can restore them to religious purity and therefore to life within the community. Lame and blind people are given places at the community's table, and at a heavenly one. A demoniac totally estranged from human community (the point of 8:27, 29)[69] becomes whole, his transformation producing fear in his neighbors (8:35, 37)[70] yet also enabling a return to his home and city (8:39). Healing extends even to the servant of a gentile and to a leprous Samaritan, and Jesus stops to praise the extraordinary faith that lies beyond the threshold of Israel. Again and again, Luke's Jesus in word and deed draws marginalized persons (in this connection, sick and possessed folk) into the human community, and celebrates their inclusion in the people of God.[71] Jesus steps into Israel's history as the bearer of a salvation that entails reversal of circumstance; even as the poor are given a dominion, and sinners forgiveness, the sick enter through transformative healing into the sphere of salvation.

The Lukan Jesus exercises his healing vocation under the direction and empowerment of God, and he authorizes and enables his followers to carry that vocation forward by the same power. The role of healer is not uniquely Jesus' in the narrative,[72] nor does the divine δύναμις which issues in healing belong only to him. Yet when Jesus places his miracles of healing in an eschatological framework, daring to claim them as integral acts of God's realm, the reader comes to perceive him as more than a miracle-working prophet like Elijah (although Jesus does appropriate the vocation and destiny of God's prophets). For he is "anointed" to heal, "possessed" of the Holy Spirit, and thereby sent by God ἐν δυνάμει as the mightier one who can join the battle with Satan and return those under his sway to the camp of the saved. That is to say, Jesus' healing activity is a central feature of his messianic vocation to restore God's people and usher them into the era of salvation.

Yet the narrative draws the reader's attention not only to the meaning of the Messiah's healing acts but also to their effects, both on the one healed and on the audience. We repeatedly see enacted appropriate responses on the part of those who receive the gift of healing—above all, thankful faith and praise of God. Jesus celebrates faith as both an enabling condition and a fruit of healing. And crowds of observers, while they are often left amazed or afraid, are sometimes moved to honor God for what they have witnessed. Perhaps the narrative uses that device more to honor Jesus and his divine authorization

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69 Cf. Robert L. Brawley, *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) 190: "an outsider to the extreme."

70 Note that fear results not from the destruction of a herd of pigs but from sight of the transformed condition of the man. For a different reading, see Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1.740.

71 See Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Sacra Pagina 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992) 71-72; *idem*, *Luke*, 143-44.

72 In addition to the disciples, there are the Jewish exorcists mentioned by Jesus (11:19) and another exorcist who employs the name of Jesus (9:49); the same pattern holds, of course, in Acts.

than to praise the perceptiveness of the chorus of observers. However that may be, the story also depicts hostile reaction to Jesus' deeds of healing. Some people just do not get it, and in fact turn acts of divine benefaction on their head, labeling them demonic. To be sure, Luke capitalizes on the missionary potential of miracles of healing to give Jesus hellenistic-style legitimacy. (And the same will be true of the apostles in Acts.) At the same time, though, there are enemies for whom the ambiguity of δυνάμεις leaves ample room for suspicion. Luke's narrative admits of the ambiguity of healing miracles, but it also shows the proper way to read them in the case of Jesus (and his successors). Enemies of these expressions of divine mercy are enemies of God.

Important lines of inquiry remain to be pursued. Our analysis should inform narrative-critical and reader-response studies of healing in Luke-Acts, where one attends more closely than has been possible here to the design of the narrative, to the sequence in which the reader encounters these materials, and to the way in which readers (including the authorial readers) process them. And that means that the Lukan presentation of the theme also needs to be situated in its cultural and social environment, with the aid of cultural and medical anthropology.[73] I would hope that in our seminar discussion we can begin to address these issues as part of our continuing exploration of Luke's social location and rhetorical achievement. My modest aim has been to help us to ground that larger constructive project in the workings of the Lukan text itself.

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[73] Kee (*Miracle*) makes a helpful start in this direction, and Theissen (*Miracle Stories*) also offers important insights. See further Pilch, "Sickness and Healing."

Traditions Common to the Primary Adam and Eve Books and *On the Origin of the World*, NHC II, 5

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When one examines the so-called "Primary Adam and Eve books" (Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*, Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, Armenian *Penitence of Adam*, Georgian *Book of Adam*, and Slavonic *Vita*)[1] alongside the untitled text from Nag Hammadi Codex II, commonly called *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,5 and XIII,2; abbrev.: *OnOrgWld*),[2] one notices a number of common traditions. The Adam and Eve books reflect one type of elaborate exegesis and expansion of Genesis 1-3, and *OnOrgWld* reflects another type, found in a variety of gnostic sources including the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the *Testimony of Truth*, and the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.30.6-9). Beyond that common connection to Gen 1-3, however, there are three cases where *OnOrgWld* has a spin on a tradition not paralleled in the closely related gnostic texts, but with a parallel in the Adam and Eve books. Particularly important is the relationship between *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, NHC II,4 (abbrev.: *HypArch*) and *OnOrgWld*, because the three traditions discussed in this paper appear only in the latter, but in contexts that are also present in the former. Hans-Gebhard Bethge believes that both texts relied on common source material, but that *OnOrgWld* has used the source material more extensively.[3] Francis T. Fallon comes to a slightly different conclusion in that he believes a redactor is responsible for many of the additional elements in *OnOrgWld*.[4] Whichever of these views is correct, I believe we can say that the author of *OnOrgWld* had access to important traditions also found in the Adam and Eve books, either mediated through another source, or through direct knowledge of some version of those books. The author of *OnOrgWld* used these

1 For information on the manuscript traditions of these texts, along with a discussion of the critical issues, see Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta, 1992). For a synopsis of the five texts, see Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta, 1994).

2 Coptic text and English translation in Bentley Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7, together with XIII.2*, Brit. Lib. or. 4926(1), and P.Oxy. 1, 654, 655*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1989).

3 Hans-Gebhard Bethge, "Introduction: Tractate 5, Treatise Without Title/On the Origin of the World," in Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7*, 2:12-14.

4 Francis T. Fallon, *The Enthronement of Sabaoth: Jewish Elements in Gnostic Creation Myths* (Leiden: 1978) 17.

traditions to expand and reinterpret some of the material he inherited from his gnostic milieu.

I. Serpent=Beast/Instructor

The serpent of Genesis 2-3 is explicitly identified as a "beast" in Latin *Vita* 44:1 and Georgian *Book* 38:1. In the Adam and Eve books this beast attacks Seth and Eve as they make their way back to the garden in search of the healing oil for Adam (see below). This language is paralleled in *OnOrgWld* II.113.21-114.4, and again in II.118.24-119.5 where the serpent is called "beast" by the authorities so that it might lead astray the human beings, but its true name is "instructor" because in the gnostic context of *OnOrgWld*, the serpent fulfills a positive role in bringing knowledge to the protoplasts. The key word "beast" is the element common to *OnOrgWld* and the Adam and Eve books; it is probably based on Gen 3:1, which calls the serpent the most clever of all the "beasts" (both the LXX and *OnOrgWld* use the word *thērion*; Latin *Vita* has *bestia*). In the *Testimony of Truth*, NHC IX.47.4, the serpent's role is cast as "instructor," and this same language is used in *HypArch* II.90.5-12 and in *OnOrgWld*. As Birger Pearson has noted, these three Nag Hammadi texts manifest a word play only possible in Aramaic on the words for "serpent," "Eve," and "instruct." He then notes that *OnOrgWld* carries the Aramaic word-play even further with its addition of "beast" to the list of epithets for the serpent.[5] Pearson did not discuss, however, the fact that this use of the term "beast" for the serpent is already present in the Adam and Eve books.

II. The Olive Tree in Paradise

Even more striking is the presence in both the Adam and Eve books and *OnOrgWld* of an olive tree in paradise that produces a special oil which can only become available again at the eschaton. There is much speculation about the trees of Paradise in Jewish and Christian sources: *2 Enoch* 8:2-7, in both the longer and shorter recensions, discusses those trees, including "an olive [tree], flowing with oil continuously" (*2 Enoch* 8:5). Revelation 2:7 says that the righteous will "eat from the Tree of Life, which is in the paradise of God." This tree (the type of tree is not specified) will also be present in the new Jerusalem at the eschaton (Rev 22:2; cf. 4 Ezra 2:12). A major portion of the Adam and Eve books, preserved in all the versions, deals with the quest of Seth and Eve for oil that they hope will heal Adam of his pains and infirmities (*Apoc. Mos.* 9:1-3; Latin, Armenian and Georgian 35:1-36:2; Slavonic 11ff.).[6] They will obtain this oil from an olive tree in paradise out of which flows the "oil of life." After their encounter with the beast/serpent (discussed above), Seth and Eve are told by the archangel Michael that this oil will not be

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[5] Birger A. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testimony of Truth* from Nag Hammadi (CG IX, 3)," in idem, ed., *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1990) 45; see especially n. 27.

[6] For more on this motif, see Esther Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago, 1962).

available until the eschaton. The Greek version of Michael's speech, *Apoc. Mos.* 13:1-6, has no explicitly Christian elements in it; Seth and Eve are merely told that the oil is not available now, but one day, all those from Adam onward who have been holy people shall be raised from the dead and "the joy of paradise shall be given to them." In the Latin, Armenian, and Georgian versions, however, the coming of Christ is foretold: he will be baptized in the Jordan and either he will anoint believers with oil (Latin 42:3-4) or he himself will be anointed along with all his followers (Armenian and Georgian 42:3-4).

In gnostic contexts we find numerous speculations on the trees of paradise. The *Apocryphon of John*, II.21-16-22.9, speaks of two trees: the archons' poisonous tree, whose "blossom is the ointment of evil," and "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which is the Epinoia (afterthought) of the light" (cf. *Gospel of Philip*, II.71.22-28 and *Gospel of Thomas* II.36.22-25). Origen reports Celsus' description of an Ophite ritual: "the one who administers the seal is called young man and son; and he answers, 'I have been anointed with white ointment from the Tree of Life.'" (*C. Cels.* 6.27)

> *OnOrgWld* has an extensive description of two trees of paradise (II.110.2-111.8): the "tree of life," and an olive tree: Now after (the tree of life), the olive tree sprouted up, which was to purify the kings and the high priests of righteousness, who were to appear in the last days, since the olive tree appeared out of the light of the first Adam for the sake of the unguent they were to receive. (II.111.2-8)

This tradition appears to be a conflation of two ideas known from other sources, combined with speculation about the first "Adam of Light" so typical of *OnOrgWld*. The first tradition is the notion that there is an olive tree in paradise (*2 Enoch* 8:5; Adam and Eve book traditions discussed above). The second concerns the oil manufactured by Moses in the wilderness (Exod 30:25-32) which, according to later rabbinic sources, was used to anoint all Israelite kings and high priests for 700 years, only to be lost in King Josiah's time (*Midr. Rab.* Lev 10.8). The Talmud (*b. Hor.* 11b-12a) states that this oil will be available again at the end of days, on the basis of Exod 30:31 which reads, "This shall be my holy anointing oil *throughout your generations.*" Only in *OnOrgWld* is this eschatological oil for kings and high priests associated with the olive tree of Paradise. *HypArch*, which does mention the trees of the garden, and which is so closely related to *OnOrgWld* in other ways, mentions nothing of any oil tree, nor does it concern itself with kings and high priests.

It is unclear why the author of *OnOrgWld* would be concerned about anointing kings and priests at the end of days, unless he is simply engaging, as H.-G. Bethge put it, in "a relatively unbroken appropriation of Jewish ideas and motifs, such as the presentation of paradise."[7] What is common to the Adam and Eve books and *OnOrgWld* is the notion that there is an oil tree in Paradise whose oil is available again only at the eschaton. In each work this basic idea has taken on unique characteristics. It is interesting to note that the

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[7] Hans-Gebhard Bethge, "On the Origin of the World (II,5 and XIII,2)," in James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3d ed. (San Francisco, 1988) 171.

author of *OnOrgWld* also knows about the Jewish tradition of the recovery of oil for the kings and high priests at the eschaton, thereby showing that this idea is at least as old as mid-fourth century CE, when the Nag Hammadi texts were buried, and likely older. There is no reason to suppose that this tradition has been mediated through any Christian sources, and its presence in *OnOrgWld* provides evidence for the theory that some gnostic authors were ethnically Jewish or at least quite knowledgeable about the developing rabbinic tradition.

III. The Revolt of Satan/Sabaoth

Much has been written about the historical development of the Jewish and Christian myth of Satan's revolt against God, including in what ways it is related to the myth of the fallen angels found in *Jub* 5:1-11 and the Enoch literature, based in part on Gen 6:1-4.[8] One of the key texts for understanding this development has been the Latin *Vita* 12-17, where Satan accounts for his animus against Adam and Eve and his rebellion against God (cf. *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4.52-60; *Qur'an* 7:12-14 and 15:30-36). This pericope is not present in the Greek *Apoc. Mos.*, but the wider availability of the Armenian and Georgian versions of the Adam and Eve book, now published in synopsis form, enhances the study of the episode since now one can easily see that essentially the same story is preserved in those two texts. Thus, one may assume that the Greek texts on which they were based contained the story; it is not just an invention in the Latin. Michael Stone has pointed out that one passage in the *Apoc. Mos.* itself confirms that the author knew a version of this story, even though it is not recounted in the extant Greek text. In *Apoc. Mos.* 16:3, Eve relates what the devil had said to the serpent, "Rise up and we will cause [Adam] to be cast out of Paradise just as we were cast out through him."[9] Armed with this evidence, we can be confident that the "Fall of Satan" narrative of *Vita* 12-17 forms an integral part of the early Adam and Eve book tradition.

Unlike the examples of "serpent=beast" and eschatological oil, there is no direct parallel to the Fall of Satan story in *OnOrgWld.* I believe there is, however, an indirect connection in which the story of Satan's rebellion has been used to reshape and reinterpret the story of the Sabaoth's rebellion found in *OnOrgWld,* II.103.3-107.17. It is clear that Jewish and Christian ideas about the leader of the fallen angels, Satan, and/or the devil have played a role in the description of the Demiurge in various gnostic contexts, including *OnOrgWld.*[10] I would go beyond that, however, by claiming that some version of the Fall of Satan story, as it is now found in the extant primary Adam and Eve books, has influenced

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8 Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, 1987); Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl, "La Chute de l'ange: origenes et developpement d'une légende," in *Écriture et traditions dans la littérature Copte: Journée d'études coptes, Strasbourg, 28 Mai 1982* (Louvain, 1983); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, NY, 1981); Michael E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," *JTS* 44 (1993): 143-56.

9 Stone, "Fall of Satan," 153-54. Stone also thinks that 2 Enoch 21:4-6 and 31:5-6 contain an echo of the worship of Adam/Fall of Satan tradition (146-47).

10 See Forsyth, *Old Enemy,* 318-32; Fallon, *Enthronement,* 26-27.

the myth of the Demiurge's son Sabaoth, who rebels against his father in *OnOrgWld*. Sabaoth in this text has become an anti-type of the Satan in the Adam and Eve books; he is praised for doing what Satan was supposed to do, namely, worship Adam. In this way Sabaoth is partly patterned after Michael in the Adam-book story. Far from being cast down for his rebellion, Sabaoth is elevated and enthroned for his disobedience to the creator. This influence is only seen in *OnOrgWld*; the parallel and probably more original account of Sabaoth's rebellion in *HypArch* does not refer to the immortal man, and it is this link which provides the connection to the story in the Adam and Eve books.

At this point it will be helpful to provide a brief summary of the stories in three texts: the Adam and Eve books, *HypArch*, and *OnOrgWld*. In the Adam and Eve books, either Eve (Latin 11:2) or Adam (Armenian, Georgian 11:2) asks the Devil (Latin) or Satan (Armenian, Georgian) why he has been deceiving them and why he has such an animus against them. They ask, "Did we ever take your glory from you, or cause you to be without honor?" (11:3). Satan affirms that they did, even though Adam, who was present, seems not to remember the episode. The Devil relates that on the day Adam was created, Michael led Adam to bow down before God (13:2). God said that he created Adam according to his image and likeness, whereupon Michael, without any directive from God, called forth all the angels to bow down and worship Adam, Michael himself taking the lead (14:1-2). Satan refused to do so, claiming that he, as an angel, existed prior to Adam (14:3). Other angels under Satan's leadership also were unwilling to worship Adam (15:1). At this point only the Latin has a paragraph in which Satan, alluding to Isaiah 14:13-14, threatened to "place my seat above the stars of heaven and I will be like the Most High!" The Latin appears to have added this reference to the old Day-Star myth[11] in order to heighten Satan's sin, thereby more fully explaining what comes next in Latin, Armenian, and Georgian: God's wrath against Satan, which resulted in Satan's being cast down from heaven onto the earth, along with his followers among the angels (16:1). After hearing Satan's story, Adam prays to God to take Satan far away; subsequently the Devil (Latin)/Satan (Armenian)/Beliar (Georgian) leaves or becomes invisible (17:1-3).

The *Hypostasis of the Archons* has a rather short version of the story of the rebellion of Sabaoth against his father the creator. Clearly the name of Sabaoth is derived from one of the epithets of Yahweh from the Hebrew Bible, "Yahweh Sabaot," meaning "Yahweh of Armies." Space does not allow a full account here of the Sabaoth figure in gnostic mythology; let it suffice to quote Francis Fallon: "Although the conception of Sabaoth as one of the offspring of the Demiurge is familiar in gnostic thought (e.g. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.30), the conception of Sabaoth enthroned above him is not."[12] The latter idea is found only in *HypArch* and *OnOrgWld*, and both relate a myth about how it came to be that Sabaoth is enthroned above his father. In a sense, Sabaoth in both these texts succeeds in carrying out the threat uttered by Satan in Latin *Vita* 15:3, and by the Day-Star in Isaiah 14:13-14! The *HypArch* account begins in II.94.34 with

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11 See J. W. McKay, "Helel and the Dawn Goddess," *VT* 20 (1970): 451-64.

12 Fallon, *Enthronement*, 10.

the Demiurge's creating for himself a vast realm and seven offspring who are androgynous just like he is. He says to his offspring, "It is I who am the God of the entirety," at which point Zoe, daughter of Pistis Sophia, cries out, "'You are mistaken, Sakla'—for which the alternate name is Yaltabaoth" (II.95.7-8). Zoe breathes into the Demiurge's face, and her breath becomes a "fiery angel" which binds him and casts him down into Tartaros below the abyss. The account continues:

> Now when his offspring Sabaoth saw the force of that angel, he repented (Coptic: *afmetanoei*) and he condemned his father and his mother matter. He loathed her, and he sang songs of praise up to Sophia and her daughter Zoe. And Sophia and Zoe caught him up and gave him charge of the seventh heaven, below the veil between above and below. (II.95.13-22)[13]

The story goes on to describe how Sabaoth creates a huge four-faced chariot of cherubim, along with an infinite number of angels. His father Yaldabaoth sees him in all his glory and envies him; this is the origin of envy and death (II.96.3-11). Clearly, Sabaoth in this text comes to embody for the author some of the attributes of the god of the Hebrew Bible: he is not the highest god, but neither is he evil. Yaldabaoth acquires some of the characteristics of the devil, including responsibility for envy and death (cf. Wisdom of Solomon 2:24; Tertullian, *De Patientia* 5).[14]

In *OnOrgWld* the Sabaoth story is significantly altered and expanded. Fallon's conclusion, and I concur, is that *HypArch* "exhibits the earlier form of the tradition common to it and to *OnOrgWld.*"[15] Fallon does not, however, discuss the possible role of the Adam and Eve book traditions in influencing the novel elements in *OnOrgWld.* Thus, this part of the present paper can be considered a supplement to Fallon's study. In *OnOrgWld,* the key difference lies in the motivation for Sabaoth's rebellion, as will become clear in the following summary.

OnOrgWld has Yaldabaoth the Demiurge utter a blasphemy similar to the one in *HypArch,* namely, "It is I who am God, there is no other one that exists apart from me" (II.103.12-13). Pistis herself (not her daughter) is then filled with anger and responds:

> "You are mistaken Samael," that is, "blind god." "There is an immortal man of light (Coptic: *ourome nathanatos rrmouoein*) who has been in existence before you and who will appear to trample your modeled forms; he will trample you to scorn just as a potter's clay is pounded. And you will descend to your mother, the abyss, along with those that belong to you." (II.103.17-24)

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13 Coptic text and English translation by Roger A. Bullard in Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7,* 254-55.

14 For more on the characteristics of Yaldabaoth and Sabaoth in *HypArch,* see Fallon, *Enthronement,* pp. 25-37. He draws out the parallels between this myth and a number of Canaanite myths preserved in Philo Byblos (apud Eusebius) and at Ugarit.

15 Fallon, *Enthronement,* p. 24.

Before moving on, it should be noted that the heavenly "man of light" in this passage is to fulfill the same function as Adam in the Adam and Eve books, namely, he will be the cause of the enemy's downfall, be he Satan or Yaldabaoth. The text continues:

> Now when Sabaoth the son of Yaldabaoth heard the voice of Pistis, he sang praises to her, and he condemned the father [. . .] at the word of Pistis; and he praised her, because she had instructed them about the immortal man and his light.

The motive for the revolt has changed from what we saw in *HypArch.* Instead of awe for the force of the fiery angel, *OnOrgWld* attributes Sabaoth's revolt to his knowledge about the existence of the immortal man. Unlike *HypArch,* which characterizes Sabaoth's act as one of "repentance," *OnOrgWld* shows Sabaoth's praise of Pistis as a true act of defiance against his father, since Yaldabaoth has not yet been bound and cast down.

These elements of the story may reflect the influence of some version of Satan's revolt as found in the Adam and Eve books: both Satan and Sabaoth rebel against their respective fathers because of their responses to the heavenly man. The gnostic context of *OnOrgWld* accounts for the key differences in the two stories: Satan's rebellion against Yahweh (i.e., his refusal to worship Adam) is seen as a bad thing in the Adam and Eve books, while Sabaoth's rebellion against Yaldabaoth (i.e., his positive response to the immortal man) is seen as a good thing in *OnOrgWld.* This means that while Satan is punished for his action (cast down to earth), Sabaoth is rewarded (raised up to the seventh heaven and given lavish rewards). Similar to the idea that Satan's refusal to worship Adam causes a division among the angels in heaven (Latin, Armenian, Georgian 15:1), so also in *OnOrgWld,* Sabaoth's positive response to the immortal man causes a "great war in the seven heavens" (II.104.16-17).[16] In my view, the fact that *OnOrgWld* contains two other echoes of the Adam and Eve book tradition (serpent=beast and eschatological oil tree in Paradise) heightens the probability of influence here. The influence may have been present already in the source material for this text, or there may have been a direct influence on the redactor of *OnOrgWld* himself.

Perhaps the most intriguing part of the Adam-book/*OnOrgWld* connection is the idea of a heavenly Adam worthy of worship. Of course, *OnOrgWld* is not the only gnostic source to manifest this idea, and its background has been studied extensively.[17] What is surprising is that Michael would demand and God would approve of "worshipping" (Latin: *adorare*) a being other than God in the Adam and Eve books, and that echoes of this tradition would be found in the *Qur'an,* albeit softened to the point where God only demands "submission" to Adam (Surah 7:14-16; 15:30-36). Perhaps this phenomenon

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16 There is much more than the fall of Satan story in the mythic background of this "war"; see Fallon, *Enthronement,* 98-99.

17 See Hans-Martin Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als Leib Christi* (Göttingen, 1962); Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (London, 1966); John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield, 1988).

should be attributed to the power of the idea that humanity is created in the image and likeness of God (Gen 1:26), and thus that image can be a legitimate object of worship. Alexander Altmann was convinced that this "heterodox" idea, with its affront to monotheism, could only have come from (originally Iranian) Gnostic influence on Judaism, rather than the other way around.[18] As a brief response to this view, I would point out that *Midrash Rabbah* Exod 32:7 in its own way deifies human beings: it applies the statement, "I say you are *'elohim*" (Psalm 82:6) to the original generation that received the Law at Sinai; they later lost their divinity through the golden calf incident. The antiquity of this tradition is proven by John 10:34-36, where John's Jesus refers to it to defend himself against the charge of blasphemy for equating himself with Godhether Adam, the Exodus generation, or Jesus) was open for debate in Jewish and Jewish-Christian circles of the first century; one need not posit influence from later Manichaean, Mandean, or Zoroastrian traditions to account for it.[19]

IV. Conclusion

This paper has sought to illuminate three traditions which are unique to *OnOrgWld* among gnostic sources, and which may have been based, at least in part, on traditions found in the primary Adam and Eve books. Their combination and concentration increases the likelihood that some version of the Adam and Eve book was available to our gnostic author or his source. Some of the Adam and Eve book traditions may indeed have influenced gnostic texts and traditions prior to *OnOrgWld*; one is the notion that Cain and/or Abel were the offspring of a divine being or beings (possibly echoed in Latin, Armenian, Georgian 21:3; cf. John 8:44; 1 John 3:12; *Targum Ps.-Jonathan* Gen 4:8; *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 21-22; *Apocryphon of John* II.24.15-25; *HypArch* II.91.12; *OnOrgWld* II.117.15-17).[20] Indeed, the gnostic emphasis on the heavenly Man could ultimately derive from the same Jewish and/or Christian circles that gave rise to the idea, found in the Adam and Eve books, that Adam was worthy of worship. While all of this may be true, the point of this paper has been much more narrowly focused: a specific gnostic author had access to a specific set of traditions attested in the primary Adam and Eve books, and he used them to expand and reinterpret the myths he knew from his gnostic environment.

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18 Alexander Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945) 382.

19 A number of scholars in recent decades have concluded that the "heavenly Man" idea is ultimately derived from heterodox Judaism and/or Samaritan heterodoxy, rather than from Iranian mythology. These include C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1934) 146; Gilles Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953): 195-234; Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis*, 71 and 155; summarized in Thomas H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation* CBQMS 14 (Washington, DC, 1983) 102-08.

20 For more on this topic, see Gedaliahu Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (Leiden, 1984) 32-49.

Adam as the Image of God: An Exploration of the Fall of Satan in the *Life of Adam and Eve*

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The Adam books provide some of our earliest information about the interpretation of the creation story. These texts explore, among other things, the anthropology of the biblical account, as well as angelology not evident in Genesis. For the redactor of *Vita Adae et Evae*, the two issues are inextricably linked. The fall of Satan results from the creation of Adam. How does this reconstruction fit in with contemporaneous Jewish material on the structure of heaven, the role of the angels, and the station of humanity within this structure?

The *Vita Adae et Evae* (abbreviated *Vita*) contains a lengthy explanation for the fall of Satan, extant in almost exactly the same form in the Georgian and Armenian versions. Although the passage is missing in the *Apocalypse of Moses*, Michael Stone has shown that the Greek version of the story assumes that the pericope was part of the original recension.[1] Therefore, the story of the fall of Satan related in *Vita* 12-16, paralleled in a more pristine manner in the Georgian and Armenian versions, probably belongs to an older layer of the story.[2]

The explanation for the fall of Satan in these books is remarkable for its dissimilarities with other Jewish writings of roughly the same time period.[3]

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1 M. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on *The Books of Adam and Eve*," *JTS* 44 (1993) 153-56.

2 For a different conclusion about the literary dependency of the *Apocalypse* and the *Vita* see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the *Books of Adam and Eve*, and *1 Enoch*," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 2, *Sethian Gnosticism*, ed. B. Layton (Studies in the History of Religions [Supplements to *Numen*] 41; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981) 515-39.

3 The dating of these pseudepigraphical texts are difficult. Here I cast my net widely and include texts from roughly 100 BCE to 300 CE. I am inclined to view the Adam books as originally Jewish texts, reworked at obvious points by Christian authors, dating to some time before 300 CE. It might be possible to posit a Hebrew *Vorlage*, because of the Latin's extensive use of the conjunction (reflecting the waw-consecutive), and the translation of Satan as "adversary" at key points in the text in contrast to the title "Devil" used in the rest of the *Vita*. However, both of these phenomena may be the result of influence from the Old Latin Vulgate version most familiar to this redactor, as opposed to a fresh translation from a Hebrew text. For the date of the text see M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 53-58; for the

Two more common explanations for the fall of Satan have sounder biblical warrants. One group of texts interpret Gen 6:1-4 as the etiology for wicked angels.[4] Thus, 1 Enoch 6 (the Book of the Watchers) rewrites Gen 6:1-4, while 2 Baruch 56:10-13 relates that Adam's descendants are perceived as a moral threat to the angels; the fall of the angels occurs chronologically after the temptation in Paradise, and is completely divorced from the sin of Adam. A second group of texts interpret Isaiah 14:13-14 as the description for the fall of Satan/Lucifer.[5] Second Enoch 29 preserves the tradition of the pride of Satanael as the cause of God's anger. Similarly, the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra (4:32) mentions the inappropriate exaltation of Satan.[6] Second Enoch places that event at the creation of the angels on the second day. Therefore, Satan has already been banished from heaven before the creation of Adam, and simply acts out of spite in the temptation of Eve.

The explanation for Satan's fall in the Adam books differs quite noticeably from the above versions, and is actually harder to reconcile with Scriptural texts. In the *Vita*, Satan deceives Eve for a second time, inducing her to cut short her penance. Eve, and then Adam, ask Satan why he continues to assault the primordial couple. Satan replies that his own fall had been the result of the creation of Adam. The story of the creation of Adam is then recounted by Satan, an account clearly more dependent on Gen 1:26, than 2:7:

> When you were formed, I myself was banished from the face of God and I was sent outside of the community of angels. When God breathed the breath of life into you, (your) appearance and likeness were made according to the image of God. Michael brought you along and made you worship in the sight of God, and the Lord God said: "Behold, Adam, I have made you according to our image and likeness." Michael, marching out, called all the angels saying, "Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded!" Michael himself worshipped first and called me and said, "Worship the image of Yahweh!" But I responded, "I do not have to worship Adam." And when Michael forced me to worship, I said to him, "How are you forcing me? I will not worship something more corrupt and more base than me. I am prior to him in creation. I had already been made before he was made. He ought to worship me." (13:2-14:3)[7]

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question of provenance, see idem, 58-61. For an extensive critique of searches for a Hebrew Vorlage see the excursus in the same book, prepared by Stone and G. Bohak, 46-53.

4 For a quick review of this material see J. M. Rosenstiehl, "La chute de l'ange: Origines et développement d'une légende ses attestations dans la littérature Copte," in *Ecritures et traditions dans la littérature Copte*, ed. J. E. Ménard (Cahiers de la bibliothèque Copte 1; Louvain: Peeters, 1983) 37.

5 Rosenstiehl categorizes these as Satan's pride (37-44).

6 See the discussion of 4:25-43 by M. E. Stone ("The Greek Apocalypse of Ezra," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, ed. J. H. Charlesworth [Garden City: Doubleday, 1983] 567-68.

7 Translation from the Latin my own based on the text in W. Meyer, "Vita Adae et Evae," *Abhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-*

Satan relates that other angels followed suit, likewise refusing to worship Adam. God banishes these angels from heaven, stripping them of their glory. For this Satan vows eternal revenge on humanity.

The idea that the fall of Satan derived from his jealousy of humanity is found rarely in Jewish writings outside of the Adam books.[8] Rosenstiehl conjectures that the account in the *Vita* is the first literary evidence of this tradition.[9] Unnoticed by most interpreters of the *Vita*, the Wisdom of Solomon 2:23-24 provides the closest parallel to our text. "For God created us for incorruption, and made us in the image of his own eternity, but through the devil's envy death entered the world, and those who belong to his company experience it."[10] This text, which probably dates at the latest to the first century CE, likewise connects the creation of Adam in the image of God with the subsequent jealousy of the devil. Clearly the texts reflect the same tradition, but the question of priority is unclear. Because of the lack of Scriptural warrant for this tradition in the Hebrew Bible, it would be tempting to see the version of Satan's fall in the *Vita* as an exegetical interpretation of Wisdom, a text which may have been held as canonical by this redactor, rather than the text in Wisdom as an abbreviated version of the story in the *Vita*.

Regardless of the direction of influence between these texts, interpretive questions remain. The pericope in the *Vita* assumes the reader knows the location of the scene, and the meaning of Michael's command to worship Adam, a command which is so offensive to Satan that he risks the anger of God in his refusal to obey. Yet for the modern reader these details remain obscure. Why was Adam supposed to be the object of worship? What was the primary function of humanity according to this text, prior even to that of tilling the garden? Because Satan is cast out of heaven at the end of this scene, one assumes the action takes place in heaven. For the author of this Adam book, then, what are the full implications of a heavenly creation of humanity?

According to the criteria posed by Martha Himmelfarb, the worshipping activity of the angels imply that for this text heaven is a temple. This activity asserts that heaven is construed not only as sacred space, but as the heavenly prototype of the Jerusalem temple. This text does not envision levels of heaven.[11] There are no clear reflexes of the tripartite division of the Jerusalem temple, nor is there any mention of sacrificial activity, outside of the possible

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philologische Klasse 14.3 (1878) 185-250. The *Vita* at this points adds that the Devil tries to exalt himself over God, a clear reflex of Isaiah 14. However, this line does not appear in any other version of the text, and clearly conflates two different explanations for the fall of Satan. Therefore, on this point the shorter version of the Georgian and Armenian is to be preferred.

8 H. E. Gaylord ("How Satanael lost his '-el,'" *JJS* 33 [1982] 306) notes five texts which attribute Satan's fall to envy of Adam. However, all but the Armenian Penitence of Adam clearly post-date the *Vita*.

9 "La chute de l'ange," 44-47.

10 Quoted from NRSV.

11 This is not true for the *Apocalypse of Moses* 35:2, paralleled in the Georgian only, in which Seth sees seven levels of heaven. For the question of the levels of heaven, see C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 80-84.

incense offering of *Apocalypse* 33:4, with parallels in Georgian and Slavonic.[12] However, even without these explicit references, the background of this pericope lies in texts which use temple terminology more explicitly.

Himmelfarb examines the pervasive assumption in tales of human ascent to heaven that heaven is space parallel to the earthly temple. While this idea should not be surprising, since it is a dominant idea in ancient near eastern temple ideology, the implications of the cultic background have not been fully exploited in understanding the pseudepigraphical texts. In particular, this context makes sense of the attributes and activities of the angels within these visions. The angels are perceived as priestly figures, ministering to God like their human counterparts.[13] The garments the angels wear are priestly robes. The hierarchies within the angelic courses parallel the various priestly functions. Therefore, some angels are guardians of entryways (doorkeepers), others sing praise (musicians), while often one angel is exalted to primary minister (high priest).

The interaction between angels and humans is also clarified within this complex of ideas. Himmelfarb suggests, for instance, that opposition by the angels to the entrance of Zephaniah into heaven relate the trial of the "ordinary" soul before it can enter heaven.[14] However, this opposition may have as much to do with protection of sacred spheres, as with any fear on the part of the heavenly beings of a threat on the part of the human. In some texts the human is merely allowed to witness the ministrations of the angels. In others, however, the intruder becomes one of the angels, usually evidenced by participation in praise of God. Finally, as seen in the figure of Metatron in 3 Enoch, the human is exalted to the role of high priest, leading the other angels in their praise of God.[15]

Even with this quick review of Himmelfarb, it becomes evident that much of this language fits the motifs of the *Vita*. First, the angels worship (*adorant*) God. In *Vita* 33:2, the two angels guarding Adam and Eve in Paradise must ascend to heaven at appointed times to worship God. In this worshipping activity, Michael acts as leader, or high priest. He is the first to worship (14:2), commanding the courses of angels, as well as Adam, when they should worship (13:2, 14:1, and 2). He acts as intermediary between God and humans, controlling access to God (13:2),[16] and he conveys God's softening of the curses of Genesis 3 to the humans (pain of childbirth in 21:2, seeds for food in 22:2, and a resting place for Adam after death until resurrection in 43:1 and 46:2-3).[17]

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12 The Georgian and Slavonic, however, downplay the sacrificial nuances of these activities, and instead, relate them simply to burial practices.

13 See M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 29-46.

14 Himmelfarb, 53-55.

15 Himmelfarb, 44-45.

16 Contrast this to the role of Enoch who mediates between God and the angels in the Book of the Watchers. For a discussion of this text, see Himmelfarb, 23-25.

17 I am omitting material from the Gospel of Nicodemus, which show a clear provenance.

In light of this, one would expect Adam's status vis-à-vis the angels to be either a little lower than the angels (Ps 8:5, Vulgate[18] and the Apocalypse of Zephaniah 3), equal to the angels (Ascension of Isaiah 9), or exalted to chief above the angels (3 Enoch 10-15).[19] None of these three options is utilized in the text. Clearly Adam is exalted above the angels at his creation. However, although Adam himself initially worships God, Adam in turn becomes the object of adoration. This does not connote that Adam acts as high priest, who, although described in exalted language,[20] is never the recipient of worship. Adam as the object of worship is even more explicit in the Armenian and Georgian texts which show the angels prostrating themselves before him.

While prostration can be directed to a royal figure, royal terminology plays no part of the *Vita*. The text, drawing on Gen 1:26, explicitly states that the angels are to worship Adam because he is the image and likeness of God. Within temple texts of the ancient near east the image of the deity is the central object of the temple itself.[21] It is the symbol that the deity resides in this temple. In a sense the image of the god "activates" the temple, makes it a legitimate dwelling place for the god. Contrary to the biblical polemic, the worshipping community did not believe the statue was the actual deity, but through rituals of sanctification the statue symbolized the effective presence of the deity within that sacred space. Prayer was directed toward this object, and priestly ministration, from sacrifice to "housekeeping" were directed toward this object, as if the deity itself received the activity. While the most common form of the sacred object was a statue meant to portray the deity, more symbolic objects could be used as well. Thus, at the LB temple at Hazor, unengraved and sparsely engraved standing stones stood within the central room.[22] For the Israelites who worshipped at first temple of Jerusalem, the ark of the covenant symbolized the presence of Yahweh. For the Northern

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18 The Hebrew text (Ps 88:6) reads, literally, either, "You have made him a little less than God," or "a little less than the gods." If the author of the *Vita* relied on the Hebrew text, then, this could be the biblical warrant for the interpretation of the fall of Satan. This would additionally suggest an original Jewish author.

19 Himmelfarb notes that in the Ascension of Isaiah the highest status is reserved for the "righteous dead." This earlier layer of the text is softened in the later version which allots to Isaiah a position only equal to the angels (56-57). If her conclusions are correct, this suggests the exaltation of Adam in the *Vita* may be evidence of an early date for this text.

20 See citations in Himmelfarb, 18-20.

21 For discussions of cult statues in the ancient Near East see, for example, A. Spycket, *Les statues de culte dans les textes mesopotamiens des origines a la Ire dynastie de Babylone* (Paris: Gabalda, 1968), M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (SBLMS 19; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1974) 22-41, P. D. Miller, and J. J. M. Roberts, *The Hand of the Lord: A Reassessment of the Ark Narrative of 1 Samuel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) 9-17, and W. W. Hallo, "Cult Statue and Divine Image," in *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* ed. W. W. Hallo, et. al. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 1-17.

22 For the most recent photograph of the engraved stone see B. A. Nakhai, "What's a Bamah? How Sacred Space Functioned in Ancient Israel," *BAR* 20/3 (1994) 20-21. The article provides a good introduction to the variety of Israelite worship in the first temple period.

kingdom, the central object consisted of standing bulls. Both furnishings represented empty thrones above which Yahweh appeared. However, the central room of the second temple remained empty.

The specific terms used in the *Vita* to describe Adam, *imago* and *similitudo*, are the exact terms used by the translators of the Vulgate to describe the central anthropomorphic or zoomorphic objects of non-Israelite religions. The Vulgate of the Wisdom of Solomon 13:10-19, for instance, describes the idols of foreigners as the "likenesses of animals (*similitudines*, v. 10), and the image of a human (*imagini*, v. 13). The text describes the installation of the "image" (*imago*, v. 14) relatively accurately for such a polemical piece. Chapter 14 uses similar language to describe the pointless reliance of sailors on "images" and "likenesses." While these terms can mean things other than a central cult object, when this terminology is used of an object as the recipient of worship within sacred space, it is hard to see these terms as meaning anything other than that this object is the central cult object of a temple. This is the exact context for the language describing Adam in the *Vita*.[23]

What is surprising, in light of the polemic against "idol worship" in the Hebrew Bible, is that the imagery plays such a positive role in the *Vita*. Adam's role as the effective symbol of God's presence in heaven is the result of a divine command.[24] The fall of Adam in the *Vita* also trades on the language of purity and defilement. In *Vita* 6:1 Adam explains that he and Eve had been banished from Paradise because the fruit that they had eaten defiled their lips. Paradise, just like heaven, is sacred space, if for no other reason than because God can be present there.[25] Adam's job was to till that space, i.e., to serve God in that territory. However, defilement of any sanctified object, priest or appurtenance renders that object unfit for entrance into that sacred sphere.[26] The sin of Adam of Eve, then, involved not just disobedience, but ritual defilement. This explains why the *Vita* can stress that the sins of Eve, in both Paradise and the water, were the result of deception. Defilement is not the result of conscious will, but the effect of ontological contact with the realm of the impure. The problem of evil in the *Vita* for both humans and angels is not a moral problem, but a ritual one.

The attribute of *imago dei* remains after the fall of the primordial couple, and is even passed on to their son, Seth. The versions disagree on the affect of this quality; this becomes most apparent when Seth is bitten by the serpent. The Latin says the wounds disappeared from Seth. The Greek and Georgian

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[23] J. Levison (*Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* [JSPSupp 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988] 177-78) notes the language as well, but does not notice its relationship to temple imagery.

[24] The Armenian version makes this effective symbolism more explicit. When the angels are ordered to bow down before Adam, God tells them that Adam is a god himself, one that God has made.

[25] For the interrelationship of the language of Paradise and the temple see J. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Harper and Row, 1985).

[26] The literature on the purity laws in the Hebrew Bible is enormous. However, for an general overview of the relationship between temple structures and purity systems see M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into Biblical Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

relate that the serpent is rebuked, but the wound stays in Seth. What is clear in all the texts, however, is that the *imago dei* is an attribute of all humanity not lost by the fall of Adam.

The fall of Satan in the *Vita* is the result of the devil's refusal to worship Adam, a refusal that seems to make good sense in light of the polemic against idol worship in the Hebrew Bible. However, because this image of God was created and ordained as such by God, Satan's refusal to worship Adam is paramount to Satan's refusal to worship God. (In this way the Latin's expansion that Satan consequently attempted to exalt himself above God makes sense.) Can any conclusions be drawn about the provenance of this version based on this reading? First, it implies an author or redactor fully familiar with temple ideology. It suggests an author who is comfortable with the idea of an Israelite temple containing a cult object. It also suggests awareness that not all members of the contemporaneous community agreed that God could ordain a cult object. Whether this implies an author reflecting on the temple of Jerusalem, either still standing, or part of the eschatological future is uncertain. Equally uncertain is whether this could in any way reflect the viewpoint of an Egyptian Jew, or a polemic against the Roman imperial cult. What is clear is that for the author of the *Vita Adae et Evae* the image and likeness of humans render them a "little more" than the angels and ultimately promises them a place in heaven next to God.

Will the Real Eve Please Stand?

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It has become axiomatic to characterize the pseudepigraphic writings as misogynous. Surveys such as L. Swidler's *Women in Judaism*[1] briefly consider Ecclesiasticus, the Book of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve patriarchs and the Life of Adam and Eve, and find them unremittingly negative in their portrayal and estimation of women. More recently, Carol Meyers documents the pseudepigraphic texts which claim Eve is the cause of sin and suffering in her publication *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context.*[2] She cites Ben Sira, the Books of Adam and Eve, and the Apocalypse of Moses as examples of pseudepigraphical literature which depict Eve, as representative of her sex, as the source of evil and hence requiring subjection by men.

Although it is undoubtedly true that this literature quite consistently presents women in general and Eve in particular in an unflattering light, there are some exceptions which have been overlooked.[3] This paper wishes to explore one of those exceptions within pseudepigraphy as part of the larger enterprise of recovering and analyzing the Judeo-Christian heritage as it pertains to women. As such it is a contribution to the feminist concern to reshape the tradition so that both women's silences and voices are heard.[4]

This study also intends to further the work begun by John R. Levison in his analysis of the Apocalypse of Moses 15-30.[5] In that article Levison argues that the Testament of Eve contained in the Apocalypse of Moses 15-30 is an

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1 Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1976, pp.46-55.

2 New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988, pp. 75-76.

3 In addition, it is possible that some passages are not as negative as the secondary literature has claimed. For example, Ecclesiasticus 25:24, "From a woman sin had its beginning, / And because of her we all die." is interpreted by Warren C. Trenchard in *Ben Sira's View of Women: Literary Analysis* (Chico, Calif.: Scholar's Press, 1982), pp.80-82, as ascribing the beginning of sin and death of human kind to Eve. This is disputed by John Levison in "Is Eve to Blame: A Contextual Analysis of Sirach 25:24," *CBQ* 47 (1985), pp. 617-623. He concludes that the meaning of the text, when considered in context is, "From the [evil] wife is the beginning of sin, / and because of her we [husbands] all die."

4 See Judith Plaskow's *Standing again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminsist Perspective* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990) pp. 25-74 for a description and rational of the task of reshaping Jewish memory. This paper will not study the role of women in the Jewish/ Christian community. For an excellent presentation of women's religious involvement in the Greco-Roman world see Ross S. Kraemer's *Her Share of the Blessings* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992).

5 See "The Exoneration of Eve in the Apocalypse of Moses 15-30," *JSJ* (1989) pp. 135-150.

independent unit of tradition which has been inserted into the larger work. Within the Testament the characterization of Eve is significantly different from that in the rest of the Apocalypse. For example, in the Apocalypse of Moses 1-14 and 31-43 Eve is often weeping and perplexed; she takes full responsibility for the suffering of Adam; Adam is addressed by her as Lord, and she is subordinate to him. However, in the Testament of Eve, she is discerning; her actions and motivations are laudatory, she is not held solely accountable for sin, because, among other things, she is not responsible for deceiving Adam.

J. Levison has singled out one voice in the Apocalypse of Moses which presents Eve in a positive light. We would like to present another somewhat sympathetic depiction of Eve by examining a neglected version of the Life of Adam and Eve, the Old Church Slavonic.[6] Overlooking this version is particularly unfortunate, because it is here that we are introduced to some novel estimations of Eve's culpability and her relationship to Adam.

This paper wishes to study the roles, characterizations and evaluations of Eve that emerge from the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* (hereafter *Life*) by examining them within the context of the work itself, and in conjunction with the other editions of the Adam and Eve books. The synchronic study is aided by having a synoptic reading. Although we can in no wise assume that the five extant versions all derived from one original manuscript, comparing and contrasting the versions sheds some light on the options available to the author.

The plot of the Slavonic *Life* begins with the expulsion of the protoplasts from the garden of Eden (Genesis 3:23) and ends with the death and burial of Adam (Genesis 5:5) and Eve. In between, the narrative incorporates traditions which are sometimes closely tied and sometimes only indirectly connected to the biblical text.

The *Life* divides into five sections, which are outlined below.

A. Introduction

1. Pre-lapsarian state—Adam and Eve in authority over the animals
2. Expulsion from Paradise; Adam's vision about the birth of Cain and Abel and subsequent fratricide; Adam comforted by Michael

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6 Work on this text has been greatly advanced by the recently published *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* by Michael E. Stone (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). He introduces us not only to the well known Greek *Apocalypsis Mosis* and Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, but also the Armenian *Penitence of Adam and Eve*, the Georgian *Book of Adam and Eve* and the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*. Although these versions have been around for some time, generally only the Latin and Greek texts have been the subject of examination. This is due in part to the publication of R. H. Charles' *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1913) of only the Latin and Greek and the beginning of the Slavonic. In part this was inevitable since the Armenian and Georgian versions had not yet been discovered, however the Slavonic version has been available for a century. It was translated into German by V. Jagic and published in an article, "Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen, I, Die altkirchenslavische Texte des Adamsbuche," in *Denschr. kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philo.-hist. Klasse* Vienna, 42:1-104. This translation is now easily accessible. It is contained in the newly published *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* edited by Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).

3. Birth of Cain and Abel; Murder of Abel discovered by Adam and Eve; Advice of Michael

B. Quest of Seth

4-5. Birth and naming of Seth; Birth of thirty sons and daughters; Illness of Adam / Gathering of children at his bedside
6-7. Seth's proposal of a quest to Paradise, accompanied by Eve, to seek something to alleviate Adam's pain
8-10. Adam's narrative explaining the cause of his illness
11-15. Seth and Eve set off for Paradise; Encounter with the Beast
16-17. Quest completed; Return of Seth with three branches; Adam's weaving them into a wreath; Gathering of the children at his bedside

C. Testament of Eve

18-20. Assembly of children; Eve's explanation of the cause of Adam's illness / Eve's deception by the serpent
21-22. Adam's deception by the serpent
23-24. The Judgement of Adam by the Lord
25-27. Expulsion from Paradise; Request to God for food / Gift of incense

D. Penitence Narrative

28-29. Search for food
30-32. Curse on food and Eve
33-34. Temptation of Adam; Adam's resistance (Cheirograph)
35-37. Fasting and penitence of Adam and Eve
38-39. Temptation of Eve; Eve's resistance; Penitence of Adam and Eve completed

E. Adam and Eve's Death and Burial

40-41. Adam's Death
42-44. Adam's Reprieve through angelic intercession
45-46. Adam's burial; Transfer of his corpse to Paradise
47. Lord's instruction and burial of Adam
48. Eve's burial; Instructions on burial to Seth; Final Glory to God

The division of the *Life* into these five parts is made on the basis of internal as well as external evidence. When the various versions are compared, differences in style, vocabulary, as well as duplications and narrative incoherence suggest that these divisions may reflect not only natural breaks in the narrative, but also separate units of tradition which have been combined to produce this text.[7] This paper will not directly address these source critical

[7] For example, the Testament of Eve is found in the Latin, Georgian, Armenian and Slavonic versions, but is absent from the Greek. John Levison, in his article, "The Exoneration of Eve in the Apocalypse of Moses 15-30," after a source critical investigation of the relationship of the Testament to the rest of the work concludes that it is an independent unit of tradition which has been incorporated into the larger work. His evidence includes the differing characterizations of Eve and views of Paradise, the integrity of the unit considered separately and the interruption in the narrative flow occasioned by the Testament's presence. it is quite possible that this unit of tradition has also been incorporated into the Slavonic, Armenian and Georgian. Much study still needs to be done on the issue of the literary interrelationships between the version of the *Life of*

issues, but instead will focus on a literary reading of the text. Of course, the two are related, and we intend that this literary analysis will contribute to a discussion of the history of composition of the text.

In order to study the depiction of Eve in this text, we will employ narrative analysis. We will presume that the final text of the *Life* is an intentional whole which employs a variety of literary techniques in order to communicate with its readers. To uncover the message of the text, we will note such devices as the use of dialogue, the coherence of the plot and the development of character.[8]

We will begin by briefly cataloguing the portrayals of Eve, and secondly, we will attempt to reveal the overarching themes which will explain the variety of portraits which emerge.

Firstly, there are places in the narrative where Eve is notable for her absence. One might expect that Cain and Abel would be born to both Adam and Eve, but they are born only to Adam (section 3).[9] Still later, Adam becomes the father of thirty sons and daughters (section 5) and Eve's participation in this event is omitted. In the Quest of Seth for a remedy for the pain of Adam, Eve accompanies Seth, but disappears from the narrative in the last section. After they have successfully reached Paradise and entreated God together, God sends Michael to speak with Seth, to give him the three branches which Seth delivers to Adam (section 16-17). Eve's absence as the recipient of an address by God or an angel is also conspicuous in the judgement of God and the announcement of the curses to follow (section 30-32). Although, in both cases the narrator makes clear that both have sinned, God only interacts with Adam.[10] Her omission in these instances is a powerful testimony to her invisibility in the eyes of the author. She is clearly present in all these events, but is so much part of the background that she need not be mentioned.

When not invisible, she is often treated as a derivative character. In these instances, it is only by virtue of her relationship to Adam or Seth that she is included. For example, Adam is expelled from Paradise, and takes his wife with him (section 2). Especially after the death of Adam, her dependent identity is powerfully depicted. Her person is so closely tied to his, that without him there is no life for her. "*Herr, Gott, wie du mich von der Rippe Adams*

Adam and Eve. M. E. Stone addresses the topic in his *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve,* pp. 61-71. He suggests that the nature of the evidence compels us to consider a new paradigm of authorship and transmission. Rather than presuming an original document and subsequent editions, we may need to entertain the notion of a complex process of different crystallization of existing traditions.

8 There have been a spate of books on narrative analysis of the Hebrew Bible, the most recent being *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible,* by David M. Gunn and Danna Nolan Fewell (New York: Oxford, 1993). I am aware that the *Life* is not a biblical book and the literary techniques employed by the biblical authors may not be those employed by the author of the *Life.* However, the literary genre of the two documents is similar enough that narrative analysis is helpful.

9 In the biblical text Eve's role in the birth of her sons is noted (Gen 4:1,2).

10 In Genesis, both of these scenes include Eve. She is questioned by God (Gen 3:13) and is addressed by God when the curses on her are pronounced (Gen 3:16).

geschaffen hast, so mochte ich auch mit ihm sein." (section 48). In her final act, she gives up her spirit and it is accepted by God.

Eve's derivative identity is accompanied by her subordinate status. This is indicated in a variety of ways. In direct speech Eve often addresses Adam as 'my lord' (sections 4, 11-15, 35-37); she is included in Seth's plan to return to Paradise without being consulted (section 6-7); at several points she relates to Adam and Seth as a student relates to a teacher. For example, Adam anticipates that Eve will be tempted by the devil while performing her penitence, and gives her detailed instructions about how to carry out the ritual and helps her anticipate the devil's temptation (section 35-37). Eve is also instructed by Seth at the end of the *Life* (section 42-44). She is shown the marvels being performed in heaven as the angels intercede for Adam, and calls her son to view it with her. Eve asks Seth to explain what she is seeing, and he, apparently privy to information not available to her, is able to answer her question.

Eve's subordinate status is closely connected to her character. In the text, she is occasionally depicted as emotionally overwrought—she weeps in response to Adam's illness, and implores him to share his pain—something he cannot do (section 11-15); she cries violently when the beast pursues her and Seth, and when she screams at it, it has no effect (section 11-15). She is presented as the stereotypical irrational, emotionally overwrought female.

Not only is her subordination to Adam due to her created status, but it is also a result of her sin. As Adam and Eve search for food outside Paradise and find nothing but thorns and wild grass, they cry out to God for pity (section 30-32). The Lord speaks, and describes the new state of affairs for life outside Paradise; "*Dann sprach der Herr: Dorn und Distel soll aus deinem Handen hervorgehen und von deinem Schweiss sollst du Nahrung haben, und dein Weib soll auf dich blickend zittern*". This message from God to the Archangel Joel is relayed to Adam alone, and in the process is changed quite substantially; "*Und Erzengel Ioel sagte: So spricht der Herr zu Adam: Ich habe nicht dein Weib geschaffen dir zu befehlen, sondern dir zu gehorchen; warum gehorst du deinem Weib?*" Nothing is said of the difficulty of obtaining food; only the last part of the curse relating to Eve is repeated, but in quite a different form and with a different content. Joel announces that Eve's subordination is not a result of the fall, but was part of the created order, and on this basis accuses Adam of listening to his wife.[11]

Eve's subordination to Adam results in her communicating only indirectly with God and the angels. Again and again we read of Adam or Seth addressed by the archangel Michael, or Joel, but not Eve. Even when she is affected by their words, she is not addressed. For example, God only tries Adam, (section 23-24), yet following his judgement, both Adam and Eve are driven out of Paradise. The text depicts a hierarchy with God at the top, and proceeding downward to archangels, angels, Adam and finally Eve. The only exception to Eve's indirect communication occurs at Adam's death. Adam has instructed her to go and pray, and while she is at prayer, an angel

11 The biblical basis of the curse is Genesis 3:14-19. There however, both Adam and Eve are addressed, both receive curses, and the text makes clear that these are a result of their disobedience, and were not constituative of the pre-lapsarian state.

interrupts her confessional prayer by informing her that Adam has died (section 40-41).

The negative portrayal of Eve culminates in those passages in which Eve is held, and holds herself accountable for sin, death and suffering in the world. The first time this idea is expressed, Adam is the speaker and is explaining his illness to Seth (section 8-10). His explanation begins by attributing the cause of human mortality and the expulsion from Paradise to Eve because she ate from the tree and thus disobeyed the commands of God. Adams' account is echoed by Eve in several places. She, in response to Adam's agony, claims that she is responsible for his suffering (section 11-15). Furthermore, when she and Seth are on the Quest and are attacked by the wild beast, Eve again confesses that it is because of her that all manner of evil has been propagated (section 11-15). This opinion is repeated by the beast. Because she has disobeyed the command of God, she has lost authority over the animal kingdom, and the beast intends to kill her and eat her child.[12] As the Penitence narrative begins, Adam and Eve are so hungry that Adam lies down on the ground and cries for seven days (section 28-29). Eve prays to God to have pity because it is her fault that Adam suffers. Her statement is enigmatically responded to by Adam. He contemplates killing her but then changes his mind.[13] Yet again, at the beginning of their penance, Eve takes responsibility for Adam's suffering (section 35-37), and finally, when Adam is on the verge of death, Eve again confesses her sin and claims that each and every sin occurs through her (section 40-41).

It is hard to imagine in what other ways Eve could be denigrated by the author. She has been rendered invisible, derivative, subordinate, emotionally overwrought and the source and present cause of evil, suffering and sin. However, this is not the whole story, although this negative portrait is more pervasive than the positive one. The Introduction, Quest of Seth and Death and Burial sections are overwhelmingly negative in their assessment, yet in the Testament of Eve and the Penitence narrative, a positive portrayal exists alongside the negative. In these latter two sections Eve emerges occasionally as a three dimensional, responsible and discerning character.

We begin our analysis of this sympathetic portrayal by noting the voice of the Testament and Penitence sections. These two sections are presented as first person accounts by Eve. She is given a voice—the voice of a teacher. Especially in the Testament, her superior status is emphasized. As John Levison demonstrates[14], a testament is given by an authoritative figure, usually at the end of their life. Eve begins her account by stating her goal, which differs from the children's request for information (section 18-20). She wishes to teach them so that the enemy, *unser Feind*, will not be able to incite them against the law. Eve is cast in the role of an ancient worthy instructing the next generation on the way to live rightly.

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12 This is based on the curse of the serpent in Genesis 3:15.

13 This scene is presented much more powerfully in the other versions. In these Eve asks Adam to kill her so that all suffering will cease. See the Greek 29.8; Latin 3:2; Armenian 3:2 and Georgian 3:2.

14 See "The Exoneration of Eve," p.136.

In her Testament, Eve reports on the condition of life in the garden of Eden. She notes that there was an equal division of labor. Adam and Eve each had their own half of the garden to guard, and their own gender of animals to tend (section 18-20). Not only are they equal in work load according to the Testament, but they are also equal in culpability for their sin. This is made clear in several ways. Firstly, Adam is held partially accountable for Eve's deception. Because the enemy entered Eve's jurisdiction not from outside the garden, but from Adam's side, Eve was more prone to trust him and listen to him: "*Und da ich ihn fur einen Engel hielt, weil er von Adams Seite gekommen war.*"

Furthermore, sympathy is created for Eve when she describes the temptation. It is the devil, singing like an angel, who approaches Eve, and she makes it clear in the narrative that she mistook him for an angel. In response to his question about their diet in Paradise, Eve faithfully reports the prohibition given to Adam in Genesis 2:17, omitting the additional prohibition given in Eve's reply in Genesis 3:3. The devil refutes this, Eve listens to him and eats from the tree. Immediately her eyes are open; she sees what she has done and weeps bitterly. The intensity of her response to her sin indicates the sincerity of her remorse, and the reader is moved not to stand in judgement on her by to empathize with her. She is not so much a villain as a victim.

In the following section (21-22), the deception of Adam is artfully crafted so that Eve is not to blame for Adam's eating of the apple. After wrapping herself with fig leaves, she calls to Adam inviting him to come to her so that she can show him something incredible. "*Stehe auf und komm hieher, damit ich dir etwas Wunderbares mitteile.*" Adam comes, and although Eve opens her mouth, it is the devil who speaks through her, "*Ich öffnete den Mund, und der Teufel sprach aus mir.*" The devil, through Eve tempts Adam, then Adam also eats, his eyes are opened and he sees his nakedness.

The two accounts have a similar structure. But Adam and Eve are put off guard by the presentation of the devil—Eve because he appears as an angel who came from Adam's side, and Adam because he speaks through Eve. Both are somewhat culpable for the other's deception. Adam has been negligent in guarding his side of the garden, and Eve called Adam over. Lastly, in both accounts, it is the devil who addresses each one directly. Because the narrative is so structured, the reader is led to hold them equally culpable for their wrong doing.

Adam's response to his sin is very different from Eve's. He immediately blames his wife, asking, "*O Weib, was tatest du mir?*" In the context his response is inappropriate because he does not recognize his own role in disobeying God's instructions. This scene is immediately followed (section 23-24) by the judgement scene in which God examines and renders judgement on Adam alone. We have then three different responses to the deception by the devil. Eve accepts responsibility for her wrong doing, Adam blames Eve, and God only judges Adam. These differing responses to the sin of Adam and Eve parallel the responses narrated by Adam in his account of the temptation (section 8-10). There also, Adam blamed Eve, Eve blamed herself and God blamed Adam.

Eve's first person account continues in the Penitence narrative. Her authoritative voice as narrator is consistent with her authoritative voice as a

character at several junctures in the narrative. She occasionally instructs Adam and he does what she tells him. For example, after being expelled and afflicted with hunger pangs, Adam lies down and cries for seven days. Eve tells him to arise so that they may search for food (section 28-29), and he does so (section 30-32). Still later, after Adam has signed the Cheirograph, Eve tells him to arise and beseech God to deliver them from the devil (section 35-37). This initiates a conversation between them which culminates in their performing a penance.

The dialogue between Adam and Eve in preparation for their penance also presents Eve in a positive light. There is a complementarily between the two of them. Eve makes a suggestion, it is responded to by Adam and furthered by Eve. The two are conversing as equals who care for each other, respect each other and who each have a measure of discernment. For example, in response to Eve's instruction to arise, Adam suggests a fast for forty days. Eve counters by agreeing that he fast for forty days, and she will fast for forty four days. Adam then describes the location of their penance, and the exact ritual; Eve agrees and Adam gives further instructions. This interaction is unique in the *Life* because it is the only example of real dialogue. It is also unique when considered in the context of the other lives, because it is only in the Slavonic *Life* that Eve takes on a longer penance than Adam.[15] In the context, her suggestion for a longer penance coheres with her claim at the beginning of section 37 that Adam suffers so on her account.

This dialogue is followed by the account of the penitence and the second temptation of Eve (section 38-30). Here also the text exonerates Eve. When the devil comes to her, again in the form of an angel, Eve discerns his true identity and will not be engaged by him. Eve successfully resists the second temptation.[16]

The enormity Eve's accomplishment is reflected in Adam's response. First, when he comes from his own penance, he sees the footprints of the devil and fears lest Eve had been duped again. When he sees her still in the water, he is happy and leads her out of the water. Through this very rare statement of positive emotion on Adam's part, the reader is led to applaud Eve's discernment and self-control.

Eve emerges in the Testament and Penitence as more than an afterthought, a two-dimensional character or a hopeless failure. She has been vested with authority, been given a voice, portrayed as a dialogue partner, deceived once but not again, and has been appreciated by Adam. Apart from the Testament and Penitence sections, the only other place in the *Life* in which Eve is given prominence occurs at the birth of Seth. Although in the Introduction, Cain and Abel are born only to Adam, and later in the Quest,

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15 In all the other versions of the *Vita* Eve performs a lesser penance than Adam. In the Greek, Adam endures for 40 days, Eve for 34 (29.10); in the Latin Adam carries out 40 days and Eve 37 (6.1,2), and in the Armenian and Georgian Adam completes 40 days and Eve 34 (6.1,2). Furthermore, in the Latin version Adam makes explicit that Eve must do less because she is not as capable as he. The Slavonic is unique in reversing this pattern of the relative strength and ability of each of them.

16 Here also the Slavonic is unique. In all of the other versions Eve is once again deceived. See the Greek 29.12,13; Latin, Armenian and Georgian 9:1-10:2.

Adam fathers 30 sons and 30 daughters; it is Eve who has a son, and Eve who names him Seth, and Eve who initiates the ritual of thanking God for him (section 4-5).[17]

How do these two quite different portraits of Eve relate to each other in this work? Is the reader to prefer one to the other? hold them both in tension? see a progression from one to the other? Which is the view advocated by the author? We will attempt to answer these questions by noting several instances where the intent of the author seems clear. Comparing the Slavonic *Vita* to the other versions of the *Life* often illuminates the agenda of the author.

There are several places in the Slavonic *Vita* where the status of Eve is considerably higher than in the other versions. Here the author seems to be consciously elevating or exonerating Eve. For example, we noted that only in the Slavonic does Eve not suggest that Adam kill her[18] Although she does take responsibility for suffering, she does not suggest that Adam kill her in order to abate God's anger. In four of the versions she offers herself as a sacrifice, and in the Slavonic that suggestion as been censored.

In the penitence narrative also there were significant differences between the Slavonic and other versions which resulted in a more favorable evaluation of Eve. As we saw, she takes on a longer penance than Adam, and when tempted by Satan she successfully resists (section 35-40). In all the other versions, the opposite is the case. Her penance is less than Adam's because she is weak, and she again succumbs to deception by the devil.[19]

Is the exoneration of Eve reflected in these sections due to a conscious concern of the author to present Eve positively? This seems unlikely, because although he censored these portions, others that are equally damaging are left intact, even when they otherwise interfere with the flow of the narrative. For example, we noted that in the Testament of Eve, the account of the temptation of Adam and Eve is carefully crafted so that both are equally culpable and both are directly tempted by the devil. This scene is followed by the judgement scene in which the unequal status of Adam and Eve is graphically illustrated (section 23-24). In response to God's entering Paradise, the trees on Eve's half wither and their foliage drops off, whereas in Adam's half the trees burst forth in great blossoms. The denigration of Eve continues in that she is entirely ignored in the judgement scene. Only Adam is addressed by God and found guilty. The tension between the account of the temptation and the treatment of Adam and Eve in the judgement scene is left unresolved by the author.

Another example of narrative tension created by uneven portrayals of Eve occurs in the Penitence narrative. In a section that is unique to the Slavonic, God proclaims the curse, and Joel relays the message to Adam (section 30-32). This occurs in the narrative in response to Adam and Eve's inability to

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17 This is in harmony with the birth of Seth narrated in Genesis 4:25. Here also Eve has a son and names him. The birth of Seth is narrated again in Genesis 5:3, and in that verse it is Adam who has a son, in his likeness, and names him Seth. The tradition of Seth's birth, as it is related here, is tied to Gen 4:25 and ignores Gen 5:3.

18 Compare the greek 29.8 with the Latin, Georgian and Armenian 3:2 and Slavonic 29-29.

19 Compare the Greek 29.10-13 with the Latin, Armenian and Georgian 6:1-10:2.

procure food, and their imploring God to pity them. God responds by informing Adam of the curse on food, which is relayed by Joel, and the section concludes with Adam beginning to plow with oxen. However, this otherwise coherent section also includes the strongest statement about the subordination of Eve. The curse on Eve is included in God's address to Joel, and when Joel passes on the message, he further denigrates Eve. In the curse proclaimed by God, the subordination of women is a result of the curse; in the message as relayed by Joel, the subordination of women is part of created reality. None of this is necessary to advance the plot, and in fact it creates tension. In the following section we read of Eve doing exactly what she is not to do—she instructs Adam (section 35-37). Adam does not reprimand her for taking initiative, and her plans are put into action. The words of the angel have no affect on subsequent events. Again, the author has created tension in the text by including a tradition which is at odds with the plot and the characterization of Eve elsewhere.

However, this is not to say that the author shows no interest in narrative coherence. For example, I would suggest that the addition of Eve at the end of section 1 is not an afterthought. In that opening paragraph the pre-lapsarian state is described by noting how all the animal world is subordinate to Adam. The paragraph concludes by noting that this was also the case for Eve, and then the section continues to narrate events in which Adam is the focus of attention and Eve is absent. This surprising inclusion of Eve here is necessary for the encounter with the beast in the Quest narrative. There, the narrator presumes that Eve has authority over the animals. In order to make this clear to the reader, the author has been careful to indicate that this was so by inserting Eve into this introductory paragraph.

It also seems likely that the longer penance of Eve than Adam, a situation that is unique in the Slavonic, is driven by the need to have Eve in the water when Adam comes to get her.

On the basis of this analysis, it seems that the author of the *Vita* has an agenda, and the role of Eve is not high on the priorities list. Her depiction is in the service of other important issues, and hence the writer seems to be oblivious to differing evaluations which have been incorporated into the text. Sometimes Eve is exonerated, and sometimes she is denigrated. A clear example of the exoneration of Eve in order to further other causes occurs in the penitence narrative. As we read, in the Slavonic version alone Eve resists the second temptation by the devil. Her resistance follows Adam's resistance in the previous section; another instance in which the Slavonic is unique (section 33-34). The Cheirograph tradition, in which the devil makes a pact with Adam which is finally overturned by Christ, is widespread , however, it is not included in any other version of the *Vita.*[20] In the negotiations with the devil, Adam is cognoscente of what is really going on. Although the devil believes that he has successfully duped Adam by getting him to pledge that he and his children belong to him, the text makes clear that this is not so. Adam is aware of Christ's coming to defeat the devil: "*Adam wusste nämlich, dass der Herr auf die*

[20] The biblical basis for this tradition is Col. 2:13-15.

Erde heruntersteigen und die menschliche Gestalt auf such nehmen und den Teufel niedertreten wird."

This encounter parallels Eve's encounter with the devil. In both cases the devil is outwitted. Adam and Eve see through his trickery, and in different ways overcome him. The role of the devil seems to be a key issue for the author. Here, and in the encounter with the beast (section 11-15), the author wishes to make clear the eventual defeat of the devil and the triumph of God through Christ. In the last section on the death and burial of Adam and Eve, the author again takes pains to demonstrate the victory of Christ over death (section 47).

For the author, the role of Eve is not a significant issue. He can leave the tension between Adam's account of the fall (section 8-10) and Eve's account of the fall (section 18-22) intact. The literary genre of the text does not seem to preclude incorporating traditions which create some level of incoherence and tension in the plot or characterization. However, there are points at which the writer does more than incorporate tradition, and these indicate his over-riding concern with the role of the devil in the history of salvation. In the service of presenting his view, the writer has exonerated Eve, but has allowed this to stand in tension with other traditions which denigrate her. The result is a text which is a mosaic of surprisingly liberating views of the role and character of Eve side by side with views which call for her subordination and treat her as invisible, derivative and the cause of sin, evil, suffering and death.

Translation Technique in the Septuagint Psalter—As Illustrated in Psalms 2 and 137

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This investigation begins with several observations on the Septuagint Psalter as a collection, and continues with more specific comments on Psalms 2 and 137. Implicit to the discussion are the twin notions of a "source text" and a "target text." Although the source text should not automatically be equated with the Masoretic Text (𝔐) of the Psalter as found in *BHS*, nor the target text with Rahlfs' edition as found in the Göttingen series (𝔊^{ed}), in this study *BHS* and Rahlfs will be used as the practical standards for comparison. Some familiarity with their overall contents and arrangements should thus be presumed in the discussion that follows.

The Septuagint Psalter as a Collection

When the versions of Psalms in 𝔐 and 𝔊^{ed} are compared, three differences soon become apparent. First, the Greek Psalter contains an additional Psalm, which is numbered 151 in Codex Sinaiticus and in some medieval Syriac Psalters. This composition refers specifically to David's anointing by Samuel and to his defeat of Goliath, and is thus the only "Davidic" Psalm that is *unambiguously* autobiographical. The second difference between the two Psalters is that Greek collection contains additional superscriptions or more detailed ones. Sometimes 𝔊^{ed} contains a superscription where 𝔐 lacks one altogether; one example is Psalm 104:1, where 𝔊^{ed} reads τῷ Δαυιδ. More often, however, such superscriptions provide information additional to that found in 𝔐 (For instance, while 𝔐 simply ascribes Psalm 144 to David [לדוד], 𝔊^{ed} links the Psalm to David's encounter with Goliath [τῷ Δαυιδ πρὸς τὸν Γολιαδ].). The additional data found in most of these Greek superscriptions concern David or events in his life, although a few link their Psalms to other characters—for instance, Haggai and Zechariah in Ps 147:1 (Αλληλουια· Αγγαιου καὶ Ζαχαριου).

Third, for most of the Psalter, different systems of enumeration are evident. This is because some consecutive Psalms in Hebrew are counted as one in the Greek and—vice versa—the Greek counts other Hebrew Psalms as

two.[1] Both the Hebrew and Greek arrangements seem designed to produce a collection of 150 Psalms.[2]

	MT	LXX
Psalm	1–8	1–8
	9	9:1-21
	10	9:22-39
	11–113	10–112
	114	113:1-8
	115	113:9-26
	116:1-9	114
	116:10-19	115
	117–146	116–145
	147:1-11	146
	147:12-20	147
	148–150	148–150
	—	151

The Septuagint Psalter evidences some tension between the emphasis on David and the apparent need to produce a collection of 150 Psalms. This is apparent in the inclusion of Psalm 151, which of course detracts from the number 150. The superscription to this Psalm reads as follows: Οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυιδ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιαδ ("This Psalm is a genuine writing of David, although outside the number [of 150 Psalms], when he had fought in single combat with Goliath."). On the one hand, the notion of a collection of 150 Psalms is clearly evident in this superscription; on the other, this Psalm remains part of the Septuagint Psalter, and serves to conclude it with a strong Davidic emphasis.

When one compares the Book of Psalms as found in 𝔐 and 𝔊^{ed}, the main point to emerge is that the latter establishes a stronger Davidic context for the Psalter. In contrast to 𝔐, the Greek Psalter ascribes more Psalms to David and links others more firmly to events in his life. With the addition of Psalm 151—the most Davidic Psalm of all—one may conclude that the LXX Psalter is more thoroughly Davidic in character than its MT counterpart.

The *Vorlage* or Underlying Text

Any valid discussion of translation technique must take into account the question of *Vorlage* or the Hebrew text used by the LXX translator. If he had before him the same word found in 𝔐, and if his translation clearly differs in meaning, then technical, semantic or exegetical devices in the translational process may be explored. But if the underlying Hebrew text differs from the reading in 𝔐, far different conclusions concerning the translation technique may be reached.

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[1] Sometimes, the Greek arrangement seems preferable. For example, the combination of Psalms 9 and 10 into one work in the LXX appears correct, since in 𝔐 they preserve traces of a single acrostic poem.

[2] Cf. Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, rev. by Richard R. Ottley (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1989 [1914]) 240.

The question to be addressed at this point is as follows: Do the Hebrew texts of the Psalter contain variants that may account for different readings in the LXX and other versions? The most striking case is Psalm 151, which is lacking in the Masoretic Text but present in the Septuagint. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Swete[3] cited the lack of evidence that this Psalm ever existed in Hebrew; however, a Hebrew copy of this Psalm has now been found among the Scrolls (in 11QPs^{a}). The LXX version of Psalm 151 is in fact a recension of the original Hebrew. A second example is found in the acrostic Psalm 145: while the *nun*-verse is entirely lacking in 𝔐, it is present in 𝔊^{ed}. Any doubt as to the underlying Hebrew text used by the translator is removed by 11QPs^{a}, where this Psalm contains the verse that is completely missing from the Masoretic Text.

		VORLAGE	LXX
Ps	145 13	נאמן	πιστός [144.13]
Ps	145 13	אלוהים	κύριος [144.13]
Ps	145 13	בדבריו	ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ [144.13]
Ps	145 13	וחסיד	καὶ ὅσιος [144.13]
Ps	145 13	בכול	ἐν πᾶσι [144.13]
Ps	145 13	מעשׂיו	τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ [144.13]

These two examples show for the Book of Psalms that the question of Vorlage cannot be ignored when the translation found in 𝔊^{ed} is being compared to the text preserved in 𝔐.

Categories of Translation Technique

For the Psalms as well as other books, many differences between the readings found in 𝔐 and 𝔊^{ed} are to be explained in terms of translation technique. According to Albert Pietersma, analysis of translation technique is the quest for the "Archimedian point" of LXX text-criticism, since this enables the text-critic to assess the fidelity with which the manuscripts have preserved the original text.[4] In an earlier article dealing with the issues of *Vorlage* and translation technique in LXX Isaiah,[5] I put forward three main categories of translation: (a) "literal and semantically accurate," (b) "non-literal, but semantically adequate," and (c) "non-literal and semantically inadequate."[6]

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3 *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 253.

4 Albert Pietersma, "Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues," *VT* 35 (1985) 299.

5 Peter W. Flint, "The Septuagint Version of Isaiah 23:1-14 and the Massoretic Text," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988) 35–54, esp. 37.

6 Other categories that may be considered are "free" vs. "literal," "faithful" vs. "unfaithful," and "intentional" vs. "unintentional" (Flint, "Septuagint Version," 37). See also James Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," (Göttingen: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen [= MSU XV], 1979) 289–91; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981) 82–88; "Septuagint," *IDBSup* 810; Anneli Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 58–65; Arie van der Kooij, "Accident or Method? On 'Analogical' Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIsa^{a}," *BO* 43 (1986) 368–69.

The analysis of Psalms 2 and 137 below will include an assessment of translation technique for each Psalm, bearing in mind that the translator(s) may have not have dealt with every Psalm or with each part of the Psalter in the same way.

Psalm 137: The Lament of the Exiles

This Psalm is dealt with first because it presents fewer translational problems than Psalm 2. With reference to the facing Hebrew and Greek texts of Ps 137 in Appendix 2, several points emerge. First, while in the Masoretic Text this Psalm contains no superscription, in the LXX it begins with *τῷ Δαυιδ*, thus associating it firmly with David. Among the Qumran scrolls Psalm 137 is also found in 11QPs[a] (cols. XX–XXI), where the superscription is lacking as in 𝔐. Although the possibility of a difference in Vorlage cannot be completely ruled out, for this Psalm the attribution to David in 𝔊[ed] seems due to the desire of the Septuagint translator or compiler(s) to emphasize the Davidic character of the Psalter.

In comparing the two texts of Psalm 137, the reader is struck by the degree of literalness with which the Hebrew has mostly been rendered into Greek. First, the word-order is almost identical even where the Hebrew is tightly structured, for instance in verses 2 and 8. Second, some constructions are very similar in both languages, even on a grammatical level. Note, for example, how in verse 1 the Hebrew structure of בזכרנו ("when we remembered") is very similar in the Greek translation *ἐν τῷ μνησθῆναι ἡμᾶς* (ב + infin. construct + suffix being translated by *ἐν* + the articular infin. + *ἡμᾶς*). In terms of the three translational categories mentioned above, these two examples indicate that for most of Psalm 2 the translation technique may be described as "literal and semantically accurate"(the first category).

On occasion the Greek seems to follow the Hebrew less closely; however, some of these instances may be accounted for relatively easily. For instance, in v. 6 the word חֵךְ ("palate") is translated by *λάρυγξ* ("upper windpipe" or "throat"). Further investigation reveals that *λάρυγξ* is in fact frequent for חֵךְ in the LXX (Job 6:30; Song 2:3), and in fact occurs elsewhere in Psalms (119 [118]:103). While this example is "non-literal," it is clearly "semantically adequate," and thus belongs to the second translational category referred to in the previous section.

Other cases are not accounted for as easily. In v. 3 the term שִׂמְחָה ("joy" or "mirth") is translated by *ὕμνον* ("a festive song"). While the latter makes good sense in the context, שִׂמְחָה is normally rendered by *χαρά* (Ps 21 [20]:7 Jer 15:16) or *εὐφραίνειν* (Judges 16:23; Ps 43 [42]:4). Elsewhere in Psalms *ὕμνον* translates נגינה (Ps 76 [75]:1), תהלה (Ps 119 [118]:171), or תפלה (Ps 72 [71]:20). A second case is found in v. 2, where כנרותינו ("our harps") is translated by *τὰ ὄργανα ἡμῶν* ("our instruments"). The term *ὄργανον* translates כנור only here; it is normally used for כלי (1 Chr 16:5) and is found once for עגב in Psalms (150:4). It is interesting to note, however, that in 11QPs[a] the Hebrew term כנור is also rendered by *ὄργανον* (Ps 151:2). Careful assessment of these two examples indicates that the Greek translator has been faithful to his source text, but at the same time has felt free to use the Greek word that best renders the meaning of the Hebrew for his audience. The translation technique here is

best described as "non-literal and semantically adequate," and thus also belongs to the second category.

Psalm 2: God's Anointed Is Ruler Over the Nations

Analysis of this Psalm shows it to be more complex than Psalm 137 as regards translation technique. With reference to the facing Hebrew and Greek texts of Ps 2 in Appendix 1, several points emerge. First, in both the Masoretic and Septuagint Psalters this Psalm is not associated with David, although a few Greek manuscripts contain a superscript connecting it with him. Second, some of the differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts are explicable on the level of *Vorlage*. For example, in v. 10 the Greek reads *πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν* where 𝔐 simply has שפטי ארץ. Although this verse is not found at Qumran, one medieval Hebrew manuscript preserves the variant reading כל שפטי ארץ,[7] which suggests that this longer text may well have been in the translator's *Vorlage*. Another difference between 𝔐 and the Greek is found in v. 9, where the former reads תְּרֹעֵם ("you will break them") and the latter has *ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς* ("you will shepherd them"). This divergence is not to be explained in terms of translation technique, but rather in different vocalizations of the same Hebrew consonants; here the Greek is clearly translating תִּרְעֵם.

As regards translation technique, the Hebrew and Greek texts for much of the Psalm are precisely or virtually equivalent; for example, verses 1 and 7a. Such material belongs to the first translational category discussed above ("literal and semantically accurate"). In this type of translation small variations are common without affecting the meaning of the passage (e. g., in v. 1 ריק [sing.] is translated by *κενά* [plural]; and in v. 7 אספרה [cohortative] by *διαγγέλλων* [partic.]).

Some of the Greek equivalents in this Psalm differ substantially in meaning from the Hebrew text, as the following three examples illustrate. First, in v. 3 עבתימו ("their cords") is rendered by *τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν* ("their yoke"). While the shift from plural to sing. presents no problem, the use of *ζυγός* is very unusual, occurring elsewhere for עבת only in Job 39:10 (cf. Isa 5:18). Elsewhere in the Septuagint, על is normally translated by the masculine *ζυγός* and neuter *ζυγόν*. The second example is found in v. 4, where the translator states that the one who dwells in the heavens laughs *at them* (*αὐτούς*), whereas the Hebrew simply reads יִשְׂחָק. Third, in v. 8 the Hebrew has ואתנה ("and I will give"), but the Greek translator specifies the indirect object in the dative case (*καὶ δώσω σοι*). These three examples may be classified as "non-literal, but semantically adequate," thus belonging to the second of the three translational categories that were previously identified.

Because the text of verse 12 presents several problems, it is treated here in greater detail. The first two words in particular have given rise to much discussion, since the Hebrew text נשקו בר ("kiss the Son") seems to be corrupt, with בָּר as an unintelligible Aramaism.[8]

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[7] Cf. *BHS* note 10[a].

[8] For discussion and likely emendations, see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988) 124–25.

	MT	LXX
Ps 2 12	נשקו	δράξασθε
Ps 2 12	בר	παιδείας
Ps 2 12	פן	μήποτε
Ps 2 12	יאנף	ὀργισθῇ
Ps 2 12	+—	κύριος
Ps 2 12	{...}	ἐξ
Ps 2 12	ותאבדו	καὶ ἀπολεῖσθε
Ps 2 12	דרך	ὁδοῦ {+} δικαίας
Ps 2 12	כי	ὅταν
Ps 2 12	יבער	ἐκκαυθῇ
Ps 2 12	כמעט	ἐν τάχει
Ps 2 12	אפו	ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ
Ps 2 12	אשרי	μακάριοι
Ps 2 12	כל	πάντες
Ps 2 12	חוסי	οἱ πεποιθότες
Ps 2 12	בו	ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ

The Greek translator presents us with δράξασθε παιδείας ("lay hold of discipline"), which bears little relationship to the Hebrew text found in 𝔐; elsewhere, δράσσεσθαι translates קמץ (Lev 2:12; 5:12; Num 5:26). While it is possible that he was using a different *Vorlage*, it seems more likely that the Greek constitutes a good attempt to make sense of a problematic Hebrew text. By forming an etymological connection between בר and παιδίον or παῖς, both of which sometimes translate בן,[9] the translator presents us with a text which is certainly not literal but which makes good semantic sense. Even this difficult passage, then, seems to belong to the second of our three categories ("non-literal, but semantically adequate").

A third category of translation is evident in Psalm 2. Verse 6 in the Hebrew reads ואני נסכתי מלכי על-ציון הר-קדשי ("And I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill"), but the Greek has Ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιων ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ("But I have been made king by him on Zion his holy mountain"). The differences in person (1st versus 3rd) and voice (active versus passive) substantially change the meaning of the verse. Whereas the Hebrew text focuses attention on Yahweh who is speaking and active, the Greek focuses on the anointed king who speaks as the recipient of Yahweh's kingship. Here the translator seems concerned to clearly distinguish between Yahweh on the one hand and his king on the other, since in the Hebrew the shift between the two in vv. 6-7 can be confusing.[10] It thus appears that the translator has deliberately altered the sense of his parent text for theological reasons. This verse, then, belongs to the third translational category: "non-literal and semantically inadequate." Although such cases are rare, it thus seems that exegetical or theological elements sometimes did play a role in the production of the Septuagint Psalter.

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9 For example, Gen 17:12; Isa 38:19 (παιδίον); Prov 4:1; 20:7 (παῖς).

10 This probably explains why in v. 7 the Greek explicitly adds the subject in Κύριος εἶπεν πρός με ("*The Lord* said to me"), where the Hebrew only reads אמר אלי.

Conclusion

While this study has not dealt with every aspect of Psalms 2 and 137 in the Septuagint version, several factors have become clear. First, the compiler(s) of the Greek Psalter were concerned to produce a collection of 150 Psalms. Second, the collection as a whole is more thoroughly Davidic in character than its Masoretic counterpart. In Psalm 137 this is evident by the presence of a Davidic superscription that is lacking in the Masoretic Text. Third, some of the differences between the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of the Psalms seem due to differences in the translator's *Vorlage* or source text.

The translation of Psalms 2 and 137 into Greek may generally be classified as "literal," but three types of translation technique have become evident. For both Psalms most of the translation falls under the category "literal and semantically accurate." However, several instances of "non-literal, but semantically adequate" translation were also identified. A third category ("non-literal and semantically inadequate") involves exegetical or theological motivation on the part of the translator, and seems to be rare in the Psalter. However, one instance of this category was found in Psalm 2:6, where the translator seems particularly concerned to maintain the distinction between Yahweh and his anointed king.

Appendix 1: Psalm 2

2:1	Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά;
2	παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ διάψαλμα
3	Διαρρήξωμεν τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν.
4	ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐκμυκτηριεῖ αὐτούς.
5	τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταράξει αὐτούς
6	Ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιων ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ
7	διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου Κύριος εἶπεν πρός με Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε·
8	αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς·
9	ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς.
10	καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς, σύνετε· παιδεύθητε, πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν.
11	δουλεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ.
12	δράξασθε παιδείας, μήποτε ὀργισθῇ κύριος καὶ ἀπολεῖσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ δικαίας. ὅταν ἐκκαυθῇ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ, μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

2:1	לָמָּה רָגְשׁוּ גוֹיִם וּלְאֻמִּים יֶהְגּוּ־רִיק׃
2	יִתְיַצְּבוּ ׀ מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ וְרוֹזְנִים נוֹסְדוּ־יָחַד עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ׃
3	נְנַתְּקָה אֶת־מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ וְנַשְׁלִיכָה מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵימוֹ׃
4	יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׂחָק אֲדֹנָי יִלְעַג־לָמוֹ׃
5	אָז יְדַבֵּר אֵלֵימוֹ בְאַפּוֹ וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יְבַהֲלֵמוֹ׃
6	וַאֲנִי נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי עַל־צִיּוֹן הַר־קָדְשִׁי׃
7	אֲסַפְּרָה אֶל חֹק יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ׃
8	שְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶתְּנָה גוֹיִם נַחֲלָתֶךָ וַאֲחֻזָּתְךָ אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ׃
9	תְּרֹעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם׃
10	וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ׃
11	עִבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בְּיִרְאָה וְגִילוּ בִרְעָדָה׃
12	נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר פֶּן־יֶאֱנַף ׀ וְתֹאבְדוּ דֶּרֶךְ כִּי־יִבְעַר כִּמְעַט אַפּוֹ אַשְׁרֵי כָּל־חוֹסֵי בוֹ׃

136:1 Τῷ Δαυιδ. Ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν Βαβυλῶνος ἐκεῖ ἐκαθίσαμεν καὶ ἐκλαύσαμεν ἐν τῷ μνησθῆναι ἡμᾶς τῆς Σιων.	**137:1** עַל נַהֲרוֹת ׀ בָּבֶל שָׁם יָשַׁבְנוּ גַּם־בָּכִינוּ בְּזָכְרֵנוּ אֶת־צִיּוֹן:
2 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰτέαις ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκρεμάσαμεν τὰ ὄργανα ἡμῶν·	2 עַל־עֲרָבִים בְּתוֹכָהּ תָּלִינוּ כִּנֹּרוֹתֵינוּ:
3 ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐπηρώτησαν ἡμᾶς οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς λόγους ᾠδῶν καὶ οἱ ἀπαγαγόντες ἡμᾶς ὕμνον Ἄισατε ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν Σιων.	3 כִּי שָׁם שְׁאֵלוּנוּ שׁוֹבֵינוּ דִּבְרֵי־שִׁיר וְתוֹלָלֵינוּ שִׂמְחָה שִׁירוּ לָנוּ מִשִּׁיר צִיּוֹן:
4 πῶς ᾄσωμεν τὴν ᾠδὴν κυρίου ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας;	4 אֵיךְ נָשִׁיר אֶת־שִׁיר־יְהוָה עַל אַדְמַת נֵכָר:
5 ἐὰν ἐπιλάθωμαί σου, Ιερουσαλημ, ἐπιλησθείη ἡ δεξιά μου·	5 אִם־אֶשְׁכָּחֵךְ יְרוּשָׁלָם תִּשְׁכַּח יְמִינִי:
6 κολληθείη ἡ γλῶσσά μου τῷ λάρυγγί μου, ἐὰν μή σου μνησθῶ, ἐὰν μὴ προανατάξωμαι τὴν Ιερουσαλημ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εὐφροσύνης μου.	6 תִּדְבַּק־לְשׁוֹנִי ׀ לְחִכִּי אִם־לֹא אֶזְכְּרֵכִי אִם־לֹא אַעֲלֶה אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם עַל רֹאשׁ שִׂמְחָתִי:
7 μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ιερουσαλημ τῶν λεγόντων Ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε, ἕως ὁ θεμέλιος ἐν αὐτῇ.	7 זְכֹר יְהוָה ׀ לִבְנֵי אֱדוֹם אֵת יוֹם יְרוּשָׁלָם הָאֹמְרִים עָרּוּ ׀ עָרּוּ עַד הַיְסוֹד בָּהּ:
8 θυγάτηρ Βαβυλῶνος ἡ ταλαίπωρος, μακάριος ὃς ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὸ ἀνταπόδομά σου, ὃ ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν·	8 בַּת־בָּבֶל הַשְּׁדוּדָה אַשְׁרֵי שֶׁיְּשַׁלֶּם־לָךְ אֶת־גְּמוּלֵךְ שֶׁגָּמַלְתְּ לָנוּ:
9 μακάριος ὃς κρατήσει καὶ ἐδαφιεῖ τὰ νήπιά σου πρὸς τὴν πέτραν.	9 אַשְׁרֵי ׀ שֶׁיֹּאחֵז וְנִפֵּץ אֶת־עֹלָלַיִךְ אֶל־הַסָּלַע:

Some Useful Things Worth Knowing about the Vulgate and Jerome

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Jerome's (= H's = Hieronymus) chief contribution to his self-image in history was his asceticism.

According to H, he would think of himself being a teacher of asceticism. H, himself, lived the life of a monk in the desert of Calchis of Syria from 375 to circa 377 CE. He published lives of monks: *Vita Sancti Pauli Eremitae* (circa 377-379) and *Vita Malchi Monachi Captivi* (circa 386-387) and the *Vita Sancti Hilarionis Eremitae* (circa 389-392). Most of his writings, including his scriptural commentaries, often reflect an ascetic interest. Although his concern for asceticism is not unrelated to his knowledge and teaching of Scripture, his self-image illumined H more as an ascetic than as a translator.

H can be revered as the most influential Scripture scholar of Western Civilization.

Although the development of the acceptance of the Vulgate translation was a gradual process (cf. "Vulgate" and bibliography in the *Anchor Bible Commentary* by D. C. Parker), H and his translation and commentaries widely influenced art and architecture, languages and literature. The book of Western Civilization was H's Vulgate. The Council of Trent in 1546 capped this process by declaring that the Vulgate was the "authentic" translation, that would not lead the faithful to moral or doctrinal error.

H's attitude toward the LXX (= Septuagint) is his greatest contribution to his contemporaries and to the age of the Reformation.

At a time when the LXX was seen as inspired, H, in contrast to Augustine and others, stated in *Praefatio in Pentateuchum* that the Seventy were translators and not prophets: "Aliud est enim vatem, aliud esse interpretem." This being a minority opinion, H expresses some ambiguity about this. Since the New Testament quoted from the LXX, its inspiration seemed clear. Consequently, H would continue to quote from the LXX, most often in a Latin translation, in even his latest commentaries.

H's attitude toward the *Hebraica veritas* (= the "Hebrew Verity") established a Christian attitude toward the Hebrew from the 4th to the 20th centuries.

H's contemporary problem about the legitimacy of the Hebrew text versus the LXX was ironically resurrected in the Age of the Reformation. This same problem again came to the forefront when the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine Bible translation (a translation from the Vulgate) would not yield to translating from the original languages (to become the New American Bible).

H's style of translation ranged chronologically from formal to dynamic.

Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein's unpublished thesis exemplifies ("The Vulgate as a Translation," 1968, chapters II and III) the progression in H's translation technique by means of both semantics and syntax. Kedar-Kopfstein's incisive contribution clarifies five stages in the H's translation style, which follow from a chronological pattern rather than from an ideological motivation:

1) a rigid, imitative technique in Psalter and Prophets;
2) imitative and detached in Samuel, Kings, and Job;
3) detached in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles;
4) detached and transformative in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Pentateuch;
5) transformative in Jonah, Judges, Ruth, and Esther.

Consequently, studying the translation technique of H is not of just one style. Just as the LXX reflects many different styles, so also does the Vulgate.

H describes himself as *vir trilinguis*, knowledgeable in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Ultima Responsio adversus Scripta Rufini 6: "Ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, Hebraeus, Graecus, Latinus, trilinguis." H's knowledge of Hebrew is the only debatable issue here. Most people in describing their own language abilities, can exaggerate their ability in proportion to the extent of the knowledge of the audience. What H asserts about his language ability, says little about what he actually does with the language. The least trustworthy statements about Bible translations come from their prefaces.

H's knowledge of Latin is extraordinary.

No Christian author, with the exception of St. Augustine, was more strongly nurtured in the classics than was H. (For a detailed study of specific classical influences in H's writings, cf. Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, Göteborg, 1958.) His education began in Stridon in his pre-teen years. The gifted child continued his studies of Latin in Rome under the celebrated Aelius Donatus (cf. G. Brugnoli, "Donato e Girolamo," *Vet Chr* 2 (1965) 139-149). Donatus taught with a word-by-word, line-by-line interpretation of a text, which procedure H would use later in life for expounding the Scriptures.

H's knowledge of Greek was more than adequate.

H read and translated many works from the Greek, not just including the New Testament. H even had learned Greek well enough to study with

Apollinaris, although J. N. D. Kelly (*Jerome*, New York, 1975, p. 59) doubts that H knew enough spoken Greek or enjoyed good health to be able to follow difficult technical lecture-courses with profit at this time (circa 377-379).

H's knowledge of Hebrew in translating the book of Psalms was minimal.

H's knowledge of Hebrew can be measured by the almost 1000 words in the Mercati Manuscripts of the Psalms (144 verses from 11 psalms). A conclusion drawn from this is that H's Hebrew knowledge can account for the changes from the *Psalterium Gallicanum* to the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* somewhere between some 8% to 16%. This minimal knowledge of Hebrew is contrary to the opinion of Dennis Brown (*Vir Trilinguis: A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of St. Jerome*, Kampen, 1992) and many others. Brown supports H's knowledge of Hebrew with some representative examples, but not with a word-by-word study of the influences of the Hexapla on his translation. For such detail, cf. David McCarthy, "Saint Jerome's Translation of the Psalms: The Question of Rabbinic Tradition," 155-191 in *Open Thou Mine Eyes. . . : Essays on Aggadah and Judaica, Presented to Rabbi William G. Braude on His Eightieth Birthday and Dedicated to His Memory*, edited by Benjamin Braude, *et al.* (KTAV, Hoboken, New Jersey, 1992).

H's translated the Onomastica, which was a great source for learning Biblical Hebrew.

In the years circa 389 to 392, H translated *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum* (which includes all the names of the people in the First Testament and the New Testament) and *Liber de Situ et Nominbus Locorum Hebraicorum* (which includes all the place names of the Bible). There were no dictionaries or grammars available to H, so one can see his unguarded openness to certain translations influenced by the meanings of certain Hebrew names. H was appreciative of the *nomen est omen* (= "a name is one's destiny") principle and so used the Onomastica for expanding his vocabulary.

H's references to the Rabbis have to be taken with a grain of salt.

H would often refer to the Rabbis in saying that he received such and such a meaning from the Rabbis. Moritz Rahmer (*Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*, 1. "Die Quaestiones in Genesim." Breslau, 1861. 2. "Die kleinem Propheten." Berlin, 1902) was the first to develop this manner of studying the Vulgate. Judaica could then be certified as a legitimate study in the German universities, if it could be shown that H was such a master of midrash and classical rabbinics. Rahmer's pioneering work showed the way for Samuel Krauss, Louis Ginzberg, Niederman Mor, Victor Aptowitzer, Raphael Loewe, and Jay Braverman. In contrast, Gustave Bardy ("St. Jérôme et ses mâitres hébreux," *Revue Bénedictine* 46 [1934] 145-164) has brought into doubt some quotations by H, when H mentions that he learned something from a certain rabbi and it is actually a citation from Origen.

H translated the book of Psalms first and consequently Psalms could become a Hebrew dictionary for him.

H had translated from the LXX the *Psalterium Romanum* in circa 384 (cf. D. De Bruyne, "Le problème du Psautier romain," *RB* 42 [1930] 101-126, who

states that this actually may be the text on which H worked); in 387 H also had translated the *Psalterium Gallicanum* from Origen's Hexapla, maintaining Origen's diacritical signs; soon after H translated the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos.* That Psalms was translated first is contrary to the commonly accepted opinion that Psalms was done after Samuel and Kings. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein (cf. "The Vulgate as a Translation," 1968, 53-55) has convincingly demonstrated that the translation of Psalms is H's first translation from the Hebrew. Especially through H's translation technique and his comments, the order of translated scriptural books of the years 390-392 should be: Psalter, Prophets, Samuel, Kings, and Job.

H used "The Three" to aid him in his work.

The Hexapla was available to H in Caesarea and through the commentaries of Origen and others. H's dependence on "The Three" is disclosed throughout the commentaries. His trust on Origen's Hexapla is clear from the very beginning: In *In Psalmos Homiliae, In Psalmos Homiliae Series Prima, Epistula* 45 (on Ps 44), *Epistula* 106, and *Epistula* 140 (on Ps 89), there are listed 55 references to Aquila, 62 to Symmachus, 21 to Theodotion, 23 to Quinta, 16 to Sexta and 21 to "all."

H depended on Aquila in the Psalms for content words (= verbs and nouns).

In 384 H notes Aquila's help in the following: *Epistula* 26 for understanding "amen;" *Epistula* 28 for "selah;" *Epistula* 29 for "ephod;" *Epistula* 25 for "Saddai" and "Hel;" *Epistula* 34 for some phrases of Ps 128. *Epistula* 32 describes H as comparing Aquila's Greek with the Hebrew. The dependence on Aquila's vocabulary (cf. John Marks, *Die textkritische Wert des Psalterium Hieronymi Juxta Hebraeos*, Basel, 1956, 69-97.) and syntax at times reflects a theological importance for H. Furthermore, it can be demonstrated from the Mercati Hexapla sampling that when the LXX and Aquila have the same rendering, they together form a bulwark of tradition in the mind of Jerome, who would only rarely oppose the both of them united.

H depended on Symmachus in the Psalms for relation words (= prepositions, conjunctions, particles, etc.) .

Symmachus appears clearly ancillary to Aquila. The distinct influences from Symmachus are relationship words, some specific semantic choices of vocabulary, and whole phrases and sentences.

Consequently, the textual value of the V is that the Vulgate reflects also a 2nd century MT, rather than just a 4th century MT.

After the standardization of the Pharisaic MT text in the first century, the Vulgate should be valued as reflecting several layers of the development of the MT.

H was not the theologian, like his contemporary Augustine, but was still thoroughly motivated by theological principles, messianism, and asceticism.

H's understanding of the First Testament was theological through and through. He would use scripture to combat heresy and emphasize his ascetic concerns. In *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libro Geneseos* 49/21, H declares that all

refers to the doctrine of the saviour: "Ad doctrinam saluatoris cuncta referamus." In *Epistula* 18A H argues for the harmony of the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament: "Quidquid enim in ueteri legimus testamento, hoc idem in euangelio repperimus."

Translation Technique in the Targum to Psalms Two Test Cases: Psalms 2 and 137

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I. Introduction

Although this paper will focus on the translation technique of but two out of the one hundred and fifty texts within the targum of Psalms, it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks about the overall nature of this translation.[1] Its date is unknown, although, like the other targumim of the Hagiographa, it probably belongs to the later period of targumic composition. On the one hand, it possesses signs of not coming from a single hand, and on the other, it clearly belongs, as a unity, to the traditions of Jewish Aramaic translations of the Bible. The Aramaic versions of the Hebrew Bible are, on the whole, literal translations, despite the fact that certain of their non-literal aspects may be better known. If we exclude a targum like that of Song of Songs, which is at the midrashic extreme of the genre, we shall find that most of the Aramaic versions reflect all of the words of their Hebrew *Vorlage* with the occasional addition of explanatory or exegetical material between the Aramaic equivalences of the words of the original.

This point is too easy to overlook, and is thus often overlooked in analysis of the targumim as biblical translations. In most cases, when confronted with a targumic text which is, for example, much longer than the Hebrew which it "represents," we can bracket off the non-translation portions of the Aramaic and be left with a translation of the Hebrew. This is not to say that a literal translation came first, and that the "pluses" were then added to it. They are an

[1] That the targum of Psalms has not received adequate treatment in scholarly literature is due, in part at least, to its bulk and to the discrete nature of its elements, the chapters of Psalms. There is no published critical edition of the text, although I have been able to utilize a critical text of Psalms 1-72 produced by E. White as a Ph.D. dissertation at McGill University (1988), and I have collated all the MSS of substantial portions of 73-150 myself. Significant essays on the targum of Psalms include: W. Bacher, "Das Targum zu den Psalmen," *MGWJ* 21 (1872) 408-416; 463-473; P. Churgin, *Targum Ketuvim* [Hebrew] (New York: Horeb, 1945) 7-62; L. Diez Merino, "Haggadic Elements in the Targum of Psalms," *Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division A: The Period of the Bible* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1982) 131-37; M. Wilcox, "The Aramaic Version of Psalms," *Proceedings of the 9th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division A: The Period of the Bible* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986) 143-50. This essay is one of a series which I hope to produce on the translation technique, exegesis and theology of this targum.

integral part of the targum, but the pluses can be usually be separated allowing us to examine the verbatim translation. At times, however, the removal of the pluses which have no literal equivalents in the Hebrew does not leave us with a translation of the Hebrew but rather with its paraphrase, or with an Aramaic text which is based loosely, in some sense, on the Hebrew. These passages, too, despite their apparent non-equivalent nature, are translation in the targumic sense. The sort of etymology which they employ, the method of reading which they utilize, the occasional ignoring of morphology and syntax which they exhibit, are all tools of the rabbinic exegetical world of which the targumim are a part.

Can we learn anything from the targum about the targumist's audience, about the assumptions which he could make about their knowledge, about the body of information on which he drew in composing his version? For some pentateuchal targumim and for selected material from the Prophets, a synagogal *Sitz im Leben* can be established.[2] But we know far less about the creation of the Aramaic versions of the Hagiographa and how they might have been used in the educational or liturgical life of talmudic or post-talmudic Judaism. We cannot even be certain why the targum of Psalms came into existence. It is clear, however, that the translator knew Hebrew fairly well and knew and employed a good deal of rabbinic tradition in his work, but in a selective fashion. He could presume a certain knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic tradition in his audience. The *Weltanschauung* which he brings to the translation is fundamentally that of rabbinic Judaism, although he does not merely slavishly reproduce those elements of the tradition with which he is familiar. The biblical text is his starting point and we are probably not wrong if we assert that his only goal was to make this text more meaningful to his audience.

The student of an ancient translation does not have to establish a text from which to work; it is sufficient to try to identify the text from which the ancient translator worked. Whereas it is virtually impossible to ascertain definitively what Hebrew text the author of the Aramaic version of Psalms had before him, it is very unlikely that it differed much, if at all, from what we know as MT. Certainly by the time that the targum takes the form in which we have it, the likelihood of surviving texts competing with MT is small. As a result, I should be reluctant to attribute translations in the targum which seem not to reflect precisely the form of the Hebrew text to a variant *Vorlage* if there is another stimulus to which such a translation can be attributed.

When analyzing the translation technique of biblical versions, a fundamental distinction must be made between the study of translations from the past, ancient or even early modern, and the theoretical preparation to produce a translation today. How best to translate is not the same as how best to study a translation. The contemporary translator studies the problems of translation technique because they affect his or her performance as a translator since success or failure as a translator may depend on how well he or she can master proper technique. A translator today writes for a particular audience which can be analyzed for its linguistic, cultural or religious

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[2] See, most recently, A. Shinan, *The Biblical Story as Reflected in Its Aramaic Translations* [Hebrew], (Hakibbutz Hameuchad: Tel Aviv, 1993) 11-36.

predispositions, the knowledge of which can then aid the work of the translator by focusing his or her attention on specific issues which affect the receptivity of the audience to the translation. Inappropriate idioms, obscure phraseology, and shocking expressions can thus be avoided as the translator seeks to convey the message of Scripture as effectively as possible.

The translator must decide, first of all, what text he is going to translate, if more than one exists, then ascertain the meaning of the text, and, finally, determine how to communicate its meaning in the target language. Within these parameters, of course, can take place the standard debates and discussions about "literal" vs. "free" translations, or about formal vs. functional equivalence. In either case, the point of contention is how best to *be* a translator rather than what did a particular translator do. It is partially for this reason that so much of the discussion about contemporary translation focuses on the audience, and not on the relationship between the translation and the text being translated.

When we focus on the issue of the translation technique of a translation which has already been produced, we use the same words to mean something very different. We evaluate not prospects, but results; not the receptor audience, but the text which was once put before them; not how to do, but what was done.[3] We try to understand the text produced by the translator in the context of its source, external influences on its rendition, and the relationship it has to the original. For the ancient translation does not always mean, or attempt to mean, what the original text does.[4] There is flexibility in the way in which the message is recast; the verse may be repunctuated or supplemented in such a fashion that the sense in no way resembles a straightforward reading of the biblical text. But the stress on finding a one-to-one correspondence between the Hebrew and the Aramaic, the almost ubiquitous presence in the targum of a representative of each element in the

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[3] Targumic translation technique has not attracted sufficiently rigorous attention in recent scholarship. P. S. Alexander ("Jewish Aramaic Translations of Scripture," *Mikra* ed. M. J. Mulder [Van Gorcum/Fortress: Assen/Minneapolis, 1990] 225-228) writes: "One common approach to characterizing the targum is to identify and list its various translation techniques. The implication is that these techniques in sum should suffice to define the phenomenon of 'targumism.'" He follows with an inventory of six features: treatment of anthropomorphism, actualization, doublets, associative translation, complementary translation, converse translation, but I believe that this enumeration does not begin to approach targumic technique at its most fundamental level. S. P. Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 81-86, offers a different sort of list, including word order and formal correspondence, lexical features and technical terms, regular lexical correspondence, and analogy. Students of translation technique must evaluate Brock's catalogue before proceeding to Alexander's. The latter, 229, makes the important point that the commonly-drawn distinction between literal and paraphrastic translation is "not a very meaningful approach, for it obscures the fact that paraphrastic translations may differ fundamentally from each other, and that a paraphrastic and a literal targum may, formally speaking, have more in common than two paraphrastic targumim." For a detailed discussion of translation technique which could easily be applied to the targumim, see the recent work by H. M. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job: A Model for Evaluating a Text with Documentation from the Peshitta to Job* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

[4] One could question, of course, whether the translator does not believe that the revised message which the translation conveys is what the original really means.

Hebrew, disqualifies the Aramaic version from classification as either "free" or as functional-equivalence translation. There is correspondence of words, but not necessarily equivalence of meaning.

Is it appropriate to evaluate a targum by the standards which we would apply to other translations from one language to another? Even if we limit our comparative material to other translations from antiquity such as LXX, Vulgate or Peshitta, this question still persists. Translations may have a variety of purposes and functions, many of which are alien to the Aramaic versions of Scripture, and the latter have unique features which make their categorization by the canons of translation in general rather problematical. The formal correspondence vs. functional equivalence continuum, the literal vs. idiomatic, do not stake out the limits of the spectrum on which the targumim find themselves. The targum, while fundamentally a literal-type translation, also bears, in addition, many of the hallmarks of commentary, particularly in some of its language which does not find equivalence in the biblical original. It translates the text, but simultaneously produces notes on the translation or a primitive form of commentary.[5] In this regard, it goes far beyond the other ancient versions. On the other hand, certain fundamental translational aspects of targum can perhaps best be described by utilizing criteria which can be applied to any translation.

We must also remember that most of the studies of translation technique in the ancient versions have focused on LXX, with the targumim being cited only as an aside. A point which cannot be made too often about the difference between translations like LXX or Peshitta, on the one hand, and the targumim on the other is the fact that the latter did not ever replace the Hebrew text. The targumim circulated alongside that text among an audience which could, and did, read the original as well, or at least heard it read in the synagogue.[6] The amount of freedom which that gave a translator to deviate from literality should not be underestimated, and this dichotomy between targum and LXX should impel us to develop criteria for evaluating targumic translation technique different from those used for LXX. The targum had the opportunity to add a further dimension to its audience's study of the Hebrew Bible, presenting its "reading" of the text without replacing the original.

At first glance, the Aramaic versions seem to be firmly located on the formal side of the formal correspondence—functional equivalence continuum, because we can generally locate easily all of the elements of the Hebrew text in the Aramaic; there is little "idiomatic" rewriting which leaves the Aramaic "unparallel" to its Hebrew original. But the pluses, whether

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5 S. P. Brock, "Translating the Old Testament," *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF* (eds. D. A. Carlson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 92-3, stresses the expositional character of the targumim, and concludes, "one could speak of the targumim as constituting a unique species of commentary." The part of the targum which is expanded beyond mere translation is analogous to the modern commentary, while its translation portions correspond to modern translations, whether literal or not.

6 This point has been made in various ways by a number of scholars: Brock, "Translating the Old Testament," 92; J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU XV; Göttingen: Vanedenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979) 31; E. Greenstein, "Theories of Modern Bible Translation," *Prooftexts* 3 (1983) 19.

exegetical and inserted to clarify the meaning of Hebrew on the simple sense level of the text, or eisegetical and introduced by the targum to further its own theological agenda, really move the translation beyond formal equivalence, although not in the direction of functional. Because Aramaic is a language cognate with Hebrew, there is a tendency to expect that the targum will imitate the syntax, word order and even the vocabulary of the original. Deviations from Hebrew syntax or word order stand out particularly. We should probably have paid less attention to such variation if the translation were into a non-cognate language.

A talmudic statement attributed to R. Yehudah reads (*b. Qidd.* 49a and *tg. Meg.* 4:41) המתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה בדאי והמוסיף עליו הרי זה מחרף ומגדף;[7] "Whoever translates a biblical verse literally is a fool, while one who adds [to it] is a reviler and a blasphemer." Whether or not the original context of this statement is relevant to its citation in the Talmud, it establishes the dilemma facing any author of any targum—to be faithful to the form (צורה) alone, or to add to it and thereby "distort" it.

None of the Aramaic versions follows either of R. Yehudah's options slavishly, and the targum of Psalms is no exception. In fact, it is probably impossible for any translation to adhere to the first option, taken literally, if its goal is to create a meaningful text in the target language, and not merely to create a representation of each of the elements in the source text. Thus all translations fall into R. Yehudah's second category of וכל המוסיף. The principal issue which we must constantly evaluate is how much is being added to the original and how much distortion of the original does that addition generate.

The translation of a biblical Hebrew poetic text demands "addition" beyond that which might be found in any other circumstance. Hebrew poetry, almost by definition, is elliptical in its form of expression. The parallelism which characterizes biblical verse allows for the frequent omission in its second unit of elements which are meant to be "supplied" from the first. For a translator, imitation of the compact shape of the original text is not likely to lead to clarification of its meaning in the target language. The Aramaic translators of biblical Hebrew poetry have thus not limited themselves to a word-for-word representation of the Hebrew text in Aramaic, but have "filled in" many of the elements which the biblical text "leaves out," prepositions and conjunctions, subjects and objects. These "pluses" are integral to a meaningful translation.

At the same time, the targum does not treat the Hebrew text as "poetry" and frequently turns it into prose through its pluses. The brevity and omissions of the biblical text are seen by the targum as requiring the supplementation necessary to turn elliptical language into clearly meaningful statements. Thus, for example, what Kugel has called the rabbinic doctrine of "omnisignificance," the rabbinic notion that there is nothing superfluous in Scripture, occasionally causes the targum of a poetic passage to search for different meanings or contexts for the two parallel half-lines of a biblical

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[7] Citation from the Bavli; the toseftan text varies but little. For two classic rabbinic approaches to the passage, see Rashi *ad loc.* and the view of Rabbenu Hananel cited in tosafot *ad loc.*

verse.[8] But the targumic process of addition goes beyond the supplementation of ellipses which is a fundamental component of the translation phenomenon, to include the insertion of material which is clearly unconnected with the Hebrew text but which may serve to clarify it nonetheless, and even further to incorporate the introduction of language which is not needed to make sense of the verse and is unrelated to the rendition of the Hebrew, but which derives from midrashic or theological activity on the part of the translator. Some of this material belongs to the "commentary" aspect of the translation. But drawing the boundary between "obvious" and "less obvious" pluses is frequently difficult.

The sheer number of the biblical Psalms, as well as their different types, genres and subject matter, makes for a certain variation in the styles of their translations. The two texts under consideration in this paper are not treated analogously in their translation by the targum. In fact, even if we take the two of them together, we cannot paint a full picture of either the exegetical technique or the theological framework of the Aramaic version of Psalms. The limited textual material simply does not contain within it a full range of the exegetical difficulties which the targum must face or sufficient stimuli to which the targum can react across its theological spectrum.

Because they present different modes of targumic behavior, we shall analyze the two texts under scrutiny separately and then proceed to integrate our results. Our analysis will be descriptive and will endeavor to respond to the following questions: To what degree does the targum adhere to the Hebrew text in word order, morphology, punctuation and lexical selection? How does it treat rare words and obscure syntax? What tools does it employ to resolve exegetical difficulties? How does the targum respond to theological quandaries? Is the theological message of the targum the same as that of the original? We shall find two different sorts of treatment in the two texts under consideration. Psalm 2 will offer us more data for our microanalysis, while Psalm 137 will be more interesting on an overall level.

II. The Texts

A. Psalm 2

The targum does not always follow the Hebrew text form-for-form, but we must be careful to distinguish between trivial and significant deviations from the morphology of the Hebrew. Shifts in tense are particularly unlikely to be considered important because of the ways in which tenses are employed in biblical poetry.[9] In Psalm 2, such tense variation occurs only in 2:1 where רגשו and יהגו are rendered מתרגשין and מרגנין, and 2:2 where יתיצבו and נוסדו are

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[8] James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) Chapter III, "Rabbinic Exegesis and the 'Forgetting' of Parallelism," especially pp. 104-105.

[9] Cf. J. Barr, "Translators' Handling of Verb Tense in Semantically Ambiguous Contexts," C. E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the IOSCS: Jerusalem 1986* (SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 381-403.

translated קיימין and יתחברון.[10] The effect of the choice of participles and imperfect is to make clear the fact that the process described is ongoing from the perspective of the targumist.

Constancy of word-choice by a translator is a phenomenon which allows us to claim that deviation from constancy is exegetically or conceptually significant. Thus, the choice of רנן for Hebrew הגה in 2:1 is a standard targumic equivalence in Psalms, with all ten verbal occurrences (and four nominal ones) of this root rendered by the same Aramaic root. But the selection for הגה of the root רנן which is also used for such Hebrew roots as גיל and רנן shows that no particular semantic care is being taken with the translation of this term.[11] Regardless of the specific contextual meaning of הגה, the same Aramaic root is utilized. On the other hand, the employment of the cognate מתרגשין for biblical רגשו is difficult to evaluate, for the Hebrew word is a *hapax legomenon* in the Bible although the Aramaic one is frequent. In the targum to Psalms, it is employed almost exclusively for forms of המה. Its contextual appropriateness is just as likely to be responsible for its presence in this verse as its cognate nature is.[12]

The translation of 2:2 נוסדו יחד as יתחברון כחדא, "they join together" is more unusual at first glance; this is the only example of Aramaic חבר for יסד in scriptural targumim. The only other case of יסד Niphal with this meaning is Ps 31:14 בהוסדם יחד and there the targum has the nearly synonymous באיתכנשיהון כחדא or the like in all witnesses.[13] This translation is exegetically sound and distinguishes the Niphal of יסד which has this meaning from the passages in Exodus and Isaiah.[14] We might view both of these Psalms passages as having attracted sound contextual readings in the targum, but it is likewise tempting to see in the choice of אתחברו for נוסדו an echo of Ps 48:5 כי הנה המלכים נועדו עברו יחדו where the rendition of נועדו, "met," is אתחברו. The context of the later verse which contains the common words מלכים and יחדו could easily have contributed to or reinforced the definition which the targum applies to נוסדו here.[15]

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[10] For the latter, the manuscripts vary between forms of אתחברו and יתחברו which is a common interchange in targum MSS between 3 masc. perfect and imperfect of the Itpeel/Itpaal.

[11] According to BDB, *s.v.*, p. 211b, this is the only passage in Psalms where the Qal of הגה has meaning 3.b. "imagine, devise." Four of the other nine are assigned to 3.a, "meditate, muse." In Isaiah, on the other hand, where הגה occurs nine times, it is rendered נהם, אמר, אכלי, חשב, and אפיק, depending on context.

[12] In 2:9 השכילו is translated אשכילו, with the targum using the cognate as it does 24 out of 25 times with שכל in Psalms.

[13] The other two Niphals of this root in the Hebrew Bible, Exod 9:18 and Isa 44:28, are both rendered with אשתכלל which is appropriate for those cases since the meaning in both seems to be "founding."

[14] H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (tr. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988) 124 accepts the analysis of the targum (and LXX which maintains a similar rendition) and claims that the root of this word is סוד. If he is correct, are the targum and LXX good guessers, or do they have an oral tradition to distinguish what appear to be identical Niphal forms of יסד from one another?

[15] According to BDB, *s.v.*, 414a, Lagarde emended [Ps 2:2] to נועדו comparing Neh 6:2 ונועדה יחדו. Our suggestion about the possible thought process of the targum here has nothing to do with *Vorlage*, but with intertextuality and with the phenomenon which

Hebrew and Aramaic do not contain matching sets of words, where every Hebrew word has exactly one Aramaic equivalent and vice versa. More than one term is used by the targum to render single Hebrew terms, and the same Aramaic word may be used, even within a single text, as the equivalent of more than one Hebrew word without regard for subtle semantics. In the passage under consideration, at 2:3 תרע is used for נחק[16] and at 2:9 for נפץ. Elsewhere in Psalms תרע is employed also for הרס (2x) and רצץ. It is likely that this unfocused employment of תרע points to a lack of semantic care by the targum or to the paucity of his vocabulary. Nevertheless, it would be interesting if we could claim that the use of תרע for the two roots in our text creates a sense of reciprocity, where the punishment of the nations utilizes the same language as their rebellion. This would be a subtle literary device. I do not know of any other cases where the targum behaves in this fashion, but I suspect that such instances may be found.

The lexical selection technique of the targum can also be observed in 2:7. The comparatively rare Hebrew תְּרֵעֵם is rendered by the commoner תתברינון; there is no attempt by the targum to utilize a rarer Aramaic word to capture the unique flavor of the Hebrew, and it is satisfied to employ תבר which is employed in the targum of Psalms for שבר, טרף, הפר , among others as well. Apparently matching the tone of the original or searching for a precise equivalent is not always a targumic priority. On the other hand, תנפצם, which is parallel to תרעם, is translated תתרעינון here at 2:9, using another word which, as we saw above, is somewhat generic. At 137:9 ונפץ is rendered דמרטיש; each is unique in the targumim for נפץ Piel.[17] We shall see later that although the targum at 2:9 was unspecific in its rendition of נפץ, the translation at 137:9 is carefully selected.

The equivalency of שפטי and נגידי/נגודי in all MSS at 2:10 is likewise unusual. The use of נגידא for שפט is not unknown elsewhere in Bible, but is unique here to the targum of Psalms, and its only other use in the Jewish Aramaic of the Hagiographa is Job 12:17. We should normally expect the translation of שפט to be דיינא which is the only term employed by the targumim of the Torah; in Judges (2:16-19), נגידי is used for the unnamed "judges" of that period, as it is in 2 Sam 7:11 and 2 Kgs 23:22.[18] The targum obviously does not automatically choose a single equivalent even for a fairly common Hebrew root. It is possible that the targum's word-choice is predicated on the fact that as a parallel for מלכים, "kings," a word meaning "ruler" is a better choice than one meaning "judge."

Michael Klein has named "associative translation" ("Associative and Complementary Translations in the Targumim," *Erez Yisrael* 16 [Harry M. Orlinsky Volume] (1982), *134-*140).

16 Elsewhere this equivalence is found only at Ps 107:14, but תרע is frequent for נתץ in the targumim including Ps 52:7 יתצך and 58:7 .נתץ נתק is commonly translated by either פסק or נגד and occasionally by other roots.

17 BDB distinguishes two roots נפץ in BH, with most occurrences belonging to נפץ I = "shatter." The targumim, particularly that of Jeremiah, include many of those with נפץ II = "scatter," usually בדר. There is no consistency of any kind in the renderings of נפץ I.

18 The appearance of נגודי in a variant in 1 Sam 8:2 might be exegetical, with the difference in word choice between דיינא and נגודא being that between "judges" and "Judges."

While it is true that unusual words and phrases at times attract unusual translations, we are still sometimes surprised at the choices of the targum. At 2:10 הוסרו, the Niphal imperative of יסר, is rendered by קבילו מרדותא, in the only occurrence of this phrase for יסר anywhere.[19] For הוסרו, we might have expected אתרדיו rather than קבילו מרדותא = "accept discipline."[20] Furthermore, the use of קבל in this verse and in 2:12 for נשקו בר is unique with the objects מרדותא and אולפנא, "teaching," in the targum of Psalms.[21] Is it possible that, although this would not be very typical of targum Psalms or the targumim in general, the two occurrences of קבל imperative + object are meant to link these two sentences in the psalm for its audience? What makes this suggestion attractive is the fact that קביל אולפנא, "accept teaching," is the fairly regular translation for biblical קחת מוסר in the targumim so that מוסר, אולפנא and מרדותא are somehow linked. If קבילו מרדותא and קבילו אולפנא are parallel in the targum, it has created a literary unity beyond the Hebrew text through its selection of unexpected lexical equivalences.[22]

Through 2:5, the targum may be said to be straightforwardly literal. The Hebrew and Aramaic stand in one-to-one correspondence with each other with only two exceptions. These both occur in 2:2 in the translation of רוזנים נוסדו יחד נגד ה' ונגד משיחו which is rendered ושלטוניא יתחברון כחדא למרדא קדם ה' ולמינצי על משיחיה, "they join together *to rebel* before the Lord and *to quarrel* against his anointed one." This kind of clarifying addition is quite typical of targumic technique and is one of the ways in which a targum makes the meaning of a verse more specific than the Hebrew original. "To join together against" is simply not very meaningful to the targum. Furthermore, by making each of the two prepositional phrases the object of a different infinitive, the actions of the nations against God are defined differently from their behavior against his anointed one. This kind of treatment of the biblical text is probably based on Kugel's "omnisignificance." Although not a hard and fast tendency, the presence of the two prepositional phrases side by side at times demands the inferring of a distinction like that of the targum.

The specifications created by the added constructs in 2:8, נכסי עממיא and אחסנתך ואחודתך שלטוני סייפי ארעא, while quite typical, are unnecessary for the translation to make sense. In the first half it is the *possessions* of the nations which are being granted to the king, while in the second his inheritance is the *rulers* of the ends of the earth. The first is contextually sounder, because the possessions are what is inherited, while the second introduces "rulers" where they are not demanded by the context of the biblical text. It is possible that the choice of supplements which differ in this fashion is intended to highlight the non-synonymous nature of the

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19 Of the four other Niphals of יסר, three are אתרדי and one איתיתא יסורין (Jer 31:18).

20 יסר is translated variously in the targumim of the Hebrew Bible, with רדי (17x), איתי יסורין (8x) and אלף (6x) dominating the 38 occurrences of the Hebrew term. It is striking that in the current passage the NJPS version matches the targum verbatim.

21 קבל is most frequently followed with צלותא and the like.

22 If the reading אחוד[ו] מרדותא for 2:12 נשקו בר in three Peshitta texts (including the base text of the Leiden edition) is not derivative from LXX, it may belong to this complex as well.

parallelism for the targum, but the technique is not so omnipresent as to be necessary in this passage.

The targum's supplementation of the Hebrew text becomes more dense in the second half of the psalm. We can still see the form of the Hebrew beneath the Aramaic, but the additional words and phrases which the targum adds to clarify or specify the meaning of the Hebrew often make the Aramaic mean something different from what we believe the Hebrew to mean. Thus 2:6 ואני נסכתי מלכי על ציון הר קדשי, God's assertion that he has established his chosen king on Mt. Zion is re-written by the targum as ואנא רביית מכלי ומניתיה על ציון טור מקדשי, "I have anointed my king and appointed him on/over Zion the mountain of my Temple." There are two "deviations" from the literal in this version, the translation of נסכתי by רביית and the addition of ומניתיה.

The root רבי which represents נסך is usually employed for Hebrew משח = "anoint."[23] Our text, according to most commentators and lexica, has נסך III which for BDB (*s.v.*, p. 651b) means "set, install," and which is found elsewhere only at Prov 8:23 (in Niphal) and is the same root as נסיך = "prince." There are a number of ways to understand the translation of the targum here. We could claim that it is a reasonable contextual rendition, or that the targum understands נסך as if "libation" (נסך I), hence "formal ceremony." But Churgin is likely to be correct in suggesting that the targum treats the Hebrew as if the root is סוך = "anoint," comparing Symmachus (ἐγὼ ἔχρισα τὸν βασιλέα μου = "I anointed my king") and *Midr. Ps. ad loc.* (אמשחתיה כמה דאת אמר וסוך לא סכתי).[24]

The translation of נסכתי by רביית generates a further deviation from the literal in the second half of the verse. What would "I have anointed my king on Zion, etc." mean? The place of anointing is not terribly significant. The targum therefore adds the term ומניתיה "I have appointed him" to the second half-verse. The net result is that נסכתי receives an appropriate rendition, ומניתיה, but in the wrong place in the line.[25] Although it is unlikely that the targum intended ומניתיה to represent נסכתי, and the equivalence is probably happy coincidence, we must acknowledge the slight possibility that we have here an unusual form of double translation, wherein the Aramaic reflects more than one reading of the Hebrew word. In the more common form of double translation, the translations stand roughly side by side. The result of adding a verb to the second half-verse also creates a more fully parallelistic verse, where רביית and ומניתיה stand in parallelism. This, too, is typical of targumic technique.

At 2:9 we are confronted by a phenomenon which is not uncommon in the targum and is especially significant when we evaluate the targum as a bearer of textual information. The Hebrew reads תרעם בשבט ברזל ככלי יוצר תנפצם, "you will smash them with an iron rod; like a potter's vessel will you

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23 Cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), p. 514a, *s.v.* רבי 2. It is unlikely that we have here a Pael of רבי 1 = "make great."

24 Churgin, 27. Despite my conviction that רביית does not mean "I made great," cf. the continuation in *Midr. Ps.* ד"א גדלתיהו כמה דאת אמר ושמנה נסיכי אדם.

25 Rashi in his commentary *ad loc.* actually "translates" נסכתי with מניתי.

shatter them." The Aramaic renders תתברינון היך בחוטרא דפרזלא מאן דפחר תתרעינון, "you will smash them *as if* with an iron rod," according to more than three-fourths of the textual witnesses. It is clear that the exegesis of the targum understands both halves of the Hebrew text as similes although the original does not demand such a reading. Did the targum's *Vorlage* read כבשבט, or is the targum creating the simile in the first half and filling out the ellipsis in the first half-verse on the basis of the second? The use of similes by the targum of Psalms runs the gamut from unexceptional passages where the targum converts a biblical metaphor into a simile through the addition of היך or the like to those, like the one which we shall see later in 2:7, where the simile may be intended to override theological difficulties. I am therefore fairly convinced that the employment of the simile in 2:9 is sufficiently typical of targumic technique that a textual stimulus is unnecessary.

Ps 2:11 עבדו את ה' ביראה וגילו ברעדה was the subject of much discussion in rabbinic literature because of the paradoxical juxtaposition of fear and joy and because of its apparent contradiction with 100:2 עבדו את ה' בשמחה.[26] The targum's rendition פלחו קדם ה' ברחלא וצלו ברתיתא, with its unique equivalence of גילו ("rejoice") and צלו ("pray"), seems, however, to be affected more by the apparent inconsistencies between the two halves of the sentence and within the second half than with the distant contradiction. It is the oxymoron "rejoice in trembling" which seems to trouble the translator since a literal translation is rejected while the contradictory first half verse remains untouched. Since the first half of the verse deals with worship, since the whole verse is associated with prayer in rabbinic exegesis, and since prayer, even extratextually, is one of the prominent themes of the targum of Psalms, it is unsurprising that the targum solves its contextual problem and highlights one of its favorite concepts simultaneously. There is no way to know whether the targum's rendering is based on any serious or fanciful etymology.

Ps 2:7 אספרה אל חק ה' אמר אלי בני אתה אני היום ילדתיך, which in MT has a major break after חק, was a crux, both exegetically and theologically, for the targum.[27] Our analysis is complicated somewhat by the fact that there is some serious textual inconsistency among the MSS of targum Psalms at this point and it is possible, although not certain, that there may be more than one tradition of targumic interpretation for this passage. The targum reads (following White's base text but adding לי after אמר with almost all witnesses) אישתעי אלק קיימא ה' אמר לי [חביב כ]בר [לאבא ל]י אנת [זכאה כאילו] יומא דין בריתך.[28]

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[26] Juxtaposition: *b. Ber.* 30b מאי וגילו ברעדה . . . במקום גילה שם תהא רעדה and *y. Ber.* 5:1 לכשיבוא יום רעדה תגילו.
Contradiction: *Midr. Ps.* 100:2 אם בשמחה היאך ביראה אם ביראה היאך בשמחה? א"ר אייבו כשתהא עומד בעולם תהא שמח בתפלה ותתיירא מלפני הקב"ה ד"א בשמחה יכול שלא ביראה ת"ל ברעדה.

[27] There is a potential ambiguity in punctuation. RSV renders the first clause, "I will tell of the decrees of the Lord," while NJPS has "Let me tell of the decree. The Lord said to me. . . ."

[28] אל is rendered in eight of White's fourteen MSS as if it were a divine name, forming a construct with חק, rather than the preposition. Two related Spanish MSS read לקיימא, and the other four texts record no equivalence, either divine name or preposition, for אל. One MS has a preposition attached to the divine name.

It is immediately noticeable that the targum vocalizes אל, which for MT is the preposition "to," as אֵל, "God," and then takes it as a construct with חק, which has its standard Aramaic equivalent קימא, presumably to mean "God of the covenant."[29] The targum's rendering is "I declare that the Lord is God of the covenant," or perhaps according to some MSS, "I declare that the Lord is God everlasting." The syntax of the Hebrew אספרה אל חק obviously was not clear to the targum, and this solution at least fits the consonants of MT. Whether his reading is based on a tradition of vocalization or is an independent creation generated to solve the crux cannot be known. But six textual witnesses omit a term for "God" following the first verb of the sentence, with only two (related) MSS furnishing a preposition representing MT אל. Those texts, which could have been generated by shortening the previously discussed version, can be translated "I shall speak the covenant of the Lord" or something similar. The omission of the preposition אל from these renditions may also be due to the fact that the text reads more easily without it. The targumic confusion vis à vis the Hebrew has affected its own textual tradition.

The rest of the verse, the Hebrew of which is to be translated, "He said to me, 'You are my son; I bore you today,'" is meaningless without clarification in the theological world of the targum.[30] For in his Jewish dogma a human being cannot literally be the son of God, since God does not bear children; furthermore the object of this address was not just born. It was too dangerous theologically for the targum to translate literally and hope that the audience understood the verse metaphorically. An ancient translation could not have footnotes like a modern translation or commentary to explain this. The targum's dilemma: once the translation cannot be literal, how far to deviate from the literal rendition of the verse and how to do so? In this case, the targum resorts to typical exegetical devices to resolve the theological crux. אמר [חביב כ]בר [לאבא ל]י אנת [זכאה כאילו] יומא דין ברית = "He said to me, 'You are *beloved* to me *as* a son *to his father, righteous as if* I had created you today.'"

First, the Hebrew text is taken to be two incompletely expressed similes which the targum then fills out for the audience. God loves the king/psalmist as a father his son and the king/psalmist is as righteous as a newly created child.[31] Both of the problems in the text are superable through the employment of similes: the king/psalmist is *like* a son to God and *as righteous* as a newborn. The rewriting of the verse through the two similes also has the further effect of making the two clauses non-repetitive. Whereas the Hebrew parallelism has "you are my son; I bore you today," the targum gives discrete meanings to each of the two clauses. In order to make theological error even

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[29] I believe קיימא is to be read *qĕyāmā'* and not *qayyāmā'* in order to explain its being the rendering of חק. But several MSS read אלהא קיימא which is probably to be understood "God who exists" or "everlasting God." This would require a two-step exegesis: חק = *qĕyāmā'* which was then understood as *qayyāmā'* with appropriate "corrections" being made to nearby words.

[30] By moving ה' to the first clause, it no longer is the subject of אמר as it was in the biblical original.

[31] A nearly identical metaphor is found in *Midr. Ps.* 2:9 כעבד שרבו עושה לו קורת רוח ואומר מחבב את לי כבני, "like a servant whose master makes him feel good and says, 'You are dear to me as my son.'"

less likely, the targum chooses to render ילדתיך, "I bore you," by בריתך, "I created you," perhaps also intending to emphasize God's role as Creator. The same lexical selection for the same reason is made at Deut 32:15 where *Tg. Onqelos* renders צור ילדך תשי, "who bore you," by דרחלת תקיפא דברך אתנשיתא, "who created you."

Psalm 2:12 contains a crux which challenges both the ancient and modern translator or commentator, נשקו בר פן יאנף. This type of difficulty highlights most boldly one of the differences between ancient and modern translators/commentators. Whereas modern scholarship often solves this kind of textual difficulty by removing it via emendation, the notion of an imperfectly transmitted text would probably have been viewed incredulously by the author of the targum.[32] Each of the elements of this Hebrew phrase requires clarification. נשקו בר is represented in the targum by קבילו אולפנא, "accept instruction." This interpretation of נשקו may be related to the root in ועל פיך ישק כל עמי of Gen 41:40, but the etymology, such as it would be, is quite opaque. Although there are several rabbinic texts which equate בר and Torah such as *b. Sanh.* 92b אין בר אלא תורה שנאמר נשקו בר and *Midr. Ps.* 2:17 נשקו ברה של תורה, (which seems based on the notion that אין לחם אלא תורה), it is too great a leap from any of them to קבילו אולפנא to assume that the targum is here following known rabbinic exegesis.[33] In fact, if the targumic reading were directly related to the rabbinic exegesis of this verse, we should have expected אורייתא rather than אולפנא. On the other hand, the Greek δράξασθε παιδείας, translated by Jerome in his *iuxta Septuaginta* version with *adprehendite disciplinam*, is virtually identical to the language of the targum. If the Greek and Aramaic versions here represent an interpretation of 2:12 which is a shared exegetical tradition, then, although we cannot be certain of the method which leads from the Hebrew to the translation, we can speak of an early exegetical tradition of this verse which read the verse in a fashion similar to, but not identical with, rabbinic interpretation.

When all is said and done, the sense of Psalm 2 in the targum is not much different from that in the Hebrew text. The pluses, the slight variation in word-choice even including וצלו for וגילו, the reading of 2:9 as a simile, and the interpretation of נשקו בר do not distort the tone of the Hebrew original. Only at 2:7, where the theological issue was too blatant to ignore, does the targum fail to do justice to the Hebrew. But as far as the overall picture of the psalm, even that verse does not distort the image of the Hebrew very much.

B. Psalm 137

The major issues which the targum of Psalm 137 furnishes us for discussion differ from those of Psalm 2. We shall see how the targum employs the technique of supplementation of the literal translation to make the psalm tell a story in Aramaic different from its Hebrew original, and how

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[32] BHS, for example, suggests reading נשקו ל/ברגליו 11-12, while citing others who emend וגדלו שמו בעבדה. Note how the targumic "solution" to גילו discussed above differs methodologically from the "modern" one.

[33] Churgin, pp. 31-32, assumes that many midrashic interpretations in the targum are linked to extant rabbinic midrash and counts our passage among them. The possibility which I shall suggest would allow only a much looser link to rabbinic tradition.

certain of these supplements bear significant theological messages. This is the aspect of targum which is closer to commentary, perhaps, than to translation, and which makes the targum to Psalms unique among the texts which are the object of investigation in our panel.

There are, nevertheless, several examples of the formal translation technique of the targum in Psalm 137 with which we shall begin. The non-slavishness of the targum to the morphology of the underlying Hebrew is best seen in the replacement of 137:1 בזכרנו (lit., "in our remembering"), preposition + infinitive + suffix, by כד הוינן דכירין ("when we used to remember"), conjunction + perfect of הוא + passive participle. This type of translation is not uncommon in the targumim generally for this Hebrew construction, although there are many examples of a formally literal translation as well. Similarly, the imperfect + converted perfect of 137:9 אשרי שיאחז ונפץ is represented in Aramaic by the participles דאחיד ומרטיש (although there are some MSS reading an imperfect in place of דאחיד). Both of these shifts in morphology are fairly trivial in terms of meaning.

The employment of בזוזיתא, "destroyer," to translate השדודה in 137:8, on the other hand, may be of significance. The Aramaic is active in form, while the Hebrew is passive. We cannot be certain whether the targum read שָׁדוּדָה or שׁוֹדֵדָה in its *Vorlage*, or whether the difficulty of rendering the passive form ("you who are going to be destroyed") led him to take a path of lesser resistance via the active form. Symmachus (ἡ λῃστρίς) and the Peshitta (בזוזתא) also render with active forms, and it is the textual choice of modern commentators such as Kraus and Dahood.

The same root בזז is used by the targum for the *hapax legomenon* תוללינו in 137:3, although we should probably not claim that the employment of the same root there and in 137:8 creates any kind of subtle frame for the psalm in the targum. The etymology of תוללינו is a well-known crux; the ancient versions are unconnected, demonstrating no single ancient exegetical tradition, and their renderings appear contextual, based on the parallelism with שובינו. The targum's בזוזנא seems to be based not only on the parallelism, but on an etymology which sees an Aramaized root תלל* parallel to standard Hebrew שלל, "plunder," a term which is often employed in the Bible side-by-side with בזז. This etymology is not paralleled in rabbinic exegesis.

We noted earlier how the targum rendered תנפצם at 2:9 with the root תרע, an all-purpose root for that semantic field. At 137:9, however, שיאחז ונפץ is represented by דאחיד ומרטיש, a fairly rare (if not unique) occurrence of the Piel of this verb in the targum with the meaning "smash." The lexical selection of the targum here can best be understood as the result of associative intertextuality. The author of the targum (and probably some of his readers as well) knew the Hebrew Bible well, and did not hesitate to allow passages which were related linguistically or conceptually to influence the translation of each other even over great textual distance. רטש in biblical Hebrew is employed at 2 Kgs 8:12, Isa 13:16, Hos 10:14; 14:1, and Nah 3:10 to describe the violence done in war (especially to children). Four of them include the root עולל as well. The targum's rendering of ונפץ עולליך as מרטיש resonates against all of those passages and creates a single allusion to all of them by

employing a word in Aramaic in a sense which is most likely borrowed from the Hebrew.[34]

We have also seen the addition by the targum of modifiers which clarify or specify the meaning of the Hebrew text even when it did not lack clarification. In two passages in 137 the targum breaks up a construct chain in order to make a potential ambiguity clear. שיר ציון in 137:2 can be understood as "a song about Zion" or "a song sung in Zion."[35] The targum makes its meaning explicit through שירתא דהויתון אמרין בציון, "song which you used to recite in Zion." This, of course, makes the equation of שיר ציון with שיר ה' in the next verse easier; it is sacred song which is demanded by the Babylonians and refused by the Israelites. In similar fashion, the meaning of 137:7 יום ירושלים is not automatically clear (although it is not really as ambiguous as שיר ציון is). The targum therefore expands ירושלם (ית) יומא דאחריבו, "the day they destroyed Jerusalem." The net result of the accumulation of these additions is to expand the targumic text beyond the length of the Hebrew to the degree that its characteristic poetic brevity is lost. This is one of the reasons that the Aramaic translation of Psalms is not easily recognized as the version of a poetic original.

It is in its translational macrostructure, however, that the Aramaic version to Psalm 137 shows us the full range of targumic technique. A combination of exegetical-theological factors is the impetus for the targum's employment of dialogue in its rendering of 137:3-9. This text has been turned by the targum into a story, replete with verbal interchanges, based on the outlines in the Hebrew text. The resulting whole has been reshaped so that, although its debt to the biblical original is clear, the Aramaic version is clearly something new. Beginning with verse 3, there is a series of pluses which, by specifying characters and speakers, turns this brief psalm into a drama with several speakers, not necessarily those implicit in the Hebrew text. The dialogue implicit in שירו לנו . . . איך נשיר . . . אם אשכחך is vivified by the targum through the use of language indicating changes of speaker.

In the Hebrew, the only identification of a speaker in the psalm is the verb שאלונו in כי שם שאלונו שובינו דברי שיר (137:3), "there our captors demanded of us words of song," and the only other speakers are the first person subjects of many of the verbs. The context of the psalm makes it clear that the explicit reference is to the Babylonians in whose land the action takes place, but the

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34 In biblical Hebrew, where רטש appears six times, it always means "smash." It appears to me that רטש in Aramaic is a confluence of two roots. The original root רטש in Aramaic is perhaps etymologically and semantically equivalent to Hebrew נטש, which means "abandon," and there are many examples of its usage in that sense in the targumim and elsewhere. The "second" root רטש = "smash," I suggest, is a Hebraism, but in the absence of concordances to the targumim, it is difficult to know how often the Piel of this רטש is used in that corpus. Based on the lexica, I know of no other certain occurrence beyond this one. There are cases of the Itpaal with the sense "to be smashed," but perhaps not enough to argue for a native Aramaic form here.

35 R. G. Bratcher and W. D. Reyburn, *A Translator's Handbook on the Book of Psalms* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1990) 114, point out that although TEV has "a song about Zion," the reading "a song you used to sing in Jerusalem" is more likely. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary* (tr. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) 503, seems to adopt the opposite view, contrasting שיר ציון which would be an appropriate term for Pss 76, 84, 87 or 122 with שיר ה' a cultic song which cannot be sung in a foreign land.

targum clarifies ארום תמן שיילו יתנא בבלאי דשבו יתנא למימר מילין דשיריא, "for there our *Babylonian* captors demanded *that we say* words of song." There will be five other indications of speaker in the targum which are unexpressed in the biblical text and which dramatize the psalm in Aramaic. The beginning of the second portion of the verse in Hebrew ותוללינו שמחה restates elliptically the first half and continues with a citation of the words of the captors of the Israelites שירו לנו משיר ציון. The targum expands the first two words to ובזוזנא על עיסק חדוא, clarifying the fact that their plunderers [made demands] regarding matters of joy, and then furnishes an explicit verb of citation which is, to be sure, implicit in the Hebrew אמרין שבחו לנא מן שירתא דהויתון אמרין בציון, "saying, 'sing to us from the songs you used to recite in Zion.'"

The "exegetical" device of the specification or identification of speakers of the biblical text, even in instances where there is no overt indication in the Hebrew that the speaker has changed, is employed by the targum of Psalms in quite a few passages.[36] Sometimes these additions respond to real or imagined difficulties in the biblical text such as shifts of person or number in the verbs of the Hebrew. In Psalm 137, verses 4, 5, 7 and 8 are supplied with introductory pluses by the targum, all indicating the changes of speaker which the targum sees in the succeeding verses of the psalm. But verse 4 goes further, specifying not only the change of speaker but the actions which they took prior to speaking, מניד קטעו ליואי אליוניהון בככיהון ואמרין, "immediately, the Levites cut off their thumbs with their teeth and said." This juxtaposes with the employment of dialogue another technique, the free addition of subordinate temporal or circumstantial clauses, which many of the Aramaic versions employ to link adjacent verses to each other, especially in narrative material. Such "introductory narrative pluses" are generally midrashic additions which supply information completely "lacking" from the biblical text and which make the flow of the narrative smoother. The targum of Psalms employs this material in particular in order to alert the reader when it interprets an unspecific poetic text as referring to a specific historical context.

In the case of 137:4, this specification alone would be unexceptional, since the dialogue and change of speaker is here implicit in the text, but the dramatic narrative addition paints a picture which the words of the Hebrew cannot. There is nothing explicit in the Hebrew which indicates that the speakers and the objects of the Babylonians' demands are the levitical singers. The identification is quite appropriate for the context since the paramount musicians and singers of divine songs in ancient Israel were Levites. These Levites, maiming themselves and thus becoming disqualified for ritual song, are specified as the speakers of the words איך נשיר את שיר ה' על אדמת נכר, "How can we sing?"

The targum then introduces 137:5 with the words מחיבא קל רוחא דקודשא ואמרה דאין אנשיינא ליך ירושלם, "the voice of the holy spirit responds saying, 'If I forget you, Jerusalem.'" These two verses become a dialogue, a pair of declarations of faith. God, represented by the voice of the holy spirit, is the subject of the verb אשכחך, and His promise is a response to the loyalty which the Levites demonstrated in verse 4. There is no doubt that exegetically it is the

36 For two of the more striking examples, cf. Psalms 91 and 118.

shift from plural verb in 4 to singular in 5 which generates the targumic/midrashic reading. The shift, however, from תשכח, "may it forget," to אנשייה, "I shall cause it to forget," is less obviously compelled by the targum's interpretation of the verse. The morphological change in person and conjugation has the effect of making God's threatened actions more vigorous, since the consequences of his potential forgetting are described in the indicative rather than the optative.

The midrashic vignette encompassed by these verses is found in several passages in rabbinic literature, clearly bound exegetically to our text.[37] In fact, the version in *Pesiq. R.*, after describing the self-mutilation of the Levites in response to Nebuchadnezzar's request for song, proceeds to lay out the details of the story explicitly from Psalm 137. The relevant passage reads:

> "We shall not sing" is not stated, but "How can we sing?" They [the Levites] showed them [the Babylonians] their fingers and said "Do you not know that our bonds were strong as iron, and our fingers were cut off; see, how can we sing?" The Holy One Blessed be He said to them, "You made a supreme effort and cut off your fingers; by your lives I shall respond to you what I did not respond to Jeremiah and to Zion, regarding the abandonment and forgetfulness about which they made demands of me, as it is said 'If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand forget,' and further you made a supreme effort with the fingers of your right hand; I shall as well, 'If I forget you, Jerusalem, may *my* right hand forget.'"

Note how the kernel of the whole midrash is packed into the targum of these two verses simply by attaching the speaker and introductory comments to them. The supporting exegesis is fairly clear to the reader. This example is typical of the way in which the targumim, which are fundamentally translations, are able nevertheless to integrate midrashim into their translations in a sort of shorthand fashion.

The first half of 137:6 תדבק לשוני לחכי is translated literally, employing language which is a surprisingly strong description even of an anthropomorphic divinity. Even if we assert that the targumim are not as anti-anthropomorphic in their descriptions of God as is usually claimed, this unmodified rendering of the Hebrew text seems to be unusual. The second half creates two expanded construct chains of the sort we saw before. The first changes אם לא אעלה את ירושלם, "If I do not raise *Jerusalem*," to דכרן ירושלם, "the memory of Jerusalem," because the city itself is not what is elevated. The second turns על ראש שמחתי, "above my highest joy," to על שירוי חדוות בית שמשי, "upon the beginning of the joy of the house of my ministers [?]," but it is not clear what the targum means by it, although ministering angels come to mind. But it appears that God must be the subject of the sentence, since the targum's odd translation of על ראש שמחתי is not immediately necessary if the

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37 *Pesiq. R.* 31, p. 144a and *Midr. Ps.* 137:5, p. 524, as well as other parallels adduced in L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1939) 6.407 n. 54. For a recent discussion of this and other "narrative midrashim" on Psalm 137, cf. J. L. Kugel, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990) 173-213, especially 184-188.

speaker is a human being. The expanded construct chain may be intended to avoid ascribing anthropopathic joy to God, but the phraseology remains somewhat obscure.

Whereas the specification of the speakers in 3-5 is ever so slightly textually based, the naming of the speakers, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, in 7 and 8-9 in the targum is motivated completely by theological concerns. Multiple occurrences of the same technique within a single text may be due to different stimuli. The presence of named angels in the targumim is rare, although midrashically expanded targumim do refer to unnamed angels occasionally.[38] The prayers for vengeance in these verses, particularly 8-9 have often been criticized by commentators for their harshness. The targum could not delete or omit the text, but sought a way out by introducing the two best-known angels as speakers, in a reading unparalleled, to the best of my knowledge, in rabbinic literature. Such wishes as 137:7-9, suggests the targum, are more appropriate in the mouths of angels where they can be understood to represent a judgment on a higher plane, a verdict very different in nature from a human's cry for vengeance. Man has finished saying his part in 137:4; the remainder of the dialogue takes place in the celestial realms. The psalm no longer closes with the words so uncomfortable for modern man (and perhaps for the targum as well), but with a displacement of the brutal sentiment to speakers who cannot be accused of being vengeful, and who are permitted to project an absolute reciprocity of justice.[39]

If we step back and look at the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of Psalm 137, we see how targumic translational and exegetical method can revamp an entire text. In the original, Psalm 137 is a lament for the loss of Zion, joined with a pledge of loyalty to, and eternal remembrance of, Jerusalem, concluding with a cry to God for a curse on the destroyers of Jerusalem. The Aramaic has concretized and vivified the whole, turning it into a brief drama, through the selection of speakers and their assignment to specific verses. The scene begins on earth as the Babylonians demand song and the Levites painfully refuse it. It shifts to the heavens with the commitment of God's loyalty to Jerusalem. Remaining on the celestial plane, it concludes with pleas for vengeance in the mouths of two archangels. Did the targum believe that, in this case, he was furnishing the meaning of the Hebrew text to his audience? Are the shifts in speaker exegetically or theologically motivated? It is hard to answer definitively, but the Aramaic rewriting forms a whole, not a series of unconnected expansions, and it is clear that the vision of the targum in this text was an integrated one projecting a unambiguous message through the restructuring of the Hebrew.

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38 On angels in the pentateuchal targumim, see A. Shinan, "The Angelology of the 'Palestinian' Targumim to the Pentateuch," *Sefarad* 43 (1983) 181-198.

39 A similar evasion of the theological dilemma by projecting the vengeance onto a superhuman plane may perhaps be seen in *Midr. Ps.* 121:3, p. 507, where 137:9 is interpreted, "Said the Holy One Blessed be He, 'In the future, I myself shall smash your infants on the rock, just as in this world you smashed my infants.'"

III. Conclusions

The two texts which we examined have given us a limited picture of the way in which the targum of Psalms operates. In such a small sample we could not have expected that the targum needed to exercise all of its translation technique or to employ all the exegetical devices it possesses. A restricted number of problems were posed by the Hebrew text, and only they needed to be solved. It is clear that the biblical text guides the targum and controls the nature of its translation. It dictates, to a certain degree, whether the targum will supplement its translation with pluses or will allow an unspecific text to remain unclarified. Thus, Psalm 2 remains unspecific, despite the fact that the Talmud, *b. Ber.* 7b, associates it with the time of Gog and Magog in the future. If such a midrash were known to the targum (certainly a distinct possibility), it might have served as grist for his eschatological mill. Psalm 137, on the other hand, locates itself in an historical context upon which the targum is ready to expand.

It should be clear from these two chapters that the targum's first task is to elucidate the Hebrew text. Where the Hebrew text is straightforward, the targum does not disturb it (2:1, 3, 4, 5; 137:1-2 and 5 [after the plus]). At times the targum's lexical selection is generic, without much attention being paid to equivalences, but at others the word choice is pointed. Even when the text is difficult lexically or contextually (2:11-12; 137:3), the solution of the targum is frequently limited to the difficult word, and the remainder of the verse remains as it was in the Hebrew. At times, the targumic version will echo other biblical texts, perhaps a sign of its sophistication and that of its audience (137:9 and perhaps 2:2). Where there is a genuine crux in the Hebrew and we cannot be sure of the way in which the targum reached a solution (e.g., 2:12), we nevertheless occasionally find a translation belonging to a common ancient tradition.

We have seen many of the devices which the targum employs to make the Hebrew text more clear: the addition of complementary infinitives (2:2; 137:3), expanded construct chains (2:8; 137:3, 6), interpreting the biblical text as a simile (2:7, 9), balancing the verse through the addition of a verb in the second half (2:6), and dialogue for exegetical (137:3-5) or theological (137:7-9) reasons. Many of these additions have the effect of making the text of Psalms read like prose rather than poetry, and it appears that for the targum clarity took precedence over imitating the form of the original.

The targum brings to his treatment of the biblical text a set of dogmas and ideals which impinge on the translation. There are problems which the text brings to any translator, but there are also problems, deriving from the translator's own biases, which every translator sees in the text. In our two texts, the most prominent example of the latter is 2:7 which speaks in the Hebrew text of God's begetting a son. Whatever that meant in the ancient Near Eastern context of Psalms, the targum could not allow it to remain untouched for the audience. The targum therefore re-writes the verse with the same type of exegetical device employed, with no theological stimulus in 2:9. The targum's re-assignment of speakers in 137:7-9 is also for theological reasons, although the same device was used in 137:3-5 without such an incentive. But these biblical texts did not present an opportunity for the targum to raise every issue

which it considers theologically significant, and such issues important to the targum as Torah, eschatology, righteousness and wickedness, and reward and punishment were not alluded to. Even a theme as significant to the targum as prayer is included almost incidentally. Biblical history plays no role in these passages despite the targum's predilection for superimposing it on the biblical text.

The targum of Psalms, as we stressed from the outset, is primarily a translation, but of a sort which no longer exists, and perhaps never existed widely. It translates and comments simultaneously and prefers to surrender the shape of the original text in exchange for greater clarity in transmitting its message. This preference extends to the targum's employing a variety of specifying and clarifying devices, as well as other exegetical techniques to spell out in Aramaic the full meaning of the Hebrew. Simultaneously with the rendition and elucidation of the Hebrew text, the targum brings along a collection of theological themes which are introduced when appropriate and convenient into this version, so that the reader of (or listener to) this translation of Psalms receives the message of the original only after it has been refined through the processing of the targum's theological filter.

Pre-Modern Criticism in English Translations of the Psalms During the Seventeenth Century

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The vastness of the assigned subject of this essay requires that I make some rather drastic decisions. I do not want to offer a general estimate drawn from books and articles that already survey this same terrain with far greater control of the historical details than I pretend to have.[1] While I will draw on a range of such resources, my aim is to raise a set of hermeneutical factors about early English translation of Psalms by giving especially close attention to one representative Psalms translation (1612) by Henry Ainsworth (1570-1622). My principle of selection is that he perhaps represents the best of the English Protestant translators of the Psalms and is one of the most learned non-Jewish Hebraists of the period.[2] Additionally, he offers both prose and metrical

[1] For a recent general overview, see William Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); *The Bible and Bibles in America*, ed. E. S. Frerichs (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), and for some detailed observations about historical interpretation, see R. Gerald Hobbs, "Hebraica Veritas and Traditio Apostolica: Saint Paul and the Interpretation of the Psalms in the Sixteenth Century," 83-99, in *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

[2] Ainsworth's work on Psalms is available only as a rare book, the first edition is entitled, *The Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre. With Annotations, opening the words and sentences by conference with other scriptures.* It was initially published in Amsterdam by Giles Thorp in 1612, but was subsequently published again in Amsterdam and in England. On his reputation as a non-Jewish Hebraist, see Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 35, who says, "The one who truly deserves the laurel is Henry Ainsworth (1571-1622)." For general biographical information about Ainsworth, see Michael E. Moody, "'A Man of a Thousand': The Reputation and Character of Henry Ainsworth, 1569/70-1622," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 45/3 (1982), 203, 208. Also, see his "The Apostasy of Henry Ainsworth: A Case-Study in Early Separatist Historiography," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 131/1 (1987), 15-31. On the rise of Hebrew studies and Judaica in this period, see, besides Katchen above, Pinchas E. Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church: The Foundations of Jewish-Christian Dialogue* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984 [orig. in German, 1976]); G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1983); Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1984); and Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989). For a overview of the situation among Jews, see especially *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) and on Jewish messianism in this

translations, and he appends very detailed annotations to each psalm. These annotations shed light on the underlying hermeneutical aims of his translation that would be hard to discern by examining the translations alone.

Ainsworth's work on Psalms deserves far more attention than it has received. He pursued academic work at the "Puritan" Emmanuel College at Cambridge, but fled under pressures from the Church of England, without graduating from Cambridge, to reside in Amsterdam in 1593 as a Protestant "separatist." Among his Christian friends in exile were John Robinson and William Brewster whose congregation was in Leiden. In July 1620, members of the Leiden congregation set sail on the Speedwell for England, then, boarded the Mayflower and went on to found the Plymouth Colony. They took with them Ainsworth's *Psalms*, which is referred to in the following account of their departure:

> They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, [it] being large, where we refreshed ourselves, with singing Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.[3]

The widespread use of Ainsworth's *Psalms* both in England and in the New England Colonies gained contemporary literary attention. In "The Courtship of Miles Standish," Henry Wadsworth Longfellow describes John Alden's chance encounter with Priscilla who is sitting alone and singing the 100th Psalm,

> Open wide on her lap the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,
> Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
> Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a churchyard,
> Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses.

For our assessment of Ainsworth's *Psalms* as an English translation, we find a hint about his typically Protestant perspective on the title page where he describes annotations as "opening the words and sentences, by conference with other Scriptures." Here we find a practical consequence of the Protestant principle that Scripture interprets Scripture. By the sixteenth century the Latin-based word "conference" began to replace the word "collation" as a technical term for explaining texts by the comparison and addition of information from other related texts. In his 1647 *Body of Doctrine*, Bishop Ussher explains, "By . . . conference of other places [specific locations within the larger textual landscape], the true reading may be discerned."[4] Therefore, one goal of this essay is to demonstrate how conferencing Scripture is essential to the Protestant understanding of Scripture and translation. Implicit in my approach is the assumption that there is no single objective method of translation. Any

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period, see, also, H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968) 46-89.

[3] Cited in Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims: A Description of the Psalm-book brought to Plymouth in 1620* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1941), 6, from Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (London 1646), 90.

[4] *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), Vol 2, 190.

translator must first decide how a text ought to make sense to those who will read it. There are, then, strategies of translation which are dependent on that decision.

Premodern, Modern, and Postmodern Historical Criticism–Discerning the History of the Same within a History of Differences

Translation obviously belongs to the art of interpretation and imposes upon us the problem of how we can fairly describe and compare radically different moments in the history of interpretation. As Edward Greenstein warns us, "Perception is itself an interpretive faculty, an active, though largely automatic, implementation of our prior models, presuppositions, and analytic strategies."[5] This problem becomes even more subtle when the language appears to remain the same, despite a radical shift in our perception of those same all too familiar words from the centuries past. I became acutely aware of this problem several years ago when I wrote about a major controversy among "evangelical" Christians.[6] In what Harold Lindsell called a "Battle for the Bible," he sought to discredit Fuller Theological Seminary's claim to be "evangelical" on the basis of how faculty at the seminary used historical criticism. Among other objections, he noted that the seminary compromised its earlier position on the "inerrancy" of Scripture by changing its statement of faith to affirm only that Scripture is "infallible in matters of faith and practice." This latter formulation actually derives from the Westminster Confession, a standard in the Presbyterian reform movements in Scotland and England through the Westminster Assembly, which began its work under appointment by the Long Parliament in England in 1643.

Lindsell accused Fuller Seminary faculty of misinterpreting the Westminster Confession by assuming that "matters of faith and practice" allowed for deviations in the accuracy of some biblical depictions, for example, that Isaiah may not have been the historical "author" of the entire book attributed to him.[7] In defense of Fuller's "infallibility" position, Jack Rogers and Donald McKim published a detailed overview of the history of interpretation. They sought to show that the paragons of pre-modern Christian "exegesis" through the ages would allow for a confession and cautious use of historical criticism as long as it did not intrude on "matters of faith and practice." Conversely, John Woodbridge of Trinity Evangelical Seminary

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5 Edward L. Greenstein, *Essays on Biblical Translation*, (Brown Judaic Studies 92; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 57.

6 Gerald T. Sheppard, "Biblical Hermeneutics: The Academic Language of Evangelical Identity," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 32/3 (1977) 81-94, and "Recovering the Natural Sense," *Theology Today* 38/3 (1982) 330-37.

7 Harold Lindsell, *The Battle for the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 21. See, also, his subsequent, *The Bible in the Balance* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), with some reference to my criticisms, 236-240. For a progressive "evangelical" position, see Stephen Davis, *The Debate about the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977). For a sophisticated understanding of the role of historical "reference" in these debates, see James Barr, *Fundamentalism* (London: SCM Press, 1977).

took Lindsell's side of the argument in another volume demonstrating the pre-modern Christian exegetes' objection to "errors" of any kind in Scripture.[8]

This debate reminded me, as a junior professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, that the same defense had been used at Union by Charles Briggs, an Old Testament professor, at the turn of the century. Briggs tried, as a self-identified "evangelical," to argue that if the Westminster Divines were alive in his own day, they would have sided with his confessional use of historical criticism. He faced and lost a heresy trial in the Presbyterian church, and Union Seminary, in support of his position, withdrew from the Presbyterians to become an ecumenical seminary. Briggs's defense depended on extensive evidence from commentaries and other materials from the Westminster Divines which can still be found today in the McAlpine Collection housed in the seminary's rare book archives. In these modern "Battles for the Bible," the same problem reappears. Did an affirmation of "inerrancy" or "infallibility in matters of faith and practice" in the premodern period signify what it suggests today? I am convinced that neither side of these arguments recognized how radically common terms such as "history," "author," "intent," and "error" had changed when they employed them in a debate about historical criticism in the Modern Period. Both positions finally argue anachronistically since a search for alleged "anticipations" of modern criticism in the pre-modern period is no less precarious than arguments from silence.

This legacy of misunderstanding the past, aided and abetted by a false confidence about the meaning of words, thrives in our own academic circles. A primary example is the impressive, nineteenth-century *History of Interpretation* by Oxford historian Frederic W. Farrar which evaluated premodern interpreters in terms of their ability to anticipate modern historical critical insights or focus on "the author's intent." Its contemporary counterparts are as common as the *Cambridge History of the Bible.*[9] However, in order to make this problem as concrete as possible for the subject of Psalm

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[8] Jack Rogers and Donald McKim, *The Authority and Interpretation of Scripture: An Historical Approach* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979); cf. Jack Rogers, ed. *Biblical Authority* (Waco: Word, 1977); and John Woodbridge *Biblical Authority: A Critique of the Rogers/McKim Proposal* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982).

[9] Cf. Frederic W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979 [from the 1886 edition]), 27, 33. Farrar assesses negatively Ainsworth's entire century, "To this day men repeat the vague and extravagant assertions of seventeenth-century divines, which furnish no assistance and solve no difficulty, and which can only be maintained in detail by an accumulation of special pleas." Similarly, see, for example, M. F. Wiles, "Origen," *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome* ed P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). Wiles states confidently regarding the literal sense of scripture that, "The interpreter can do no other than try to present the intention of the text as it is seen through the medium of a particular mind and as it can be expressed in terms of a particular living culture" (488-9). On the basis of this modern referential, historical and reconstructive definition of the literal sense, Wiles concludes, Origen was a "wayward genius" since he "failed to do justice to the stark historicity and world-affirming aspect of the Bible," so that, "As an interpreter Origen fails" (489). By contrast, see, for instance, Karen J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter: 1986) and David C. Steinmetz, "The Superiority of Pre-critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37 (1980) 27-38.

translation, let me cite two negative examples from an otherwise outstanding scholarly assessment of *The Bay Psalm Book* of 1640, the first book and Psalter published in the American Colonies. In his *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book*, Zoltan Haraszti highlights several positive features in the metrical psalm translations of *The Bay Psalm Book*, despite much earlier criticism by other scholars who find them uneven in quality and derivative. Haraszti makes several sweeping judgments about the recognition of historical criticism and historical references in the Psalms among seventeenth-century protestant interpreters, including Ainsworth.

Haraszti initiates his comments on both Ainsworth's *Psalms* and *The Bay Psalm Book* by the glittering generality, "It is doubtful that the problems of 'higher criticism' worried them much."[10] He contrasts this perceived omission with the earlier Reformers' greater openness to the new ideas of humanism. Haraszti cites Calvin's observation, "He who collected the Psalms into one volume, whether Ezra or someone else. . . ." Regretting the subsequent loss of this earlier receptivity to historical complexity, Haraszti concludes that "by the seventeenth century a dogmatic revival set in, which insisted on David's authorship of all the psalms." After a detailed treatment of several psalms in the *Bay Psalm Book*, including comparisons with Ainsworth's *Psalms*, he opines,

> One may justly ask how they could explain Psalms 126 and 137 without recognizing their post-Exilic origin or account for the repetitions of certain psalms and for the use of 'Jehovah' in some of the books and 'Elohim' in others, without realizing that the Psalter was a composite of earlier collections.[11]

To these disappointments, he adds,

> Only Ainsworth's translation marked the fivefold division, but the prose versions too added the 'finis' clause after Psalm 72. At that point Ainsworth noted that 'Davids prayers are not set last in order.' However, it was only in the next generation that scholars, led by Grotius, began to discuss in earnest *these contradictions and confusions.* [my italics][12]

Before taking up some of Harazti's specific observations, we might first consider his overarching comment about the English reformer's apparent lack of anxiety about "higher criticism." *The Oxford English Dictionary* indicates that what had previously been called "Grammar" began to be called "Criticism" only during the last half of the seventeenth century, and that English usage of "higher criticism" began to occur in the nineteenth century, according to R. Keith's English translation and publication in 1836 of Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament.*[13] In W. Robertson Smith's famous lectures in defense of historical criticism to an assembly of Scottish

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[10] Zoltan Haraszti, *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) 38-39.

[11] Haraszti, *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book*, 39.

[12] Haraszti, *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book*, 39-40.

[13] "Criticism," *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 1181.

Presbyterians in 1881, the term "higher criticism" was still new enough to require definition. He explained that a "series of questions affecting the composition, the editing, and the collecting of the sacred books" is "usually distinguished from the verbal criticism of the text by the name of Higher or Historical Criticism."[14] Neither Baruch Spinoza nor John Locke, both born in 1632, had yet presented even an embryonic approach to Scripture that might later be identified with the later label of "modern" or "higher criticism."[15] So, the term "higher criticism" would be unfamiliar to them, but that fact in itself might not necessarily warrant our calling them according to our own conventions "uncritical" or even "precritical" in their use of texts or translation.

We can finesse this problem even more radically by observing that many historical possibilities so obvious to Haraszti were not even epistemological possibilities for seventeenth-century scholars. In his study of the "history of resemblances," Michel Foucault describes "two great discontinuities in the *episteme* of Western culture" by which he seeks to describe an alteration in the cultural understanding of what is foundational and in what spatial organization or configuration our knowledge of the world belongs. Foucault's recognition of two "discontinuities" concerns, first, the Classical Age which emerges full born after the Reformation in the middle of the seventeenth century. The second is the Modern Age that takes hold after the beginning of the nineteenth century.[16] He senses another epistemological shift starting in the 1960's and believes its characteristics have not yet become fully apparent.[17] Of Ainsworth's day, Foucault observes, "At the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the period that has been termed, rightly or wrongly, the Baroque, thought ceases to move in the element of resemblance." In brief, "the age of resemblance is drawing to a close."[18] In more practical terms, Foucault describes this modification of the entire *episteme* in Western Europe, and marks its origin in the seventeenth century,

> The activity of the mind . . . will therefore no longer consist in *drawing things together*, in setting out a quest for everything that might reveal some sort of kinship, attraction, or secretly shared nature within them, but, on the contrary, in *discriminating*, that is, in establishing their

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14 W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1881) 104-5.

15 For the rise of the antecedents to modern criticism in the seventeenth century, see Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); Elinor S. Shaffer, *Kubla Khan and the Fall of Jerusalem: The Mythological School in Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature, 1770-1880* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975); and *Critics of the Bible, 1724-1873*, ed. John Drury (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. the "Introductory Essay," 1-20.

16 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973 [French orig., 1966]) xxvii. See the excellent overview and criticism of Foucault in Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *PostModern Theory: Critical Interrogations* (New York: Guifford Press, 1991) 34-75.

17 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 386-7.

18 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 51.

> identities, than the inevitability of the connections with all the successive degrees of a series.[19]

In other words, Foucault sees in the Classical Age a fundamental reorientation in the entire *episteme* in Western Europe, and, therefore, a radically different understanding of historical references within a text and what historical criticism might be. In his view, "the seventeenth century marks the disappearance of the old superstitious or magical beliefs and the entry of nature, at long last, into the scientific order."[20] There arose a preoccupation with "tables" by which things can be assigned their place within an "order" of related elements. Some signs of this same disposition can be seen in Ainsworth's various "tables" at the end of his book and in other concordances of "commonplaces" familiar in the seventeenth century, as distinguished from the "complete" concordances of the modern period. Foucault, next, describes the loss of confidence in this mode of description and its alleged coherence that begins to occur at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For the modern period, Foucault states,

> . . . the theory of representation disappears as the universal foundation of all possible orders; language as the spontaneous *tabula*, the primary grip of things, as an indispensable link between representation and things, is eclipsed in its turn; a profound historicity penetrates into the heart of things, isolates and defines them in their own coherence, imposes upon them the forms of order implied by the continuity of time.[21]

My point is that such dramatic changes in the form of knowledge, in the sense of having found a new foundation for the significance of things, inevitably will modify how interpreters respond to evidence of resemblance and difference in a text, including, of course, historical references in the Bible. If we want to describe a shared text with Ainsworth, as well as the nature of its translation centuries ago, then we must be prepared to negotiate between what may appear the same both to us and to Ainsworth, and what we each will most easily "see" and "know" in uniquely different ways. At stake is a shift in our form of knowing the same things and, consequently, what we automatically presuppose in the names we use: "author," "history," "text," "sense," and "translation." In the ruins of collapse of an older modern consensus, we may be in a position, more advantageous than some scholars who preceded us, to understand both the past and present for the sake of a new future.

"Authorship," "History," and the "Meaning" of Biblical Psalms

My aim here is, first, to respond to Haraszti's specific assessments of the seventeenth-century interpretation by using Ainsworth's translation and detailed annotations. Afterwards, I will suggest a more general, alternative

19 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 55.

20 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 54.

21 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, xxiii.

strategy for judging premodern "exposition" and its implications for contemporary "exegesis."[22] At the outset, Haraszti asserts flatly that "a dogmatic revival" in this period "insisted on David's authorship of all the psalms." In direct contradiction to this assumption, Ainsworth states that when Psalm titles "signifie the writers" or "inditers," they indicate not only David, but also Asaph, Heman, Aethan, and Moses (346-7). This list is further significant because Ainsworth omits from it Solomon (Pss 72:1, 127:1) and Korah (Pss 42:1, 44:1, 45:1, 46:1, 47:1, 48:1, 49:1, 84:1, 85:1, 87:1, 88:1). As did ancient interpreters of the Bible, he has made a historical and critical decision based on a grammatical ambiguity since all these superscriptions link familiar names by the same prepositional morpheme (*lamed*), which could be translated "by" (signifying author), "to," or "for" (signifying either some indirect association or the person concerning whom a prayer is prayed). While most psalms are "of David," these others are "to the sons of Korah" or "for Solomon." The Authorized Version of 1611, *The Bay Psalm Book*, and many other English translations maintained similar distinctions. In this matter, Ainsworth's translation is dynamic rather than concerned with retaining the ambiguity in a formal equivalent translation, to use a modern distinction.

If we ask what criteria led Ainsworth and most of his predecessors to these historical conclusions, we find in his annotations evidence that he looks to the books of Chronicles for this information. There he learns David appointed the Asaphites to be authors of psalms, according to 1 Chron 25:1, but the Korahites were assigned only the role of "doorkeepers," without an explicit vocation for composing psalms (1 Chron 26:1). For that reason, several psalms have been written by an unnamed person for some use by the Korahites: "to these sonns of Korah this and sundry other Psalms are commended" (annotation on Ps 42:1). Similarly, in his table "Of the Titles of the Psalms," he states the sons of Korah "have eleven psalmes directed unto them."[23]

For some psalms without superscriptions, Ainsworth notes the New Testament citation of them as words by David. Ainsworth speculates on unnamed psalms, "some of these the holy Ghost witnesseth that David wrote them, Act.4.25. Heb.4.7. and so we may judge of the rest."[24] This comment harmonizes away any possible conflict in historical assumptions between New Testament usage and the book of Psalms itself. The effect is to put the New Testament on a par with the Old Testament and to reinforce the place of Psalms as a part of Christian Scripture. It does not argue "historically" in a strict modern sense, nor does the attribution to David anchor the meaning of these psalms to a distinct psychology and overarching "intent" of David. The speculative nature of his conclusion, "so we may judge the rest," shows that

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22 See the necessity to explain the newer term "exegesis" as distinguished from the older term "exposition" in Milton S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics: A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments* (rev. ed.; New York: Eaton and Mains, 1890) 19, and my remarks in "Between Reformation and Modern Commentary: The Perception of the Scope of Biblical Books," pp. xlii-lxxi, in *William Perkins' A Commentary on Galatians (1617), with Introductory Essays*, ed. Gerald T. Sheppard (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989), lxvii.

23 Ainsworth, *The Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre. With Annotations*, 348.

24 Ainsworth, *The Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre. With Annotations*, 347.

these untitled psalms belong fully to the Psalms of David, but authorship itself is not necessarily the key to meaning.

Ainsworth's conception of authorship and its import for interpreting the text differs in other ways from similar concerns that would arise in the modern period. The annotations themselves show that the relationship of Psalms to David is for Ainsworth far more significant as a clue regarding how each psalm relates to rest of Scripture, or how other Scriptures can be cited to "open" its words, than as a strictly historical reference to events occurring in the pre-history of the text itself. Another sign of this premodern difference is Ainsworth's frequent use of the term "inditer" for our modern term "author." Here Ainsworth implies he perceives a biblical "author" to be someone who "dictates" or composes orally. In Ainsworth's own day, lectures were customarily recorded and edited by others, though published under the name of lecturer. The preface to William Perkins's commentary on Galatians well illustrates this practice and a self-conscious awareness of a complex process of recording addresses, transmission, the editing of them by others, and the "authors" examination of the results. Books were often developed from speeches or sermons that "were taken by some diligent auditors, and perused by himself."[25]

The term "inditer" itself suggests a primary emphasis on the voice of a person as the vehicle for his or her published words. While there was substantial fidelity to the words actually spoken, books were edited by the auditors and would not record or retain every single word precisely as it had been originally spoken. In my view, Ainsworth has put emphasis on the human "authority" of these biblical traditions primarily in so far as they identify whole books or blocks of tradition with a known biblical figure. Authorship in this sense serves as a demarcation of the prevailing human voice in a book, indicative of that particular textual territory, distinguished from other individual books or collections of books.

For Ainsworth, Perkins, and others in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the process was less important than the result; the opposite became true for modern historicists. Instead of focusing on the historical "origins" of a "unit" of "biblical tradition," Ainsworth and his colleagues preferred to talk about "the circumstances of the place [or 'text']" By the term "place" they spoke commonly of words located within a larger territory of literature, unlike our modern disposition to speak more abstractly and non-contextually of "texts." "The circumstances" of a place concerned any specific historical information that might illuminate the grammatical and semantic use of words. A good example can be found in Ainsworth's annotations on Psalm 74 and is one of the rare instances I could find where he shows some fleeting interest in a complex prehistory to the book of Psalms. On the superscription to Psalm 74 Ainsworth proposes:

> of Asaph . . . If Asaph (who lived in Davids dayes) made this psalm, it was a prophesie of troubles to come. If some other prophet made it, when calamities were on Israel; then was it committed to Asaphs

[25] From the unnumbered pages of preface, "To the Courteous Reader," by Charles Cudsworth, in *William Perkins' A Commentary on Galatians.*

posteritie the singers, caled by their fathers name; as Aaron's posteritie, are caled Aaron. 1.Chron. 12.27.

The reason for Ainsworth's judgment that the words of this psalm pertain to circumstances centuries after David and "trouble to come . . . when calamities were on Israel," can be found in his annotations. Ainsworth sees that the prayer pleads with God about the Temple in flames (v. 7) and that event belongs to the historical aftermath of the Babylonian conquest, destruction of the temple and exile of Judah. These events constitute the "circumstances of the place" regardless of authorship. However, since the superscription appears to identify the author or inditer, Ainsworth allows for two possibilities. It could be prophetically written for later circumstances, and 1 Chron. 25:1, confirms the prophetic nature of the Davidic psalms. Or, "some other [much later] prophet made it," and simply "committed it to Asaph's posteritie." To speak of having "committed it to Asaph" implies assigning it to Asaph, different from psalms "directed unto them" in his assignment of the Korahite psalms, as already discussed. At least in theory, nothing would prevent him from saying the same of a Davidic psalm. In any case, the perseverance of this very same logic into modern historical criticism accounts underlies the designations Isaiah 40-66 as written by "Deutero-Isaiah" and "Trito-Isaiah." We should note that what is for Haraszti the most obvious about a biblical text is the least obvious to Ainsworth. Yet, both Harazsti and Ainsworth, in fact, see approximately the same historical features. However, as Foucault has demonstrated, they "know" and perceive the implications of this same data in very different ways.

Recall that Haraszti further criticizes Ainsworth and other seventeenth-century commentators on psalms by the derisive comment, "One may justly ask how they could explain Psalms 126 and 137 without recognizing their post-Exilic origin." Historical references to the exile or post-exilic period seem so obvious to Haraszti that he can imagine that only a "dogmatic" assumption of Davidic authorship could have prevented Ainsworth and others from seeing these features. Haraszti presupposes that historical references necessitate a post-exilic date for these psalms and, therefore, provide the semantic key to their true meaning. Perhaps even if Haraszti looked carefully at Ainsworth's annotations of these two psalms, he might have still overlooked how Ainsworth fully confirms the post-exilic "circumstances" of both Psalms 127 and 137. On the word, "the captivitie," in the untitled Ps 126:1, Ainsworth clarifies the sense as follows: "*that is*, the multitude of captives *returning from bondage*" and, further, "*The return from Babels bondage, figured their redemption by Christ.* Isa. 10,21,22, Rom. 9.27." The biblical text itself does not name Babylon explicitly at all, but Ainsworth freely does, and he knows the nation of Babylon only plays this role centuries later than the time of David. On the later reference to "our captivitie" in v. 4, Ainsworth further collates this verse with Ezek 11:24-25, recalling the words of a prophet overtly identified with the post-exilic period long after David and one who makes a direct appeal to captivity in Babylon.

In Ainsworth's annotations to Psalm 137, which mentions people in despair "by the river of Babylon," he does not hesitate to "conference" this text with Jer 25:11-12 and confirms it as the place where "were the Jewes captives."

He states for verse 1, "*In that captivity, they lamented as in this psalm is shewed.*" But these observations offer no historical help in determining the author of the unnamed psalmist. As indicated in the annotation to Psalm 74:1, because the psalmist is a prophet he may speak in terms of circumstances far into the future. The question of the historical "origins" of these psalms remains of much less importance than the historical "circumstances," since these "circumstances" govern critically the provenance of language within the psalm. For neither Psalm 126 nor Psalm 137 does Ainsworth feel the need to address the problem of the "origins" of these psalms. Nonetheless, "the circumstances of the place" clarifies the historical reference of the words in the Psalm, and the words ought to be grammatically and semantically illuminated by words and circumstances from the same events as found elsewhere in Scripture. Never is "the author's intent" used as an historicist norm in the way it has become commonplace in the modern period; a verse of Scripture might just as likely be introduced with the words, "the Holy Spirit says." The most consistent goal is not, however, a spiritual or pneumatic rendering but an effort to retain the "plain sense" of a text in its translation. How this text makes sense differently to Jews and Christians becomes yet another major issue. At a minimum, we are reminded, once more, that Ainsworth and his peers knew the import of "historical" traces in these psalms differently from the way the modern period came to know them. Perhaps the conviction regarding the prophetic nature of the book of Psalms provides the next logical step in our effort to understand why Ainsworth and other Christian scholars made the choices they did in early English Psalm translations.

Conferencing: "History," Grammar, and Key Word Resonance in the Translation of a Prophetic Text

Ainsworth's use of "conferencing" to "open" words for the sake of his translation presupposes an appreciation for the uniquely prophetic nature of the biblical text. In contrast, in some modern approaches, the meaning of the Bible is defined as essentially a "message" being sent from a sender (author) to a receiver (reader). Here one liability is that the Bible might become a bland resource of "information." For this reason, translators employing dynamic equivalence in the United Bible Society might be advised to add imperative and emotive expressions to their own transformation of the "kernel meaning" of biblical verses into "the target language."[26] If, however, the language of the Bible is less telegraphic and identified as prophetic speech, then the form may play a more significant role in establishing a pattern of resemblances between one biblical text and another, or between the biblical text and the subject matter of the text: the Torah for Jews, or the Torah and Gospel for Christians. Edward Greenstein persuasively describes some limitations to modern dynamic equivalence for the retention of resonance, on

[26] See the discussion regarding the need in a Bible translation so that readers "can feel its relevance (the expressive element in communication) and can then respond to it in action (the imperative function" in Eugene Nida and Charles R. Tabor, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974) 24 (see full discussion on pp. 24-28).

a strictly literary level, in the translation of an extended textual unit. He, also, points out the additional role of resonance, or interplay of formal elements, that the translation of Buber and Rosenzweig sought to retain in order to make midrashic interpretation comprehensible to a German reader of the Bible.[27] As a rough analogy, we might say that Ainsworth sought to make Christian "literal sense" interpretation comprehensible, somewhat as did Buber and Rosenzweig for midrash. "Literal sense" interpretation, as we shall see, often traded upon a different set of resonances than midrash. However, Ainsworth's aim is complicated by his desire, also, to acknowledge in varying degrees the possession of this book among Jewish interpreters who still have a claim upon it, in both similar and distinct manners from his own.

Evidence of Ainsworth's allowance for Jewish interpretation can be found in his reliance on Jewish grammatical helps, his use of the Targums throughout his Psalms, and, later, his extensive use of citations from the Mishnah and Talmud in his annotations to the Pentateuch. Ainsworth's reliance on rabbinic tradition evoked outrage from his antagonist John Paget of the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam. Paget and Ainsworth became embroiled in a dispute over ecclesiology, beyond the scope of this essay, but in the middle of that heated debate Paget wrote an extensive pamphlet entitled, "An Admonition Touching Talmudique & Rabinical Allegations." In it, Paget complains, "Mr. A, it was much beyond my expectations, when as I met with your allegations of Rabbines against me in this controversy." Paget chides Ainsworth, "The Rabbines may say they have made you rich: that your Annotations are enriched with their traditions . . ." but, "it is too much that you approve of them in so great a measure."[28] Though we have almost no historical information about Ainsworth's life in Amsterdam, we do know his house and church lay outside the old city in what became the Jewish neighborhood, composed of Jews who fled persecution in other parts of Europe just as Ainsworth himself had sought refuge from England when the independent churches were under seige. A subtle hint of Ainsworth's positive relationship to Jewish rabbis can perhaps be seen in his careful insistence that in Psalm 2:1 David prophetically "marvel(s) at the rage and folly of Jewes and Gentiles, in persecuting Christ and his Church." The citation from Acts 4:35 [actually 4:25], repeats this phrase, "Jews and Gentiles," which at least broadens the blame for Jesus' death by including Gentiles, unlike an earlier tendency by some Reformers to assign the guilt simply to "Jews." By contrast, Isaac Watts begins his version of Psalm 2, "Why did the Jews proclaim their Rage."[29]

A significant point is that Ainsworth saw in Jewish interpretation a similar concern with the prophetic nature of the Psalms.[30] In his occasional

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[27] Greenstein, *Essays on Biblical Translation*, 85-118.

[28] John Paget, *An Arrow Against the Separation of the Brownists. Also an Admonition Touching Talmudique & Rabbinic Allegations* (Amsterdam, George Veseler, 1618), 339, 359.

[29] Selma L. Bishop, *Isaac Watts: Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 1707-1748* (London: Faith Press, 1962), in the list of incipits on p. lxiv.

[30] For a variety of Jewish views on the Psalms close to this period, see Uriel Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms: From Saadiah Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991 [orig. in Hebrew, 1982]). Simon points, also, to other

dependence on Jewish tradition and especially his use of the "Chaldee," or Aramaic Targums, he finds help in determining which psalms he takes to be messianic in a Christian sense, though other factors prove more decisive. He does not cite the Targums for Psalm 2, though he clearly interprets it in the translation as a prophecy of Christ, even volunteering "his Christ" for "his anointed" in v. 2. In these annotations, unlike the ample citations of Mishnah and Talmud for the Pentateuch, he makes only rare reference to Jewish tradition outside of the Targums. For example, he annotates the superscription of Psalm 22, mentioning the word "Aejaleth" in v. 20 and comments, "*Some Jewes have interpreted it,* morning starr; *which (although the word be no where ells found in scripture, for a starr;) agreeth also to our Lord Christ who is intituled,* the bright morning starr, Rev.22.16." Elsewhere he notes Targumic messianic references, as with the annotation to the first verse of Psalm 21, "*This Psalm, as the former, gratulateth the victory and salvation of Christ; and is by the Chaldee paraphrast applied to the reign of* King Messias." However, the mere fact that the Targum makes reference to "Messias" does not always determine what Ainsworth will do with the psalm as a whole. For example, on Ps 80:16, "and the son," he remarks, "*By* the son, *may be meant* Christ, *as the Chaldee paraphrast plainly sayth,* the King Messias." Yet, with the exception of the phrase, "man of thy right hand," in v. 18, Ainsworth finds no Christological overtones throughout this psalm. Also, use of the Targums will not tell us whether a messianic psalm will be understood by Ainsworth as expressed verbal prophecy or, as in the case of Psalm 45 and 72, only as typologically open to messianic interpretation. In sum, we find here some signs of an engagement with Jewish interpretation regarding prophetic import of the Psalms from a congenial but distinctly Christian perspective.

Ainsworth's stress on the prophetic dimension of Scripture and on the effective hearing of God's voice accords well with a position found in the lengthy response to the Council of Trent by William Whitaker, one of Ainsworth's teachers at Cambridge. Whitaker cites a Roman Catholic view of Scripture which justifies reliance on the teaching traditions of the Church alongside Scripture, "The scripture is not the voice of God; that is, it does not proceed immediately from God, but is delivered mediately to us through others," His answer is, ". . . The prophets and apostles were only the organs of God [citing Heb 1:1 and 2 Peter 1:21]. . . . Therefore scripture is the voice of the Spirit, and consequently the voice of God."[31] This understanding of the ultimate voice of Scripture as God's voice resists any reduction of the Bible to either an isolated "message" from a human author or an aesthetic system of signs. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has recently raised this same issue for Scriptures in most religions in his, *What is Scripture? A Comparative Approach.* Similarly, George Steiner criticizes *The Literary Guide to the Bible* for reducing the Bible to merely aesthetic or symbolic literature.[32]

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alternatives among Jewish sages, such as Moses Ibn Giqatilah's non-prophetic interpretation in the eleventh century (pp. 113-144).

[31] William Whitaker, *A Disputation on Holy Scripture* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968 [orig. in Latin, 1588]) 296.

[32] Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *What is Scripture? A Comparative Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), esp. chapter 2, "A Particular Example to Illustrate," 21-44, discussing the Song of Songs in Jewish and Christian interpretation; George Steiner, Review of R.

We have already seen with Psalm 137 that its prophetic character shifts the weight of interpretation away from a focus on the social location of the writer to the historical "circumstances" attendant to the words themselves. The concern is less with the biography of the original speaker and the identity of the target audience than with the clarity of a particular voice that has become particularly articulate in language enlivened by implicit and explicit references to the ephemeral circumstances of a specific historical event. The point of Psalm 137 is not that a prophet can predict future events, but that a prophet here bears witness to the import of the Torah upon the effective circumstances of those events. So, Ainsworth does not annotate Psalm 137 in the future tense, any more than he translates verbs in the Psalm as prophetic perfects. At this level of translation, other verses of Scripture "conference" with this psalm in order to illuminate its words grammatically and historically. Later, we will consider other dimensions of conferencing related to how "Scripture interprets Scripture." For the moment, it is enough to see that Ainsworth clearly understands this psalm to reveal through prophecy the reality of the historical events themselves: "In this captivity, they lamented as in this psalm is shewed."

On the basis of the prophetic character of Scripture in general, Ainsworth, also, allows for radically different "circumstances of the place" even within the same psalm. For example, the superscription of Psalm 51 identifies the following prayer of penitence as David's words after Nathan the prophet confronted him regarding his taking Bathsheba. Premodern interpreters generally recognized that the last two verses suddenly refer to circumstances in the period of the exile, after the destruction of Jerusalem. Modern critics usually conclude that they are a post-exilic addition to an earlier psalm. They contain a request of God: "build-thou, the walls of Jerusalem" (Ainsworth, v. 20) and look for a time when sacrifices can be offered once more in the temple. In his annotations, Ainsworth clarifies, "*for the* building up *of these* [walls], *dooth David here pray.*" On the next verse, he relates the circumstances "*when the walls of Jerusalem were unbuilded*" to the post-exilic period. He cites Neh 1:3 and recounts how God "sharply blamed" the people, who lived in the post-exilic period, for not rebuilding these walls, recalling also Hag 1:2, 4, 8, 9, and 2:1. Again the circumstances of the place inform the translator's lexical understanding of the grammar and semantic force of the words.

Besides the use of conferencing to "open" the meaning of words in a psalm according to the circumstance of a place, Ainsworth routinely tries to make sense of difficult terms by appeal to their occurrence elsewhere in Jewish Scripture. So, for "their bands" in Ps 2:3 he observes, "*These were signs of subjection/* Jer.27.2.3.6.7." Likewise, he states that historical "circumstances of the text" help him choose "anger" in 2:5 from among the options for the same Hebrew word: "ire, outward in the face, grame, grimnes *or* fiercenes *of* countenance." At his best, Ainsworth relies on the "circumstances of the text"

Alter and R. Kermode, *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, in *The New Yorker*, January 11, 1988, 94-98, and his comments on the Authorized or so-called King James Version, 366-7, and remarks regarding the translators' "magnification" or "elevation" of a text such as Psalms or Job in the same, 42. See also George Steiner *After Babel* (second edition; London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

as a clue to how he "conferences" words and expressions with language from passages sharing in the same circumstances of the place elsewhere in Scripture. At his worst, Ainsworth will uncritically let New Testament citations of Old Testament determine issues of Hebrew grammatical usage, crediting the Holy Spirit for such insight rather than viewing it as simply noteworthy evidence of how ancient Jewish-Christian translators read Hebrew. Still, I think Ainsworth's prophetic understanding of the psalms stands far closer to traditional Jewish and Christian views of Scripture than does the modern tendency to find in Psalms only a badly edited collection of ancient prayers.

Finally, another understandable role for an inner-biblical "conferencing" of texts is to show the cumulative effect of certain key words throughout the entire Christian Bible. These words served to establish continuity in the understanding of biblical revelation. They might belong to practical matters of faith or point to the essential content of more complex doctrines. Sometimes these terms simply indicated ideas that have persisted from Jewish Scripture into the Greek of the New Testament. They could, also, indicate topics where a Christian understanding from the New Testament deviated from what remains unchanged in the Old Testament alone. In the last instance, the translation retains a claim that Ainsworth might see modified by the New Testament. Ainsworth's annotation on Ps 2:7, "I wil tel, the decree," illustrates both his conferencing for the sake of grammar and his effort to pursue a Hebrew word in a doctrinal direction well beyond its immediate contextual usage in Psalm 2. He comments:

> the decree] *Here the Hebrue* el, *seemeth to be used for* eth: *as* el haderech, 2 Chon.6.27, *is the same that* eth haderech,
>
> 1 King.8.36. *We may also read it thus,* I wil tel of the decree; el *being many times used for* of; *as* Gen.20,2, Job.42,7, 2 King.19,32, Ier.51.60, *So the Greek pro (answering the Hebrue* el,) *is used for* of, *or* concerning, Heb.1,7,&4,13. decree] prescript law or statute. *The Hebrue* Chok, *actually denoteth the* rules decrees *and* ordinances *about Gods worship; as the* decree of the Passover, Exo.12,24,43; *the* decree *of dressing the lamps* Exod.27,21, *of Priests office and garments,* Exo.29,9, *of their washing,* Exod.30,21, *of the sacrifices,* Lev.3,17, & 6,18,22, *and many other things about gods service. So may here be taken, that Christ* preacheth the decree *or* rule *of serving God, fulfilled of us by fayth and obedience to his gospel, when these legal ordinance had an end.* Iohn.4,21 &c.

Obviously he offers in this final comment an assurance to Christians that they are to fulfill the demands of the ritual law by a spiritual obedience to the Gospel rather than through legal observance.

In a related manner, Ainsworth frequently provides word studies that move from a particular verse throughout the Old Testament, often including Greek counterparts in New Testament. At the end of his Psalter he provides "A Table, directing to some principal things, observed in the Annotations of the Psalms." Among the words he lists that recall his annotations on Psalms 1-2 are the following: for "blessed," for "wicked," for "synners," and for "scornful" in 1:1; for "walking" as "conversation" in 1:1 and 56:14; for "way"

as course of life or religion" in 1:1 and 25:4; for "sitting" in 1:1 and 102:13; for "seat" or "chaire" in 1:1 and in 107:4; for "meditate" in 1:2 and 55:3; for "brooks" and for "Dooing, *for* yeelding fruit"; for "knowing" in 1:6; for "Christ" or "anointed" in 2:2; for "Lord, Adonai" in 2:4; for "Sion, *the mount*" in 2:6; for "decree" or "statute," as noted above, and for "tel" with the sense of "preach" in 2:7; for "heritage" in 2:8; for "gladnes" in 2:11; and for "kyssing" in 2:12.

In the annotations themselves, Ainsworth tries to cross-reference a word or phrase to the place elsewhere in his annotations where he has provided the fullest study of it. Usually, he "collates" words from the Old Testament, first, followed by attention to occurrences of the same or similar words translated into the Greek of the New Testament. By this means, he shows how the same theological language of Christian Scripture can be found in both Testaments, despite the differences in language. From a modern perspective, we know of dangers and serious significance to such word studies and are aware of a Christian tendency to read into Old Testament words and phrase ideas developed only in the New. Still, Ainsworth reminds us that the larger canonical context of Scripture provides a primary arena in which theological language finds its definition, necessity, and sense of direction.

This evidence throughout his translation shows that Ainsworth's translation is attentive to a Christian, literal sense mode of using Scripture to interpret Scripture. For that reason he seeks to translate concordantly some Hebrew words with the same English ones, but not others. For the purpose of illustration, I will consider a few examples in comparison with Buber's translation of the Psalms. For example, Ainsworth translates "meditate" for the same Hebrew root which occurs in Ps 1:2 and in 2:1, so that we see that we, the readers, are commanded to meditate daily on the Torah in contrast to the nations who "meditate vanity." In the annotation to Ps 2:1 Ainsworth notes the difference in "the time" (imperfect) of the verb from its predecessor "rage" (in the perfect). He observes that in the New Testament usage of this verse, ". . . the holy Ghost in Act.4:25 keepeth like time here" (as in the preceding verb, "rage"), but then justifies his own usage simply by stating, "I follow/according to the propriety of our tongue." Buber's translation is more sophisticated in that he allows for the contextual change in the semantic import of the root verb in these two places, but still retains resonance through alliteration, so in Ps 1:2 he uses, "murmelt," while in 2:1, "murren Nationen." On psalm superscriptions, however, Buber retains strictly the syntactical ambiguity in the title to Solomon and the sons of Asaph ("von Schlomo" and "von den Korachsöhnen"), while, as we have seen earlier, Ainsworth resolves the ambiguity in these cases in favor of viewing them as Davidic psalms "for Solomon" and "for the sons of Korah." Buber, also, retains the literal resonance regarding the promise to "his anointed" (*seinen Gesalbten*) in 2:2 the same as in the complaint to God based on the same promises to David in Ps 89:51, regarding "your anointed" (*deines Gesalbten*). Ainsworth translates the former as "his Christ," since Psalm 2 is among the few verbally overt messianic psalms for him, but retains "thine anointed" in Psalm 89 where the prayer most clearly states God has "profaned his [the earthy king's] crown to the earth" (v. 39; Ainsworth, v. 40). At a minimum, the reasons and means of retaining resonance vary with assumptions regarding how the text can best be

heard as Scripture by Jews and Christians respectively. Regardless, no single theory of translation of Jewish or Christian Scripture can be objectively pursued that remains innocent of these questions.

Overt Verbal Prophecy and Typology (or Phenomenal Prophecy)

Another factor in early English Christian translations of Psalms, already implicit in Ainsworth's excessive decision to translate "his anointed" as "his Christ" in Ps 2:2, concerns the view of prophecy and fulfillment within the Christian Bible. I do not think these hermeneutical assumptions about a text can be avoided in his translation, so I want to call attention to two important distinctions.

First, Ainsworth presupposed, as did Roman Catholics, the importance of "the literal sense" of Scripture as primary for doctrine. However, this priority did not completely eliminate Protestant interest in more esoteric "spiritual" senses of the text. Even Ainsworth in his annotation to "Lord" (*adonai*) in Ps 2:4 cannot resist seeing the plural form, with "*vowels of Iehovah: mystically signifying* my stayes, *or* my Susteyners, my pillars." Regarding the literal sense, they recognized what is recalled in the third rule of William Whitaker's "On how to interpret properly," namely, "in dealing with words we should consider which are proper, and which are figurative and modified."[33] Ainsworth will frequently distinguish in his annotations a proper use of words from words that are "used figuratively," or a word employed as a "similitude," a "figurative" expression, or a metaphorical "sign." So, he notes in Ps 2:3, "their bands" are "signs of subjection," and in 2:4, "cords" are "signs also of subjection," citing other Old Testament texts in each case. For Ps 137:8, "Daughter of Babel," he clarifies in his annotations that "Daughter" is a metaphor for "Congregation, *or* Comon wealth: *see Psal.9,15.*" He can allow for exaggerated language, as in Ps 72:8, "And he shal have-dominion, fro sea unto sea: & fro the river, unto the ends of the land." Ainsworth annotates, "this was accomplished," citing 1 Kings 4. This last example will become important when we move to the subject of messianic typological prophecy.

A second important feature underlying Ainsworth's translation takes us back to the subject of prophecy. As we have already considered, all Scripture is, by its nature as Scripture, prophetic in some general sense. Beyond that general feature which was related in Christian interpretation to the "inspiration" of Scripture, Ainsworth distinguished words that expressed a prophet's overt verbal promise or judgment aimed at future events. While Psalm 137 lacks this quality entirely for Ainsworth, Psalm 2 recalls the promise given to David by Nathan and is partially cast in language that looks to future fulfillment.

In addition to this type of overt prophetic promise, Ainsworth followed the classical Christian tradition which also sought to find a typological interpretation warranted in certain of the Psalms. Here I want to cite Erich Auerbach's definition of figural or typological interpretation, what he calls

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[33] Whitaker, *A Disputation on Holy Scripture*, 370.

"phenomenal prophecy," based on his study of the history of Christian interpretation:

> Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also a second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life. Only the understanding of the two persons or events is a spiritual act, but this spiritual act deals with concrete events, whether past, present, or future, and not with concepts or abstractions; these are quite secondary, since promise and fulfillment are real historical events, which have happened in the incarnation of the Word, or will happen in the second coming.[34]

This figural interpretation, entirely different from a recognition of "figurative" alongside "proper" language, belonged to the Christian conception of the literal sense, as Auerbach explains:

> *Historia* or *littera* is the literal sense or the event related; *figura* is the same literal meaning or event in reference to the fulfillment cloaked in it, and this fulfillment itself is *veritas*, so that *figura* becomes a middle term between *littera-historia* and *veritas*.[35]

An overview of the entire annotations shows that Ainsworth considers most of his comments to presume non-figural literal interpretation. His own statements in the "Preface" about the annotations underscore this aim, primarily grammatical and literal,

> partly to open the Hebrue words and phrases; partly to shew the meaning of the text, where I find it opened by other scriptures: for otherwise I chose rather to be silent. And herein conference of the new Testament with the old, giveth much light to many mysteries, as may be seen in the 2., the 16. the 22. the 40. the 68. the 110. and many other psalmes.

Later in the Preface, he clarifies:

> Some of the annotations are specially for them that have judgment in the Hebrue tongue, the proprieties wherof they explayn: others are for more general use of al, that wil take payns to compare the scriptures.

In both of these statements, comparing Scripture with Scripture is a tool for grammatical and literal exposition. In a note at the end of his, "*Of* Davids *Life and Acts*," he comments similarly:

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[34] Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in his *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959; reprinted, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1973) 53. Cf. Ursula Brumm, *Die Religiose Typologie im Amerikanischen Denken: Ihre Bedeutung für die Amerikanishe Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963); Joseph A. Galdon, S.J., *Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Paris: Mouton, 1975), and Tibor Fabiny, *The Lion and the Lamb: Figuralism and Fulfillment in the Bible, Art, and Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

[35] Erich Auerbach, "Figura," 47.

> Now because many things, both for phrase and matter, are difficult to such as are not acquainted with Davids language; I have (out of slender store) annexed a few brief notes, comparing the Scriptures, and conferring the best Expositors, especially the ancient Greek and Chaldee versions. . . ."[36]

A sign that his emphasis in these comments is on the literal sense, including verbal prophecy, can be seen by his expressed interest in conference with the New Testament on only specific psalms: Psalms 2, 16, 22, 40, 68, 110, "and many others." An examination of these six psalms according to his conference of them with the New Testament shows his preference for verbal prophecy, which ought to be distinguished from his strong reliance on "figural" interpretation only in some other psalms, for example, Psalms 45, 72, and 97 which he does not list here. Conversely, these last psalms do not contain verbal prophecy, but find an avenue for Christological understanding only by means of veiled "figures" within them.

Careful attention to Psalm 2 demonstrates his concern from literal prophecy separate from "figures." The opening words are taken as direct prophetic reference to "the rage and folly of the Jewes and Gentiles, in persecuting Christ and his Church," citing Acts 4:35 [*sic*! v. 25]. On the "peoples" who rage, he states in literal terms, "under these names/ ar comprehended the Jewes with the Gentiles." Unlike his translation of "Anointed" in Ps 89:39,52 in a complaint about God's abandoning of the Davidic king, in 2:2 he translates the same terms "Christ" (or Messiah). In his note, he acknowledges a more general usage elsewhere "for ancient Kings/ and Priests/ and Prophets that were anoynted with oil," even citing Ps 89:21. In 2:2 he prefers the translation, "Christ," since he views its literal sense as prophecy fulfilled in the New Testament, where it is "principally the name of the Son of God our saviour." For direct proof, he can quote the similar way "this Psalm" is "interpreted by his Apostles" in Acts 4:27, 28. The statement, "I will tel" in 2:7 is, therefore, by general conference with these texts understood as overt verbal prophecy, "So hereby Christ noteth his prophetical office." On "thou art my son" in v. 7, Ainsworth admits more general meanings but argues for an overt prophetic-messianic sense, "yet is this title natural & peculiar to our Lord Jesus, the onely begotten of the Father," and cites as further support Heb 1:5 as well as these words recalled in Acts 13:32,33. For "thine inheritance" in v. 8, he concludes the words, "noteth the subjection of the nations to the son of God," and on "roughly rule them," he states, "this is ment of Christs enemies." On v. 12, he assures us, "All these are due to Christ."

By contrast, Ainsworth's annotations on most of the psalms lack concern with overt verbal prophecy, for example, as seen in Psalm 137. A surprising number of psalms contain little or no explicitly Christological assessment of individual verses (e.g., Psalms 1, 3, 15, 17, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31, 34, 37, 38, etc.) and, in some cases, there is not a single reference to the New Testament in his annotations to them (e.g. Psalms 53, 54, 64, 70, 108, 120, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 142, and 144). Prophecy and its contribution to a history of salvation is only

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36 "Of Davids *Life and Acts* occurs in some later editions of Ainsworth's *Psalms*, though not in the original edition of 1612.

one of his interests, for he has other equally strong investments on other matters of conferencing for the theological interpretation of Psalms.

Ainsworth's assessment of the language in Psalm 2 helps him distinguish overt verbal prophecy within it. In his annotations, Ainsworth marks his conferencing of verbal prophecy and fulfillment by the language indicative of a direct correspondence between them. So, he states on verse 1, "David . . . beginneth with marveling at," followed by prophecy in terms of its fulfillment. Fulfillments of other prophecies have the same verbal directness: "under their names/ ar comprehended" a promise is given of someone or something, a prophectic word "is principally the name of" something, or "Hereby Christ noteth" something to be fulfilled, or a promissory word "is natural & peculiar to" a fulfillment, or words "noteth" something, or "this is ment," and "all these are due to" some event.

Beyond this overt prophetic dimension to Psalm 2, Ainsworth also finds two significant figural elements within the same psalm. First, on historical reminiscence by God, "I, have anoynted my King" in verse 6, Ainsworth comments, "In David Christs figure, this was outwardly performed, when he (David) was anoynted king." In other words, the literal sense bears witness to a concrete historical event, that God anointed David. The form, pattern, or figure of that event foreshadows another event which brings it to fulfillment, namely, the anointing of Christ. Likewise, in the same verse, "Zion" is described in the ordinary geographical terms of its literal sense and called "Davids city." Nonetheless, chiefly from *the Old Testament alone,* Ainsworth argues Zion is "*named the Lords* holy mountayn" (citing Joel 3:17) and is a place "*which he loved*" (Ps 132:13-14), and the place "*from which the law should come forth*" (Isa 2:3), and "*where he should dwell forever*" (Ps 132:13-14), "*Therefore was it a figure of Christs Church*" (Heb 12:22, Rev 14:1, Isa 60:14). For Ainsworth "Zion" here is not used figuratively, as a metaphor, but is taken to refer to the mountain itself, therefore, the name of a thing that is by phenomenal prophecy a "figure" of something else. With the exception of these two figures, "David" and "Zion," Psalm 2 is for Ainsworth not cast in "figures," but is mostly an overt, verbal prophecy of Christ.

Psalm 137 remains for Ainsworth devoid of any overt verbal prophecy or figural interpretation. The events to which Scripture bears witness are not accompanied by a pattern or figure that anticipates later events in the life of the Church. This "historical" assessment of Psalm 137 may be contrasted with Psalm 72 where Ainsworth offers in his annotations a protracted double reading of the literal sense. He takes the psalm to be a prayer by David for his son, Solomon, and cites biblical texts as evidence that all David requested was realized in Solomon's lifetime. But Ainsworth also assures us, "it concerneth Christ and his kingdom figured by Solomon, Song. 3.11. and [he is] therfore caled by his name, as elsewhere he is called David: Hos.3.5." So, the figurative language we considered earlier in Ps 72:8, "unto the ends of the earth" expresses an occurrence in Solomon's reign. This event expressed itself in a pattern of circumstances that foreshadows its own fulfillment "when all nations were brought into his [Christ's] subjection by the gospel, as Mat. 28,18." Though Psalms 2 and 137 do not seem directly affected by this typological factor within the literal sense, it remains a dimension influencing Ainsworth's translation. One of the positive consequences of this typological

reading may be that Christians could value in translation the Bible's own testimony to Israel's unique experience and history, since these events were often directly relevant to Christians as figures rather than available by thematic reduction or by an arbitrary dogmatic criticism. Unfortunately, the record of Christian interpretation of the Old Testament has often not been either humble or wise in that regard.

Translation in Prose and Poetry

In a chapter entitled, "Why Metrical Psalmody?" in Millar Patrick's *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, he reminds us that the book of Psalms has traditionally been the foundation for Christian hymnody, but that until the Reformation "prose was the literary medium employed."[37] Part of the genius of the hauntingly beautiful Gregorian chant was its freedom due to a lack of instrumental accompaniment, times measure, bars, and fixed rhythm. It was perfectly suited to ordinary human speech rather than poetry. When musical advances gained ascendancy in the Churches during the twelfth to the early sixteenth centuries, it was relegated to a learned tradition for choirs and was far too complicated for most Church congregations. In this climate, new experimentation began to push the boundaries toward more popular musical forms. The Reformation allowed a full harvest of this tendency. Protestants could be distinguished from Roman Catholics by their freedom to sing Psalms both in Church and in the course of their work and daily affairs. Despite some arguments to the contrary, the Papacy during the Council of Trent, 1545-7, declared an absolute ban on the people praising God in songs during worship, despite a counterappeal by German and French bishops.

Luther was the first to encourage public singing of metrical psalms, as well as other spiritual psalms which imitated them. When Scottish and English exiles came to the Continent due to the Marian persecutions (1553-8), many of them came to reside in Geneva. They clearly sought an alternative to the Cramner's Book of Common Prayer in association with his plan for a national Church. Even before Calvin came to Geneva in 1556 the city officials had in 1553 abolished the Mass and "adopted the Psalms of the Old Testament as the sole medium of Church praise."[38] By that time the desire for an easy fit between familiar tunes, often melodies borrowed from secular songs, and the words of psalms made the need for metrical psalms obvious. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries metrical psalms proliferated. Without considering here the rich variety of such poetry, we can say simply that it ranged from the freer "immitative" or paraphrastic versions of Thomas Wyatt, Thomas Smith, Earl of Surrey, Isaac Watts, and Joseph Hall, to the "representational" poetry of John Donne, George Herbert, John Davies, Thomas Traherne, and, finally, to the more restrictive poetic translations of Miles Coverdale, Robert Crowley, Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins,

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[37] Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949) xiii.

[38] Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, 9.

Ainsworth, and others.[39] In Ainsworth's day, the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalters (1549) remained the most popular Psalter in English and Scottish Protestant churches.

I have included in an Appendix only examples of Psalms 2 and 137 from the Bay Psalm Book of 1640 and from Ainsworth's prose and poetic versions. Ainsworth was not the first to publish the Psalms in prose and poetry. From Holland, Richard Schilders published in 1599 two poetic Psalters with prose from the Geneva Bible in the margins. These were distributed illegally in England, but were reprinted in London in 1601. In his Preface, Ainsworth states,

> In the metre I use some what more liberty, partly for plainness sake, as putting *words* for *mouth*, Psal. 49.14, *cheifest* for *head*, Psal.137.6: and sundry the like which in sense are the same and easier for the simple. . . ."

Far more telling than these and other brief comments in his Preface is what we may observe of his work in practice. He freely uses synonyms for the sake of rhyme. So in Psa 2:4, the prose verb "sitteth" becomes "reside" and to increase the line enough to serve the meter, the next verb "mocketh" in the prose become "mockingly-deride." When he needs to reduce a line for poetry, he may freely shorten the divine name "Iehovah" to "Jah," Ps 2:7. His English poetry also relies on enjambment as a device in the rhyming couplet with one verset composed of the final phrase of Ps 2:2 and the second verset based on a new line in Ps 2:3 or the breaking of coordinated verbs and subjects into separate versets (e.g., Ps 2:10,12). While Psalm 2 has rhyming versets in couplets, Psalm 137 has alternating rhyming versets. As will be seen in the remark in the Preface of the Bay Psalm Book below, we can assume Ainsworth also is not sure of the lost workings of Hebrew poetry. There are a few signs that he agrees, at least, with what James Kugel has found regarding the importance of the second line to have implied subordination to the first line, with some refinement of ideas.[40] For example, in Ps 2:2 Ainsworth's translation has "hethens" in the first line and "peoples" in the second. His annotations make plain his assumption that "peoples" pertains specifically to "Jewes and Gentiles" implying "hethens" was a more general and less specific description.

The Bay Psalm Book, the first book published in the Colonies, was translated nearly three decades after Ainsworth's Psalter, though it sometimes depends on Ainsworth phraseology or that of his predecessors. It was produced by the Massachusetts Bay Colony probably with some desire to distinguish their identify as loyalists, from Plymouth Colony's Psalter penned by the "separatist" Ainsworth. The poetic quality is generally considered inferior to

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[39] See Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalm: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), especially her discussion of various types of translation in chapter 1, "Introduction, *Imitatio* and the Psalms in Sixteenth-Century England," 1-42, and Thomas Young, *The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases: A Short Sketch of Their History with Biographical Notes of Their Authors* (London: A. & C. Black, 1909).

[40] James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) 51-52, and Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985) 10-11.

that of Ainsworth. Yet, with the Preface, the only complaint against the Ainsworth Psalter concerns "the difficulty of Ainsworths tunes." In fact, from other records we know that the musical ability in Plymouth had declined since the days of the Mayflower. Plymouth churches faced increasing frustrating with the more challenging French melodies that Ainsworth had attached to his Psalter.[41]

The Preface to *The Bay Psalm Book* addresses the issue of translation in some detail.[42] Readers are assured:

> wee may sing the Lords songs, as in our english tongue soe in such verese as are familiar to an english eare which are common metricall . . . but the truth is, as the Lord hath hid from us the hebrew tunes, lest wee should think our selves bound to imitate them; soe also the course and frame (for the most part) of their hebrew poetry, that wee might not think our selves bound to imitate that, but that every nation without scruple might follow as the graver sort of tunes of their owne country songs, so the graver sort of verse of their owne country poetry.

They know that "the godly learned" have sometimes "preferred a paraphrase then the words of David translated according to the rule of 2 Chron. 29.30." This option is rejected because people may be offended if they "are able to compare the translation with the text" and find "variations of the sense, and alterations of the sacred text too frequently. . . ." The translators have, therefore, made "as our chief guide, the originall, shuning all additions, except such as even the best translators of them in prose supply, avoiding all materiall detractions from words or sence." The translators then indicate some license taken in order to help the meter, including not always translating *waw* as "and," choosing English idioms for Hebraic, making "use indifferently" of synonyms,

> as folk for people, and Lord for Iehovah, and sometimes (though selfome) God for Iehovah; for which (as for some other interpretation of places cited in the new Testament) we have the scriptures authority ps. 14. with 53. Heb. 1.6. with psalme 97.7."

Otherwise for the purpose of meter they allow themselves to expand or diminish the same sense of word or phrase sake of versification, and to express a "more full and emphaticall signification," so "God" may be "mighty God," and "blesse" may "humbly blesse." Finally they also allow "changes of numbers, tenses, and characters of speech" that "the hebrew will unforcedly beare, or our english forceably calls for." Again, the translation is focused on verbal sense, attentive to some resonances over others, yet flexible

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41 Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims*, 22-23. For quotes from church records confirming the difficulty with Ainsworth's music, see George Hood, *A History of Music in New England: With Biographical Sketches of Reformers and Psalmists* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970 [orig. 1846]) 53-54. On Ainsworth music in general, see Lorraine Inserra and H. Wiley Hitchcock, *The Music of Henry Ainsworth's Psalter* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, Dept. of Music, Brooklyn College, 1981).

42 *The Bay Psalm Book: A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition of 1640* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), unnumbered pages.

enough to allow for the psalms to be sung with approximately the same import as found in a prose translation.

The Problem of Translating a Psalm That May Be Intent on Translating You

I need not review here the wealth of late modern studies since the 1970s that have come to appreciate anew the relation of David to the book of Psalms and its prophetic character within Scripture.[43] We have begun to see again, as even Ainsworth points out, how the book of Psalms, *as Scripture* presents David as the principal voice of these prayers in association with persons he has appointed to the conduct of sanctuary worship, as found in 1-2 Chronicles but not in 1 and 2 Samuel. Only in Chronicles are we told explicitly that these psalms constitute "prophecy" (e.g., 1 Chron 1:25), an assumption shared in Jewish and Christian premodern biblical interpretation. For this and other reasons, Alan Cooper concludes his impressive essay on "The Life and Times of King David According to the Book of Psalms," with the following comment:

> Where, then, are we left in *our* efforts to read the [book of] psalms? No psalm can be said with certainty to be Davidic, and the tradition of Davidic attribution is probably no older than the reign of Hezekiah at the earliest. . . . We are left, I submit, with only two sensible and productive ways of reading: 1) reading in a strictly canonical context, and 2) reading from an ahistorical aesthetic or literary critical point of view.[44]

Without devaluing aesthetic or synchronic literary critical readings, I must recognize that Ainsworth translates a canonical Scripture, unlike John Dryden who translates in 1700, *Fables Ancient and Modern from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer; with Original Poems.* Here I want to draw some contrasts between Dryden's aesthetic priorities in his translation theory in comparison with Ainsworth's view of the literal sense of Scripture. Dryden states bluntly, "Words are not like Land-marks, so sacred as never to be remov'd." If anyone objects to Dryden's translation of Chaucer on grounds "that his Thoughts will lose of their original Beauty, by the innovation of Words," he retorts, "in the first place, not only their Beauty, but their Being is lost, where they are no

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[43] This newer work includes studies such as Brevard S. Childs, "Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971) 137-50, and his "Psalms," 504-525, *Introduction to Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); Alan Cooper, "The Life and Times of King David According to the Book of Psalms," 117-131, in *The Poet and the Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism,* ed. R. Friedman (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); James L. Mays, "The David of the Psalms," *Int* 40/2 (1986) 143-155, and his "The Place of the Torah-Psalms in the Psalter," *JBL* 106 (1987) 3-12; Rolf Rendtorff, "Psalms," 246-250, in his *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986); and Gerald T. Sheppard, "'Blessed Are Those Who Take Refuge in Him' (Psa. 2:11), Biblical Criticism and Deconstruction," *Religion and Intellectual Life* 5/2 (1988) 57-66, his "Theology and the Book of Psalms," *Int* 46/2 (1992) 143-155, and his "The Relation of Solomon's Wisdom to Biblical Prayer," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 8/1 (1992) 7-27; and Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985).

[44] Cooper, "The Life and Times of King David According to the Book of Psalms," 60.

longer understood, which is the present Case."[45] Dryden offers the following description and justification for liberties he has taken in his translation:

> Having observed this Redundancy in *Chaucer*, (as it is an easie Matter for a Man of ordinary Parts to find a Fault in one of greater) I have not ty'd my self to a Literal Translation; but have often omitted what I judg'd unnecessary, or not of Dignity enough to appear in the Company of better Thoughts. I have presum'd farther in some Places, and added somewhat of my own where I thought my Author was deficient, and had not given his Thoughts their true Luster, for want of Words in the Beginning of our Language. And to this I was the more embolden'd, because (if I may be permitted to say it of my self) I found I had a Soul congenial to his, and that I had been conversant in the same Studies. Another Poet, in another Age, may take the same Liberty with my Writings; if at least they live long enough to deserve Correction.[46]

Finally, Dryden assures us, "If I have alter'd him any where for the better, I must at the same time acknowledge, that I could have done nothing without him. . . ."[47] What I admire about Dryden is his awareness that the sense and the aesthetic "Luster" of the works he translates are far more important than a literalistic rendering that will lose both. Better to err on the side of conveying the aesthetic strength of a masterpiece, than the retention of every formal detail. The latter tactic results only in a crudely fastidious distortion that could never achieve a similar effort on its readers or hearers as once did the literature in earlier generations. Likewise, the translator must have vested interest in the subject matter of the text. Dryden, thus, assures us, "I had a Soul congenial to his, and that I had been conversant in the same Studies." A far more significant prize than an archaeological grasp of every esoteric trace retained within the rhyme was Dryden's own glimpse of that same "Luster" toward which Chaucer's poetry moved both him and earlier generations long forgotten. We see here a very common, premodern principle, that a text and its subject matter must be held together for correct interpretation. Only in the modern period did theories of historical reference and author's intentionality undermine the priority of this relationship for translators. Modern rationalism and historicism have made it difficult for us to understand its terminology and value.

With Ainsworth and most Christian translators of the Psalms, the concern is both with the atheistic force of the psalms and, just as importantly, with a prophetic capacity of "the literal sense" of Scripture. The literal sense is heard as a witness to the subject matter of Scripture: the living voice of God who reveals the Torah, promise, judgment, wisdom, and Gospel. The "literal sense" is protected by the rule of faith and refined through the ancient

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45 John Dryden, *Fables Ancient and Modern from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer; with Original Poems* (London: Jocab Tonson, 1700), 12. On religious argument against "literary" translations of the Bible and attendant problems, see David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature: Volume 1, From Antiquity to 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

46 Dryden, *Fables Ancient and Modern*, unnumbered pages 11-12 in Preface.

47 Dryden, *Fables Ancient and Modern*, unnumbered page 13 in Preface.

principle, given special emphasis by Protestants, that "Scripture interprets Scripture." Therefore, Ainsworth wants his translation to engender rather than to obscure these possibilities on the part of interpreters. A careful assessment of his translation shows that he takes liberties, though often less than Dryden, but with these other constraints related to his understanding of what a Scripture is for Christians. He overcomes some of the blatant anti-Semitism found earlier in the Reformation, and his annotations, especially later on the Pentateuch, show his appreciation for Jewish Mishnah and Talmud, as well as the Aramaic Targums, as here. At his best, he stands in a Christian tradition that acknowledged on theological grounds that the "Old Testament" in the Christian Bible must be whatever rabbinic Judaism identified as Tanakh. There is some common ground between Jews and Christians in the canonical context of Tanakh and, therefore, even in its religious interpretation, however limited that may be when measured against the full expression of each religion. This common ground is, in my view, far more interesting than the "objectivity" of modern historical criticism. However, at his worst, Ainsworth found in the New Testament use of Jewish Scripture a divine aide in matters of Hebrew grammar and philology. Also, his zealousness to ensure a Christian, rather than a Jewish, messianic possibility for Psalm 2 led him to render "his Christ" for "his anointed." By resolving this ambiguity entirely in favor of a Christian interpretation, Ainsworth undermined the integrity of Jewish Scripture in so far as it remains a legacy of Judaism within Christian Scripture. At that point in the text I wish he had been more "literal" in his translation! But, as I have implied, a choice simply between formal and dynamic equivalence is a modern one, and with the end of the Modern Age I doubt that it will any longer suffice as an adequate statement of our options for translating Scripture. Instead, a more challenging prior question regarding the nature and sense of Scripture itself intrudes, consciously or unconsciously, even before a translator can critically use a lexicon or know the difference between a lively resonance and a deadening redundancy.

Appendix

From Ainsworth's *Psalms*:

Psalm 2 (in prose)

1. Why, doo-the hethens tumultously-rage: & the peoples, meditate vanite?
2. The Kings of the earth, set-themselves; & the Princes doo plot togither: against Iehovah, and against his Christ.
3. Let us break, their bands: and cast, their cords from us.
4. He that sitteth in the heavens laugheth: the Lord, mocketh at them.
5. Then wil he speak unto them in his anger: and in his wrath, he-wil suddainly-trouble them.
6. And I, hav anoynted my King: upon Sion, the mountayn of my holynes.
7. I wil tel, the decree: Iehovah, sayd unto me, thou *art* my Son; I, *this* day begat thee.
8. Ask of me, and I wil give the hethens, *for* thine inheritance: and the end of the earth, *for* thy firm possession.
9. Thou shalt-roughly-rule them, with a rod of yron: as the vessel, of a potter thou shalt-scatter-them in peeces.
10. And now o ye Kings be prudent: be nurured ye, Iudjes of th' earth.
11. Serv-ye Iehovah with fear: & be glad, with trembling.
12. Kysse ye the Son, least he-be angrie, and ye-perish *in* the way; when his anger shal-burn suddainly; O blessed, al that hope-for-safetie in him.

Psalm 2 (in metrical verse)

1. Why, doo the hethens rage-tumultuously:
   and peoples, meditate on vanity?
2. Kings of the earth, themselves presenting-set:
   and princes for to plot together-get:
   against Iehovah, gainst his Christ also.
3. Break we, their bands, and their cords, from us throw.
4. He laugheth, that in heavens dooth reside:
   the Lord, he them dooth mockingly-deride.
5. Then in his anger speak to them will hee:
   and in his wrath, them trouble-suddainlie.
6. And I, anoynted-have my King: upon
   the mountayn of my holynes, Sion.
7. Tel-wil-I the decree: Iah sayd to mee,
   thou art my son; this day begat I thee.
8. Ask me, and I-wil-give thyne heritance,
   hethens: and earths end, thy firm-retenance.
9. Thou-shalt them roughly-rule with yron rod;
   as Potters vessel scatter them abroad.
10. And now, ye Kings be wise: be nurtured,
11. ye earth Iudges. Iehovah serve with dread:
12. and say with trembling. Kyss the Son, least he
    be wroth, and perish in the way doo-ye;
    when burn-shall suddainly his angry-face:
    O blessed, all their hope in him that place.

Psalm 137 (in prose)

1. By the rivers of Babel, there wee sate, yea we wept: when we remembred, Sion.
2. Upon the willowes in the mids therof: we hanged our harps.
3. For there, they that led us captive asked of us, the words of a song: & they that threw us on heaps, mirth: sing unto us, of the song of Sion.
4. How shal we sing Iehovahs songs: in the land of a stranger?
5. If I forget thee, o Ierusalem; let my right hand forget.
6. Let my tongue cleav to my palar, if I doo not remember thee: if I preferr not Ierusalem, above the head of my joy.
7. Remember Iehovah, unto the sonns of Edom, the day of Ierusalem: who sayd, rase, rase; even to the foundation therof.
8. Daughter of Babel, wasted: o blessed: *shall he be* that repayeth unto thee thy reward, which thou hast rewarded unto us.
9. O blessed *shal* he be, that taketh & dasheth-in-peeces thy babes, against the Rock.

Psalm 137 (in metrical verse)

1. By Babels rivers, there sate wee,
   yea wept: when wee did mind, Sion.
2. The willowes that amidds it bee:
   our harps, we hanged, them upon.
3. For songs of us, there ask did they
   that had us captive led-along;
   and mirth, they that us heaps did lay:
   Sing unto us some Sion's song.
4. Iehovahs song how sing shal wee;
   within a forreyn-peoples land?
5. Ierusalem, if I doo thee
   forget: forget let me right hand.
6. Cleav let my tongue to my palat,
   if I doo not in mind thee bear:
   If I Ierusalem doo not,
   above my cheifest joy prefer.
7. Remember LORD, to Edom's sonnes,
   day of Ierusalem: who sayd,
   rase rase, to her foundations.
8. Daughter of Babel, wastful-layd:
   o blessed be that thy reward
   payes thee, which thou rewaredst us.
9. O blessed be, that takes, and hard
   against the Rock thy babes dooth crush.

From *The Bay Psalm Book*:

Psalm 2

1. Why rage the Heathen furiously?
   muse vaine things people do;
2. Kings of the earth doe set themselves,
   Princes consult also:
   with one consent against the Lord,
   and his anoynted one.
3. Let us asunder break their bands,
   their cords bee from us throwne.
4. Who sits in heav'n shall laugh; the lord
   will mock them; then will he
5. Speak to them in his ire, and wrath:
   and vex them suddenlie.
6. But I annoynted have my King
   upon my holy hill
7. of Zion: I he established
   counsell declare I will.
   God spake to me, thou art my Son:
   this day I thee begot.
8. Aske thou of me, and I will give
   the Heathen for thy lot:
   and of the earth thou shalt possesse
   the utmost coasts abroad.
9. thou shalt them break as Potters sherds
   and crush with yron rod.
10. And now yee Kings be wise, be learn'd
    yee Iudges of th'earth (Heare.)
11. Serve yee the lord with reverence,
    rejoyce in him with feare.
12. Kisse yee the Sonne, lest he be wroth,
    and yee fall in the way.
    when his wrath quickly burnes, oh bless
    are all that on him stay.

Psalm 137

1. The rivers of Babilon
   there when wee did sit downe:
   yea even then wee mourned, when
   wee remembred Sion.
2. Our Harps wee did hang it amid,
   upon the willow tree.
3. Because there they that us away
   led in captivitee,
   Requir'd of us a song, & thus
   askt mirth: us waste who laid,
   sing us among a Sions song,
   unto us then they said.
4. The lords song sing can wee? being
5. in strangers land. Then let
   loose her skill my right hand, if I
   Ierusalem forget.
6. Let cleave my tongue my pallate on,
   if my minde thee doe not I:
   if chiefe joyes or'e I prize not more
   Ierusalem my joy.
7. Remember Lord, Edoms sons word,
   unto the ground said they,
   it rase, it rase, when as it was
   Ierusalem her day.
8. Blest shall hee bee, that payeth thee,
   daughter of Babilon,
   who must be waste: that which thou hast
   rewarded us upon.
9. O happie hee shall bee
   that taketh up, that eke
   they little ones against the stones
   doth into pieces breake.

Evangelist Leaves Wife, Clings to Christ: An Illustration in the Admont "Anselm" and Its Relevance to a Reconstruction of the *Acta Ioannis*

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> In the space of one hundred and seventy-six years the Lower Mississippi has shortened itself two hundred and forty-two miles. That is an average of a trifle over one mile and a third per year. Therefore, any calm person who is not blind or idiotic, can see that in the Old Olithic Silurian Period, just a million years ago next November, the Lower Mississippi River was upward of one million three hundred thousand miles long, and stuck out over the Gulf of Mexico like a fishing-rod. . . . There is something fascinating about science. One gets such wholesome returns of conjecture out of such a trifling investment of fact.
>
> Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*

The Admont Miniature

In 1104 CE, Anselm of Canterbury was in Lyons—in exile—again. He sent a copy of his *Prayers and Meditations* (*orationes sive meditationes quas ego dictavi*) and an accompanying letter to Mathilda of Tuscany. A generation later, in about 1160, a Salzburg-area scriptorium produced a copy of the manuscript from one of Mathilda's exemplars for a *humilitas abatissa* "who may have been the Abbess of Diemuth of the nunnery of Trauenkirchen in Upper Austria."[1] This manuscript is now in the library of the Monastery of Admont, in Styria: Admont, *Stiftsbibliothek*, MS lat. 289. Of the eleven illustrations in the Admont Anselm, one—at folio 56ro—is of particular interest to a discussion of the relationships among the various rhetorical versions of legends of John the Evangelist.

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1 Otto Pächt, "The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956) 68-83; the above quotation on p. 71. See also Hans Wentzel, "Christus-Johannes-Gruppe," *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III (1954) 658f.; Idem, "Unbekannte Christus-Johannes-Gruppen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 13 (1959) 155-176. These publications contain bibliography on the iconography relevant to the Admont manuscript.

The miniature at folio 56ro is a composition which employs two originally discrete images. The two scenes are in a rectangular frame with no pictorial element to divide them.

> The right-hand scene is that of John the Evangelist, not nimbed, resting on the bosom of Christ, who is cross-nimbed. Both men are beardless. This image descends from a long line of depictions of the Last Supper and is directly related to John 13:23. The Admont illustrator has given us the first extant version of this scene which is divorced from its Last Supper context. Thus, the Admont illustration is the earliest of a popular line of medieval devotional images, including statuettes, known as the "Christ-John-Group." According to Wentzel, there are at least forty-one of these figures, most of them from Austria and southern Germany.[2]

The left-hand scene has no extant predecessors.[3] It is that of a nimbed, beardless man, dressed in a robe, his left arm slung in his cape. The man strides to the right, his torso and his head turned half-way back toward the woman, while his left and right hands gesture to the woman to stay. He is leaving her, and his energetic figure is in strong contrast to the standing woman. She faces the front, her head tilted toward the man, her eyes downcast, and her right hand raised to her cheek in a common iconographic symbol of resignation and sorrow. The drape of the woman's clothing and the stance of her figure depict motionlessness. Although the two figures are momentarily linked to each other by the man's backward glance and by his arms, which lead one's eyes to the woman, there is no doubt that his leaving is purposeful and that it is devastating to her. The energy of the miniature's left-hand scene is in sharp contrast to the scene of repose on the right.

There is an inscription in the top border of the illustration; part of which is from a hymn attributed to Notger:[4]

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2 Wentzel, "Unbekannte Christus-Johannes-Gruppen," 155-176.

3 There are two images from the later Middle Ages which may show the same narrative. The first is a 13th-century glass panel in the Parish Church of Twycross, Leicestershire, choir, lancet 1, bottom (originally the panel was in Ste.-Chapelle, Paris); identified as "John the Evangelist and a Woman." The panel portrays a figure with John-the-Evangelist features moving to the right, with a female figure behind him, either following the apostle or left abandoned. The scene is vague; it cannot be positively linked with any one scene from Johannine legends. See Marcel Aubert, Louis Grodecki, Jean LaFond, and Jean Verrier, *Les Vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, vol. I* (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, 1959) 345-46, pl. 101 (1) and (9). Another scene of John's abandoning a woman occurs in at least one later manuscript illustration, in the anonymous, 15th-century French manuscript, *Les Louanges de Monseigneur Saint Jean l'Evangeliste.* See Cte A. de Laborde, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de Saint-Petersbourg, I; Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproduction de MSS. à peintures* (Paris: 1936) pl. XI. Reported in Pächt, "St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," 78, n. 1. I have not been able to locate a copy of Laborde's article and therefore have not seen this image.

4 Pächt, ibid. For a discussion of the hymn see Blume and Bannister, *Analecta Hymnica,* LIII (1911) 278f.

Tu leve coniugis
pectus respuuisti
Messiam secutus

Ut eius pectoria
sacra meruisses
fluenta potare.

The miniature illustrates Anselm's prayer to John the Evangelist at folio 55: *cui familiare fuit recumbere supra illud gloriosum pectus altissimi.*[5] We have an image of John the Evangelist's leaving his wife and finding repose on the bosom of Christ. The miniaturist has liberated the Christ-John scene from its Eucharistic context, and, with his addition of the scene of John's escape from the calls of the flesh has created a new illustration: a picture not only to the glorification of the *pectus altissimi* but also a didactic reinforcement of the Anselm text's vision of a higher life, a piety of which John's virginal chastity is the model.

The style of the illuminations in the Admont Anselm is saturated with "a strong and direct Byzantine influence,"[6] which, in the case of our miniature, shows itself in the flowing robes of the saint in the left-hand scene, the classic caste of Christ's and John's robes in the right-hand scene, and in the naturalistic poses of the figures.[7] But the Admont Anselm's Christ-type is not Byzantine: the images present a beardless, youthful Christ. This style is typical of the twelfth-century Italian Giant Bibles, "which incorporate so much of the iconography of the Early Christian Genesis cycles."[8] It seems, therefore, that when the exemplar of the Admont Anselm migrated from Tuscany to be copied in the Salzburg-area scriptorium it brought with it aspects of Italian iconography. This style distinguishes the illuminations of the Admont version from several other illuminated examples of the Anselm text.[9]

The Admont Anselm contains "a practically unknown group" of illustrations.[10] It is therefore not surprising that the image at folio 56ro is not discussed in standard "encyclopedia" on Christian iconography such as Künstle, Braunfels, Réau or Schiller.[11] The miniature is recorded in the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University.

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5 The text of Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes* is in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLVIII, col. 709f.

6 Otto Pächt, "St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," 77.

7 Kurt Weitzmann, "The Classical Heritage in the Art of Constantinople," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Herbert L. Kessler, editor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) 41-59; Idem, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, The Art Museum, Princeton University (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) 1f.

8 Pächt, "St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," 77-78.

9 Pächt's article explores the iconographic relationship of the illustrations in various copies of Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations.*

10 Pächt, "St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," 68.

11 Karl Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926-28) 2:341-47; M. Lechner, "Johannes der Evangelist (der Theologe)," *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, Wolfgang Braunfels, editor (Rom; Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1974) Band 7, col. 108-130; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955-59) vol. III.2,

Both Otto Pächt and Hans Wentzel agree that the Admont Anselm's illustrations "give the impression of being already several stages removed from the archetype. Above all, they do not look as if they had been invented for this particular type of illumination."[12] They see the miniature at 56ro to be a compound of images which the Admont illustrator adapted from two distinct cycles. The Christ-John scene derives from a Eucharistic context; the left-hand scene is from a cycle of the life and death of John the Evangelist.

The relevance of the Admont miniature for the study of Christian Apocrypha is immediately apparent to those familiar with current discussions of the contents of the Greek *Acts of John* (*AJn*). Junod and Kaestli[13] hypothesize two narratives that the now-lost beginning of the *AJn* contained; they present the narratives as alternatives. One is a scene in which Christ assigns to the gathered apostles their missions. The alternative is a scene of the call of the apostle John to leave his wife (or wife-to-be) for a life of virgin chastity. Junod and Kaestli base this second hypothesis upon the summary prayer which John utters in *AJn* 113.[14] In the prayer, John recounts how Christ prevented his marriage—three times, no less—to call John to himself in virginal chastity: "John, if I did not need you I would have let you marry."[15] The detailed nature of John's account in *AJn* 113 of his "rescue" from temptations may well be a sign that is it based on a narrative account. Schäferdiek and Junod and Kaestli, however, consider this hypothesis to be "an open question."[16]

Another feature of the Admont miniature strikes a chord resonant to one who is familiar with the Apocryphal Acts. The face of John the Evangelist in the left-hand scene and that of Christ in the right-hand scene are identical except that John on the left is nimbed; Christ, in the right scene, is cross-nimbed ("Trinity nimbus"). The replication of the figures calls to mind the tendency in the Apocryphal Acts to portray the apostle and the redeemer as "interchangeable," e.g., *AJn* 87. Is it the case that the illustrator of the Admont Anselm knew of this feature in the *AJn* and exhibited it by the use of identical figures for John and Christ in the miniature? Unfortunately, it is unlikely that an echo of the *AJn*'s polymorphism is at work in the illustration; Romanesque illuminators tended to have two or three stock faces which they employed in all their work.[17] In the case of the Admont Anselm's miniatures, the face of an angel at fol. 40 and of another angel at fol. 21vo are also the face of John

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708f.; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols plus index volume (Gtersloher: Gerd Mohn, 1966-1991).

12 Pächt, "St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," 76.

13 Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, editors, *Acta Iohannis*, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphorum 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983) I:81-86.

14 Ibid., 82-86

15 For the text, see Junod-Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, I:311-12; Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II:212.6-213.4.

16 Kurt Schäferdiek in W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols., R. McLain Wilson, trans. (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992) 2:172. "En conclusion, la question du début des *AJ* reste ouverte," Junod-Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, I:85.

17 My thanks to Elizabeth Willis (Wichita State University) and Marilyn Stokstad (University of Kansas) for this insight. See also Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

and Christ at fol. 56ro. The Admont illustrator has also employed the same facial type for John's wife at the left scene and for John himself on the right at 56ro.

The Admont Image and Some Principles of Manuscript Illumination

In his review of the second edition of Kurt Weitzmann's *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*,[18] Adolph Katzenellenbogen points out that Weitzmann was the first to discuss in a systematic and comprehensive manner "the problem of how miniature and text are related to each other in principle."[19] Weitzmann himself points to the work of J. J. Tikkanen,[20] who brought art historians' discussions into a new phase of intertextual studies when he demonstrated that the Genesis mosaics in the Church of San Marco, Venice, are based upon the miniatures of the fifth- or sixth-century Cotton Genesis.[21] Ernst Kitzinger calls Tikkanen's discovery "one of those elemental breakthroughs in scholarship that will never be undone."[22] Under Weitzmann's direction this breakthrough has generated a principle in the historiography of Christian art, a principle with which, although it is not universally acclaimed, virtually every historian of Christian art must take into account: the great number of "biblical"[23] images in the Middle Ages were generally not inventions of that epoch. They are copies and adaptations extracted from full cycles of narrative images which the early church developed to illustrate sacred texts.

Museums regularly reconstruct ancient beasts, some as much as forty meters long, with as little immediate data as a few teeth, a stray rib or two and "eye of newt and toe of frog." As original books from Late Antiquity and Carolingian times are more scarce than dinosaur vertebrae, "it must . . . be emphasized that, since so few Late Antique and Early Christian manuscripts and fragments . . . have come down to us, a coherent history cannot be written."[24] To reconstruct a particular ancient pictorial image and/or its text on the basis of a medieval copy therefore requires a paradigm of art historiography which is remarkably similar to

> the archaeological method of inference whereby close copies of a later period must be introduced in order to fill the gaps of the lost originals.

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18 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration.* Studies in Manuscript Illustration (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948; second edition, 1970).

19 *Speculum*, 23 (1948) 513.

20 J. J. Tikkanen, "Le rappresentazioni della Genesi in S. Marco a Venezia e loro relazione con la Bibbia Cottoniana," *Archivo storico dell'arte*, I (1888) 21f; 257f.; 348f.; idem, *Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Cottonbibel, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennice*, vol. 17 (Hesingfors, 1889, reprinted in Soest, 1972).

21 British Museum, Cotton Otho B. VI.

22 Ernst Kitzinger, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine*, 102.

23 In this case "biblical" includes Christian and Jewish apocrypha.

24 Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York: Braziller, 1977) 10.

> The Roman marbles that are copies of lost Greek originals are, as far as their methodological treatment is concerned, the best-known parallel.[25]

One current set of inferences in art historiography therefore begins with the premise that book illustration was a fertile enterprise in Late Antiquity, and thus the vast majority of narrative scenes in the Christian art of the Middle Ages developed from archetypes in illustrated books of Late Antiquity.[26] Pagan and Jewish[27] works existed in densely illustrated editions of scrolls. The illustrations were portraits[28] (usually of authors) and depictions of the work's narratives. The early church therefore inherited prolifically illustrated books from Judaism (Septuagints) and from classical culture (*Odysseys* and *Iliads*) in which virtually every rhetorical narrative scene in the text had an illustration.[29] As the scroll was the dominant book form in the first two centuries CE, the pictures were often inserted at the narrative they depicted.[30] The Christian church continued this inherited tradition and

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25 Kurt Weitzmann, "Book Illustration of the Fourth Century: Tradition and Innovation," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 96 = *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Trier, 1965). See also Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 29-32; Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*; David Diringer, *The Illuminated Book: Its History and Production* (New York: Praeger, 1967, revised); Erich Dinkler, "Abbreviated Representations," in *The Age of Spirituality*, Kurt Weitzmann, editor, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) 397-402.

26 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustration in Roll and Codex, passim.*

27 The images at the Synagogue of Dura Europas are an important part of Weitzmann's thesis, as he believes they are the first which demonstrate a narrative art tradition in Judaism. See Kurt Weitzmann, "The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 76f. In *Illustration in Roll and Codex*, Weitzmann claims that from pagan traditions come densely illustrated versions of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, as well as lesser works; he points to the Milan *Iliad*, cod. Ambros. F. 205. inf., third to the fifth century CE, as his basic example; see especially pages 40-48.

28 Portraits abounded in Late Antiquity. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 35.2.11, tells that Varro (first century CE) "inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people. . . . This suggests the mass production of ambitiously illustrated literary texts and an active market for them in pre-Christian times." Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, 9; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 4.

29 In the West a luxurious copy has survived, the seventh-century *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. n. acq. lat. 2334). Estimations are of 69 full-page miniatures—the other miniatures add up to the hundreds. The *Ashburnham Pentateuch*'s illustrations were used as models for eleventh-century frescoes in St. Julian in Tours; so Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, 17. The 6th-century *Vienna Genesis* (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31) is "of even greater splendor." It has 24 folios with 48 miniatures. The original had 96 folios (192 pages). Each page had a miniature on its lower half. Each miniature has an average of three scenes. The sum is more than 500 illustrations. The text has been shortened in order to adjust it to the number of pictures. ibid., 16.

30 Weitzmann calls the result "cinematographic" in several of his works. According to Nordenfalk, the pictures in densely illustrated rolls served a practical as well as an aesthetic purpose: ". . . these pictures constituted excellent aids to scholars wanting a quick orientation in the contents of a roll—compensation for our indices with references to page

produced gospels,[31] Acts,[32] and Apocalypses[33] which were as densely illustrated as were the Septuagints. Crucial to the argument of this paper is the proposition that it was almost always rhetorical narrative scenes which produced narrative illustrations. We therefore look to a rhetorical narrative as the genesis of a narrative miniature or cycle of narrative images.

Weitzmann's *Illustration in Roll and Codex* explores the effect upon the early Church's thesaurus of narrative illustrations when one of the three most significant changes in the history of books occurred,[34] that is, the triumph of the codex over the scroll during the period from the end of the first century through the fourth century CE. The codex forced adjustment of the text's illustrations.[35] The narrative illustrations became larger and more aesthetically complicated. Images began to have pages to themselves, to be

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numbers which were unknown to antiquity." Carl Nordenfalk, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination, Collected Papers* (London: Pindar Press, 1992) 1.

31 "We believe that already in the early Christian period the four Gospels were illustrated with a very extensive picture cycle which could be read, to use a modern simile, like a comic strip or somewhat in a cinematographic fashion." Two prolifically illustrated Gospel books come from the 11th C. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 74; Florence, Laurenziana cod. Plut, VI, 23). They show "very clearly the early Christian system of a densely spaced, narrative illustration as it exists similarly in two fragments of the Septuagint, the Genesis in Vienna and the so-called Cotton Genesis in the British Museum in London." Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 250.

32 "It is only on the basis of migrated miniatures in the *Sacra Parallela* that we can be sure of an early illustrated Book of Acts that must have had a sequence of such density that it rivaled the most prolifically illustrated Gospel books." Kurt Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, 21; idem, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela*: Parisinus Graecus 923 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) fig. 489 (Stephen's first sermon), fig. 488 (Choosing of seven deacons), fig. 491 (Simon Magos before Peter and John), fig. 490 (Stephen seeing the glory of God), fig. 492 (Cornelius's vision of an angel), fig. 494 (Paul preaching in Lystra), fig. 496 (Paul preaching to elders at Ephesus), fig. 497 (Paul preaching to the elders at Ephesus).

33 "There can be no doubt that the earliest painters commissioned to make decorations in English churches took [illustrated Apocalypses] and similar illuminations as their models. This is known to be the case with an Apocalypse manuscript which Benedict Biscop brought back from Italy to England in the 7th century to serve as a pattern book for English fresco painters." André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century* (London: Skira, 1957) 101. See also Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, 82.

34 The other technological advances were the invention of the papyrus roll and the printing press. Weitzmann, *Illustration in Roll and Codex*, 1-8.

35 As the switch from scroll to codex occurred, there was a long period of side-by-side competition between the two forms. This period coincides with that of the development of the early church's basic iconographic forms. We cannot be sure, then, whether specific archetypal pictures in the early church were originally created for a scroll or a codex. The competition between book forms stretched into the Middle Ages. See the 10th-century byzantine miniature (based on a 6th-century model) which shows Luke writing on a codex, but transcribing from a scroll. The same manuscript has St. John the Evangelist with a codex open on the lectern while a number of scrolls are on the floor. [St. Luke. Gospels. Athos, Monastery of Stauronika, MS 43, fol. 12vo; fol. 13] Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*, 14.

clustered at the beginnings and ends of the codices or to occupy the tops and bottoms of a codex's pages. As space for illustrations in the codices was less than in scrolls, the number of illustrations in each book diminished either by conflation of two or more scenes or by omission of scenes. Thus, Weitzmann sees a movement in Christian art in which the number of scenes which persevered in the church decreased and became more "fixed." Smaller narrative cycles were extracted from the fully illustrated archetypes. There was then a "canonization" (Weitzmann's term) of smaller cycles or even of single illustration from a cycle.[36]

The scattering of individual images from narrative picture cycles in monument and manuscript that we find in the art of the Middle Ages is the result of a "migration" (again, Weitzmann's term) of the archetypal scenes with their text into liturgical books, such as lectionaries and early hagiographical books.[37] The tendency of the images was then to migrate further; they moved away from their original narrative texts as the illustrations were copied into monologia, psalters, sacramentaries and other such books; there the illustrations served a didactic purpose. The images also "migrated" to monumental forms, particularly into the media of church decoration. This is not to say that there was no movement from monument to manuscript illumination but that such a migration was of a lesser probability.[38]

Ernst Kitzinger adjusts Weitzmann's thesis when he points out that it is hardly likely that a mosaicist, painter or miniaturist would have had in his hands for an extended period a copy of a luxury item such as the *Cotton Genesis*. Kitzinger suggests that working drawings, derived from such luxury books, and, in some cases, from monumental art would have been the staple resource of scriptoria and ateliers.[39] It is from such working drawings that artists up to and throughout the Middle Ages did their own illustrations. The luxury books were

> too valuable to be left in a muralist's atelier, to say nothing of being used on a scaffold. By the same token, however, pictorial guides must have been considered expendable and must have been subject to a very high

36 A case in point is the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. That an illustrated copy of this work existed is shown by sculptured scenes from the narrative on San Marco's ciborium columns and "from a thirteenth-century Latin manuscript of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* itself, the miniatures of which surely go back to a Byzantine model." [See A. v. Erbach-Frstenau, "L'evangelo di Nicodemo," *Archivo storico dell'arte*, 2 (1896) 255f.] Weitzmann indicates that "Of all the scenes based on the text of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, only the Anastasis was copied very frequently, because it was the feast picture for Easter Sunday and as such had gained a wide-spread popularity." Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," 257.

37 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, *passim*.

38 A good introduction to the debate surrounding Weitzmann's contention is *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*. See especially Kitzinger's "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," 99f.

39 Ernst Kitzinger, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," 99f. See also Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, 85, who also suggests that scriptoria and ateliers had large repositories of "working drawings."

> rate of attrition. It is not surprising, therefore, that their existence is often a matter of inference rather than direct evidence.[40]

We must add one more rule of thumb (if only to try your patience) which has direct bearing on our main subject. There was a basic conservatism which ruled the production and transmission of Christian art. A concept of the aesthetic autonomy of the artist played little or no role in the transmission of the church's pictorial images. Artistic autonomy and inventiveness are products of the Romantic era in Western history. Jonathan J. G. Alexander points out that in the choice of illumination by the painter and the patron,

> [i]t is important to stress . . . how very important tradition was in the art of the Middle Ages, and how difficult a matter it could be to alter an accepted image or to apply illustration to a text which had not before received it.[41]

Alexander's principle combines with that of Weitzmann to provide us with the pivotal assumption of this paper:

> We wish to reiterate that invented scenes . . . presumably were extremely rare in ancient and mediaeval book illumination, and great caution should be observed before the claim is made that no basic text ever existed for a problematical miniature.[42]

What then is the basic text for our problematical miniature? One candidate is *AJn* 113 itself.[43] It is possible that the Admont illustrator or a predecessor invented the scene of John's leaving a woman from his knowledge of either *AJn* 113 or from the hagiographical legends which abounded in the Middle Ages and which reflect the story of Christ's calling John to a service of virginal chastity. But such an invention, as we pointed out above, is unlikely. Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* is a popularized "lives of the saints" arranged according to the liturgical calendar and, in the case of each saint, employing the readings from the Bible and hagiography for the saint's feast day(s). Although the *Legenda Aurea* was published a century later than the

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40 Ernst Kitzinger, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," 108.

41 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, 52.

42 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, 153. The details of Weitzmann's method are spelled out on p. 150f.: "After a miniature has once or perhaps more than once changed its textual affiliation it is sometimes impossible to find the basic text, which may be lost. The picture may then become a valuable document for reconstructing a literary story. The Iliac tablet in the Museo Capitolino has two friezes at the bottom of the central part, one with scenes from the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus and the other for the *Little Iliad* of Lesches of Mitylene with episodes which are not told in the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus or anywhere else, and thus are a valuable documentary source for the reconstruction of the lost poems." There are also miniatures which do appear to be inventions of medieval illustrators; they are rare. An example: scenes in psalters of the birth of David, scenes which are clearly based on images of Jesus' or the Virgin's birth, ibid., 151. In addition, M. R. James hypothesized a textual base for the many pictorial scenes of John baptizing Drusiana; *The Trinity College Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1909) 236, note.

43 Pächt refers to *AJn* 113 and to the *Legenda Aurea* in his discussion of the Admont miniature. He does not pursue the question of the relationship of the miniature to the rhetorical text. "Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," 78, n. 1.

Admont Anselm, it is a classic compilation of the hagiographical legends which abounded throughout the Middle Ages. In his story of John the Evangelist, de Voragine begins with an emphasis of the saint's chastity and virginity:

> The gift referred to in the second meaning of the name ["one to whom a gift is given"] is John's freedom from fleshly corruption, because he was chosen as a virgin and so is one who had in him the grace of virginal chastity: *he had thought of marrying but instead was called by the Lord.*
>
> *Secundum est carnis incorruptio, quia virgo a domino est electus et inde dicitur, in quo est gratia. In ipso enim fuit gratia pudicitiae virginalis, unde et de nuptiis volens nubere a domino vocatus fuit.*[44]

We do not know precisely de Voragine's source for his vague allusion to the legend of John's leaving his wife.[45] It is likely, however, that his version was derived from liturgical texts[46] for the feast days of John the Evangelist; the narrative images of the saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century monuments and manuscripts often follow that pattern.

The Admont Image and Johannine Cycles

The church's early attribution of John's virginity was strong, yet none of the extant pictorial cycles of the Evangelist's life and death carry a narrative scene in which he is called out of virginity to the celibate state.

Nor do we have any hint of an isolated image of this scene until the Admont illustration. The earliest recorded pictorial cycles which contain selections of John's acts are lost to us. There was a sixth-century mosaic of the apostle preaching and baptizing on the south wall of the Church of the Apostles, Constantinople.[47] According to Künstle, who gains his information from Wilpert,[48] there was a seventh-century cycle in the Church of San Giovanni Laterano. Wilpert supplies drawings of a portion of this fresco cycle which features the Evangelist's "oil martyrdom" before the Porta Latina at the order of Domitian. There are two scenes: an executioner cutting John's hair (partially destroyed—we see John's head and the scissors) and John entering and exiting the kettle of boiling oil.

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44 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., William Granger Ryan trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 50, emphasis mine. The Latin text is from a definitely non-critical edition: Th. Graesse, editor (Vratislava, 1890).

45 Jerome knows this story, *Against Jovinian* 1:26, as does Augustine, *Tractate on the Gospel of John*, 124.7.

46 Pierre Rézeau, *Les Prières aux saints en Français à la fin du moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1982) 2:270-281.

47 O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911) 392f.

48 Künstle, op. cit., 2:344f.; Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert.* 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breiskau, 1916), vol. 2, fig. 64.

It is consistent with narrative cycles of the apostles, that we begin to see the emergence of cycles of John's deeds during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the thirteenth century these scenes number in the dozens.[49] The Johannine cycles were often associated with a renewed interest in the Apocalypse of John. They were used as the introduction and conclusion of illustrated editions of the Apocalypse, and in the decoration of churches.[50] Virtually none of these cycles agrees in every detail. There is no one manuscript or monument group which contains all the narrative scenes of John's life and death. The following is broad compendium of such scenes:[51]

A. A portrait of John dictating to Prochoros

B. John preaches to the idolaters; he baptizes Drusiana.

C. John is arrested by the local idolaters and taken to the magistrate of Ephesus, and sent to Domitian.

D. John is condemned to martyrdom by Domitian; he is placed in a kettle of boiling oil which does not harm him.

E. Domitian gives up; he exiles John to Patmos where John receives a vision of the Apocalypse.

F. After the death of Domitian, John returns to Ephesus where he is happily greeted by the people.

G. At his return, John meets the funeral procession of Drusiana; he raises her from the dead.

H. John confronts and converts the pagan philosopher Craton.

I. John topples the temple at Ephesus and comes into conflict with Aristodemus; central to this scene is the poison cup episode; John converts and baptizes Aristodemus.

J. John's adventures with the Robber Youth.

K. John realizes that his time is up; he says his last mass while his grave is dug for him.

L. John is taken up into Heaven.

[The Parable of the Partridge is a "floating scene" which usually appears in the images of John's second stay around Ephesus.]

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49 Examples of the earliest narrative Johannine scenes are (1) ninth-century "ascension of John"—*Bibliothèque nationale*, gr. 510, fol. 32vo (Gregory Nazianzus *Homilies*); (2) tenth-century, John has his grave dug—University Library at Göttingen, *Sacramentary*, fol. 15vo; (3) eleventh century, John in his coffin with manna flowing from the grave—Rome, the Old Lateran Palace, Oratory of Gregory the Great, fresco; (4) twelfth-century mosaics, six scenes from the Life of John—Church of San Marco, Venice, north dome.

50 The first extant manuscript of the Apocalypse to include the Johannine life-cycle is *The Trinity Apocalypse* (ca. 1240). See M. R. James, *The Trinity College Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1909); Delisle and Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIIIe siècle, Société des anciennes textes français* (Paris, no. 43, vol. 2, 1900). Window 68 in the Cathedral at Auxerre combines the two cycles in stained glass. Virginia Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) 134.

51 My database of Christian art "influenced" by Christian Apocrypha lists, at this point, one-hundred ten narrative scenes (up through the 14th century) of John the Evangelist which depict stories from the various versions of the *Acts of John.*

Each of the general "acts" listed in this cycle often contains several scenes in which the details of the narrative are "spelled-out," so to speak. A count of Johannine narrative scenes which are in my database comes to at least fifty-one separate images, if we include the Admont illustration and two scenes hypothesized by M. R. James.[52] The usual beginning of the cycle is John's preaching to the idolaters and his baptizing Drusiana. Our point is that when an image appears which is not among the usual scenes in a cycle we can assume that it is not by accident that a miniature which apparently lay dormant for centuries has now appeared at a particular time in a specific place.

If the concept holds that the Middle Ages had available a large store of images and cycles which originated in the early church, the question of image-selection arises. The choice of scenes from the vast store of images that existed in the church (especially in its scriptoria and ateliers) for any one manuscript's illumination or for the decoration of a particular church was governed by the theological/social statement that the patron(s) and the artist wished to make.[53] An example of such a selection process in the Johannine cycles is the popularity of the so-called "oil-martyrdom" of John the Evangelist in the early church's rhetorical and pictorial art. Legend has it that John died a "peaceful" death at an old age. How then could John the Evangelist be counted among the martyrs? The basic answer to that question was that John's passage through the boiling oil qualified him as a true "martyr."[54] Another example of an iconographic program which includes a single scene from a Johannine cycle is on the twelfth-century baptismal font in the Church of St. Barthelemy. The artist evidently wanted St. John the Evangelist on the font. He therefore included a scene from the Johannine cycle: John's baptism of the philosopher Craton.[55]

In his discussion of the Admont image of John's leaving his wife, Pächt calls our attention to a miniature in the St. Alban's Psalter, St. Godehard, Hildesheim, at p. 57, which shows St. Alexis who is leaving his wife on their wedding night and heading off on a crusade:

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52 "Drusiana's Baptism" and "John's returning the golden hay (sometimes "sticks") and precious gems back to their original state." M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art: The Schweich Lectures in Biblical Archaeology, 1927*, The British Academy (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

53 Herbert L. Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Studies in the History of Art, number 16, Washington, D.C., 1985) 75-91, presents a clear example of this procedure, as does Kurt Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio.* Princeton Monographs in Art and Archeology, XXVI (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

54 To the point that May 6 became the official feast day for the celebration of John the Evangelist's martyrdom before the Porta Latina. Tertullian, in *De Praescriptione* 36, compares John's passage through the oil a parallel with the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. See also Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 20:23. An iconographic variation on the question of the selection of images is in a 9th-century Gregory of Nazianus's *Homilies*, Paris, Bibl. nat., gr. 510, fol. 32vo, where John's "translation to heaven" is in a twelve-zone page which includes the martyrdoms of Peter, Paul, Andrew, Thomas, and other of the apostles. Figure in H. A. Omont, *Miniatures Grecques* (1929) 14f., pl. XXII.

55 With a "Baptism of Christ," "Peter Baptizing Cornelius," "John the Baptist Baptizing Two Youths." R. Kashnitz, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVI (1973) 288, fig. 2.

> It is, of course, the same ascetic theme [as the Admont illustration], the turning away from earthly love to the all-absorbing love of God . . . the parallelism in the choice of the subject is in itself symptomatic; its common background is the new current of ascetic spiritualism which first manifests itself in the writings of Peter Damian . . . .[56]

Wentzel ascribes to this erotic-mystical association the cause for the proliferation of the Christ-John-Group of which the Admont miniature is also the first extant image.[57] It is not a coincidence, then, that the Admont illustration emerged when it did.

If one accepts the premises of image transmission which we outlined above, the Admont miniature joins the church fathers' witness[58] to suggest that there was in the early church a rhetorical scene of John's leaving his wife, a scene which an archetype of the Admont illustration depicted. This image had begun in the early church in a densely illustrated narrative of the "acts" of John the Evangelist. The images of this narrative migrated to serve as illuminations for other texts. During the Middle Ages, these images were once again assembled into cycles which were based on the liturgical readings.

The images of choice for these cycles varied according to the theological programs of the patrons of the churches and manuscripts for which they were gathered. In the case of the Admont miniature, the popularity of an erotic-mystical piety in Austria chose the image of John's call to virginal chastity.

If this conjecture holds, the Admont image may be considered a buttress to Junod-Kaestli's second hypothesis, namely, that a narrative of John's call to virginal chastity existed in the missing portion of the *AJn*. It could be argued that, as many of the scenes in the medieval cycle of Johannine narrative images appear to have as their rhetorical inspiration texts of the Johannine legends other than those in the *AJn*, that text was not the repository of the scene. But the *AJn* has the edge in the field of play. Among its lacunae is a lost beginning; the *AJn* has a place to put such a narrative. And, of course, it has *AJn* 113.

There is much work to be done in order to receive more "wholesome returns of conjecture" on the relationship of miniature to text in Christian Apocrypha. A first step is the development of parallel stemmas which can be compared, those of text-traditions [59] and those of texts' associated miniatures. It would, of course, be lovely to discover an illustrated version of *AJn*, Pseudo-

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56 Pächt, "The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," p. 78.

57 Wentzel, "Christus-Johannes-Gruppe," col. 658.

58 Tertullian, *De Monogamia* 17 [If the reference is to John the Evangelist. See Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989) 166, n. 33, who believes that Tertullian refers to John the Evangelist. *Contra* Eric Junod, "La virginité de l'apôtre Jean: Recherches sur les origines scripturaires et patristiques de cette tradition," in *Lectures anciennes de la Bible*, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 1 (Strasbourg: Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristiques, 1987) 113-36]; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 58.4.5-6; For Jerome and Augustine, see note 45, above.

59 On the order of the stemmas in Junod-Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, I:46-62.

Prochoros, Pseudo-Melito, or the so-called "Acts of John in Rome."[60] The iconoclastic period and the Council of Nicea in 787 CE render that boon unlikely.[61] On the other hand, as more and more libraries join the Bodleian and the National Library of Vienna and publish catalogs of the manuscript illustrations in their collection,[62] the chances of such a discovery increase.

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60 Dennis MacDonald informs me that he has browsed illustrated editions of Pseudo-Abdias, *Virtutes Iohannis* in the British Museum.

61 For the history of the *Acts of John* among the heretics and its condemnation by heresiologists and by church councils, see Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *L'Histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècles: Le cas des Actes de Jean, Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 7 (Genève: 1982); eidem, *Acta Iohannis*, I:1.

62 Note Weitzmann's plaint in "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future," in *The Place of Book Illuminations in Byzantine Art*, 9.

Departing to Another Place: The *Acts of Peter* and the Canonical Acts of the Apostles

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The proposition that the *Acts of Peter* exhibits literary dependence upon the canonical Acts of the Apostles is held as a self-evident truth by many who deal with the apocryphal acts.[1] In reviewing the evidence bearing on the intertextual relationship, I intend to challenge the axiomatic status of that belief, not because I believe it is entirely wrong, but because I believe it has exerted too much influence on the reading of *AcPet.*

Some have argued that *AcPet* is fundamentally conceived as a supplement to the canonical text. If true, this assertion would have important implications for the reading of *AcPet.*[2] A variant on this theory would have the first three chapters, dealing with Paul's activity in Rome, constructed as a secondary effort to link the texts. This view of the relationship to the canonical Acts suggests something important about how *AcPet* was read at the time of the revisions. I want to argue for a third possibility which would simply include the canonical Acts among the sources used by the author of *AcPet* without according it a privileged position.

The case for dependence is not as obvious as is often supposed. The apparent connection between the end of Acts and the beginning of the *Acts of Peter* as it is preserved in the *Actus Vercellenses* is more accidental than significant. It does appear likely that material from the canonical text has been used in the depiction of the leading figures of the apocryphal text: Peter, Paul and Simon. However, the materials drawn from the canonical text are not treated with particular reverence; they are in fact freely contradicted. Even minor motifs possibly drawn from the Lucan Acts are employed without sensitivity to their function in Acts. The vast majority of the material in *AcPet* comes from other sources, while important features of canonical Acts are

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[1] In his latest introduction, Schneemelcher argues that "supplementation" is the most adequate way to describe the relationship of *AcPet* to canonical Acts. However, he still sees filling in what is missing in the canonical text as the main motivation for the apocryphal Acts. "The Acts of Peter: Introduction," in Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* (trans. R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox, 1992) vol. 2, p. 282.

[2] Ficker's argument along these lines has not been generally accepted, but it has nevertheless influenced the reading of *AcPet. Die Petrusakten* (Leipzig: Barth, 1903) 7.

ignored. The two texts are similar in terms of genre, but *AcPet* has at least as much in common with the synoptic gospels as it does with Acts. Therefore, it seems misguided to assert that the canonical text had a controlling, dominant, or even the most important influence on the construction of the *Acts of Peter* at any stage.

The evidence supports the conclusion that *AcPet* is in some sense dependent on canonical Acts, but the nature of that relationship is more like the echoes of Acts found in Justin Martyr than the explicit modelling or self-conscious supplementation that is often assumed for *AcPet*. For assessing intertextuality, it is important to place ourselves in the position of the original audience and ask whether knowledge of the canonical text is assumed. I believe that the answer to that question is "No."

The Problems with Paul

One feature that the two texts share is their interest in the two apostles, Peter and Paul. The significance of this fact is hard to judge since the two are paired in many second-century sources. As is the case elsewhere, Peter and Paul are not represented as working together, unless they did appear together in a confrontation with Simon.

The final days of Paul's activity in Rome and his departure for Spain are reported in the pages of the Vercelli manuscript which immediately follow the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*. The treatment of Paul in *AcPet* shares significant motifs with Acts, although it apparently draws on other sources as well. In each of the texts Paul is under guard in Rome. However, this is a common idea, which may have a historical basis.

Acts 28:16
And when he came into Rome, Paul was allowed to stay by himself, with the soldier that guarded him.

Acts of Peter 1
While Paul stayed in Rome and confirmed many in faith, . . .

Acts 28:30–31
And he lived there two whole years at his own expense and welcomes all who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered

Then Quartus (the supervisor of the prisons) gave Paul permission to go wherever he wished away from the city.

In each text Paul contends with non-believing Jews in Rome. Debates with Jews appear throughout the canonical Acts, but the motif is prominent in the description of Paul's activity in Rome. It is not an important theme elsewhere in *AcPet*. Simon is sometimes identified as a Jew, but the content of his rhetoric is not distinctively Jewish. Although the debate is filled out differently in each text, it is likely that the canonical Acts contributed this motif to the apocryphal account. The condemnation of the Jews for Christ-killing likely comes from Acts. The attack on Jewish ritual practice is probably drawn from the Pauline epistles.

Acts 28:23–28
When they had appointed a day for him, they came to him at his lodging in great numbers. And he expounded the matter to them from morning till evening, testifying to the kingdom of God and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the law of Moses and from the prophets. And some were convinced by what he said, while others disbelieved. So, as they disagreed among themselves, they departed, after Paul had made one statement: "The Holy Spirit was right in saying to your fathers through Isaiah the prophet: 'Go to this people, and say, You shall indeed hear but never understand, . . .'"

Acts of Peter 1
. . . Paul had frequently contended with the teachers of the Jews and had refuted them (by saying), "Surely Christ, the one on whom your fathers laid their hands, destroyed their sabbath along with their fasts, feasts, and circumcision. He also destroyed human teaching and other traditions."

It is possible that the Paul material in *AcPet* is a summary of earlier narratives, now lost, but the account seems too detailed to be an allusion. Unlike the recapitulations of Simon's activity in Jerusalem, these accounts are not addressed to an audience within the story. Although the content is similar in Acts and *AcPet*, there is not much overlap of language, and Paul is apparently more successful in arguing with the Jews of Rome in *AcPet*.

Other elements in *AcPet*'s picture of Paul may have been drawn from the Lucan Acts. There is at least a broad similarity of context and motif in the farewell scenes of Acts 20 and *AcPet* 1.

Acts 20:38
sorrowing most of all because of the word he had spoken, that they should see his face no more.

Acts of Peter 1
There was great weeping throughout the whole fellowship because they believed that they would not see Paul again.

Paul's reliance on God's will is similar to Acts 18:20–21, and the embarkation in *AcPet* 3 has similarities with Acts 21:5–6. In these scenes both authors are working with conventional motifs, so no dependence can be proven. Nevertheless, Acts is a likely source for these motifs in *AcPet*.

In Paul's speech (*AcPet* 2), past behavior is excused on the basis of ignorance. The motif is reminiscent of Acts 17:30.[3]

Acts 17:30
The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent.

Acts of Peter 2
If you do not persist in your previous works, . . . then Jesus, the Living God, will forgive what you did in ignorance.

According to Acts the resurrection of Christ marks the end of ignorance. In *AcPet* it is the birth of Christ. *AcPet* did not share Acts disinterest in Christ's

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[3] The other appearances of *agnoia* in Acts 3:17 and 13:27 are applied to the Jews in their condemnation of Christ and have nothing in common with the passage in *AcPet*.

pre-existence.[4] This difference in perspective appears again in Peter's speeches.

Finally. the Rufina episode in *AcPet* 2 is sometimes compared to the story of Ananaias and Sapphira in Acts 5:1–11. Each is a *Strafwunder,* but they have little else in common. In any case, Acts 5:1–11 is not characteristically Lucan; Conzelmann even suggests that it employs a source.[5] The Rufina story employs a phrase which probably translates "*kardiognostos.*"[6] The description of God as one who knows the hearts of humans is distinctively Christian, though not uniquely Lucan. If *AcPet* borrowed the term from Acts, it did so without much concern for its function in Acts.

Acts 1:24
And they prayed and said, "Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, show which one of these two thou hast chosen to take the place in this ministry and apostleship from which Judas turned aside, to go to his own place."

Acts 15:7–9
And God who knows the heart bore witness to them, giving them the Holy Spirit just as he did to us; and he made no distinction between us and them, but cleansed their hearts by faith.

Acts of Peter 2
. . . they will know they have believed in the living God, the one who scrutinizes hearts.

Significant elements in the Lucan picture of Paul are not present in *AcPet.* Paul's conversion is not reported and nothing of his apologetic speeches appears. The author of *AcPet* has combined information from Acts with material drawn from other sources. Names, the trip to Spain, and probably the treatment of Paul as persecutor come from the letters. The author was untroubled by the conflicts we see between the two pictures of Paul in Acts and the epistles. Additional sources were used perhaps for Rufina and certainly for the prediction of Paul's death.

The nature of the relationship between the end of Acts and the beginning of the portion of *AcPet* preserved in *Actus Vercellenses* has been the subject of much speculation. The intertextual relationship appears strongest when the beginning of the present text is accepted as the original opening of *AcPet.* In that case, *AcPet* looks more like a deliberate attempt to continue the narrative of the canonical text. If so, imitation of Acts should be expected throughout *AcPet,* and the apocryphal text should be read in terms of its relationship to the canonical text. Although this hypothesis offers a clear definition of the intertextual relationship, it has little else to recommend it. The complications are twofold. The present state of the text probably results from the deletion of a substantial Jerusalem section. Many believe that the first three chapters are a

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4 Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) xlvi.

5 Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* 37.

6 Cf. Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 10.13.

secondary expansion as well.[7] The argument that Paul is a secondary insertion relies heavily on the assumption that apostolic acts should focus on a single apostle. However, by that argument the canonical Acts should be placed at the end of the series, a consequence that most of these scholars would not accept. I prefer to treat the first three chapters of the Vercelli Acts as part of the original *AcPet* but not as its original opening. Therefore, these chapters should not determine our understanding of the intertextual relationship between Acts and *AcPet.*

Peter's Activity

In its present form *AcPet* also seems to continue, in a general way, the career of Peter narrated in Acts. However, the canonical Acts and *AcPet* have very different interests in the figure of Peter. In the canonical text, Peter is a leader in the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem. He is active in nearby places such as Caesarea and Samaria, and all of his actions are subordinate to the grand scheme of the divinely guided spread of the church.

AcPet shows little interest in the institutional life of the church and less interest in the founding of churches. In the surviving material, Peter is never portrayed as establishing a new church. Peter is rather one who confirms the faith of believers through miracles and preaching.

In *AcPet* Peter is portrayed as openly active in Jerusalem for a period of twelve years after the resurrection and only then made his voyage to Rome. The episodes which *AcPet* sets in Jerusalem are not closely connected to the events reported in the canonical text. The stories of Peter's daughter in the Berlin Codex and the Gardener's daughter in Codex Cambray share with Acts 5:1–11 the *Strafwunder* pattern. The parallels with Acts are a little closer than in the case of Rufina. The elaboration of the story of Peter's daughter introduces further parallels: the selling of land, uncertainty concerning the price, and donation of the proceeds to the community. However, the elements found in Acts 5:1–11 are separated in *AcPet*, and the issue of "primitive communism" does not appear at all.

Other Jerusalem stories have even less direct connection with the canonical text. The commission to work in Jerusalem for twelve years has no canonical parallel. The story of Eubula (*AcPet* 17) appears to have been the climax of this section. It shows Simon concerned with money and miracles but otherwise has no parallels in Acts.

Although the truncation of the text makes it impossible to be certain, it appears that *AcPet* did not draw heavily on Acts for its depiction of Peter's activity in Jerusalem. Apart from the confrontation with Simon, none of Peter's important scenes in Acts are mentioned in *AcPet.* Peter's speech before the Sanhedrin, the conversion of Cornelius, and Peter's role in the apostolic council are all ignored. The argument from silence is not wholely without force in this instance. The surviving portions of *AcPet* are extensive, and the author is not shy about referring to stories outside of the immediate narrative

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[7] For a compact summary of the debate, see Poupon, "Actes de Pierre," *ANRW* 25.6, 4372–74.

context. The surviving portions of *AcPet* do contain references to several Jerusalem events, but they are not the ones found in Acts (12 year commission, Eubula). It is not adequate to assume that the accounts in Acts were simply accepted since *AcPet* does refer to gospel episodes involving Peter, such as his attempt at walking on water, his presence at the transfiguration, and his denial of Christ. Events, such as Paul's martyrdom, known from other sources are mentioned without being narrated in *AcPet.* Peter's encounter with Simon Magus does play an important role in both texts, there are significant differences in the way it is handled. These differences will be discussed below. Given the range of stories which are alluded to, it is reasonable to ask why so many of the major themes in Acts are ignored in *AcPet,* if that text is believed to have had special importance for the author.

Peter's activity in Jerusalem is somewhat mechanically linked to his activity in Rome. In both places, his activity is focused on the overlapping issues of confirming the faithful and resisting Simon. Because the largest surviving section of *AcPet* begins with Peter's departure from Jerusalem for Rome, there is little overlap of narrative content. There are a few possible echoes apart from the confrontation with Simon in the Roman section of *AcPet.* The apostle protects all of those on the ship (*AcPet* 4), but this is a typical motif of marine travel. The young men who transport bodies in *AcPet* 25–28 may have their counterparts in Acts 5:1–11. Peter has to reject divine honors in *AcPet* 28 but in the next chapter the people are still offering them.

Acts 14:15	*Acts of Peter* 28
"Men why are you doing this? We are men, of like nature with you, and we bring you good news. . . .	"Romans, I am one of you, a flesh-bearing human being and a sinner."
Acts 28:6	*Acts of Peter* 29
. . . they changed their minds and said that he was a god.	From that hour they worshiped him as a god, and placed at his feet whoever was sick. . . .

The motif is common in ancient literature, so it is impossible to be certain of its source in either text.[8] The invitation to use a house appears in Acts 16:15 as well as in *AcPet* 19 and 29. The idea may be rooted in practice rather than literature.

Editorial Phrases

Beyond narrative content, several editorial phrases appear in *AcPet* which may have their source in Acts. The language of crowd conversion employed in *AcPet* is reminiscent of the canonical Acts.

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8 Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* 110–11.

Acts 2:46–47
And day by day, attending the temple together and breaking bread in their homes, they partook of food with glad and generous hearts, praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to their number day by day those who were being saved.

Acts of Peter 9
While Peter said this with great anguish in his soul, many believers in the Lord were added.

Acts of Peter 31
Those who trusted in the name of Jesus Christ were healed of every bodily disease, and many were added to the Lord's Grace each day.

Acts of Peter 33
Peter, however, remained in Rome rejoicing in the Lord along with the brothers and sisters and giving thanks day and night for the crowd who were being led to the holy name of the Lord's grace daily.

Acts of Peter 41
Thereafter, the brothers and sisters continued rejoicing in unison and delighting in the Lord, glorifying the God and savior of our Lord Jesus Christ together with the Holy Spirit to whom be glory forever and ever, Amen.

Although the parallels are not definitive proof of dependence their number and variety argue strongly for influence. It is significant that we find scattered use of story elements rather than the wholesale reworking of particular stories. The author of *AcPet* uses motifs from Acts to fill out familiar patterns of story-telling. It is clear that the author of *AcPet* had other sources to draw from. The exorcism in *AcPet* 11 shows many similarities to the Athenian episode in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* 24. It is likely that they share a common source, although each version has been shaped to fit its own context.

Peter's Speeches

A brief comparison of the major speeches in the two documents shows how far apart the texts are in their conceptions of the apostle. Speeches are easily transferred from one figure or text to another, as the use of speeches from *AcPet* in the *Vita Abercii* shows. AcPet's failure to employ elements of the Lucan speeches clearly indicates the conceptual distance between the two texts. In canonical Acts public discourse is the main task of the apostle. The speeches are supported in some instances by miracles worked through the apostle. This relationship is reversed in the apocryphal text, where the speeches are clearly secondary to the miracle stories. The speeches in Acts focus on the resurrection of Jesus as the fulfillment of God's promises to Israel which can be documented in scripture. The apostles are important as witness of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. Almost all of the speeches are directed at non-believers, whether Jewish or Gentile, and contain an exhortation to

repentance and conversion. The archetypical speeches would be Peter's first in Acts 2:14-40 and Paul's first in Acts 13:16-41. Both recite the history of Israel and culminate in proof texts applied to the resurrection.

The closest parallel in *AcPet* is Peter's speech in *AcPet* 24. Although it makes a substantial appeal to the prophets, it does so to emphasize God's revelation in the miraculous birth of the Christ rather than the resurrection. The quotation from Isaiah leads rather abruptly from the birth of Christ to apocalyptic images of the coming Son of Man. Peter's first speech in Rome in *AcPet* 7 is more typical of the document; it addresses the issue of competition. Peter stresses repentance and a return to faith in Christ. The crowd responds by asking Peter to overcome Simon. The overarching theme is the battle between light and darkness. The crucial question is which side will end up with the largest flock. Christ's death and resurrection are mentioned only at the end of the speech, almost as an afterthought. Similarly, Peter's speech in *AcPet* 8 contrasts error, ignorance, and darkness with truth, revelation, and light. Deception is contrasted with grace, terminology which provides a framework for understanding the miracle stories. In *AcPet* miracles, rather than sermons, remain the primary basis of faith. In fact, Peter several times urges his audience to place their trust in deeds rather than words. If the apostles bear witness, it is to their own inadequate understanding of the transcendent nature of Christ, rather than to the fact of his resurrection. Even when *AcPet* does offer a more sophisticated theological framework, it is nothing like Lucan *Heilsgeschichte* but rather the philosophical dualism of the cross speeches in *AcPet* 37-39. While canonical Acts can warn against Satan, and can exploit some of the commonplaces of stoicism, it contains nothing comparable to the allegorizing of the two crucifixions in *AcPet.*[9]

Speeches in *AcPet* contain one phrase which may derive from the Lucan Acts, "the mighty works of God" appears twice in the *Acts of Peter.* In the first instance it describes part of the content of Peter's preaching which is intended to lead to conversion. Here it is roughly parallel to the famous Pentecost speech of Acts 2, although it is not clear that the same actions of God are referred to. The second instance occurs in a speech addressed to Peter and refers to a future miracle. The author of *AcPet* has picked up a phrase without great concern for its usage in Acts. Since Luke's use is already dependent on the LXX, no certain dependence is demonstrated here.

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9 The symbolism of turning from light to darkness was already traditional in Acts 26:18. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles,* 211.

Acts 2:11
. . . we hear them telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God (*ta megaleia tou theou*).

Acts of Peter 5
. . . he began to explain to Theon the mighty acts of God (*magnalia dei*), how the Lord chose him among the apostles, and the reason he was sailing to Italy.

Acts of Peter 17
"Peter hold on for two more days and you will see the mighty works of God (*magnalia dei*)."

The speeches show some overlap of interest, but the center of gravity is quite differently located in each text. The two most important elements in the theological speeches of the canonical Acts, arguments with non-believing Jews and emphasis on the resurrection, scarcely appear in *AcPet*. The apologetic content of the various trial speeches is wholely missing because *AcPet* has no trial scenes—this in spite of offering a martyrdom. On the other side, *AcPet* is concerned with the confirmation and restoration of faith in the face of competition, an issue that does not concern the Lucan text. The closest parallel to these concerns in Acts is Paul's farewell speech with its brief note that perverse men will arise to corrupt the faithful (Acts 20:29–30). Simon, of course, fills this role in *AcPet*.

Simon Magus

Apart from the Paul material, the strongest link between the two texts is the encounter between Peter and Simon Magus. Both Acts 8 and the figure of Bar-Jesus, that other Magus, in Acts 13, have contributed something to the depiction of Simon in *AcPet*. The material parallel to the encounter in Acts 8:9--24 is now scattered in *AcPet*, but the missing Jerusalem section probably contained a more unified narrative of this event. It is clear that the story was not simply transferred from Acts, but the question is whether the Lucan account is the starting point for the whole tradition concerning conflicts between Peter and Simon Magus.

Many of the issues are the same in the two texts: Simon is identified as a magician and associated with the title, "Power of God" (or its parody "Power of Satan").[10] In each version faith is based on miracles, and the miracles of the apostles are said to be greater than anything Simon can do.

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10 Another possible reference to the title occurs in *AcPet* 17. "When Eubula discovered this deed, she began to torture her household saying, 'You took advantage of this godly man's presence to despoil me, since you saw him whose name is the name of the Lord coming to me and honoring a simple woman.'" Turner suggested emending *nomen* to *numen* in this passage, which would produce another reference to the Power of God. The title is one of many used of Simon in *AcPet*.

Acts 8:9–11
But there was a man named Simon who had previously practiced magic in the city and amazed the nation of Samaria, saying that he himself was somebody great. They all gave heed to him from the least to the greatest saying, "This man is that power of God which is called Great." And they gave heed to him, because for a long time he had amazed them with his magic.

Acts of Peter 17
Believe me brothers and sisters, I put this Simon to flight from Judea, who was causing many evils with his magic spells.

Acts of Peter 31
I will fly up to God, whose Power I am, though weakened.

Acts of Peter 32
Simon, if the Power of God is utterly broken, shall not this God whose Power you are be blinded?

Acts of Peter 8
. . . you should know that Satan, whose power Simon proves himself to be, has destroyed all those who had faith in me by means of his cunning and activity.

Simon's response to the speaking dog in *AcPet* 9 may owe something to his response to Philip's miracles.[11]

Acts 8:12–13
But when they believed Philip as he preached good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. Even Simon himself believed, and after being baptized he continued with Philip. And seeing signs and great miracles performed he was amazed.

Acts of Peter 9
When Simon heard this and saw the incredible sight, he forgot the words with which he deceived those who surrounded him and everyone was stunned.

Peter and John are inserted into Luke's story to forge a link with Jerusalem and the overarching scheme of expansion from that center. The most specific parallels are the offer to buy a power associated with the laying on of hands. The reference to this episode which is found in Peter's speech in the forum (*AcPet* 23) probably reflects a more complete narration in the Jerusalem section of the original of *AcPet.*

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11 Given Simon's reputation at a later period, it is hard to imagine why an apostle would be credited with Simon's conversion. Perhaps the use of Philip here is meant to protect Peter's reputation.

Acts 8:18–21
Now when Simon saw that the Spirit was given through the laying on of the apostles' hands, he offered them money, saying, "Give me also this power, that any one on whom I lay my hands may receive the Holy Spirit." But Peter said to him, "Your silver perish with you, because you thought you could obtain the gift of God with money! You have neither part nor lot in this matter, for your heart is not right before God."

Acts of Peter 23
Speak Simon! Didn't you throw your yourself at my feet and at Paul's in Jerusalem when you saw the healings which were done by our hands? Didn't you say, "I beg you, take as much payment as you want from me, if I can lay on hands and perform such wonders." When we heard this from you, we cursed you: "Do you expect to tempt us with the desire for money? Do you now fear nothing?"

In each account Peter is accompanied by others, but he takes the lead role in condemning Simon, a detail that stands at the head of the whole Simon Peter/Simon Magus tradition. The offer to purchase the special powers conveyed through the laying on of hands suggests some kind of relationship. The original scene in *AcPet* may have been a direct adaptation of the scene from Acts. If so, it would have been the only instance comparable to the Patroclus story in *MartPaul* 1. Significant differences also appear. The location of the encounter is changed to Jerusalem. The change of personnel is also striking. Philip has disappeared. Paul appears in place of John.[12]

There is one additional complication. The story in Acts concerns the prerogatives of apostolic office and the bestowal of the Spirit. Neither issue is of great import in the *Acts of Peter*, which is concerned with wonders more broadly conceived. As others have noted, the power to work wonders is the more appropriate subject of Simon's offer.[13] If a source is suspected behind the account in Acts, should we assume that *AcPet* knew that source as well as the canonical account, or that it correctly restored the original content, which happened to fit its interests? The latter is more likely, since the motif of laying on of hands seems to come from Acts. The whole scene shows how freely the author of *AcPet* was able to use material from Acts.

Both Simon's conversion at the beginning of the episode and his contrition, however inadequate, are unparalleled in *AcPet*. Indeed, if Acts is taken seriously, *AcPet* makes no sense. The canonical text seems out of line with the rest of early Christian literature by being much kinder to the Samaritan Magus. The apocryphal account offers only the theoretical possibility of Simon's salvation, and clearly Simon fails to take advantage of the opportunity.

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12 In the Syriac *History of Peter*, Peter asks Simon, "Did you not fall at my feet and those of the other apostles in Jerusalem?" Poupon and Thomas accept this as the original reading of *AcPet*. I believe that it is more likely a correction of the oddity found in the present text.

13 Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 37.

Acts 8:22–24
Repent therefore of this wickedness of yours, and pray to the Lord that, if possible, the intent of your heart may be forgiven you. For I see that you are in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. And Simon answered, "Pray for me to the Lord, that nothing of what you have said may come upon me."

Acts of Peter 28
If even this man (Simon) is able to repent, it would be better, for God will not remember evil deeds.

There is enough overlap of peculiar features to indicate some relationship. It is more likely that the story in Acts served as a source for *AcPet* than that they share a common tradition from an otherwise unknown source. Even apart from the accepted chronology, the canonical Acts would have to be given priority because the motif of laying on of hands is more at home there. The freedom with which the canonical story is modified shows that it was not authoritative for the author of *AcPet.* The treatment it receives is different from that of the "Gospel" in *AcPet* 20. There, the text is elaborated upon in preaching, but it is not contradicted.[14]

The description of Simon in *AcPet* may have also drawn inspiration from the encounter between Paul and the Jewish Magus Bar-Jesus narrated in Acts 13:6–12. Simon is labeled "Son of Satan" at several places in the apocryphal text. The most extensive parallel to Acts 13 is Simon's denunciation by an inspired infant in *AcPet* 15. The two *Strafwundern* include broadly similar denunciations and temporary incapacitations which are attributed directly to Christ. The story is both longer and more clearly integrated into the narrative context in *AcPet.*[15]

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14 Rolling up the scroll before explaining its content reflects liturgical practice rather than disrespect.

15 In this case the "fit" is better on the side of the derivative narrative; brevity is on the side of the canonical text.

Acts 13: 9–11

But Saul, who is also called Paul, filled with the holy spirit, looked intently at him and said, "You son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, full of all deceit and villainy, will you not stop making crooked the straight paths of the Lord?"

And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon you, and you shall be blind and unable to see the sun for a time." Immediately mist and darkness fell upon him and he went about seeking people to lead him by the hand.

AcPet 15

The child, which she had nursed for seven months, could not yet talk, but it took on a manly voice and said to Simon, "O, you who are dreadful before God and humans! O, destruction of truth and most evil seed of corruption! O most unfruitful fruit of nature! Yet, you appear only briefly and for a moment. Afterward, eternal punishment waits for you. Born of a shameless father, you never send roots int the good but rather into poison. You are an incredible offspring, forsaking every hope! When a dog exposed you, you were not disturbed. I, a speechless infant, am compelled by God to speak and you do not blush. Yet even if you are unwilling, on the coming sabbath day another will bring you to the Julian forum, so that the sort of person you are will be demonstrated in yourself. Depart now from the door through which the footsteps of the saints pass, for you shall no longer corrupt innocent souls which you have overthrown and made sorrowful in relation to Christ! Your most depraved nature will be revealed, and your machinations will be destroyed. Now I am speaking the last word to you: 'Jesus Christ says to you: "Become speechless, compelled by my name, and leave Rome until the coming sabbath.'" Immediately, having become speechless, he left Rome and stayed in a stable.

The greatest difference in the overall picture of Simon is the wealth of material presented in *AcPet.* The apocryphal account adds many specifics concerning Simon's wonders, especially the story of his departure from Judea and his flight over the city of Rome. *AcPet* mentions a statue of Simon in Rome and plays with the title "Standing One." *AcPet* shares at least as much in common with the surviving works of Justin Martyr as it does with the canonical text. Some of the Simon material may have come from additional sources now lost. One suspects that much of it was freely spun from the raw materials of miracle stories available everywhere. Although the Lucan Acts was one source, it is not the only one or necessarily the most important one.

In Another Place

One of the potentially most interesting, although most tenuous, connections between the texts is their contrasting treatments of the region of Northern Asia Minor. The canonical text notes that Paul did not visit the area (Acts 16:7), yet it knows of Christians from this region who are active in other areas (cf. Aquila in Acts 18:2). Acts does not explain how Christianity came to the region. On the other hand, *AcPet* gratuitously mentions a hospice of the Bithynians in Rome and seems to employ traditions associated with that region.[16] Peter plays an important role in the connection between the Christians of Rome and northern Asia Minor in 1 and 2 Peter as well. The silence of Acts is perhaps not entirely innocent. A disagreement over Peter traditions lurking behind these texts. If so, the intertextual relationship is potentially further complicated.

Genre

If the canonical Acts did not inspire the majority of the content of the apocryphal text, did it provide the model on the larger scale of literary genre? Similarities of form and subject matter have been another strong argument for influence, although some would prefer to protect the uniqueness of canonical Acts by assigning it to a different genre. It is probably wisest to treat *AcPet* and Acts as members of the same literary genre, whatever designation one chooses for that genre. However, that is not to say that the canonical text was *the* model in this arena either. Luke's Acts was modeled as much on the gospel as on other historical or quasi-historical genres. *AcPet* represents a similar, though not identical, move beyond the gospel genre.[17] Indeed, by including the martyrdom of the protagonist and the assurance of blessings from that martyrdom, the apocryphal acts are in some ways closer to the gospels than the canonical Acts. Although the canonical Acts does not narrate an apostolic martyrdom, it does find occasions for defense speeches, Peter addresses the Sanhedrin and Paul addresses a variety of officials. If either imitation or completion of the canonical text were uppermost in the author's mind, the inclusion of a trial with its defense speech would seem appropriate.[18] Thus, on the issue of genre as well, the Lucan Acts may have exerted influence, but it was not the sole model or necessarily the primary model.

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16 Ficker, *Petrusakten*, 39.

17 Koester has suggested that the apocryphal acts can be understood as continuations of the aretalogical trajectory found in the gospels, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in Koester and Robinson, *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 190–92.

18 The martyrdom section is well attested in several manuscripts, and there is no evidence for a trial scene.

Conclusion

Almost every modern reader of *AcPet* comes to the text already familiar with the Lucan Acts of the Apostles. The same cannot be assumed for its original audience. On the commonly accepted dating of 180–190 CE, *AcPet* was written at the time the first arguments were being made for bringing the Lucan Acts into the canon. If the period of composition should be moved two decades earlier, as I believe, Luke's text would have been in circulation but not yet as an authoritative text. The author of *AcPet* apparently knew Acts, but (s)he did not, and probably could not, assume familiarity on the part of the intended audience.[19]

Our most complete version of *AcPet* begins at a point that plays off the end of the canonical acts, but this fact should not dominate our understanding of the intertextual relationship. It is likely that earlier material was cut out in order to make a smoother continuation of the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, not to connect it to Acts. If supplementation of the canonical Acts had been the goal, narrating the Roman trial and death of Paul would provide the logical extension. The author mentions Paul's death under Nero, but does not narrate it, perhaps because it had been adequately dealt with in AcPaul or its source. The canonical Acts, therefore, is neither the controlling authority nor the sole literary model for *AcPet*. *AcPet* places Peter's activity in a different location and operates with a significantly different conceptual framework. The Lucan Acts is one important resource in the much larger pool of stories from which the mid-second century author could draw motifs and plot elements. The author or *AcPet* felt free to modify, develop, or contradict whatever elements were borrowed from Acts.[20]

If *AcPet* originally included more material dealing with events in Jerusalem, it presented a comprehensive and independent account of the whole of Peter's career that did not rely on knowledge of canonical Acts for its completeness. Neither author nor audience was encumbered by a need to connect the new account to the older text explicitly. It is, indeed, possible to imagine that a text very similar to our *AcPet* could have been produced, even if the Lucan text had never been written or circulated. If concern for intertextual relationships is to give us guidance for reading *AcPet*, we may be required to reposition ourselves as well. It might be better to "forget" what we know of the canonical Acts than to give it privileged status over against those other sources which are now lost to us. Once we have tried to understand the apocryphal text on its own terms, we can reassess its similarities and differences with the canonical Acts of the Apostles.

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19 The author apparently knew Luke's gospel, but seems to have preferred Matthew's.

20 *Acts of Peter* seems to be a little more careful with references to gospel material as we would expect. Even gospel texts are treated as mere approximations of the truth, which need both interpretation and supplementation according to *AcPet* 20.

Models for Petrine Speeches in the *Acts of Peter*

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Introduction

The speeches of Peter in the *Acts of Peter* (hereinafter *APt*) bear a strong resemblance to those of Peter in the canonical Acts. The purpose of this paper is to look at those speeches, to discover clues to rhetorical usage, and to evaluate their content in order to show a continuity of tradition of style and thought in these two documents.

In several ways, the speeches share a context with similar speeches in the canonical Acts. In both, there are clues which alert the reader that a rhetorical piece follows. These include: (1) A voice or pattern of speech which signifies that a rhetorical piece is coming. (2) A specific address to a gathered audience. (3) Classical imitation, characterized in the canonical Acts and *APt* by Septuagintalisms. (4) Similar rhetorical concerns, in particular a concern for kerygmatic statements and witnesses. The speeches represent, as in the canonical Acts, the judicial rhetorical type. Like the speeches of Acts, they do not occur in clusters as in classical literature, and they are short when compared to classical speeches. These shared features emphasize the continuity of *APt* and the canonical Acts. While the speeches display some personal characteristics of the person making the speech, the form and content are mostly determined by stylistic considerations rather than by the speaker in both the canonical Acts and in *APt*.

I. Rhetorical Considerations

A. Setting the Stage

Recent literature identifying rhetorical usages in the canonical New Testament includes an offering by Burton L. Mack of Claremont. His *Rhetoric and the New Testament* outlines the principles of rhetoric in preparation for rhetorical criticism of the canon.[1] More recently Marion Soards has prepared a study of rhetorical considerations of the speeches in the canonical Acts.[2] Soards offers valuable information about Acts which can also be applied to

1 Burton L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

2 Marion Soards, *The Speeches in Acts, Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994).

New Testament apocrypha. I am indebted to both these resources in the following evaluation.

When attention is called to the stance, voice, or audience of a speech, a classical judicial presentation is indicated. The delivery of an oration was of utmost importance. Because we were not eyewitnesses to the speech, we depend upon the reporter to indicate "the use of the voice, pauses and gestures appropriate to a particular speech occasion."[3] These pauses or gestures would be indiscernible without such a witness. Both the canonical Acts and *APt* provide the appropriate clues. In *Actus Vercellenses*, speeches which are attributed to Paul provide an example: in 2,31 the writer announces that Paul's speech begins with a rhetorical silence. Paul sets the stage for one of his speeches with these words: "Tunc Paulus silentium petens dixit (then Paul called for silence and said)." In a second usage in the same section (2,12), "Paulus autem allevavit vocem dicens (Paul lifted up his voice)."[4] Following each of these introductions is a rhetorical speech.

Another example is found in Peter's first sermon at Rome in 7,18: "prima autem sabbatorrum multitudine conveniente Petrum evidendi causa, coepit itaque voce maxima Petrus dicere (On the sabbath, when the multitude gathered to see Peter, Peter started to speak with a 'loud voice')." Not only is the setting and the audience described, but Peter uses a particular voice to address his audience.

"Voice" has been identified as a Septuagintalism by Soards, and is used in the canonical Acts to introduce rhetorical speeches there. Rhetoricians often used archaic language in connection with their speeches, much as archaic English prevails in courtrooms of the United States. Soards identifies this particular Septuagintalism as recalling speeches in such places as Judg 2:4, 9:7, Ruth 1:9, 14; 2 Sam 13:36, Ps 92:3.[5] Another occurrence is *APt* 10, Peter is ready to deliver a prayer. The paragraph begins: "Petrus autem dixit voce magna. (But Peter said with a loud voice)."[6] Acts 2:14 (Vg) begins in a similar fashion: "Stans autem Petrus cum undecim levavit vocem suam et locutus est eis (But Peter, standing with the eleven, lifted up his voice and addressed them)." The Greek verb is *apophtheggomai*, which Haenchen identifies as having rhetorical significance.[7] The phrase "lifted up his voice" is translated *levavit vocem suam* (Vg) and becomes "with a loud voice," (*vocem magna* or *vocem maxima*) in *APt*.

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3 Mack, 34.

4 Edgar J. Hennecke *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. Mc. L. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978), 281.

5 Soards, 139.

6 *Actus Petri cum Simone* 10,12.

7 Ernst Haenchen *The Acts of the Apostles, A Commentary* translated by Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, translation revised by R. Mc. L. Wilson. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978). "*Apophtheggomai*, to speak in inspired or solemn fashion (but not glossolalia)," 178. Compare the Vg "Stans autem Petrus cum undecim levavit vocem suam et locutus est eis; Viri Iudaei et qui habitatis Ierusalem universi.") Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*), with Bezae: "Consistens autem Petrus cum undecim, sustulit vocem suam, et affatus est eos, dicens, Viri Judaei, vosque omnes qui habitatis Hierosolymis."

Each preserves the rhetorical setting, and is a way of calling the voice an inspired voice.[8]

B. Specified and Implied Audiences

The second pertinent feature of a classical speech is the introduction: *prooimion* and *exordium*. Mack says that the introduction "acknowledged the situation, addressed the audience and established the ethos of the speaker."[9] *APt* describes the contest in the forum elaborately. The setting recalls contexts in which speeches in the canonical Acts occur, i.e., the speech of Paul at the Aeropagus. *APt* offers:

> Now the brethren assembled and all those that were in Rome, taking their places and paying a piece of gold for each; and the senators, prefects and officers also collected together. Then Peter came in and took his place in the centre. They all cried out, "Show us, Peter, who is your god, or what is his greatness, which has given you such confidence. Do not be ungenerous to the Romans; they are lovers of the gods. We have had evidence from Simon, and now let us have yours; convince us, both of you, whom we should truly believe."[10]

This narrative sets the stage for a piece of judicial rhetoric. The gathering of senators, prefects, and officers underlines the notion of a trial. Their cry to Peter to show that his God is superior to that of Simon Magus sets the context of the speech which is to follow. The Romans are described as "lovers of the gods," once again recalling the Mars Hill episode. Setting and interest are similar to that in the canonical Acts. Language and setting are keys to intertextual relationships.

The address of Peter is one further indication of an intertextual relationship with the canonical Acts. At first Peter is silent. He looks at his audience, then he addresses the people: "You men of Rome." The context is reminiscent of Acts 17:21-22: "Now all the Athenians and the foreigners who lived there spent their time in nothing except telling or hearing something new." So Paul, standing in the middle of the Areopagus said: "Men of Athens, I perceive that in every way you are very religious." Peter, in the Pentecost speech in Acts 2:13b, addressed the audience in Jerusalem standing in the midst of the eleven: "Men of Judea and all who dwell in Jerusalem, let this be known to you and give ear to my words." This address is a clue that what follows is a rhetorical piece, and these addresses have a prominent place in *APt*, just as they had in the canonical Acts.[11]

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8 Haenchen notes the exchange between Festus and Paul in Acts 26:24: "When he was making this defense, Festus exclaimed, 'You are out of your mind Paul! Too much learning is driving you insane!' But Paul said, 'I am not out of my mind, most excellent Festus, but I am speaking the sober truth.'" This conversation occurs at the end of a piece of judicial rhetoric where Paul answers Tertullus who accuses him of being an agitator throughout the world and even in the temple where he was seized. His voice is described as cheerful.

9 Mack, 41.

10 *APt* 23.

11 Section 3, Paragraph 7, 288. "You men who are present here." Section 7, paragraph 20, 302-3. "You men who believe and hope in Christ . . ." Section 8, paragraph 28, 310

Similar addresses are common in Acts 2:22; 7:2; 13:16; 15:13; 22:1; 26:3. A second address is found in 2:29: "Men, brothers" (Latin: "Viri fratres").[12] Soards cites Dibelius's work on the speeches pointing to the recurring situational introduction, and Conzelmann's listing of essential elements in the speeches which include an appeal for a hearing.[13]

In *APt* 2,31, the speech is addressed to a specific audience: "Viri, fratres qui nunc credere coepistis in Christum." Peter addresses those who are also a part of the faith, and who now believe in Christ. A similar address is found in *APt* 20,30 (66): "Viri, qui adestis, qui speratis in Christo, vos qui in brevi temptationem passi estis." This not only draws attention to a rhetorical speech which follows but also to an intended audience: those who have hope in Christ, and those who have not suffered temptation for a little while. In this case, the audience again contains those who believe, and who have not been tempted in a while.

The choice by *APt* to place an emphasis on speech style, a dramatic form of address, the use of archaisms, and a specified audience are evidences for rhetorical style and thus for a continuity of usage linking *APt* with the canonical Acts.[14]

C. Speeches and Their Parallels

Several of the speeches of Peter (and those of Paul) are tied together in the Vercellenses Acts by the way they are presented. Since stylistic considerations dominate the speeches, they tend to be similar regardless of the named speaker. For that reason a speech of Peter's can use Pauline elements and vice versa.[15] In *Actus Vercellenses* 1, the writer indicates that Paul had contended with the Jewish teachers and confuted them. "Paulus conmisisset cum doctoribus Iudaeorum et concuicisset eos." The content of the discussion is not shared, but there are signs that a judicial argument had taken place. The portion presented at 1,17 gives an indication of the content of the original argument: "It is Christ on whom your fathers laid hands. He abolished their sabbath and fasts and festivals and circumcision and he abolished the doctrines of men and the other traditions."[16]

Earlier it was noted that in *APt* 2,31 Paul called for silence, and addressed a speech to an audience of those who believed in Christ.[17] Following the

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"You men of Rome . . ."; twice, 312 "You men of Rome." Page numbers refer to Hennecke-Schneemelcher.

12 The archaic translation of the Vulgate and *APt* is preserved only to underline the bifocal audience of the speeches which follow.

13 Soards, 10-11.

14 Acts 2:14, Peter's Sermon at Pentecost begins with an address "You men of Judea. . . ."

15 Soards cites Plümacher's distinctions between the speeches in Acts and those in classical rhetoric. (1) They are shorter. (2) They never function in clusters as they do in Hellenistic historiography. (3) There is no deliberative element and little epideictic rhetoric in Acts. (4) Luke did not use speeches to characterize distinct individuals (Soards, 141).

16 Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 280.

17 P. 4.

introduction is a judicial speech concerning steadfastness in belief as the antidote for things done in ignorance, one of the concerns of Peter's speech at Solomon's Portico (Acts 3:17). *APt* reports: "Then God through his holy Son, on whom you now believe, will forgive what you did in ignorance before you knew him." Acts 3:17 (Vg) is "Et nunc, fratres, scio quia per ignorantiam fecistis sicut et principes vestri."[18] "And now, *Et nunc,*" is identified by Soards as a Septuagintalism. Speeches using this phrase are found in Tob, 1 Macc, Jdt and 1 Esdr.[19] *APt* 2 also contains material which may relate to Col 1:15 and 1 Tim 1:13. It concludes with an exhortation to believe in God, to trust in Jesus, and then a request for prayers because Paul is about to set off on another journey.

Above it was noted that on the occasion of Peter's first Roman sermon on the first day of week a kerygmatic judicial speech was offered.[20] Kerygmatic concerns are another mark of the rhetoric of the canonical Acts. The speech in *APt* affirms the birth of Jesus through the Virgin Mary. It notes that humanity has fallen into ignorance, and because of that ignorance, the Son had to be sent into the world.[21] Peter affirms his authority by noting that he was an eyewitness of God on earth, and that he walked on water. Further, he tells of his denial of Jesus three times. As for him, Satan's temptation is the destiny of Peter's audience. The only hope is to remain strong in the Lord. Take Peter's word for it, there will not be another savior other than the one who was despised and mocked and crucified and rose on the third day.

Burton Mack says: "It is extremely important to see that the raw data of rhetorical persuasion consisted of examples, analogies and fables, and that an example of any kind counted as a proof in a pattern of argumentation, not merely as an illustration illuminating instruction."[22] The material in the major speech in 23 and 24 is a superb illustration of that point. In recalling the Eubula story, *APt* appeals to an example for which he had witnesses in the audience. He enlists Simon among the witnesses when Peter reminds Simon of how he was expelled from Judea. Peter then establishes his own authority based on his faith in Jesus Christ. After an interruption from Simon disparaging Christ, Peter returns to the task and uses proofs from scripture to buttress his argument. He calls on Christians and Jews in the audience to confirm his witness, a witness not expected from the Romans.

Mack helps us to understand what is going on here. He writes that Christians were seeking to define themselves against two cultures. "What early Christians did was what any society involved in cultural change has to do: manipulate the stock images, conventional values, and standard rhetorical patterns of persuasion in the interest of their own social experiment and seek

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18 Bezae translates the Greek: "Sed nunc, fratres, scio vos per ignorantiam ista fecisse, sicut et primores vestros (But now, brothers, I know you acted out of ignorance, just as did your leaders)." The Latin use of the demonstrative pronoun *ista* instead of the normal *hic* often refers to an opposing party in a debate, often contemptuously. *Novum Testamentum, Interprete Theodor Beza,* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1869).

19 Soards, 139.

20 See above.

21 Soards finds the idea of divine necessity common in the canonical speeches, 184ff.

22 Mack, 40.

its grounding in some new system of recently anchored symbols."[23] Petrine discourses in *APt* employ large amounts of figurative language, in keeping with other early Christian usages, and in keeping with the speeches of Peter in the canonical Acts. Mack notes that there is a paucity of historical example for early Christian apologists, so they tended to fill in "the vacant spaces with images of the impossible (thus) early Christians may have been in danger of cultivating fantasies in place of this-worldly pieties and performances."[24]

Bifocal addresses are characteristic of rhetoric, and early Christian rhetoric is no exception; for example, the text of *APt* points out that those gathered in the forum included both people of faith and the inquisitive Romans. An appeal to outside authority is a property of rhetorical discourse: embattled Christians appeal to God, Jesus, or the Holy Spirit as guarantors of claims.[25] In *APt* Peter uses his commission by Christ as his authority.[26]

II. The Contest in the Forum

The concept of rhetorical interpretation can be tested in a specific example: the contest in the forum. One of the characteristics of the judicial discourse was the citation of witnesses to the truth of the *proposition* which begins the discourse. The proposition of the present speech is that Peter's God is the "living and true God." For proof he calls on those who know to bear witness to what he has to say. The first set of evidences offered are witnesses to the evil acts of magic practiced on Eubula by Simon Magus, and his expulsion from Judea by Peter, as well as his attempt to purchase the gift of the Holy Spirit. The second set of evidences enlists prophetic forecasts revolving around Isaiah 53 and the development of an image for Christ using the metaphor of a stone. These evidences establish the veracity of the birth and death of Christ in rebuttal of Simon's challenge: "Is God born? Is God crucified?"

A. Simon Magus

Evidence for the power of Peter's God begins with the Eubula account. Simon Magus was in Judea where Peter and Paul expelled him for some magical arts practiced on Eubula, "an honorable and most simple woman" (8,23). Simon 'stole' into Eubula's house along with two others like himself. By means of a spell they took away all of the gold, and Simon managed to keep the two others invisible. Eubula, still bewitched by Simon tortures her household with these words: "You took advantage of (the visit of) this godly man and have robbed me, because you saw him coming in to me to do honour to a simple woman; but his name is 'the power of the Lord.'"[27]

Because of Simon's trick on Eubula, Peter begins a fast. His fasting leads to a vision.[28] In that vision a young boy informs him that the things stolen from

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23 Mack, 94.

24 Mack, 95-6.

25 Mack, 94-96.

26 Authority is a concern of Peter's on a number of occasions.

27 *APt* 17.

28 Another connection with the canonical Acts. Peter's fasting at Joppa leads to a vision where he discerns the universality of the teachings of his Lord. After the vision at Joppa,

Eubula's household were stolen by Simon and his henchmen using magical arts. The youngster also relates that he is to find the henchmen selling the artifacts at the gate leading toward Naples (*sic*). Peter now found Eubula sitting with her clothes torn and her hair in disorder, and invited her to get her act together, and pray to Jesus in whom she must be saved, for the Lord says to her through Peter: "All that you have lost you shall find." That which is lost is found, her wealth restored, and Simon and his henchmen expelled from Judea.

The canonical Acts ends the discussion of Simon with his fate undecided. Justin Martyr says that he was expelled from Judea by the apostles. In *APt* Peter and Paul expel him from Jerusalem because of the magic practiced on Eubula. That sets the stage for a new contest: "Peter, the man Simon whom you expelled from Judea, proving him a sorcerer, has again forestalled you (pl.) at Rome."[29]

Because Simon is a fellow Samarian, Justin has a special interest in him. He describes him as the father of all heresies. Simon practices during the reign of Claudius.[30] Justin reports that he was considered a god. He says, a statue was erected in honor of him bearing an inscription "Simoni Deo Sancto."[31] *APt* gives the senator Marcellus responsibility for erecting the statue, this time with an inscription:[32] "To Simon the young God." Earlier *APt* had Simon claiming to be the great power of God. Acts 8:10, where Simon is named "the great power of God" by the Samaritan people is behind this account.

B. Marcellus

Marcellus is a Roman nobleman who has been a benefactor of the church in Rome. He is easily persuaded by Simon. Marcellus repents of his error, and goes to Peter for forgiveness. Christopher Matthews writes that the scene of Marcellus at Peter's feet in *APt* 10 "is suggestive of the kind of intertextual impact the canonical Acts may have had on *APt.* Marcellus' appeal for Peter's intercessory prayer . . . clearly reflects Simon's plea in Acts 8:24 for Peter's prayerful assistance in escaping destruction."[33] Marcellus says, "If I knew that you could have been won over with money, I would give my whole fortune."[34] The blame is placed on Simon by Marcellus: "But I protest that he

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Peter has three visitors who are messengers: two slaves and a soldier. During the vision about Eubala, Peter has three messengers: two converts, and an unclothed young man.

29 *APt* 5.

30 I *Apol.* 26.

31 A statue found in 1574 at the place described by Justin Martyr bore an inscription: "Semoni Sanco Deo." This statue was in honor of a Sabine deity by the name of Semon Sancus.

32 *APt* 10.

33 Christopher R. Matthews "Philip and Simon, Luke and Peter: A Lukan Sequel and Its Intertextual Success," in Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., ed., *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 136.

34 *APt* 10, Acts 8:18 depicts Simon offering Peter and John money for the gift of the power of the Holy Spirit.

would not have deceived me except by saying that he was the power of God."[35]

This is a summary of Peter's evidence. He believes he has provided enough evidence for the audience to dismiss Simon as a charlatan. Just to be sure, he takes this opportunity to establish his own authority. "My name is Peter, because the Lord Christ thought it fit to call me 'prepared for all things.'"[36]

Simon interrupts with a new challenge: "Is God born? Is God crucified?" These propositions are illogical, and he does not perceive the Romans to be fools.

The response is Peter's continuation of the previous judicial discourse. The *refutatio* is the question Simon asks. The questions of birth and crucifixion are often tied together in antiquity. For example, Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 33 speaks of the manner of Christ's birth, chapter 34 tells of the place of Christ's birth, and 35 discloses other prophecies fulfilled in the crucifixion of Christ. *1 Apol.* 40 reports the Advent of Christ is foretold, and 41 finds prophecies that predict the crucifixion.

A series of scriptural and non-scriptural citations are offered by *APt*, leading finally to a conclusion: "You men of Rome, if you were versed in the prophetic writings I would explain all this to you; for through them . . . the kingdom of God (will) be fulfilled." This is an example of the interruption that characterizes the rhetorical speeches of the canonical Acts, a device which is infrequent in classical rhetoric.[37]

Peter begins with citations from what may be a *testimonia* from the prophet Isaiah. A likely candidate for a source is Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* 43, where each of the Isaiah passages are also found. Not only are the Isaiah passages used in similar order, they are used in the same context by Justin and *APt.* Overlaying these citations are materials from the *Ascension of Isaiah* 11 and the *Sibylline Oracles* 8.457

The conclusion of Peter's speech employs symbols used by both 1 Peter and by Bishop Cyprian. Treatises with prophetic citations gathered around a particular theme were common in antiquity. Such a testimony book is behind 1 Peter 2:4ff., as well as the treatises of Cyprian which utilizes a collection of references to Christ around a stone analogy. The stone analogy in Cyrpian includes reference to the prophet Daniel, as does *APt.* Treatise 2, Testimony 16 announces that Christ is also called a Stone, according to Ps 117 "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner." Testimony 17 tells that afterwards this Stone should become a mountain and, should fill the whole earth, citing Dan 2:34, which is behind *APt*: "A stone is cut without hands and has broken all the kingdoms." Further the reference to Isa 28:16 begins Testimony 16. Cyprian argues that in the last days the mountain will be manifested, that Christ is the bridegroom and the church Christ's bride from whom spiritual children are born. The crucifixion is mentioned. The sign of that Cross is salvation for all people who are marked

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35 *APt* 10.

36 Mack, 23. "Rhetorical criticism cannot avoid the question of the stature of the speaker and his or her right to be heard."

37 Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, p. 138.

on their foreheads. Jesus would not be overcome by death or Hades, and he would arise from the dead on the third day. In Testimony 26, Dan 7:13 is cited as it is in *APt*: "And again the prophet says of him, 'And behold I saw one coming upon a cloud like a son of man.'" Each of the treatises mentioned are very short paragraph consisting of 3-5 lines, indicating how closely these themes were tied together in Cyprian just as they are tied together in *APt*. *APt* began with a body of witness relating to the birth of Christ reflecting the argument style of Justin Martyr and ends with a body of witness also used in a context shared with both 1 Peter and Cyprian.

C. Peter's Sermon at Marcellus's Home

The narrative pays attention to detail as *APt* describes how Peter goes into the dining room. He saw that the gospel was being read.[38] Peter then rolled up the book[39] and began his sermon. The address is a rhetorical address: "You men who believe and hope in Christ." What follows is a sermon addressed to the believers. The gospels appear to be in written form, and from the content of the sermon, they are to be understood as scripture. The editorial "we" includes Peter as one of the authors of gospel material.

The proposition is that those gathered for the sermon must learn to know the will of God. It is through the will of God that during a time of great error, God chose human form. That was Christ who was seen by each who followed as he or she was able. In a possible reference to the transfiguration, Peter is left blinded by Christ's radiance. Peter thinks that he has been destined to blindness, but the Lord lifts him up, whereupon Peter is able to see the Lord in a form he is able to comprehend. Peter interprets that to mean that Jesus has borne our weaknesses and carried our sins. He cites Isaiah 53:4: "He beareth our sins and is afflicted for us; yet we thought him to be afflicted and stricken with wounds." John 10:38 is cited next: "For he is in the Father and the Father in him." The sermon closes with a string of titles for Christ recalling various gospels.

III. Conclusion

The thoughts presented here are important for intertextual studies. We have shown how a number of speeches are influenced by the style and format of similar speeches in the canonical Acts. *APt*, like its canonical counterpart, is built around a number of speeches which relate to the apostle Paul, then to the apostle Peter. These speeches are rhetorical in nature because they display the clues that alert a reader that she or he is dealing with a rhetorical piece.

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[38] Does this choice of words mean that the gospel was being read silently? Why not Peter heard the gospel being read? David Cartlidge includes this Act in his discussion of the orality of ancient texts in "Combien d'unites avez-vous de trois à quartre? What Do We Mean By Intertextuality in Early Church Studies?" in *SBL 1990 Seminar Papers*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 407.

[39] J. K. Elliot translates: "When Peter came into the dining room he saw the gospel was being read. And rolling it up he said. . . ." (*The Apocryphal New Testament, A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation Based on M. R. James*. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993] 413.)

Several cases in *APt* have been noted where the setting is specified, the audience is defined, the voice of the speaker is delineated, the audience is addressed, and often there is a double direction to these addresses. The concerns of the speakers in each case contain witness elements, and often the speaker focuses on kerygmatic formulas. Some archaisms have been identified further suggesting that rhetorical material is at hand. The major example, the speech in *APt* 23 and 24 is judicial in nature and includes material around Simon Magus which illustrates continuity with traditions about Peter also found in the canonical Acts of the Apostles. The picture of Peter in the canonical Acts molds Peter in *APt* as one who delivers messages in a rhetorical fashion.

These speeches are rare in early Christianity outside the canonical Acts, and may be the only non-canonical materials which use an outright rhetorical style for speeches attributed to Peter. The case for a heavy dependence of *APt* on the canonical Acts has been shown. In addition to the canonical material, *APt* is informed by the work of Justin Martyr, and uses other imagery in common with early Christian writers, i.e., Cyprian, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the *Ascension of Isaiah*, as well as I Peter. These observations are of great importance in the establishment of the intertextuality of *APt* and the canonical Acts.

There remain many questions about the usage of this rhetorical style by *APt*. Is there a correlation between Peter's image in *APt* and that presented in the Latin and or Greek text of Bezae? What does this relationship between *APt* and the canonical Acts have to say about the priority of *APt* in relation to other apocryphal materials? Were these speeches available to *APt* as a part of a Petrine tradition and incorporated into a narrative by the writer? Or were these speeches minted by the writer using a model of the Petrine speeches in Acts? Further research in these directions is suggested.

Dating the *Protevangelium of James*: The Justin Martyr Connection

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Introduction[1]

The "Protevangelium of James" (PJ) is one of the earliest and most important of the Christian Apocrypha. Whether this document is categorized as an "infancy gospel" or as an "historia,"[2] its influence has been felt throughout the Christian world from antiquity to the present time. Although PJ was first brought to the attention of the West in 1552,[3] critical study of this apocryphon began in earnest in the nineteenth century.[4] By the 1950s, many scholars had come to the conclusion that PJ was a product of the middle of the second century.[5] The works of Justin Martyr (JM)[6] provided a viable *terminus ad quem* for PJ, contingent upon the possibility that this early Apologist had used this apocryphon as one of his sources.

But a new era in Protevangelium studies was initiated by the discovery of a complete copy of PJ contained in the exceptionally well-preserved Papyrus Bodmer V. The appearance of the diplomatic *editio princeps* of this ancient

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1 This paper is a revision of a chapter in G. Zervos, "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Genesis Marias (Protevangelium Jacobi): The Greek Manuscripts" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1986).

2 J. L. Allen, "The 'Protevangelium of James' as an 'Historia': The Insufficiency of the 'Infancy Gospel' Category" *SBLSP* 1992, 508-17.

3 Concerning the "discovery" of PJ by the French humanist Guillaume Postel, see W. J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957) p. 16.

4 F. Bovon, "The Suspension of Time in Chapter 18 of Protevangelium Jacobi," *The Future of Early Christianity* (ed. B. A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 396-7. For a discussion of early positions on the major critical issues concerning PJ, see E. Amann, *Le Protevangile de Jacques et ses Remaniements Latins* (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1910).

5 Cf. B. Altaner, Patrology (Freiburg: Herder and Herder, 1960) 67; J. Quasten, *The Beginnings of Patristic Literature* (*Patrology* I; Utrecht-Brussels: Spectrum, 1951) 119; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924; reprints) ix; E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 1.372; W. Michaelis, *Die Apokryphen Schriften zum Neuen Testament* (Bremen: Carl Schunemann, 1956) 62; J. Galot, "La Virginite," *NRT* 82 (1960) 454; J. C. Plumpe, "Some Little-Known Early Witnesses to Mary's *Virgintas in Partu*," *TS* 9 (1948) 570.

6 The *First Apology* (*1 Apol.*) and the *Dialogue with Trypho* (*Dial.*).

manuscript in 1958[7] served as the catalyst for a period of heightened scholarly interest in our apocryphon. In 1961, the Belgian Jesuit scholar, Emile de Strycker, initiated a flurry of publications on PJ with his landmark critical edition, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques.*[8] Although de Strycker's own expertise was in the area of textual criticism, in this work he presented conclusions on other critical aspects of PJ which were to have a far-reaching influence on later scholars.

In his discussion on the date of PJ, de Strycker first accepted the validity of the references to this apocryphon in the third-century writings of Origen and Clement of Alexandria.[9] He then confronted the evidence for a literary connection between the author of PJ and JM.[10] De Strycker presented and dismissed four proposed *concordances* between PJ and the works of JM, which he considered worthy of mention. He assigned the composition of PJ to the second half of the second century.[11] Thus, in a book which would prove to be a seminal publication on our apocryphon, de Strycker concluded that there was no literary dependence between JM and the author of PJ, neither of one with regard to the other, nor of both with regard to a third source.[12]

Three years after the appearance of de Strycker's work, two articles addressing the date of PJ were published together in the third volume of *Studia Evangelica.*[13] In one of the articles, P. A. van Stempvoort proposed a *terminus ad quem* for this apocryphon in 204; he placed the *terminus a quo* in 178, the year of

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7 M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer V: Nativite de Marie* (Cologny-Geneve: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1958).

8 (*Subsidia Hagiographa* 33; Brussels, 1961). Five years before the appearance of this critical text, B. Daniels had amassed bibliographical information on 138 Greek MSS of PJ and had collected photographs and microfilms of 81 of these at Duke University. Daniels presented collations of these texts in his three volume, 1033-page dissertation, "The Greek Manuscript Tradition of the Protevangelium Jacobi" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1956). De Strycker also continued to accumulate textual evidence on PJ, which he published in "De Griekse Handschriften van het Protevangelie van Jacobus," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen. Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie.* Klasse der Letteren. Jaargang XXX, nr. 1 (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1968) 3-30 and reviews by M. Santer, *JTS* 20 (1969) 289-90 and Kurt Treu, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 49 (1971) 514; "Die Griechischen Handschriften des Protevangeliums Iacobi," *Griechische Kodikologie und Textuberlieferung* (ed. Dieter Harlfinger; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980) 577-612.

9 *Forme,* pp. 412-13. Origen, *Comm. in Mt.* X, 17 *τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς Ἰησοῦ φασί τινες εἶναι, ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρου εὐαγγελίου ἢ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοὺς Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς συνῳκηκυίας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας*; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* VII, 16, 93 *Ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαριὰμ λεχὼ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γέννησιν, οὐκ οὖσα λεχὼ (καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσαν φασί τινες παρθένον εὑρεθῆναι).*

10 Ibid., pp. 414-17.

11 Ibid., p. 418.

12 Ibid., p. 414. "Avec . . . la majeure partie des critiques recents, nous estimons que, de ces rencontres pretendues ou reelles entre les deux auteurs, on ne peut legitimement conclure a une dependance litteraire ni de l'un a l'egard de l'autre ne des deux a l'egard d'une troisieme source."

13 Volume III, Part II (*TU* 88; ed. F. Cross; Berlin: Academie-Verlag, 1964).

the "polemics of Celsus, to which the P.J. gives a direct answer."[14] De Strycker himself wrote the second article in that volume.[15] In this, his second, treatment of the date of PJ, de Strycker reaffirmed his earlier conclusion, from *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques*, that PJ was written in the second half of the second century.[16] He pointed out similarities between PJ and the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* and dated both of these apocrypha to around 180.

But the most significant development in de Strycker's second publication on PJ is that he abandoned the position he had defended in *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques*, concerning the literary dependence between the author of PJ and JM. Whereas, in 1961, de Strycker had denied the existence of any literary connection between these two authors, he now reversed himself and accepted just such a connection. And concerning the four proposed *concordances* between PJ and the writings of JM, which he had dismissed in his earlier work, de Strycker now wrote: "un certain nombre de concordances entre le Protevangile et le chapitre 33 de la Ie Apologie de Justin s'expliquent au mieux par une dependance litteraire du Pseudo-Jacques a l'egard de Justin."[17]

De Strycker attributed his complete turnaround to Jose de Aldama, who had presented evidence in an article published in 1962 which had convinced de Strycker that the author of PJ had utilized the works of JM.[18] Now, in 1964, de Strycker was saying that, in his own discussion on the date of PJ in *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques*, he had refuted only the opinion of Zahn that JM had used PJ as a source.[19] He now seemed to be saying that, in 1961, he had only been "inclined to believe" that these two authors were independent of each other.[20] In 1968, de Strycker reiterated his belief that de

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14 "The Protevangelium Jacobi, the Sources of Its Theme and Style and Their Bearing on its Date," *SE* III, pp. 411-426. Van Stempvoort based his dating of PJ on the similarity of Septuagint themes occurring in PJ and in certain writings of Hippolytus around 200. In a brief introduction prefixed to this article, Van Stempvoort states that "De Strycker's work has become an invaluable help in studying the text and all problems connected with it. This work did not induce me, however, to change my views, as regards the introductory questions treated in detail in these pages." But, in fact, van Stempvoort's attempt to prove a later date for PJ seems to presuppose his acceptance of de Strycker's main thesis against a PJ/JM connection; van Stempvoort nowhere even mentions JM in connection with the date of PJ.

15 "Le Protevangile de Jacques, Problemes critiques et exegetiques," *SE* III, pp. 339-59.

16 Ibid., p. 353.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., p. 353, n. 2, "Dans La forme, pp. 414-417, nous avons refute l'opinion de Zahn, qui voyait dans le Protevangile une source de Justin; nous inclinions a croire que les deux auteurs etaient independants l'un de l' autre. Depuis lors, le P. Jose A. de Aldama a donne des raisons tres solides de croire que le Pseudo-Jacques a utilise Justin; voir El Protevangelio de Santiago y sus problemas dans: Ephemerides mariologicae 12, 1962, pp. 126-129."

19 Cf. *Forme*, p. 414, esp. n. 3, where de Strycker describes T. Zahn as a persistent defender of the dependence of JM on PJ.

20 "Problemes," p. 353, n. 2, "nous inclinions a croire que les deux auteurs etaient independants l'un de l'autre." Compare this with de Strycker's original statement quoted above in n. 12.

Aldama had proved the dependence of PJ on JM; he again dated PJ after JM in the last decades of the second century.[21]

In 1965, H. R. Smid published the Greek text of PJ with a commentary and introduction examining various aspects of this document.[22] In his discussion of the date of PJ, he summarized the original arguments of de Strycker from *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques*, as well as those of van Stempvoort.[23] Smid did not comment on de Strycker's conclusions. But he did suggest the possibility of an earlier *terminus a quo* than that of van Stempvoort in 178. With regard to the date of PJ, Smid seems to have anticipated the noncommital attitude of most future scholars after the influential publications of 1961 and 1964: "Therefore it seems wise not to mention too precise limits and to be content with the more general statement that P.J. originated in the second half of the second century."[24]

Since de Strycker's negative evaluation of the relationship between the author of PJ and JM, few scholars have entertained the possibility that the second century apologist had used this apocryphon as one of his sources; those few have done so with reservation.[25] By default, the *terminus ad quem* of PJ has come to be associated with the references to this document contained in the third-century writings of Origen and Clement of Alexandria.[26] Conseqeuently, the prevailing tendency among contemporary researchers is to date PJ in the late second or early third century.[27] In a unique approach, Ron Cameron supports a mid-second century date for PJ, but circumvents the problem of a direct literary dependence between this document and the writings of JM.[28] Cameron considers the author of PJ and JM to have been contemporaries because both used similar gospel harmonies.

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21 *Griekse*, p. 4 and n. 4.

22 *Protevangelium Jacobi. A Commentary* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965).

23 Ibid., pp. 22-24.

24 Ibid., p. 24.

25 W. Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung* (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1963) 44, "es is nicht ausgeschlossen, dass schon Justin der Martyrer und Clemens Alexandrinus es gekannt haben"; and R. E. Brown in *Mary in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 248, "the book was already known to Clement of Alexandria and Origen and may have influenced Justin Martyr"; R. B. Ward, "James of Jerusalem in the First Two Centuries," (*ANRW* II 26.1; Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1992) 799, n. 100.

26 Van Stempvoort's attempt to associate the *terminus ad quem* of PJ with Hippolytus does not seem to have been accepted.

27 E. Cothenet, "Le Protevangile de Jacques: origine, genre, et signification d'un premier midrash chretien sur la Nativite de Marie," (*ANRW* II 25.6; Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1988) 4257; S. Gero, "Apocryphal Gospels: A Survey of Textual and Literary Problems," (*ANRW* II 25.5; Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1988) 3978; H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia and London: Trinity/SCM, 1992) 308-11.

28 *The Other Gospels: Non-Canonical Gospel Texts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982) 108.

Reevaluating de Strycker

Because the work of de Strycker seems to have weighed so heavily upon subsequent scholarly opinion on PJ, this investigation of the date of this document will focus upon the original arguments and conclusions presented by that scholar in *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques.* We shall reexamine the four proposed *concordances* between PJ and the works of JM, which de Strycker presented and dismissed as evidence for a literary connection between these documents. It was this argumentation which led him to place the composition of PJ in the latter part of the second century. De Strycker adhered to this dating of PJ, even after he repudiated, under the influence of de Aldama, his own arguments against a literary connection between this document and JM. De Strycker's abrupt inversion from denial to acceptance of a PJ/JM connection, while retaining the same date for PJ, perhaps betrays a tendentiousness on the part of this influential scholar towards a later date for this apocryphon.

The article of de Aldama, which so decisively influenced the author of *La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques*, also displays its own prejudicial leaning in favor of the hypothesis that PJ was dependent upon the works of JM.[29] At the beginning of his treatment of the PJ/JM connection, de Aldama states that he had arrived at his conclusions on the date of PJ by supposing that, when the author of this apocryphon was editing his own chapter 11, he had before his eyes the page of JM's *1 Apol.* which contained chapter 33.[30] Throughout the course of his discussion of the proposed parallels between these two documents, de Aldama nowhere indicates that he has even considered the alternative possibility—that JM had used PJ as one of his sources.

The four proposed *concordances* between PJ and the works of JM, which de Strycker considered to be worthy of mention in support of a literary connection between the two authors, are the following:

(I) Both PJ XI, 3 and *1 Apol.* 33, 5 join Matt 1:21 to the end of Luke 1:35 (κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ), where both replace θεοῦ with ὑψίστου;

(II) Both PJ XI, 2 and *1 Apol.* 33, 6 identify the λόγος with the πνεῦμα ἅγιον and δύναμις ὑψίστου of Luke 1:35;

(III) Both PJ XII, 2 and *Dial.* 100, 5 contain the words χαρὰν λαβοῦσα;

(IV) Both PJ XVIII, 1 and *Dial.* 78, 5 contain the aching of the birth of Jesus in a cave outside of Bethlehem.

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29 It is ironic that de Aldama cites an incidental comment made by de Strycker in support of the dependence of PJ on JM. De Strycker was arguing against any connection between the two authors at the time. On page 126 of his own article, de Aldama quotes this comment from de Strycker's *Forme*, p. 416: "Et si l'on voulait a tout prix que l'un des auteurs soit dependant de l'autre, c'est Justin qu'il faudrait considerer comme la source."

30 "El Protevangelio de Santiago y sus problemas," *Ephemerides Mariologicae XII* (1962) p. 126. *"Vamos a suponer un momento que el autor del Protevangelio, al redactar su capitulo 11, tiene ante los ojos la pagina de San Justino, Apologia 1,33."*

Concordance I

Both PJ XI, 3 and *1 Apol.* 33, 5 join Matt 1:21 (*καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν*) to the end of Luke 1:35 (*κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ*), where both replace *θεοῦ* with *ὑψίστου*.

De Strycker concludes that *concordance* I proves nothing.[31] He points out correctly that the words preceding the Matthean verse are different in each author, and that each deals with a different Lukan quotation. PJ XI, 3 is following Luke 1:35 (*διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον*); JM is using a phrase borrowed from Luke 1:31 (*καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν καί*).[32] De Strycker describes these two passages as free combinations of elements borrowed from the two canonical gospels of the infancy. He adds that it is quite natural to adjoin the explanation (*αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν*) to the words *καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν*, which are common to Luke 1:31 and Matt 1:21.

Thus, de Strycker was justified in discounting the proposed use of Luke 1:35 by both writers as evidence for a connection between them. But the addition of Matt 1:21 by both authors, immediately after their respective Lukan citations, poses a significant problem. The question raised is whether both the author of PJ and JM derived this verse directly from the gospel of Matthew itself, or whether one of the two obtained it from the other. Since, in PJ XI, 3, Matt 1:21 is joined to the quotation of Luke 1:35, it is not likely that the Matthean verse would have come from *1 Apol.* 33, 5, which is following Luke 1:31. The source of this quotation in PJ XI, 3 must have been the gospel of Matthew.

But the situation in *1 Apol.* 33, 5 is more complex; JM could have derived his quotation of Matt 1:21 in several ways. A parallel comparison of the texts of JM and Luke 1:31-32 will clarify the problem:

1 Apol. 33, 5	Luke 1:31-32
καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν	*καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν*
καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται	*καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα*
καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα	*αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν·*
αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν·	*οὗτος ἔσται μέγας*
αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ	*καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται*
ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.	

JM is following and rearranging Luke 1:31-32 in this passage. He has dropped *οὗτος ἔσται μέγας* and has taken *καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται* from Luke 1:32b and inserted it between *καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν* from Luke 1:31a and *καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν* from Luke 1:31b. Since Luke 1:31b contains

31 *Forme*, pp. 414-15.

32 De Aldama conducts his entire discussion as if he is under the impression that both PJ and JM are quoting Luke 1:35. On four occasions he states that the author of PJ follows this Lukan verse; on the last two of these he refers JM as well. See his treatment of points 1.b, d and e in "Protevangelio," p. 127.

exactly the same text as Matt 1:21a, JM could have taken Matt 1:21b (*αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν*) from the gospel of Matthew or from PJ, and added it to his quote of Luke 1:31b/Matt 1:21a. But it seems more likely that JM obtained all of Matt 1:21 either directly from the gospel of Matthew, or from PJ.

However, in *1 Apol.* 33, 8, JM again quotes the full text of Matt 1:21, but, this time, separate from any Lukan text. And in introducing the Matthean verse in this context, JM specifies that the angel spoke the words contained in Matt 1:21 directly to the virgin (*ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὴν παρθένον εἶπε . . .*). But in the gospel of Matthew, verse 1:21 is introduced by the statement in 1:20 that the angel appeared to Joseph and spoke these words to him and not to Mary (*ἄγγελος κυρίου κατ' ὄναρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων· «Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς Δαυίδ. . . .»*). This contradiction precludes the possibility that JM obtained Matt 1:21 directly from the gospel itself and would seem to indicate that JM derived this verse from PJ XI, 3, where the angel is speaking these same words of Matt 1:21, also directly to Mary (*ἄγγελος ἔστη αὐτῇ λέγων αὐτῇ «οὐχ' οὕτως, Μαρία . . .»*).[33]

Helmut Koester explains the conflicting accounts of the recipient of the angel's annunciation in PJ and *1 Apol.* by suggesting "that Justin is quoting a harmonized gospel text in which part of the angel's command to Joseph (Matt 1:21) as well as the quotation of Isa 7:14 from Matt 1:23 had already been combined with the angel's words to Mary in Luke's story of the annunciation."[34] But it would be difficult to make a case for a pre-existent harmony of the annunciation story combining elements from Luke, Matthew, and Isaiah, based upon this single witness to its existence.

Against Koester's suggestion is the fact that JM quotes these same disparate elements elsewhere, individually, and not as part of a harmony. The only reference in the extant works of JM to Luke's story of the annunciation, other than his citation of Luke 1:31-32 in *1 Apol.* 33, 5, is his quotation of Luke 1:35 alone and without a Matthean harmonization in *Dial.* 100, 5.[35] JM also quotes Matt 1:21 in *1 Apol.* 33, 8 alone and without any Lukan reference. Furthermore, Koester himself has demonstrated that JM does not use his standard text of Isa 7:14 in *1 Apol.* 33.[36] Instead, JM presents an idiosyncratic variation of this scriptural passage which betrays similarities with the version of this same verse as quoted in Matt 1:23.

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33 De Aldama is aware that both PJ and JM present the annunciation of Matt 1:21 as spoken to Mary. But he does not comment upon the significance of this for the issue of which writer was the source of the other. "Protevangelio," p. 127.

34 *Ancient Christian Gospels, Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity; and London: SCM, 1993) 380.

35 See below, p. 426.

36 *Gospels*, 379. See especially n. 1, where Koester cites the five passages in the *Dial.* in which JM quotes Isa 7:14 according to "the LXX manuscript B and the minuscules belonging to the so-called Lucianic recension. . . ."

Concordance II

Both PJ XI, 2 (*συνλήμψῃ ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ*) and *1 Apol.* 33, 6 (*τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον*) identify the λόγος with the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* and *δύναμις ὑψίστου* of Luke 1:35.

De Strycker's second proposed *concordance* between PJ and *1 Apol.* concerns the statement of the angel of the annunciation to the virgin in PJ XI, 2 (*συνλήμψῃ ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ*). According to de Strycker, the author of PJ seems to have intended the words of the angel to Mary in Luke 1:35 (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι*; translated by de Strycker as "l'Esprit-Saint viendra sur toi et la Puissance du Seigneur [*sic*] te couvrira de son ombre") in the sense that "Esprit-Saint" and "Puissance de Dieu [*sic*]" are other terms used by the author of PJ to designate the λόγος.[37] This interpretation agrees with the exegesis of JM in *1 Apol.* 33, 6 (*τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον*).

De Strycker dismisses this possible agreement between the interpretation of the conception of Jesus by Mary in PJ and *1 Apol.* as a product of the incertitude of the theological language of that early period. He points out that this interpretation of Luke 1:35 can be found also in a number of other authors, such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. De Strycker adds that both the author of PJ and JM know the classical formula *συλλαμβάνειν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου* elsewhere in their writings.

De Strycker's summary dismissal of this important parallel between PJ and *1 Apol.* is highly subjective and unsubstantiated by concrete facts. The ancient writers, whom he cites as sharing this interpretation of the conception of Jesus, are all later than JM and of limited value in determining the sources of his theology. And while it is true that both JM and the author of PJ know the conception *ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου* elsewhere in their works,[38] this does not justify de Strycker's leap to the conclusion that the author of PJ identified the λόγος with the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* and the *δύναμις ὑψίστου* of Luke 1:35. Only JM refers to the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* as the agent of the conception in *1 Apol.* 33, 5; the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* is mentioned nowhere in the parallel passages in PJ XI, 2-3.

The absence of any mention of the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* in PJ XI, 2-3, and the particular placement of the λόγος in PJ XI, 2, when viewed together, refute de Aldama's first argument in favor of the dependence of PJ on JM, i.e., that the author of PJ copied his reference to the λόγος in PJ XI, 2 from *1 Apol.* 33, 6.[39] These passages are significant for illuminating the relationship between the two documents and should be examined more closely. Since both PJ XI, 2 and *1 Apol.* 33, 5 are following Luke 1:30-31 at this critical point, setting all three texts in parallel columns will facilitate this examination.

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37 *Forme*, p. 415.

38 *Dial.* 78, 3; PJ XIV, 2.

39 "Protevangelio," pp. 126-27.

PJ XI, 2	*1Apol.* 33, 5	Luke 1:30-31
μὴ φοβοῦ Μαρία		μὴ φοβοῦ Μαρίαμ
εὗρες γὰρ χάριν		εὗρες γὰρ χάριν
ἐνώπιον τοῦ		παρὰ τῷ θεῷ
πάντων δεσπότου		
συνλήμψῃ	ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ	καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήμψῃ
	ἐν γαστρὶ	ἐν γαστρὶ
ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ	ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου	
	καί τεξῇ υἱόν	καί τεξῇ υἱόν

The source of PJ XI, 2 is Luke 1:30-31; JM begins his quote at Luke 1:31. The quotation of μὴ φοβοῦ Μαρία εὗρες γὰρ χάριν in PJ comes directly from Luke and is not found in the corresponding passage of *1 Apol.* Luke 1:31 does not specify an agent in the conception of Mary. But both JM and PJ fill this gap in the gospel by including their own version of who this agent was. JM inserts the πνεῦμα ἅγιον; PJ presents its own unique reference to the λόγος. If, as de Aldama states, the author of PJ was copying his reference to the λόγος from JM,[40] it would be difficult to explain his insertion of the λόγος at the very point in the quotation of Luke 1:31 where JM had inserted his own reference to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

The insertion of the λόγος in PJ XI, 2 can best be understood in conjunction with the omission of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον from the reference to Luke 1:35 in PJ XI, 3. The relationship between PJ XI, 2 and 3 can be illuminated by viewing them in parallel columns.

PJ XI, 2	PJ XI, 3
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔστη ἄγγελος	καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος ἔστη
ἐνώπιον λέγων·	αὐτῇ λέγων αὐτῇ·
μὴ φοβοῦ Μαρία·	οὐχ' οὕτως Μαρία
εὗρες γὰρ χάριν	
ἐνώπιον τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου	
συνλήμψῃ	δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ
ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ	ἐπισκιάσει σοι

These texts begin with two separate and obviously redundant angelic appearances to Mary. PJ XI, 2 announces her conception by the λόγος; PJ XI, 3 indicates the involvement of the δύναμις θεοῦ in the conception. It is significant that each passage, in its own manner, suppresses the element of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον in the story of the annunciation. PJ XI, 2 inserts the λόγος where one would expect to see either the πνεῦμα ἅγιον or nothing at all. PJ XI, 3 totally eliminates the πνεῦμα ἅγιον from its quotation of Luke 1:35.[41] This double omission of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον in PJ XI, 2-3 contradicts the specific designation of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον as the agent of the annunciation in the

40 Ibid., p. 126, "Pero al hacer la equivalencia ἐκ πνεύματος = ἐκ λόγου, esta copiando a San Justino, que precisamente alli explica eso mismo. . . ."

41 See texts below, p. 426.

Matthean version of the story found in PJ XIV, 2 (*τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῇ ὂν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου*).

Thus, when viewed together, sections 2 and 3 of the eleventh chapter of PJ constitute a uniform block of material which is alien to the theology of PJ XIV, 2. But aside from being theologically incompatible with chapter XIV of PJ, the two angelic appearances in PJ XI 2-3 also represent an intrusion into the story of Mary spinning the red and purple thread for the temple curtain, which is narrated in PJ X-XII, 1. PJ XI, 2-3 interrupts this story between PJ XI, 1, where Mary is in the process of spinning the purple thread she has received from the priest, and PJ XII, 1, where Mary finishes spinning the thread and returns it to the priest. PJ XI, 2-3, therefore, has all the characteristics of being an interpolation into the PJ narrative from another source.

Without the modified Lukan annunciation story contained in PJ XI, 2-3, the eleventh chapter of PJ seems to have been originally not an annunciation story, but simply an announcement to Mary by an unidentified voice that she was full of grace among women (*χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν*).[42] In PJ XI, 1, Mary looks around for the source of the voice, and, seeing none, becomes frightened and returns to her house to continue her spinning. The story resumes at PJ XII, 1, where Mary finishes spinning the thread and returns it to the priest. The priest receives it, blesses her, and tells her that the Lord has magnified her name and that she will be blessed in all generations.

The following sections, PJ XII, 2-3, also seem to have been heavily edited with material from the same source as PJ XI, 2-3. The interpolation continues in PJ XII, 2, where Mary, receiving joy (*χαρὰν λαβοῦσα*) from the double angelic annunciation of PJ XI, 2-3, goes to visit her likewise pregnant relative Elizabeth. Elizabeth also blesses Mary, asks why the mother of the Lord has come to her, and states that her own child moved within her and blessed Mary. We are not told how Elizabeth knew that Mary was the mother of the Lord. And in the next line, we are informed that Mary has forgotten the mysteries which were spoken by the archangel Gabriel (*ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἐπελάθετο τῶν μυστηρίων ὧν ἐλάλησεν Φαβριὴλ ὁ ἄγγελος*).[43]

This verse has long been identified as an "intercalation" in the text of this apocryphon.[44] It appears to be an editorial addition by the same person who interpolated XI, 2-3 into the text of PJ. The purpose of this editorial addition is to prepare the reader for the bewilderment of Mary at being blessed by all the women of the earth.[45] Her bewilderment is inexplicable if the annunciation of PJ XI, 2-3 was an original part of the story. It is significant that, throughout the original narrative, Mary does not seem to be aware that she is pregnant,

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42 This is the reading of the Bodmer Papyrus. De Strycker has corrected this reading in his critical edition to agree with later MSS of PJ which reflect the traditional "Hail, Mary" from the canonical text of Luke 1:28 (*χαῖρε κεχαριτω<μένη· ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ· εὐλογη>μένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν*).

43 This is the first identification of the angel of the annunciation as *Γαβριήλ*; the angel is not named in PJ XI.

44 Smid, *Protevangelium*, 90.

45 Most scholars have interpreted this bewilderment as a sign of Mary's humility. See Ibid., 90-91.

because the interpolated annunciation story of PJ XI, 2-3 did not take place, and the unknown voice of XI, 1 said nothing to her about her conception.

This is the case also in Mary's response to Elizabeth in PJ XII, 2, which does not seem to follow Elizabeth's statements to her. After receiving Elizabeth's blessing, Mary looks up to heaven and asks, "Who am I that all the women of the earth will bless me?" (*τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὅτι ἰδοὺ πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες τῆς γῆς μακαριοῦσιν με*;). Mary's reference to women, in the plural, seems more appropriate as a response either to the announcement of the unknown voice of PJ XI, 1 that Mary is "full of grace among women," or to the blessing of the priest upon Mary's return of her thread to the Temple in XII, 1.[46] Mary's response to Elizabeth's greeting probably was part of the original PJ narrative, which the redactor attempted to bring into conformity with the interpolated material.

The interpolated story of Mary's visit to Elizabeth continues in PJ XII, 3 with Mary staying with her relative for three months as her womb swelled day by day. The following statement that Mary became frightened, entered her home and hid herself from the Israelites also may recall either the unknown voice or the blessing of the priest. The reader is left wondering whether Mary was frightened about her womb swelling because she did not want the Israelites to see her pregnant, or because she had no idea that she was pregnant in the first place. In PJ XIII, 1-2, Joseph returns home, finds Mary pregnant, laments, and interrogates her about her pregnancy. In PJ XIII, 3, Mary answers Joseph by stating that she was clean and knew no man. She then swore that she did not know the origin of the child within her (*ζῇ Κύριος ὁ θεός μου καθότι οὐ γινώσκω πόθεν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐμοί*).

If PJ XI, 2-3 is an interpolation into this document from another source, the case of de Aldama for the priority of JM over PJ would be seriously compromised. This would completely discredit the fundamental presupposition of de Aldama that, as the author of PJ was editing his own chapter XI, he had before his eyes the page of *1 Apol.* containing chapter 33, whence he also obtained his reference to the λόγος. There is no readily discernible reason for the author of PJ to have inserted the λόγος in PJ XI, 3 in opposition to the reference to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον in the parallel text of JM. But if we view the problem from the opposite perspective—that JM had PJ before him as he was writing *1 Apol.* 33—we may able to identify what caused JM to have added the πνεῦμα ἅγιον with reference to the apocryphon.

The circumstances which prompted JM to insert the πνεῦμα ἅγιον in *1 Apol.* 33, 5 can be ascertained by comparing all of *1 Apol.* 33 with the corresponding passage of PJ XI, 2-3. Up to the present, JM's purpose for including the πνεῦμα ἅγιον has been obscured by an error made by de Strycker in his discussion of the second proposed *concordance* between PJ and JM. De Strycker mistranslated the δύναμις ὑψίστου of Luke 1:31 twice within the same line; he rendered δύναμις ὑψίστου first as "Puissance du Seigneur," then as "Puissance de Dieu."[47] This confusion in terminology seems to have caused de Strycker to

46 The priest's blessing was that Mary would be blessed by all the generations of the earth (*εὐλογημένη ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς*). One could envision the possibility of a textual corruption involving the words *γενεαῖς* and *γυναιξί*.

47 *Forme*, p. 415. Cf. above, p. 421.

overlook the fact that, in PJ XI, 3, the δύναμις ὑψίστου of Luke 1:35 has been changed to δύναμις θεοῦ. This oversight may have led de Strycker to ignore several significant parallels between PJ XI, 2-3 and *1 Apol.* 33, 5 with respect to the δύναμις θεοῦ.[48]

It should be emphasized that JM does know the δύναμις ὑψίστου from his quotation of Luke 1:35 in *Dial.* 100, 5. But in the present context of *1 Apol.* 33, JM nowhere uses the term δύναμις ὑψίστου. In 33, 6 he writes τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, then explains that the virgin conceived διὰ δυνάμεως. And in an even more significant passage in 33, 4, JM again writes δύναμις θεοῦ in what de Aldama mistakenly believed to be a citation of Luke 1:35.[49] A parallel comparison of *1 Apol.* 33, 4 with PJ XI, 3 and Luke 1:35 reveals that JM seems to have derived this quote from PJ.

PJ XI, 3	*1 Apol.* 33, 4	Luke 1:35
		πνεῦμα ἅγιον
		ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σὲ
δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ	ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ	καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου
	ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ	
ἐπισκιάσει σοι	ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτήν	ἐπισκιάσει σοι

Both PJ XI, 3 and *1 Apol.* 33, 4 write δύναμις θεοῦ, as opposed to Luke's δύναμις ὑψίστου. And neither text contains any reference to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον from Luke. The only element in *1 Apol.* 33, 4 that could be construed only as a reference to Luke 1:35, and not to PJ XI, 3, is ἐπελθοῦσα, which could be related to Luke's ἐπελεύσεται. But, in *1 Apol.*, this verb is in the form of a feminine participle referring to the δύναμις; in Luke, ἐπελεύσεται refers to the neuter πνεῦμα ἅγιον. And since there is no other reference to the δύναμις elsewhere in the Lukan or in the Matthean annunciation stories, the only possible source of the δύναμις θεοῦ in JM is PJ.

At this point, we are faced with a significant question. Why would JM have omitted the πνεῦμα ἅγιον from *1 Apol.* 33, 4, in accordance with PJ XI, 3, then apparently have taken the trouble to insert the πνεῦμα ἅγιον immediately below in 33, 5, into a context in which it does not belong, and against the witness of PJ XI, 2? We believe that the justification for this seemingly erratic behavior on the part of JM, as he is composing *1 Apol.*, lies in the fact that he does have PJ XI, 2-3 before him as he is editing his own work.

The reason for this reversal by JM with respect to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον becomes clear in a closer examination of chapters 32-33 of *1 Apol.*, where JM seems to be developing the argument that the λόγος and the δύναμις θεοῦ are identical, and that it was this λόγος/δύναμις θεοῦ which was responsible for the conception of Mary.[50] It cannot be mere coincidence that this is precisely the interpretation

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48 De Aldama does notice this modification, but attributes this also to the copying of JM by the author of PJ, "Protevangelio," p. 127.

49 Ibid. Koester seems to be under the same impression, *Gospels*, 381.

50 JM has expressed this theology previously in *1 Apol.* 23, 2 (καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μόνος ἰδίως υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ γεγέννηται, λόγος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων καὶ πρωτότοκος καὶ δύναμις). He reaffirms it in *1 Apol.* 46, 5 (διὰ δυνάμεως τοῦ λόγου . . . διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος ἀπεκυήθη καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἐπωνομάσθη).

of the conception of Jesus which is conveyed in the two parallel angelic appearances in PJ XI, 2 and 3. The first of these sections attributes the conception of Jesus to the λόγος; the second to the δύναμις θεοῦ.

JM begins his argument in *1 Apol.* 32, 8 by describing the λόγος as the sperm of God (τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σπέρμα, ὁ λόγος). In 32, 9, JM describes the blood of Jesus Christ allegorically as "the blood of grapes," which came, not from human sperm, but ἐκ θείας δυνάμεως. In 32, 10, JM characterizes the λόγος son as the first δύναμις after the father God (ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην θεὸν καὶ υἱὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν).

At this point, JM states his intention to describe how this λόγος son became incarnate as a man. In 32, 11, he repeats his statement from 32, 9 that the blood of the λόγος son would not come from human sperm, but ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. After quoting and interpreting Isa 11:1, 10 in *1 Apol.* 32, 12-13, JM returns to his argument in 32, 14 that Christ was born διὰ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. Thus far, JM is in complete accord with the concepts expressed in the parallel angelic appearances and statements described in PJ XI, 2 and 3. And he still has made no mention of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

In *1 Apol.* 33, 1-2, JM presents and interprets his *ad hoc* quote of Isa 7:14 *via* Matt 1:23,[51] as further prophetic proof of his argument for the virgin birth without human agency. And in 33, 3, he refers to certain ones who do not understand this prophecy and interpret the conception of Mary as having come about through sexual contact with God.[52] In *1 Apol.* 33, 4, JM cites PJ XI, 3, where the conception is brought about by the δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ without the πνεῦμα ἅγιον. This brings us to the very important passage in *1 Apol.* 33, 5, where JM inserts the πνεῦμα ἅγιον into his quotation of Luke 1:31 (ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν).[53]

JM could have been motivated to insert the πνεῦμα ἅγιον at this point in his text if he had before him, not only Matthew and Luke, but also the page of PJ containing XI, 2-3. JM is in the middle of his argument in which he is trying to identify the λόγος with the δύναμις in accordance with PJ. He has just had cause to refer to a verse from the Matthean annunciation story, which specifies the πνεῦμα ἅγιον as the only agent of the conception. And he has just cited a passage from PJ in which the πνεῦμα ἅγιον had been omitted in favor of the δύναμις. JM could have realized that PJ XI, 2-3 either did not include, or had purposely suppressed the πνεῦμα ἅγιον in its own presentation of the conception. For this reason, JM may have felt compelled to insert the πνεῦμα ἅγιον into his annunciation story in order to harmonize PJ with the conception theology of the gospel of Matthew.

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51 See above, p. 421 and n. 36.

52 De Aldama, "Protevangelio," p. 127, identifies this as another significant parallel with PJ XI, 2, which presents Mary as wondering to herself if she is to conceive from God as every woman does (ἐγὼ συνλήμψομαι ἀπὸ κυρίου θεοῦ ζῶντος ὡς πᾶσα γυνὴ γεννᾷ;). De Aldama correctly observes that both texts involve a false understanding of the conception of Jesus. But he mistakenly extends the parallel between these texts to what he believes to be the adduction of Luke 1:35, by both JM and the author of PJ, to rectify this false understanding. De Aldama underlines three particularities which strongly support a PJ/JM dependence. But JM is not quoting Luke 1:35 in this passage; he seems to be following PJ, which is using Luke 1:35. See above, p. 426.

53 See above, p. 423.

JM himself seems to confirm this interpretation of his insertion of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον in *1 Apol.* 33, 5 as a complement and corrective to PJ's conception by the λόγος and δύναμις θεοῦ. Just below this passage, in *1 Apol.* 33, 6, JM sets forth his now completely harmonized teaching of the agent of the conception in this statement:

> τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον, ὃς καὶ πρωτότοκος τῷ θεῷ ἐστι Μωϋσῆς ὁ προδεδηλωμένος προφήτης ἐμήνυσε· καὶ τοῦτο ἐλθὸν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἐπισκιάσαν οὐ διὰ συνουσίας ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως ἐγκύμονα κατέστησε.

Thus, based upon the sources he had before him—the canonical gospels of Matthew and Luke, as well as PJ—JM recapitulates and summarizes his entire argument for the identity of the λόγος with the δύναμις θεοῦ and adds the element of the πνεῦμα to complete his harmonization of his sources.

Concordance III

> The words χαρὰν λαβοῦσα occur in both PJ XII, 2 (χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἀπῄει πρὸς τὴν συγγενίδα αὐτῆς Ἐλισάβεδ) and *Dial.* 100, 5 (πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος).

De Strycker's third *concordance* between the author of PJ and JM concerns the use of the words χαρὰν λαβοῦσα by both writers. In *Dial.* 100, 5 χαρὰν λαβοῦσα occurs in a context in which JM is contrasting the disobedience of Eve with the obedience of Mary to Gabriel's annunciation of her conception by the πνεῦμα ἅγιον.[54] Justin uses the phrase πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία to describe Mary's reaction to this annunciation. In PJ XII, 2, the words χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα Μαρία describe Mary's response to the blessing of the priest to whom she had returned the thread she had spun for the temple curtain. De Strycker refers the opinion of certain critics who have thought that JM borrowed his χαρὰν λαβοῦσα phrase from the parallel text in PJ.

De Strycker also dismisses this third proposed *concordance* between PJ and the writings of JM because of the difference between the contexts in which the phrases occur in each work. He describes the similarity between the two occurrences as wholly superficial; he adds that the import of the expression is very different in the two authors.[55] De Strycker concludes that the two texts have nothing in common except for a few completely "banal" words, since in PJ the quote itself is not related to the annunciation.[56] It was in discussing this proposed *concordance* that de Strycker made the incidental comment about the

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54 Forme, pp. 415-16.

55 Ibid., p. 416, "En realite, la similitude est toute superficielle et la portee de l'expression est fort differente chez les deux auteurs."

56 Ibid., p. 416, "En fait, les deux textes n'ont rien en commun sauf quelques mots tout a fait banals, puisque celui du Pseudo-Jacques ne se rapporte meme pas a l'Annonciation. "

possible dependence of PJ upon JM which may have influenced de Aldama as he formed his own opinions.[57]

Again de Strycker dismisses too readily the possibility of a PJ/JM connection. A closer comparison of PJ XII, 2 and *Dial.* 100, 5 reveals several impressive parallels between these two texts which de Strycker overlooked. He correctly noted that χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα in PJ is the direct result of the priest's blessing, and not of the annunciation of the angel, as it is in JM's work. But de Strycker errs in stating that this phrase is unrelated to the annunciation in PJ. The blessing of the priest in PJ XII, 1, which precipitated Mary's joy, is preceded immediately by the important double angelic appearance and annunciation to Mary in PJ XI, 2-3. Also it must be taken seriously into consideration that the priest's blessing in PJ XII, 1 probably is not an integral part of the interpolated annunciation story of PJ XI, 2-3. Without this section containing the priest's blessing, the annunciation story would be followed immediately by the χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα passage of XII, 2.[58]

Furthermore, de Strycker fails to notice another important parallel with PJ in his French translation of *Dial.* 100, 5. The χαρὰν λαβοῦσα phrase concerning Mary in this text immediately follows JM's description of Eve as an uncorrupted virgin who conceived the λόγος of the snake (*παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εὔα καὶ ἄφθορος, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε*). This conception by the λόγος of the snake by Eve closely approximates the conception ἐκ λόγου of the uncorrupted virgin Mary in PJ XI, 2, and complements the comparison between the two virgins which JM is developing in *Dial.* 100, 5.

In yet another important oversight in his comparison of Eve to Mary in *Dial.* 100, 5,[59] de Strycker fails to mention the very similar typology involving Eve and Mary in the lamentation of Joseph found in PJ XIII, 1[60] (*Τίς ᾐχμαλώτευσε τὴν παρθένον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτήν; Μήτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ; Ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἦν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς δοξολογίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ ὄφις καὶ εὗρεν τὴν Εὔαν μόνην καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτήν, οὕτως κἀμοὶ συνέβη*). It is especially striking that the corruption of Eve in both PJ XIII, 1 and *Dial.* 100, 5 has definite sexual undertones. In *Dial.* 100, 5, the snake (ὄφις) figuratively impregnates Eve by his λόγος. In PJ XIII, 1 the same word (ἐμίανεν) which describes the suspected sexual corruption of the now pregnant Mary, is used also with reference to the corruption of Eve by the snake.

A final point of contact between PJ and *Dial.* 100, 5 is found in the quotation of Luke 1:35 which immediately follows the passage containing the conception of Eve by the λόγος of the snake. In this quotation, JM changes the πνεῦμα ἅγιον of Luke 1:35 to πνεῦμα κυρίου. Koester does not consider this change to have been made *ad hoc* by JM for this citation; he attributes it to the

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57 See above, n. 29. De Aldama does not consider either of the proposed *concordances* (III and IV) between PJ and JM's *Dial.* to be proof of a connection between the two authors. "Protevangelio," p. 128.

58 See the discussion above, p. 424.

59 *Forme*, p. 415.

60 Koester does mention this typology in PJ XIII, 1. But he does not comment upon the possibility of a connection between the two documents. Cf. *Gospels*, p. 381, n. 1.

harmonized gospel text which he believes JM had used also in *1 Apol.* 33. Koester associates this citation of the πνεῦμα κυρίου with the reference to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον already made in JM's quotation of Luke 1:31 in *1 Apol.* 33, 5.[61]

However, it remains to be explained why JM would have altered his quotation of πνεῦμα ἅγιον to πνεῦμα κυρίου if he had before him the same harmonized gospel text from which, supposedly, he had already quoted the πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Koester seems to base this opinion on his belief that JM's allusion to the annunciation in *1 Apol.* 33, 4 "recalls Luke 1:35."[62] But it has been demonstrated above that this text has more in common with PJ XI, 3 than with Luke 1:35.[63] Again we can find in PJ a possible explanation for the alteration of πνεῦμα ἅγιον to πνεῦμα κυρίου. If JM was following the Eve/Mary typology in PJ XIII as he was writing *Dial.* 100, 5, he may have been influenced by the four references to κύριος ὁ θεὸς in PJ XIII, as well as by the numerous other instances of this phrase scattered throughout PJ.[64]

Concordance IV

Both PJ XVIII, 1 and *Dial.* 78, 5 contain the teaching of the birth of Jesus in a cave outside of Bethlehem.

De Strycker's fourth, and last, proposed *concordance* between the author of PJ and JM concerns the inclusion by both authors of a reference to the birth of Jesus in a cave. De Strycker acknowledges the similarities between the two texts. Both PJ XVIII, 1 and *Dial.* 78, 5 place the nativity of Jesus in a cave just outside of Bethlehem. And it is in this cave that the Magi come to adore the infant.[65] But de Strycker points out one important difference between the two accounts. Following Luke 2:7, JM states that Joseph found refuge in the cave because there was no lodging in Bethlehem. But, according to de Strycker, Joseph never reached Bethlehem in PJ. Halfway between Jerusalem and Bethlehem Mary's time came to deliver. Joseph was forced to place her in a nearby cave while he went out to look for a midwife.

De Strycker concludes that the agreement between the two texts concerning the cave is not due to chance. But, according to de Strycker, the differences between JM's reference to the cave and that in the apocryphon are too important to allow him to admit a literary dependence of one with regard to the other.[66] De Strycker considers it more probable that both authors reworked the same tradition of the cave in their own manner. Thus, de Strycker also dismisses this last proposed *concordance*, citing the "differences" between the cave story in PJ and *Dial.*[67]

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61 Ibid., pp. 381-82.

62 Ibid., p. 381.

63 See above, p. 426.

64 Κύριος occurs twice each in PJ X, XII, and XIV, and three times in PJ XI.

65 *Forme*, pp. 416-17.

66 Ibid., p. 417.

67 Ibid., p. 417. It is at this point that de Strycker offers his final assessment of the relationship between JM and PJ: "On ne saurait donc considerer ni comme prouve ni comme serieusement probable que Justin ait connu le Protevangile de Jacques, et il n'y a

However, in his discussion of this *concordance*, de Strycker refers to only one difference between the two accounts of the nativity in the cave. And that difference is de Strycker's mistaken belief that Joseph never arrived in Bethlehem. But, in PJ XVIII, 1, Joseph did go to Bethlehem to find a midwife after he left Mary at the cave (*καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ζητῆσαι μαῖαν Ἑβραίαν ἐν χώρᾳ Βηθλεέμ*). This visit of Joseph to Bethlehem seems to be an attempt by the author of PJ to harmonize his own account of the nativity of Jesus with that in the gospel of Luke, which he uses as one of his sources. Furthermore, de Strycker overstates the case for the similarity between the nativity accounts of JM and Luke 2:7; the gospel of Luke says nothing about the birth of Jesus in a cave.

A more thorough review of the evidence reveals that de Strycker again may have overlooked other passages in the works of JM in which the apologist could be alluding to PJ. In *Dial.* 78, 3, JM states that Joseph was considering putting Mary away because he thought she was pregnant from sexual contact with a man, that is, by fornication (*νομίζων ἐγκυμονεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ συνουσίας ἀνδρός, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ πορνείας*). This language is much too strong to have originated in the gospels of Luke or Matthew, which are being used as sources in *Dial.* 78. Nowhere in the accounts of Luke 2:1-7 or Matt 1:18-25 is it even suggested that Mary could have committed fornication. The only possible hint of any wrongdoing on her part is in Matt 1:19, where Joseph is considering putting her away secretly so as not to make an example of her (*μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι, ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν*).

The strong language of *Dial.* 78, 3 is more likely to have been inspired by the lament of Joseph in PJ XIII. Upon returning home and finding Mary pregnant in PJ XIII, 1, Joseph beat his face, threw himself on the ground, cried bitterly, and lamented the fact that he received a virgin from the temple of the Lord God and did not protect her. Joseph asks who deceived him (*τίς ὁ θηρεύσας με;*), who did this evil in his house (*τίς τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου;*), and who took the virgin captive from him and defiled her (*τίς ᾐχμαλώτευσε τὴν παρθένον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτήν;*). Joseph then compares Mary's defilement to the action of the snake, who deceived and corrupted Eve (*ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτήν*). In PJ XIV, 1, Joseph even refers to Mary's action as sin (*ἁμάρτημα*).

Another possible parallel between JM and PJ in the text of *Dial.* leading up to the point of de Strycker's fourth *concordance* with PJ is in *Dial.* 78, 4, where JM states that Joseph was frightened (*φοβηθείς*) by a vision of an angel telling him not to put Mary away. The corresponding text of Matthew does not present Joseph as being frightened. In Matt 1:24, Joseph simply awakens from his dream vision of an angel and receives Mary as his wife in accordance with the instructions of the angel. It is in PJ XIV, 1 that we find Joseph being frightened after his interrogation of Mary about her pregnancy (*καὶ ἐφοβήθη ὁ Ἰωσὴφ σφόδρα*).

These two possible points of contact with PJ in *Dial.* 78, 3 and 4, which immediately precede the reference to the cave in 78, 5, suggest that JM has before him the gospels of Matthew and Luke, as well as PJ, as he is writing his

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par consequent de ce cote aucune raison de faire remonter la date de notre apocryphe jusqu'a la premiere moitie du IIe siecle."

own account of the birth of Jesus. When we arrive at the actual passage containing de Strycker's fourth *concordance* in *Dial.* 78, 5, a careful reading of the Greek text reveals that JM is having difficulty harmonizing Luke 2:1-7 and PJ XVII-XVIII with respect to the location of the nativity of Jesus. The difficulty is caused by the serious discrepancy between Luke's placement of the nativity in Bethlehem and PJ's account of the birth of Jesus in a cave outside of Bethlehem.

The text of *Dial.* 78, 5 reads as follows:

> γεννηθέντος δὲ τότε τοῦ παιδίου ἐν Βηθλεέμ, ἐπειδὴ Ἰωσὴφ οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκείνῃ που καταλῦσαι, ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης κατέλυσε· καὶ τότε, αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ, ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ αὐτόν ἐτεθείκει, ὅπου ἐλθόντες οἱ ἀπό Ἀραβίας μάγοι εὗρον αὐτόν.

The first phrase of this text, which locates the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, seems to depend upon Matt 2:1 (τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας). The second phrase, concerning Joseph not having a place of lodging in the town, appears to follow Luke 2:7 (διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι). The third and last phrase of the first part of this quotation, which contains the reference to the cave near the town (σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης), has its parallel in PJ XVIII, 1 (καὶ εὗρεν ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν . . .). PJ XVII, 2 even specifies the distance of the cave in miles (καὶ ἤγγισαν ἐπὶ μίλιον τρίτον . . . καὶ ἤλθωσιν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ὁδοῦ), although it is uncertain whether the three miles are counted from Bethlehem or from Jerusalem.[68]

The second part of *Dial.* 78, 5 contains several redundancies with respect to elements of the first part of this quotation which reveal the confusion of JM in his not altogether successful attempt to harmonize these antithetical sources of information. His καὶ τότε repeats the δὲ τότε of the first phrase. And the ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τὸν Χριστὸν of the second line duplicates the γεννηθέντος δὲ τότε of the first line. Thus, JM seems to present two separate births of Jesus. The first of these occurs ἐν Βηθλεέμ, and is in accordance with the gospels of Luke and Matthew. But the second birth takes place "with Joseph and Mary being there" (αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ). The ἐκεῖ in this context means the cave outside of Bethlehem, which is in agreement with PJ. The phrase αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ in PJ recalls the ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ of Luke 2:6, where ἐκεῖ refers to Bethlehem.

Conclusions

The scholarly debate concerning the date of PJ has revolved around two basic questions: first, whether or not there was a literary connection between the author of PJ and JM; and, second, if there was such a connection, which of the two authors was the source of the other. The first question has been

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68 Smid thinks that the cave was somewhere about three miles outside of Bethlehem, *Protevangelium*, pp. 120, 123. De Aldama, "Protevangelio," p. 128, states that the cave is about one kilometer from Bethlehem. He sees in this text another sign of the dependence of PJ upon *1 Apol.* 34, 2, where JM specifies that Bethlehem is 35 stades, or four-and-a-half miles (six-and-a-half kilometers) from Jerusalem.

answered in the affirmative by Emile de Strycker and Jose de Aldama, the two most recent scholars who have examined the literary relationship between PJ, and *1 Apol.* and the *Dial.* of JM. The present study has confirmed their conclusion. The numerous parallels and linguistic affinities between PJ and the works of JM, which have been presented above, constitute convincing evidence of a literary dependence between these documents.

The evidence cited by de Strycker and de Aldama in support of this literary connection has been interpreted by both of these scholars as indicating that the author of PJ had the writings of JM before him as he was composing his apocryphon. But the present investigation has detected the presence of foreign material, which has been interpolated by a later redactor into a section of PJ which contains significant parallels with JM. The existence of this interpolation not only vitiates the hypothesis that the author of PJ wrote this material under the influence of the works of JM, but also necessitates the inference of the opposite conclusion—that JM derived his own parallel material from the already redacted text of PJ.

Each of de Strycker's four proposed *concordances* between PJ and the works of JM can be interpreted in favor of the priority of PJ. But the second and fourth *concordances* are especially pertinent for the question of which of the two authors was dependent upon the other. In both of these cases, it appears that JM is attempting to harmonize PJ with the other gospel sources which he had before him. It cannot be mere coincidence that JM is compelled to justify both the λόγος in connection with the annunciation and the cave with respect to the nativity of Jesus. These are precisely the two extra-biblical elements which are the most striking distinguishing characteristics of PJ.

It is also relevant to the question of the priority of PJ over the works of JM that the parallels between these documents are concentrated only in a few chapters of PJ (XI-XIII and XVII-XVIII), whereas they are dispersed in both *1 Apol.* and the *Dial.* of JM. It would be more reasonable to assume that JM derived his parallel material from these concentrated areas in PJ, than that the author of PJ gleaned his from the references scattered in two separate works of JM.

Characteristically, JM is careful to mention the names of the Hebrew prophets whose texts he quotes in his works. But nowhere does he name the sources of his gospel quotations. JM refers to these documents as the "memorabilia of the apostles" (ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων). And he cites them as historical witnesses which verify that the prophecies written by the ancient Hebrews were realized in the person of Jesus Christ. In an extremely important passage at the end of *1 Apol.* 33, 5, JM specifically refers to the authors of certain texts he has just quoted as "they who recorded everything concerning our savior Jesus Christ" (οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).

JM presents this passage immediately after his quotation of Luke 1:31-32 and Matt 1:21 in *1 Apol.* 33, 5, and just before the summarizing statement of his conception theology in *1 Apol.* 33, 6. Furthermore, JM appends directly to his passage mentioning the ἀπομνημονεύσαντες, a reference to the prophecy of Isaiah, which he had discussed above in *1 Apol.* 33, 1-4. *1 Apol.* 33, 1-6 are the very texts which are the subject of de Strycker's *concordances* I and II, and which have been found to contain so many parallels with, allusions to, and,

possibly, even quotations from PJ. It is obvious that JM numbers among his ἀπομνημονεύματα the not yet canonical gospels of Matthew and Luke. But if he also had PJ before him as one of his sources while he was writing *1 Apol.* 33, then this apocryphon, too, should be included among his ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Based upon our conclusions that JM knew PJ, consulted it as one of his sources, and possibly considered it to be one of the apostolic ἀπομνημονεύματα, we may now reestablish the works of JM as the *terminus ad quem* for dating PJ. The *terminus post quem* of this apocryphon should be associated with the only other early writings with which it has an actual literary connection—the canonical gospels of Matthew and Luke. Therefore, the date of composition of PJ can be assigned to the period between the appearance of these two synoptic gospels in the late first century, and the writing of the first Apology of JM, probably in the 150s. A tentative date for PJ just before the middle of the second century will suffice, pending further study of the *Sitz im Leben* of this important apocryphon which will help to place it more precisely within the social and theological environment of early Christianity.

Matthew's Readers, Ideology, and Power

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Discussions of literary interpretation sometimes stress the extent to which each text comprises an infinite set of *inter*texts; one does not read a text itself, but a recombination of various bits of other texts. Sometimes, especially in recent New Historicist readings, interpreters stress the extent to which a reader does not encounter a new world in a text, but rearranges various bits of other, already-known possibilities from her own world(s). On this account, our compositions and our interpretations are limited to reproducing that with which we are already familiar. If our social environment permits the abuse of women, for example, then our literary works will reflect that permission in one way or another. Indeed, readers who adopt this interpretive position sometimes argue that literary works actively promote the social values which seem natural to their authors.

Scholars who grant these arguments about social/political constraints on interpretation may feel extremely uncomfortable about their own positions as interpreters; are they inevitably constrained to reproduce the ideologies of their own time and of the times of the works they study? What chance does that leave for establishing positive assessments of women's roles in texts bequeathed us by a strongly patriarchal culture? Does Euro-America's persistent racism lock us into reproducing racist assumptions in our own writing? The Literary Aspects Group has raised this question especially with regard to the Gospel of Matthew and Judaism. In the words of Fred Burnett, "Is it possible to read Matthew's gospel without an anti-Jewish reading effect?"[1] The question, thus framed, is ethically compelling; the frame of the question, however, is misconstructed. While no one should minimize the extent to which Matthew's Gospel has been used to justify violence and discrimination against Jews, no more should anyone mistakenly suppose that "anti-Semitism" or "anti-Judaism" inhere in Matthew's text. To the extent that one can locate the onus of responsibility for this cruel hatred and theological bigotry, it lies not with the Gospel of Matthew but with Matthew's readers.

The case for this claim rests on theoretical, socio-historical, and pragmatic warrants.[2] The theoretical argument reiterates the point (which by now should

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1 "Exposing the Anti-Jewish Ideology of Matthew's Implied Author: The Characterization of God as Father," *Semeia* 59 (1993) 156.

2 This division entails certain limitations. First, the variety of the bases for my argument, and the complexity of each, far exceeds the capacity of a simple seminar paper. Readers who fault me for inadequate attention to one or another detail may well be right, but may on the other hand

be familiar and compelling) that a text cannot oblige its interpreters to think in any particular way. Readers' interpretations of texts are constrained not by the text itself, but by innumerable social interactions which prescribe and proscribe interpretive possibilities. The historical argument suggests that critics who describe Matthew's polemic with such terms as "anti-Semitism" or "anti-Judaism" are (however well-intentionedly) guilty of anachronism and muddy argumentation. Matthew obviously excoriates various Judean parties, but he does so from *within* Judaism—not *over against* Judaism. Finally, the matter of Matthew's supposed anti-Semitism emphasizes one aspect of the Gospel's interpretive history while overlooking another dimension of its *Wirkungsgeschichte*. The Gospel of Matthew—"the Jewish Gospel"—*can* be used to rationalize violence against Jews, but it can also be used to justify self-denying support of the continuing people of Israel. While the argument that Matthew is "anti-Semitic" proceeds from laudable sensitivity, it makes the pivotal mistake of scapegoating a ("Jewish") text for the sins of the readers.

The Theoretical Argument

First, it is time for us patiently to listen to Stephen Fowl's compelling argument that "texts don't have ideologies."[3] Fowl makes his case so plainly and so persuasively that any summary of his article will do it a disservice, but the burden of his argument is that there is no point in a text's history—from its original production to any particular subsequent interpretation—at which one coherently may say the text has been imbued with "ideology" (any more than the text has a "meaning"; cf. Jeffrey Stout's "What Is the Meaning of a Text?"[4]).

The initial, "original" phase of a text's history might determine the text's ideology; but then, which of these phases is really "original"? No single originary moment seems adequately to account for a text's ideology. Even if there were such a moment, our capacity to detect it and to pin down the ideological pressures which informed the text at that official Moment is far from reliable: Fowl reminds us, "it is often very difficult [he might well say "it is never possible"] to read back from an ancient textual artifact to the ideological interests behind its production. Such interests can get muted, disguised, or ironically displaced beyond recognition."[5] Moreover, since any given Moment comprises a variety of

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be noting instead the limitations of the genre. Second, the three arguments cannot be parsed as easily as the organization of my paper implies. Indeed, the very texture of my argument will at each step involve all three of these aspects of the problem. The emphasis in the first, however, will be on the (theoretical) claim that texts don't have ideologies; in the second, on the (socio-historical) claim that any ascription of "anti-Judaism" to Matthew is anachronistic; in the third, on the (pragmatic) claim that Matthew's Gospel has been put to both anti-Jewish and pro-Jewish uses.

3 "Texts Don't Have Ideologies," forthcoming in *Biblical Interpretation* (Page citations refer to typescript).

4 In *New Literary History* 14 (1982) 1-12. Fowl applies Stout's argument in his "The Ethics of Interpretation, or What's Left Over After the Elimination of Meaning," in *The Bible in Three Dimensions*, ed. David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley Porter (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 379-98. The same principle rules out Patte's contention that texts harbor encoded "intentions"; the intentions aren't there until and unless we are looking for them.

5 "Texts Don't," 22.

conflicting ideological pressures, our effort to chain a text to a moment of ideological crystallization will require us to isolate not only a Moment of ideological determination, but also one particular ideological vector.[6] The criteria we use to privilege a given moment as originary, and the criteria by which we determine which ideological current constitutes the decisive influence, will themselves always be ideologically overdetermined.

If, on the other hand, one seeks some moment other than the origin at which the text acquires its ideology, one must justify the decision to attribute ideological authority to that particular moment rather than any prior or antecedent moments. When did the text *become* ideological? Was the text innocent before then? Do later interpretive epochs ignore or misconstrue the text's own ideology?

The effort to impute ideology to texts ensnares interpreters in a mare's nest of theoretical and historical problems. If even the most diligent and suspicious of our interpretive predecessors have overlooked the latent ideology of their texts, what justifies our confidence that we, finally, have attained the high ground which will enable us to see the text's *true* ideology? Fowl's careful deliberations lead him to the conclusion that "there is no explanatory gain and much conceptual confusion introduced by talking about the ideology of the text."[7] Even my superficial survey of the complexities that this claim entails tends to confirm Fowl's judgment; if texts have ideologies, we are in no position to recognize them, to specify their character, or to explain how they got there.

The argument so far may seem too purely theoretical. Real-life (*diesseitig*) readers continue to argue about texts' ideologies, and certainly many readers have commented upon the "anti-Jewish" character of Matthew's Gospel. Even more important, many readers have *acted* on the basis of what they concluded were warrants found in Matthew's Gospel for the persecution and execution of Jews. Does my position attribute their claims to theoretical naïveté, or do I concede that there really is some sort of anti-Jewish stratum in the First Gospel?

I certainly do not suppose that if only Matthew's detractors had a better theory, they would recant and commend this Gospel, or that more theoretically-sophisticated executioners would have given up their grisly practice. Neither, however, do I concede that someone's claim that "Matthew's Gospel justified my actions" counts as testimony that anti-Jewishness subsists in the text. Rather, people who are already inclined to read a text as anti-Jewish find Matthew a useful document, and then "find" in Matthew a warrant for their pre-existing attitude.

A case in point: a pamphlet entitled *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters* appeared in Britain in late 1702. The tract rehearsed the history of the Dissenters' role in English history, and concluded that

> 'Tis vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by Mulcts, Fines, *&c.* 'tis their Glory and their Advantage; if the Gallows

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6 While such endeavors are not unfamiliar in the biblical disciplines, their familiarity does not warrant their soundness. Biblical scholars are lamentably prone to the intellectual error of transforming Monday's speculation to Tuesday's consensus to Wednesday's "assured results of scholarly study" to Thursday's "fact"—with no additional evidence, and often in the teeth of learned opposition.

7 "Texts Don't," 26.

> instead of the Counter, and the Gallies instead of the Fines, were the Reward of going to a Conventicle, to preach or to hear, there wou'd not be so many Sufferers. the Spirit of Martyrdom is over; they that will go to Church to be chosen Sheriffs and Mayors, would rather go to forty Churches rather than be Hang'd.
>
> If one severe Law were made, and punctually executed, that who ever was found at a Conventicle, shou'd be Banished the Nation, and the Preacher be Hang'd, we shou'd soon see the end of the Tale. . . .[8]

The pamphlet was warmly received by High-Church opponents of Nonconformity; they read it as a commonsensical call to exterminate the poisonous, cancerous, regicidal forces of ecclesiastical dissent. Only when word leaked out that Daniel Defoe—the popular essayist, known to be a Dissenter himself—had written the pamphlet did the public recognize the text as a satirical essay written *against* the High-Church party.

Is *The Shortest-Way* an anti-Dissenter text? Or is it anti-Dissent only when the text omits mention of its author (the phrase "by Daniel Defoe" marking the text as in favor of Toleration)? There is nothing *in the text* which identifies the genre as "satire" rather than straightforward political polemic; it does not even propose outlandishly cruel punishments for Dissenters (this was, after all, the early eighteenth century, when a parodist might have proposed that Dissenters be drawn and quartered, and that their preachers be flayed alive). Even when one adds Defoe's name to the text of the essay, a reader unaware of Defoe's own ecclesiastical commitments is susceptible to the impression that *The Shortest-Way* simply advocates deportation and hanging as the solution to theological dissent. The text doesn't *have* a theological ideology; rather, readers bring ideologically-determined premises to their encounters with the text, and produce ideologically freighted interpretations.

The value of the example of Defoe's pamphlet is its strident, unrelenting vituperation against one particular theological/national constituency. *The Shortest-Way* is, in many respects, as unambiguous a political text as one could hope for. The Gospel of Matthew is considerably less one-sided when it considers Judaism; if we have trouble locating "anti-toleration" in Defoe's essay, might that not count as a sign that we are on all the more shaky ground when we try to define Matthew as anti-Jewish?

Ideology is not only underdefined in such prominent matters as whether a text promotes or discourages Dissent (or Judaism); texts are so far from "having" ideologies that one can readily enough find examples of readers who have not considered *either* of the binary alternatives "pro-" or "anti-Judaism" truly to represent the point of Matthew's Gospel. Theosophists can point to Matthew's intent to guide us to spiritual enlightenment; one recent author has argued that the Gospel of Matthew—along with the rest of the New Testament—encodes an allegorical description of a pattern of circles and lines which reveal the principles of cathedral architecture, the heliocentric universe, and the origins of the

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8 Daniel Defoe, *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*, in *Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fusell, Jr., and Marshall Waingrow (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969) 240.

Catholic Mass.[9] Judaism and anti-Judaism are irrelevant to such a reader, except to the extent that they distract one from the true significance of the text.

The import of this theoretical section of the paper is that ideology inheres not in texts nor even in readers, but in what Tony Bennett calls "reading formations": the intersections of readers with colleagues to whom they are accountable, with texts, and with various other institutional and social constraints on interpretation.[10] No text is ideologically tainted (with anti-Judaism, or anti-Toleration, or bourgeois complacency, or any other strain of political inadequacy) without the cooperation of readers and institutions which *construct* the text as "ideologically tainted." Matthew's Gospel is not anti-Jewish unless, and only to the extent that, we make an anti-Jewish interpretation with it.

The Historical Argument

Be it assumed, for the moment, that my theoretical arguments above have gravely miscarried, and my readers are still convinced that it makes some sense to refer to a text as "anti-Jewish." Their reasons for holding on to such a view are likely bound up with what we might call the socio-historical case for reading Matthew as "anti-Jewish"; however, this case, drawing as it does upon certain (ideological) assumptions which do not withstand close scrutiny, is a good deal weaker than the widely held conviction that Matthew's Gospel belongs "at or near the top of the list" of the most "anti-Jewish" writings of the New Testament.[11]

First, the socio-historical argument that Matthew is "anti-Jewish" depends on the assumption that Matthean Christianity stands over against something we identify as "Judaism."[12] But contemporary critics commonly work with an anachronistic notion of first-century Judaism, a tendency exacerbated by

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9 Lee Perry, *The Holy Grail: Source of the Ancient Science and Spirituality of the Circling Cosmos* (Cumming, GA: Saoirse Cainte, 1993).

10 "Texts in History: The Determinations of Readings and Their Texts," in *Post-Structuralism and the Question of History*, ed. Derek Attridge, Geoff Bennington, and Robert Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 63-81. Fred Burnett addresses the complexity of "reading formations" by expanding "the text" until it embraces "the rules and conventions which are immanent in our reading practices, practices which *form* both the object about which we speak and ourselves" ("Exposing," 158). I heartily endorse his attention to the practices which form our readings and ourselves, but I balk at conflating the various dimensions of interpretive practices under the label "the text." If I have no other reason, I fear the risk of important slippage between (on one hand) "the text" which my colleagues and I produce and participate in and (on the other hand) "the text" as the graphic provocation of our interpretations. The two "texts" are clearly intertwined, but I hesitate to assume that they are identical.

11 Burnett, "Exposing the Anti-Jewish Ideology," 155.

12 One might, I suppose, argue that Matthew argues self-destructively against a Judaism which he himself espouses; but I am not aware that anyone takes this position (though Adele Reinhartz allows that is is possible; "The New Testament and Anti-Judaism: A Literary-Critical Approach," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 25/4 (1988) 536). Certainly the compelling arguments of such critics as Fred Burnett, Daniel Patte ("Anti-Semitism in the New Testament. Confronting the Dark Side of Paul's and Matthew's Teaching," *Chicago Theological Seminary Register* 78 [1988] 31-52), Jon Levenson ("Is There a Counterpart in the Hebrew Bible to New Testament Antisemitism?" *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 22/2 [1985] 242-260), and Reinhartz herself presuppose that Matthew is arguing over against a Judaism from which he is already separate.

misleading translations of key terms. A burgeoning literature on what Gabriele Boccaccini calls "middle Judaism"—the religion of Israel between the third century BCE and the second century CE—consistently emphasizes that in this period, Judaism was seriously divided precisely over what "Judaism" meant.[13] Numerous scholars now concede that nascent Christianity was one among many first-century Judean contenders for Abraham's heritage. Christianity was one among many rival "Judaisms."[14] But there is a problem in assuming that Matthew's polemics are "anti-Jewish"; do Rush Limbaugh's fulminations against Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party mark the talk-show rhetorician as "anti-American"? Matthew is indeed pointedly critical of his contemporaries, but he is (in Scot McKnight's words) "a loyal critic": "Matthew's viewpoint, then, is that of a loyal Jew who believes that a new epoch in salvation-history dawned in Jesus Christ. . . ."[15]

We have evidence for five major theological parties in the first century, each of which proposed a different vision of Israel's identity and vocation. Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes (and the Qumran community, if one takes these to be distinct groups), Samaritans, and Christians all contended for the prerogative to decide what counted as true faithfulness to the God of Israel. More than one of these groups resorted to vituperative polemics against others. More than one of these groups espoused theologies which relegated other contenders to the sidelines of salvation history. It would, however, sound distinctly odd were we to chastise the Dead Sea sect for anti-Judaism, and even more odd if we applied the same criticism to rabbinic Judaism's treatment of Samaritans. We cannot reasonably apply the label "anti-Jewish" to any of these groups without presupposing that they could have known which of the contenders would eventually attain the status of defining the nature of Judaism.[16] Even if the cataclysm of 70 CE eliminated the Sadducees and Essenes from the

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13 The position is especially associated with Jacob Neusner's innumerable and instructive writings, but see also Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); Anthony Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988); Wayne Meeks, "Breaking Away: Three New Testament Pictures of Christianity's Separation from the Jewish Communities," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernst S. Frerichs (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 93-115, and Ulrich Luz, "Matthew's Anti-Judaism: Its Origin and Contemporary Significance," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 19 (1992) 405-415.

14 Jacob Neusner's introduction to *Judaisms and Their Messiahs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) stresses this point, and the contents of the volume reflect it; essays by Kee and MacRae on messianism and the gospels appear side-by-side with essays by Stone, Talmon, Goldstein and Nickelsburg on messianism in other Judaisms.

15 "A Loyal Critic: Matthew's Polemic with Judaism in Theological Perspective," in *Anti-Semitism in Early Christianity*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Donald A. Hagner (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 55-79; the quoted passage is on p. 61.

16 Bruce Chilton exemplifies the historical problem when he argues on the one hand that Matthew brands "Jews" as liars and murderers, adding that this "is the most prejudicial charge in all of the Gospels," then stresses that "Jesus and his movement were essentially Judaic," and that Matthew is "the best illustration of the conscious emergence" of Christian discipleship as "a systematic alternative to the rabbinic Judaism that emerged after 70 CE" ("Jesus and the Question of Anti-Semitism," *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Donald Hagner (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 40 and 42). Likewise Daniel Patte, who argues both that "Matthew was written after the separation of Christianity from Judaism" ("Anti-Semitism in the New Testament," 49) and that "Matthew still views the Christian faith as a form of Judaism" (50).

competition—and that assumption oversimplifies what must have been a more complex process—the fall of the Temple did not decide the disputes remaining among Pharisees, Samaritans, and Christians.[17] If we recognize that the Judaisms of the first century included other, less historically-prominent alternatives as well, and if we remember that each of these Judaisms was itself internally contested, the justification for calling *any* of them "anti-Jewish" must become intensely problematic.[18] Matthew (and other Christians) were certainly distinct from other Judaisms, and probably were unwelcome in most synagogues, but these distinctions and their concomitant polemics can't be judged anti-Jewish unless we first dismiss the possibility that Matthew saw himself as representing a faithful Judaic witness to the God of Israel.

But Matthew's critics nonetheless adduce much evidence of his anti-Judaism. Matthew's Jesus criticizes Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes, leaders, and priests; Matthew states that the leaders of the people fraudulently claimed the Jesus' body was stolen, not resurrected (lifted, not raised). Matthew reports that "the people as a whole" assented to Jesus' crucifixion with the shout, "His blood be on us and on our children!" (27:25). Matthew's polemics against religious leaders refer explicitly to priests, Pharisees, and scribes—so that readers might draw the conclusion that Christian leaders are exempt from such criticism.

Even these points, however, beg numerous interpretive questions. Interpretive convention requires that scholars of Matthew acknowledge the possibility that the gospel attacks not "Judaism" as a phenomenon; instead, Matthew singles out Judaism's *leaders* for criticism. Of course, many readers hasten to stress that Matthew can't be gotten off the hook that easily. They insist that the target of Matthew's rhetoric often shifts gradually through a passage.[19] The missionary discourse begins with instructions specific to the twelve, but ends with directions for disciples-in-general; Jesus directs the woes of chapter 23 first against the scribes and Pharisees, but then to "this generation" (23:36) and Jerusalem (23:37ff.). This phenomenon provides reason for hesitating before one restricts the focus of Matthew's condemnations to the leaders. Indeed, the ease with which Matthew modulates between leaders and those whom they lead suggests that, for Matthew, leaders are simply synecdochic representations of their followers.

On the other hand, one may admit that Matthew draws only the softest of distinctions between "leaders" and "people" without agreeing that the distinction is empty. For instance, one may argue that Matthew typically treats undefined

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17 Accounts of New Testament anti-Judaism would surely be fewer if the Jesus and his disciples had criticized only Sadducees and Essenes. Reinhartz makes a similar point in "The New Testament and Anti-Judaism: A Literary-Critical Approach" 534, though she misses the crucial point that it is not "the Jews" who have survived from Matthew's day to ours, but *one group* from among those associated with first-century Israel.

18 Cf. Luke Timothy Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Rhetoric," *JBL* 108/3 (1989) 419-441; the section on Jewish polemics (434-441) is especially illuminating. In this context, Sean Freyne's argument that Matthew's *vituperatio* demands that "rival claimants must not merely be discredited, they must be destroyed" and Matthew's rhetoric proceeds from "apocalyptic hatred" entails certain problems ("Vilifying the Other and Defining the Self: Matthew's and John's Anti-Jewish Polemic in Focus," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, 134-135.

19 Luz describes this phenomenon carefully in "Matthew's Anti-Judaism," 407-408.

masses as at least potentially cordial to Jesus and his message. Even when he shifts the object of Jesus' address from the scribes and Pharisees to the entire generation, he surely does not relegate everyone of his era to a salvation-historical ash heap. The general group to whom the "woes" shift is not "all of Judaism" but "all who identify themselves with the scribes and Pharisees." Likewise—as Patte points out—the rebukes of the Pharisees can function as criticisms not of the Pharisees' *Judaism*, but of their exercise of authority. It is quite possible that Matthew directed the harsh language of these passages intended against the religious leaders in his own Christian setting.[20] Matthew's use of the "rulers of the Gentiles" passage contrasts leaders among the disciples with Gentile models as well.

Even the unnerving cry from the observers of Jesus' passion—"his blood be on us and our children"—has recently been interpreted in a key "which preserves the integrity of the gospel as a Jewish document in [a] historical Jewish context."[21] The burden of Desmond Sullivan's claim is that Matthew envisioned the crowd's shout not as a gruesome approbation of Jesus' execution, but as an unwitting plea for the reconciliation which Jesus offered in 26:28: "this is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins." Matthew amplifies this connection by stressing the similarity of the crowd's cry to the words and gesture by which Moses sealed the God's covenant with the people: "Moses took the blood and dashed it on the people, and said, 'See the blood of the covenant that the LORD has made with you. . . .'" (Exod 24:8).[22] On Sullivan's reading, then, this verse invokes a blessing upon the crowds—not a curse at all.[23]

In sum, Matthew may draw the Pharisees and scribes in unflattering terms, but not as a way of issuing a blanket condemnation of Judaism. The various passages in question do not contradict a reading of the First Gospel which remains sympathetic to Judaism; even Mt 27:25, the gospel's outstanding "text of terror," fits into an interpretation which identifies Matthew as polemical tract on behalf of one particular version of Judaism.

Finally, it is time to recognize that the convention of translating Ἰουδαῖος as "Jew" (or Ἰουδαϊκός as "Jewish") misleadingly inscribes the modern distinction

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20 Patte, "Anti-Semitism in the New Testament," 50-51.

21 Desmond Sullivan, "New Insights into Matthew 27:24-25," *New Blackfriars* 73/863 (1993) 453.

22 Sullivan, 454-456. Though I am not yet persuaded that Sullivan's reading is soundest on strict historical-critical grounds, it is extremely suggestive and offers at the very least an attractive alternative to anti-Jewish interpretations.

23 It is important also to observe that Matthew clearly does not mean that *all* Judeans demanded Jesus' blood, inasmuch as Matthew certainly envisions some Judean disciples of Jesus; cf. Benno Przybylski, "The Setting of Matthean Anti-Judaism," in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. Peter Richardson with David Granskou (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 2; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986) 200.

between politics and religion into first-century discourse.[24] Neither historical lexicography nor social-scientific analysis supports this practice. A first-century Judean would have been expected to worship the God of Israel, like other Judeans. Those Alexandrian Africans who worshipped the God of Israel were known as Judeans; those Gentiles who turned from their families' beliefs became Judeans (they "Judaized"); and inhabitants of Judea who defied local custom by worshipping another God were not, in the proper sense of the word, "Judeans."[25] The anachronistic translation is defensible only in a handful of special cases, and even there only on the assumption that Judaism is already something Other for the New Testament writers. But that is precisely the matter in question, and the logical fallacy of assuming the consequent cannot strengthen translators' cases. The very language in which the "anti-Jewishness" argument is couched suggests that ideological forces are directing the shape of our discussion. Though the scholars who press this case are ostensibly thoroughly historical in their outlook, the resolution with which they defend the linguistic distinction between religious identity ("Jew") and national identity ("Judean") suggests that their interpretation may be influenced most forcefully by modern liberal political ideology and by their horror of anything resembling anti-Judaism.

"Judaism" as a distinctively *religious* phenomenon cannot be said to begin before the second century, before Rome dissolved the temple state which grounded Judean identity. As James Charlesworth has pointed out, "It is simply impossible today to apply the adjective 'Jewish' or 'Christian' to some phenomena prior to approximately 135 CE."[26] Malina and Rohrbaugh (citing Neusner) push that date even further along, to the fourth century.[27] In the period which Matthew represents—and I am not acquainted with a persuasive argument for dating Matthew *after* the bar Kochba revolt[28]—the movements which grew from Jesus' ministry and from subsequent mission to the Gentile world are not distinct from *Judaism*, but from Pharisaism, Essenism, and so on.

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24 The milestone article regarding this point is Malcolm Lowe's "Who Were the *Ioudaioi*?" in *Novum Testamentum* 18 (1976) 101-130, though he there concentrates on the geographic relevance of the key terms in John's Gospel and misses some of the broader consequences of his own argument. Wayne Meeks sees the relevance of Lowe's point more clearly in "Breaking Away," 95-96. Note, for instance, the later use of "Galilean" as a designation for Christians ("Breaking Away," 100).

25 Indeed, Shaye J. D. Cohen points out that part of the problem which Apion had with the Alexandrian Jews was that they wanted, as it were, "dual national" status: Alexandrian citizenship, but with the privilege to snub Alexandria's gods ("'Anti-Semitism' in Antiquity: The Problem of Definition," in *History and Hate*, ed. David Berger [New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1986] 43-44).

26 "'Jews,' 'Pagans,' and 'Christians' in Antiquity and Our Search for 'The Next Step,'" *Explorations* 8/1 (1994) 1.

27 Bruce J. Malina and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 168-169.

28 Even the late date which Malcolm Lowe advocates (in connection with a theory that our present Matthew is a Greek translation of a Hebrew original) puts the gospel's composition at about the time of the revolt, though even he admits that "the evidence for dating the canonical Matthew as late as the Bar Kochba revolt is less impressive than Baur thought" ("Real and Imagined Anti-Jewish Elements in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 24/2 [1987] 274).

Burnett, Patte, Levenson, *et al.* do not so much as nod to this matter; they begin with the Matthew/"Jews" dichotomy and work from there. If one's starting point is skewed, however, one's conclusions are bound to be suspect.

If we want to argue that Matthew harbors an anti-*Jewish* ideology, we need to make the case that not only does Matthew reject those particular *divisions* of Judaism which he excoriates, but that he has turned his back on the entire complex of characteristics which constitute Judaism, including the legal authority of Torah, the prophetic witness to theological truth, the pivotal importance of Jerusalem and the Temple. This would be a difficult case to make. Matthew's Jesus declares that not one iota or crown will pass away from the Law (5:18). Matthew places distinctive emphasis on Jesus' continuity with the tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures (especially in the formula-quotations). Finally, the emphasis which Matthew places on Jesus' primary mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (10:6, 15:24) suggests that Matthew was not rejecting Judaism, but promulgating what he took to be the *correct sort* of Judaism.[29]

The Pragmatic Argument

The most compelling argument in favor of taking Matthew as an anti-Jewish text is not theoretical nor historiographic, however, but practical.[30] We know that Christians have long used such texts as Mt 27:25—"his blood be on us and our children"—to brand Jews as deicides. We Christians have emphasized the woes against the Pharisees over Jesus' command to "do as they say," and that we have interpreted the term "hypocrites" to suit a (Protestant) Christian image of Judaism as a superficial religion of works-righteousness. Christians have legitimated vicious mistreatment of Jews by adducing Matthew's Gospel as a witness in favor of Christian bigotry, conversions under torture, pogroms, and—among some German Christians—for the Holocaust itself. The mute witness of European Jewry's ashes impels some to acknowledge Christianity's complicity in a long history of anti-Judaism, to the point of identifying Matthew's Gospel as an accomplice to genocide.[31]

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29 I take it that this is why Jacob Neusner chooses the Matthean portrait of Jesus as the basis of his popular work, *A Rabbi Talks with Jesus* (New York: Doubleday, 1993) and treats Matthew's Gospel in a chapter of *What Is Midrash?* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), though perhaps my interlocutors would want to suggest that Neusner is not a sensitive enough Jewish reader of Matthew.

My assessment of Matthew's situation will not satisfy those who regard *any* criticism of Judaism as reflecting a general attitude of "anti-Judaism." While the weight of Christian sins against Judaism makes nuanced judgments regarding possible cases of "theological anti-Judaism" dangerous, yet that danger must be faced. Otherwise, critical thinking collapses in its fawning encounter with a romanticized, do-no-wrong, exotic Jewish Other. One ought to strive somehow to negotiate the risky path between patronizing adulation and triumphalist condescension--perhaps erring on the side of humility (in the name of caution and of respect for the victims of anti-Jewish presumption), but not relinquishing the importance of honest critique (of the sort which characterizes Neusner's Jewish interrogations of Christianity).

30 See, for example, Luz, "Matthew's Anti-Judaism," 413-415. Luz specifically recognizes that "the first problem lies in the history of the effects of Matthean anti-Jewish texts" (413), though he subscribes to the anachronistic assumption of "Matthew-against-Judaism."

31 Reinhartz asserts that this sort of interpretation is "an appropriate actualization of the ideal reader of the Gospel stories" (534), but this must be an overstatement; even where one may read

Yet even here the case for Matthew's anti-Judaism is not unambiguous. In the crucible of the Second World War, when the urgency of standing with or against Judaism was more pressing than it has been for centuries, Matthew's Gospel was more prominent in the arguments of those who defended Judaism than it was in National Socialist propaganda.

The German-Christian interpreters evidently felt that even the obvious condemnations of Pharisees, the demand for Jesus' blood, and the prophecies of persecution by synagogue leaders were of little propaganda value when congregations would hear them in the context of the Sermon on the Mount's commendations of peacemakers, of love of enemies (and, specifically, persecutors). Though such theologians as Reichsbishop Ludwig Müller labored to produce a convincing Aryan version of the Sermon on the Mount, the political leadership and the propaganda officers were aware of an implacable opposition between Christianity and Nazism.[32] Even Müller's "verdeutscht" presentation of Matthew seems directed at least as much against stirring up conflict among one's neighbors and against putting too high a value on attending church as it is against anything Jewish.[33] Müller even soft-pedals Jesus' criticism of the Pharisees in Mt 6:1ff.; whereas Matthew's Jesus advises that hypocritical *synagogue-worshippers* love to trumpet their alms-giving in public, Müller's Jesus simply warns against hypocrisy in general.[34] The real heart of Jesus' preaching, according to Müller, seems to be that one should be a good, cooperative member of the *Volk*. Indeed, the most obvious manifestation of anti-Jewish ideology comes from Müller's *silence* concerning Matthew's thoroughly Judaic context.[35] Some anti-Jewish *topoi*, such as the slanderous charge (based on Mt 27:25) that all Jews were deicides, were doubtless so deeply rooted that they needed no explicit repetition.[36] All the same, the wickedly brilliant Nazi propagandists made little use of the putative anti-Jewish tenor of Matthew's Gospel.

Matthew as most hostile to his opponents, he would hardly have accounted Reinhartz's hypothetical white "Christian" supremacist as *the* ideal reader of his Gospel.

32 This is most obvious in Martin Bormann's memo which states flatly, "National Socialism and Christian concepts are incompatible" (quoted in George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture* [Reprint; New York: Schocken Books, 1988] 244). Listen as well to words which Hermann Rauschning attributes to Hitler: "Whether it's the Old Testament or the New, or simply the sayings of Jesus according to Houston Stewart Chamberlain—it's all the same old Jewish swindle" (cited from *Hitler Speaks* by Larry Thornton in "The New Light: German Christians and Biblical Distortion During the Third Reich," *Fides et Historia* 8/2 [1986] 42).

33 *Deutsche Gottesworte Aus der Bergpredigt verdeutscht*, (Weimar/Thüringen: Verlag Deutsche Christen, 1936). The title is misleading; Müller Germanizes not only the Sermon on the Mount, but also other miscellaneous sayings from the New Testament and conventional Christian piety.

34 "Wenn du betest, hüte dich vor aller Heuchelei. Wer in der Öffenlichkeit nur deshalb betest, weil er vor den Leuten fromm erscheinen will, der ist ein Heuchler; und alles heuchlerische Beten ist vor Gott und Menschen ein Greuel" (*Deutsche Gottesworte*, 19).

35 This was the general tactic behind the 1941 German revision of the New Testament, which simply edited out names and terms which seemed too "Jewish" (cf. Ernst Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979) 234).

36 Cf. C. Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) 197: "The main theme in religious hostility toward Jews has been that they are under a curse." Of course, this prejudice presumably draws on Mt 27:25, which mentions no curse at all; the assumption that the people's cry necessarily invokes a curse on them illustrates the principle

On the other hand, those who resisted National Socialism and defended European Jews (too few though those defenders were) freely enlisted Matthean texts as warrants for their actions. French Christian underground organizations such as the *Cimade* and *Témoignage Chrétien* undertook their risky operations in the name of God's "little ones," whom they felt obliged to help in Jesus' name,[37] and Bulgarian Church leaders warned their government that "with the judgment you make you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get" (Mt 7:2).[38] William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, urged that Christians who were typically horrified by the (Matthean) story of Herod's massacre of the innocent Judean children in Matthew 2 ought all the more to act on behalf of the thousands of children being deported and executed by German occupying forces. On another occasion, he noted that the National Socialists who harmed Jesus' "little ones" were bringing upon themselves the (Matthean) judgment of drowning by millstone.[39] These examples clearly indicate that Christian Europe found a basis for resisting the anti-Jewish activities of the Third Reich in many of the peculiarly Matthean details of the First Gospel.

One must frankly acknowledge that the Christian defense of Jews under the Third Reich was not hermeneutically unambiguous. Far too few Christians took even minimal risks on behalf of their Jewish neighbors, and many leaders of Christian resistance condescended to Jews, whom they regarded as accursed. Martin Niemöller, founder of the Pastors' Emergency League and hero of the Confessing Church, who spent much of the war imprisoned at Dachau, acknowledged that "[the Jewish people] bears a curse throughout the history of the world" because their pride and race-consciousness impelled them to reject Jesus.[40] The very notion that "race-consciousness" invokes a curse, of course, suggests that Niemöller's interpretation here derives much from his social context. Niemöller invokes the myth of the Wandering Jew who bears an eternal curse, but he defines the basis of that curse ("they were free, strong and proud men and belonged to a pure-blooded, race-conscious nation") in terms which condemn the ideological tenor of that very myth. The ambiguity which thus marks Niemöller's relation to Judaism points not, however, to the inevitable effects of trying to interpret an anti-Jewish text against its own ideology; rather, that ambiguity points to the fact that the text's role in interpretation is always

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that anti-Jewish reading formations have produced a horrifically powerful anti-Jewish performance of Matthew.

37 Cf. Emile C. Fabre, ed., *God's Underground: CIMADE 1939-1945*, trans. William and Patricia Nottingham (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1970), *passim* (likewise Swiss and English authorities; Johan M. Snoek, *The Grey Book* [New York: Humanities Press, 1970] 216, 249). Lest I here be understood romantically to posit a univocally cordial relation between French Christian Resistance and Judaism, be it observed that *Témoignage Chrétien* took a pro-Arab stance in the Yom Kippur War; cf. Franklin H. Littell, *The Crucifixion of the Jews*. (Reprints of Scholarly Excellence; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986) 85.

38 Snoek, 14, 188. Snoek also records allusions to the typically Matthean phrase, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Snoek gives "the scattered flock of Israel") in Hungarian protests (206).

39 Snoek, 238, 243. Seven pastors of the Confessing Church joined English churches in a call for repentance and protest on the Feast of the Massacre of the Innocents in January 1943.

40 In a sermon for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity, 1937; *Here Stand I!*, trans. Jane Lymburn (Chicago: Willett, Clark, and Company, 1937) 194.

underdetermined, always subject to the supplement of social, historical, personal context.

Conclusion

No one ought ever to minimize Christian responsibility in the abominable persecution of Jews over the centuries. But though we are obliged to acknowledge Christians' sins, we ought not let our commitment to honesty impel us to uncautious conclusions regarding the reasons for atrocities against God's people of Israel. When we ascribe "anti-Judaism" to Matthew, we obscure several dimensions of the problem of bigotry. Matthew's Gospel is only one element in the reading formation which produces anti-Judaism—a reading formation of which we are all parts.

It is far easier, however, to talk about *Matthew's* anti-Judaism than to examine our own ideological complicity with malign political forces. While contemporary critics adduce only the most laudable motives for lambasting Matthew, we ought to beware of blinding ourselves to more subtle effects of the ideology we hope to resist. The strength of Daniel Patte's searching essay on Matthean anti-Judaism is precisely his persistent willingness to examine his own unwilling role in perpetuating anti-Jewish readings of Paul and Matthew.[41] His non-anti-Jewish readings of these texts are provocative and persuasive. But even when we adopt Patte's positions, we have not extracted ourselves from the cultural conditions which made anti-Jewish readings possible and plausible in the first place.

The critical problem is not that the text of Matthew is anti-Jewish, or that we as interpreters are anti-Jewish; the problem is that we live under conditions which make anti-Jewish readings too real and too attractive a possibility. Certain readings of Matthew give legitimate grounds for the claim that Matthew's is a profoundly Judaic gospel. Matthew upholds the validity of the Law and insists on the authority of the Pharisees, continues the Scriptures' message of salvation to both Judeans and Gentiles, and articulates the image of Israel's God in ways altogether familiar to readers of the Law and the Prophets. It even excoriates rival interpretations of true faith in ways which resemble the polemics of other Judaisms.[42] The reasons we find anti-Judaism in Matthew is that we live in a culture which has enacted just the sort of anti-Judaism we are claiming to discover.

Moreover, when we claim that Matthew is anti-Jewish, we all too often fail to explain why we think that anti-Judaism is a bad thing. There are numerous

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41 One difficulty with Patte's reading is that his dedication to resisting anti-Judaism seems to leave little reason for anyone to be a Christian. Just as early twentieth-century Christian interpretations of Judaism "raise the question of how a member of the species *homo sapiens* could ever be attracted to such a degraded and unhappy way of life" (Levenson, "Is There a Counterpart," 243), so contemporary Christian accounts of Judaism raise the question of whether there is any justification for an ethically-sensitive *homo sapiens* confessing Jesus as the Christ. We do not solve the problem of culture's anti-Judaism by demeaning Christian faith; we do not advance dialogue by suggesting that it is improper for Christians to think that they have any compelling reason to adhere to faith in Jesus rather than obedience to Torah.

42 Once again, polemical claims which would be grotesque in the aftermath of the Holocaust are "intelligible" and "relatively mild" in the context of Hellenistic cultural rivalries (Johnson, "Anti-Jewish Slander," 441).

reasons to resist anti-Judaism, but the experience of this century has taught that such reasons are not self-evident, and that they can conflict with one another.[43] Such conflicts rarely come to light as conflicts over modes of pro-Judaism, but usually emerge as conflicts over who is *really* pro-Jewish (and who is covertly, or tacitly, or subconsciously, or residually anti-Jewish). If we couch our philo-Judaic rhetoric in binary oppositions like these, we invoke the horrors of the Holocaust against our opponents' interpretations while sealing our hermeneutics with David's star. Perhaps some situations are well served by dualistic rhetoric, but the preponderance of the problems which beset reconciliation between Jews and Christians call for more nuanced analysis.

In sum: the conclusion of this essay is not that Matthew (whoever the evangelist may have been) was innocent of ideologies we now repudiate. Matthew may have been unacceptably antagonistic to certain varieties of Judaism, especially since we (in retrospect) see what Matthew could not see: much of what Matthew criticized in his contemporaries contributes to the identity of the continuing Jewish community. This problematic connection has made Matthew's Gospel useful in our culture's patterns of exclusion and scapegoating. As a result, Christians have for centuries participated in and perpetuated reading formations which produced various anti-Jewish versions of Matthew. But if we want to redress the wrongs done to Israel through centuries of hostile Christendom, our first obligation is not to spank Matthew for implanting anti-Jewish ideas in our heads; rather, we must live (converse, teach, interpret, preach) in ways which make anti-Judaism unthinkable.

The Christians who risked their lives to shelter and rescue Jews in occupied France, The Netherlands, and Poland bought their copies of the New Testament from the same publishers who printed the collaborators' Bibles. They read aloud the same words from Matthew's Gospel, and recognized the same cast of characters. The difference is not that the Chambonnais (for example) were poor interpreters, and therefore missed the anti-Jewish ideology which ought to have impelled them to turn in their dangerous guests. The difference is that these righteous Gentile interpreters didn't see an anti-Jewish interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew as plausible. They constituted a reading formation which identified the relevant Matthean text not as, "His blood be on us and on our children," but as, "Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these of my family, you did it for me."

> . . . The most important factor in the rescue success rate in Le Chambon [was] the determination of local residents to protect their guests. The

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43 The motivations for pro-Judaism are especially hard to discover when the dominant ideology of biblical criticism still requires that its practitioners seem disinterested (though in precisely this essay's context, Marshall Johnson has observed that "the activity of [German] New Testament critics in the Third Reich reveals with great clarity the fact that objectivity in the exegetical enterprise is scarcely possible" ("Power Politics and New Testament Scholarship in the National Socialist Period," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 23/1 [1986] 24). Lest anyone harbor the illusion that my intervention in this discourse pretends to disinterested objectivity, I hasten to add that I write from the conviction that, if God has abrogated the holy covenant with Israel, then my own (and all Gentile Christians') relation to God is theologically incoherent. My aim is not to persuade disinterested observers that I am right, but to persuade interested observers that my account offers a hermeneutically coherent, theologically sound framework within which to interpret Matthew's Gospel.

> people of Le Chambon lived in a state of constant alertness, with a warning system prepared. Their solidarity also made it difficult for potential informers to act. To whom could they safely leak information? Municipal authorities sympathized with the majority, as did, it appeared, many of the police. Even local censors of mail were likely to prevent a denunciation. In such a situation, a careless informer might put himself in danger. In addition, it was psychologically more difficult for a solitary anti-Semite or opportunist to express his bile in a region where he was bucking an obvious majority.[44]

Where we are willing to live without anti-Judaism, beyond bigotry and scapegoating altogether, there Matthew will simply not be read as an anti-Jewish text.

This thesis may clarify the quandary to which New Historicist readings have alerted us. Our historical context does indeed provide constraints which limit our interpretations. On the other hand, our contexts also provide us with resources with which to resist. First, we can seek out reading formations that develop interpretations which diverge from the dominant presuppositions of our culture. We can reckon ourselves accountable not to a dominant culture's institutions and *mores*, but to the judgment of our (resisting) colleagues—even when their judgment obliges us to take uncomfortable, impolitic risks—in the hope that we may recognize just criticism when it comes from trusted friends.[45] Under such circumstances, interpreters will not only be able to read Matthew without an anti-Jewish "reading effect," but will be in a position to embody and to teach ways of life in which our neighbors can see our good works, and glorify Israel's God in heaven.[46]

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44 Susan Zuccotti, *The Holocaust, the French, and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1993) 231.

45 Since Christian theology can provide a rationale for privileging philo-Judaic interpretations, whereas the liberal academy must freely recognize interpretive pluralism on questions of New Testament anti-Judaism (the same rhetoric of human rights supports both anti-Judaism and pro-Judaism), church-related institutions may—paradoxically—be in a stronger situation for resisting the social formations which incline us to produce and reproduce anti-Jewish interpretations.

46 My thanks to Eckerd College inter-library loan librarians Cathy McCoy and Tina Pontikos, who provided access to much of the material for this essay, and to Phil Kenneson for helpful criticisms of an earlier draft.

Stoicized Readings of Plato's *Timaeus* in Philo of Alexandria

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After Runia's magisterial study[1] it is now a generally accepted view that Plato's works and particularly the *Timaeus* occupy a pivotal position in Philo's allegorical reading of Scripture. Runia has clearly demonstrated that the *Timaeus* is not used so much as a scientific handbook, but rather for its philosophical framework (Runia, iii 1.6), and that its "language of excellence" is transformed by Philo into a hymn of praise for the universe and its creator (Runia, ii 2.3.2).

Yet scholars have also argued in favor of a strong Stoic influence on Philo: Weiss[2] claims that Philo could just as well be called a Platonizing Stoic, a claim which is too strong, as appears from Runia's analysis; Radice[3] admits that although the Stoic influences outnumber the Platonist ones, the latter are nevertheless more fundamental; Mansfeld[4] emphasizes that some texts of Philo really are more Stoic than anything else (cf. infra) and Dillon[5] has highlighted that Philo's method might have been inspired by Stoic allegorical readings of Homer.

The hypothesis I would like to examine is that the two influences of Plato's *Timaeus* and of the Stoics actually converge: when Philo—or his source—is looking at the *Timaeus*, the Stoics are reading over his shoulder. We will see that in some cases Philo apparently is not able to strip the *Timaeus* of its Stoicized interpretations, which could in part be explained by the hypothesis that the Jewish-Alexandrian tradition preceding Philo is heavily influenced by the Stoic corporeality doctrine[6] and that Philo's own turn towards Plato is a

1 D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the* Timaeus *of Plato,* Philosophia Antiqua 44 (Leiden 1986). Runia is the obvious demiurge behind this paper.

2 *Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentums,* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 97 (Berlin 1966) 5. Cf. also E. Turowski, *Die Wiederspiegelung des stoischen Systems bei Philon von Alexandrien* (Leipzig 1927).

3 "The Ideas as the Thoughts of God in Philo of Alexandria", *Studia Philonica Annual* 3 (1991) 126.

4 "Philosophy in the Service of Scripture. Philo's Exegetical Strategies;" *The Question of "Eclecticism"* (ed. Dillon & Long; Berkeley 1988) 77.

5 *The Middle Platonists* (New York 1977) 142-143.

6 The term "materialism" is misleading in a Stoic context, since the Stoics themselves use "matter" to designate the passive principle only (cf. infra).

shift within that tradition.[7] I focus on three issues: first, the doctrine of the principles and secondly, the World Soul, both considered in and of itself and in relation to the human soul.

I. God and the Principles of the Universe

A case in point for the debate concerning Philo's role in Middle Platonism is the origin of the concept of the ideas as the thoughts of god. The first thing to notice about the continued and strenuous attention modern scholarship has devoted to the issue is that in its course a whole chorus of ancient thinkers,—virtually "everybody!"—has been credited with the invention: Plato himself, the Old Academy and Xenocrates, Aristotle and the Peripatetic tradition, the (neo?) Pythagoreans, Posidonius, Antiochus, Alcimus, Varro, Eudorus, Arius Didymus. . . .[8] Something seems to be wrong here.

Granted that there are passages in Plato's own work to which the concept can be connected,[9] we should be careful of not committing ourselves to later Platonist methodologies. What does seem, however, to have been a philosophical endeavor to which many thinkers and schools of thought devoted attention is the double attempt of relating the *Timaeus*'s paradigm of Being, Demiurge, and World Soul to one another and of thereby simplifying an overabundance of explanatory principles. The Stoics were most successful at this with their theory of the active versus the passive principle. There is a fragment of Theophrastus which reduces Plato's analysis to a twofold scheme, in a manner which looks strikingly Stoic.[10] It can be explained, I would argue, by Theophrastus's double role as a witness to the debate of his time, and as a transmitter and critic of Aristotelian doctrine which is relevant to the Early Stoics.

That the neatness of the Stoic approach exerted an attraction, is quite apparent in Diogenes Laertius's biography of Plato, Diogenes who ascribes two principles to Plato, god and matter as substrate.[11] The main problem this leaves more orthodox Platonists with, however, is how the ideas are supposed to fit into this framework. That is why parallel to a twofold framework, a three-principle analysis emerges, of god, ideas and matter. But the two principles

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7 *Platonismo e creazionismo in Filone di Alessandria*, Metafisica del Platonismo nel suo sviluppo storico e nella filosofia patristica. Studi e testi 7 (Milano 1989) 196-201. Cf. also the study of R. Goulet, *La philosophie de Moïse. Essai de reconstitution d'un commentaire philosophique préphilonien du Pentateuque*, Histoire des Doctrines de l'Antiquité Classique 11 (Paris 1987), which, however, is highly conjectural.

8 For a review cf. R. Jones, "The Ideas as the Thoughts of God," *Classical Philology* 21 (1926) 317-326; Runia (1986) 53, n. 102.; Radice (1989) 237-280.

9 H. Krämer, *Platonismus und hellenistische Philosophie* (Berlin 1971) 121, n. 65 draws attention to the fact that in the *Timaeus* both the paradigm of Being (50D) and the Demiurge are called "father." Jones, (1926) 317, refers to the passage in *Book Ten* of the *Republic* (597b5-7, d) in which god becomes the maker of the bed "in nature." To posit the relationship between the Good and the ideas (*Republic* vi.509b6-10) as a parallel is, I believe, problematic, because Plato does not elucidate that relationship.

10 Fr. 230 (ed. Fortenbaugh). This fragment has now become widely debated, cf. Runia, Long and Sedley (all three forthcoming).

11 3, 69; 76.

continue to exercise their influence. I believe that the concept of the ideas as the thoughts of god has to be understood as a *solution* to the very specific problem of how the ideas can be incorporated in what then remains an essentially bipolar analysis; as a compromise, that is, between the analysis which is consolidated by the Stoics and more orthodox Platonism. As such the concept is not merely anticipated by the preceding views on the principles, but represents a theoretical breakthrough. And this in turn, then, implies that we should not attribute the theory to authors who do not explicitly state it.

Radice[12] has argued in favor of the hypothesis that Philo is the first to describe the ideas as the thoughts of god. Runia[13] has recently tried to refute him by drawing in as evidence fragments which precede Philo's work and deal with a twofold scheme of principles. Precisely because these fragments only mention two factors and for the reasons outlined above, I do not think that they can be said to foreshadow the new notion, unless we choose to read it into them. It is a well-known hermeneutic principle that philosophical theories can acquire a new dimension when viewed from the perspective of subsequent developments. Sometimes a solution to a problem makes it look as if the problem could have led to no other solution at all.

The other evidence quoted by Runia is Middle Platonist, which leads us to a chronological quagmire. It is reasonable to assume that the Timaeus Locrus, the forgery which by some in Antiquity was considered the original for Plato's work, predates Philo,[14] but this work merely gives us a hint that the principle of the idea (sg.) relates to god and mind as cause, and the principle of matter to necessity as cause. We are still left without an explicit answer to the question of *how* the idea relates to god.

The remaining proponents of this doctrine who are roughly contemporary with Philo and might go back to earlier sources are Aetius, Seneca and the author of the *Didaskalikos*. "Roughly contemporary" is one problem; the possibility of connections with earlier sources is another, since we do not have earlier, explicit evidence for the concept. Seneca is, of course, Philo's contemporary, but in his case we are dealing with an internal development of Stoicism. What all of this amounts to is that Radice's viewpoint remains attractive as a "working hypothesis,"[15] as he himself calls it, one that is not be excluded *a priori*, even though the relation between Philo and the Platonists of this period is problematic.

Philo's use of the concept has to be understood in the context of the *Genesis* account he is commenting upon (cf. infra); we will also see that his concept of God owes something to the Stoic active principle and to the relation between divine reason and the seminal λόγοι.

It is possible, and unfortunately only possible, because the passage has come to us in an obscure Armenian translation, that the analysis of Plato's

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12 Cf. works quoted.

13 "Was Philo a Middle Platonist? A Difficult Question Revisited," *Studia Philonica Annual* 5 (1994) 134-139.

14 Cf. chaps.1-3 (ed. W. Marg). The text could actually be earlier than Baltes assumes, who places it in the context of Alexandrian Platonism, but who, in my opinion, reads too many later theories into it.

15 As he calls it himself (1991), 134.

theory as dealing with two principles or first causes, god and matter, surfaces in Philo's *De Providentia*, together with the claim that God is the maker of the intelligibles. If Runia (ii 2.3.3; 119-120) is right on this issue, then the fact that Philo refrains from attributing the theory of two causes to Moses himself, implies that he takes his distance from it. Most important for my investigation is that apparently Philo cannot separate Plato's own discourse anymore from its later interpretations which impose a bipolar framework on it; so his attitude towards this doctrine determines his attitude towards the *Timaeus* itself (cf. infra).

Although Philo does not entirely reject the Stoic framework of an active versus a passive factor, his reluctance is primarily directed at the passive component as a full-fledged cause:

> 1. Moses . . . could not fail to recognize that the universal must consist of two parts, one part active, Cause, and the other passive [object]; . . . (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *De Opificio* 8; the additions in square brackets are mine; cf. Runia 104).[16]

It is tempting to read, with Weiss[17] the passive component (*τὸ δὲ παθητόν*) as a cause as well, but the designation might imply no more than a passive object, as Whitaker translates. Philo generally avoids calling the passive component a cause and elsewhere he rails against those people who turn the material cause into the sole cause responsible for the outlook of our world, and hence replace god by matter:

> 2. These are people who fashion their god out of substance devoid of quality or form or shape; but the moving cause they do neither know . . . (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *De Fuga* 8).[18]

What is puzzling about this passage is that none of the "materialists" of ancient philosophy as we know them fit the description. According to the Ionic philosophers and the atomist theory as adapted by the Epicureans, matter is not without defining features, however minimal these are (atoms, for instance, come in different sizes and shapes). The only school of thought that relies heavily for its theories on a qualityless matter as substrate are the Stoics, and the language here is distinctly Stoic, including the use of the label "substance" (*οὐσία*) for matter, but they do posit an active divine principle besides the passive one, so they are not "materialists" in Philo's sense, even though they claim that the active principle is a body of some kind. Is Philo referring to a group of thinkers who transformed the Stoic doctrine into this

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16 *ἔγνω* [Moses] *δὴ ὅτι ἀναγκαιότατόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ μὲν εἶναι δραστήριον αἴτιον, τὸ δὲ παθητόν*. Cf. also *De Fuga* 133, where mind as the active cause is opposed to its objects and the thinking process itself and is described as a fiery breath (*ἔνθερμον καὶ πεπυρωμένον πνεῦμα*). For the references to other relevant passages cf. Runia 104-107; 453 n. 257; 454 n. 263. (*De Cherubim* 77; *Quod Deterius* 161; *De Specialibus Legibus* 3, 180; *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 3.3)

17 42.

18 *εἰσί τινες οἱ τὴν ἄποιον καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον οὐσίαν θεοπλαστοῦντες, τὸ κινοῦν αἴτιον οὔτε εἰδότες. . . .* Cf. also *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.327-329; *De Deo* 3.37-39 (ed. F. Siegert, 25). Diogenes Laertius (7, 134; 2.1) does claim that for the Stoics both principles are "without form."

radical version, or is the attack merely rhetorical, that is, an expression, in a "worst case" scenario, of Philo's aversion to the notion of matter as a cause? The combination of matter as *the* cause, and not just *one of* the factors, with the notion of matter as a neutral substrate reduces the theory of materialism to an absurdity; i.e., presents it in its least favorable light. Is Philo conscious of the fact that he has supplanted the Stoic definition of matter for the terminology that the genuinely "materialist" theories themselves might have used, and that in doing so he is undermining these approaches? Or has the Stoic definition simply become the only legitimate way to describe any kind of matter?

There is another problem with this passage, and the one quoted just above. Philo's reluctance to call the passive factor a cause does not necessarily entail criticism of the Stoics. As Duhot[19] has made apparent, the Stoics themselves, contrary to Aristotle, refrain from designating their passive principle or matter as cause. Seneca uses the opposition of cause (*causa*) for active principle versus matter (*materia*) for the passive.[20]

But passivity and lack of quality do not constitute Philo's one and only angle on matter; he also is attracted by the notion in the *Timaeus* of matter as a factor of disorder, not simply lack of order (Runia, ii 3.2.1).[21] Here we come across a first example of what one could call a perspectival analysis. To the extent that the God of *Genesis* is all-powerful in His creation, matter is a passive substrate; to the extent however that He is not responsible for evil in the world, matter is a factor of recalcitrance, although its role is reduced to the minimum and it shares the function of recalcitrance with the human souls, which in their freedom of choice can turn to corruption (Runia, 454-455). But, although matter still retains some power of opposition for Philo, he shrinks back from calling it a cause, which would give matter an ontological status similar to the divine, and would hence lead to a derogation of divine power. Philo combines his loyalty to Scripture with an attraction to the *Timaeus*, on which, however, the genuinely Stoic formula of active cause versus passive matter has been imposed.

When we turn to that active cause now, the following quote will come as no surprise to any Philo scholar:

> 3. . . . the intelligible world is nothing other than the Logos of God as he is engaged in the act of creation . . . (*De Opificio* 24; my transl.).[22]

The divine reason which is engaged in the act of creation is first and foremost the word of God, expressed in Scripture by "God said." But scholars have not failed to notice the resemblance between Philo's notion and the Stoic concept of divine reason. The manner in which Philo describes the divine Logos once

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[19] J.-J. Duhot, *La conception stoïcienne de la causalité* (Paris 1989), 139-152. This point seems to have escaped D. Hahm, *The origins of Stoic cosmology* (Columbus Ohio 1977) 34; 44.

[20] *Epistulae* 65.2ff.; 89.16. Cf. also for Zeno, Chrysippus and Posidonius: Stobaeus *Eclogae* 1.13.1; *SVF* 1.89; 2; 336; Edelstein and Kidd F95. Cf. also Theophrastus fr. 230 (ed. Fortenbaugh) and Diogenes Laertius 3.69 quoted above.

[21] The two perspectives can occur in the context of one and the same work, compare *De Opificio* 8-9 with 21-22.

[22] *οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον. . . . τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιοῦντος. . . .*

again betrays an oscillation. On the one hand the Logos seems to have acquired some independent, intermediary status, of an hypostasis, which is most clearly expressed by the notion of the Logos as God's instrument. But in other contexts the Logos appears to be an aspect of God himself (Runia, iii 2.7; 450-451). Hence the One God can be present in His entire creation, without an essential loss of transcendence.

The divine Logos is the locus of the intelligible universe (*νοητὸς κόσμος*),[23] Philo's label for the paradigm of Being or the intelligibles taken together, as opposed to the sensible world, the world as we perceive it: God is said to think[24] the intelligible realm, to "strike it out in advance,"[25] that is, in advance of the creation of the sensible world, the creation of "day one" (Runia, iii 2.3; 427). The fact that this Logos can also be called "seminal,"[26] and that once we even get a hint of the ideas being called "seminal logoi"[27] seems to bring us close to Stoic territory.

Yet we cannot go much further beyond this point, because it looks as if Philo has reservations about the overall Stoic analysis of the universe along biological lines, i.e., of the universe as an animal. Runia has clearly shown that the World Soul of the *Timaeus* is remarkably absent from Philo's work, and so is the account of how it came about and what its original components are. Similarly, Philo seems to refer merely to the universe and to avoid talking about its body.[28] This silence, Runia believes, is probably inspired by a

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23 Cf. *De Opificio* 20; 36.

24 Cf. *De Opificio* 19.

25 Cf. *De Opificio* 16; cf. also 20.

26 Weiss, 259, refers to *De Aeternitate Mundi* 85; 93, but these passages are part of a polemic against the Stoics (cf. infra); *De Ebrietate* 224, but only implicit; Dillon, (1977) 159, refers to *Legum Allegoriae* 3.150; *Heres* 119, which is by far the most interesting example: ". . . the invisible, seminal artificer, the Divine Word, which will be fitly dedicated to its Father" (trans. Colson); . . . *ἀόρατος καὶ σπερματικὸς καὶ τεχνικὸς θεῖός ἐστι λόγος, ὃς προσηκόντως ἀνακείσεται τῷ πατρί*. Runia (1986, 422) claims: "The doctrine of *σπερματικὸς λόγος*, extensively developed in the Stoa, is recognized by Philo in the processes of natural reproduction in the universe, but is not used to explain the creation of the cosmos itself by God" (Cf. also *De Opificio* 43; *Heres* 114-115; *De Animalibus* 20; 96.).

27 *Legatio* 55.

28 (1) On the notion of the universe as an animal, cf. Runia, ii 3.3, 157-158; with references to *De Aeternitate Mundi* 26; 74 (both passages with an emphasis on the self-sufficiency of the universe); 94-95 (which are part of a larger exchange with the Stoics—Chrysippus is mentioned—and a polemic against their cosmobiology, in particular against the combination of a world conflagration with a rebirth of the universe from a seed, 85-103); *Heres* 154-155 (the doctrine is implied in the analogy between micro- and macrocosm; cf. infra); 200; *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.210 (implicit); the most striking occurrence is at *Quaestiones in 'Genesin'* 4.188: "Similar is the universal and whole heaven and world since it is both a rational animal and a virtuous animal and philosophical by nature" (trans. Runia, 157, text preserved in Armenian). Cf. also D. Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati, 1985) 30-31, with an additional reference to *Moses* 2.133-134. (2) The animality of the model, the intelligibles, is absent from Philo's discourse (cf. Runia, ii 3.4, 158-159). (3) The notion of the cosmic soul occurs at (cf. Runia, ii 5.1.2, 204ff.) *De Aeternitate Mundi* 47; 50; 73; 84 (passages which can be explained in the light of Philo's exchange with the Stoics); *Legum Allegoriae* 1.91; *De Migratione* 179-181; *Quod Det.* 90; *De Mutatione Nominum* 223 (cf. infra). (4) Philo generally avoids talking about the body of the universe, for occurrences cf. (Runia, ii 4.2.8, 198) *De*

rejection of the Stoic cosmobiological approach. But is it not remarkable, and here I touch upon my second theme, that there apparently is no way back to the *Timaeus* itself for Philo, that the Stoicized readings by now have replaced Plato's discourse on some issues? Philo's implicit rejection does not lead to an alternative interpretation of the *Timaeus* passages in question, it leads him to play down these passages altogether.

However, the World Soul does not withdraw without leaving any traces at all. The notion of the World Soul as extending all through the body of the universe is largely gone, but Philo still talks about the circle of the Same for the fixed stars and the circle of the Other for the planets. This does allow him to maintain a version of the analogy between macrocosm and human beings, which we will examine below, but one in which important conceptual bridges are lacking. Secondly, like Moses parting the waters, Philo has transferred the soul's binding role to the divine Logos (Runia, ii 5.1.3, 204ff.), in its interaction with the universe, and to the human soul, in its interaction with the body. He describes the human soul as that which extends all through the human body.[29]

If the World Soul is for the Stoics one of the aspects of the divine active principle which clearly expresses its immanent nature, for Philo the divine Logos which assumes the World Soul's role underscores God's transcendence.[30] Philo's conceptual framework can then be understood as a counterpart to the Stoic solution of reducing Plato's World Soul, Demiurge and paradigm of Being to one and the same active cause. God replaces and transforms the role of the Demiurge, He thinks or creates in advance the intelligible paradigm and His Logos, the place of the intelligible universe, takes over the role of the World Soul.

As stated already above, Philo's adaptation of the Stoic concept of Logos is probably first and foremost inspired by the *Genesis* formula "God said"; i.e., it serves his exegetical purposes. Yet there is a conceptual link between his view of the universe and that of the Stoics which might have reinforced his attraction to their analysis, and that is the predominant role of Providence in both systems of thought. For Philo (Runia, ii 6.1.5, 241ff.) God has to be a creator if we want to maintain His providential nature; He has to impose order on chaos,[31] and he cannot allow the universe to be destroyed either. The

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Aeternitate Mundi 51; *Heres* 155; *Quaestiones in 'Exodum'* 2.120. (5) On Plato's double creational metaphor of a technical factor (demiurge/maker) and a biological one (father) and Philo's usage—with a preference for the first one—cf. Runia, ii 2.2.2 and iii. 2.3. The closest parallel to a cosmobiological approach is the claim that God has intercourse with Wisdom and from His seed the visible universe is generated (cf. Runia 422, *De Ebrietate* 30). (6) The biological process is recognized (a) in natural reproduction (cf. supra); (b) for individual parts of the universe, especially living beings, as opposed to the cosmos taken as a whole and (c) on the metaphorical level, as in *De Opificio* 67-68, where the order of creation is compared to the growth from a seed.

29 *Quaestiones et Solutiones in 'Genesin'* 2.4.

30 For parallel developments in Middle Platonism, cf. Dillon (1977) 45-46, general assessment; 83, Antiochus; 252, Atticus. Cf. also Winston (1985) 15.

31 Here I am touching upon one of the main issues of the modern debate concerning Philo, namely the question of how exactly he views the relation between God and matter: *creatio ex nihilo*: Wolfson, Reale (cf. his introduction to Radice's book), Radice; *creatio aeterna:* Nikiprowetsky, Winston; *creatio simultanea*, followed by a *creatio continua*: Runia (i.e., once

combination of a creation moment with a continued support is, of course, a return of the *Timaeus* account itself. But precisely the predominance the theme has now acquired, in the context of a full-fledged Providence, might betray a Stoic setting of the agenda as far as the transmission of the *Timaeus* is concerned, with the important reservation that in Philo's opinion the destruction of the universe in a total conflagration, even if it is only a prelude to a new creative phase, is incompatible with divine Providence. Beneath Philo's criticisms of the Stoics, there lies a debt in general conceptual frameworks (In Calcidius's commentary on the *Timaeus* we can also witness Stoic material slipping in because his angle on Plato's text requires him to posit a divine principle which is powerful and provident beyond what the *Timaeus* strictly speaking allows for. Runia has coined the label "monarchic dualism" for Philo's view; I think it can also be applied to Calcidius.).

Another powerful expression of Philo's attitude towards the Stoics is his reflection on the theme of God as "consuming fire."[32] He ascribes to this divine fire the powers of creation, which mold and transform matter, and he explicitly distinguishes its positive, constructive character from the forces of destruction associated with ordinary fire: the divine fire consumes only in the sense that it turns raw material into finished products. All of this is in line with orthodox Stoicism. As Siegert has pointed out, in comparison with other commentators on Scripture, Philo is quite daring here in his approximation of the Stoic corporeality doctrine. But he does safeguard God's ultimate transcendence, and he rejects the doctrine of cosmic conflagration, that is of the Stoics' creative fire turning against its own creation.

In spite of his disclaimers about the adequacy of his writing, Philo has given us some of the most eloquent renderings of the Stoic doctrine of a cosmic city, in which God's Logos constitutes the law and sets the goal for human striving. This is just one example:

> 4. His [Moses'] exordium, as I have said, is one that excites our admiration in the highest degree. It consists of an account of the creation of the world, implying that the world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world, and that the man who observes the law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world, regulating his doings by the purpose and will of Nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself is also administered (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *De Opificio* 3).[33]

God has created the universe, in its entirety, all at once, he continues to maintain it); cf. Runia, iii 2.4, 426-433 .

32 LXX, Deut 4:24. Cf. F. Siegert, *Philon von Alexandrien, über die Gottesbezeichnung "wohltätig verzehrendes Feuer" (De Deo)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 46 (Tübingen 1988) 99-112. This is one of the passages Mansfeld, (1988) 77, mentions as heavily influenced by the Stoics (cf. supra).

33 *ἡ δ' ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἔφην, ἐστὶ θαυμασιωτάτη, κοσμοποιίαν περιέχουσα, ὡς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ νόμου τῷ κόσμῳ συνᾴδοντος, καὶ τοῦ νομίμου ἀνδρὸς εὐθὺς ὄντος κοσμοπολίτου, πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντος, καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διοικεῖται.*

II. A Soul Search

I would like to turn now to my last theme, the relation between the World Soul and human souls. We start with the following fragment:

> 5. How, then, was it likely that the mind of man being so small, contained in such small bulks as a brain or a heart, should have room for all the vastness of sky and universe, had it not been *an inseparable portion of that divine and blessed soul*? For no part of that which is divine cuts itself off and becomes separate, but does but extend itself. The mind, then, having obtained a share of perfection which is in the whole, when it conceives of the universe, reaches out as widely as the bounds of the whole, and undergoes no severance; for its force is expansive (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *Quod Deterius* 90; cf. also Runia, ii 10.1.2, 325-327).[34]

From this passage it would appear that Philo has made an inspired use of the essentially Stoic doctrine which emphasizes the analogy between the World Soul and the human soul, by claiming that the latter is a portion of the former. But, to be more precise, Philo relates the human *mind*, not the soul strictly speaking, to a divine soul on the level of the universe.

Yet we can also witness how, while being attracted to this view, he nevertheless has reservations about it. In the following fragment, it is ascribed to "certain, bold spirits":

> 6. On this principle [equality by the rule of proportion] some have ventured to affirm that the tiny animal man is equal to the whole world, because each consists of body and reasonable soul, and thus they declare that man is a small world and alternatively the world is a great man. This pronouncement of theirs is not wide of the mark (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *Quis Heres* 155; cf. Runia, ii 4.2.8, 198).[35]

Here we are left with an enigma at which we will need to take a closer look: when Philo claims there is an analogy between the universe and humans in the rational soul, does this entail that the human soul is in essence rational, as the Stoics would claim, or is it a limiting statement, implying that the soul analogy only holds for the rational part of the human soul, as opposed to its irrational parts, which would be more in tune with the *Timaeus*? The problem is that the analogy is only depicted for body on the one hand, and soul *qua* rational entity on the other, and that there is no explicit statement connected with this about the irrational functions of a human soul, spirit and appetite.

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[34] *πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς βραχὺν οὕτως ὄντα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν μήνιγγι ἢ καρδίᾳ, βραχέσιν ὄγκοις, ἐγκατειλημμένον μέγεθος οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου χωρῆσαι τοσοῦτον, εἰ μὴ τῆς Θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπόσπασμα ἦν οὐ διαιρετόν; τέμνεται γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦ θείου κατ' ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκτείνεται. διὸ μεμοιραμένος τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τελειότητος, ὅταν ἐννοῇ κόσμον, τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ παντὸς συνευρύνεται ῥῆξιν οὐ λαμβάνων· ὁλκὸς γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ.*

[35] *οὕτως ἐθάρρησαν ἔνιοι καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τὸ βραχύτατον ζῷον, ἄνθρωπον, ἴσον ἀποφῆναι κατιδόντες ὅτι ἑκάτερον ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καθέστηκε λογικῆς, ὥστε καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες βραχὺν μὲν κόσμον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μέγαν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔφασαν τὸν κόσμον εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ διδάσκουσιν. . . .*

The pronouncement of the venturesome thinkers might not be far from the mark, but that Philo does not quite consider it to be a straight hit can be seen in this passage, where he puts forward a preferred alternative view, one which highlights the dependency relationship between God and man.[36]

> 7. . . . [talking about the gifts of God] Vast is the number of such gifts, birth, life, nurture, *soul, sense-perception, mental picturing, impulse, reasoning.* Now "reasoning" as a name is but a little word, but as a fact it is something most perfect and most divine, a piece torn off from the soul of the universe, or *as it might be put more reverently following the philosophy of Moses,* a faithful impress of the divine image (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *De Mutatione Nominum* 223; cf. also Runia, ii 5.1.2; 204).[37]

Philo's reverence for Moses does not prevent him from adopting the analysis of the soul which is predominant in Stoic psychology,[38] namely in function of the tasks it performs, even in a context where he is critical of the Stoic analogy between human and World Soul.

His critique might be partly inspired by an aversion for the concept of a World Soul (cf. supra). But if the World Soul is retreating from the universe according to Philo, the two heavenly revolutions, representing the two cognitive functions of the World Soul, have not vanished, and hence this avenue for establishing parallels between macro- and microcosm is left to be explored:

> 8. Our mind is indivisible in its nature. For the irrational part of the soul received a sixfold division from its Maker who thus formed seven parts, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, voice and reproductive faculty.[39] But the rational part, which was named mind, He left undivided. In this he followed the analogy of the heaven taken as a whole. For we are told that there the outermost sphere of the fixed stars is kept unsevered, while the inner sphere by a sixfold division produces the seven circles of what we call the wandering stars. In fact I regard the *soul* as being *in man* what the *heaven* is in the universe. So then the two reasoning and intellectual natures, one in man and the other in the all, prove to be

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36 Cf. Winston, (1985) 28-29, with further references, and the following claim: "At most, Philo appears to be indicating that the description of the human mind as ethereal pneuma is to be understood only metaphorically and is not meant to imply that it is a corporeal substance in the Stoic manner. Middle Platonists . . . readily juxtaposed the terms 'portion' and 'copy' in their descriptions of the human mind in its relation to the world soul or God, and there is no reason to assume that Philo was unhappy with this juxtaposition. . . . He shows no particular preference for 'image' or 'copy' over 'portion' or 'fragment.'"

37 *μυρίων δ' ἔλαχε, γενέσεως, ζωῆς, τροφῆς, ψυχῆς, αἰσθήσεως, φαντασίας, ὁρμῆς, λογισμοῦ. λογισμὸς δὲ βραχὺ μὲν ὄνομα, τελειότατον δὲ καὶ θειότατον ἔργον, τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆς ἀπόσπασμα ἤ, ὅπερ ὁσιώτερον εἰπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ Μωυσῆν φιλοσοφοῦσιν, εἰκόνος θείας ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμφερές.*

38 As Dillon, (1977) 175, points out, Philo does not hesitate to assign an *immaterial* pneuma to the rational soul.

39 Cf. also *De Opificio* 117.

integral and undivided. . . . (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *Quis Heres* 232-233; cf. Runia, ii 5.2.1, 211-215).[40]

This passage accomplishes the remarkable feat of preserving the analogy between human soul and the heavens in a framework which reconciles the *Timaeus* with Stoic psychology. But in order for this to happen, both viewpoints have to undergo considerable transformations.

(1) The distinction between a rational and an irrational component of the soul, that is between reason on the one hand and spirit and appetite on the other (as in the two creation moments of the human soul in the *Timaeus* and in Posidonius's reintroduction of three main soul components), is transferred to the Stoic distinction between the *ἡγεμονικόν* and its *instrumental* functions, the senses, speech and reproduction.

(2) Since the instrumental functions are paralleled by the heavenly inner sphere with its sixfold division, this implies for the *Timaeus* that the second creation moment of the human soul has vanished from our sight. Irrational behavior is not explained in terms of the interaction between reason, spirit and appetite, but can be accounted for on the basis of functions which are now assigned to the heavenly revolutions themselves.

(3) The Stoic theories explain irrational behavior either in terms of an error in the proper functioning of the governing part, which is essentially rational (Early Stoa) or in terms of two lower soul functions which reintroduce Plato's notions of spirit and appetite (Posidonius); i.e., they do not ascribe irrational behavior primarily to the lower soul functions of the senses, speech and reproduction, which are instruments of the governing part. One could say that errors occur *through*, for instance, the senses and the data they pass on; but the errors still occur *in* whatever soul component does the processing of the data and is responsible for the motivational impulse. By assigning irrationality to the seven lower soul functions, Philo is diverting our attention from and avoiding the main controversial issue, which through Posidonius has been injected into the inner development of Stoicism itself, of a monistic view of human psychology versus a tripartite scheme. We can argue that Posidonius's concession to Plato's discourse might have justified the merging of Plato's and the Stoics' position, but the manner in which Philo presents this merging does not demand the Posidonian position as a necessary prerequisite.

(4) The analogy as Philo describes it hinges on a transferal of features of the *Timaeus* account from one level to the other. Hence we are told that the human soul has a division into seven parts which parallels the seven planets. But more importantly, the irrationality of human souls seems to be affecting the heavens as well, an approach which goes against the *Timaeus* description of both heavenly revolutions as cognitive functions.

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40 *φύσει δὲ ἄτμητος ὁ ἡμέτερος γέγονε νοῦς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄλογον ψυχῆς μέρος ἑξαχῇ διελὼν ὁ δημιουργὸς ἑπτὰ μοίρας εἰργάζετο, ὅρασιν, ἀκοήν, γεῦσιν, ὄσφρησιν, ἁφήν, φωνήν, γόνιμον, τὸ δὲ λογικόν, ὃ δὴ νοῦς ὠνομάσθη, ἄσχιστον εἴασε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ὁμοιότητα οὐρανοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ λόγος ἔχει τὴν μὲν ἐξωτάτω καὶ ἀπλανῆ σφαῖραν ἄτμητον φυλαχθῆναι, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς ἑξαχῇ τμηθεῖσαν ἑπτὰ κύκλους τῶν λεγομένων πλανήτων ἀποτελέσαι· ὃ γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχή, τοῦτο οὐρανὸς ἐν κόσμῳ. τὰς οὖν νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς δύο φύσεις, τήν τε ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντί. . . .*

Philo can be aware of this other reading of the *Timaeus*, which we would consider closer to the text itself:

> 9. In man the *mind* is like heaven, for they are both rational parts, the one of the world, the other of the soul. But *sense-perception* [is like] the earth, for both are irrational (trans. from Armenian, Marcus; *Quaestiones in Genesin* 4. 215; cf. Runia, ii 5.2.1, 213).

Here man's rational part, mind, is said to parallel the heaven, which can be assumed to mean both heavenly revolutions taken together, and hence implies that both are considered rational. But by describing irrationality in terms of sense perception, we still are one step removed from the *Timaeus* account in its entirety, which relies on two lower soul parts in order to account for irrationality. It should be no surprise by now that in some other instances Philo accounts for irrationality by using the lower soul parts of spirit and appetite, with their specific spatial locations.[41]

By turning sense perception and the resulting passions into the locus of irrationality, as Philo does extensively in what has come to be called the "Allegory of the soul" (Runia, ii 7.1.2, 262-266, *Legum Allegoriae*), he can conflate the two creation moments of the human soul which the *Timaeus* describes. The disturbing influences which wreck the human soul once it becomes attached to a human body are precisely described, in the first creation moment, as the result of an input of sensory data and powerful sensations (42a). If we choose to read this as anticipatory, or a shorthand version of, disturbing influences as processed by spirit and appetite, the lower, mortal parts of the second creation moment, then the *Timaeus* account is in essence preserved. But one can also choose to highlight the analogy with the two heavenly revolutions and the human soul by stressing the parallel between human sense perception and the true opinions of the circle of the Other about sensibles (37b6-8). If this analogy is pushed, then the irrational becomes part of the heavenly revolutions themselves. The alternative approach for the analogy model, however, would be to assign the same psychic functions to both the macrocosmic level and humans, with the proviso that human beings can malfunction. A hint of this doctrine is to be found in Philo, where he asserts that Adam's sense perception, in his original state of innocence, was functioning properly; only in a second phase do the senses start to trigger the passions and the downfall. This leaves room for the doctrine that there does not need to be something intrinsically wrong with sense perception, a view to which the Stoics could wholeheartedly have subscribed:

> 10. For the native reasoning power in the soul being still unalloyed, and no infirmity or disease or evil affection having intruded itself, he

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41 Cf. Runia, ii 9.2.2, 301-305, also with other references to Philo's use of Stoic and Aristotelian psychology. He discusses in more detail *Legum Allegoriae* 1.70; (connected with *Quaestiones in 'Genesin'* 1.13); 3.114-116; *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.146, 148; 4.92-94. It appears that for Philo, too, the division rational/irrational is more fundamental than the tripartite analysis, to the point that he tends to neglect the role of spirit as the natural ally of reason; cf. also Dillon (1977) 174-175.

> received the impressions made by bodies and objects in their sheer reality . . . (trans. Colson and Whitaker, *De Opificio* 150).[42]

I have mentioned already that for Philo the two factors of evil in the universe are matter and the vices of human beings, the latter being the more significant of the two. For many Middle Platonists there is a conceptual bridge between these two notions, which is reflected in the structure of reality, and it runs via a connection between the World Soul or heavenly revolutions and matter: divisible being, which they identify with the notion of the Other, is connected either with a lower soul principle inhering in matter and causing its disorderly motions, a view which Philo appears to reject,[43] or with matter itself. The main function of this connection is that it helps to *rationalize* the conflation of the two psychogonic moments of the *Timaeus* account, in both of the two possible scenarios outlined above. Matter or a lower soul principle go into the mixture which constitutes the heavenly revolutions via the ingredient of divisible being; the heavenly revolutions then either become liable to similar deficiencies as the human soul, or the human soul's deficiencies are due to a stronger contamination by divisible being than is the case for the universe considered as a whole.

Philo does not have any access to this mode of rationalization, because he does not analyze the composition of the World Soul as given by the *Timaeus*. But probably it would be more appropriate to say that he is not interested in such a rationalization, that it is not part of his project, whatever that is, and this in contrast to discourses for which Stoic doctrine, the *Timaeus* itself or other works of Plato, in some combination, are the main textual and conceptual framework.

The *Timaeus* which is influential for Philo is one on which core doctrines of Stoicism have been grafted. The present hypothesis is part of a larger, diachronical study in which I try to prove that the Stoics have set the agenda for subsequent treatments of the *Timaeus*, and this applies also to the course their critics took when they selected certain passages from the *Timaeus* in support of their argumentation.

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42 *ἀκράτου γὰρ ἔτι τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀρρωστήματος ἢ νοσήματος ἢ πάθους παρεισεληλυθότος, τὰς φαντασίας τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἀκραιφνεστάτας λαμβάνων. . . .* Cf. also 139.

43 Cf. *De Opificio* 22.

Philo's Use of Jewish Traditions about Abraham

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Introduction

In recent years, scholars of Philo have called for approaches to his work that concentrate less upon discovering his philosophical framework[1] and more on discerning the preexisting exegetical traditions which Philo may have used. V. Nikiprowetzky established that Philo should be understood as an exegete who "only expresses his ideas as a function of the scriptural text," and that all of Philo's exegetical work is "born of the desire to understand Scripture in a legitimate manner."[2] Similar to Nikiprowetzky, Burton Mack also noted this "failure to recognize the form and intention of the Philonic corpus as scriptural interpretation" but added that "the corpus may *contain a great deal of material from the traditions of Jewish interpretation which cannot be attributed directly to Philo at all.*"[3] More recently Goulet has asserted that Philo may even have made use of both a biblical concordance and a previously written philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch.[4]

Thomas Tobin has cautioned students of Philo about speaking of Philo's exegesis or exegetical methodology without discerning what is the work of Philo and what may be the work of several generations of interpreters.[5] He suggests that in order to discern between pre-Philonic and Philonic interpretation, one must draw upon interpretations that appear several times in Philo, while noting patterns of dependence, development and conflict.[6]

In order to ascertain what written or oral traditions Philo may have used, Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly has also recommended the comparison of Philo's

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1 For example, as found in the work of Harry A.Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, 2 vols, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press, 1947; rev. ed., reprint, 1948).

2 *Le commentaire de l'écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie* ALGHJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 181, 182–183. According to Nikiprowetzky, Philo used philosophical concepts of the time in order to interpret the biblical text, 191–192.

3 "Philo Judaeus and Exegetical Traditions in Alexandria," *ANRW* 2.21.1. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984) 231. Italics mine.

4 *La Philosophie de Moïse: Essai de Reconstitution d'un Commentaire Philosophique Préphilonien du Pentateuque* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1987) 22, 28.

5 *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation,* CBQMS 14 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America) 5.

6 Ibid., 8.

texts with one another. Additionally he encouraged the comparison of Philo's texts with non-Philonic texts, and etymologies as indicators of source.[7]

In this paper I will argue that in his interpretation of biblical texts, Philo used popular Jewish traditions about Abraham, and that in Philo's works, Abraham stands for central tenets of faith which made the Jews distinctive from their Gentile neighbors in Alexandria. Using methods similar to those found in Hamerton-Kelly and Tobin, I will first discern Jewish traditions of Abraham's turn from astrological practices to monotheistic faith by comparing his portrayal in *De Abrahamo* with other Philonic texts on Abraham. A discussion of the significance of Abraham in Philo's use of the etymology that Israel is the nation that "sees" God will follow. To further establish that these traditions existed in the Jewish world of the time, I will then discuss their role in non-Philonic texts. Finally, I will argue that Philo also used Jewish tradition about Abraham's obedience to the law which is found in his works and in non-Philonic texts.

The Tradition of Abraham the Reformed Idolater and Monotheist in Philo's Works

According to *De Abrahamo* 68–70, Abraham's migration from Chaldea to Haran was, allegorically, from the worship of the Creation to the worship of the Creator.

> The migrations as set forth . . . are made . . . by a virtue-loving soul in its search for the true God. For the Chaldeans were especially active in the elaboration of astrology[8] and ascribed everything to the movement of the stars. . . . Thus they glorified the visible existence, leaving out of consideration the invisible and intelligible. But while exploring numerical order as applied to the revolution of the sun, moon, and other planets and fixed stars, and the changes of the yearly seasons and the interdependence of phenomena in heaven and on earth, they concluded that the world itself was God, thus profanely likening the created to the Creator. In this creed Abraham had been reared. . . . Then opening the soul's eye as though after profound sleep, and beginning to see (βλέπω) the pure beam instead of the deep darkness he . . . discerned (καθοράω) what he had not beheld before, a charioteer and pilot presiding over the world. . . ."[9]

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7 "Sources and Traditions in Philo Judaeus: Prolegomena to an Analysis of His Writings." *Studia Philonica* 1 (1972) 16. Other methodological suggestions include attention to explicit references to sources, incongruency and inconsistency within the works, an impression of Philo's thought as a whole, and some attention to form of argument or composition.

8 Literally, "ἀστρονομία," but in Philo's culture it would mean the same thing as "astrology", which is Colson's translation. For the Chaldean involvement in astrology, see also *Quaest. et Sol. Gen.* 3.1.

9 All citations of the works of Philo are taken from *Philo in Ten Volumes* (and Two Supplementary Volumes), trans. F. H. Colson, G. H. Whitaker, Ralph Marcus, (London: Heinemann, 1968; Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press, 1968).

Of course the connection of Abraham and astrology is based upon Abraham's migration from Chaldea as reported Gen 11:31, "Terah took his son Abram . . . and his daughter-in-law Sarai . . . and they went out together from Ur of the Chaldeans. . . ." To Philo and much of the Roman world, being called a "Chaldean" connoted someone who foretold the future based upon astrology.[10] Philo states similarly in *De Virtutibus* 212, "The most ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean by birth, the son of an astrologer who study the lore of that science and think that the stars and the whole heaven and universe are gods, the authors. . . of the events which befall each man for good or for ill. . . ." Even Abraham's change of name is based upon his turning from his former beliefs in astrology to his recognition of the one who governs the world (*De Abr.* 81–84). His former name, Abram, signified one called "astrologer and meteorologist who would takes care of the Chaldean tenets as a father would of his children" (*De Abr.* 82). Philo depicts Abraham as having been raised in the idolatrous practice of astrology in several more passages: *De Cherubim* 4–5; *De Mutatione Nominum* 66–67; *De Gigantibus* 62; *De Migratione Abrahami* 178; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 96–99.

In the *Migratione Abrahami* Philo mentions the Chaldean science of astrology in connection with fate (εἱμαρμένη; *Migr. Abr.* 179). The heavenly bodies were thought, particularly by Stoics,[11] to move within their orbits in such a way as to determine the course of all things on earth. Philo is acting against a kind of determinism manifested in the signs of the stars and the planets. His problem with deifying fate is that the system itself becomes God instead of the true God which is outside of the system. Philo is defending the concept of Jewish monotheism: "This attack on the 'Chaldaeans' is for Philo an important element in his defence of Jewish monotheism against the threats to it contained in philosophies contemporary not with Abraham but with himself."[12]

Of course Abraham's primary significance in terms of Judaism is found in his turning from this practice of astrology to faith in the one God. In fact, Philo states that Abraham was actually spoken of as "the first person to believe in God" (*De Virt.* 216).[13] As cited above in *De Abrahamo* 70, what Abraham begins to see and discern is "a reinsman and pilot" presiding over the world and directing in safety his own work. . . ." According to David Runia's interpretation of the λόγος in Philo, "the Logos permeates and holds together the entire cosmos. Heaven is . . . the highest and chief residence of the divine Logos in the cosmos. Philo likes to illustrate this with the image of the chariot,

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[10] E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, (Cambridge, Cambridge U. Press, 1911; reprint, New York: The Humanities Press, 1958), 6.

[11] Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 200.

[12] Ronald Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo*, Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200, eds. P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney, J. W. Packer, (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1989) 30; See also Richard Goulet, who sees the early Abram as representing the entire "philosophy of immanence" which Philo denounces. *La Philosophie de Moïse*, 65.

[13] This is based upon Philo's translation of Gen 15:6; cf. *De Praem et Poen.* 27.

familiar to him from both the Platonic *Phaedrus* myth and Judaic tradition . . . ."[14] According to the Phaedrus myth, Zeus, "the great leader in heaven, drives a 'winged chariot'"[15] from which he arranges everything. Paraphrasing Plato, in *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 3.3 Philo states, "Heaven is a 'flying chariot' because of its very swift revolution which surpasses in speed even the birds in their course." Of this chariot the Logos is the reinsman and God its charioteer. "The charioteer passes on to the reinsman the directions necessary for the correct guidance of the universe."[16]

After he leaves Chaldea, which symbolizes idolatrous astrological practices, Abraham's migration to Haran occurs when, in order to establish the sight which had been revealed to him, the holy word (λόγος) encourages Abraham to find the great by self-observation (*De Abr.* 70). In *De Abrahamo,* Haran is symbolic for the senses which are of no use unless the invisible mind is there to govern them. From this observation Abraham comes to apprehend what it is he wanted to know: that just as he has an invisible mind to rule his own senses, so the world is governed by an invisible king. Philo continues saying, "anyone who reflects on these things . . . will know for certain that the world is not the primal God but a work of the primal God and Father of all . . ."(*De Abr.* 74–75).

This description of Abraham discerning the existence of God from analyzing himself sounds much like the Stoic description of reason which rules the world and so parallels the mind which rules the body. For example, Diogenes Laertius states,[17]

> The world is ordered by reason and providence . . . inasmuch as reason pervades every part of it, just as does the soul in us. For through some parts it passes as a "hold" or a containing force, as is the case with our bones and sinews; while through others it passes as intelligence, as in the ruling part of the soul. Thus, then, the whole world is a living being, endowed with soul and reason. . . ." (Diog. L. vii 138–139).

In tandem with Stoic thought, Philo's argument using the figure of Abraham proves that just as there is an invisible mind which rules the senses within a person, there is an invisible mind which rules the world.

One of the ways in which Philo develops the idea of Abraham's rejection of astrology and faith in the one God is by relating these paradigms directly to his readers. In *De Migratione Abrahami* 176–195, Philo begins by mentioning Abraham's migration from Chaldea to Haran (*Migr. Abr.* 177) and that Chaldeans were active in astrology (*Migr. Abr.* 178); but never actually states that Abraham's migration from Chaldea signified his leaving astrology behind. Instead, Philo soon focuses on commanding his readers to leave behind the consideration of the movements of the sun, moon, and stars (*De Migr. Abr.* 184–185, 187, 194). This change in focus alerts us to one of Philo's

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14 David Runia, *Philo Judaeus and the Timaeus of Plato,* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986) 214.

15 Plato, *Phaed.* 246e

16 *Philo Judaeus and the Timaeus* . . . , 215. The charioteer motif is also used to represent God in *De Somniis* 1.157 and *De Fuga et Inventione* 101.

17 From Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers,* 2 vols. trans. R. D. Hicks (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1931).

concerns as he writes this text, presumably to fellow Jews,[18] who he is concerned are taking on astrology or philosophies with tenets similar to astrology. Additionally, the change in focus without the explanation that Abraham's migration from Chaldea signified his turning from astrology may mean that Philo assumed his readers were aware of this interpretation.

Next, the reader is to examine the inner self.[19] Once again, Philo does not connect Abraham with the interpretive principle, this time that Haran signifies the realization that a larger power rules the world just as one's mind rules one's body. Instead, it is the reader who should discover from self-examination that there is a mind in the universe that controls it (*Migr. Abr.* 185–186, 195). Once again, it may be that Philo assumes that his readers are aware of the interpretation in which Abraham leaving behind Haran signifies his self-examination which leads to his further discernment of God.

In *De Abrahamo,* Philo further develops Abraham's discovery of God by contending that the wisdom of Abraham enabled him to see that it was not the visible, but the Invisible which is perceived only by the mind which ruled the world. Philo describes Abraham saying, "Now to the meteorologist [astrologist][20] nothing at all seems greater than the universe, and he credits it with the causation of what comes into being. But the wise man with more discerning eyes sees (ὁράω) something more perfect perceived by mind, something which rules and governs, the master and pilot of all else" (*De Abr.* 84).

Furthermore, at the conclusion of this section on the sojourn of Abraham as found in *De Abrahamo,* Philo says that he has shown how Abraham was drawn away from his former life, "and his mind did not remain . . . in the realm of sense, nor suppose that the visible world was the Almighty and Primal God, but using its reason sped upwards and turned its gaze upon the intelligible order which is superior to the visible and upon Him who is maker and ruler of both alike." (*De Abr.* 88).

The "reason" which Abraham used is described by Plato as being the highest nature in a human being.[21] Actually, the concept of "seeing" as intellectual discernment is often found in Plato.[22] Abraham's mind "saw" the corresponding intelligible order and the Maker and Ruler of the world. Unlike some Stoic ideology in which the visible creation was believed to contain the divine, Abraham saw beyond the visible to the Invisible, Primal, Creator God.

As noted in the introduction above, Hamerton-Kelly contended that etymologies can be evidence of a source that Philo used. Philo's under-

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18 Samuel Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature.* (New York: KTAV Pub. House, 1971) 107; see also R. Goulet, *La Philosophie de Moïse,* 38.

19 See also *De Som.* 1.52–60.

20 Concerning the connection between astrology and meteorology in the ancient world, see G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies,* Studia post biblica 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961) 81. Cf. *Jub.* 12:16; *De Abr.* 82.

21 Arnold, *Roman Stoicism,* 57.

22 J. C. B. Gosling, *Plato,* in *The Arguments of the Philosophers,* Ted Honderich, ed., (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 122.

standing of Israel as the "nation that sees God" is based upon an etymology. From *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 3.49 and elsewhere[23] this etymology based upon Israel as the "nation that sees God" becomes evident—"That nation to which was given the command to circumcise (children) on the eighth (day) is called 'Israel' in Chaldean, and in [Greek][24] (this means) 'seeing God.'" The Greek translation for "Israel" is derived from the Hebrew, which would probably be either אִישׁ רֹאֶה אֵל or יִשְׂרָאֵל: Both phrases sound like "Israel" and mean "one who sees or beholds ʾel."

Built upon the example of their forebears who have "seen" God, Israel is often called the "nation of vision."[25] Abraham, who discerned or saw the Maker of the world by contemplating nature,[26] is, as Philo states, the "founder of the nation and the race since from him as root sprang the young plant called Israel, which observes and contemplates all the things of nature" (*Quis Her.* 279).[27]

Scholars have argued whether Israel who "sees God" represents the concrete nation of Israel or whether it developed as a spiritualized concept only. Goodenough represented both views while Wolfson and more recently Borgen have contended that the nation that "sees God" is a description of the Jewish nation. Borgen states, ". . . the concept of the vision of God is used by Philo as a distinctive characteristic of the Jewish nation . . . the nation of vision is the people that is selftaught by nature. . . ."[28] Assuming that the Israel who "sees God" refers to the concrete nation of Israel, this would indicate that the appellation could actually refer to the Jews in the context of Alexandria. And, if Abraham was known as the founder of the nation Israel because he was the first to discern the existence of the one God, Abraham may well have served as the prototype of the Jews in Alexandria who believe as he did.

Thus within the works of Philo it has been shown how Abraham was the first to discern or see that the true God existed beyond the heavenly phenomena. Because he was the first to discern the existence of the true God, Abraham is the founder of the Jewish nation, the nation that sees God. By following the suggestions of Tobin and Hamerton-Kelly, it has been shown how repeated similar interpretations point to the existence of traditions about Abraham of which Philo made use. These traditions were that Abraham was raised in the context of those who practiced astrology, that Abraham was the first to discern or see the existence of the true God, and that Abraham, the founder of the Jewish nation, is also the prototype of the Jews in Alexandria—

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23 *De Abr.* 57; *Quis Her.* 78.

24 The word in the text is "Armenian." Thackeray notes, "Here, as elsewhere, the Arm. translator substitutes "Armenian" for "Greek" (*Quaest et Sol. Gen.* 3.49, n. b).

25 *De Mut. Nom.* 258; *Quod Deus Immut.* 144; *De Abr.* 57.

26 *Quis Her.* 96–99.

27 Cf. *Migr. Abr.* 54. Runia notes, "In spite of the harsh attitude which Philo often displays towards sense-perception in general, there are numerous passages where he singles out the sense of sight for praise." *Philo Judaeus and the Timaeus,* 270. Runia further notes that in Philo an intimate connection between seeing and contemplation exists, 273–274.

28 Peder Borgen, *Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo,* NovTSup 10 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965) 117–118.

the "nation that sees God." If Philo did use the Abraham traditions which I have noted, these traditions may also be evident in Jewish literature from roughly the same time period. We now turn to the examination of the depiction of Abraham in non-Philonic Jewish literature.

Traditions of Abraham, the Reformed Idolater and Monotheist, in Non-Philonic Texts

The depiction of Abraham in much of non-Philonic Jewish literature is surprisingly similar to the depiction found in Philo. For example, in *Jubilees,* a 2nd century BCE Palestinian text, we find the boy Abraham following his ancestral traditions[29] by deliberating at night as he utilizes the stars to determine the amount of rainfall in the coming year. He reasons that "All of the signs of the stars and the signs of the sun and the moon are all in the hand of the Lord. Why am I seeking?" (*Jub.* 12:17). And in *Jubilees,* Abraham is the one who recognizes that his father is involved in idolatry and separates from his father "so that he might not worship the idols with him. And he began to pray to the Creator of all so that he might save him from the straying of the sons of men, and so that his portion might not fall into straying after the pollution and scorn" (*Jub.* 11:16).[30]

The *Apocalypse of Abraham,* a first century CE Palestinian text, provides us with another variation on the Abraham and astrology theme. After watching a series of incidents of the destruction of idols made by his father (*Apoc. Abr.* 1–5), Abraham reasons that these man-made idols are not God, and neither is fire or water or the sun or the moon. He declares, "Nor . . . shall I call the moon or the stars gods, because they too at times during the night dim their light. . . . For who is it . . . who made the heavens crimson and the sun golden, who has given light to the moon and the stars with it. . . ." (*Apoc. Abr.* 7:9, 11). Abraham later prays that God reveal himself, and God does so.

In both *Jubilees* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* Abraham discerns that the creation, including the heavenly phenomena, is not God, but that the true God exists beyond the creation. One further example will suffice to demonstrate the popularity of these traditions about Abraham.

Josephus, originally a Palestinian Jew who was writing in the Diaspora in the late first century CE, is perhaps the most obvious in his use of the traditions about Abraham as one who discerns that God exists beyond his Creation. In Josephus' *Antiquities* 1.154–156 he states,

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[29] *Jub.* 11:8 states, "Nahor . . . dwelt in 'Ur among the Chaldeans, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldeans in order to practice divination and astrology according to the signs of heaven." On astrology as the method of divination for which Mesopotamia was famed, see A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization,* (Chicago: U. of Chicago, 1964) 206–227.

[30] Citations from *Jubilees* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are taken from J. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983). For further discussion of Abraham traditions in *Jubilees,* see N. L. Calvert, "Abraham Traditions in Middle Jewish Literature: Implications for the Interpretation of Galatians and Romans" (Unpub. Ph. D. diss., University of Sheffield, 1993) 38–63.

> [Abraham] was a man of ready intelligence on all matters . . . he determined to reform and change the ideas universally current concerning God. He was thus 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. This he inferred from the changes to which land and sea are subject, from the course of sun and moon, and from all the heavenly conjunctions;[31] for, he argued, were these bodies endowed with power, they would have provided for their own regularity, but since they lacked this last, it was manifest that even those services in which they cooperate for our greater benefit they render not in virtue of their own authority, but through the might of their commanding sovereign, to whom alone it is right to render our homage and thanksgiving.

According to Josephus' description of Abraham discerning the existence of the one, creator God from the changes of the land and sea, the course of the sun and moon, and all the heavenly conjunctions, Abraham is a natural theologian[32] and a superior philosopher.[33] Louis Feldman notes that Abraham's proof "is in the form of the proofs for the existence of G-d promulgated by the Greek philosophic schools, notably the Stoics . . . who first presented the teleological argument that the orderly state of the universe manifests a design perfected by the rational power of an infinite mind."[34] However, opposed to most teleological arguments which were based upon the regular movements of the stars and planets, [35] Abraham reasons inversely that since their movement is irregular, then there must be a "commanding sovereign" (*Ant.* 1.156) or a God.

The phrase which Josephus uses to describe these celestial phenomena as "those services in which they cooperate for our greater benefit" sounds strangely like a description of the theory behind astrology in which the stars and planets cooperated together in determining the steps of human beings. Franxman states, ". . . the argument of Philo against the Chaldaean astrology seem to be echoed in this passage, especially in the emphasis on the good

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31 πᾶσι τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσι. The verb συμβαίνω can mean "to come together," this in reference to the stars, "to form a conjunction." In some places in the text, I have replaced some of Thackeray's translation in favor of less archaic language. All citations are taken from *Jewish Antiquities Books I–IV,* trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U., 1930).

32 T. W. S. Franxmann, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Flavius Josephus,* BibOr 35 (Rome: Bib. Institute Press, 1979) 119.

33 By portraying Abraham as the first to declare the existence of one God, Josephus attempts "to enter Abraham into competition with Greek philosophers; that he wins the competition hands down is owing to the fact that he was the *first* (πρῶτος) to promulgate a monotheistic view of God, thus upstaging Pythagoras, among others." Carl H. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology,* SBLDS 40 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977) 73.

34 L. H. Feldman, "Abraham the Greek Philosopher in Josephus," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 143–156.

35 Cf. Cicero, *N. D.* 2.14–15.

which the heavenly powers are capable of performing."[36] Both Josephus and Philo depict Abraham as discerning the existence of God and his care for the world from the phenomena of the natural world around them. But in contrast to the belief of some Stoics in which no God existed outside of reason and fate, or that a variety of gods were responsible for fate, Abraham uses the proof to show that one God exists.

From this investigation of the traditions of Abraham in Philo and in non-Philonic Jewish literature, it has become obvious that a popular Jewish tradition was that the figure of Abraham was connected with astrological practices, and that he was known at least in some circles of Judaism in both Palestine and the Diaspora to have seen beyond the heavenly phenomena to the existence of the one God. It is then reasonable to conclude that these traditions about Abraham were found in the synagogues in Alexandria at the time of Philo, and that he incorporated these traditions of "Abraham the former astrologer" and "the first to see God" into his works.

Abraham's Obedience to Mosaic Law in Philonic Texts

"For Philo, as for Paul and for the rabbis, a fundamental problem regarding Abraham is the relationship between Abraham, the ancestor, and the descendant, Moses, and his Law. If Moses' Law was the divine law, how could Abraham (and the other patriarchs) have flourished without it?"[37] Philo gives part of his answer in *De Abrahamo* when he states,

> . . . since it is necessary to carry out our examination of the law in regular sequence, let us postpone consideration of particular laws, which are, so to speak, copies and examine first those which are more general and may be called the originals of those copies. These are such men as lived good and blameless lives, whose virtues stand permanently recorded in the most holy scriptures, not merely to sound their praises but for the instruction of the reader and as an inducement to him to aspire to the same; for in these men we have laws endowed with life and reason and Moses extolled them for two reasons. First he wished to show that the enacted ordinances are not inconsistent with nature; and secondly that those who wish to live in accordance with the laws as they stand have no difficult task, seeing that the first generations before any at all of the particular statutes was set in writing followed the unwritten law with perfect ease, so that one might properly say that the enacted laws are nothing else than memorials of the life of the ancients . . . they gladly accepted conformity with nature (φύσις), holding that nature itself was . . . the most venerable of statutes, and thus their whole life was one of happy obedience to law (*De Abr.* 3–6).

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[36] Franxmann, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities'* . . . , 119.

[37] Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism* . . . , 107.

The law of nature was a popular philosophical concept at the time of Philo. The natural law can only be grasped rationally. Meeks defines the natural law as simply "the rational structure of the universe."[38]

To Philo, the law of nature and the law of Moses are identical. The law of nature which the cosmos obeys must be transposed to the level of humanity. This is achieved by the Law of Moses, which has God as ultimate author.[39] To Philo the Law of Moses was the only truly natural law. Wolfson points out that "the concept of natural law in Greek philosophy was to show that, according to Plato, Polemo, Aristotle, and the Stoics, enacted laws, if they are enacted by wise legislators on the basis of reason, are in a certain sense also laws in accordance with nature."[40] But despite all this, these enacted laws, even when based on reason, are the work of people and not the work of nature. As such, "the 'natural law' . . . sought by the Greek philosophers, could not possess the universality and eternity possessed by the Law of Moses, revealed by God, the sole Creator of nature."[41] To Philo, only law which was revealed by God, the Creator of nature, can really be in accordance with natural law. This law, being the work of God, "is like nature itself, and like nature it is universal and eternal and immutable."[42] In contrast to the rabbis who "take as their norm the Mosaic (and Oral) Law, and . . . bring Abraham up to the norm by portraying him as an observer. . . . Philo . . . takes Abraham (and the Patriarchs) as the norm, and shows in what way the Law of Moses fits in with the norm."[43]

In the section from *De Abrahamo* above, Philo is writing in order that his readers might follow the examples of the Jewish forefathers. He proceeds to name the forefathers whom he has in mind: Enos, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. According to Philo obedience to the Jewish law is not too difficult because even though those who lived before the Mosaic law did not have a written law to follow, they followed the law of nature. In contrast, the readers do have a written law which they can follow.

Abraham belongs to the second and greater trinity (the first trinity being Enos, Enoch, and Noah). Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are described as being "God-lovers and God-beloved" (*De Abr.* 50). Of the three, Abraham is known as the one who acquires his virtue by teaching.[44] Philo further describes

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38 Wayne A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians,* (London: SPCK, 1987), 47.

39 *Le commentaire de l'écriture* . . . , 117–131.

40 Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy*. . . 179.

41 Ronald Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo,* Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200BC to AD 200, I.ii, eds. P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney, J. W. Packer, (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1989) 201–202.

42 Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy* . . . , 180.

43 Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judais* . . . , 108.

44 Isaac acquires his virtue through nature and Jacob acquires virtue through practice *De Abr.* 52–53. By describing Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in this way, Philo is relating them to his Hellenistic audience. "Aristotle had asked the question how happiness and virtue could be acquired, and he had considered, in one passage, three possibilities: by learning . . . or by habit . . . or practice." Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism* . . . , 142–143. To Philo, "anyone who contemplates the order in nature and the constitution of the cosmos needs no teacher." (*De Abr.* 60–61). "The implied contradiction, that is, the lack of need of a teacher, and Abraham as the symbol of perfection through being taught, is Philo's. The

Abraham as one who was "filled with zeal for piety, the highest and greatest of virtues" and as being "eager to follow God and to be obedient to his commands: understanding by commands not only those conveyed in speech and writing but also those made manifest by nature (φύσις) with clearer signs" (*De Abr.* 60).[45] Abraham was one of those who obeyed the natural law and whom the later Mosaic law copied. Abraham was himself a law, "the law of Moses derives its specifications from those specific things which Abraham (and other patriarchs) did."[46]

Philo ends his discussion of Abraham in *De Abrahamo* by saying,[47]

> . . . to these praises of the Sage. . . . Moses adds this crowning saying, "that this man did the divine law and the divine commands." He did them, not taught by written words, but unwritten nature gave him the zeal to follow where wholesome and untainted impulse led him . . . such was the life of the first, the founder of the nation, one who obeyed the law, some will say, but rather, as our discourse has shown, himself a law and an unwritten statute. (*De Abr.* 275–276)

In the *Migratione de Abrahami,* Philo interprets Genesis 12:4 saying "'he journeyed just as the Lord spoke to him': the meaning of this is that as God speaks . . . so the good man does everything, blamelessly keeping straight the path of life, so that the actions of the wise man are nothing else than the words of God. So in another place He says, 'Abraham did all My law' (*Migr. Abr.* 129–130; cf. Gen. 26:5).

In the context of the *Migratione de Abrahami,* the patriarch has been on the upward path to perfection and the rational part of his soul has triumphed. He walks on the path of right reason. "He follows God and is mindful of His injunctions. Since the injunctions are right reason, the verse 'Abraham did all my law' means that Abraham 'did' the divine reason.[48] The actions of Abraham are the *logoi* of God."[49] Again Abraham is depicted as the embodiment of the natural law as dictated by divine reason. Because Philo believed that the written Mosaic law was based upon the natural law, in effect, Abraham was obedient to the Mosaic law before it was given.[50]

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contradiction is more apparent than real, for to Philo the true wisdom, beyond mere knowledge, is revealed, not taught." Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism . . . ,* 110 and n. 28.

45 See further, Ronald Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo,* Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200, I.ii, eds. P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney, J. W. Packer, (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1989), 202.

46 Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism . . .,* 107.

47 In the citation Philo was speaking of Gen. 26:5, ". . . Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws."

48 The LXX uses φυλάσσω which Philo quotes as ποιέω.

49 Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism . . .,* 166; Cf. *Migr. Abr.* 128–129 and *De Abr.* 5, above.

50 See also *Migr. Abr.* 94 where Abraham is said to have possessed both the natural and the positive (written) law.

Abraham's Obedience to Mosaic Law in Non-Philonic Texts

Philo was not the only Jewish author to struggle with the survival of the Jewish patriarchs who lived before the Mosaic law was given. In order to solve this conundrum, the author of *Jubilees* proceeds differently from Philo's philosophical resolution, but with the same results—Abraham is obedient to the Mosaic law.

The author of *Jubilees* (second century BCE) maintained that the Mosaic law has existed eternally in the form of the heavenly tablets. In this sense, the author of *Jubilees* is like the later rabbis who took their norm as the Mosaic law and portrayed Abraham as an observer of this law. For example, in *Jubilees* 15:1–2, Abraham celebrates the feast of the firstfruits when he offers sacrifices of animals, offerings of cereal[51] and libations (cf. Lev 23:9–19).

In his interpretation of Genesis 21:8, which mentions the feast Abraham celebrated upon the birth of Isaac, the author of *Jubilees* depicts Abraham as observing the Feast of Tabernacles (*Jub.* 16: 20–31; cf. Num 29:12–40; Lev 23:33–44).[52] Abraham not only observed the feast, but did so "according to the testimony of the heavenly tablets" (16:28). The "heavenly tablets" are important to the author as regulators of religious festivals. Because Abraham celebrated the feast "seven days in the seventh month" (16:29), Israel should observe it on the same days (cf. Lev 23:34). The days were ordained in the heavenly tablets. Abraham is the example of one who acted in accordance with the previously established sacred days.

Another text from roughly the same era as *Jubilees* is Sirach where it is said of Abraham that he "was the great father of a multitude of nations, and no one has been found like him in glory, he kept the law of the Most High, and entered into a covenant with him. . ." (Sir 44:19–20).

Josephus' understanding of the Mosaic law was similar to Philo's understanding; he may have been influenced by Philo or philosophical tenets similar to the ones Philo held.[53] For Josephus, the Mosaic law corresponds to the law which has been laid down by God, and has been "set forth in keeping with the nature of the universe" (*Ant.* 1.24). Those who hold to the doctrines given by the lawgiver participate in the virtue of God and can expect to be rewarded; those who do not can expect otherwise (*Ant.* 1.14–15).

While Josephus does not portray Abraham as obedient to detailed aspects of the law, as does the author of *Jubilees*, he does attempt to show how Abraham did live in accordance with virtue, and, where necessary with actual stipulations of the law. The most striking example is Josephus' early description of Sarah, who is said to be Abraham's niece rather than his half-sister as found

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51 See VanderKam's translation, *The Book of Jubilees,* CSCO 510–511; Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88 (Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 2:87.

52 See Solomon Zeitlin who notes the differences between the Feast of Tabernacles described in *Jubilees* 16: 20–31 and Leviticus, *The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Its Significance,* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1939), 4–5. See also Moses Hadas, "Jub 16:30," *AJSL* 49 (1933) 338.

53 See H. W.Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus,* HDR 7 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976) 36 who is skeptical of any suggestion of close dependence on Philo and the discussion in Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian,* (New York: KTAV, 1967) 93–96.

in the Genesis account (cf. Gen 20:12). Marrying one's sister or half-sister was considered to be an abomination according to Mosaic law (Lev 20:17). Josephus' intention here is to show Abraham as law-abiding; marrying one's niece was well within the law (Lev 18:12–14; 20:19–21).

The tradition of Abraham as obedient to the Mosaic law does not seem to be as widely attested as the tradition which described him as the former astrologist/monotheist. But as Arthur Green has noted, the tradition of Abraham and the law became more pronounced in the Rabbinic writers, when the need for its assertion was magnified:[54]

> Other figures are made into proto-Rabbis in the course of exegesis or for some specified homiletical reason; only of Abraham do the Rabbis state flatly that "he fulfilled the entire Torah." While the tradition reflected as early as Jubilees was surely formative here, this sort of absolute assertion is not made before Tannaitic times, when the Christian use of Abraham was already well known. The image of a torah-observant Abraham did not originate in response to Christianity—indeed, we have seen traces of it in pre-Christian sources—but the need arose for its bold assertion in the wake of Christian claims.

In view of the traditions of Abraham's obedience to the Mosaic Law as found in both Philonic and non-Philonic texts, it seems reasonable to conclude that this was a Jewish tradition in existence when Philo wrote, and it was a tradition of which he made use.

Conclusion

Above all, Philo was an exegete. Tobin and others have rightly cautioned us about speaking of Philo's exegesis without attempting to discern what may be the work of Philo and what may be the work of earlier generations of interpretaters. In this paper, I have attempted to discern Jewish traditions about Abraham which are contained in the work of Philo.

One of the first traditions concerning Abraham which Philo drew upon was that Abraham was originally a Chaldean astrologer. Another tradition Philo used was that Abraham rejected astrology, which was tantamount to idolatry, and discerned the true God beyond the natural, visible phenomena. Because Abraham was thought by Philo and others to have been the first to see or discern God, he became the prototype for another tradition of the Jews in Alexandria, the "nation that sees God." Finally, Philo was dependent upon yet another tradition of Abraham, that he was obedient to the Mosaic law, even before it actually had been given in written form.

In the works of Philo, Abraham stands for those things which made the Jews distinctive from their Gentile neighbors in Alexandria: monotheistic faith and obedience to Mosaic law. Assuming that Philo wrote most of his works previous to the problems under Flaccus and the embassy to Rome, his works may have been produced and read at a time when, although the tension between Jews and Greeks had not yet resulted in clashes in violence,

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54 Arthur Green, *Devotion and Commandment: The Faith of Abraham in the Hasidic Imagination,* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press 1989) 30.

they were needed to quell anti-Jewish tension which grew with the annexation of Egypt by the Romans in 30 BCE.[55]

On one hand, Philo's works functioned as an apologetic for those Jews who may have been on the verge of apostasy. For example, in his works Philo told hellenistic Jews, in effect, that because their law is based upon the hellenistic concept of natural law, it is valid and worthy of obedience. In addition, because they have the written form of the Mosaic law, they actually have an easier task than Abraham did—who obeyed the natural law.

Additionally, Philo's works also functioned as an apologetic for Judaism intended for Gentile readers as in the case of Abraham's discernment of the existence of God. Abraham discerned God in part based upon the Stoic paradigm of the parallel between the mind which governs the body and the Mind which governs the universe. In these ways Abraham discerned God in a way that is very respectable to the hellenistic Gentile reader.

Although Philo made use of Jewish traditions that were not his own, he shaped them into his own creation. Abraham's obedience to the Mosaic law became possible through equating its written form with the natural law. The discovery of the one God by Abraham became possible through Stoic philosophical methodology. Philo wrote at a time when Jewish and Gentile tension in Alexandria called for an apologetic by a Jew who understood his Hellenistic environs. Such a Jew was Philo, who provided an apologetic based, in part, upon extra-biblical traditions about Abraham.

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[55] For a discussion of the situation of the Jews in Alexandria during the time of Philo, see the works of P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), and Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1985).

Philosophical History in Philo's *In Flaccum*[1]

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Philo Judaeus brings his account of the pogroms in Alexandria to a close with a description of Aulus Avillius Flaccus's last days in exile on the isle of Andros:

> It is said that once also around the middle of the night he [Flaccus] became enthused like the corybants, emerged from his dwelling, and directing his vision to heaven and the stars and actually seeing the order in order he cried out: "King of gods and men, you certainly do not neglect the Jewish nation, nor do they misrepresent the providence that comes from you, but whoever says that they do not have you as their champion and ally miss the correct opinion. I am clear proof. For I have suffered the very things which I madly inflicted on the Jews . . . ." (*Flacc.* 169-171)[2]

As Flaccus continues his speech with a summary of all his sufferings that directly parallel his persecutions of the Jewish nation, two questions strike the reader. (1) Why does Philo's historical treatise concerning the Alexandrian pogroms against the Jewish community contain a mystical vision of divine providence? (2) Why does Flaccus, the villain of the story, have this mystical vision? This paper seeks to answer the second question by deconstructing the first. I will make some general observations on how we frame issues about Philo. Then, I will present external and internal evidence demonstrating that *In Flaccum* must be read as a philosophical work. Thus, Flaccus's "vision" must be understood as part of Philo's philosophical interpretation of history and it actually makes sense in this context.

General Observations

Three assumptions underlying the framing of the first question require reconsideration: Philo writes as an *historian*, the mystical vision of Flaccus comes as a surprise, and the treatise is *about* the pogroms at Alexandria. The conceptualization of Philo as an historian stems from a general tendency to

[1] I am grateful to David Hay, Sabine MacCormack, Sara Rappe, and Gregory Sterling for their insightful comments on this paper.

[2] Translations mine except where noted otherwise.

divide Philo and his work into a variety of categories.[3] Moreover, even the attempts to unify Philo's content are accompanied by a tendency to divide Philo's personality into a variety of polar "opposites."[4] The impact of such approaches to Philo especially emerges when one encounters the explications of *In Flaccum.* This treatise seems to spark only historical interest and historical problems because it is assumed that Philo must be acting the historian. Occasionally, it may merit the additional classification of theological. But little attention is paid by scholars to the role of God in this work, not to mention the integral relation between Philo's theology and philosophy. It never merits philosophical commentary.[5] Even writers who deal with Philo's political philosophy relegate these works to the category of Philo's actual political experiences.[6] What seems strange to me is that an individual who spent so much time and effort closely exegeting scripture from a philosophical perspective suddenly ceases to be a philosophical exegete when writing about an actual historical event.[7]

Rather, the classification of *In Flaccum* as an historical work obscures reasons for a philosophical reading of Philo's narrative. The closest attempts to philosophically analyze Philo's "historical" works appear in discussions on

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3 For systematizations of Philo see Harry Austryn Wolfson, 1947, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,* 2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, 1962, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus,* second edition; the 1984 volume of *ANRW* 2.21.1 dedicated to Philo; and J. Cazeaux, 1983 and 1989, *La trame et la chaîne,* vols. 1 and 2.

4 Cf. the division of Philo's works in Goodenough's *Introduction.* Jenny Morris (1987, "The Jewish Philosopher Philo" in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Martin Goodman, vol. 3.2, p. 813) refers to the tension between Judaism and Hellenism in Philo. Tessa Rajak (1983, *Josephus,* pp. 8-9) argues that the dichotomy of Judaism and Hellenism is a construct of modern scholars. In fact, the Hegelian approach to Philo begins with the late second century aphorism of Numenius—"either Philo platonizes or Plato philonizes" (cited in Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.* 11).

5 See Herbert Box, trans. and ed., 1939, *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum;* Andre Pelletier, trans. and ed., 1967, *Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie: In Flaccum,* vol. 31, University of Lyon. Goodenough, *Introduction,* pp. 30-31. Although Samuel Sandmel (1979, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction,* pp. 39-40) and Jenny Morris (in Schürer, pp. 859-861) classify the work as both historical and theological, they do not push the theological element to its philosophical conclusion. Finally, we cannot ignore the harsh assessment of F. H. Colson (trans. and ed., 1941, *Philo,* vol. IX, Loeb edition, p. 301): "He [Philo] gloats over the misery of Flaccus in his fall, exile, and death, with a vindictiveness which I feel to be repulsive. While, as I have said in the preface, none of the treatises in this volume have any great value nor would probably have survived but for the high esteem given to his main work, this is the only one which those who admire the beauty and spirituality so often shown both in the Commentary and Exposition might well wish to have been left unwritten."

6 Goodenough, 1938, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus,* p. 7 and Ray Barraclough, 1984, "Philo's Politics, Roman Rule, and Hellenistic Judaism" in *ANRW* 2.21.1, Wolfgang Haase, ed. p. 451.

7 A few recent studies adopt a more holistic approach to Philo rather than assuming a sudden and complete metamorphosis into an historian. See David Dawson, 1992, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria,* University of California Press, pp.124-126 and C. Kraus Reggiani, 1984, 'I rapporti tra l'impero romano e il mondo ebraico al tempo di Caligola secondo la "Legatio ad Gaium" di Filone Alessandrino,' in *ANRW* 2.21.1, pp. 554-586.

Philo's politics.[8] An analysis of Philo's political theory suggest several reasons for a philosophical reading of *In Flaccum*.[9] First and foremost is the clear connection between his political theory and the rest of his philosophy, namely the ultimate goal of philosophy is apprehension of the immaterial world of the deity—the best ruler/people/constitution best apprehends the deity.[10] I would underline here Philo's assumption that character (virtue) and politics are essentially intertwined as well as epistemology and politics.[11] By epistemology, I specifically refer to the proper apprehension of the material and intelligible worlds. Finally, the relationship between God and the ideal character of government further indicates that Philo's philosophy informs his politics. Philo maintains that geometric equality, "philonic democracy," as

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8 The two most important treatments are by Goodenough, *Politics*, and Barraclough. While there is disagreement on the attitude and practicality of Philo's actual political stances, i.e., his view of Rome, there is general consensus on the components of Philo's political *theory*. Goodenough (*Politics*, pp. 5-20) argues that Philo adopts an anti-Roman stance, but astutely expresses this position subtly rather than openly. We see Philo's antipathy to Rome in *In Flaccum*, "a bold warning that any prefect will bring himself to the gutter if he deals unfavorably with God's chosen people" (*Politics*, p.10). Goodenough seems to be taking issue with Emile Bréhier (1908, *Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, pp. 10-35). Bréhier (pp. 11, 13, 30) argues that Philo's idealistic Stoic cosmopolitanism and anti-institutionalism gave him an impractical and irrelevant political philosophy. Barraclough (pp. 550-551), asserts that since Philo is pro-Roman (*contra* Goodenough), wants the stability necessary for the contemplative life, and wants to preserve the status quo for Jews in the Roman empire, Philo's politics are practical (*contra* Bréhier), but static. Both Goodenough and Barraclough at least agree, however, that Philo's politics are in harmony with his political theory.

9 For a summary of Philo's political theory, see Sandmel, pp.102-109.

10 See Sandmel, pp.102-105. To Philo, the ideal ruler is the philosopher-king, citizenship is based on a common perception of truth not common ancestry, and the unwritten laws of nature are supreme. Judaism surpasses the nations in all three areas: Moses was the best philosopher-king, Israel best perceives God, and "the [Mosaic] Law is in harmony with the world and the world is in harmony with the Law" (*Opif.* 3).

11 Cf. the introduction to the *Legat.* 4-7 (Smallwood's translation):

> This race is called Israel in the Chaldaean language, or, if the name is translated into Greek, "seeing God." . . . For if the sight of elders or teachers or rulers or parents rouses the beholders to respect, orderly behavior, and a desire for a life of self-control, how strong a foundation for goodness and nobility may we expect to find in souls which have looked beyond all that is created and been trained to contemplate the uncreated and the divine, the prime Good and Beautiful and Happy and Blessed, or, if the truth must be told, that which is better than the Good, more beautiful than the Beautiful, more blessed than Blessedness, happier than Happiness itself, and indeed, anything which is more perfect than the qualities just mentioned? For reason does not manage to ascend to the entirely inaccessible and impalpable God. . ., but the Powers which are its body-guard. These are the Creative Power, the Ruling Power, the Foreseeing Power, and such of the other Powers as are both beneficial and punitive—that is, if even the punitive Powers are to be classed among the beneficial ones, not only because they form part of laws and ordinances (for law is bound to be made up of two elements, the rewarding of the good and the punishment of the wicked), but because even punishment acts as a deterrent and a sobering influence, often even on wrong-doers, or, failing that, at any rate on their associates. For ordinary people are reformed by punishments inflicted on others, as they are afraid of suffering in a similar way themselves.

the measure of a well-ordered society, ought to be enforced in this world by individuals and in the cosmos by the Divine Logos.[12] In short, I submit that philosophy governs Philo's understanding of historical events. Nor should this surprise us, since Philo expresses his philosophy through the technique of allegory which includes the perceptions of meanings beneath the apparent, "literal" level.

In addition to these general reasons for assuming that Philo comments philosophically on history, I contend that evidence both external and internal to *In Flaccum* contains signposts which actually invite a philosophical reading of the text. These signposts point to two connected areas of philosophical interest—ethics and epistemology. And let us not forget that ethics and epistemology are precisely the points of contact between Philo's politics and philosophy. Not only does Philo exploit *In Flaccum* to present ethical and epistemological ideas, these ideas govern Philo's understanding of the "historical" event.

External Evidence

What we know concerning Philo from Josephus and the relationship between *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* indicates a work transcending simple history. According to Josephus, Philo, leader of the embassy to Gaius, was "a man distinguished in all respects as the brother of Alexander the alabarch and not unexperienced in philosophy" (*Ant.* 18.257). An important point emerges from this succinct description of Philo—he was popularly known as a philosopher. Therefore, anyone reading *In Flaccum*, one of the last works of Philo,[13] would expect a philosophical point of view. Another external piece of evidence pointing to a philosophical reading of the text appears in the title. The various interpretations of the title's precise meaning do not concern us here[14] because the work begins with "next after Sejanus, Avillius Flaccus inherited the plot against the Jews" (*Flacc.* 1) and ends "Flaccus also suffered such things" (*Flacc.* 191). Thus, while *In Flaccum* might be a legitimate title for what survives in the manuscripts, it would hardly fit the lost rest of the work to which it obviously belongs. What would be the title to this work which

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12 By democracy, Philo does not mean "rule of the people," but rather a geometric equality (ἰσότης) in which each is given their due (John Dillon, 1977, *The Middle Platonists. A Study of Platonism 80 BC to AD 220*, pp. 154-155). This "democracy" can operate at two levels, the individual, such as Augustus's settlement of the world or on the cosmic level in which each nation has its due (cf. *Agr.* 45, *Conf.* 108, *Abr.* 242, *Spec.* 4.237, and *Virt.* 155). The origin of Philo's use of this term is unclear (Dillon, p. 155).

13 Smallwood, p. 151, argues that Philo wrote the two historical treatises last because the *terminus post quem* for both is after 41 CE (*Flacc.* 180 refer to Gaius in the past tense and *Legat.* 107 recalls Gaius's death) and Philo describes himself as an old man in *Legat.* 1.

14 The titles to *In Flaccum* given in the manuscripts and by Eusebius, εἰς Φλάκκον (MH), Φλάκκος ψεγόμενος (G), Φλάκκος (Eus.), τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φλάκκον (A and John of Damascus), tell us little about the content beyond the main character. Although Box (p. xxxvii) argues that all the titles give the sense of "in reference to" Flaccus rather than "against" Flaccus, Philo's imagined objection, "someone might say 'having intended to prosecute a person you have not stated any charge but have strung together lofty praises'" (*Flacc.* 6), presupposes a title raising the expectation of a condemnation. Therefore, "Against Flaccus" better serves as a title.

included *In Flaccum*? According to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.6.3), Philo wrote about atrocities against the Jews of Alexandria ἐν δευτέρῳ σύγγραμματι ᾧ ἐπέγραψε περὶ ἀρετῶν. Goodenough argues that this refers to *In Flaccum* which does indeed describe the pogroms in Alexandria.[15] Smallwood rejects this view on the grounds that the *Legatio* is clearly another name for περὶ ἀρετῶν (according to the manuscripts and Eusebius) and σύγγραμμα cannot refer to a book.[16] However, she incorrectly claims that the phrase "can only be translated 'in the second treatise entitled *On the Virtues.*'" We could translate "in a second treatise which he entitled *On the Virtues,*" meaning that he wrote two works, both entitled "On the Virtues," with one including the *Legatio* and the other including *In Flaccum.* Whether one accepts this argument or not, the similarity in presentation of both works confirms Box's view that "although a separate work, *In Flaccum* partakes of the implications of the title of Philo's larger five-volume work, *aretai.*"[17] Various interpretations of ἀρεταί have been given. Most scholars follow Reiter's argument that ἀρετή refers to divine power thereby producing the full title Περὶ ἀρετῶν θεοῦ, meaning "the manifestation of God's power in the defence of His chosen people."[18] If we accept Box's and Reiter's claims, then the blatantly philosophical introduction to the *Legat.* (1-7) becomes quite significant:[19] *Legat.* 1-7 itself or a similar philosophical beginning introduced the larger work to which *In Flaccum* belonged. And such an introduction certainly invites a philosophical reading of the subsequent text.[20]

An analysis of the conclusion to *In Flaccum* confirms the theological character of the work.[21] Philo writes (*Flacc.* 191): τοιαῦτα καὶ Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενος ἀψευδεστάτη πίστις τοῦ μὴ ἀπεστερῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ. In the first place, its position as the last sentence and the general character of the terms τοιαῦτα and πίστις imply a summary of the preceding events. In the second place, Philo thus identifies the basic purpose of the work as an ἀψευδεστάτη πίστις which has rhetorical implications, refering

15 *Politics,* pp. 9-10.

16 See pp. 38-39.

17 P. xxxviii.

18 S. Reiter, 1927, "*Arete* und der Titel von Philos 'Legatio,'" *Epitumbion H. Swoboda dargebracht,* pp. 228-237. See also Smallwood, pp. 39-40; Box, xxxviii; and Colson, "Introduction," pp. xv-xvi; Barraclough, p. 449. Pelletier, pp. 16-18 considers it a negative aretalogy of Flaccus, not a positive one of God.

19 Consider, for example, *Legat.* 1-2 (Smallwood's translation): "For we change and transpose our actions as in games of draughts, looking upon the things of Chance as more lasting than the things of Nature, and upon the order of Nature as less secure than the things of Chance. The reason is that we judge the present without any forethought for the future, using the erring senses in preference to the unerring intellect." See also above, n. 11.

20 Surprisingly, scholars literally distance the introduction from the rest of the work by assuming a lengthy lacuna between *Legat.* 7 and *Legat.* 8. See Smallwood, pp. 157-158. Wayne A. Meeks (1976, "The Divine Agent and His Counterfeit in Philo and the Fourth Gospel," in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity,* Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, ed., University of Notre Dame Press, p. 51) recognizes the philosophical content of the *Legatio* and therefore follows Colson in rejecting the lacuna.

21 The theological character of the work is commonly accepted. See above n. 5.

to direct proofs "from the very words and deeds of people."[22] In the third place, the object of proof is God's providential care for the Jewish nation (τοῦ μὴ ἀπεστερῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ). Hence, the life of Flaccus unquestionably proves God's ἀρετή. Now one might argue that in demonstrating God's role in history, Philo transcends history no more than Josephus who likewise integrates God's activity into historical events.[23] However, ἀψευδεστάτη πίστις of God's ἀρετή must be understood in philosophical terms because true knowledge about God is the highest goal in Philo's philosophy.[24] For Philo, theology and philosophy are not separate disciplines—apprehension of God is an essential element of Philo's philosophy. Therefore, a title and conclusion which generalizes *In Flaccum* into a proof leading to true knowledge about God set this historical work in the realm of philosophy. Consequently, the assumption that work is "about" the pogroms in Alexandria oversimplifies matters.

Internal Evidence

Just because the title and conclusion suggest a unifying philosophical principle, it does not mean that Philo necessarily follows the principle consistently. He may have provided a chronological narrative and simply subscribed and superscribed his general impression of the whole event. However, Philo incorporates specific elements which point to a conscious organizing scheme that a philosophical approach to history demands.[25] For God's πρόνοια is perceived in the underlying structures especially by the allegorically and philosophically minded. Philo explicitly states his awareness of an organizing principle when he defends his initial praise of Flaccus with the observation, "I am not so mad and foolish so that I am unable to see the coherence of an argument" (*Flacc.* 6). At the very beginning of the treatise, Philo asserts that every element of the story, even the most unexpected, plays an essential function in the narrative. Furthermore, Philo includes phrases like "in addition to the things already said, he sought and plotted to afflict us not only through himself but also even through the emperor" (*Flacc.* 97) throughout the work which connect the various strands of the narrative.[26] Such a feature may be clumsy and repetitive, but it functions as a narrative strategy for identifying underlying links between apparently unrelated events. Other repetitions further suggest structure. Agrippa and the centurion Bassus, who comes to arrest Flaccus, serve as foils to each other.

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22 *Rhet. ad Alex.* vii-xiv. See also David M. Hay, 1989, "Pistis as 'Ground for Faith' in Hellenized Judaism and Paul," *JBL*, pp.463-468.

23 Cf. *Ant.* 1.14 "In general especially anyone wishing to read this would learn from this history that all things prosper beyond belief and happiness is presented from God as a reward for those who follow God's will and do not dare to transgress the fine laws," and *BJ* 2.184ff.

24 For example, according to *Deus* 143, "the end of the road is apprehension and knowledge of God."

25 See Dawson, pp. 3-4, 12-14 who contends that allegory must have a narrative structure and allegory can be a vehicle for philosophy.

26 See also *Flacc.* 6, 16, 25, 53, 58, 73, 86, 116, 125, 128, 146.

Both Agrippa and Bassus sail to Alexandria at Gaius's order (*Flacc.* 26, 109) and the voyages of both are described in similar terms (*Flacc.* 27/*Flacc.* 110). Most significantly, both are introduced as a *Wendepunkt* in the narrative: Philo introduces the voyage of Agrippa as a certain συντυχία which additionally increased (προσεπέρρωσε) Flaccus's ἀπόνοια (*Flacc.* 25), while the voyage of Bassus marks the beginning of Flaccus's downfall (*Flacc.* 108).[27] The most striking repetition obviously is the precise retribution exacted from Flaccus. His punishment identically mirrors the afflictions he perpetrated on the Jews of Alexandria as his speech in *Flacc.* 170ff. succinctly summarizes. The application of such organization to "history" suggests that Philo perceives divine management in human affairs.

Since the many references to structure reflect a conscious organizing principle, two structural inconcinnities become noteworthy. First, Philo barely mentions what actually transpired in the trial of Flaccus at Rome after his arrest.[28] Strangely, he expands on the character of Isidore and Lampo (*Flacc.* 128-146), Flaccus's accusers, without discussing what they said against Flaccus. Why would Philo truncate Flaccus's trial? As many scholars have noted and as Philo explicitly states, "Flaccus endured such a terrible misfortune . . . on account of the Jews" (*Flacc.* 116), not on account of Lampo and Isidore. And the previous part of *In Flaccum* demonstrated Flaccus's flagrant acts against the Jews, serving as a "prosecution," as it were. Therefore, the accusations of Isidore and Lampo would be repetitive. However, it is hard to believe that Isidore and Lampo, who advised Flaccus to ignore Jewish rights (*Flacc.* 20-23), would make the same accusation against him as Philo.[29] Rather, Philo suppresses the trial in order to underscore the divine character of Flaccus's punishment. Second, the setting of Flaccus's speech in 170ff. invites a philosophical reading of the text. After describing Flaccus's self-imposed, strictly enforced solitude (*Flacc.* 166-168), Philo paradoxically claims to know Flaccus's personal prayer to God. The absurdity of any claim to the prayer's authenticity cannot be explained even by the practice of ancient historians who composed speeches suitable to the major political players. By creating a setting which precludes the possibility of knowing Flaccus's inner thoughts, Philo undermines any claim to "historical" truth. Rather, Philo provides a clear signpost that he invented this speech, that he is presenting his own understanding of Flaccus's life. For Philo, such an understanding can only be philosophical. And the placement of this signpost at the end invites the reader to reinterpret Flaccus allegorically on a philosophical, or at least, meta-historical level.

Not only does the structure of the treatise encourage a philosophical reading, *In Flaccum* employs philosophical techniques. "Perhaps someone

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27 Agrippa and Flaccus function as foils as well—both sail on voyages (Agrippa favorably, 27, Flaccus unfavorably, 146), Agrippa delivers the letter which Flaccus promised to deliver (*Flacc.* 103), and both are rulers.

28 "Not only was he accused . . . by his enemies . . . but he was also condemned" (*Flacc.* 147).

29 Box, p. xlvii, argues that they accused Flaccus of high treason based on his relationship with Ti. Gemellus and Macro.

might say" (*Flacc.* 6, 60) and the postulated objections in 177[30] recall the imaginary interlocutor characteristic of Stoic-Cynic diatribes. In addition to the imaginary interlocutor, Philo also puts political philosophy in the mouth of Gaius's advisor Macro. In *In Flaccum* 14-15, we have a précis of what Philo develops more fully in the *Legatio.*[31] Macro's attention to Gaius's lack of restraint (ἐκδιαιτώμενος and ἀχαλίνοις ταῖς ὁρμαῖς . . . χρώμενος) and Gaius's reference to Macro as νουθετητής and αὐθέκαστος connote a philosophical methodology.[32] Philo sculpts Macro into a philosopher in order to communicate philosophical points.[33] Finally, Philo dots the work with philosophical *sententiae.*[34] Philo thus utilizes a method of expressing philosophy typical of Stoics like Seneca. Having considered Philo's philosophical techniques, I will now turn to philosophical content, focussing on elements of Philo's political theory.

Institutions of Government

In Philo's comments on the institutions of government in *In Flaccum,* he adopts the same categories of group and individual characteristic of his political philosophy.[35] It is particularly striking that Philo primarily identifies leaders as individuals (Flaccus, Agrippa, Gaius) while referring to subjects generically (Egyptians and Jews). The case of Isidore and Lampo confirms this point. In *Flacc.* 20, Philo rather strangely refers to them in the plural (Dionysuses, Lampos, and Isidores)[36] while they become singular in 125ff. This change in number corresponds to a change in status:

> Isidore and Lampo, who a little bit before had the position of subjects and addressed him as master, benefactor, and savior, now prosecuted him not exhibiting equal strength, but more powerful with a lot to spare.

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30 "Was society most pleasant for him? Times spent in the city were most unpleasant. Wasn't the solitude in the field at least a safe reproach? It was dangerous and shameful."

31 *Legat.* 43-51. Goodenough, *Politics,* pp. 19-20, 103-105 asserts that here Macro is advising Gaius to follow the canons of ideal kingship.

32 νουθετήτης literally refers to the "one who sets the νοῦς aright" while αὐθέκαστος, "the one who calls things as they are," recalls Aristotle *Nic. Eth.* 1127a 23 (the mean between the boaster and self-deprecator) and Cleanthes *SVF* I.557 (a characteristic of the Good). Macro, the Good personified, reacts against a typically Stoic evil, succumbing to desires and pleasures.

33 Macro the philosopher in Philo markedly differs from Macro the villain in Tacitus *Annals* 6.48.4. See Smallwood, p. 182. *Legat.* 43-51 provides a more extensive account of the PC (philosophically correct) advice to Gaius. Goodenough unkindly notes (*Politics,* p. 104), "If Philo is right, and Macro did thus belabor Gaius, we cannot blame Gaius too severely for resorting to murder to be rid of him."

34 E.g., "forgiveness is granted to the one erring out of ignorance of the better, but the one who consciously does wrong has no defence when convicted in the courtroom of the conscience" (*Flacc.* 7).

35 Cf. *Legat.* 4: "In my opinion this faculty [sight] is the most valuable of all possessions, whether individual or communal," and Sandmel (pp. 102-108), whose discussion of Philo's political theory distinguishes between rulers (individuals like Moses and the patriarchs) and citizens (groups like the Jews).

36 Box, Colson, and Pelletier do not comment on the plural forms.

Thus, Philo's utilization of the plural proper names in *Flacc.* 20 is significant. At the same time as shifting from subjects to rulers, Isidore and Lampo change from a group to individuals for "the plural of proper names is used to denote a class," i.e., "people like Isidore and Lampo."[37] The plural subjects have become singular rulers. Philo employs the categories of individual and groups to characterize political realities. For example, the players involved in the events leading to the Carabas incident are a group (the ὄχλος) and two individuals (Flaccus and Agrippa). By exploiting the typical characteristics of a crowd as described by a philosophical *sententia*,[38] Flaccus induces the group to abuse the individual, the king. The position of another aphorism contrasts the inaction of an individual with the license of the crowd. After Philo argues that the individual Flaccus does not restrain the mob, he observes that "if a disorganized crowd takes a starting point for misdeeds, it does not stop. . . . " (*Flacc.* 35). When the individual does not act, the group assumes control. Philo further declares a distinction between group and individual, or better private and public, while foreshadowing Flaccus's future demise: ἃς [τιμὰς] ὁ δοξομανὴς καὶ παλίμπρατος ἐλάμβανεν οὐ καθ' αὐτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας (*Flacc.* 41).[39] The Jews have a more positive relationship between individual and group, public and private for "they considered the misfortune of these private citizens to be the common misfortunes of the whole group" (*Flacc.* 117).

Character and Government

The character of individuals and groups plays two important roles in Philo's political philosophy—it motivates political actions and can influence a political entity's intellectual state. Although ruling well for the first five years, Flaccus's political ability declines because of his emotional state after Tiberius's death.[40] *Flacc.* 16 makes an explicit connection between Flaccus's emotional state, intellectual state, and political practice: because he has lost hope (τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα . . . ἀπεγνῶκει), he could not think properly (διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην) and as a result was unable to govern properly (οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι οἷός τε ἦν).[41] Ironically, the political vindication of the Jews against Flaccus, his trial and exile, comes at the hands of two scoundrels, Lampo (*Flacc.* 128-134) and Isidore (*Flacc.* 135-145), notorious for their base natures.[42] Likewise, Philo imputes Gaius's continued vindictiveness towards

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37 Smyth, § 1000.

38 "A plurality is trained in endless talking and passes its time in slanders and malicious words" (*Flacc.* 33).

39 "Which wretched honors that madman for reputation and always for sale [Flaccus] took not only to his own detriment but also against the common good."

40 "On account of the deepest grief [πένθος] for Tiberius . . . he was suffering from depression (κατήφεια) . . . and was hostile (κακόνους) to Tiberius's successor . . . and became neglectful through fear (φόβος). . . ." (*Flacc.* 9). See also *Flacc.* 10.

41 Other examples of character traits producing ill-advised political decisions include madness for reputation (*Flacc.* 41) and arrogance (*Flacc.* 124).

42 Isidore's character in particular has a political bent—he is, among other things, ὀχλικός "suited to the mob," and δημοκόπος, "crowd-pleasing" (*Flacc.* 135).

Flaccus and other exiles to his character.[43] Not only does character stimulate the political acts of individuals, it also prompts whole peoples. The philosophical technique of a *sententia* supports this claim in general: subjects who by nature become stirred up (*πεφυκότες ἀνερεθίζεσθαι*) at the slightest ordinary situation especially squirm under weak leaders (*Flacc.* 17). In the same section Philo cites the specific instance of the Egyptian race "accustomed to produce great factionalism through the slightest spark." Similarly, their natural enviousness (*βάσκανον γὰρ φύσει τὸ Αἰγυπτιακόν*) and their innate hatred for Jews induces political opposition to the existence of a Jewish king (*Flacc.* 29). Crowds have other general characteristics. For example, the ὄχλος has a proclivity to endless talking and slander (*Flacc.* 33).[44] Moreover, the increased savagery of the crowd is expressed in terms of a fundamental change in character—they are maddened by their wildness "into the nature of beasts" (*Flacc.* 66). However, not all groups are naturally corrupt. Some groups, such as the settled and public-minded ὄχλος (*Flacc.* 41), are naturally virtuous. Thus, it is no surprise that Philo assigns to the Jewish nation a character more conducive to a healthy state since the Philonic corpus stresses the uniqueness of Jewish virtue.[45] Jews are naturally inclined toward peace (*πεφυκότες εὖ πρὸς εἰρήνην*, *Flacc.* 48), so content with the simple life that they do not have weapons (*Flacc.* 91). Philo explicitly associates Jewish character with political stability:

> When were we not considered peaceful by all? Is not our way of life, which we practice every day, incapable of censure? Does it not extend to the order (εὐνομία) and stability (εὐστάθεια) of the State? (*Flacc.* 94).

Indeed, the Mosaic law instructs Jewish people to have such a sympathetic character, that they do not rejoice at the suffering of enemies (*Flacc.* 121).[46] *Flacc.* 109 cites a *sententia* which ascribes degrees of political astuteness to personal character, "for the expectations of wicked men are unrealistic, as they reckon on better things, but experience severe things which they also deserve to obtain." Philo makes an unusual connection between character and politics when he personifies Δίκη: *προϋπήντησεν ἡ μισοπόνηρος δίκη . . . δυσχεράνασα* (*Flacc.* 107). Because of her evil-hating[47] and angry character, Justice hurries to exact punishment from Flaccus.

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43 *τὴν φύσιν ὠμόθυμος ὢν καὶ ἀκόρεστος . . . ἀμειλίκτοις καὶ ἀφέτοις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ὀργαῖς* (*Flacc.* 180, 182). See also *Flacc.* 12 and 14.

44 Other *sententiae* note the difficulty of restraining a stirred up crowd (*Flacc.* 35) and its propensity to turmoil (*Flacc.* 41).

45 See above, n. 10.

46 Perhaps Philo anticipates Colson's objection (see above, n. 5) of excessive vindictiveness. In *Flacc.* 154, as Flaccus passes through Greece on his way to Andros, "people gathered to look at him, some hostile by nature wishing him to suffer, others sympathetically grieving who customarily empathize with the misfortunes of others."

47 Cf. *Spec.* 3.75 and Chrysippus, *SVF*, iii.672.

Good and Bad Government

Political theory must distinguish between good and bad government. In Philo's political philosophy, virtue and intelligence in rulers and subjects produce obedience to the law and geometric equality in society. Philo's general view applies to *In Flaccum.* Bad government includes laissez-faire administration (*Flacc.* 9, 35), disobedience to the law (*παρανόμημα*, *Flacc.* 41, 50, 82, 107), neglect of precedent (*Flacc.* 42), and disrespect for ancestral traditions (*οὐ λυσιτελὲς ἔθη πάτρια κινεῖν*, *Flacc.* 43, 47). On the other side, obedience to the law and respect for customs is a necessary component of good rulership and citizenship (*Flacc.* 50).[48] Equality also appears as a component of good government. Flaccus's first evil act is not judging Jews on an equal basis (*μήτ' ἴσον παρέχον*, *Flacc.* 24).[49] This distinctly contrasts with the practice of previous emperors who "acted as fair judges, hearing both prosecutors and defendants equally [*ἐξ ἴσου*]" (*Flacc.* 106).[50] In an address to his audience (*Flacc.* 52) Philo nicely summarizes all these components of bad government: "for there is no distinction, gentlemen, in destroying laws, altering ancestral customs, violating one's co-inhabitants [*συνοικοί*], and teaching those in the other cities to have no regard for unity of mind and feeling [*ὁμοφροσύνη*]."[51]

If good government arises from the philosophical recognition of true equality, evil stems from surrendering to the senses, even if one has accurate knowledge. According to the *sententia* in *Flacc.* 7, "forgiveness is given to the one transgressing because of ignorance of the better, but the one who acts wickedly out of knowledge has no defense since he is condemned beforehand in the courtroom of his conscience [*τὸ συνειδός*]."[52] Philo reinforces this assertion by arguing that although Flaccus was well aware of the abundance of Jews living in Egypt and their dedication to their customs, he still allowed the erection of statues in the synagogues.[53] The distinction in *Flacc.* 25 between *ἀπόνοια* as a result of *μάθησις* and as a result of *φύσις*, implies that both character and ignorance can cause evil. Malicious advisers can induce one to behave wickedly by appealing to material desires (*Flacc.* 30). In defending the sparse lifestyle of the Jews, Philo defines a kind of *cursus malorum*: luxury "naturally produces surfeit (*κόρος*); arrogance (*ὕβρις*), the

48 Gaius himself, at least *pro forma*, gives the impression of not transgressing the law concerning condemned criminals (*Flacc.* 150).

49 Unfair judgment directly depends on unequal status. As soon as Flaccus promulgates a decree referring to the Jews of Alexandria by terms with an inferior status, *ξένοι* and *ἐπήλυδες*, he shows the signs of tyranny (*Flacc.* 54).

50 Even Gaius, although he had already condemned Flaccus in his mind, acts the part of the fair judge (*Flacc.* 126).

51 *σύνοικοι* and *ὁμοφροσύνη* etymologically allude to the reasons why a ruler must govern with equality.

52 The passages cited from Philo's philosophical corpus by Box, *ad loc.* (1.44.9-10, i.263.20), demonstrate the philosophical character of this term here.

53 Petronius's delaying tactics contrast sharply with Flaccus's attitude (*Legat.* 207-261). Flaccus, since he knew that certain members of the *γερουσία* were rendered propertyless and still beats them in front of their plunderers, is flagrantly guilty of conscious violations of human decency (*Flacc.* 76-77).

beginning of all evils, is the offspring of surfeit" (*Flacc.* 91).[54] The Jews lead a life not susceptible to the lures of the senses. This would support the etymological contention in the introduction to the *Legatio* that Israel is the suppliant race which sees God.[55]

Epistemology and Politics

Philo integrates his epistemology with political philosophy by relating political decisions to false or correct knowledge. Tiberius makes the ill-advised decision to tolerate Gaius because "deceived by these things [Macro's defense of Gaius], he failed to recognize [λανθάνειν] that he left behind an implacable enemy [Gaius]" (*Flacc.* 13). Similarly, Flaccus "fails to recognize" (λανθάνειν) that he is deceiving himself in thinking that Gaius is favorably disposed towards him (*Flacc.* 108-109). Emperors generally judge provincial governors not in accordance with enmity and favor, but in accordance with truth (*Flacc.* 106). Flaccus's bad government is described in intellectual terms. His ἀπόνοια arises from μάθησις (*Flacc.* 25).[56] Those "who did not make an accurate investigation of the truth" arrested the wrong people (*Flacc.* 96).[57]

In Flaccum also reflects Philo's general philosophical views regarding epistemology. We recall that Philo connects character with epistemology in *Flacc.* 109. Likewise, the disturbed emotional state of the Jews delays them from accepting the truth about Flaccus's arrest (*Flacc.* 119ff.). When they do believe he has been arrested, their prayer concludes with exultation in his punishment precisely for epistemological reasons.[58]

After his arrest, at least from the epistemological perspective, Flaccus undergoes a peculiar transformation—he immediately has true knowledge.

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54 Box and Pelletier, *ad loc.*, note the original form of the saying in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* 12 where he cites the political poetry of Solon (fr. 6): τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἕπηται ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ. Pelletier notes that Pindar *Oly.* 13.12 and Herodotus 8.77 reverse the roles making κόρος the offspring of ὕβρις. Neither Box nor Pelletier comment on the significance of the phrase, although Pelletier tantalizingly declares, "Mais il est significatif que Philon reproduise cette tradition sous la forme transmise par Aristote et non sous celle que lui avaient donnée Pindare et Hérodote."

55 *Legat.* 4.

56 *Flacc.* 30-31 attributes the μάθησις to a false claim by Flaccus's companions that Agrippa intentionally came to Alexandria in order to embarrass the governor with his royal retinue.

57 From a slightly different direction, by highlighting lack of knowledge as opposed to incorrect knowledge, Philo emphasizes the importance of knowledge in decision making: the centurion Bassus contrives to secretly enter Alexandria lest Flaccus learn of his arrival beforehand (προαισθάνεσθαι) and thereby be able to form a plan and counteract his mission (*Flacc.* 110). Indeed, Bassus, in contrast to Flaccus, has accurate knowledge (μετ' ἀκριβείας) of the situation (through the help of a spy) which enables the surprise arrest of Flaccus to succeed (*Flacc.* 112-113).

58 "You [God] destroyed him suddenly, with him not far away so that the ones who had badly suffered would *learn about it through hearsay [ἀκοή] and perceive it dimly*, but so nearby, virtually *in the sight* [ὄψις] of those who were wronged for a *clearer image* of the quick and unexpected visitation" (*Flacc.* 124). The distinction between ἀκοή and ὄψις is typical of Greek epistemology.

Thus, not only did "he know before he heard it what Gaius wanted for him, what was assigned to those who had come, and what he was about to suffer at once" but this particular instance is strengthened by a philosophical *sententia* describing a general epistemological truth. "The mind [*ὁ νοῦς*] is clever at seeing and hearing all together things which have happened in part over a long period of time" (*Flacc.* 114). As his suffering becomes more vivid (*τρανότερον*, *Flacc.* 162), his intellect becomes more acute.[59] He perceives his earlier misperceptions in clearly Platonic terms:

> I am Flaccus, who a little bit before was the leader of the *μεγαλόπολις* or *πολύπολις* Alexandria, the governor of the most wealthy land Egypt, to whom so many myriads of inhabitants turned, who had among my subjects many foot, cavalry, and naval forces (not simply a number, but the most distinguished possible), I who was accompanied each day on my way by so many. Wasn't this an image, not the truth? Did I, asleep, see my happiness as a dream, a fantasy coming to naught, fictions of the soul which recorded the non-existent as existent? I deceived myself. They were shadows of facts, not facts, an imitation of clarity, not clarity revealing the false. For just as we find nothing of what appeared in dreams after we wake up, but all things go flying off together, thus also all the shining things which I shared, have been extinguished by the short stroke of time (*Flacc.* 163-165).

Not only does he recognize his erroneous cognitions in Platonic terms, we return to the passage with which we began this paper to demonstrate that he achieves true knowledge in Philonic terms. During his nocturnal solitude on the island of Andros, Flaccus is compared to the corybants (*Flacc.* 169), a metaphor consistently utilized by Philo to describe the mystical ascent of the intellect.[60] One might argue that Philo is simply using a common literary image for madness. However, three arguments confute this assertion: 1) Philo portrays Flaccus as "*enthused* like the corybants," which connotes religiosity not insanity; 2) Flaccus performs an activity ancillary to the mystical experience by "directing his vision to heaven and the stars and actually seeing the order in order;"[61] 3) Flaccus's actual words attest to his true knowledge about God (*Flacc.* 170-175). He begins with an invocation to God as "the ruler of gods and men" recognizing God's sovereignty. He identifies himself as "clear proof" that the Jews have correct knowledge about God (they trust in God's providence) and that those who deny God's providential care for

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59 According to David Winston (1985, *Logos and Mystical Theology*, Cincinnati: HUC Press, p. 54), "It is clear from Philo's description of the giving of the Decalogue . . . that the inspired mind, in this case, is extraordinarily quickened and sharpened" (*Decal.* 35).

60 *Opif.* 70-71, *Ebr.* 146, *Fug.* 32, 166, *Leg.* 1.84, 3.82, *Prob.* 13, *Mos.* 1.187, *Contempl.* 12, 89.

61 The passage is problematic. It is not clear what *τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὄντως ἰδὼν* means. Box renders it "which is verily the universe within universe;" Colson, "that veritable world within a world;" and Pelletier, "l'ordre qui règne véritablement dans l'univers." I do not agree that we should take *ὄντως* with *τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον*. In the first place the adverb more reasonably modifies the verb. In the second place, none of the examples cited by Box and Pelletier contain *ὄντως*. Rather, Philo prefers to utilize some form of *ἀληθῆς* to indicate "the veritable world within a world." The point is crucial because if we take *ὄντως* with *ἰδὼν*, then Flaccus "actually sees," i.e., has true(r) knowledge.

Jews have an incorrect opinion (δόξης ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτάνουσι).[62] He goes on to describe the reciprocal nature of his punishment, another sign of divine activity. And he concludes with certain knowledge about his future punishment (πέπεισμαι σαφῶς . . . τούτων οἶδ'). Philo reasserts Flaccus's intellectual acuity by explaining with a *sententia* how Flaccus quickly realizes that the soldiers arriving at Andros were sent by Gaius to kill him—"the soul of each one is quite mantic, especially of those in harsh circumstances" (*Flacc.* 186). Gaius's hostile claim that exiles like Flaccus were enjoying the fruits of a philosophical life (*Flacc.* 184) ironically has a certain ring of truth.

It is also striking that *Flacc.* 163-165 adopts the language common in the aretalogies of Egyptian deities.[63] For both begin with the tag ἐγώ <name> εἰμί followed by a list of virtues in the articular position. Moreover, Flaccus lists his tutelary relationship to specific places as well as the "powers" he possessed, his worshippers (i.e., his subjects), and his glorious array ("I who was accompanied each day on my way by so many"). The divine aretalogies contain all such elements.[64] Of course in Flaccus's case these virtues must be listed in the past tense. But why would Philo even suggest that Flaccus had a semi-divine status? Perhaps he has become one of God's other lesser intermediary powers, a power which communicates God's justice to the world. In so far as we apprehend God through Flaccus, Flaccus is one of God's "forces."[65]

The relationship between epistemology and language is crucial in Philo, for language is a means for expressing knowledge.[66] Therefore, *In Flaccum* is sensitive to terminology.[67] *Flacc.* 134 reflects Philo's interest in accurately

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62 Thus, I agree with Hay (p. 467 and n. 20) that Flaccus can serve as evidence, but I disagree with his assertion that Flaccus is not a man of faith and functions as a negative martyr. Rather, he becomes a "man of faith" too late which complicates his negative image.

63 I am grateful to Ariel Loftus and Ludwig Koenen for this observation.

64 See Maria Totti, 1985, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* and Werner Peek, 1930, *Der Isishymnus von Andros.*

65 Cf. *Legat.* 7 (Smallwood's translation): ". . . that is, if even the punitive Powers are to be classed among the beneficial ones, not only because they form part of laws and ordinances (for law is bound to be made up of two elements, the rewarding of the good and the punishment of the wicked), but because even punishment acts as a deterrent and a sobering influence, often even on wrong-doers, or, failing that, at any rate on their associates. For ordinary people are reformed by punishments inflicted on others, as they are afraid of suffering in a similar way themselves." Meeks, pp.43-51, demonstrates that in Philo's thought human beings can have an intermediary status between human and divine.

66 James I. Porter (1986, "Philo's Confusion of Tongues: Some Methodological Observations," *QUCC, NS* 24.3, pp. 57-74) argues that understanding Philo's view of language is essential for understanding his philosophy for his exegesis of scripture is an inherently unsuccessful attempt "to recapture in human language all the implications of divine language" (p. 74).

67 Philo underlines the significance of language by virtually concretizing terminology. *Flacc.* 20 hypostasizes ὄνομα—"for this term somehow prevailed," the implication being that falsehood prevails. Gaius, after banishing Flaccus, hated Flaccus so much that he even despised those with the same name (*Flacc.* 180). In addition, Flaccus seizes the synagogues "without even leaving behind *the name*" (*Flacc.* 53).

describing the crime of Lampo. Lampo "exploited the forgetfulness of the judges, recording those who were supposed to have won among the losers and those who were suppose to lose among the winners, after he received his accursed μισθός or it is more proper to say μίσθωμα."[68] Improper use of language clearly indicates intellectual decay, and thus, moral decay.[69] Philo defines the significance of Flaccus's evil decree against Jews as a change in names (τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει, *Flacc.* 54).[70] Similarly, Philo utilizes a technical term for the abuse of language (καταχρῆσις) in describing how the Alexandrians marketed goods seized from the Jews by "improperly calling (καταχρώμενοι) another's as their own" (*Flacc.* 56).[71] A little later, at *Flacc.* 59, Philo highlights the cruelty of the Alexandrians by claiming linguistic inadequacy.[72] Flaccus's use of proper terminology reflects his heightened intellectual acuity. Thus, as he approaches Andros, his place of exile, he cries, "What am I to call this island? My place of exile or my new fatherland . . . ? Its most proper name (ὄνομα) would be tomb" (*Flacc.* 159). Gaius as well is disturbed by the proper term for Flaccus's exile:

> They say, therefore, that sometimes lying awake at night he [the emperor] came to think of the high-ranking exiles who in name [ὀνόματι] were thought to be suffering but were actually enjoying an easy, quiet, and free life. So he announced a change of the title [from exile] to sabbatical.[73] "For," he said, "the banishment of such ones having unlimited resources and able to live with ease and order is a kind of sabbatical. It is inappropriate that it is possible for them to relish in enjoying peace and reaping the fruits of a philosophical life" (*Flacc.* 183-184).

Knowledge is such an essential element of Philo's philosophical approach to history because phenomena can be misleading. Philo calls attention to the ambiguity of reality by developing the motif of the hidden versus the open.

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68 Box (pay v. price), Colson (fee v. hire), and Pelletier ("salaire" v. "pot de vin") fail to adequately explain the contrast between the two terms. Actually, Philo is distinguishing between an arbitrary, spontaneous award (μισθός) and a contractual "rent" (μίσθωμα) which highlights the conspirational and habitual character of Lampo's immorality.

69 Naming properly would be synonymous with correct apprehension, correct communication between the various stages from the divine to the human world (Porter, p. 74). According to Dawson (p.85), in Philo's view, pre-lapsarian Adam properly named things harmonious with their essence, while his fall is associated with linguistic failure (p.88).

70 The change in name had serious legal ramifications. See Box, pp. xxii and xliv and Colson, pp. 534-535.

71 For Philo's use of κατάχρησις, see David Runia, 1988, "Naming and Knowing: Themes in Philonic Theology with Special Reference to the *De mutatione nominum*," published in *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. R. van den Broek, T. Baarda, and J. Mansfeld, pp. 69-91 and John Whitaker, "Catachresis and Negative Theology: Philo of Alexandria and Basilides."

72 "No one, using the proper terms [κυρίοις χρωμένοις τοῖς ὀνόμασιν], would even say that our people . . . underwent violence and cruelty, but it seems to me impossible to find the appropriate nomenclature on account of the immensity of the brutality."

73 Literally, "temporary residence abroad."

Indeed, Philo notes a dichotomy between appearance and reality: "But they [the Alexandrians] . . . only pretending (ἐπιμορφάσαντες) an apparent reconciliation in word (τὸ κατηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν λόγῳ), continued in fact (ἔργοις) to hate [Flaccus] . . . while pretending, as if in the theater, a genuine friendship. . . ." (*Flacc.* 19).[74] Philo rhetorically underscores Flaccus's duplicity in the Carabas episode by claiming that "he pretended not to see the things which he saw and not to hear the things which he heard" (*Flacc.* 40). Here we have an unusual twist on the hidden v. open motif. Instead of hiding himself from the public, Flaccus "hides" the public from himself. He perceives reality, but pretends not to perceive. He consciously confuses the hidden and the open. Such a motif also appears in the case of the anti-Jewish Alexandrians who exploit the name of Caesar as a προκάλυμμα in order to hide their hatred of Jews (*Flacc.* 42). Setting up statues in the synagogues is simply a pretext for dishonoring the Jews (*Flacc.* 51-52). Such false pretenses induce the misperception that "the ones acting cruelly seem not to be acting unjustly," *Flacc.* 52). Since appearance dominates human life, it is no surprise that Flaccus gains self-recognition on Andros in precisely these epistemological terms—his prior life was a φάσμα not ἀλήθεια (*Flacc.* 164). He becomes hypersensitive to public pretense to such an extent that he avoided human contact.[75] Finally, the hidden/open motif is especially significant because it provides a foundation for allegory which seeks to uncover hidden meanings.

Another motif, best characterized as confusion of roles, underscores the transience of reality as rendered by our perceptions. Gaius criticizes Macro for inappropriately playing the role of παιδαγωγός "when time has disconnected and separated them from their early youth" (*Flacc.* 15). Similarly, Flaccus is induced to envy Agrippa on the grounds that the Jewish king usurps Flaccus's own position of distinction (*Flacc.* 30). *Flacc.* 18-19 explicitly links misperception with confusion of roles. Because Flaccus's reason (ὁ λογισμός) takes a turn for the worse, he begins to reject his friends and associate with his avowed enemies (who of course conceal their hatred). As a result, says Philo, "the ruler became a subject, the subjects became rulers."[76] Not only do subjects and rulers become confused in Alexandria, but also criminals and victims. Thus, "the ones acting cruelly (ἐπηρεάζοντες) seem not to be acting unjustly, but it is unsafe for the victims (ἐπηρεαζόμενοι) to offer opposition" (*Flacc.* 52). The repetition of ἐπηρεάζειν in different voices emphasizes the confusion of roles. Such confusion of roles generates disoriented and *unequal* consequences. For example, "the [victims] endured a twofold suffering, poverty together with violence to their bodies, while the [perpetrators] received

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74 Philo elsewhere utilizes the theatrical metaphor to highlight the distinction between appearance and reality. Cf. *Flacc.* 20, 32, and 72. The hidden v. open motif appears throughout the work. At first Flaccus accomplishes his plot secretly (τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδηλοτέρας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλάς. . . .) and then reveals his hostility openly (αὖθις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, *Flacc.* 24). Likewise, he is openly (ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ) friendly to Agrippa, but privately (ἰδίᾳ δέ) reviles him (*Flacc.* 32). See also *Flacc.* 76, 97-101, 130, and 139.

75 "Anyone approaching his solitude was suspect. 'That person hurrying so swiftly plots something against me . . . the pleasant person secretly lays a trap, the frank one scorns me. Food and drink are given to me just as to beasts for the slaughter'" (*Flacc.* 177-178).

76 *Flacc.* 96 offers another instance—people become tyrants and masters instead of spectators.

a twofold pleasure, reaping another's wealth and enjoying to surfeit the dishonor of the despoiled" (*Flacc.* 77).[77] In addition, the whole situation in Alexandria is mischaracterized as a πόλεμος against the Jews: Flaccus gives license "to those wishing to sack the Jews as if in a captive city" (*Flacc.* 54).[78] *Flacc.* 62 combines the friend/enemy role reversal with the war/peacetime confusion: "Enemies in war do these things [allow proper burial]; Let us see what sort of things recent 'friends' did in peacetime." With calculated irony, therefore, Philo declares that Flaccus "was taken prisoner in the manner of a prisoner of war [πολεμίου τρόπον ζωγράφεις]" (*Flacc.* 116). Furthermore, just as subjects became rulers in Alexandria, Flaccus's prosecution is assigned to his worst enemies "who a little bit before held the rank of subjects and called him master, benefactor, savior, and the like," but now prosecute him from a superior position (*Flacc.* 125). The *sententia* in *Flacc.* 127 lends reinforcement to the argument that this disturbance of roles has dire consequences: "nothing is so harsh as for those who were once stronger to be prosecuted by the weaker and those who were once rulers to be prosecuted by subjects."[79] Even the lines between life and death are blurred. Flaccus laments, "if am able to survive, I will receive a long and conscious death" (*Flacc.* 159).[80]

Flaccus employs a striking metaphor to portray the strange transformation of his life: "What is this great change [μεταβολή]? As if there were an eclipse, night at daytime possesses my life" (*Flacc.* 159). This statement has particular significance because it encapsulates the epistemological themes in *In Flaccum.* First, the fact that he makes such a declaration demonstrates his recognition of the truth. Second, he refers to the symbol of the improper role change, the eclipse. Third, this realization points to the ultimate recognition of God's ἀρετή: not only does Flaccus suffer for persecuting the Jews, he suffers in precisely the same way as he afflicted them, by a blurring, a disordering of proper roles. I must stress here that this is not necessarily a historical fact, but rather an indication of how Philo conceptualized a historical event. Flaccus's complete role reversal demonstrates the reciprocal character of his punishment. And reciprocal punishment is the clearest proof of divine πρόνοια.

Philo emphatically underlines the symmetry of Flaccus's punishment. For example, Flaccus was appropriately arrested at a symposium, "for it was necessary that justice begin from the hearth against one who made countless homes of innocent people hearthless" (*Flacc.* 115).[81] At *Flacc.* 107 Philo utilizes a play on words which linguistically represents the polar reversal in the case

77 In connection with another example, the use of lower class whips on upper class Jewish leaders, Philo specifically states, "there is, although a small thing, an instance of not small cruelty" (*Flacc.* 78), i.e., to Philo the disordering of social status through the concrete symbolism of the inappropriate type of whip is indicative of tremendous wickedness. See also *Flacc.* 85.

78 See also *Flacc.* 59.

79 *Flacc.* 146-147 repeats the same notion.

80 Other examples include: the judge makes Lampo's life worse than death (*Flacc.* 129), Lampo causes the living to be more wretched than the dead (*Flacc.* 132), suffering ridicule from one's enemies is worse than death (*Flacc.* 147), and Flaccus's place of exile is really a tomb (*Flacc.* 159).

81 Other examples of direct reversal can be found in *Flacc.* 147, 148, 152, and 153.

of Flaccus—justice (δίκη) angrily opposes the one who acted unjustly (ἠδίκει). If the reader has not yet detected the reciprocity of Flaccus's punishment, Philo makes it explicit in Flaccus's own words. His first speech notes his eclipse-like reversal (*Flacc.* 159) while his second contrasts the desolation of his surroundings with his previous grandeur (*Flacc.* 162-163). His final speech (*Flacc.* 170-175) expressly states, "I have suffered the very things which I madly inflicted on the Jews." He then continues with a specific outline of the reversal:

> I overlooked their being deprived of their possessions by giving license to their plunderers; therefore, I am bereft of my paternal and maternal inheritance and whatever I partially took from favors and gifts and whatever else I acquired through other forms. I once reproached them, although legal inhabitants, with illegal residency so that their opponents might be pleased—a disorderly and rampant throng by whose flattery I, wretch, deceived myself; therefore, I was made an illegal resident, driven out from the entire world, and confined to this place. . . .

He goes on to compare the parade of Jews through the theater and city to his parade through Italy and Greece. He concludes with the realization that further punishment must lay in store for him parallel to the many Jews who were put to death in order to "fill out the balance of what I did." And indeed he predicts correctly: he is indistinguishably cut into pieces by the soldiers sent by Gaius "because justice wished to accomplish on one body slaughter equal in number (ἰσαρίθμους) to the Jews who were illegally put to death" (*Flacc.* 189). It is the precise reciprocity of the punishment which irrefutably proves God's providential care for the Jewish ἔθνος (*Flacc.* 191) as well as God's enforcement of equality (philonic democracy) in the world.

Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of philosophical elements in Philo's *In Flaccum*? In general terms, Philo's philosophical world-view governs his interpretation of current historical events. In a sense, he even applies the philosophical technique of allegory—"another reading" of human affairs. Philo articulates an underlying structure to historical events, the operation of God's equalizing λόγος. I would also submit that Philo offers exoteric political advice. Character and correct knowledge among rulers and subjects are essential for a healthy society. Bad policies arise from evil characters and ignorant decisions while good decisions emerge from passionless knowledge.

Now we can resolve the second question raised at the beginning of this paper: Why does the villain achieve mystical knowledge? According to Meeks, Moses achieves an intermediary status between the human and divine by being a paradigm of virtue and intellectually entering the divine realm, while the emperor Gaius counterfeits virtue and divine knowledge.[82] Flaccus stands in the middle—he is certainly no paradigm of virtue, but he

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82 See pp. 45-52.

does intellectually apprehend the Deity. Thus, *In Flaccum* demonstrates that knowledge by itself does not merit divine favor. Flaccus ultimately has knowledge of the Deity, but too late. There is no atonement before the chastising power of God. Thus, while the *unio mystica* may be the ultimate and most difficult goal in Philonic thought, in no way does it guarantee divine approval. Providential care depends on ethical behaviour as well. This behaviour may begin after one joins the group which "sees God," but the intellectual value of contemplating the divine in no way erases past misdeeds. For God is the great equalizer. Perhaps Philo's philosophical interests lessen the historical merit of *Against Flaccus*. However, I consider Philo's approach an essential historical fact—prior to the destruction of the Temple, Jews conceptualized the Deity intricately and successfully working in history.

Dragon Myth and Imperial Ideology in Revelation 12-13

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1. Introduction[1]

Many scholars take for granted a connection between the ideology of the emperor cult and the articulation of christological conceptions in the New Testament, especially if they have their eye on the Revelation of John.[2] In this contribution one facet of this connection is discussed. The dragon and the two beasts clearly function as the antagonists of God, Jesus Christ, and God's people. It is obvious too that the imagery of the dragon and the two beasts in Revelation is somehow related to the government of the Romans in Asia Minor or its presentation by John the prophet, although one should not equate the symbols simply with the devil, the emperor and the high priest of the emperor cult. The symbolic language concerning the dragon and the beasts is probably in part inspired by pagan mythological traditions, as has already been suggested by scholars of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Amazingly enough, the pagan traditions which have been discussed by them and their successors can be linked quite easily to the ideology of the ruler cult, which often drew on mythological imagery. John may even have used the same mythological sources as the people in charge of the public relations of the emperor. Of course, their messages were worlds apart, but, as it is, this does not exclude the possibility of a utilization of similar traditions. John may, for example, have incorporated pagan myth to advocate exactly the opposite of what the circles of the emperor tried to advance. In fact the assumption of John's incorporation of pagan myth presupposes an inversion of roles, because the dragon and the beasts cannot be associated with gods like Zeus or Apollo, with whom the emperors were often linked. On the

1 I thank Professor H. S. Versnel, Leiden, for his comments on the draft of this article and Professor D. E. Aune, Loyola University of Chicago, for sending me a copy of a part of his commentary on Revelation before its publication.

2 See for instance A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1923) 287-324; D. Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament* (Paradosis 23; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1974) 50-88; J. Rufus Fears, "Herrscherkult," *RAC* 14.1047-93, assumes a connection between the emperor cult and christological passages in several New Testament writings. He refers, for example, to Rom 13; 1 Cor 8:4-6; 1 Tim 2:1-6; Titus 3:1-8 and 1 Pet 2:11-17. Cf. also D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschwerdung Gottes-Vergöttlichung von Menschen* (NTOA 7; Fribourg-Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 1988).

contrary, they play a role as the monstrous opponents of gods like Apollo, Horus and Zeus, who restore order by defeating the agent of chaos.

If this interpretation of Rev 12-13 is justified, the mythological background of the passages on the dragon and the beasts may have contributed to the rejection of the divinity of the emperor, which is hinted at especially in Rev 13 (13:15). Thus, Rev 12-13 seems to present the claim of a divine status for the emperor as well as its refutation. In this way it is analogous to Jewish and early Christian passages like *Sibylline Oracles* 5:28-34, which suggest that a ruler demanded a divine status for himself and state at the same time that this was not true:

> One who has fifty as an initial [Nero] will be commander,
> a terrible snake, breathing out grievous war . . .
> But even when he disappears he will be destructive. Then he will return
> declaring himself equal to God. But he will prove that he is not. (*Sib. Or.* 5:28-29, 33-34) [3]

The adoration of the emperor is undoubtedly touched upon in John's prophecy.[4] What I would like to examine here is not only whether the reading according to the lines sketched above can be shown to be satisfactory, but also whether the pagan mythological traditions in Rev 12-13 could have endorsed the refutation of the divine nature of the emperor.[5] Of course, this hypothesis is based on at least two assumptions which will not be self-evident for everyone: 1) that John did incorporate pagan mythological traditions in Rev 12-13; and 2) that this material could have served a political or propagandistic purpose. Only if scholars can be convinced of the plausibility of these assumptions, can the questions which have been raised really be discussed. The following paragraphs will thus concentrate on the description of the dragon and the first and second beast in Rev and its possible pagan mythological background (§ 2), as well as on the political use of these myths (§ 3) and their possible connections to the ideology of the ruler cult (§ 4). A conclusion will follow (§ 5).

2. Pagan Mythological Traditions Concerning the Dragon and the Beasts

The symbolic designations of the emperor and his veneration are part of the passages on the antagonists of God, Jesus Christ and the people of the Lord, of

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[3] Translation by J. J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles. A New Translation and Introduction," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1984) 393. The passage belongs to a complex of Nero passages which is associated with the figure of "Nero redivivus," see J. J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 80-87; also L. Kreitzer, "Hadrian and the Nero Redivivus Myth," *ZNW* 79 (1988) 92-115; G. C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (BZNW 59; Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1991) 257-67.

[4] For example see E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars. Historical Sketches* (London: SCM, 1955) 147-91; Cuss, *Imperial Cult*; P. Prigent, "Au temps de l'Apocalypse II. Le culte impérial au 1er siècle en Asie Mineure," *RHPR* 55 (1975) 215-35; D. L. Jones, "Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult," *ANRW* II 23/2.1023-54; E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation. Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 192-99; cf. also S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 197-98.

[5] Of course, the divinity of the emperor is impossible in Jewish and Christian religion, cf. Exod 20:3; 23:24; 34:14; Deut 6:13; 1 Cor 8:4-6.

which chapters 12-13 form the core (see also 11:7; 14:9-12; 15:2; 16:2, 10-15; 19:19-21; 20:1-4, 7-10).[6] Many commentators build on the research performed by Dieterich, Gunkel and Bousset in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and assume that pagan mythological traditions are incorporated in Rev 12.[7] If this assumption is justified, one should reckon with the possibility that similar material is also included in the other passages on the opponents.[8] Of course, authors differ on the origin of the material which may have been incorporated by John,[9] but one can nevertheless observe a consensus on the kind of material which seems to be relevant. In principal, all these traditions have been discussed by Adela Yarbro Collins in her book *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* of 1976.[10] She finds significant correspondences between Rev 12 and the pattern of pagan combat myths[11] and notices such a similarity to one specific

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6 As is rightly noted, chaps. 17-18 on the whore of Babylon are connected with these passages. This appears from several links between chaps. 17-18 and chaps. 12-13. The woman sits on a scarlet beast which is full of blasphemous names (cf. 13:1 with 17:3). The beast of chap. 17 has seven heads and ten horns like the first beast from chap. 13 (cf. 13:1; with 17:3, 9-12; also 17:8 with 11:7).

7 Cf. H. Gollinger, *Das "Große Zeichen" von Apokalypse 12* (SBM 11; Würzburg-Stuttgart: Echter Verlag, 1971) 127: "*Bis heute wird die Meinung vertreten, der Darstellung von Offb 12 liege ein heidnischer Mythos zugrunde.*" See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891) 111-26; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1895); W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (MeyerK 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1906) 351-56; J. Fontenrose, *Python. A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 210 and 264; Gollinger, *Große Zeichen*, 127-33; H. D. Saffrey, "Relire l'Apocalypse à Patmos," *RB* 82 (1975) 385-417, esp. pp. 410-17; A. Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976) 57-100; A. Vögtle, "Mythos und Botschaft in Apokalypse 12," *Tradition und Glaube. Das Frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*, Festschrift K. G. Kuhn (eds. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971) 395-415; R. Bergmeier, "Altes und Neues zur 'Sonnenfrau am Himmel' (Apk 12)," *ZNW* 73 (1982) 97-109.

8 Cf. J. W. van Henten, "'En de draak werd toornig op de vrouw' (Openb. 12:17)," *Kleine Encyclopedie van de Toorn* (eds. A. de Jong and A. F. de Jong; Utrechtse Theologische Reeks 21; Utrecht: Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1993) 57-75, esp. pp. 64-65 and 73-75. Because chapters 12-13 contain the principal activities of the dragon and the beasts I focus on these chapters in the present article.

9 Cf. Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, p. 58: "It would seem that the author of Revelation was consciously attempting to be international by incorporating and fusing traditional elements from a variety of cultures."

10 See footnote 7.

11 Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 61: A. The Dragon (Rev 12:3); B. Chaos and Disorder (Rev 12:4a); C. The Attack (Rev 12:4b); D. The Champion (Rev 12:5a); E. The Champion's "Death" (Rev 12:5b); G. Recovery of the Champion ((Rev 12:7a); H. Battle Renewed and Victory (Rev 12:7b-9); I. Restoration and Confirmation of Order (Rev 12:10-12a); F. The Dragon's Reign (Rev 12:12b-17).

The capitals are taken from Fontenrose, *Python*, whose pattern of the combat myth is slightly different (see pp. 262-64). Yarbro Collins concludes that all elements of the pagan combat myth are present in Rev. According to her, the death of the champion (E) is, however, only presupposed (12:5), the role of the victor of the dragon taken over by Michael and the element of the reign of the dragon put at the end (F). Elements G, H, and I, therefore, move to an earlier position. If one takes chapter 12 with chapter 13 and 19:19-21; 20:1-4, 7-10 as a unity there is no need to change the order of the elements, cf. Van Henten, "En de draak." Two complications in the pattern in connection with Rev 12 are that the dragon seems to have more than one

type of these myths—the traditions on the pursuit of Leto by Python[12] and the combat between Python and Apollo—that she assumes that this specific combat myth was incorporated by John: "If we ask which example of this form of the combat myth most closely resembles Rev 12, the answer is clearly the Leto myth. . . . Rev 12, at least in part, is an adaptation of the myth of the birth of Apollo."[13] The fact that this myth circulated in Asia Minor in the time when Rev originated supports her conclusion.[14]

Yarbro Collins concentrates on two types of the combat myth[15] which were known in the Hellenistic world, the sources connected with the dragon Python and its victor Apollo on the one hand (foremost Hyginus, *Fab.* 140; further Lucan, *Bell. Civ.* 5.79-81, and Lucian, *Dialogi Marini* 9[10],[16] and traditions concerning the Egyptian god Seth who became identified with the giant Typhon from Greek mythology on the other.[17] Both mythological clusters contain the motif of a woman (Leto or Isis) pursued by a dragon-figure (Python or Seth-Typhon). Her conclusion that the Python-Leto-Apollo-complex was tapped by John is in line with the views of Dieterich, Fontenrose and Saffrey,[18] but her argumentation surpasses theirs because of a careful comparison of the sources on Python and Seth-Typhon with Rev 12. If we survey the source material discussed by Yarbro Collins there appears to be a considerable structural correspondence between the vision of the pursuit of the woman and her offspring by the dragon in Rev and myths concerning Python, Leto and Apollo.

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opponent and that the final victory over the dragon is missing, which implies that Rev 12 contains only a part of a combat myth.

12 For a description of the myths on Python and references see G. Türk, "Python," *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 3/2.3400-3412; Fontenrose, *Python*, esp. pp. 46-69; on traditions concerning Apollo in connection with Rev; also A. Kerkeslager, "Apollo, Greco-Roman Prophecy, and the Rider on the White Horse in Rev 6:2," *JBL* 112 (1993) 116-21.

13 Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 67; cf. p. 83.

14 Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 70-71 and 245-52.

15 The dragon of Rev corresponds to descriptions of dragons in pagan combat myths and is called snake as well as dragon, cf. Fontenrose, *Python*, 10: ". . . nonhuman form: most often that of a snake. . . ."; cf. ὄφις Rev 12:9, 14-15; 20:2; δράκων 12:3-4, 7, 9, 16-17; 13:2, 4, 11; 16:13 and 20:2. He has a huge body (12:3 μέγας; cf. 12:4, 15), has several heads and horns (12:3), fights both in and against heaven (12:4, 7-9; cf. 13:6-7) and has a destructive character. The warfare of the dragon is emphasized (12:7, 17; cf. 11:7; 13:4, 7; 16:14; 19:19 and 20:8).

16 Fontenrose, *Python*, 18 n. 9 mentions additional sources.

17 For descriptions of Seth-Typhon in Greek mythology see J. Schmidt , "Typhoeus, Typhon," *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 5.1426-54; G. Seippel, *Der Typhonmythos* (Greifswalder Beiträge zur Literatur und Stilforschung 24; Greifswald: Hans Dallmeyer, 1939); Fontenrose, *Python*, esp. pp. 70-93; J. W. van Henten, "Antiochus IV as a Typhonic Figure in Daniel 7," *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 223-43, esp. pp. 228-35.

18 See above, note 7. Fontenrose, *Python*, 262-65 (cf. pp. 266-73), gives patterns of the combat myth and distinguishes between several subtypes which penetrated the classical world, a "Typhon-subtype" and a "Python-subtype." These share the motif of a dragon who fights the gods and tries to disturb the order of the cosmos and is being defeated by a rulergod. The second subtype would only differ from the first in one respect and would be present in Rev 12, too: "This differs from subtype I only in that the god is killed, and his son fights the dragon, recovering his father's life and throne, usually with actual sovereignty for himself. . . . Here belong Python, Set vs. Osiris, Satan (of Rev 12), Zu. . . ." (p. 264). Cf. p. 210 with n. 54 concerning Rev 12.

The correspondences do not concern only isolated details but are also structural, as can be seen from the patterns in the myths and in Rev summarized by Yarbro Collins:[19]

1. Struggle for the sanctuary of Delphi	1. Struggle for kingship
2. Leto pregnant by Zeus	2. Isis pregnant by Osiris
3. Python pursues Leto and tries to kill her	5. Birth of Horus
4. The north wind rescues Leto; help by Poseidon	3. Seth-Typhon pursues Isis and Horus
5. Birth of Apollo and Artemis	4. Ra and Thoth help Isis
6. Apollo overcomes Python	6. Horus overcomes Seth-Typhon
7.	7. Kingship of Horus
8. Apollo establishes the Pythian games.[20]	

It is also certain that the Python myths were known in the first and second centuries CE in the areas mentioned in Rev. Ephesus, for instance, was temple warden (νεωκόρος) of Artemis, Apollo's sister, as is also mentioned in Acts 19:35. Coins depicting Leto fleeing from Python, while her children Artemis and Apollo shoot their arrows at Python, from the time of Hadrian were minted at Ephesus and Magnesia on the Meander.[21] Nevertheless, there are also some discrepancies between these myths and Rev 12. The figure of Artemis and the Pythian games have no counterpart in Rev.[22] According to the myth, Python pursues Leto until she gives birth to Artemis and Apollo,[23] while Seth-Typhon pursues Isis as the dragon does the woman in Rev 12 after the birth of the child. The rescue of Leto corresponds only in part[24] to that of the woman with the sun in Rev, who is brought into safety with the help of the wings of the great eagle (12:14; cf. Exod 19:4).[25] Leto is also helped by Poseidon, which contradicts the assistance of the earth against the water sent by the dragon in Rev 12:15-16. At the same time the Egyptian and Greek texts on the other dragon-figure, Seth-

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19 I present her pattern of the Seth-Typhon myth as well, which is useful for my argument below. The variation in the sequence of the elements of various combat myths is a common phenomenon, cf. H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion 2. Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 6/2; Leiden: Brill, 1993) 76-77, who refers to the work of V. Propp and W. Burkert.

20 See Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 66, and for her discussion of the texts, pp. 62-67.

21 Apollo Pythios was worshipped at Ephesus and Pergamum; see Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 248-50; also Saffrey, "Relire l'Apocalypse," 413.

22 The element of the temporary ruling out of the champion is also missing in the myths concerning Python. Fontenrose's construction of this element, *Python*, pp. 86-89, is unconvincing. Cf. Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 64.

23 This is also noted by Gollinger, *Große Zeichen*, 130.

24 Cf. Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 67: "The flight of the woman in Revelation 12:14 with the two wings of the eagle is analogous to Leto's flight from Python with the help of the north wind. The aid of the personified earth in v. 16 is analogous to that afforded Leto by Poseidon, god of the sea." See Hyginus, *Fab.* 140, and Lucian, *Dialogi Marini* 9(10).

25 Leto is rescued by the north wind Βορέας (Βορρᾶς), whose name was rendered in Latin as *aquilo* (cf. Dan 11:44, Luke 13:29Vg and Rev 21:13Vg). This word could have been associated with the Latin word for eagle (*aquila*), which supports the connection with the Python-myths. Cf. T. Zielinski, "Die griechischen Quellen der Apokalypse," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 7 (1931) 156 (I owe this reference to Prof. Aune).

Typhon,[26] also show correspondences with Rev 12, including the element of the pursuit of a woman and child by the dragon (Isis and Horus). There are many attestations of the veneration of Isis in Asia Minor.[27] Isis was often represented as a woman holding her child Horus-Harpocrates like a Madonna on her knees or in her arms, and this picture appears also on coins from Asia Minor.[28] Moreover, a version of the Typhon-myth, which was not affected by Egyptian conceptions, was located in Asia Minor. According to this myth Typhon eliminates Zeus for a while and brings him to the Corycian cave at Cilicia, which was Typhon's home.[29] This version too can be associated with Rev 12 (and 13). An important argument is that traditions connected with Seth-Typhon would explain the combination of the astral imagery with the mythological symbols. The dragon and the woman are depicted as heavenly signs (Rev. 12:1, 3). Isis as well as Seth-Typhon have been associated with stars and constellations. Isis was linked to the Dog Star[30] and to Virgo, Seth-Typhon to the polar stars and the Great Bear, and according to some scholars also to Hydra.[31] Hydra was presented as a daughter of Typhon by mythographers.[32] Similar connections to the starry sky are absent in the Python-Leto-Apollo material.[33]

The observations mentioned make it probable that John not only drew on traditions concerning Leto, Apollo and Python, but that he also incorporated images connected with Isis and Seth-Typhon. He may even have considered Python and Seth-Typhon as part of one mythological cluster, because the appearances and roles of both dragons are very similar, although the sources on Seth-Typhon deal more prominently and universally with rulership than those on Python. Seth kills the royal god Osiris and is attacked by Osiris's and Isis's son Horus, also a royal god. Typhon challenges Zeus' leadership of the gods and tries to take over his power. Diodorus Siculus interprets the myth of Seth-Typhon, Osiris, Isis and Horus as a struggle between protagonists of chaos and order,

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26 See the pattern above based on the *Hymn of Amen-Mose* (from about 1400 BCE), the so-called Metternichstele (from 378-360 BCE), Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.144; 156; 3.5; Plutarch, *De Iside*; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 1.21-22; 88, and Aristides, *Apol.* 12. For further references see note 17 and H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion. A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 6; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

27 F. Dunand, *Le Culte d'Isis dans le Bassin Oriental de la Méditerranée* III (EPRO 26; Leiden: Brill, 1973).

28 V. Tran Tam Tinh and Y. Labrecque, *Isis Lactans. Corpus des monuments gréco-romains d'Isis allaitant Harpocrate* (EPRO 37; Leiden: Brill, 1973); Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 261; for attestations from Asia Minor see also Dunand, *Culte*, 79 and 88-89.

29 For example see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.6.3; for further references see Schmidt, "Typhoeus," 1432-40.

30 Plutarch, *De Isid.* 21, 38 and 61 (*Mor.* 359d; 365f and 376a).

31 Teucer Babylonius, see F. Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903) 47; Te Velde, *Seth*, 86-87. Bergmeier, "Altes und Neues." Cf. also F. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* (Stoicheia 1; Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1914) 98-124; W. Hadorn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (THKNT 18; Leipzig: Deichert, 1928) 131-32; H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT16a; Tübingen: Mohr, 1974) 164.

32 Fontenrose, *Python*, 356. See especially Bergmeier, "Altes und Neues," 101-102, who has doubts about the connection between Seth-Typhon and Hydra, but makes a reasonable case for the link of Seth-Typhon with the polar stars which form the Great Bear.

33 For a more extensive discussion of the views of Fontenrose and Yarbro Collins see Van Henten, "En de draak."

while Osiris is presented as an ideal king (*Bibl.* 1.21-22; cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.144; Plutarch, *De Iside* 12-13 and 49; *Mor.* 355e, 356ab, 371ab). Precisely because of this dimension the myths connected with Seth-Typhon have been linked with human politics (see below). In any case, the traditions concerning Seth-Typhon and Python have clearly undergone a process of clustering.[34] This already appears from one of Herodotus's passages on Isis, Osiris, Seth-Typhon and Horus, and again from Plutarch's *De Iside*. Leto acts as helper of Isis against Seth-Typhon and hides Apollo-Horus on the floating island Chemmis near Buto (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.156; cf. Plutarch, *De Isid.* 18 and 38=*Mor.* 357f, 366a).[35] As a matter of fact, even Yarbro Collins supports this view of a fusion of traditions when she discusses the depiction of the woman of Rev 12 and associates her with three great goddesses, Artemis, Atargatis and Isis.[36] According to her, the iconography of Isis resembles most closely the presentation of the woman with the sun.[37] She assumes therefore that the description of the woman of Rev 12 was influenced by a combination of Isis and Leto traditions.[38]

The first and second beasts of chapter 13 clearly act as agents of the dragon. The final location of the dragon near the sea in 12:18 and the rising of the first beast out of the sea in 13:1 show that the vision of the two beasts can be considered as a continuation of the vision of chapter 12.[39] The first beast derives its power, throne, and authority from the dragon (13:2, 4; cf. 13:5, 7, 12) and resembles the dragon with its ten horns and seven heads (13:1; cf. 12:3). The beast rising out of the earth is closely related with the first beast and speaks like the dragon (13:11). Also in further passages the dragon and the two beasts are presented as a single group of antagonists (16:13; 20:10, where the second beast is called the false prophet). This coherence tempts one to verify whether chap. 13 may contain traces of pagan mythological traditions related to the ones which were discussed in connection with chapter 12. As is well known, the first beast of chapter 13 is a creative combination of the four beasts from Daniel 7.[40] Moreover, the characterization of this beast resembles the description of the eleventh horn of the fourth beast in Daniel 7 because of the emphasis on its blasphemy and arrogance in combination with its warfare against God and the

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34 Fontenrose, *Python*, 77-93, who among other things points to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where Typhon is presented as Apollo's opponent.

35 Leto is Herodotus's *interpretatio graeca* of the Egyptian goddess Uto (W3*d*.t), see Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.59; 152; 155; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Commentary 1-98* (EPRO 43; Leiden: Brill, 1976) 270.

36 Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 71-76. She does not discuss Leto in this connection. Cf. S. J. Patterson, "A Note on an Argive Relief of Selene," *HTR* 78 (1985) 439-43.

37 Cf. in connection with Rev 12:1 lines 13-14 and 45 of the Cyme aretalogy from the first or second century CE, which say that Isis determines the paths of the stars, sun and moon, see J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum 3; Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968) 301-303; Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 74-75.

38 Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 75 and 84.

39 According to Kraft, *Offenbarung*, 175, the dragon mirrors itself in the sea.

40 G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham-New York-London: University Press of America, 1984) 229-39; A. Yarbro Collins, "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament," *Daniel. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ed. J. J. Collins; Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 1993) 90-112, esp. pp. 107-109.

saints who dwell in heaven (cf. 13:5, *στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας*[41] with Dan 7:8, 20LXX/Theod., *στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα*; 13:6 "It opened its mouth to utter blasphemies against God, blaspheming his name and his dwelling, that is those who dwell in heaven" with Dan 7:25 "He shall speak words against the Most High, shall wear out the holy ones of the Most High, and shall attempt to change the sacred seasons and the law. . . ."[42]; 13:7, *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς* "Also it was allowed to make war on the saints and to conquer them," with Dan 7:21Theod. *ἐθεώρουν καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἴσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς*,[43] "As I looked, this horn made war with the holy ones and was prevailing over them").[44] The very combination of these features of the eleventh horn have an analogy in the deeds and characterization of Seth-Typhon, as I have tried to show elsewhere.[45] So John may have incorporated the "typhonic imagery" from Dan 7 (and 8) and expanded it with other traditions concerning Python and Seth-Typhon.

Scholars who reject the conclusion that John drew on pagan combat traditions claim that the traditional background of Rev 12 and 13 can be perfectly understood on the assumption of the sole utilization of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish traditions. They refer to John's extensive use of Daniel and other prophetic writings,[46] passages on monsters like Leviathan, Behemoth and Rahab and Gen 3 as the principal sources of inspiration for the presentation of the dragon in chapter 12.[47] The echoes of these and other Jewish writings cannot be denied, but does this mean that John could not have used pagan traditions as well? The pagan administration and its ideology was one of his principal targets. Moreover, Daniel 7, which shows a great formal similarity to Rev 12-13 and probably forms part of the substructure of both chapters, seems also to have been inspired by Jewish as well as pagan traditions.[48] The central theme of chapter 12 takes as its point of departure the idea of a woman with her infant, persecuted by a dragon. Such imagery is absent in the Hebrew bible and

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41 Cf. the *ὀνόματα βλασφημίας* in 13:1 and 17:3. Also 13:6.

42 Close correspondences between Rev and the Greek versions of Dan 7 are missing, but the content is strikingly similar. In Dan the attack of the eleventh horn is aimed at the cult of the Second Temple, while the beast of Rev blasphemes God and His saints in heaven.

43 LXX somewhat different. Cf. also the addition in Dan 7:8LXX *καὶ ἐποίει πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους*. The warfare of the first beast is connected with the wars of the dragon, cf. 12:7, 17.

44 Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 231-33 and 245, supposes that the giving of authority to the first beast by the dragon (13:2, 4) was inspired by the bestowal of authority on the one like a human being in Dan 7:13-14.

45 See Van Henten, "Antiochus," esp. pp. 225-35.

46 See, e.g., Beale, *Use of Daniel*; J.-P. Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse. The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17-19,10* (European University Studies, Series 23; Theology 376; Frankfurt-Bern-New York-Paris: Lang, 1989); J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation* (JSNTSup 93; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).

47 Gollinger, *Große Zeichen*, states after a discussion of possible pagan sources, p. 133: "*Eventuelle Vorlagen für Offb 12 und insbesondere für das 'große Zeichen' boten sich dem Apokalyptiker nicht nur in der heidnischen Mythologie, sondern auch und vor allem im Alten Testament und im Judentum, insbesondere in der Apokalyptik.*"

48 For a recent evaluation see J. J. Collins, "Stirring Up the Great Sea. The Religio-Historical Background of Daniel 7," *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 121-36.

in Jewish traditions. The flight of the woman and child may be less prominent in the texts on Seth-Typhon, but this theme is in any case present in passages from Herodotus and Plutarch.[49] In a group of texts where Seth and Typhon traditions were fused the flight before Seth-Typhon of the gods becomes an important motif. All gods fled to Egypt and changed themselves into animals to mislead Seth-Typhon (for example see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.6.3; Ovid, *Met.* 5.321-331).[50]

There are, furthermore, several details in chapters 12-13 which have no parallels in biblical literature,[51] or only with Daniel 7 and 8, where many scholars assume the utilization of pagan traditions. On the other hand, these details can easily be associated with the pagan traditions indicated, especially with those concerning Seth-Typhon. Rev 12:3 refers to the red color of the dragon. Although an allusion to the depiction of Leviathan in Job 41:10-13 is possible,[52] the figure of Seth-Typhon would match this detail very well. Seth-Typhon was not only depicted as a red animal, but the color red was also one of the means of identifying humans or animals with him.[53] The location of the battles indicated in Rev 12-13 (12:7, 17; 13:4, 7) does not fit in with chaos monsters living in the sea, but Typhon's performance can be associated with the heavenly battle of 12:7. The sweeping down to earth of a third of the stars in 12:4 probably hints at Daniel 8:10-12. The motif is only paralleled by Seth-Typhon's attack against heaven and his casting down of a part of the stars and constellations.[54] According to Apollodorus, Typhon's head often brushed the stars (ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν ἄστρων ἔψαυε, *Bibl.* 1.6.3). Apollodorus also says that he attacked Zeus, who had just defeated the Giants and got hold of the throne of heaven and earth.[55] Typhon hurled rocks and attacked heaven with hisses and shouts, while spouting a great jet of fire from his mouth.[56] Thereafter, the gods fly to Egypt, but Zeus takes up the fight against Typhon from heaven. Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century CE), who combined several traditions on Seth-Typhon and elaborated them extensively, describes in the first book of his *Dionysiaca* Typhon's struggle against stars and constellations. He dragged them away from their position and even dumped the two Fishes into the sea (*Dion.* 1.165-218; cf. 2.281-90).[57] Typhon's association with comets can be connected with this motif.

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49 There are also traditions that Seth-Typhon desired and pursued goddesses like Aphrodite, Thueris or Isis; see Fontenrose, *Python*, 84 with n. 24; 133; 143 with n. 46; 180, 184, 189-191.

50 J. G. Griffiths, "The Flight of the Gods before Typhon: An Unrecognized Myth?," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 374-76; Fontenrose, *Python*, 75-76; 177; Van Henten, "Antiochus," 230-32.

51 This applies to other details too. Parallel expressions to the "lake of fire" (Rev 19:20; 20:10, 14-15; 21:8) and the "second death" (20:6, 14; 21:8) occur besides Rev 20-21 only in Egyptian texts like the *Book of Death* (Saying 175.1; 15; 20), although with another meaning, see D. E. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and Graeco-Roman Revelatory Magic," *NTS* 33 (1987) 483 with n. 12.

52 Cf. Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 76.

53 Fontenrose, *Python*, 81 and 185. Van Henten, "Antiochus," 236-38 with references. Cf. *Sib. Or.* 8:88 (possibly an allusion to Rev 12:3) referring to a purple dragon.

54 The parallel is noted by J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 107.

55 Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.6.3; Fontenrose, *Python*, 71 and 84.

56 For further references, see Schmidt, "Typhoeus," 1433-34.

57 G. Braden, "Nonnos' Typhon. *Dionysiaca* Books I and II," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 15 (1974) 851-79; W. Fauth, *Eidos poikilon. Zur Thematik der Metamorphose und zum Prinzip*

Pliny refers to a comet called Typhon after a king with this name, which was seen in Egypt and Ethiopia and considered ominous.[58] Finally, the combination of astral symbolism and combat myth renders pagan influences most probable. As a matter of fact, the passage of Plutarch which was mentioned above in connection with the links between Isis and the Dog Star and Typhon and the Great Bear (*De Isid.* 21), refers to just one other star or constellation. This is Orion and it is connected with Horus in this passage, which means that we find the possible models of three key figures of the combat myth in Rev: mother, child and their adversary.

3. Political Applications of the Myths Concerning Seth-Typhon and Python

A link between combat myths connected with Seth-Typhon and Python and the imperial cult presupposes a political application of the myths. Before a discussion of John's hints at the imperial cult in relation to the combat myth, we should examine whether these myths may have functioned in a political context.

One of the pillars of the temple of Apollonis, the mother of Attalos II and Eumenes II, in her native town Cyzicus showed a picture of the fight of Artemis and Apollo against the dragon who threatened them (*Anth. Pal.* 3.6).[59] Representations of the Python-Apollo-Leto-myth are also found on coins of the Imperial period (see above). Augustus especially venerated Apollo, made him his patron deity and presented himself, particularly before 27 BCE, as the incarnation of Apollo.[60] In Virgil's famous *Fourth Eclogue* the reign of Augustus is associated with the prophecy of the beginning of a new golden age and the reign of Apollo:[61]

> The Maid returns, old Saturn's reign returns,
> Offspring of heaven, a hero's race descends.
> Now as the babe is born, with whom iron men
> Shall cease, and golden men spread through the world,
> Bless him, chaste goddess: now your Apollo reigns (6-10, trans. P. Alpers).[62]

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der Wandlung aus dem Gegensatz in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis (Hypomnemata 66; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1981) 160-66.

58 Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.23.91. For further references, see Boll, *Sphaera*, 164. Typhon was connected with storm winds as well, cf. Acts 27:14.

59 Türk, "Python," 3407-408.

60 For a survey, see P. Lambrechts, "Die 'apollinische' Politik des Augustus und der Kaiserkult," *Saeculum Augustum II. Religion und Literatur* (ed. G. Binder; Wege der Forschung 512; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988) 88-107. Further literature is given by P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München: Beck, 1990) 338.

61 On the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace with a similar message, see D. Georgi , "Who Is the True Prophet?," *HTR* 79 (1986) 100-26.

62 iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo.

Lambrechts, *Die 'apollinische' Politik*, 95, supposes that the child is none other than Octavian-Apollo. A legend in connection with Augustus's birth may have confirmed the claim of his special

The emperor Nero founded a special corps of 5000 soldiers, who accompanied him on his participation in contests and shows. These so-called Augustiani applauded Nero's performances. Their acclamations betray divine honors and an association of Nero with Apollo: "Glorious Caesar! Apollo! Augustus! Unmatched, like Pythios! By thyself we swear, O Caesar, none surpasses you."[63] After Nero's glorious return from his tour in Greece early in 68 CE he was welcomed with similar exclamations: "Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero, our Hercules! Hail to Nero, our Apollo! The only victor of the Grand Tour, the only one from the beginning of time! Augustus! Augustus! O Divine Voice! Blessed are they that hear you!"[64]

No doubt other sources can be added to these references. But it is clear that rulers were linked with Apollo as victor. In some instances there may be echoes of the triumph of Apollo over Python. A search for political applications of the myths of Seth-Typhon yields particularly rich material. In Egypt Ptolemaic kings as well as native Egyptians used the myth of the conflict of Horus and Seth-Typhon to blacken their opponents—a Seleucid king, an Egyptian rebel or the Ptolemies themselves in indigenous texts—and to propagate their own role as Horus who restores order by overcoming Seth-Typhon.[65] The struggle between Horus and Seth-Typhon was an important theme in Ptolemaic royal ideology, used both for it and against it.[66] The ceremony of the coronation of the Ptolemaic kings at Memphis included a ritual re-enactment of the killing of Seth-Typhon by Horus.[67] Annalina Levi discusses coins from the reigns of Hadrian, probably dating from 134-136 CE, and of Caracalla (dated 215 CE), which seem to build on the imagery of Horus who triumphs over Seth-Typhon. Both emperors on these coins are in military dress with a foot on a crocodile,[68] and thus represented Horus, who was often portrayed with his feet on a crocodile or a

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relationship with Apollo. Suetonius, *Aug.* 94, and Cassius Dio 45.1 say that his mother Atia became pregnant in the temple of Apollo after the visit of the god in the shape of a snake.

63 Cassius Dio 62.20.5: Ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὔγουστος, εἷς ὡς Πύθιος. μά σε, Καῖσαρ, οὐδείς σε νικᾷ. See Cuss, *Imperial Cult*, 77-78. On the meaning of εἷς in this acclamation, see H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion I. Ter unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes. Three Studies in Henotheism* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 6; Leiden: Brill, 1990) 243. For the connection between Nero and Apollo see also *Inscriptiones Graecae* 7, no. 36.

64 Dio 63.20.5. Cuss, *Imperial Cult*, 79-80. These exclamations are, of course, also inspired by the Pythian Games won by Nero and Apollo as patron god of the arts.

65 Van Henten, "Antiochus," 235-42. L. V. Zabkar, "Six Hymns to Isis in the Sanctuary of Her Temple at Philae and Their Theological Significance," *JEA* 69 (1983) 115-137. The first of this series of hymns to Isis from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos published and discussed by Zabkar contains the phrase: "You are the divine mother of Horus . . . who causes the rebels to fall" (p. 118).

66 C. Onasch, "Zur Königsideologie der Ptolemäer in den Dekreten von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 24/25 (1976) 137-55; L. Koenen, "Die Adaptation ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof," *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 24-26 May 1982 (ed. E. Van't Dack, P. Van Dessel and W. Van Gucht; Studia Hellenistica 27; Leuven, 1983) 143-90; Van Henten, "Antiochus," 224-25 and 238-41. Cf. also D. Frankfurter, "Lest Egypt's City be Deserted. Religion and Ideology in the Egyptian Response to the Jewish Revolt (116-117 CE)," *JJS* 43 (1992) 203-20.

67 Nigidius Figulus, Schol. Germ. (ed. Swoboda, 1964), 123: "Typhon interficitur in templo Aegypti Memphi, ubi mos fuit solio regio decorari reges, qui regna ineunt."

68 A. C. Levi, "Hadrian as King of Egypt," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 6. *ser.* 8 (1948) 30-38.

hippopotamus, or killing a crocodile.[69] The crocodile and the hippopotamus probably represent Horus' enemy Seth-Typhon.[70] Other emperors were associated with Horus too—Domitian, for instance, bears the title of Horus on his obelisk which now stands in Piazza Navonna in Rome.[71]

In the imperial period, however, versions of the myth which focus on the battle between Zeus and Typhon also seem to be relevant, especially because Jupiter/Zeus was the commonest god with whom the emperors were affiliated.[72] These myths are reflected in two passages from the first or early second century, the first oration on kingship by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 1) and a passage in the tragedy *Octavia* of Pseudo-Seneca. This tragedy depicts the sad lot of Nero's first wife and contains severe accusations of Nero. The latter passage is fascinating, because many exegetes of Rev suppose that the head of the first beast which was fatally wounded but recovered (in fact the beast itself) and the number of the beast (13:18) in some way refer to Nero.

The second part of Dio Chrysostom's most sophisticated speech on kingship (*Or.* 1)[73] is based on the legend that Hermes shows the young Heracles the right and wrong type of kingship by taking the boy on a walk to a huge mountain, which appears to consist of two summits (1.58-84).[74] Heracles wanted to be a ruler (1.65)[75] and Hermes leads him along a secret path to the two peaks, one of which stood high above the clouds while the other was dark and misty. On the throne of each peak sits a woman. One is called Βασιλεία (1.73) and the other Τυραννίς (1.78). The first woman is further described as a child of Zeus (like Heracles himself, 1.59), considered as a god by Heracles (θεὸς ἀληθῶς εἶναι, 1.83) and connected with the personified characteristics of virtuous kingship: Justice (Δίκη), Order (Εὐνομία), Peace (Εἰρήνη), Law (Νόμος)[76] and Friendship (Φιλία, 1.74-75; 82). The other woman is ugly, greedy, hated by everybody[77] and

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69 See besides the references of Levi W. Barta, "Horus von Edfu," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3.34-35. B. Altenmüller, "Horus, Herr der Harpunierstätte," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3.36-37.

70 Animals especially connected with Seth were the ass, crocodile, hippopotamus, fish and pig, see T. Hopfner, "Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern," *Denkschriften der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 57/2 (1913), Register *s.v.* "Settiere," p. 198.

71 Levi, "Hadrian," esp. p. 35 with n. 24.

72 J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire* I. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955) 71-73; C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Loeb Classical Monographs; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1978) 117, who refers to the impressive temple for Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamum.

73 See further P. Desideri, *Dione di Prusa. Un intellettuale greco nell'impero romano* (Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea 135; Messina-Florence: D'Anna, 1978) 283-375.

74 The legend is said to be modelled on a story about Heracles meeting two women (Vice and Virtue) by the sophist Prodicus, see Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1.21-34; Cicero, *De Off.* 1.118, and Desideri, *Dione di Prusa*, 245 footnote 6; Jones, *Roman World*, 116. Cf. also A. Loyen, "Hercule et Typhée. A propos de Virgile, Enéide VIII, 298," *Mélanges de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, offerts à Alfred Ernout (Paris: Klincksieck, 1940) 237-45.

75 On Heracles as ideal king see R. Höistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King. Studies in the Cynic Conception of Man* (Diss. Uppsala: 1948).

76 Also called Λόγος Ὀρθός, Σύμβολος, and Παρέδρος, 1.75.

77 *Or.* 1.78-82; G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom and the New Testament.* Parallels Collected (SCHNT 2; Leiden: 1972) 250, points to the correspondence between this woman who has many sceptres,

associated with Cruelty (Ὠμότης), Insolence (Ὕβρις),[78] Lawlessness (Ἀνομία), Rebellion (Στάσις) and Flattery (Κολακεία), (1.82). Right at the beginning of the description of the two peaks their names are given: "One of them bore the name Royal Peak and was sacred to Zeus the King; the other, tyrannical, peak was named after Typhon."[79] The companions of Lady Tyranny match the description of Seth-Typhon in the myths very well. Heracles of course, prefers the first woman, so that Zeus entrusts him with the kingship over all mankind (1.83-84).

Nero banished his first wife Octavia to Campania and had her killed in 62 CE on the island of Pandateira. The *Octavia* depicts the sad life of this woman, who was disgraced by Nero. Octavia describes Nero as a malicious man and accuses him of all kinds of evil deeds. One can read the tragedy as an illustration of Dio Chrysostom's discussion of kingship in his first oration. The emperor is consistently depicted as a tyrant (lines 33, 87, 110, 609-10, 620, 899 and 959), and in one part traditions concerning Typhon resound in allusions to events in Nero's life and to his government (*Oct.* 228-41).[80] Lines 228-37 focus on the world of the gods and the stars and in lines 237-41 there follows a comparison of Nero's rulership with the performance of Typhon. Both passages are closely connected. The astronomic references in 228-37 already characterize Nero's time as a calamitous period:

> And oh that the lord of the heaven-dwellers, who often shakes hands with deadly bolt and terrifies our souls with the awful fires and portents strange, would make ready to whelm with flames this impious prince. We have seen a glowing radiance in the sky, a comet spreading its baleful trail, where slow Boötes, numb with Arctic chill, with endless, nightlong wheeling, guides his wain. . . . (Pseudo-Seneca, *Oct.* 228-34; trans. F. J. Miller, LCL)

This passage may present Zeus/Jupiter and Typhon together, thus recalling the combat myth of Zeus and Typhon. The "lord of the heaven-dwellers" (*caelitum rector*) must be Jupiter, as is confirmed by the reference to his bolt (*fulmen infestum*, 229). The comet (232) and the astronomic references of lines 233-34 may be associated with Typhon. Boötes (*Bootes*, derived from Βοώτης, "Ploughman") is a constellation under its own name or another name for Ἀρκτοῦρος or Ἀρκτοφύλαξ, "Bearward."[81] In that case the star is connected with the constellation of the Great Bear, which was sometimes identified with Typhon (see above). The adjective *Arctous* in the ominous phrase *frigore Arctoo rigens* also points to the northern-most constellations to which the Great as well as the Little

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many tiaras and many diadems on her head and the diadems on the head of the dragon and the first beast (Rev 12:3; 13:1; cf. 19:12).

78 Cf. 1.76 where Dio refers to authority (or power) with folly (ἐξουσία μετὰ ἀνοίας) as the worst result of this woman's activities.

79 1.67: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν Βασίλειος ἄκρα, ἱερὰ Διὸς βασιλέως, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τυραννική, Τυφῶνος ἐπώνυμος.

80 For a commentary see G. Ballaira, '*Seneca*'. *Octavia* (Corsi Universitari; Torino: Giapichelli, 1974) 43-44; L. Y. Whitman, *The Octavia. Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Noctes Romanae, Forschungen über die Kultur der Antike 16; Bern-Stuttgart: Haupt, 1978) 67-69.

81 Hipparch 1.2.5; Arratus 92; *LSJ* 242. H. von Geisau, "Bootes," *Der kleine Pauly* 1.928-29.

Bear belong.[82] The association with Typhon is strengthened by the reference to the comet and the mention of Typhon in line 238. The passage may hint at the bolt of lightning which struck the table at which Nero was eating during a visit to a villa near the ponds of Simbruvium (near Subiaco; 60 CE) or the thunderbolt which melted down a statue of Nero in a gymnasium (62-63 CE).[83] The first event is mentioned by Tacitus in connection with the appearance of a comet (*sidus cometes*) and talk of Rubellius Plautus as a possible successor to Nero. Tacitus relates the second occurrence in a brief reference to a series of ominous events before he begins his description of the consulate of C. Memmius Regulus and L. Verginius Rufus. Octavia had died and Nero had a daughter from Poppaea soon afterwards (*Ann.* 15.23). The magnificent gymnasium at the Campus Martius dedicated by Nero (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.47) was struck by a bolt of lightning and Nero's statue in the gymnasium was melted into a lump of bronze. An association of these events mentioned by Tacitus with the fate of Typhon would be obvious and Pseudo-Seneca may here have hinted at this connection. The Romans were familiar with the elimination of Typhon by the thunderbolts of Zeus/Jupiter,[84] and the events could easily be interpreted as forebodings of Nero's end.

The identification of Nero and Typhon is in any case explicit in lines 237-41 of the *Octavia*. After a reference to Typhon's birth because of Jupiter's neglect of Tellus[85] Nero is depicted as being worse than Typhon:

> Not such a pest was Typhon, whom wrathful mother Earth produced in scorn of Jove; this scourge, worse than he, this enemy of gods and men, has driven the heavenly ones from their shrines, and citizens from their country. . . . (Pseudo-Seneca, *Oct.*, 237-41)[86]

The passage gives several characteristics of Typhon which occur elsewhere: he is a savage beast, destructive (*ferus* and *pestis*, 237 and 239; cf. 235 *saevus dux*), and the enemy of the gods. Lines 235-36 refer to Nero's pollution of heaven, which would fit in with Seth-Typhon's attack on heaven: *en ipse diro spiritu saevi ducis polluitur aether*. . . . The last lines of this passage (239-41) actually indicate a battle on two fronts, the front of the gods and that of mankind. The traditional imagery connected with Seth-Typhon is expanded to the human world, which probably arises from the association of Nero with Typhon. This is an interesting parallel to Rev, where the combat myth is also depicted on the two levels of the heavenly

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82 Draco also belonged to the northern constellations, see E. Boer, "Sternbilder," *Der kleine Pauly* 5.362.

83 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.22; 15.22; Whitman, *Octavia*, 67.

84 For example, see Aeschylus, *Prom.* 362; Antoninus Liberalis 28.2-4; Ovid, *Met.* 5.346-358; Hyginus, *Fab.* 196.

85 Pseudo-Seneca seems to connect Typhon with the giants, whose mother was Gaia/Tellus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 183-186; cf. 306). Other sources mention Typhon as son of Hera. According to *Hom. Hymn to Apollo* 305-55, Hera produced Typhon because of her wrath at Zeus owing to the birth of Athena and asked the Delphic dragoness to raise him. Gradually Typhon became associated with the giants (Hyginus, *Fab.* 151; cf. already Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.17-18).

86 Non tam ferum Typhona neglecto Iove
irata Tellus edidit quondam parens:
hic gravior illo pestis, hic hostis deum
hominumque templis expulit superos suis
civesque patria. . . .

and the human world. While Typhon attacks the gods, Nero-Typhon is the enemy of gods[87] *and* men. The expulsion of the gods from their temples can be connected with the pursuit of the gods by Seth-Typhon on the level of the heavenly world,[88] but easily associated with Nero's plundering of temples in Rome, Greece and Asia Minor in the world of humans.[89] The frequent expulsion of citizens from Rome by Nero[90] can also be seen as an analogy of the pursuit of the gods by his match Seth-Typhon. No doubt *Octavia* 228-41 was grist to the mill of Nero's critics. Dio Chrysostom's first oration may equally have served a propaganda purpose. Domitian banished Dio from Italy and from his native Bithynia for many years and would for him have been the embodiment of "typhonic" rulership. Domitian was portrayed by Dio and other writers as the tyrant *par excellence*, so that they could praise Trajan to the skies.[91]

4. The Emperor Cult and Mythology

Can we assume a connection between the political applications of mythical imagery concerning Python and Seth-Typhon and the references to the emperor cult in Rev? Although precise information about the emperor cult is missing in Rev 13 and a close connection between ruler cult and persecutions of Christians cannot be taken for granted in the first and second centuries CE,[92] John does hint at the emperor cult and what he regarded as its fatal consequences. The references indicate a clash of two ideologies that exclude each other.[93] Following on Daniel 3, in the Greek version of which phrases with προσκυνέω and εἰκών as

87 On this epithet of Seth-Typhon see L. Koenen, "θεοῖσιν ἐχθρός. Ein einheimischer Gegenkönig in Ägypten (132/1)," *CEg* 34 (1959) 103-119.

88 For references to the pursuit of the gods by Seth-Typhon and his attack on temples and some analogies in the human world (concerning Antiochus III and IV), see Van Henten, "Antiochus," 228-35 and 242 with footnote 81.

89 Dio Cassius 62.11.3; Suetonius, *Nero* 32; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.45. Whitman, *Octavia*, 68.

90 Dio Cassius 62.11.3-12.1.

91 *Or.* 40.12; 45.1; 50.8. See Jones, *Roman World*, 118; L. L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation. Apocalypse and Empire* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 95-115.

92 Arrested Christians were forced to venerate the gods, sometimes also the emperor, but there was no obligation to attend provincial or municipal sacrifices or to perform rites, see D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire* 2/1 (EPRO 108; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 530. Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96) and some martyr texts refer to the obligation for Christians to venerate the emperor or to perform acts which belonged to imperial cult (*Mart. Pol.* 8-10; *Mart. Pion.* 8; 18; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.15.2). For a dossier of the evidence see F. Millar, "The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions," *Le culte des souverains dans l'Empire romain* (ed. W. den Boer; Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 19; Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1973) 143-65. See also P. Prigent, "Au temps de l'Apocalypse III. Pourquoi les persécutions?," *RHPR* 55 (1975) 341-63; Jones, "Christianity"; P. Keresztes, "The Imperial Roman Government and the Christian Church," *ANRW* II 23/1.247-315, 375-86; Price, *Rituals and Power*, 123-126 and 220-222.

93 H. S. Versnel, "Geef de keizer wat des keizers is en Gode wat Gods is. Een essay over een utopisch conflict," *Lampas* 21 (1988) 233-56. Cf. also John's criticism of Christian groups who were lenient to a participation in the religious world of the pagans in 2:14-15, 20, see further C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting* (JSNTSup 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989) esp. pp. 87-94 and 117-28; H.-J. Klauck, "Das Sendschreiben nach Pergamon und der Kaiserkult in der Johannesoffenbarung," *Bib* 73 (1992) 153-82.

object (cf. Rev. 13:15 with Dan 3:7, 10, 12, 14-15, 18LXX; 3:7, 11-12, 15, 18Theod)[94] and the death penalty as sanction already occur in connection with the veneration of the statue[95] made by Nebuchadnezzar, John depicts the second beast organizing the general adoration of the first beast[96] (13:14-15; cf. 13:8, 12; 19:20; 20:4).[97] The first beast symbolizes a historical entity, Rome, maybe an individual Roman emperor, but more probably the emperors as a collective whole.[98] The second beast can probably be connected with the high priesthood of the imperial cult or more generally the provincial councils which were responsible for the activities connected with the emperor cults.[99] The most obvious interpretation of the blasphemous names of the first beast according to Rev 13:1 (cf. 17:3) is that they hint at the various honorific titles attributed to the emperor in connection with his veneration (e.g., *κύριος*, *σωτήρ*, and *θεός*), which are of course blasphemous to God.[100] The seven letters in chapters 2-3 are addressed to cities where the emperor cult could have a prominent position, especially Pergamum and Ephesus.[101]

In the eastern part of the Mediterranean world the divine status of the emperor was expressed very commonly, in the provinces, in the cities and even in private life, as appears from provincial and local decrees and archaeological sources:[102] "Sacrifices were sometimes offered to the emperor as to a god. So too the emperor was called *theos* (god) and the main aim of the cult was to display piety (*eusebeia*) towards him."[103] We can assume that Jewish and early Christian

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94 Cf. in connection with the groups which live under the authority of the first beast (Rev 13:7) Dan 3:2, 7LXX: *ἔθνη, φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι*; Dan 3:4, 7 Theod.: *λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι* (cf. also Dan 3:96LXX/Theod.).

95 Dan 3:12, 18 reads "your image" (*εἴδωλον σου; εἰκών σου*).

96 See S. Giet, *L'Apocalypse et l'histoire. Etude historique sur l'Apocalypse johannique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957) 113-45; Jones, "Christianity," 1034-35; Keresztes, "Roman Government," 271-72; Price, *Rituals and Power*, 196-98. See also S. J. Scherrer, "Signs and Wonders in the Imperial Cult. A New Look at a Roman Religious Institution in the Light of Rev 13:13-15," *JBL* 103 (1984) 599-610.

97 According to 13:4 the dragon is venerated too.

98 Cf. for example B. Reicke, "Die jüdische Apokalyptik und die johanneische Tiervision," *RSR* 60 (1972) 173-92, esp. p. 175.

99 See for example Cuss, *Imperial Cult*, 20 and 96-112. On provincial councils and officials of the emperor cults J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Vestigia 6; München: Beck, 1965); S. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 116; Leiden: Brill, 1993).

100 Cf. for example Bousset, *Offenbarung*, 360; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of John* (London: Macmillan, 1907) 161-62; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* I (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920) 347-48; Kraft, *Offenbarung*, 175; Cuss, *Imperial Cult*, 50-53.

101 See Price, Rituals and Power; Hemer, Letters to the Seven Churches; and Friesen, Twice Neokoros.

102 S. R. F. Price, "Gods and Emperors. The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult," *JHS* 104 (1984) 79-95. H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *VENERATIO AUGUSTI. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaeologica 39; Rome: Bretschneider, 1985) elaborates on the difference between provincial and municipal sanctuaries for Augustus and the different practice in provincial and local imperial cults. Cf. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 22-23.

103 Price, *Rituals and Power*, 232. Cf. pp. 231 and 233.

authors were familiar with this practice, not only in Asia Minor, but even in Palestine. Herod the Great felt compelled to show his loyalty to Augustus after supporting Mark Antony before him. He built a temple for Augustus and Roma in the newly founded city of Caesarea (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.414; *Ant.* 15.339). The imperial cult was disputed between Christian and Roman ideologies. The sacrifices, statues,[104] prayers, games and other forms of worship connected with it rendered the emperor divine honors and titles which belonged only to God and Jesus Christ.

It is not difficult to recognize the opponent of the dragon in the ideology of what, for John, was the pagan "world outside." The association of the emperor with Apollo was prominent during the reigns of Augustus and Nero, but Zeus/Jupiter was the most important god in the provincial imperial cults.[105] There are many attestations of emperors associated with Zeus/Jupiter.[106] Gaius and Domitian even arranged to present themselves as Zeus or Jupiter. Gaius's decision to erect a statue of himself as the new Zeus Epiphanes in the temple of Jerusalem[107] is well known.[108] Because of the date of Rev, the sources concerning Domitian[109] are especially important. Coins from 85-96 CE commemorate Domitian's victory over the Chatti and suggest that he could only establish peace after defeating the agents of chaos as Jupiter had done. Zeus/Jupiter had to defeat the Giants and Typhon before he could establish his permanent supreme rule. Domitian is represented on these coins as the earthly vice-regent of Jupiter and fulfills a role like that of Hercules, who served Jupiter and the other gods. The emperor is crowned by Victory and holds the thunderbolt (*fulmen*) of Jupiter as the symbol of supremacy and protection in his right hand. In an analogous way Trajan is associated with Jupiter hurling his thunderbolt against the Dacians on the Column of Trajan in the Forum Traiani.[110] Steven Friesen recently collected and analyzed the evidence of the

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104 On the connection between the image of the first beast and statues in the imperial cult, see Cuss, *Imperial Cult*, 104-12.

105 I will, therefore, concentrate on Zeus/Jupiter rather than on Apollo in the following pages. Kerkeslager, "Apollo," 119, points to a reference in Philo to an imitation of Apollo by Gaius (*Leg.* 95-96).

106 See the survey by J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology," *ANRW* II 17/1.3-141. Fears considers the victorious Domitian as the viceregent of Jupiter a major *topos* of the panegyrical literature of the period (pp. 79-80). Cf. Price, "Gods and Emperors," 86: "The most common assimilation (to give the figures for the evidence from Asia Minor) was between the emperor and Zeus (26), though twelve of the instances are for Hadrian alone. Next in frequency were assimilations with Helios (12) and Dionysos (8)." D. N. Schowalter, *The Emperor and the Gods. Images from the Time of Trajan* (HDR 28; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) esp. pp. 109-111. Scherrer, "Signs and Wonders," 605, refers to representations of emperors with symbols and insignia of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

107 This implies that Gaius would have been considered a *synnaos theos* of the "local god." A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 202-51. 2 Thess 2:4 has been linked to this decision of Gaius, but the connection cannot be proven.

108 Josephus, *J.W.* 2.184-203; *Ant.* 18.261-309; Philo, *Leg.* 184-388; esp. 188, 265 and 346; cf. Suetonius, *Cal.* 22; Dio Cassius 59.28; Prigent, "culte impérial," 218-19.

109 Suetonius, *Dom.* 13, says that Domitian wanted to be called *dominus et deus noster*. Cf. Dio, 67.5.7.

110 Fears, "Cult of Jupiter," 79. See also J. Rufus Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems," *ANRW* II 17/2.736-826, esp. pp. 816-18.

emperor cult at Ephesus which was initiated by Domitian, interrupted after his *damnatio memoriae*, and reintroduced by Hadrian.[111] I give a few examples from this material. There were "Olympic Games" connected with the imperial cult of Domitian at Ephesus, as appears from coins from Ephesus with the portrayals of Domitian and Zeus Olympios.[112] The association of the emperor with Zeus Olympios continued during the reign of Hadrian, who is presented as Zeus Olympios in six inscriptions from Ephesus. He was also hailed in acclamations as Zeus Olympios.[113] On the front of a coin with the portrait of Domitian stands *Domitianos Kaisar Sebastos Germanikos*, while the back has a picture of Zeus Olympios sitting on his throne with a sceptre in his left hand. Zeus' outstretched right hand carries the temple of the Ephesian Artemis. Friesen compares this coin with the so-called twice neokoros coins and comments: "The Zeus Olympios coin, however, made two new statements. It assimilated the emperor to Zeus, and it placed the emperor in a direct relationship to Ephesian Artemis."[114] The evidence of the association of emperors with Zeus/Jupiter is surely not restricted to Gaius and Caligula.[115] In fact, the propagation of the emperor as Zeus/Jupiter in the East was probably a continuation of the link between Alexander's diadochi and Zeus.[116] An incentive to this association was also provided by the fact that the goddess Roma, who was a principal goddess of the imperial cults,[117] was usually accompanied by Zeus/Jupiter as protector of oaths and treaties. Consequently, the emperor was often linked with Zeus/Jupiter after he joined Roma in the cults. The virtues and status of Zeus/Jupiter were thus transferred to the emperor: "Later, when the emperors were joined in cults with Roma, they often took over the characteristics of Zeus."[118]

The incorporation of pagan traditions of the combat myth would imply that the Roman imperial ideology was fake and that the emperor did not play the part of the restorer of order, the model of kingship, the saviour of the world,[119] or the supreme commander of the gods and of mankind, which could be associated with Apollo, Horus and especially with Zeus.[120] The combat myth of Rev with its

111 Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*.

112 M. Lämmer, *Olympien und Hadrianeen im antiken Ephesos* (Diss. Köln, 1967) 9; further pp. 4-14; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 114-141.

113 Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 118.

114 Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 119. For further material concerning Domitian in this connection, see Fears, "Cult of Jupiter," 74-80.

115 According to Klauck, "Sendschreiben," 157, it is not certain that Trajan and Hadrian themselves were venerated at Pergamum as Zeus Philios and Zeus Olympios.

116 Fears, "Cult of Jupiter," 74.

117 R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975); R. Mellor, "The Goddess Roma," *ANRW* II 17/2.950-1030.

118 Mellor, "Goddess Roma," 972.

119 See for a fine sketch of imperial ideologies Versnel, *Inconsistencies 2*, 192-201, who refers (p. 198) to an honorary decree from Halicarnassus in which Augustus is called the Zeus of our fathers (Zeus Patroios) and the savior of the entire human race (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* 4/1 no. 894).

120 The Zeus Olympios coin with the portrait of Domitian discussed by Friesen (see above) is another example of a fusion of traditions connected with the conquerors of dragons in the myths.

association with the human world through the symbols of the first and second beast suggests, from the perspective of the imperial ideology, a reversal of roles. The part of the emperor is that of the dragon, who causes chaos and destruction, the opposite of what the connection with Zeus/Jupiter implies according to such propagators of the emperor as Aelius Aristides. In his eulogy on Roman government he presents the emperor as Zeus, the guarantor of order (*Or.* 26.32)[121] This inversion of roles is no scholarly construction, as appears from the examples of the connection of the dragon of the combat myth with earthly rulers or their opponents in the Ptolemaic royal ideology and the characterization of Nero as worse than Typhon in the *Octavia* discussed above. Dio Chrysostom refutes the divine status of Domitian in a comparable way in the following remark: ". . . the most powerful, most stern man, who was called by all Greeks and barbarians both master and god (δεσπότην καὶ θεόν), but who was in reality an evil demon (τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὄντα δαίμονα πονηρόν, *Or.* 45.1)".[122] The reversal of roles is probably bound up with the conflict between two opposite and mutually exclusive ideologies, as H. S. Versnel suggests in connection with the pagan accusations of the Christians and their reactions: ". . . The adherents of one utopia put the propagandists of the other in the category of the *negative* alternative, the anomic image of primeval chaos."[123]

5. Conclusion

The characterization of Roman emperorship as "typhonic" and/or "pythonic" with the reversal of the role of the victorious god into that of his monstrous opponent implied by my reading of Rev 12-13 would fit in with two observations concerning Rev which have been advanced by many scholars. The dragon and the first beast are repeatedly presented not only as the opponents but also as the opposites of God and Jesus Christ, as appears among other things from parallel phrases about these four figures.[124] In addition to this, John did incorporate pagan traditions and did make use of pagan forms despite his completely uncompromising attitude to the outside world. He seems to have changed radically the original message which went with honorary titles, imperial decrees, hymns, imperial court ceremonial, etc., in order to make it subservient to his

121 Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 151, points to this passage to demonstrate that the emperor was thought to accomplish the work of the gods in an unparalleled manner. For a commentary, see J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power. A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society NS 43; Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1953) esp. pp. 941-42 and 948-49.

122 Cf. the criticism of Roman imperial rule by Justin Martyr, see E. Pagels, "Christian Apologists and the 'Fall of the Angels': An Attack on Roman Imperial Power?," *HTR* 78 (1985) 301-25.

123 Versnel, "Geef de keizer," 255 (transl. mine), who also mentions Rev in this connection.

124 One striking example is the phrase ὡς ἐσφαγμένον in 5:6 concerning the Lamb, which is repeated in connection with the mortally wounded head of the first beast, ὡς ἐσφαγμένην (13:3). See further G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1974) 207-208; Jenks, *Antichrist*, 241; R. Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity," *NTS* 27 (1981) 322-41, esp. p. 329.

own proclamation.[125] He was not afraid to turn around the original message completely, as David Aune states: "John has consciously employed the form of the royal or imperial edict as part of his strategy to emphasize the fact that Christ is the true king in contrast to the Roman emperor who is both a clone and tool of Satan."[126]

It goes without saying that a deliberate incorporation of mythological traditions concerning Python and Seth-Typhon in Rev as is assumed here, would underscore the refutation of the claim of a divine status for the emperor. Similar pretensions by foreign rulers were already contradicted in the Hebrew Bible by the Lord (Ezek 28:2)[127] and refuted in post-biblical Jewish literature. The passage from the fifth book of the *Sibylline Oracles* quoted at the beginning of this article indicates that Nero equated himself with God (ἰσάζων θεῷ αὐτόν, 5:34; a similar phrase occurs in 12:86).[128] Nero's claim is immediately denied by the statement that his deeds proved he was not equal to God. The corresponding lines in book 12 of *Sibylline Oracles* (12:78-94) refute a divine status even more plainly: Nero's flight and miserable death proved that he was not divine (12:93-94; cf. Pss. Sol. 2:26-27; Acts 12:22-23). Likewise, the king of Tyrus comes to a sticky end, his godly ambition is punished by the Lord and he dies through the hand of strangers (Ezek 28:6-10). In the book of Judith a similar claim of Nebuchadnezzar (3:8) is disproven in a more subtle way because of Holofernes's failure, but also by Judith's ridiculing of Nebuchadnezzar in the ambiguous phrases of chapter 11. In Rev 12-13 yet another refutation of a human claim[129] to divinity seems to have been applied. The divinity of the emperor is denied by his association with the chaos monster[130] and with Satan, or with Python or Seth-Typhon according to his own ideological frame of reference.

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125 See for instance Deissmann, *Licht*, and Cuss, *Imperial Cult*, see n. 2. D. E. Aune, "The Influence of Roman Imperial Court Ceremonial on the Apocalypse of John," *BR* 18 (1983) 5-26; idem, "The Form and Function of the Proclamations to the Seven Churches (Revelation 2-3)," *NTS* 36 (1990) 182-204. P. Barnett, "Polemical Parallelism: Some Further Reflections on the Apocalypse," *JSNT* (1989) 111-20, offers chiefly a survey of earlier research into this topic.

126 Aune, "Form and Function," 204.

127 The oracle against the king of Tyrus (Ezek 28:1-10) says: "Mortal, say to the prince of Tyre, Thus says the Lord God: Because your heart is proud and you have said, 'I am a god; I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas,' yet you are but a mortal, and no god, though you compare your mind with the mind of a god" (Ezek 28:2). An echo of this passage is found in 2 Thess 2:4; cf. also Dan 11:36 and Pss. Sol. 2:25-29.

128 The phrase may be a Jewish (Christian) articulation of a platonic expression (θεοῖς ἰσάζοιτ' ἄν, Plato, *Tim.* 13 41c). See for the motif of Nero's pretension to be equal to God *Sib. Or.* 5:34, 138-40, ἰσόθεος φῶς; cf. 215-17). See further Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 84.

129 A possible reading of Rev 13:18 referring to the number of the beast is that it concerns the number of a *human being* (and not of a god).

130 This association will, of course, also have been inspired by the comparisons of Egypt, Babylon and other empires with Rahab, Leviathan, or Tannin, see Isa 30:7; 51:9-10; Jer 51:34; Ezek 29:3-5; 32; Ps 87:4; cf. Dan 7 and 8.

Narrative Outline of the Composition of Luke According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis

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Preface

This paper contributes one more fascicle to our continuing work on the composition of Luke according to the Two Gospel Hypothesis. Earlier fascicles of our work were published in the *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers,* 82-120 on Lk 1:1-7:10 and the *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers,* 303-333 on Lk 7:11-9:50. This fascicle focuses on Lk 9:51-19:27, Luke's central travel narrative.

Lk 9:51-19:27. The Lukan Central Travel Narrative

Mt 19:1 =====> Lk 9:51. Jesus Sets His Face to Go to Jerusalem

At Lk 9:51, the author writes, "When the days of [Jesus'] ἀναλήμψεως were completed, he (Jesus) set his face to go to Jerusalem." With this, Luke begins a major new division in his narrative lasting ten chapters, one which he will hold together by means of repeated references to Jesus being on the way to certain death—and God's vindication.

[The usual understanding/translation of ἀναλήμψις as "assumption" seems inappropriate to us, since the assumption of Jesus will not be mentioned until Lk 24:50-51 and repeated in Acts 1:9-11. Hence, it can hardly be said that Jesus' assumption has been "fulfilled" or "completed" (συμπληροῦσθαι) prior to Lk 9:51, as more typical understandings/translations of this verse might suggest. To interpret ἀναλήμψις as "death" is equally inappropriate because the death of Jesus is also still ahead in the Lukan gospel (cf. Lk 23:26-56) "The days of Jesus' death" have not yet been "fulfilled" either, as far as the Lukan narrative is concerned. We would, therefore, conjecture that the reading here should be ἀναλάμψεως rather than ἀναλήμψεως. According to Liddell and Scott, ἀναλάμψις was a variant spelling of ἀναλήμψις in the Hellenistic period and we believe that a translation of ἀναλάμψεως at Lk 9:51 makes better sense of the Lukan narrative than either of the two alternative translations/understandings just mentioned. A possible translation of this alternative reading of Lk 9:51 might be, "And it happened, when the days of Jesus' *shining forth* were fulfilled, he set his face to go to Jerusalem." The sentence in Lk 9:51 might then be taken to refer back to the story of "Jesus in Glory" (Lk 9:28-36)

which culminated Jesus' ministry in Galilee. The dramatic contrast would then be: from the glory days of Jesus' shining ministry in Galilee (Lk 4:31-9:50), he now turns toward the dark days in Jerusalem (Lk 9:51). This alternative reading and translation would also fit better with Luke's considerable interest in light metaphors for revelation and faith (cf. Lk 8:16-18, 11:33-36 and 11:53-12:3.) • On the other hand, if we should accept the usual reading of Lk 9:51, Luke would here be making one more comparison between Jesus and Elijah, both of whom were taken up into heaven. (cf. Lk 24:50-51/Acts 1:9-11 and 2 Kgs 2:9-12) • Note that Luke omitted the reference to Jerusalem from Mt 16:21 at Lk 9:22 in making use of Jesus' first "passion prediction." This is probably because Luke was delaying such a reference until Lk 9:51 where it was more fitting for his gospel. • Matthew's chapter on Community Regulations is fully used by Luke, except for the following:

(1) Mt 18:8-9, "On Moral Surgery." The Matthean doublet at Mt 5:29-30 also finds no place in Luke's gospel.
(2) Mt 18:18, "On Binding and Loosing." Mt 16:17-19, which contains a Matthean doublet to Mt 18:18 [cf. Mt 16:19] also finds no place in the Lukan gospel.
(3) Mt 18:19-20, "On Agreements/Gatherings of Two or Three." (But cf. Luke's comments about divisions within the community at Lk 12:52)
(4) Mt 18:23-35, "The Parable of the Unforgiving Debtor." But Mt 5:21-26 concludes in a way similar to Mt 18:23-35 (cf. Mt 18:34/Mt 5:26) and Luke does utilize Mt 5:21-26 at Lk 12:57-59.

• Once he had read through Mt 18:1-35, Luke would have arrived at Matthew's geographical reference within Mt 19:1-2 which says, "(And Jesus) withdrew from Galilee and came into the regions of Judaea." Luke seems to have utilized the information in Mt 19:1-2 to compose Lk 9:51, thereby bringing to an end "Jesus' second Galilean tour" (Lk 7:11-9:50) and beginning his "tour to Jerusalem" (Lk 9:51, 53; 13:33-34; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28). • It may be recalled here that Luke had anticipated this section of his gospel already within his story of "Jesus in Glory." See Lk 9:31.]

Lk 9:52-56. The Failure of John, James and Some Other Apostles to Be Forgiving

(Mt 9:32-10:16)

Jesus now begins his already foreshadowed and anticipated journey toward Jerusalem and certain death. He sends a few messengers on ahead to a Samaritan village, but the Samaritans "did not receive him because his face was set toward Jerusalem." John and James vengefully ask Jesus to burn the village down with fire from heaven (like Sodom and Gomorrah). Jesus chastises them for suggesting such a thing and they move on to another village.

[Luke may have intended the rejection of Jesus by the Samaritans to indicate that they took offense that Jesus was going to Jerusalem rather than into Samaria (cf. Acts 16:6 where Paul is constrained from going into Asia). • On the reaction of John and James, compare the similar statement, also made by John, on behalf of himself and some other disciple(s), at Lk 9:49-50. There John reports to Jesus that he and some other apostle(s) had prevented someone who did not follow Jesus and his apostles from doing Jesus' healing work. In Lk 9:52-56, as in Lk 9:49-50, Jesus must correct his disciples. In this second story about the disciple, John, along with James, Jesus rebukes the vengeful attitude of these two apostles toward a Samaritan village that had failed to "receive" Jesus (Lk 9:53, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτόν) Compare Lk 9:46-48/Mt 18:1-2, 4-5 and Mt 10:40 and especially Lk 9:48, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ὃς ἐὰν δέξηται τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμὲ δέξηται, δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με). Luke apparently constructed a saying complementary to Lk 9:48 at Lk 10:16, Ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· ὁ δὲ

ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με to serve as the conclusion of his unit about the call and commissioning of the seventy-two other disciples at Lk 10:1-16. • Again within this pericope, Luke may be calling attention to a similarity between the story of Jesus and the story of Elijah. See the similar story of Elijah calling down fire on Ahaziah's messengers at 2 Kings 1:1-18. • On the Two Gospel Hypothesis, Luke certainly returned to the context of Mt 9:35-10:16 in order to compose Lk 10:1-12, the literary unit only six verses ahead in Luke's text. If Luke is soon planning to return to Mt 9:35-10:16, as he clearly does at Lk 10:1ff., he could well have consulted this context in Mt prior to composing Lk 9:51. Whether or not this was the case, of course, one cannot know, but there are, for whatever reason, a number of echoes of, and parallels, to Mt 9:35-10:16, not only in Lk 10:1-12, but also in Lk 9:52-56. Two of these echoes of Mt 9:35ff. within Lk 9:52-56 are (1) the use of ἀπέστειλεν to refer to Jesus' sending out disciples and (2) the use of a form of εἰσέρχομαι + εἰς + "house/village of the Samaritans," both within Lk 9:52 and Mt 10:5. If these verbal agreements are not accidental (and there are compositional reasons to think that they are not on the Two Gospel Hypothesis), then Luke has explicitly chosen to respond to the Jesus tradition preserved in Mt 10:5-6 in his "parallel" at Lk 9:52. According to Mt 10:5-6, Jesus specifically told the twelve disciples, when they were commissioned, "Do not go in the way of the Gentiles and do not enter into a city of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the House of Israel." By contrast, Luke has Jesus *send* his disciples into a Samaritan village at Lk 9:52. However, the effect on the ministry of Jesus and his disciples is the same in Mt and in Lk. Jesus and his disciples do not associate with the Samaritans *at this point* in their parallel narratives, according to both Mt 10:5-6 and Lk 9:52-56. But, according to Lk, this lack of association was not because Jesus rejected the Samaritans, but, rather because "they did not receive him." This theme of "receiving" or "not receiving" Jesus and/or his disciples rings loud throughout the Lukan gospel and within some significant Lukan units (Lk 8:4-21, 9:1-6, 9:48-49, 9:51-56, 10:1-16, 16:1-9 and 18:15-17). • It may also be noted that the teachings of Jesus contained in Mt 10:5-6 found no place in Luke's version of the Commissioning of the Twelve (Lk 9:1-6) nor will they find any place within Luke's distinctive story of the Call and Commissioning of Seventy-Two Other Disciples (Lk 10:1-12), that will be narrated in a few more verses. If Luke has responded to Mt 10:5-6 within Lk 9:51-56, that would help to explain the absence of a parallel to Mt 10:5-6 within either Lk 9:1-6 or Lk 10:1-12. The statements made within Mt 10:5-6 are contrary to Luke's own views, of course, so that is the basic reason for the Lukan omissions. • According to Luke, this rejection in a Samaritan village was based upon the fact that Jesus' "face was set to go to Jerusalem." By this point in his gospel, the focus of Luke's story of Jesus moves away from both Galilee and Samaria and moves south to Jerusalem and to the temple there (cf. Lk 19:45-48).]

Lk 9:57-58. The Failure of a First Would Be Disciple to be Realistic

(Mt 8:19-20)

As Jesus and his disciples continue on their journey toward Jerusalem and the temple there, a certain man meets them on the way and offers to follow Jesus wherever he might go. Jesus corrects this man's overly zealous, uninformed and unconsidered view of the requirements of a disciple. Although both terrestrial animals may dwell below the surface of the earth and celestial animals may have their dwelling places above the surface of the earth; Jesus, the Son of Man, has no place to lay his head. Presumably Jesus wishes to tell this first would be disciple that those who would follow him are not likely to have dwelling places either.

[Already within Lk 9:49-50 John had explained to Jesus that he and some other apostle(s) had forbidden some exorcist from doing Jesus' healing work "because he

did not *follow* with us." This statement may help explain why Luke next returned to Mt 8:19-22 where he found a unit about two would be "followers" of Jesus. Luke seems to have composed Lk 9:57-62 on the basis of Mt 8:19-22. That Mt 8:19-22 was the first of only three Matthean units (Mt 8:19-22, Mt 9:27-31 and Mt 9:32-34) between the end of Matthew's first great discourse (Mt 7:29) and the beginning of his second (Mt 9:35) that remained for Luke to use by the time he had reached Lk 9:56 is probably another reason Luke turned back to the first of these, Mt 8:19-22, to compose Lk 9:57-62. • This and the next three pericopes in Luke clearly anticipate Jesus' instructions to the seventy-two other disciples in preparation for their mission into various villages and cities. Within these other cities and villages, these newly commissioned disciples will have to depend upon the hospitality of others to provide for their needs, including meals and temporary lodging (Lk 10:1ff.).]

Lk 9:59-60. The Failure of a Second Would-Be Disciple to Proclaim the Kingdom of God

(Mt 8:21-22)

Jesus next encounters a second man. Unlike Jesus' encounter with the first man, this other man does not volunteer to follow Jesus. He is, rather, called by Jesus. And unlike the enthusiasm of the first man, this man expresses some reluctance to become one of Jesus' disciples, citing his desire to be permitted to go away first and bury his father. Jesus replies to this man's more reluctant attitude, beginning with a metaphorical admonition, "Let the dead people bury their own dead." But that does not conclude Jesus' response to this second man. Contrasting the man's expressed desire "to go away first to take care of his father's burial" Jesus continues with the words, "But when you do go away, you must proclaim the Kingdom of God."

[Luke's modifications of Mt 8:21-22 include his adding a requirement for this man's discipleship. Specifically, he must "go away," not to bury his father, but rather "to proclaim the Kingdom of God." This Lukan addition is similar to one Luke may have made to his non-Matthean source material in Lk 9:62. Jesus' two responses, one at Lk 9:60 and one at Lk 9:62. are both concerned with "the Kingdom of God" and this is a demonstrable Lukan interest (Collison, 169-170).]

Lk 9:61-62. The Failure of a Third Would-Be Disciple to Be Fit for the Kingdom of God

(Mt 8:21-22)

Jesus now encounters a third and final would be disciple. Like the first of these three would be disciples, this man volunteers to follow Jesus. But like the second of these three, he wishes to delay his departure until he can make arrangements for those in his house. Presumably these are members of this man's family and/or members of his household staff. As was the case with the first two men, Jesus responds to this third would be disciple with a metaphorical admonition, "No one who sets a hand to a plow and looks back toward the things left behind is fit for the Kingdom of God."

[Lk 9:59-62 represents yet another parallel between the story of Jesus in Lk with the story of Elijah in 1-2 Kings. See 1 Kings 19:19-21 where Elisha says, in response to Elijah's calling of him as a disciple, "Let me kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow you." This statement by Elisha is somewhat closer to the request made to Jesus by Luke's third would be disciple in Lk 9:61-62 than to the request made by Luke's (and Matthew's) second would be disciple in Lk 9:59-60/Mt 8:21-22.

In this case, on the Two Gospel Hypothesis, Luke would have made the allusion to this story about Elijah more explicit than Matthew had.]

Section 1: Lk 10:1-42. The Great Mission

Lk 10:1-16. Jesus Sends 72 Others on a Second Mission Tour

(Mt. 9:35-10:16, 11:20-24; 10:40)

After the shortcomings of the twelve apostles are made manifest, and in view of the upsurge of requests by men in the crowd to follow him, Jesus decides to send out a second group composed of 72 missionaries, because "the harvest is ready but the laborers are few." Jesus gives this second group the same instructions he gave the first twelve about taking no provisions for their journey, as well as what to do when they enter the towns where they will preach and heal. Jesus concludes his instructions with a series of woes to the three Jewish villages in the area that have proved less than receptive to him: Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum. Jesus' message is grim: tell these villages they have one last chance to receive him or risk divine retribution.

[Within the immediately preceding series of eight Lukan stories (Lk 9:37-62) Jesus' twelve apostles and three would be disciples are shown to be either incompetent (Lk 9:37-43a), uncomprehending (albeit because of divine hardening; Lk 9:43b-45), petty and prideful (Lk 9:46-48), exclusive (Lk 9:49-50), vengeful (Lk 9:51-56), overly zealous and naive (Lk 9:57-58), reluctant (Lk 9:59-60) and trivial (Lk 9:61-62). The purpose of this transitional section (Lk 9:37-62) is to provide a literal basis for Jesus' statement in Lk 10:2, "The harvest is great, but the workers are few." A second purpose of the five stories regarding the obtuseness and incompetence of the Twelve Apostles (Lk 9:37-48) is to provide a reason for Jesus to send out "72 *others.*"]

The Commissioning of the Twelve and the Seventy-Two: A Comparative Analysis

Luke's use of Matthew's account of the Commissioning of the Twelve (Mt 9:35-10:16) is one occasion when Luke *created a doublet* instead of removing one. Parallel to Moses sending out 12 scouts across the Jordan, and later selecting 70 elders to help him, Luke first described the Commissioning of the Twelve in Lk 9:1-6, and then, in Lk 10:1-16, the Commissioning of the 72. For this reason, Luke will have made use of Matthew's story of the call and commissioning of the twelve disciples in Mt 9:35-10:16 three times by the time Luke reaches Lk 10:16 (cf. Lk 6:12-16, Lk 9:1-6 and Lk 10:1-16). The slight differences between the two major Lukan uses this material in Lk 9:1-6 and Lk 10:1-16 are very instructive for our understanding of Luke's missionary agenda.

A Synopsis of Mt 9:35-10:16, 11:20-24, 10:40 and 18:5/Lk 9:1-6/Lk 10:1-16

Mt 9:35-10:1	Luke 9:1	Luke 10:1-2
‹9:35› Καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. ‹9:36› Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐρριμμένοι ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα. ‹9:37› τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι· ‹9:38› δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.		‹10:1› Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέδειξεν ὁ κύριος ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα [δύο] καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο [δύο] πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον οὗ ἤμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι. ‹10:2› ἔλεγεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς, Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι· δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐργάτας ἐκβάλῃ εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.
‹10:1› Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν.	‹9:1› Συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν	
Matt 10:5-8	**Luke 9:2**	**Luke 10:3**
‹10:5› Τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς λέγων, Εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθητε· ‹10:6› πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ. ‹10:7› πορευόμενοι δὲ κηρύσσετε λέγοντες ὅτι Ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. ‹10:8› ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε, νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε, λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε, δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλετε· δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε.	‹9:2› καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰᾶσθαι [τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς],	‹10:3› ὑπάγετε· ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. cf. Mt 10:16 below

Matt 10:9-13	Luke 9:3-4	Luke 10:4-7a
	‹9:3› καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς,	
‹10:9› Μὴ κτήσησθε	Μηδὲν αἴρετε εἰς τὴν ὁδόν,	‹10:4› μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον,
χρυσὸν		
μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν,	μήτε ῥάβδον	
‹10:10› μὴ πήραν εἰς ὁδὸν	μήτε πήραν	μὴ πήραν,
μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας	μήτε ἄρτον μήτε ἀργύριον, μήτε [ἀνὰ] δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν.	
μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ ῥάβδον·		μὴ ὑποδήματα, καὶ μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε,
ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.		
‹10:11› εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἢ κώμην εἰσέλθητε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιός ἐστιν· κἀκεῖ μείνατε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθητε.	‹9:4› καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσέλθητε,	‹10:5› εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν,
‹10:12› εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν· ‹10:13› καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ ἡ οἰκία ἀξία, ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν	ἐκεῖ μένετε καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέρχεσθε.	πρῶτον λέγετε, Εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ. ‹10:6› καὶ ἐὰν ἐκεῖ ᾖ
ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἀξία, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν		υἱὸς εἰρήνης, ἐπαναπαήσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστραφήτω.		ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀνακάμψει. ‹10:7› ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν· ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Matt 10:14-16	Luke 9:5-6	Luke 10:7b-12
		μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν.
		‹10:8› καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε καὶ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν
		‹10:9› καὶ θεραπεύετε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λέγετε αὐτοῖς, Ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
‹10:14› καὶ ὃς ἂν	9:5› καὶ ὅσοι ἂν	‹10:10› εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθητε καὶ μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς,
μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς μηδὲ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν,	μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς,	
ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κονιορτὸν	ἐξερχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τὸν κονιορτὸν	ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὰς πλατείας αὐτῆς εἴπατε, ‹10:11› Καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν·
τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν.	ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἀποτινάσσετε εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς. ‹9:6› ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας	πλὴν τοῦτο γινώσκετε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
	εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ.	
‹10:15› ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται γῇ Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως		‹10:12› λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Σοδόμοις ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ.
ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. ‹10:16› Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων· γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.		

Matt 11:20-24		Luke 10:13-15
‹11:20› Τότε ἤρξατο ὀνειδίζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐγένοντο αἱ πλεῖσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν· ‹11:21› Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν, οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδά· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν. ‹11:22› πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ ὑμῖν. ‹11:23› καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως ᾅδου καταβήσῃ· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. ‹11:24› πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι γῇ Σοδόμων ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ σοί.		‹10:13› Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν, οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδά ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ καθήμενοι μετενόησαν. ‹10:14› πλὴν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἢ ὑμῖν. ‹10:15› καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως τοῦ ᾅδου καταβήσῃ.
Matt 10:40	Matt 18:5	Lk 10:16
‹10:40› Ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.	‹18:5› καὶ ὃς ἐὰν δέξηται ἓν παιδίον τοιοῦτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται.	‹10:16› Ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

Lk 9:1-6. The Commissioning of the Twelve:

Lk 9:1 [Συγ]καλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα Lk gets from Mt 10:1. The scope of the "power and authority" is similar in both versions. Luke has just removed Matthew's redundancies. • Luke omits the names of the Twelve here because he had already used them in composing his version of their call at Lk 6:13-16 • Luke also omits the injunction to go into no city of the Samaritans or road of the Gentiles (Mt 10:5-6b) which Luke took pains to correct by having Jesus send (ἀπέστειλεν) his disciples into Samaria in Lk 9:52-56.

Lk 9:2 Luke already utilized something similar to the Matthean injunction to "preach as you go, saying 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' Heal the sick, etc." (Mt 10:7-8) at Lk 7:22/Mt 11:15. • Luke's use of "Kingdom of God" in Lk 9:2 is clearly secondary to Matthew's more Jewish "Kingdom of the Heavens" in Mt 10:7 et passim.

Lk 9:3 Luke omits "You received without pay, give without pay" from Mt 10:8 as well as the similar statement at Mt 10:9b, "The worker is worthy of his food," *although these statements in Mt provide the rationale for the instructions about taking no provisions* which Luke did utilize (Lk 10:4). Matthew's version says that disciples should not worry about payment *because they will not need to buy anything along the way.* Luke uses a modified form of this in Lk 10:7 where it justifies eating at the host's expense, but its absence in Lk 9:3 is clearly a sign of the secondary nature of Lk 9:1-6 to the parallel material in Mt 9:35-10:16. • Contrary to most interpretations, the instructions to take nothing for their journey have nothing whatever to do with personal abstinence or an ascetic lifestyle. It is therefore inappropriate to attempt to reconstruct an earlier "Q" version on this basis. These instructions are simply an anticipation of the hospitality that the disciples may expect along the way. That Luke himself understood these instructions precisely in this fashion is obvious from the retrospective question of Jesus and the disciples' answer in Lk 22:35, followed by Jesus' new instructions in Lk 22:36-38. Lk 22:35-38 finds no parallel anywhere within the gospel of Mt. To think that "Q" had this explanation of Lk 9:1-6 in this widely separated literary context (Lk 22:35-38), and that Matthew combined these two contexts, using a Jewish scriptural argument, when he recreated Mt 9:35-10:16, is most improbable. • Matthew's "city or village" at Mt 10:11, followed by "house" at Mt 10:12, is shortened by Luke to "house"

9:4-5 But Lk 9:5 adopts "city" and drops "house." (cf. Mt 10:14). Again, these modifications reflect the secondary nature of Lk 9:1-6 to Mt 9:35-10:16.

Lk 9:6 is Luke's own conclusion added at the end of the Matthew's account at Mt 10:16. • Lk 9:6 is composed of elements mostly taken from the introduction to Matthew's account, Mt 9:35. • The most noteworthy thing to observe about Luke's version of Mt 9:35-10:16 at Lk 9:1-6 is the across-the-board reduction of the material in Mt 10. The reason for this will become clearer later, but essentially, Luke's purpose is to place greater emphasis upon the mission of the 72 than on the mission of the Twelve. Evidence of the disparity between the two missions in Luke's view can be seen in the difference between what happens when the two groups return. When the Twelve return (Lk 9:10), all Luke says is "they told Jesus what they had done," (half a verse) and the narrative moves on immediately to tell of the great feeding of the 5000 in Bethsaida (Lk 9:10-17). But when the 72 return (Lk 10:17-24), they report how successful they have been; Jesus ecstatically proclaims that he has seen Satan fall like lightning (a proleptic eschatological announcement); he gives them an amazingly comprehensive blessing ("nothing will ever hurt you"), and so on. The contrast couldn't be sharper.

10:1-16. The Call and Commission of Seventy-two Other Disciples

Lk 10:1 The second commissioning, that of the 72, is a Lukan creation intended to hearken back to two passages in Numbers (cf. D. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1980] 60-61). In Num 13, Moses appoints 12 scouts, one from each of the tribes of Israel, to go across the Jordan and scout out the land. They come back filled with stories of a land flowing with milk and honey, but populated by giants too powerful for the

Israelites to conquer. In Num 11, God appointed 70 (or 72) elders and says, "I will take some of the spirit that is on you and put it on them, so they will share the burden of this nation, and you will no longer have to carry it by yourself" ἀφελῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἐπιθήσω ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ συναντιλήμψονται μετὰ σοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ οὐκ οἴσεις αὐτοὺς σὺ μόνος. (Num 11:17LXX). • The confusion between "70" and "72" reflected in the history of Luke's text probably stems from the fact that God ordered Moses to bring 70 elders before him to share his spirit, which he did. Later, two other elders (Eldad and Medad) were also found to have received some of Moses' spirit back in the camp (Num 11:26-30), raising the total to 72. So is the number 70 or 72? The manuscripts of Luke could have been "corrected" in either direction, but the later manuscripts tend to agree on 70. We agree with Aland's conjecture, principally following $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ B D the Diatessaron, itala, and Origen, that it should be "72," because the somewhat more complicated, literal use of these materials from the book of Numbers by Luke seems the more difficult, and therefore, the earlier.

Lk 10:1 contains the phrase, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς. This is the same way that Luke modified Mt 10:5 at Lk 9:2. • Luke's omission of Mt 10:5-6 from Lk 10:1ff. is explained by Luke's previous inclusion of Lk 9:51-56. Within Mt 10:5-6, Jesus forbids his disciples to go into the way of Gentiles and to enter any city of the Samaritans. By contrast, in Lk 9:51-56, Jesus is depicted as actually sending some messengers into a Samaritan village. The group Jesus sent apparently included James and John, two of the twelve apostles. • The words, πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ within Lk 10:1 would seem to reflect back to similar words in Lk 7:27/Mt 11:10 that are derived from Mal 3:1 and that were applied to John the Baptist. These words also seem to reflect the earlier wording of Lk 9:51-53, those verses that serve as a major transition within the Lukan gospel and as an introduction to Luke's central, travel narrative. The words, οὗ ἤμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι in Lk 10:1 are also reminiscent of similar words in Lk 9:31. They also seem to reflect back to Lk 9:51-52 via Lk 9:31, forward through Luke's travel section (Lk 9:51-19:27) and to the events which follow in Lk 9:45ff.

Lk 10:2 was taken from Matthew's introduction to the Commissioning of the Twelve (Mt 9:35-38, esp. Mt 9:37-38). The reason Luke composed all of Lk 9:37-62 was to provide the basis for Jesus' statement in Lk 10:2 "The harvest is great, but the workers are few."

Lk 10:3 "Go! Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves" occupies the location of the rationale for taking no provisions for the road in Mt (Mt 10:8e). Luke's relocation causes Mt 10:16/Lk 10:3 to mean precisely the same thing as Mt 10:8e "you received without pay, give without pay." The disciples will be given anything they need, so they do not need to work for wages or to take too many provisions on their mission journey. Luke's reference to "lambs among wolves" at Lk 10:3 means that the disciples will be completely *safe*. This, of course, is the exact opposite of what the parallel words in Mt 10:16 mean in Matthew's original context. For Matthew, these words mean that the disciples were headed for persecution, suffering and death. But Luke's transposition and use of *this* saying as the rationale for the instructions for non-provision reveals his implicit awareness of the other saying (Mt 10:6)

that was originally standing in his source at this point. In other words, Luke's version is clearly secondary to Matthew's. The common references to "sheep" in Mt 9:36, 10:6 and 10:16 may help to explain Luke's relocation of Mt 10:16 to an earlier context in Lk (Lk 10:3, cf. Mt 10:16). This earlier context in Lk is close to Luke's other parallels to Mt 10:5-6 in Lk 10:3, but Luke, of course, omitted much of Mt 10:5-6 from Lk 10:3 because he had already responded to this material by utilizing the story now found in Lk 9:52-56.

Lk 10:4b "Greet no one on the road," is unique to Lk 10 and these words are probably intended to convey an impression of urgency and speed (But compare the word "Greet" in Mt 10:12).

Lk 10:5ff. The remaining instructions are too complicated to discuss in detail here.

Lk 10:7 However, it should be noted that the injunctions in Lk 10:7 to remain in "the same house" and "do not go from house to house," both missing from the parallel in Mt, are quite likely reflections of abuses current in Luke's later missionary context and don't seem to stem from the setting of Jesus' own ministry, or a supposed original "Q" version. • Likewise, the injunction to "eat and drink whatever they set before you" (Lk 10:8b, ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν; cf. Lk 10:7, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν) which is missing completely from Matthew's version, is quite similar to Paul's recommendation "if an unbeliever invites you to his house. . . eat whatever is put in front of you" εἴ τις καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπίστων. . . πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ἐσθίετε (1 Cor 10:27). • For these and other reasons, we conclude that Lk 10:1-16 also gives evidence of being a secondary version of Mt 9:35-10:16, just as Lk 9:1-6 did. • The saying about Sodom in Lk 10:12 is the same as in Mt 10:15. And Mt 10:15 provides a link for Luke to bring in the woes against Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum from Mt 11:20-24 because Mt 11:24 is the doublet to Mt 10:15. Luke may also have moved forward in Mt from Mt 10:16/Lk 10:12 to Mt 11:20/Lk 10:13 because Luke had already utilized Mt 11:2-19 in composing Lk 7:18-35. And Lk 7:18-35 seems to be Luke's prefiguring and parallel commissioning of Disciples by John the Baptist even as Lk 10:1-16 represents one of two stories about Jesus commissioning his disciples (cf. also Lk 9:1-6) • Within Lk 10:16, Jesus warns the cities of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum, in accordance with Mt 10:40 and 18:5, that "whoever rejects the disciples of Jesus rejects Jesus and whoever rejects Jesus, also rejects the one who sent Jesus, i. e. God." Luke seems to have composed Lk 10:16 as a complement to the saying he created in Lk 9:48 by conflating Mt 10:40 and 18:5 (See *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers,* p. 331 within the context of a broader discussion of Lk 9:46-48 on pp. 328-333). Luke would also have been influenced in constructing Lk 10:16 by the opening words of Mt 10:14, καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς. . . . Luke, of course, uses this Lukan construction at Lk 10:16 to conclude Jesus' speech to the newly chosen 72 others in Lk 10:1-16.

Lk 10:17-20. Blessing of the Disciples on their Return

The 72 others come back from their missionary journey with glowing reports and are greeted by an exceptionally exuberant Jesus. He has seen Satan fall like lightning out of heaven! Jesus has given authority to his disciples to

tread over snakes and scorpions. Nothing will hurt them! But the disciples do need some correction. Jesus says that they should rejoice that their names are written in heaven rather than over the fact that the demons/spirits obey them. This prophecy and promise to the missionaries is immediately followed by an ecstatic prayer in which Jesus thanks God for hiding all these things "from the wise and understanding" of the world. When they are alone, Jesus assures all of his disciples that "many prophets and kings" desired to see what they see and didn't.

[This pericope contains many Lukan redactional elements (ὑποστρέφω, Collison, 67; δαιμόνιον, Collison, 171; ἐξουσία, Collison, 173; ἐπάνω in a metaphorical sense, Collison, 152-153; double negative, Collison, 164-165; πλήν, Collison, 120-121). As he had done following the Commission (Lk 9:1-6) and the Mission (Lk 9:7-9) of the Twelve Apostles, so also here, following the commission and mission of the seventy-two other disciples (Lk 10:1-16), Luke begins a subsequent unit with a note about the return (Lk 10:17, cf. Lk 9:10) of those he had commissioned earlier (Lk 10:1-16, cf. Lk 9:1-6). • The report of the returning 72 other disciples about their *successful* subjection of the demons/spirits "in Jesus' name" is a counterbalance to the unsuccessful attempt by the Twelve to cast out a spirit from a boy that Luke reported in Lk 9:39-40. This success on the part of the seventy-two other disciples also contrasts with John's report about some of the twelve apostles prohibiting exorcisms in Jesus' name by any who did not follow Jesus and his *twelve* apostles (Lk 9:49-50). • Jesus' report that he had seen Satan falling down from heaven at Lk 10:18 may echo Capernaum's being "brought down to Hades," a few verses earlier at Lk 10:15. This statement to the seventy-two by Jesus also contrasts with the request made to Jesus by James and John to be permitted to call down fire (lightning?) from heaven on that Samaritan village who had rejected Jesus (Lk 9:52-56) • The particular powers listed in Lk 10:19 are found nowhere else within the canonical gospels apart from the longer ending of Mark (cf. esp. Mark 16:17-18 about picking up snakes). • The mentioning of "serpents" in Lk 10:17 echoes the comment about serpents in Mt 10:16. This provides some evidence that Luke knew the text of Mt at this point. • Luke's choice to make explicit the power of the 72 other disciples over both "snakes" and "scorpions" also anticipates Luke's modifications of Mt 7:9-10 at Lk 11:11-12, within the Lukan unit that deals with prayer (Lk 11:1-13). Within Lk 11:11-12, Luke accepts Matthew's "fish" and "snake" images (Mt 7:10/Lk 11:11, cf. Lk 10:19), but modifies Matthew's "loaf" image into "an egg" and his "stone" image into "a scorpion" (Mt 7:9 cf. Lk 11:12 and 10:19) In the process, Luke ruins the visual similarities between the loaf and the stone that contribute to the meaning of Jesus' words in Mt 7:9 in the same way that the visual images of the "fish" and the "serpent" contribute to the meaning of Jesus' words in Mt 7:10. Lk 11:11-12, thus, displays its secondary nature to the parallel text of Mt 7:9-10. Since Lk 10:19 seems to anticipate these Lukan modifications at Lk 11:11-12, one could judge Lk 10:19 also to be secondary to the text of Mt 7:9-10. • Lk 10:21-24, the immediately following pericope in Lk, introduces a prayer of Jesus (Lk 10:21b-22). This unit also anticipates the forthcoming Lukan unit on prayer (Lk 11:1-13). • Lk 10:19 also seems to reflect the text of Ps 91:13, "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot." This verse from Ps 91, of course, immediately follows verses 11-12 of Ps 91 and Luke records the words of Ps 91:11-12 on the lips of Satan in the course of recounting the third and final temptation of Jesus by Satan (cf. Lk 10:18) in the wilderness (Lk 4:10-11 = Ps 91:11-12 = Mt 4:6). The words from Ps 91:11-12 appear on the lips of Satan during Jesus second temptation in Mt. They appear on the lips of Satan during the third Lukan temptation. Luke seems to have reversed the order of the last two temptations in Mt in order to conclude with a temptation in Jerusalem on the pinnacle of the temple (Lk 4:9-13, cf. Lk 9:51-53 and Lk 19:45ff., esp. Lk 19:45-47, in the wake of Lk 9:51-53; 13:33-34; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11; and 19:28). Luke's use of Mt

4:1-11 in composing Lk 4:1-11, where a quotation of Ps 91:11-12 is to be found, may have suggested to Luke that he utilize an allusion to Ps 91:13, the next verse in Ps 91, in composing his own redactional unit at Lk 10:17-20. And that decision, in turn, somewhat effected Luke's clearly secondary modifications of Mt 7:9-10 at Lk 11:11-12.]

Lk 10:21-22. Jesus Praises God

(Mt 11:25-30)

Rejoicing in the holy spirit, Jesus confesses to his "Father, the Lord of heaven and of earth" that he hid His truth from the wise and understanding and revealed it to "infants." Jesus rejoices that God, his Heavenly Father, delivered all things to him. Since no one knows who the Son of God is except God himself and no one knows who God is except the Son of God, it is up to the Son of God, Jesus, to reveal God, the Father, to whomever he wishes to reveal him.

[Mt 11:24 would be repetitive within the text of Lk, since Luke copied the doublet to Mt 11:24, just a few verses earlier at Lk 10:12 (cf. Mt 10:15). Therefore Luke can skip Mt 11:24 between Lk 10:16 and 21 by introducing Lk 10:17-20, which seems to be mostly Lukan composition. • For Lk 10:21-22 Luke continues to follow Mt 11:25-30 which comes immediately after the woes to Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum from Mt 11:20-24. Luke had utilized Mt 11:20-24 (cf. Lk 10:13-16), just prior to the introduction of a Lukan composition at Lk 10:17-20. • Lk 10:21 "rejoicing in the Holy Spirit" reflects a favorite Lukan theological motif, "the Holy Spirit" (Collison, 176). • The content of this passage has long intrigued interpreters for its "Johannine" ring. It's purpose in this context is to provide the basis for the blessing of the disciples in Lk 10:23-24. • Luke omits Mt 11:28-30 because, for him, Jesus' "yoke" is by no means "light." • As observed in the notes on the previous unit (Lk 10:17-20), this unit in Lk which contains a significant prayer of Jesus (Lk 10:21-22), also anticipates the very next Lukan unit on prayer (Lk 11:1-13). Within the introduction to that unit (Lk 11:1), the narrator says that Jesus was in prayer "as was his custom." This anticipatory example of prayer by Jesus in Lk 10:21-22 supplements what the narrator of Lk often says about Jesus within redactional verses of his gospel (Lk 3:21, 5:16, 6:12, 9:18, 9:28-29, 11:1, 22:40 and 22:45-46, i. e. "he was in prayer"). • The address to God in Lk 10:21 as "Father" also prefigures Jesus' address to God in prayer simply as "Father" in Lk 11:1 (cf. the more extensive address to God in Mt 6:9). The more extensive direct address to God in prayer at Lk 10:21 as "Lord, of heaven and of the earth" (= Mt 11:25 cf. Mt 6:9) represents Luke's fragmentary preservation of a literary feature that is repeated within the text of Mt. This constitutes further evidence of the secondary nature of Luke to Mt. • The reference to how things have been "hidden" to "the *wise* and understanding" in Lk 10:21 may reflect Luke's knowledge of Mt 10:16b, "Be *wise* as serpents and innocent as doves." If it does, this may provide one more reason why Luke might have omitted Mt 10:16b, in the process of relocating Mt 10:16 to a context close to Mt 10:6 (Lk 10:3). If Luke plans to denigrate "the wise and understanding" and to lift up "the infants" by comparison at Lk 10:21; and then Luke plans to bless his disciples in comparison with the many (wise and understanding?) "prophets and kings" (cf. "righteous men" in Mt 13:17) in Lk 10:12-24, then an admonition by Jesus to the 72 other disciples to be "wise as serpents" would bring considerable irony, if not inconsistency, to the material in Lk 10:1-24. • The comparison between what is "hidden" or "dark" and what is "revealed" or "light" that is featured in Jesus' prayer in Lk 10:21-22 is also clearly a Lukan interest (See, for example, Lk 1:79, 2:26-35, 8:16-18, 11:33-36, 11:53-12:3, 15:8, 16:8, 17:30, 18:34, 19:42, 22:53, 23:44-45]

Lk 10:23-24. Blessed are the Disciples for What They See and Hear

(Mt 13:16-17)

After this, Jesus turns to his disciples privately, blesses their eyes for what they have seen and assures them that many prophets and kings had wished to see what they are seeing, but did not see it and to hear what they have heard, but did not hear it.

[Mt 12:46-13:23 had already been used by Luke in composing Lk 8:4-21. Mt 13:16-17 were some of the verses within Mt 12:46-13:23 that Luke had "left over" once he composed Lk 8:4-21. Luke kept a careful record of his omissions from Mt and used these two verses (Mt 13:16-17) here at Lk 10:23-24 as part of his introductory material (Lk 10:23-29) for the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:30-37) and the story of Mary and Martha (Lk 10:38-42). Luke uses the story of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:30-37) to illustrate the disciple who "sees and does." (See esp. Lk 10:33 and 37; cf. Lk 10:23). He uses the story of Mary and Martha (Lk 10:38-42) to illustrate the disciple who "hears" (See esp. Lk 10:39, cf. Lk 10:24). Luke has balanced these two stories, one about a man and the other about a woman, in a way that is reflected elsewhere within the Lukan gospel [Compare the Lukan balance of the Healing of the Powerful, Gentile, Male Centurion's Son with the Healing of the Poor, Jewish, Female Widow's Son within Lk 7:2-17 and compare the parable of the *male* shepherd who seeks one lost sheep out of 100 with the parable of the *female* who seeks the one lost coin out of 10 in Lk 15:1-10). • Luke destroys the meaning the beatitude had in Mt 13:16. For Matthew, the people of Israel have been hardened (hence the combination of "prophets and righteous men"), but *the disciples* do "see" and "hear." Luke disturbs this Matthean understanding by substituting "Kings" for Matthew's "Righteous men." What precisely the disciples have "seen" (Lk 10:23) is ambiguous in the Lukan version as compared with Mt. Comparing the two, it is simpler to understand Lk 10:23-24 as Luke's own revision of the larger Matthean pericope (Mt 13:1-23) rather than an original, vague "Q" saying, to which Matthew later carefully appended the necessary Scriptural quotation (Mt 13:14-15) to clarify its meaning.]

Lk 10:25-37. The Good Samaritan - One Who Sees and Does

(Mt 5:43-48, 19:16-30, 22:30-40)

Now that the disciples are all together and have received Jesus' eschatological blessing, Luke's narrative turns to those outside the inner group and describes their reactions. A lawyer stands up and wants to know how he too can inherit eternal life, how he too can have his name "written in Heaven," like Jesus' disciples. Since this person is a "lawyer," he is by definition one of the "wise and understanding." Thus, in good diatribe fashion, this lawyer and Jesus engage in a question-and-answer session, after the manner of lawyers and those they interrogate. This lawyer asks Jesus a "deep" question, and Jesus challenges him to answer it himself, which he skillfully does, quoting Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18, "love your neighbor as yourself." When Jesus commends him on his reply, he has another question ready: "and who is my neighbor?" This prompts Jesus to tell the story of a certain Samaritan, who, unlike certain members of the Judean elite, had "mercy" on a beaten and robbed traveler. Then Jesus asks him, which of these three was a neighbor to the victim?" When the lawyer again gives the correct answer, Jesus says "Go and do like this Samaritan!"

[Luke has two stories in his special source material, one about the Good Samaritan and one about Mary and Martha. Luke chooses to utilize these two stories as examples

of two good disciples, one who *sees and does,* and one who *hears.* "Hearing" in Luke's theology, is always associated with doing, (cf. Lk 6:47-48, 8:21, 11:28 and, for the negative example of "hearing and *not doing,* cf. Lk 6:49). Luke has just introduced these concepts into Lk 10:23-24 by relocating Mt 13:16-17 which he had omitted earlier within Lk 8:4-21. The Good Samaritan story contains two examples, that of the priest and that of the Levite, of "seeing and not doing" (Lk 10:31 and 32, cf. Lk 6:49) and one example, that of the Samaritan, of "seeing and doing" (Lk 10:33, cf. Lk 6:47-48, 8:21 and 11:28). The story of the Good Samaritan ends with the question, "Which of these three does it seem to you to have *become a neighbor* to the victim?" The response is "the one who *did* the mercy with him" (ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ.). Jesus replies, "Go! You *do* likewise." This story contains the twin themes of becoming a neighbor (to an enemy?) and doing. • Note also that Luke *reversed* the roles in the story and had the lawyer give the appropriate answer to his (very revised) version of a question taken from Mt. • This discussion continues without a break (all synopses incorrectly break this beautifully crafted dialogue into two pericopes because they apparently assume Luke is following Mark, which ends with the debate over Torah) as the lawyer, "desiring to justify himself" asked Jesus, "who is my neighbor?" This serves as the introduction to a story about a Samaritan (which is not in Mt anywhere). • The dramatic effect of whole story, with its concluding admonition, "Go and do likewise," maintains a guardedly optimistic attitude toward the "wise" lawyers of the world, appropriate for the wider Gentile mission. • Moreover, the Good Samaritan is no Jew (Judean); i.e., a non-Jew is here held up to the Jewish lawyer as the standard of those who will enter the Kingdom.]

Lk 10:38-42. The Story of Mary and Martha - One Who Hears the Word of the Lord

(Mt 19:16-30)

Luke tells another story, echoing the theme of "seeing and hearing." As Jesus goes further on his road to Jerusalem, he encounters two sisters. He begins to teach them and one of them seeks to "hear" Jesus: the other prefers to complain, seeking to "justify herself" (cf. Lk 10:29).

[This story has no parallel in Mt. • Sadly, even some of those who had the privilege of "seeing" Jesus in person, like Martha; did not "hear" him and, thereby, did not "choose the good portion" as her sister, Mary, did. Like the lawyer who "wished to justify himself" (Lk 10:29) by posing a question that prompted Jesus to tell the parable of the Good Samaritan, so Martha also sought to justify herself to Jesus (cf. Lk 10:40). • But Jesus responded to Martha's attempt at self-justification with the comment that while Martha busied herself with "many things," only "one thing was needed" (Lk 10:42, cf. Mt 19:16-17). Probably much to Martha's surprise, Jesus announced to her that it was Mary, who had "heard the word of the Lord" (Lk 10:39, cf. Lk 8:21 and 11:28), who had "chosen the good portion" (Lk 10:42, cf. Mt 19:16-17) "which would not be taken from her." (Compare Mt 13:12 which Luke incorporates into his distinctively Lukan transition at Lk 8:16-18). • We may note here, as something of an aside, that the distinctively Lukan composition at Lk 11:28, "Blessed are those who hear the word of God and "guard" it (φυλάσσοντες) also shares something with Mt 19:19. When the lawyer in Mt 19:19 is told "which" commandments to keep (τήρησον), he responds, "I have guarded/kept (ἐφύλαξα) all these."]

Section 2: Lk 11:1-13. Jesus' Instructions on Prayer

Lk 11:1-4. Jesus' Prayer

(Mt 6:1-18)

Jesus' prayer in the presence of his disciples in Lk 10:21-22 occasions a question on how to pray. Jesus' disciples say they want to be taught to pray, just like John taught his disciples. Jesus responds to this request to provide one more parallel to the life and ministry of John the Baptist with a model prayer for his disciples.

[Lk 11:1 is typically Lukan redactional style. (Collison, 42-44) • Luke adapts the Lord's Prayer from Mt 6:5-13, making a number of significant changes. • The secondary character of Luke's version is manifest. He shortens the opening address (omitting ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, contrast Lk 10:21/Mt 11:25), omits the entire phrase γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς (but again, contrast Lk 10:21), changed "give (δός) us the ἐπιούσιον bread σήμερον" to "give (δίδου) us the ἐπιούσιον bread daily (καθ' ἡμέρον), clearly breaking the punctive, eschatological tenor of Matthew's version in favor of a de-eschatologized, ongoing (Imperfect) giving of "daily bread." • The term καθ' ἡμέρον is frequently used elsewhere by Luke (Collison, 137). In Lk 9:23 Luke alters Mt 16:24 by adding καθ' ἡμέρον (cf. further Lk 16:19; 19:47 and Acts 2:46; 2:47; 16:5 and 17:11). • Luke also changes Matthew's more Jewish and euphemistic "debts" to its more generally recognized meaning, "sins," (clearer to Gentiles). Compare Lk 13:1-5. At Lk 11:4, Luke changes Matthew's first use "debts" to "sins" and then adopts Matthew's second and parallel usage of "debts." Once Luke had explained the metaphor by changing the first metaphorical usage of "debts" to its non-metaphorical equivalent, "sins," he could then adopt the equivalent metaphorical term, when it appeared at a comparable point within a second parallel clause (cf. Mt 6:12 and Lk 11:4). In a similar way, within Lk 13:1-6, the term "sinners" appears first in Lk 13:2 and then the term "debtors" is used in a subsequent and parallel clause (Lk 13:4). • Luke also omits the reference to "the evil one" (another euphemism?) at the conclusion of Matthew's version. Luke, thereby makes the prayer end on a note, not of the eschatological test, as in Matthew's version (so Jeremias), but with a de-eschatologized, this-worldly conclusion: "lead us not into (everyday) temptation," i.e., help us ward off sinful actions.]

Lk 11:5-8. When are We to Pray? - Pray Persistently!

Now that the disciples know what to pray, Luke explains *when* they are to pray, by having Jesus tell a story, the point of which is to pray persistently.

[Lk 11:5-8 is material unique to Luke. He may be using a special source that contains materials dealing with prayer. Another parable with the same theme occurs in Lk 18:1-8 where there is, again, no parallel in Mt. • Even though this may be non-Matthean source material, some of the details of Mt 6:1-18 may have suggested to Luke that he use this parable here. See the reference to "closing the door" (Mt 6:6, cf. Lk 11:7).]

Lk 11:9-13. How are We to Pray? - Pray Optimistically!

(Mt 7:7-11)

Jesus continues explaining *how* the Church is to pray. If they have been told to pray persistently, now they are told to pray confidently, in hope and trust to a Father who loves them.

[Lk 11:9-13 comes from Mt 7:7-11 with dramatic embellishments added by Luke ("egg-scorpion"). His egg-scorpion exchange for loaf-stone keeps the idea but ruins

the similarity of images in Mt. See the more extensive note on this within the bracketed material under the section on Lk 10:17-20 above. • However, the conclusion softens the Matthean materialism, and comes straight out of Lukan theology: what we are really supposed to ask for is the Holy Spirit, not things (contrary to Mt). • Luke's change of Matthew's "good things" to "Holy Spirit" also sets the stage for the battle of the spirits in the next Section.]

Section 3: Lk 11:14 - 12:12. Appropriate and Inappropriate Responses to the Holy Spirit.

Lk 11:14-26. The Crowds Demonize Jesus

(Mt 9:32-34; 12:22-30; 16:1/12:38, 12:43-45)

In Luke's dramatic presentation, the great mission of the 72 and the teachings that followed it now provoke a counter-reaction. First Jesus casts out a "mute demon." Suddenly opposition to Jesus begins to manifest itself. Some in "the crowd" accuse Jesus of using Satanic powers to perform his miracles. Jesus argues back by means of the question, "How can Satan conquer Satan?" and uses the analogy of a strong man's "palace" being overthrown by one more powerful. "If I, by means of the finger of God cast out these demons, Satan's power has come to an end. But if I do it by means of Beelzebul (= the Devil), then his house is divided and will collapse from within. Either way, he is destroyed!"

[Lukan redactional changes are not difficult to notice here. Luke consistently (but not always) omits "Son of David?" (Mt 12:23, cf. Lk 11:15). But this Lukan omission from Mt 12:22-28 may also be explained by the fact that Luke has utilized not only Mt 12:22-26 but also the Matthean doublet in Mt 9:32-34 to compose Lk 11:14-18. No reference to "Son of David" is present within Mt 9:32-34. As evidence of Luke's dependence upon Mt 9:32-24, as well as on Mt 12:22-28, note particularly Mt 9:33a καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι λέγοντες parallel Lk 11:14b, ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐξελθόντος ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι. Contrast Mt 12:22b-23a, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν. καὶ βλέπειν. ‹12:23› καὶ ἐξίσταντο πάντες οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ ἔλεγον, • Luke moves "while others, to test him, sought from him a sign from heaven" (Lk 11:16) into the Matthean story at this point, although it occurs in *Matthew's next story* (Mt 12:38) (note its complementary omission at the Lukan contextual parallel, Lk 11:29). Its purpose here is to introduce the theme about to come up, namely, an evil generation who wants proof from God ("a sign from Heaven") before they will lift a finger to respond to Jesus. This is another example of the frequently encountered Lukan compositional technique; insertion of a phrase or story in the immediately preceding pericope to prefigure, or set the stage for, a theme about to come up. • Mt 12:25 has been streamlined (Lk 11:17). • Lk 11:20, "finger of God." Compare Mt 12:28, "spirit of God." (See the discussion by W. D. Davies and D. Allison on "Finger of God/Spirit of God" in *ICC* 2:339-340.) • Lk 11:22, "his armor in which he trusted" is a Lukan addition, reinforcing the theme of "trusting in the wrong thing" (here strength, military power; next, one's family lineage; third, wealth). • Significantly, Luke stops following the account in Mt at Mt 12:31-32, the sin against the Holy Spirit; he will use it later in a mission context where it will receive an interpretation more in line with Luke's mission theology (see Lk 12:10). • Luke has already used Mt 12:33-35 at 6:43-45. • Luke skips Mt 12:36-37; he is interested in actions not words. • Luke will soon use Mt 12:38-42 in Lk 11:29-32. • This brings Luke to Mt 12:43-45, which Luke uses at Lk 11:24-26 in order to continue the

Beelzebul/evil spirit theme in a very understandable way. It actually makes more sense here. His version is otherwise very similar to Mt.]

Lk 11:27-28. Do Not Trust in Family Lineage

(Mt 12:46-50; cf. 10:23; 23:29)

Luke has Jesus provide a dramatic response to both challenges from the crowd. "While he is saying these things," a woman suddenly interrupts to bless Jesus' mother. But Jesus emphatically shifts the focus, saying to her–and everyone–that the one who is truly blessed is the one who hears the word of God and keeps it.

[Lk 11:27-28 is pure Lukan dramatic composition and anticipates the opposite and contrasting affirmation in Lk 23:29. This story is another occasion where, instead of removing one, Luke has *created a doublet* of material he has used elsewhere in his account. This pericope echoes the story in Mt 12:46-50, which Luke had already used in an edited form at Lk 8:19-21. However, Luke wanted a way to reply to the accusation of "some in the crowd" about Jesus being in league with Beelzebul (In Mt 9:32-34 and Mt 12:22ff. this accusation comes from the Pharisees (cf. Mt 10:24-25). To do this, *Luke continues following the Matthean order* (Mt 12:22-37/Lk 11:14-26 plus Mt 12:46-50/Lk 11:27-28) and reuses the reference to Jesus' mother (cf. Mt 12:46-50/Lk 8:19-21). Mt 12:46 begins "while he was still speaking," ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος τοῖς ὄχλοις, which is similar to the phrase used by Luke at 11:27 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐπάρασά τις φωνὴν γυνη ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου. The phrase ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ plus the infinitive is a favorite Lukan stylistic characteristic (cf. Collison, 42-44). Luke merely changes the character in Mt 12:47 from "someone" into "some woman" who then "raises her voice" to bless Jesus' mother. Mt 12:46-50, as modified by Luke at 11:27-28, brings up precisely the same fundamental issue that the story in Mt 12:46-50, as modified by Luke at Lk 8:19-21 did: Jesus' family is confusing the situation. This results in precisely the same concluding statement on the lips of Jesus at Lk 11:28 as appeared there at Lk 8:21: Blessed "are those who hear the Word of God and do/guard it!" No synopsis currently in print reveals these relationships. Here is one of ours.

Matt 12:46-50	Luke 8:19-21	Luke 11:27-28
‹12:46› Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος τοῖς ὄχλοις ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ εἱστήκεισαν ἔξω ζητοῦντες αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι.	‹8:19› Παρεγένετο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν	‹11:27› Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα
	ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον.	ἐπάρασά τις φωνὴν γυνὴ
	‹8:20› ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ, Ἡ μήτηρ σου	ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας.
[‹12:47› εἶπεν δέ τις αὐτῷ, Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου		
καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἑστήκασιν ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι.]	καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἑστήκασιν ἔξω ἰδεῖν θέλοντές σε.	
‹12:48› ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ, Τίς ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου; ‹12:49› καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου.	‹8:21› ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς,	‹11:28› αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν, Μενοῦν μακάριοι
	Μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ	οἱ
‹12:50› ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς	τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ	ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ
	ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες.	καὶ φυλάσσοντες.
αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.		

Lk 11:29-36. This evil generation wants a sign from Heaven.

(Mt 12:38-45, 16:1-2a, 4; 5:14-16; 6:22-23)

Seeing the crowds increasing, apparently drawn by Jesus' preaching and the evident signs of conflict all around him, Jesus angrily tells them, "Are you waiting for some great sign from Heaven? Well there isn't going to be any! You want a sign? Jonah was the sign for the city of Nineveh! So the Son of Man will be your sign! The queen of the South responded to the Wisdom of Solomon and the Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah. But the Queen of the South and the Ninevites will arise and stand in judgment on the present generation because someone greater than both Solomon, the king, and Jonah, the prophet, has appeared. And what has been the response?

[Prior to the introduction of Lk 11:33-36, Luke makes use of Mt 12:38-42 (seeking a sign) which has a doublet in Mt 16:1-2a and 4. Luke already utilized Mt 12:43-45 at Lk 11:24-26, as noted above and Mt 12:46-50 seems also to have been utilized by Luke for a second time in composing Lk 11:27-28 (cf. Lk 8:19-21). Once Luke made use of

Mt 12:46-50 for a second time at Lk 11:27-38, he would have come again to Mt 13:1ff, the opening section of which (Mt 13:1-23), Luke had also already utilized when he composed his unit now represented by Lk 7:36-8:21. • Lk 11:29-36, and perhaps even the whole of Lk 11:14-36, is a transition passage that looks forward to the lengthy speech against the Pharisees and lawyers that comes next. • To create Lk 11:29-36, Luke first continues with his source material in Mt 12:38-42 (seeking a sign), which comes after Matthew's version of the Beelzebul controversy (Mt 12:22-30). Although in Mt 12:38f. the interlocutors continue to be "scribes and Pharisees", Luke changes it to "crowds" (parallel with the previous attack, Lk 11:14-26). That Luke is aware of the larger Matthean context and that the story about seeking a sign involves scribes and Pharisees is what leads Luke in the very next section to introduce material from Mt. 23, Matthew's attack against the Pharisees, where Luke goes on with his own version. It consists of two parts, a critique of the *Pharisees* (Lk 11:37-44) *and scribes* (in this case, a "lawyer" Lk 11:45-52). • Luke omits the reference to Jonah being "3 days and nights in the belly of the whale" (Mt 12:40), so as not to contradict his passion predictions which say that the resurrection will happen *on* the third day (Lk 9:22, 18:31-33, cf. Lk 24:7, 21). • After following the account in Mt 12:38-42, Luke made a second use of Mt 5:14-16, this time combined with Mt 6:22-23, in order to construct a transition between Lk 11:14-32/Mt 12:22-50 and Lk 11:37-52, which is Luke's version of Mt 23:1-36. (Lk 11:33-36, cf. Lk 8:16-18).

(Mt 5:14-16)	(Mt 6:22-23)	Lk 11:33
‹5:14› Ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη·		
‹5:15› οὐδὲ καίουσιν λύχνον καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.		‹11:33› Οὐδεὶς λύχνον ἅψας εἰς κρύπτην τίθησιν [οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον] ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φῶς βλέπωσιν.
	‹6:22› Ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός. ἐὰν οὖν ᾖ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται·	‹11:34› ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου. ὅταν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς ᾖ, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινόν ἐστιν·
	‹6:23› ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ᾖ, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινὸν ἔσται. εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν,	ἐὰν δὲ πονηρὸς ᾖ, καὶ τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινόν. ‹11:35› σκόπει οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν.
	ὁ σκότος πόσον.	‹11:36› εἰ οὖν τὸ σῶμά σου ὅλον φωτεινόν, μὴ ἔχον μέρος τι σκοτεινόν, ἔσται φωτεινὸν ὅλον ὡς ὅταν ὁ λύχνος τῇ ἀστραπῇ φωτίζῃ σε.
‹5:16› οὕτως λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.		

On the earlier occasion when Luke made use of Mt 5:14-16, it was to construct a transitional passage (Lk 8:16-18) to unite most of Mt 13:1-23/Lk 8:4-15 with Mt 12:46-50/Lk 8:19-21. Luke had reversed the order of these two blocks of contiguous material in Matthew in order to be able to end the unit he created (Lk 7:36-8:21) with words similar to those he utilized at Lk 11:28. This reversal in the sequence of these two contiguous Matthean units within the parallel text of Lk is to be explained by the fact that Luke wanted to end the Lukan unit, Lk 7:36-8:21, with the Lukan punch line, "My mother and brothers are those who hear the word of God and do it" (Lk 8:21, cf. Mt 12:49-50). To do this, Luke needed to have Mt 12:46-50 follow Mt 13:1-23. Luke has a somewhat related conclusion at the end of the Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:46-7:1) Luke also concludes Lk 11:27-28, with words of Jesus similar to those Luke described him as speaking at Lk 8:21.

"Blessed are those who hear the word of God and keep it! (Lk 11:28)

"My mother and my brother, these persons are those who hear the word of God and do it." (Lk 8:21).

(See the synoptic chart above and *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers,* 311-313). Since Luke made two uses of Mt 12:46-50 (Lk 8:19-21 and Lk 11:27-28), perhaps we should expect that the two transitional units that Luke would create to unite Mt 12:46-50 with other material from Mt would look somewhat alike (Lk 8:16-18, Lk 11:33-36). But there is more. When Luke concluded his use of Mt 23:1-36/Lk 11:37-52, he constructed yet a third transitional passage from fragments taken from separated literary contexts in Mt (Lk 11:53-12:3). At Lk 8:16-18, Luke made use of Mt 5:14-16, 10:26-27 and Mt 13:12. Luke moved Mt 13:12 from its original location in Mt 13 precisely for the purpose of including this verse, along with Mt 5:14-16 and 10:26-27, within the transition passage Luke created. When Luke composed his second of the three transitional passages we are currently discussing (Lk 11:33-36) he made a second use of Mt 5:14-16, but this time Luke combined Mt 5:14-16 with Mt 6:22-23. When Luke composed his third of these three transitional passages (Mt 11:53-12:3) he made a second use of Mt 10:26-27, along with other fragments from Mt such as Mt 16:6. These three Lukan constructions created a network of agreements among the three passages (Lk 8:16-18, 11:33-36, and 11:53-12:3). This network can be simply described. The first transition passage (Lk 8:16-18) is related to the second (Lk 11:33-36) by the common use of Mt 5:14-16. And the first and third transition passages (Lk 8:16-18 and 11:53-12:3) are related to one another by the common use of Mt 10:26-27. Surely we are in touch with the hand of the author of Lk within these three networked transitional passages. No earlier redactor of Lk would have been in a position to relate so intricately such separated literary contexts within the Lukan gospel. The redactor responsible for Lk 8:16-18, 11:33-36, and 11:53-12:3 is most probably the redactor who composed the gospel of Lk. And this redactor, who is most probably the author of Lk, has also clearly utilized separated passages from Matthew in composing these clearly Lukan transitions. • This transition passage (Lk 11:33-36) is also (a) one of those cases where Luke is preparing a transition into the central themes of the material he is about to introduce, in this case, three speeches: (1) against the Pharisee and (2) the Lawyer and (3) to his disciples. (b) In our view, the dominant concern throughout these three speeches is "appropriate and inappropriate responses to the Holy Spirit." That is, two powerful examples on how *not* to respond to God's revelation, followed by one, directly to Jesus' "disciples" (who are also called "friends") on the proper way to act in view of the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Thus Luke introduces such important themes as: focusing on external rituals while neglecting the really important issues, false pretense and hypocrisy, abuse of authority, and fearless witness to the truth of God. Throughout these speeches, the same metaphors occur repeatedly: darkness versus light, inside versus outside, and secret versus public. So Luke introduces these themes here at the beginning, in the form of the two short sayings taken from Matthew's Sermon on the Mount • Re: Lk 11:33: note Luke's alteration of the Matthean wording: Where Matthew's version describes an absurd act (lighting a lamp and then putting it out again), Luke describes an act of *secrecy:* "No one lights a lamp and then puts it εἰς κρύπτην "in the secret place" (ancient homes often had a sort of secret cellar called the κρύπτη, hence the word *crypt.* cf. Liddell-Scott s.v.). "No. They light a lamp and put it on a lamp stand where everyone can see it." Moral? Let all your actions be like that! Out in the open. • Luke's point within Lk 11:33 is also the same point he made earlier at Lk 8:16. No one lights a lamp and places it in some place where it cannot be seen. According to Luke, a lamp is placed on a lamp stand "so that those who come in may see the light." (See the display of literary relationships between Lk 11:33, Lk 8:16-18a and Lk 11:53-12:3 on p. 312 of *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers.*) Luke's emphasis on lamps being placed where they can be easily seen by those coming in may help to explain why Luke omitted so much of Mt 6:1-18 (cf. Lk 11:1-13) where the admonitions within this section of Mt 6 are for righteous behavior "in secret." Luke's understanding of the nature of discipleship is different from what one might

understand from reading much of Mt 6:1-18. • As we have seen, Luke made a second use of Mt 5:14-16 here at Lk 11:33-36, but this time Luke combines Mt 5:14-16 with Mt 6:22-23, rather than with Mt 10:26-27, as he had done at Lk 8:16-18. The saying about the "divided eye" ("let your eye be ἁπλοῦς single") is also a metaphor, in Mt as well as here, for honesty. Luke has altered the first saying slightly in order to bring it together with Mt 6:22-23 • Luke will make a second use of Mt 10:26-27 at Lk 11:53-12:3 (cf. Lk 8:17-18). Clearly the author of Lk does not believe in anything that will ultimately be hidden nor in discipleship that involves hiding. Rather, disciples are to make public what they have to say. • Although all of Lk 11:33-36 is a Lukan creation, Luke seems to have created Lk 11:35 almost *de novo*. Lk 11:35 seems to be Luke's not altogether successful attempt to cement the two sayings from separated literary units in Mt. This causes Luke's text to make reference to a strange sort of lamp that has *dark parts*, rather than being wholly bright. • These sayings, with their contrasts between inner and outer prefigure the numerous contrasts in the next pericope to cups that are clean on the outside but filthy inside, and secret graves that look like regular ground so that men walk over them without realizing it. These metaphors also figure prominently in Jesus' advice to his "friends" to repeat from the housetops what they have heard in private.]

Lk 11:37-44. Speech against Pharisees: You focus on external rites while neglecting important issues - Justice and the Love of God.

(Mt 23:1-36)

While Jesus was tongue-lashing the crowds, one of the "powerful" invites him to eat with him. But the Pharisee is shocked to observe that Jesus does not wash his hands first. This provokes an angry reply from Jesus against all Pharisees for their hypocrisy and indifference to the most important things in life: justice and the love of God. Jesus goes on to warn them that all of the sins of their fathers will be required of *them*. His bitter words outrage the Pharisees who gather around and berate him, hoping to catch him in some way.

[Since in Mt, Jesus is involved with a debate with Pharisees and scribes (Mt 23:2, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, and 29, cf. Mt 16:1 and 12:38), Luke now introduces the Pharisees and turns to Mt 23, selectively utilizing the material here (Lk 11:37-44) and in the next Lukan pericope (Lk 11:45-52). This is the second of Luke's banquet scenes which Luke uses to critique the Pharisees (cf. Lk 7:36-50). • Of the seven proclamations of woe in Mt 23, Luke takes three and applies them to the Pharisee and three others and applies them to the Lawyer. • Lk 11:37-38 is Lukan composition to set up the scene; within Lk 11:39-41, Luke picks up Mt 23:25-26. • Mt 23:25-26 says, "You cleanse the outside of the cup and side dish, but inside they are full of extortion and rapacity. Blind Pharisee, cleanse first the inside of the cup, so that its outside may also become clean." Lk 11:40 modifies Mt to read, "Now you Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, but *your* inside is full of extortion and wickedness. You fools, did not he who made the outside also make the inside?" By means of his modifications of the text of Mt, Luke moves away from the metaphorical language in Mt to a form of the sayings in the Lukan parallel that can be directly applied to the Pharisees. And Luke also makes a different point than Matthew had made. Namely, Luke's point is that God made both inside and outside. Therefore, if God is the creator, then internal alms are just as good as the external ones (Contrast Mt 6:1-4 which Luke omitted at Lk 11:1-13). And since God created all things, everything is clean, not just some things, as the Pharisees in Mt might have claimed. • Lk 11:41 is Luke's attempt to substitute acts of charity for Jewish rites of purity. • Luke's editing of Mt 23:6-7 for the second woe directed at the Pharisee (Lk 11:43) focuses on two points, "first seats" and "greetings in the markets." The first point prepares the way for Luke's parable in Lk 14:7-11 (see esp. Lk 14:7-8 and the use of Mt 23:12 at Lk 14:11

to conclude Lk 14:7-11). The first and the second points both prepare for Jesus' warning to his disciples (cf. Lk 20:45 and Mt 23:1) about the scribes in Lk 20:45-47. Lk 20:45-47 is composed of the opening verses of Mt 23 (Mt 23:1-12) at the location that Matthew originally had Mt 23. • The content of Mt 23:27, having to do with differences between the inside and the outside, which Luke uses for his *third* woe against the Pharisee, is similar in content to Mt 23:25-26, which Luke had just utilized for his *first* woe against the Pharisee. But the content which would make Mt 23:25-26 and 23:27 a nice *inclusio* around Mt 23:6, which Luke has utilized for his *second* woe against the Pharisee, has been so modified by Luke that these similarities go unnoticed in Luke's text. Nevertheless, these similarities within the text of Mt probably led Luke to build a Lukan construct from just these pieces of Mt 23:1-36.]

Lk 11:45-52. Speech against Lawyers: Do not abuse your Authority.

(Mt 23:4, 29-32, 34-36 and 23:13)

Luke next depicts Jesus introducing a new interlocutor, a lawyer, who provides Jesus with a new range of subjects. The lawyer complains that what Jesus has just said against the Pharisee strikes at lawyers also. But Jesus changes the subject and berates the lawyer for three different abuses: (1) lawyers use their knowledge and authority to place impossible burdens on others, while refusing in any way to help bear them. (2) They build memorials. By building memorial tombs for the prophets, these lawyers become witnesses to their murder. And by building memorials to their own ancestors, they implicitly consent to or approve of the lives and works of their ancestors, who killed the prophets. Finally, (3) these lawyers use their great learning to block all knowledge of God. They don't want to know God themselves and they keep others from it as well.

[Although Luke is still following Mt 23 where Jesus addresses the Pharisees throughout, here Luke creates a second speech, this time addressed to a "lawyer." Part of Luke's rationale for picking and choosing from various parts of Mt 23 is the usual one of consolidating his material. However, other changes have to do with the fact that Luke's revisions always have one eye on the needs of the Gentile mission. • Thus Lk 11:49 contains a striking alteration over against the Matthean parallel in Mt 23:34. There, Luke alters a statement from Jesus. In Lk 11:49 Luke says it comes from "the wisdom of God." Luke apparently decided that what Jesus said in Mt 23:34 was a prophecy of some sort; i. e., Luke seems to have decided that the "I" in Mt 23:34a could not have been Jesus speaking, so Luke created a speaker: "the Wisdom of God." But who is this "Wisdom of God"? (cf. Lk 2:40, 52; 7:35, 11:49 and 21:15). • For the reasons mentioned above, Luke's other alterations of Mt 23:34 are not difficult to understand: "kill and crucify" in Mt becomes "kill and persecute" in Lk. • Matthew's "I send you prophets and wise men and scribes" (Mt 23:34) becomes "I will send prophets and *apostles*" (Lk. 11:49) Note that the twelve "apostles" are explicitly said to be with Jesus along with several women (apostles?) at Lk 8:1-3. • For some reason Luke softens Matthew's "whom you murdered" (Mt 23:35) to "who perished" (Lk 11:51). • In Lk 11:52, Luke changes Matthew's "scribes and Pharisees" (Mt 23:13) to "lawyers"—that is the theme of this second speech. • Luke changes Matthew's "you shut the kingdom of heaven against people" (Mt 23:13) to "you have taken away the *key of knowledge*" (Lk 11:52). This last change conforms with Luke's introduction of the figure of "the Wisdom of God" in Lk 11:45, who is said there to have sent all of God's prophets and apostles.]

Lk 11:53-12:3. The Angry Reaction of the Pharisees; Crowds become Unruly

(Mt 23:1-2; 10:26-27; 16:1, 6)

After this, Jesus suddenly breaks off, and attempts to leave the scene. However, his angry criticisms have made the Pharisees and scribes furious and they all begin shouting at him at once, challenging him to answer them. Meanwhile, the crowds have continued to grow, drawn by the uproar, and chaos breaks out as they begin trampling one another. Jesus goes off with his disciples and teaches them to have nothing to do with the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. Everything they think is so secret will be revealed one day.

[Luke terminates the banquet scene with a transitional interlude depicting the violent outbursts from the Pharisees and Scribes (lawyers) as Jesus attempts to leave. However, Luke now refers to Pharisees *and scribes;* which tells us that he is in Mt 23. • There is no parallel in Mt to this scene in Lk, as we have it. We believe this scene is Luke's own composition to set up the third and final speech to Jesus' own disciples, presumably in private (Lk 12:4ff.). • The reference in Lk 12:1 to the crowds increasing goes back to his original focus on "the crowds" at Lk 11:29 and may form the closing member of an *inclusio* with Lk 11:29. If so, this may indicate that Luke is, in some sense, still working within one large scene (Lk 11:29-12:3). • To set the scene for the composition in Lk 12:4ff., Luke utilizes the saying against the Pharisees from Mt 16:6. We may remember that the doublet to Mt 12:38-42 that one finds within Mt 16:1-6 seems to have caused Luke to utilize pieces of Mt 16:1-6, not only here (Lk 12:1/Mt 16:1, 6), but also within at least two other Lukan contexts (See also Mt 16:1, 4 at Lk 11:29-32 and Mt 16:2-3 at Lk 12:54-56). After making use of Mt 16:6 (cf. Lk 12:1) and modifying it to explain the meaning of "leaven" as "hypocrisy" for his readers, Luke then turns to Mt 10:26-33, Matthew's mission instructions. Luke has already utilized Mt 10:26-27 on a previous occasion to construct a transition at Lk 8:16-18. Here too, Luke seems to have constructed a transitional passage (Lk 11:53-12:3) that unites his two speeches, one to the Pharisee (Lk 11:37-44) and one to the Lawyer (Lk 11:45-52) with a third speech, to his friends (Lk 12:4-21). Within Lk 11:53-12:3, Luke has at least combined Mt 10:26-27 with Mt 23:1-2, Mt 16:1, 6 and perhaps some other Matthean contexts as well. A similar Lukan construction can also be found at Lk 11:33-36. Lk 11:33-36 immediately precedes the first mentioning of a Pharisee within this immediate Lukan context (Lk 11:37) and Lk 11:33-36 is joined to Lk 11:37 by the words, "While he was still speaking. . ." Both Lk 11:53-12:3 and Lk 11:33-36 are linked back to Lk 8:16-18. Lk 11:33-36 is linked back to Lk 8:16-18 by the common use of Mt 5:14-16 and Lk 11:53-12:3 is linked back to Lk 8:16-18 by the common use of Mt 10:26-27. The literary relationships among these three Lukan transition passages are so striking that Lk 8:16-18 could be viewed as a conflation of Lk 11:33-36 with Lk 11:53-12:3 (See *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers,* 311-313). Luke constructed both Lk 11:33-36 and Lk 11:53-12:3 in order to frame his use of Mt 23 in Lk 11:37-52. Luke provided Lk 11:33-36 as a transition between Lk 11:14-32 and Lk 11:37-52. He provided Lk 11:53-12:3 as a transition between Lk 11:37-52 and Lk 12:4ff.]

Lk. 12:4-12. Speech to Disciples/Friends. - Do Not Fear, Do Not Be Anxious

(Mt 10:28-33; 12:32; 10:19-20)

Do not fear. Do Not Be Anxious. Those are the themes of this speech of Jesus to his friends. Do not fear those who can kill the body. Fear rather only those who can cast your body into Hell. Although public confession of Jesus will result in divine approval, failing to make such public confession will be forgiven. On the other hand, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven. And although public confession may lead to persecution, do not be

anxious about what to say under pressure, for the Holy Spirit will provide for your needs.

[Having made use of Mt 10:26-27 for a second time in constructing a Lukan transitional passage (Lk 11:53-12:3, cf. Lk 8:16-18), this time Luke continues to follow Mt 10:28-33 (Lk 12:4-9). • When Luke makes use of Mt 10:34-36 at Lk 12:49-53, he will combine Mt 10:34-36 with Mt 16:2-3, even as he has combined Mt 10:26-33 with Mt 16:1, 6 within Lk 11:53-12:10. • To this material from Mt 10:26-33, Luke attaches one verse (Mt 12:32) from the context of Mt 12:31-36. Luke's theme in Lk 12:8-12 is fearless confession under persecution (as it is in the materials from Mt 10 that Luke has chosen to use here). Mt 12:31-36 is also concerned with speaking and with the ultimate consequences of one's words. Mt 12:34 concludes with the note that "the mouth speaks from the abundance of the heart" and Mt 12:36-37 reads, "I tell you, on the day of judgment men will render account for every careless word they utter; for by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned." Since Luke conflated material from Mt 7:15-20 with the doublet to much of that material in Mt 12:33-35 at Lk 6:43-55, it is clear that Luke knew this context in Mt (Mt 12:31-37) well before he arrived at Lk 12:10. There is no mystery to the fact that Luke would bring in an appropriate verse from this Matthean context for inclusion here. • While he is utilizing material from Matthew's Mission Discourse within this context (Lk 12:2-12) Luke also chooses to attach Mt 10:19-20 (Lk 12:11-12) to what he has already used from Mt 10:26-33 (Lk 12:2-9) and Mt 12:32 (Lk 12:10). In choosing to utilize Mt 10:19-20 here (Lk 12:11-12), Luke is providing another skillful transition, this one, from the theme of "Do Not Fear" (Lk 12:4-10) into the related theme of "Do not be anxious" (Lk 12:11-12, 22-32/Mt 6:25-34). Luke's unique parable of "The Rich Fool" which, in part, teaches the folly of misplaced anxiety, intervenes (Lk 12:13-21) between Lk 12:4-12 and Lk 12:22-32. Note how Luke also skillfully alters "Do not be anxious" (Mt 6:34) to "Do not fear" (Lk 12:32) in order to conclude the unit, Lk 12:4-32, and to move his readers back from the theme of "Do not be anxious" (Lk 12:11-31) to the original theme of the unit, "Do Not Fear" (Lk 12:32). Once Luke had inserted the Parable of the Rich Fool into this material which he had otherwise drawn from Mt, it probably seemed appropriate to attach, as something of an addendum, some logia on "appropriate treasure" also drawn from Mt 6 (Mt 6:19-21/Lk 12:33-34) The connection is also to Lk 12:13-21, "Thus it is for the one who treasures up himself and is not rich toward God."). The reference to "almsgiving" (Lk 12:33, cf. Mt 6:1-4) may indicate that Luke is looking hard for any material within the Sermon on the Mount that he has not yet utilized. What remained for Luke of Mt 5:2-7:29 that he also found it appropriate to use included only six more pericopes:

(1) Mt 5:21-26	Lk 12:57-59
(2) Mt 7:13-14	Lk 13:23-24
(3) Mt 5:13	Lk 14:34-35
(4) Mt 6:24	Lk 16:13
(5) Mt 5:17-20	Lk 16:17
(6) Mt 5:31-32	Lk 16:18

• Luke's additions to Mt 10:19-20, 28-33 and 12:32 are mainly stylistic, except for the "my friends" in Lk 12:4, which emphasizes Jesus' kinship with them in the suffering of public confession, torture and death. • Luke introduces one element within this exhortation to bold public confession by his disciples with "And I tell you" (Lk 12:8, cf. Mt 10:32 and Mt 12:31), although there is no break in Matthew's version (Mt 10:31-32). These two verses in Mt deal with two very different subjects, so Luke introduces an aural transition, to warn the reader (hearer) that a different subject is coming up. • The new subject, acknowledging Jesus before men, Luke changes to "acknowledging the Son of Man" (Lk 12:8/Mt 10:32) in preparation for

the next saying which deals with the same subject (Lk 12:10/Mt 12:32). For Luke, the "Son of Man" always means Jesus. Hence Luke changes Matthew's "I" to "Son of Man" here (Luke changes Jesus or the personal pronoun referring to Jesus to "the Son of Man" within the following four parallels: Mt 5:11/Lk 6:22; Mt 10:32/Lk 12:8; Mt 16:21/Lk 9:22 and Mt 26:50//Lk 22:48. Luke changes "Son of Man" in Mt to a personal pronoun referring to Jesus within the following two parallels: Mt 16:13/Lk 9:18; Mt 20:28/Lk 22:27. In addition, Luke omits "Son of Man" from Mt 16:28 and has "Kingdom of God" as the subject of the same verb as "Son of Man" in Mt at Lk 9:27). • The strict parallelism of Matthew's wording has been kept, but the person(s) before whom Jesus (or the Son of Man) will testify has been changed by Luke (Lk 12:10), possibly to make it echo the judgment scene in Dan 7:13. That is, the reference to "angels" here is an allusion to the "clouds" that come with the Son of Man at the Judgment Scene: LXX καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἦν. • Lk 12:10 brings in a reference to acknowledging or not acknowledging the Son of Man from Mt 12:32, explicitly placing it within the missionary context, where it means something like: "you may have denied Jesus as the Messiah once, but repent and acknowledge him as such now (cf. the same sort of two-step reasoning in Peter's speeches in Acts; cf. Acts 2:22-39; 3:12-21; 4:8-12). • By an association of ideas with "Holy Spirit," Luke concludes with an excerpt taken from Matthew's mission discourse to the Disciples in 10:19-20. He adds "synagogues and the rulers and the authorities," to Matthew's version, clearly intending to provide a sweeping, all-inclusive forecast (retrospection?) regarding the kinds of situations Jesus' "friends" might find themselves called to testify in.]

Section 4: Lk 12:13-13:9. Be Watchful and Avoid Distractions!

Luke now begins a new section, focused around the themes of (a) Distractions from doing the will of God, (b) Watching, and (c) Being Faithful. The underlying motif running throughout these five pericopes is patient waiting and readiness until Jesus' return at the Parousia. The stories move from Jesus' addressing the crowds, his disciples, Peter, and then back to the crowds. These changes of addressee are apparently narrative devices to break up the over-arching message into smaller units.

Lk 12:13-34. Don't focus on material things

(Mt 6:25-33; 19-21)

Suddenly a man interrupts Jesus with a request to help him obtain his rightful portion of his father's inheritance. Jesus refuses and goes on to use the man's request as a spring-board for telling the story of a man who was totally obsessed with his material well-being. Then he turns to the disciples and repeats the teaching, using the natural world as a point of comparison. "Don't worry about material possessions! Seek the real treasure," says Jesus; "God's eternal blessing!"

[The two stories in Lk 12:13-21 have no parallel in Mt. The first story is used by Luke as an introduction to a parable. The introduction of a parable by means of a story is uncommon in Lk; cf. Zacchaeus –> Parable of Pounds in Lk 19:1-27; Healing of Woman –> Mustard Seed and Leaven in Lk 13:10-21. This is an indication that we may be encountering a non-Matthean source at this point. • Lk 12:13-21 has some interesting parallels with the story of Mary and Martha. See, for instance, this man's request, "Teacher, tell my brother to divide the inheritance with me." (Lk 12:13) and Martha's request, "Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me to serve alone? Tell her then to help me." (Lk 10:40) See also Lk 10:42, "One thing is necessary. For Mary elected the good portion which will not be taken from her."

and Lk 12:18: "all my good things" 12:20, "Fool, on this night your soul will be taken from you." Is this another example of balance in Luke between stories about men and women? • The allusions to personal value earlier in Lk 12:7 serve as a linking theme to the sayings in Lk 12:22-34. • Having introduced the theme of a person's value in the sight of God, Luke goes back to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount for similar material regarding distracting worries about wealth, food, clothing, etc., concluding with the saying about "treasure," an echo of Lk 12:21 (cf. Mt 6:19-20). • Lk 12:32 is a skillful alteration of Mt 6:34 to round out a unit of material from Lk 12:4-32, as noted above. It is certainly the work of the author of Lk. It provides Luke's typical rationale for not being concerned with one's lowly estate in this world: soon there will be the great eschatological reversal. • Lk 12:33, "give alms," is a favorite Lukan theme; an alteration of the text of Mt 6:19-21 (perhaps in light of Mt 6:1-4). None of the differences between Lk and Mt within Lk 12:22-34 requires positing a source for Luke apart from Mt 6:25-34 and 19-20. • Note that the verses that fall between Mt 6:19-21 and Mt 6:25-34 are just the verses (Mt 6:22-23) less one (Mt 6:24) that Luke utilized within the transition passage he composed to introduce his version of Mt 23:1-37 (See Lk 11:33-36). Should we be surprised, then, that Luke utilized the verses on both sides of Mt 6:22-23 as source material for Lk 12:13-34? And should we be surprised to find Mt 6:24 appearing at last at Lk 16:13?]

Lk 12:35-48. Watch and Wait! - Do not be Dismayed that the Lord has not Returned!

(Mt 25:1-13, 24:42-51)

Turning to discuss a distraction of a different sort, Luke focuses on the difficulty of maintaining an attitude of expectant hope in the Lord's return. The disciples are told to remain vigilant, a word underlined in Luke's version by Peter's question, "Lord, are you telling this parable for us (Twelve apostles) or for all (church leaders)?" (Lk 12:41). Luke concludes the speech with a grave admonition to those in authority.

[Lk 12:35-48 transposes into a new theme consisting of a related concern: the "Lord" did not return when everyone thought he would (cf. Lk 12:45). Indeed, this disappointment might well be an underlying cause of the growing anxiety concerning material well-being among the "little flock." (Lk 12:32) • To obtain the material for this compound unit, Luke has reached far ahead to Mt 25:1-13, "parable of the ten bridesmaids" (Lk 12:35-37), which he abbreviates, and then, by association of ideas, Luke turns back to Mt 24:42-51, "no one knows the hour," (Lk 12:37-48). The admonition to have "lamps lit" in Lk 12:35 conforms with a Lukan interest, demonstrable in two of the transition units Luke created (Lk 8:16-18 and Lk 11:33-36). This may be the reason why Mt 25:1-13 appears here. It supports this Lukan interest. For the source of this image, see Mt 6:22, ὁ λυχνος and, more importantly, Mt 5:14-16, particularly Mt 5:15, καίουσιν λύχνον. Compare also the repeated use of the similar word, λαμπάς, in Mt 25:1, 3-4, 7-8 • The reference to attendance at weddings in Lk 12:36 (cf. Mt 25:10) begins to prepare for a number of meal scenes that will follow in Lk • The reference to knocking and opening, also within Lk 12:36, may also be reminiscent of Mt 7:7 which Luke utilized in composing his previous unit on Prayer in Lk 11:1-13 (also compare the request to "open the door" at Mt 25:11). • Mt 25:13, at the conclusion to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, is a doublet to Mt 24:42. This probably explains why these two units (Mt 25:1-13 and Mt 24:42-51) have been joined together in reverse order within this Lukan context (Lk 12:35-48). It seems to be precisely at Lk 12:37/Mt 24:42/Mt 25:11 that Luke has turned from allusions to Mt 25:1-13 and moved on to adopt material from Mt 24:42-51 to complete the Lukan unit of material in Lk 12:35-48 • Luke inserts Peter's question into Lk 12:41 in order to break up Matthew's mixture of ideas, in order to move to a related theme: judgment will be heavier on the leadership than the laity at the Last Day. The idea is there in Matthew's text, but Luke brings it out more clearly.

• Lk 12:46 is an understandable alteration of Matthew's "hypocrites" (Mt 24:51) to "unfaithful" (Lk 12:46) • Lk 12:47-48 is Luke's own creation. It contains a curiously casuistic elaboration of the severity of punishments, but it also reflects something like Luke's concern for "Hearing the word of God and doing/guarding it" (Lk 8:21 and 11:28, cf. Lk 6:46-7:1) in the words, "But that servant who knows the will of his Lord and does not prepare or do. . ."]

Lk 12:49-59. Be willing to give up family ties! Pay attention to this time!

(Mt 10:34-37; 16:2-3)

Breaking into an exclamation, Jesus exhorts his disciples not to be distracted by anything. Now the subject is family ties. He emphasizes how painful it can be to break them. Then, turning to the crowds once more, he berates them for being able to tell the signs of the weather, but they seem unable to know what "this time" is. The time of ultimate judgment is coming, so petty human disputes should be negotiated between the parties rather than taking such matters to civil authorities for a ruling.

[Luke has Jesus suddenly interject the statement about "coming to cast fire upon the earth." (Lk 12:49, cf. Mt 10:34). This is a veiled allusion to the great fiery trial of the Day of Judgment, and Jesus says that he himself can hardly wait until that day—in this context referring to the time of deliverance for all those who have been faithfully waiting. • Then Jesus says he has "a baptism to be baptized with," which is an allusion to his own impending death. This he says he is "enduring" συνέχομαι until it is "finished" or "accomplished" τελεσθῇ. Together both phrases serve as startling, but fitting commentaries on Mt 10:34: "*Do not think that I came to* cast peace upon the earth, *I did not come to* cast peace, *but* a sword." Mt 10:34 has a formal parallel in Mt 5:17, "*Do not think that I came to* destroy the law or the prophets. *I did not come to* destroy, *but* to fulfill." • It could be that Mt 10:34 was linked by Luke with the reference at the end of Mt 24:50 to the master who "cut in pieces" the wicked servant; he διχοτομήσει αὐτόν presumably with a sword. • But the issue of relative order in Mt and Lk here is no mystery, as has already been stated above. Luke utilized Mt 10:26-27 already in composing two transitional passages (Lk 11:53-12:3 and Lk 8:16-18). He then made use of Mt 10:28-33 in those verses that follow Lk 11:53-12:3 immediately, Lk 12:4-9. As a whole Lk 11:53-12:9 includes Luke's combination of Mt 10:26-33 and 16:1, 6. Now that Luke is continuing his use of Mt with Mt 10:34-37 (Lk 12:49-53) he attached Mt 16:2-3, some verses that intervene between Mt 16:1 and Mt 16:6, to it (Lk 12:54-56). Luke will continue to use the text of Mt 10:26-39, in order, at Mt 10:37-38/Lk 14:26-27 and Mt 10:39/Lk 17:33. Having already utilized a conflation of Mt 10:40-11:1 and Mt 18:5 within Lk 9:46-48, just prior to the opening of the travel narrative (Lk 9:51), all that will remain for Luke to utilize of Matthew's second great discourse after Lk 14:26-27 will be Mt 10:17-22. Luke will substitute Mt 10:17-22 for the parallel material in Mt 24:8-14 when he composes Lk 21:12-19. By that point in his gospel, Luke will have utilized every verse from Matthew's Mission Discourse. He will have utilized material from Mt 9:35-10:16 at least *three times*, within Lk 6:12-19, within Lk 9:1-6 and within Lk 10:1-16. He will have used material within Mt 10:26-27 twice in composing transitional passages (Lk 18:16-18 and Lk 11:53-12:3) and he will have used Mt 10:37 twice, once here at Lk 12:53 and again at Lk 14:26. One must conclude, on the Two Gospel Hypothesis, that Luke considered the Matthean Mission Discourse *very* important. • In a way similar to Luke's use of Mt 10:26-39, Luke began to use Mt 16:1-6 at Lk 11:29-32 where it *may* have been used as a doublet to Mt 12:38-42. The relevant portions of Mt 12:38-39 are so close to Mt 16:1-2a, 4, that one cannot judge which text of Mt Luke may be utilizing in Lk 11:29. Luke is certainly utilizing Mt 12:40-42 within Lk 11:30-31 because there are no parallels to these verses of Mt 12 within Mt 16:1-6. Within the transitional unit, Lk 11:53-12:3, Luke certainly made use of Mt 16:6, but he may have also utilized Mt 16:1 as well. Now here, at Lk 12:54-

56, Luke makes use of verses he has not yet utilized between Mt 16:1 and 6, i.e. Mt 16:2-3. These final sayings, about telling the signs of the weather, may be linked to the reference to "fire" in Lk 12:49, cf. "burning hot" in Lk 12:55. • But Matthew's signs of the weather in Mt 16:2-3 have been altered by Luke. Whereas Mt 16:2-3 has the familiar "red sky at night, sailor's delight; red sky in the morning, sailors take warning," Luke has altered the weather completely (Lk 12:54-56). He first mentions the west wind which brings rain (only true in Palestine), and the south wind which brings drought and "burning heat" - true of Palestine and the entire northern Mediterranean coast. • Lk 12:56 "why don't you know how to interpret *this time*?" (cf. Mt 16:3 "*signs* of the times"?) is a strange Lukan modification since the motif of *signs* does appear within earlier contexts of Lk (Lk 11:16, 29-30). Are these earlier references to "signs" simply accidental preservations by Luke of a motif that Matthew cares about, but Luke really does not? • Luke's variation of the number of divisions in the household (Lk 12:52), and the curiously literal, indeed awkward, way in which Luke elaborates the six possible combinations (Lk 12:53), is not in Mt 10:35, when taken alone, as most synopses print the parallels. But all of the elements for Luke's six pairs can be found within Mt 10:35-37. See the needed "son" in Mt 10:37. Of course, for Matthew, these kinds of divisions within the family are grounded in the prophetic text of Micah 7:5-6. Luke's reworking of this material indicates that he either did not recognize Matthew's allusions to Micah here or he did not want to preserve them. In either case, these Lukan modifications are more easily explained on the basis of Luke's use of Mt rather than the other way around. • The repeated emphasis upon paying attention to the warning signs from God sets up the next pericope. • Mt 5:(21)25-26 has been attached to Mt 16:2-3 on the principle of a common theme of "judgment." The similarity of the conclusion to the parable within Mt 18:23-35 and the conclusion of Mt 5:21-26 (Mt 18:35, cf. Mt 5:26) probably accounts for the omission of Mt 18:23-35 from the text of Luke. This is an important explanation to note for our general thesis that Lk 9:51-19:27 is Luke's rough equivalent to Mt 18:1-19:2, Matthew's Discourse on Community Regulations.]

Lk 13:1-9. Don't be distracted by catastrophes! Repent and Wait!

Jesus' admonitions prompt a question from the crowd. "What about those people who were killed by Pilate while they were sacrificing to God? Or the men who died in that construction accident? Were they killed because they were more sinful than others?" Jesus answers in the negative, adding, "No. Everyone needs to repent. And if they do, like a fig tree that eventually bears good fruit, God will spare them."

[Luke concludes the Section on Watchful Waiting by taking up the question of external catastrophes: what are their significance for the faithful believer? It is possible that the first example (Lk 13:1-3), which is not attested by other historical evidence, may be a veiled allusion to hot-blooded believers who are tempted to use such a blatant tragedy as a sign for insurrection, in hopes of forcing Divine Assistance to "hurry up." The second example (Lk 13:4-5) is different, but the message is the same: do not be distracted by external catastrophes. • Luke is also making the point with these two illustrations that "Bad things happen to good people." Death is not a "sign" of God's "judgment." • Luke is here using material not found anywhere in Mt. This may be material from his special source(s), on which Luke relies heavily. • Consult the note on this pericope under our discussion of Lk 11:1-4. • This unit is united to the next one, in part, on the basis of the *Stichwort*, "eighteen" (Lk 13:4, 11, 16)]

Section 5: Lk 13:10 - 35. Jesus Adversaries and the Few Who Enter the Kingdom

Lk. 13:10-21. A Synagogue President Gets Angry at Jesus

(Mt 12:9-14, 13:31-33) (cf. Lk 6:6-11; 14:5)

As if to provide an illustration of how to obey God's will "in synagogues" and the kind of opposition to expect there (cf. Lk 12:11), Luke tells of an occasion when Jesus healed a crippled woman on the Sabbath, angering the president of the synagogue, who attacked Jesus on a technicality, accusing him of "working" on the Sabbath. Jesus asks him, "You loose your cattle and lead them to water every Sabbath, how much better to loose this woman from Satan's power—after eighteen years—on the Sabbath?" The people rejoiced to see Jesus do this miracle and put his adversaries to shame. Their reaction prompts a reply from Jesus in the form of two simile parables which make the point that the Kingdom of God will not be found among the powerful and mighty in the world, like a synagogue president (in this story, Lk 13:10-21) or Herod (in Lk 13:31-33) or the Pharisees (in Lk 14:1-6).

[Luke may have gotten this story from his special source. However, there are other places where this precise reasoning is used in Luke (cf. Lk 6:6-11 and 14:5), so this could be a Lukan composition. If he is following a source, there are significant Lukan stylistic and compositional elements: Lk 13:10 "teaching on the Sabbath in a synagogue" is also found in Lk 4:15-16 (cf. Collison, 225) • Lk 13:15 ὁ κύριος is a favorite Lukan term (cf. Goulder, 2:570). • Ironically, in spite of the "negative press" given to the Pharisees in Luke's Gospel, the reasoning adopted by Jesus here in Lk 13:15 (and elsewhere at Lk 6:6-11 and 14:5) is precisely a Pharisaic, that is, a Hillelite argument, to support the position that "good" should be done on the Sabbath. • There is a possible link between the "eighteen" of Lk 13:4 and the "eighteen" in this story Lk 13:11, 16. • The healing of the woman "on the Sabbath" is an epiphany of sorts, conveying overtones of being an eschatological event. This story is brought in here to introduce the theme of the "Kingdom of God" in Lk 13:18-21. • Lk 13:17 is a sweeping Lukan summary, with its repeated use of "all," which prepares for the sentence of condemnation in Lk 13:27f. • The phrase "all the people rejoiced at all the glorious things done by him" (Lk 13:17) also carries overtones of the idea, "today, the Kingdom of God has come near." As such, it provides the basis for the οὖν at Lk 13:18 ἔλεγεν οὖν "<u>therefore</u> Jesus used to say" or "<u>this is why</u> Jesus would say" (the verb is Imperfect = iterative). For this reason, we regard these two parts as one unit, especially as there is no change of scene. • The two simile parables in Lk 13:18-21 are here given the point of reference: smallness. That is, their significance here is to emphasize the small, non-grandiose character of the Kingdom of Heaven. The little people, like the little, small things around the house (a tiny seed, leaven quietly permeating a large mound of dough), is what the chosen of God are like. Note also Luke's reference to "little flock" (Lk 12:32). These two sayings provide the basis for the question in Lk 13:23 "Lord, will those who are saved be few?" to which Jesus' answers in the affirmative (Lk 13:24) • As we saw in our discussion of Lk 8:4ff, Luke utilized almost all of Mt 13:1-23 within that unit (Lk 7:36-8:21). Most of what Luke had left that was internal to Mt 13:1-23, i. e. Mt 13:16-17, Luke has already utilized (Lk 10:23-24) as part of his introductory material (Lk 10:23-28) for the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:29-37) and the Story of Mary and Martha (Lk 10:38-42). See our discussion of these units above. Having already utilized all he needed of Mt 13:1-23 by this point in his gospel, Luke would have come to the Parable of the Weeds next (Mt 13:24-30). Since Luke omits both this parable and its interpretation (Mt 13:34-43) what falls in between are the twin

parables of the Mustard Seed (Mt 13:31-32) and the Leaven (Mt 13:33). Luke adopts the pair in the same order that they appear in Mt, probably because Luke likes such pairings (cf. for instance, the pair of Healing Stories at Lk 7:1-17). Luke will adopt nothing else from this *third* Matthean discourse (Mt 13:34-53) throughout the balance of his gospel (Lk 13:22-24:52).

Lk 13:22-35. Jesus Continues Toward Jerusalem

(Mt 25:1-13, [cf. 7:13-14, 21-23]; 8:11-12; 19:30/20:16 and 23:37-39)

Jesus moves on "through towns and villages" teaching the crowds. On one occasion, someone asks, "Will those who are saved be few or many?" Jesus' answer becomes a dark warning to all the House of Israel that its vaunted self-esteem is misplaced, that many "from east and west and north and south will sit at table in the Kingdom of God" while the arrogant sons of Abraham will be cast out. Suddenly Jesus is warned that agents of Herod are coming after him to kill him. Jesus exits, exclaiming that he must continue his course to Jerusalem; that is where prophets should die, not in Galilee.

[Lk. 13:22 is pure Lukan composition continuing the theme of wandering and preaching on the "way toward Jerusalem." • The materials within this section of Lk are probably parallel to *three* main Matthean contexts: (Mt 25:1-13 [cf. Mt 7:13-14, 21-23]; Mt 8:11-12 and Mt 23:37-39) The repeated logion of Mt 19:30 = Mt 20:16 could have been a bit of wisdom to which Luke had independent access. And it conforms to Luke's theory of "eschatological reversal." However, within the context of Mt this doubly attested logion frames the Parable of the Vineyard, which Luke omits. Given the repeated language of Mt 19:30 and Mt 20:16, Luke's omission might have been a scribal error, but we doubt it. Above, we have pointed out the tension between the teaching of Mt 20:1-15 and that of Lk 6:46-7:1/Mt 7:24-29. There may be other illustrative contexts. Luke probably omitted Mt 20:1-15 on purpose. If so, perhaps he found Lk 13:30 a convenient place to insert the logion that surrounds that omitted parable. It is clear that Luke also liked "framed" material, so that may be why he picked this logion up from Mt while omitting the content within the frame. This complex medley of sayings suggests to some that Luke is here following another source, which already combined these sayings around the theme of Jesus' rejection by Israel and acceptance by the Gentiles. But this particular group of sayings can also be understood on the basis of Luke's prior use of Mt.

In general, by this point in the gospel of Luke there is very little left from Matthew's Sermon on the Mount that Luke has not utilized already. The units within the Sermon on the Mount that Luke had not already used or considered using include the following:

Mt 5:13, "On Salt," will appear shortly at Lk 14:34-35

Mt 5:27-28, "On Lust/Adultery," is never used by Luke

Mt 5:29-30, "On Moral Surgery," is never copied by Luke and neither is the Matthean doublet to this material at Mt 18:8-9.

Mt 5:31-32, "On Divorce," will also appear shortly at Lk 16:18 (cf. Mt 19:3-14).

Mt 5 33-37, "On Oaths," will never be used by Lk.

Mt 6:1-18, "On Almsgiving, Prayer and Fasting in Secret," would not conform with Luke's ideas about "Nothing is hidden that will not be revealed and nothing secret that will not be made manifest." Luke used what he could of this unit within Lk 11:1-13.

Mt 6:24, "On Serving Two Masters," will appear shortly at Lk 16:13

Mt 7:13-14: These are the only two verses from Mt 7 left and Luke uses them both here (Lk 13:23-24).

Mt 7:21-23: Luke already utilized these verses once, within the Sermon on the Plain (cf. Lk 6:46-7:1). If Luke is using them here for a second time (Lk 13:22-27), the repetition indicates how important this unit in Mt was for Luke. The motif of "knocking on the door" is also found in Mt 7:7 and we drew a possible connection between Mt 7:7 and the unique Lukan parable at Lk 11:5-8 (See the notes above on that section). • This section of Luke (Lk 13:25-27) also reads something like the parable of the ten virgins (Mt 25:1-13). See the following verbatim agreements: (1) Κύριε κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν.(Mt 25:11, cf. Lk 13:25, Κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν,) (2) ‹25:12› ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς. (Mt 25:12, cf. Lk 13:25, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν, Οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ. and Lk 13:27, καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν, Οὐκ οἶδα [ὑμᾶς] πόθεν ἐστέ·). Also see the motifs of "coming in a door" (Lk 13:24, Mt 25:10) and "a locked door" (Lk 13:25, Mt 25:10). • See Luke's earlier use of this parable at Lk 12:35-46 where the verses in Mt 25:1-13/Lk 12:35-37 were joined together with Mt 24:42-51/Lk 12:37-46. Lk 12:47-48 was then attached to the whole new Lukan unit, Lk 12:35-46, as a Lukan conclusion that contains a strong Lukan theme: "knowing/hearing the will of God and doing it" (Lk 12:47-48, cf. Lk 6:46-7:1, Lk 8:19-21 and Lk 11:27-28). It is therefore probable that Luke made multiple uses of Mt 25:1-13, even as he clearly made multiple uses of Mt 9:35-10:16, Mt 5:14-16, Mt 10:26-27 and a number of other Matthean literary contexts, if one assumes the Two Gospel Hypothesis. Luke's first usage of Mt 25:1-13 seems to have been at Lk 12:49-53. And Luke's second use of Mt 25:1-13 would seem to have been within the context of Lk 13:22-27 under discussion here.

Mt 8:11-12: These are two verses that were left from Luke's prior use of Mt 8:5-13/Lk 7:2-10. Luke may choose to include them here in anticipation of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus which is coming up at Lk 16:19-31. (cf. Lk 13:28-29/Mt 8:11-12)

• Some of the alterations are noteworthy. • Lk 13:24, "many will seek to enter *and will not be able*"; cf. Mt 23:11-13 and Mt 7:14 "The gate is narrow and the way is hard that leads to life and those *who find it* are few." • The reference to teaching in streets (Lk 13:26) was prepared for by the introduction, Lk 13:22. (cf. Lk 12:3) • The phrase in Lk 13:26 contains the first half of a polar comparison: we *Jews* "ate and drank with you and you taught in our streets"—and now you reject *us*?! To which Jesus replies: "Yes, and you will see the great prophets of old eating the Great Messianic Banquet with many Gentiles who will come in and take your places!" (Lk 13:28-29/Mt 8:11-12; cf. Lk 16:19-31). • Luke's missionary concern is revealed by the additional "north and south" (Lk 13:29) added to "east and west" in Mt. 8:11. • Lk 13:30 is another "ending" saying pointing to the great eschatological reversal and hence appropriate here (cf. Mt 19:30 and Mt 20:16). • Luke continues on in the same scene with a reference to a death-threat from Herod. The purpose of this tangential interruption may be to provide an introduction to the powerful "Lament over Jerusalem," with its reference to "killing the prophets. . .sent to you," which was anticipated in Lk 13:28 "all the prophets." In any case, Lk. 13:31-33 has no parallel to anything in Mt. These verses cast the Pharisees in a somewhat favorable light, in that they warn Jesus to flee before Herod catches him. • The "Lament over Jerusalem," echoes other references to Jerusalem (13:9, 22 and esp. 33). The passage itself comes from Matthew's description of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mt 23:37-39), which Luke does not use later. We remember here that Luke has already utilized Mt 23:1-36 within Lk 11:37-52. So Luke is maintaining Matthew's order in his use of Mt 23:1-39. • The inevitability of Jesus' violent death stemming from his prophetic ministry is a major theme that is incorporated into the Lukan Travel Narrative. The journey to Jerusalem stands under divine guidance and necessity and will culminate in Jesus' death, burial, and vindication (cf. Lk 9:21-27, 43b-45, 51-56; 12:50-13:35; 17:24-25 and 18:31-33). See John T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* SNTSMS

#76 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993) 168-170. This is part of the overall theme of Luke-Acts that sees the whole event of the appearance of Jesus and the founding of the Church as part of a wider plan, according to divine necessity, and being the fulfillment of the hope of the prophets (cf. Paul Schubert, "The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts," *JBL* 87 (1968) 2-3.]

Section 6: Lk 14:1-35. Appropriate Responses to God's Mercy

Following the dire warning that Herod Antipas was seeking to kill him, Jesus unexpectedly finds himself invited to the home of a ruler, a *nasi,* of the Pharisees. The occasion immediately turns into a classic Hellenistic question-and-answer dinner discussion concerning appropriate responses to God's mercy. The Section ends with Jesus giving additional teaching to the multitudes about the need for a complete and total response to God.

Lk 14:1-6. Which is More Important, Mercy or Ritual Correctness?

In a context of suspicion, a ruler of the Pharisees invites Jesus to dine with him on the Sabbath. The Pharisee has also invited a man who is very sick. Luke says, "and they watched to see what he would do." Jesus promptly healed the man and then posed this question to his hostile audience: "you do not hesitate to take care of your own emergencies, Sabbath or not. Why shouldn't God take care of those who need Him, whether it happens on the Sabbath or not?" The Pharisees could not think of anything to say in reply because their minds were set on obeying a purity ritual (no work on the Sabbath) rather than extending God's mercy to those who needed it, when they needed it. Compare "You shall be merciful as your Father is merciful" (Lk 6:36).

[Luke ends the previous narrative Section (Lk 12:49-13:35) and begins a new more didactic Section by means of this transitional pericope. • This story looks back to the story in Lk 13:10-17, "The Healing of the Crippled Woman on the Sabbath," and forward to the several "dining" scenes yet to come. • Lk 13:10-17 and Lk 14:1-6 are both healings (ἐθεράπευσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Lk 13:14; ἰάσατο αὐτὸν, Lk 14:4) on Sabbaths (Lk 13:14; 14:1). Both stories involve men in positions of high authority (ἀρχισυνάγωγος, Lk 13:14; τις ἀρχων [τῶν] Φαρισαίων, Lk 14:1). In both stories Jesus encounters opposition (the ἀρχισυνάγωγος in Lk 13:14; the νομικοὶ καὶ φαρισαίοι in Lk 14:3). Lk 13:15 contains a reference to an "ox or . . . ass" and Lk 14:5 refers to a "son or an ox" falling into a well. (The somewhat odd juxtaposition of "son" with "ox" apparently caused copyists problems as the history of the text reveals. The reading adopted by UBS^3 is supported by $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ A B W syP sa. The alternative reading "ass or ox" is an assimilation to Lk 13:15, with some mss giving all three; see B. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* 164). The former story contains the phrase, καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνή (Lk 13:11) while this one has καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπός τις (Lk 14:2). Finally, the periphrastic imperfect is used at the beginning of both stories (Lk 13:10; 14:2). These similarities are noteworthy and suggest that Luke has either utilized non-Matthean source material where these parallels were already present, or has edited and/or composed one (or both) stories to include these similarities. • The material collected together in this banquet scene (Lk 14:1-24) is gracefully and forcefully deployed in typical Hellenistic fashion with the guest subjected to numerous questions and challenges, all of which he skillfully rebuts. • The opening healing story of this banquet scene (Lk 14:1-6) contains some Lukan characteristics which suggest that Luke has touched up this account to strengthen the transition to the major banquet scene with its focus on appropriate responses to the

mercy of God. • Luke has added νομικός; included Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ, Lk 14:1 (Collison, 226-229; Goulder, 2:587), καὶ αὐτοὶ Lk 14:1 (Collison, 156), νομικός, Lk 14:3 (Collison, 174-175; Goulder, 2:587), and ἐπιλαμβάνομαι, Lk 14:4 (Collison, 49; Goulder, 2:587).]

Lk 14:7-14. The Arrogant Exclusiveness of Lawyers and Pharisees

Having firmly placed ritual purity below acts of mercy in importance, Luke next portrays Jesus giving two further teachings, first to his fellow guests and then to his host. The subtext of both is humility/deference, or rather, their opposites: arrogance and presumptuousness/exclusiveness. "You who think you are the elite in the community, why do you choose the most prestigious seats when invited to someone's party? Choose rather the lowest seat so that you will be truly honored when asked to move up to a higher one!" Turning to his host, Jesus goes on, "And you, why do you always invite only your friends, brothers, relatives, or rich neighbors who can reciprocate? You should be sharing your bounty with the poor, the homeless, the lame and the blind! If you do, you will be amply blessed with reciprocation at the resurrection of the righteousness!"

[The reference to the πτωχούς, ἀναπήρους, χωλούς, and τυφλούς, echoes key categories in Jesus' inaugural sermon (Lk 4:18, poor, blind, and captives; cf. also Lk 7:22, blind, lame, lepers, deaf, dead, poor, cf. Mt 15:29-31). • Although Luke has called these two didactic sayings "a parable," there is nothing metaphorical or parabolic in them. They are simply prudential admonitions, similar to what can be found in Proverbs or Sirach • The reference to the "poor, maimed, etc." in Lk 14:13 with its mention of the "resurrection of the just" is a Lukan transition to pave the way for the very impressive Story of the Eschatological Banquet (Lk 14:15-33). • The two didactic sayings about attending feasts (Lk 14:8-11) and giving feasts (Lk 14:12-14) —in the Christian community, obviously—have been artistically crafted to act as the preface to the third "feast" story (Lk 14:15-33). • The two teachings exhibit close structural parallels.

Luke 14:7-11	Luke 14:12-14
‹14:7› Ἔλεγεν δὲ	‹14:12› Ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς κεκλημένους	τῷ κεκληκότι
παραβολήν,	αὐτόν,
ἐπέχων πῶς	
τὰς πρωτοκλισίας ἐξελέγοντο,	
λέγων πρὸς αὐτούς,	
‹14:8› Οταν κληθῇς	Ὅταν ποιῇς
ὑπό τινος	
εἰς γάμους,	ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον,
μὴ κατακλιθῇς	μὴ φώνει
εἰς τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν,	τοὺς φίλους σου
	μηδὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου
	μηδὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς σου
	μηδὲ γείτονας πλουσίους,
μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου	μήποτε
ᾖ κεκλημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,	
‹14:9› καὶ ἐλθὼν	καὶ
ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας	αὐτοὶ
ἐρεῖ σοι,	ἀντικαλέσωσίν σε
Δὸς τούτῳ τόπον,	
καὶ τότε ἄρξῃ	καὶ γένηται
μετὰ αἰσχύνης	
τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον κατέχειν.	ἀνταπόδομά σοι.
‹14:10› ἀλλ' ὅταν	‹14:13› ἀλλ' ὅταν
	δοχὴν
κληθῇς	ποιῇς,
πορευθεὶς	
ἀνάπεσε	κάλει
εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον,	πτωχούς,
ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ	ἀναπείρους,
ὁ κεκληκώς σε	χωλούς,
ἐρεῖ σοι,	τυφλούς·
Φίλε,	
προσανάβηθι ἀνώτερον·	
τότε ἔσται σοι δόξα	‹14:14› καὶ μακάριος ἔσῃ,
ἐνώπιον πάντων	ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσιν
τῶν συνανακειμένων σοι.	ἀνταποδοῦναί σοι,
‹14:11› ὅτι	
πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν	
ταπεινωθήσεται,	ἀνταποδοθήσεται γάρ σοι
καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν	ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν δικαίων.
ὑψωθήσεται.	

• If we subtract Lk 14:11 from the context, on the grounds that it is a free-floating logion that Luke will use again to conclude the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk 18:14; cf. Mt 23:1-12; Compare also Mt 18:4 and 20:26-27), we reach the conclusion that these two teachings, together with the Eschatological Banquet, were already connected together, prior to Luke's use of them, in his non-Matthean source material. • Luke has picked them up and inserted them in this Lukan pericope. Evidence of characteristic Lukan terminology is found in the introductions of the two units: Ἔλεγεν δέ + perfect participle (Lk 14:7 and Lk 14:12; cf. Collison, 56; Goulder, 2:587). See also καὶ αὐτοί, Lk 14:13 (cf. Collison, 156).]

Lk 14:15-24. The Eschatological Banquet

(Mt 22:1-10)

Suddenly, a guest exclaims, "Blessed is the man—undoubtedly someone like us!—who will eat bread in the Kingdom of God!" Jesus answers by telling a seemingly peculiar story of a man who gave a great banquet but all of his rich and busy guests refused to come on one pretext or another. Furious, the

man orders his servant to fill his house with "poor, maimed, blind and lame" people. Jesus' parabolic response to the dinner guests implies that God has invited people like these Pharisees to his Table, but they are always too busy to come to it. Not so, the poor and outcast!

[The structure of the three units in this Section: two shorter parallel units (Lk 14:7-11 and Lk 14:12-14) followed by a single longer one (Lk 14:15-24) is identical to the structure of Lk 15 (Lk 15:3-7, Lk 15:8-10, and Lk 15:11-32). This similarity in structure may indicate the presence of a non-Matthean parable source. • The theme of eating links the parable of the Great Banquet (Lk 14:15-24) with the preceding and transitional healing narrative (Lk 14:1-6) and the two previous "parables" of this section (Lk 14:7-11 and Lk 14:12-14). The use of a beatitude links the Great Banquet with the preceding parable (Lk 14:14, 15). • This story concludes the first part (Lk 14:1-14) of this Section (Lk 14:1-35). It contains four admonitions for the Christian lifestyle: first, one should always seek to be merciful even at the expense of ritual correctness (Lk 14:1-6). Second, one should not become haughty, but be humble and unassuming in one's actions (Lk 14:7-11). Third, the wealthy should not always associate with their social peers but be inclusive in their fellowship, being hospitable especially to the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind (Lk 14:12-14). Finally, God blesses those who respond instantly and wholeheartedly to his offer of salvation (Lk 14:15-33). • It has long been asked what relationship might obtain between this story and the similar parable of the marriage feast in Mt 22:1-10. There is no evidence of Matthean linguistic characteristics present in the Lukan account, which one would expect if Luke were relying upon Mt at this point. But the Matthean account (Mt 22:1-10) shares little by way of verbal agreements with this Lukan account at all. Our conclusion is that Luke did not obtain his feast-story from the similar one in Mt 22, but has used another source, where it was already combined with the two previous units. • The Gospel of Thomas (64) contains a similar parable. It may reflect either Thomas' familiarity with the same story to which Luke has access, or Thomas' dependency on Luke for his own account. • There are a few signs of Lukan characteristic phraseology: ἕτερος Lk 14:19, 20 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:593-94), ἀπαγγέλλω Lk 14:21 (Collison, 184), ἀνήρ Lk 14:24 (Collison, 167; Goulder, 2:594) and possibly ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ Lk 14:15 (Collison, 170).]

Lk 14:25-35. Renounce Everything and Follow Me!

(Mt 10:37-38, 5:13)

Abruptly changing audiences, Luke pursues the theme Jesus has just been teaching his Pharisaic interlocutors. Now it is to the "great multitudes" who were following him, no doubt hoping that they too would be included in the Kingdom of God. Jesus warns them: do not allow any distractions to hinder you from responding to God's call! A true disciple will "hate" his own family—even his own life—in order to be with Jesus. He will be called to "bear his own cross" (cf. Lk 9:23-27) like Jesus did. This decision is no light matter; it requires as much careful forethought as someone planning to build a building or wage a war. Any less resolute a commitment is like salt that has lost the quality by which its whole value is determined.

[This is the first link between the order of Luke's travel narrative and Mt 18 since Lk 9:46-48/Mt 18:1-2, 4-5. The appearance of the parable of the lost sheep in Lk 15:3-7 is a parallel to Mt 18:10-14. Between Mt 18:4 and Mt 18:10, there are sayings related to community instructions and discipleship. Mt 18:8 includes the term "lame" (χωλός) with reference to entering the Kingdom of Heaven, and the lame is one of the four outcast groups (Lk 14:21 and 14:13) to be included among those who will attend the Great Banquet (Lk 14:15-24). Lk 14:34-35 mentions the salt that has become

worthless and will be "cast out" ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό. The verses in Mt 18:8-9 say it is better to cut off the hand or pluck out the eye and "cast it from you" καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ, entering the Kingdom of Heaven "lame" or maimed than to be "cast" into the hell of fire βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός, Mt 18:9 (note the variant phrase in Mt 18:8, εἰς τὸ πῦρ αἰώνιον). Luke's material in 14:26-35 thus contains several echoes of the intervening verses in Mt 18:6-9. In any case, all of the material in this part of Lk relates to true discipleship; a dominant theme in Matthew's chapter on Community Regulations. • Much of this pericope is not found in Mt. The introduction is Lukan(Lk 14:25). But the recurrent theme οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής in 14:26, 27 and 33 relates the structure of Lk 14:25-35 to the structure of Mt 10:37-38 (οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος, Mt 10:37bis and 10:38, cf. also ἄξιος/α in Mt 10:11, 13bis and cf. Mt 10:24-25 for related concerns). • There are indeed clear parallels between Lk 14:26-27 and Mt 10:37-38, but the differences (Matthew's "worthy of me" has become Luke's "be my disciple," and Matthew's "love. . . more than me" has become Luke's "hate") are Lukan clarifications of Mt. • The two similes in Lk 14:28-32 have a rigid parallel structure. This may indicate Luke's use of source material.

Luke 14:28-30	Luke 14:31-32
	‹14:31› ἢ
‹14:28› τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν	τίς βασιλεὺς
θέλων πύργον	πορευόμενος ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ
οἰκοδομῆσαι	συμβαλεῖν εἰς πόλεμον
οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας	οὐχὶ καθίσας πρῶτον
ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην,	βουλεύσεται
εἰ ἔχει	εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν
	ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν
	ὑπαντῆσαι τῷ
	μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων
εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν;	ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ' αὐτόν;
‹14:29› ἵνα μήποτε	‹14:32› εἰ δὲ μή γε,
θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον	ἔτι αὐτοῦ πόρρω ὄντος
καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι	
πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες	
ἄρξωνται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίζειν	
‹14:30› λέγοντες ὅτι	πρεσβείαν ἀποστείλας
Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος	ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην.
ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν	
καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐκτελέσαι.	

Common structural features of Lk 14:28-30 and Lk 14:31-32 include the following:

1. τίς
2. present participle (θέλων/πορευόμενος)
3. aorist active infinitive (οἰκοδομῆσαι/συμβαλεῖν)
4. οὐχὶ
5. πρῶτον
6. καθίσας
7. third singular indicative (ψηφίζει/βουλεύσεται)
8. εἰ
9. third singular present active indicative (ἔχει/ἐστιν)
10. preposition plus accusative object ending a question (εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν;/ἐπ' αὐτόν;)
11. μήποτε/μή
12. genitive absolute construction that combines a masculine singular active participle with αὐτός (θέντος αὐτοῦ/αὐτοῦ. . .ὄντος)
13. participle (λέγοντες/ἀποστείλας).

• Lk 14:34-35 is similar to Mt 5:33; but the meaning is brought out more explicitly by the phrase "men throw it away" (Lk 14:35a). Luke's addition here shows the

influence of Mt 18:8-9, even as the reference to "fire" in Luke's modification of Mt 10:34 did at Lk 12:49. • The reason for the inclusion of the logion on salt in this context is to provide a transition to Lk 15:2a. Israel's leadership - who were supposedly the "salt" of the nation—had become worthless. • The saying about hearing (Lk 14:35b) which closes the section links this scene with the opening words in Lk 15:1 where ἀκούω appears again: the tax collectors and sinners were "all" eagerly drawing near to "hear" Jesus. • Further linguistic evidence of Luke's redactional activity in this pericope include θὲντος αὐτοῦ, Lk 14:29 (Collison, 77-78), ἕτερος, Lk 14:31 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:602), εἰ δὲ μή γε, Lk 14:32 (Collison, 102; Goulder, 2:602), and δὲ καί, Lk 14:34 (Collison, 103; Goulder, 2:602).]

Section 7: Luke 15:1-32. God's Mercy on the Sinner

Luke 15:1-3. Israel's Lost Souls

(Mt 9:10-13) (cf. Lk 5:29-32)

In a dramatic change of scene, Luke introduces "all of the tax collectors and sinners" who were eagerly "drawing near to hear" Jesus. Are the "Pharisees and scribes" pleased? On the contrary; they "grumble" that Jesus is defiling himself by associating with such people.

[These transitional verses set the theme for a series of six teachings to and against the Pharisees. First, their "grumbling" causes Jesus to present three parables illustrating joy—not grumbling!—at the recovery of what has been lost (Lk 15:1-32). Then Luke portrays Jesus going on to teach his disciples about the Pharisees and their utter disregard for the true demands of the Law of Moses (Lk 16:1-31); see further below. • Lk 15:1-3 are created by Luke on the basis of Mt 9:10-13, but note the Lukan additions in both Lk 5:30 and 15:1-3: the use of a form of γογγύζω (cf. Lk 19:7; Collison 46), and the introduction of "scribes" in both. • Evidence of Lukan terminology in 15:1-3 Ἦσαν . . . ἐγγίζοντες (Collison, 46; 103-104; Goulder, 2:609); the periphrastic imperfect (Collison, 73-74); προσδέχεσθαι (Goulder 2:603-604 and 609]

Luke 15:4-7. The Lost Sheep

(Mt 18:10-14)

Noticing the Pharisee's harsh attitude toward the "tax collectors and sinners" who were eagerly coming to hear Jesus for the word of salvation, Jesus holds three mirrors up, so they can see how mean-spirited they are. The first of the three is the story of a man who is overjoyed when he finds a lost sheep (clearly a symbolic animal).

[Luke has obtained this parable from Mt 18:10-14. To this parable (Lk 15:4-7), Luke appends a twin (Lk 15:8-10, Lost Coin).

Luke 15:4-7	Luke 15:8-10
‹15:4› Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν	‹15:8› Ἢ
ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα	τίς γυνὴ
καὶ ἀπολέσας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἕν	δραχμὰς ἔχουσα δέκα
οὐ καταλείπει	ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν,
τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα	οὐχὶ ἅπτει
ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	λύχνον
	καὶ σαροῖ τὴν οἰκίαν
καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ	καὶ ζητεῖ ἐπιμελῶς
ἀπολωλὸς	
ἕως εὕρῃ αὐτό;	ἕως οὗ εὕρῃ;
‹15:5› καὶ εὑρὼν	‹15:9› καὶ εὑροῦσα
ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους	
αὐτοῦ	
χαίρων	
‹15:6› καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν	
οἶκον	
συγκαλεῖ	συγκαλεῖ
τοὺς φίλους	τὰς φίλας
καὶ τοὺς γείτονας	καὶ γείτονας
λέγων αὐτοῖς,	λέγουσα,
Συγχάρητέ μοι,	Συγχάρητέ μοι,
ὅτι εὗρον τὸ πρόβατόν μου	ὅτι εὗρον τὴν δραχμὴν
τὸ ἀπολωλός.	ἣν ἀπώλεσα.
‹15:7› λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὕτως	‹15:10› οὕτως, λέγω ὑμῖν,
χαρὰ	γίνεται χαρὰ
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔσται	ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ
	θεοῦ
ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ	ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ
μετανοοῦντι	μετανοοῦντι.
ἢ ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα	
δικαίοις	
οἵτινες οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν	
μετανοίας.	

• Lk 15:4-7 and Lk 15:8-10 together provide an excellent example of a pair of units in Lk, one about a man and a comparable one about a woman. To this pair, Luke has then added a follow up capstone (Lk 15:11-32, Two Lost Sons). If we ask why these parables were combined precisely at this point, we may find part of an explanation in the fact that the Parable of the Lost Sheep begins in Mt with the question, "How does it appear to you?" Τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; (Mt 18:12). Of the six times this expression (sometimes with a singular pronoun) occurs in Matthew (Mt 17:25, 18:12, 21:28, 22:17, 22:42, 26:66) it is linked to money twice (Mt 17:24-27; 22:15-22), to sheep once (Mt 18:12-14), and to a Parable about Two Sons once (Mt 21:28-32). These are precisely the three subjects of these parables in Luke. • The points of contact with the Matthean version of this parable (Mt 18:10-14) include the mention of one hundred sheep; the man leaving the ninety-nine and searching for the one that has gone astray; the recovery of which produces joy and the mentioning of angels (Lk 15:10/Mt 18:10) in heaven (Lk 15:7/Mt 18:10). • However, Luke has expanded the account for purposes of verisimilitude, e. g., "placing on his shoulders," (Lk 15:5b), "when he comes home, he calls together his friends and his neighbors" (Lk 15:6a), the statement of the shepherd in direct speech (for greater vividness; Lk 15:6b). These unnecessary expansions seem to make Luke's version secondary to the more terse version in Mt. • Luke does not like Matthew's "rejoice more;" Luke wants to focus on the natural act of rejoicing over finding what was lost. • There are structural similarities between the set of two similes in Lk 14:28-32 and Lk 15:4-10.

Luke 14:28-30	Luke 15:4-7
‹14:28› τίς γὰρ	‹15:4› Τίς ἄνθρωπος
ἐξ ὑμῶν	ἐξ ὑμῶν
θέλων πύργον	ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα
οἰκοδομῆσαι	καὶ ἀπολέσας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓν
οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας	οὐ
ψηφίζει	καταλείπει
τὴν δαπάνην,	τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα
	ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
	καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ
	ἀπολωλὸς
εἰ ἔχει εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν;	ἕως εὕρῃ αὐτό;
‹14:29› ἵνα μήποτε	‹15:5› καὶ εὑρὼν
	ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους
	αὐτοῦ
	χαίρων
θέντος αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον	‹15:6› καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν
καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντος ἐκτελέσαι	οἶκον
πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες	
ἄρξωνται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίζειν	
	συγκαλεῖ
	τοὺς φίλους
	καὶ τοὺς γείτονας
‹14:30› λέγοντες	λέγων αὐτοῖς,
	Συγχάρητέ μοι,
	ὅτι εὗρον τὸ πρόβατόν μου
	τὸ ἀπολωλός.
ὅτι	‹15:7› λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὕτως
Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος	χαρὰ
ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔσται
	ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ
	μετανοοῦντι
καὶ	ἢ ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα
οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐκτελέσαι.	δικαίοις
	οἵτινες οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν
	μετανοίας.

Luke 14:31-32	Luke 15:8-10
‹14:31› ἢ	‹15:8› **Ἢ**
τίς βασιλεὺς	τίς γυνὴ
πορευόμενος ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ	δραχμὰς ἔχουσα **δέκα**
συμβαλεῖν εἰς πόλεμον	ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν,
οὐχὶ καθίσας πρῶτον	οὐχὶ
βουλεύσεται	ἅπτει λύχνον
	καὶ σαροῖ τὴν οἰκίαν
	καὶ ζητεῖ ἐπιμελῶς
εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν	ἕως οὗ εὕρῃ;
ἐν **δέκα** χιλιάσιν	
ὑπαντῆσαι τῷ	
μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων	
ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ' αὐτόν;	
‹14:32› εἰ δὲ μή γε,	
ἔτι αὐτοῦ πόρρω ὄντος	‹15:9› καὶ εὑροῦσα
	συγκαλεῖ
πρεσβείαν	τὰς φίλας
	καὶ γείτονας
ἀποστείλας	λέγουσα,
	Συγχάρητέ μοι,
	ὅτι εὗρον τὴν δραχμὴν
	ἣν ἀπώλεσα.
	‹15:10› οὕτως, λέγω ὑμῖν,
ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην.	γίνεται χαρὰ
	ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ
	θεοῦ
	ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ
	μετανοοῦντι.

These structural parallels seem to be uncharacteristic of Lukan style. • The references to parties with *friends* in all three parables in Lk 15:1-32 (Lk 15:6, 9, 22-30) link the whole of Lk 15 closely with Lk 14:7-24, esp. Lk 14:12-24.]

Luke 15:8-11. The Lost Coin

(cf. Mt 18:12-14)

Jesus' speech to the Pharisees continues with another illustration, serving to reveal how out-of-place their grudging attitude is in the presence of sinners and tax-collectors who want God's mercy.

[See preceding compositional section for comments on this parable. Also note that the woman in this parable "lights a lamp" and "does" something to find her lost (hidden?) coin (cf. Mt 5:14-16/Lk 8:16-18/Lk 11:33-36; Mt 10:26-27/Lk 8:16-18/Lk 11:53-12:3; Mt 12:46-50/Lk 8:19-21/Lk 11:27-28).]

Luke 15:11-32. The Lost Son

Continuing smoothly along without a break, Jesus caps the two previous stories with a third which profoundly nuances the message he is conveying to the Pharisaic grumblers. Jesus tells the story of a younger son who turns astray and wastes himself in debauched living until one day, when he suddenly comes to his senses and decides to return home and tell his father that he "is not worthy" "to be called" his son. He should rather be one of his father's "servants." The father, when he sees the younger son coming home, is overjoyed and orders a feast for his welcome. To this point, the parable accents some of the themes of the parables of the lost sheep and coin. Then, the elder brother appears on the scene. He grumbles about the joyful

welcoming feast being prepared for his errant younger brother. The elder brother has faithfully served his father for years, never straying from any "commandment" of his father, and did his father ever reward him with "a feast to which he might invite all of his friends" during all that time? Hardly. So he will not participate in any feast for his undeserving younger brother who, the older brother accuses, has been associating with social outcasts. The father's beautifully phrased reply both gently reassures the elder son of his undying love and affection toward him, while pointing out how a father's love may at the same time extend bounteous mercy toward an errant son who wants to mend his ways.

[Luke begins this unit with the Pharisees objecting to Jesus extending God's mercy to sinners. Jesus first responds to them by defending the appropriateness of God's mercy and the appropriate response is joy. However, in this third story, Luke adds a powerful nuance to Jesus' message: the righteousness of the "elder brothers" in Israel has made them too haughty to rejoice when someone unworthy is blessed by God (Mt 10:34-39!, "Unworthy" is a repeated literary feature of the text of Mt.) In the next pericope, Jesus goes on to speak to his disciples about the Pharisees (Lk 16:1ff.). They look like they are serving God but they really aren't. They are actually serving themselves (= wealth/Mammon; see further below) • The Lukan characteristics consist of the use of two genitive absolutes in Lk 15:14 and 20 respectively (Collison, 77-78), ἦν ἀπολωλώς, Lk 15:24 (Collison, 73), Ἦν δέ, Lk 15:25 (Collison, 70-71), τί ἄν εἴη, Lk 15:26) (Collison, 203; Goulder, 2:617), and δὲ καί Lk 15:28, 32 (Collison, 103; Goulder, 2:617).]

Section 8: Luke 16:1-31. To the Disciples - On the Pharisees

Luke 16:1-13. The Pharisees Are Like a Greedy Manager

(Mt 6:24)

Luke continues Jesus' polemic against the Pharisees. He portrays Jesus "also" turning to his disciples to speak; presumably they have been listening attentively to the foregoing speech to the Pharisees. Now he will talk to his disciples about the Pharisees, who, of course, will be listening attentively to everything he says about them (see their rejoinder at Lk 16:14).

Jesus tells his disciples a story about a greedy and corrupt manager of someone's estate. This greedy manager is clearly meant as a symbolic figure representing the Pharisees. What is Jesus' point? If, as has amply been demonstrated already, these religious leaders and rulers of Israel are so out-of-step with God's plan of salvation, what is their problem? Why are they so resistant and obstructive? Could it be that they are not really servants of God at all? Could it be that, despite their famous emphasis upon ritual correctness, they do not really follow Moses after all? Such is the direction Jesus takes in this story. In Luke's use of this parable, Jesus' story is a parable about the Pharisees, who served greed rather than God.

[Despite the widely-used interpretation of this parable by Jeremias, according to which the original ending occurs in Lk 16:8, it is clear from the context that, as far as Luke was concerned, this story as modified and shaped by the additional verses (Lk 16:10-13), was understood to be a warning against greed, and he applied it as such to the Pharisees. Luke specifically adds that the Pharisees are "lovers of money" (Lk 16:14) to make this story more appropriate to the Lukan context in which he places it. • The final statement about serving two masters is a close parallel to Mt

6:24 (See Luke's use of Mt 6:25ff. at Lk 12:22ff. • The awkward ending in Lk 16:9b, "so that when it fails they may receive you into the eternal habitations," may not be Lukan stylistically, but it does serve to prepare for the eternal judgment motif in the story of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31). • For these reasons, we are inclined to think that Luke himself combined the materials in Lk 16:9b-13 to serve as a transition to the dominant theme in the successive pericopes: the Pharisees are not true followers of Moses. • Lukan characteristics are not very numerous. They include Ἔλεγεν δέ (Collison, 46), καὶ οὗτος (Collison, 117; Goulder, 2:626), οὐκ ἰσχύω (Collison, 53; Goulder, 2:626), ἕτερος, Lk 16:7, and twice in Lk 16:13 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:627), and ὑπάρχοντες (Collison, 67).]

Lk 16:14-18. God's Law Remains Forever

(Mt 11:12-13; 5:17-18/Mt 24:34-35; 5:31-32/19:1-9)

Stung by his words, the Pharisees, "who were lovers of money and who heard all this," couldn't stand it any longer and cried out against Jesus, scoffing at his words. But Jesus, not backing down a whit, now says plainly what he has been saying in word pictures and hints up until now: "You are those who justify yourselves rather than asking God to make you right with Him! But God can see your arrogance, and you will face Him at the Judgment! To be sure, the law and the prophets have been in effect even up to the time of John the Baptist and, since then, the Gospel of the Kingdom of God has been preached, so that people have been eagerly forcing their way into it. But no person should think for a moment that God's Law has now been abrogated! Far from it! Yet you constantly break both its spirit and its letter, such as your willingness to permit easy divorces! Such as your disregard for the poor and sick (=Lazarus), maimed and blind! Such as your opposition to God's forgiveness! No. "Moses and the prophets" (Lk 16:17, 29) are still in effect and you will have to answer for your callous disregard of them!"

[Luke ends the previous story with an outburst from the Pharisees. This transition permits Luke to introduce two themes of fundamental importance for the story about the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) and for the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax-Collector (Lk 18:9-14). These are (1) God's Law and (2) receiving one's righteousness before God as a gift from God, not as something one has painstakingly earned. • The sayings in Lk 16:14-18 are preparatory for the central point of the classic judgment scene in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus: "But Abraham said, 'They (the rich man's brothers) have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.'" • Luke prepares for this striking saying by introducing, from Mt 5:17-18, the saying about the permanence of the Torah. • Then, as a prime illustration of the lax and perverse teachings of the Pharisees, Luke turns to Matthew's account of Jesus' dispute with the Pharisees over divorce (Mt 19:1-14/Mt 5:31-32) where he implicitly echoes Jesus' critique there: "(Jesus) said to them, 'Because of your hardness of heart (sinfulness) Moses allowed you to divorce your wives, but from the beginning (i. e., with Adam and Eve) it was not so!'" (Mt 19:8). The link between Mt 11:12-13/Lk 16:16 and Mt 5:17-18/Lk 16:17 is the common reference in both Matthean contexts to "the law and the prophets" which is the part of both Matthean contexts that Luke adopts at Lk 16:16. Thus, the parallel to Lk 16:18 is both Mt 19:3-9 and Mt 5:31-32. The reason why this saying is included in this context in Luke is because it is an illustration of what it means to truly adhere to Moses and the prophets (e.g., Mal 2:13-16, "I hate your constant divorcing, says the Lord"). In other words, the Matthean version in Mt 5:32 brings up Jesus' statements in Mt 19:1-9, where he chastises the Pharisees for legalizing sinful behavior. • Luke's version of the teaching on divorce, as compared with Matthew's, is more "strict." That is,

Matthew's version permits divorce and remarriage in cases of the wife's infidelity. Luke's version brands remarriage, under all circumstances, as adultery. As such, his position is reminiscent of Paul, who permits divorce, but not remarriage (cf. 1 Cor. 7:11). • Luke's version of Mt 11:12-13 exhibits a number of striking modifications. In the Matthean version, Jesus says "the law and the prophets prophesied until John—when prophecy died. Since then (namely, John's death), all sorts of violence has broken out and the Kingdom of God (= the faithful) have suffered increasing violence as men have tried to "take it by force;" a possible allusion to Judah the Galilean and the Zealots, and others who wanted to force God to bring in the Day of National Liberation. "But he (John the Baptist) will be Elijah, who is (soon) to come." Luke has changed this to "The period of the Law and the Prophets extended through (the death of) John the Baptist. And since then, the Gospel of the Kingdom of God is preached"—beginning at Nazareth—"and everyone enters it urgently." The difficult word βιάζεται does carry connotations of force and violence. But it is noteworthy that Luke has omitted Matthew's reference to "robbers" βιασταί who "seize it" ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν (Mt 11:12b). Thus we agree with those who interpret βιάζεται in a positive sense. • The flow of logic in these verses, thus interpreted, is as follows: True, the period of the Law and the Prophets extended until John the Baptist, and true again, since then the Kingdom of God is preached (so that everyone wants to press into it), but don't think the preaching of the Kingdom means God's Law is done with! It would be easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tiny dot of the Torah to be abrogated! So don't think you can disobey God's Will—like you do when you say it is permissible to have divorce for any reason! Every man who divorces his wife and marries another woman commits adultery (etc.)!" Jesus goes on in the very next story and points out how the rich man and all his brothers are also disobeying Moses and the prophets (see further below). • There is some evidence of Lukan stylistic characteristics in this composite group of sayings, indicating his activity: ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, Lk 16:16 (Collison, 170; Goulder, 2:633), εὐαγγελίζομαι, Lk 16:16 (Collison, 51; Goulder, 2:633), ἕτερος Lk 16:18 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:634), and ἀνδρός Lk 16:18 (Collison, 167; Goulder, 2:634).]

Luke 16:19-31. The Pharisees Are Like a Wicked Rich Man

Without pausing, Jesus launches into a curious story about a wicked rich man who died and went to Hades. There he looked up and, to his astonishment, saw the filthy, sick beggar who had always sat at his doorway resting comfortably in Abraham's bosom. "Father Abraham, help me!" cried the rich man in torment. "Send that beggar to me with a little sip of water!" Father Abraham replied, "Son, you have had a life full of ease and comfort while this poor fellow had nothing but misery and sickness. Now he is in comfort and you in anguish. He cannot aid you, nor should he. Besides, there is a great gulf fixed between Heaven and Hades and no one can cross from one to the other!" In despair, the rich man cried, "Father, at least send that beggar to warn my brothers, lest they also come to this place of fiery torment when they die!" Again Abraham said, "Why should I send this beggar when your brothers have Moses and the prophets? Let them hear them!" To which the rich man said, "No I know my brothers! They don't care about the Law and the Prophets! But if they see some great miracle, like a beggar coming back from the dead, then they will repent of their ways and become obedient to Moses!" But Abraham said, "No they won't. If they refuse to obey Moses now, they won't change even if someone should rise from the dead to warn them!"

[This story is unique to Luke, and was probably taken by him from a non-Matthean parable source. • There is an illuminating parallel to the central point of this story in the Gospel to the Hebrews. In Origen's *Commentary on Matthew* he quotes a variant of the story of the encounter between Jesus and the rich man to the effect that when Jesus had told the rich man to sell all he had and distribute it to the poor, the rich man refused to do so. Then Jesus upbraids him, saying, "'How can you say I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, when it is written in the law: You shall love your neighbor as yourself; and behold, many of your brothers, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying of hunger (Lazarus!), and your house is full of many good things, none of which goes out to them?'" (cited from Throckmorton, *Gospel Parallels,* §189 notes). Here we can see precisely the bearing of the admonition in Lk 16:29 "They have Moses and the prophets. Let them hear them!" • This story concludes Jesus' teachings to the disciples about the Pharisees. Up to this point Luke has constructed two Sections dealing with the negative aspects of Israel's religious leadership. The first contained a series of stories directed at these religious leaders teaching them how they should respond to God's grace. The second is directed at the disciples about these religious leaders, saying plainly that they are false leaders because they do not keep God's law. Now Luke is ready to address the disciples in a positive vein; how true leaders of God's People should conduct themselves.]

Section 9: Luke 17:1-10. To the Disciples - How to Be True Leaders

Mt 18:6-7, 15-17, 21-22 ===> Lk 17:1-6. Coping with Sin Inside the Community

(cf. Mt 17:19-20 with Mt 21:21-22)

Luke portrays Jesus continuing to teach the disciples. However, it is clear that a new subject is being addressed: how true leaders should behave. They have heard many words describing bad leadership; now it is time for positive advice. In this, the first set of teachings, Jesus' words contain three short, interrelated messages. First, woe to the leader who, by some wicked action, sins against his trusting followers, thus causing lack of faith in God to arise among them! He will be most severely punished on the Day of Judgment! Second, switching perspectives, Jesus addresses the topic of what to do if a follower sins against the leader. What should he do then? He should be merciful; if the brother repents, he must always be forgiven, even if it happens seven times a day. At this, his disciples break in: "But surely such unruly followers will crush our hearts, causing us to lose our faith! How can we possibly forgive our sinful followers so much? We beg you, increase our faith so we can forgive them so much!" Jesus replies, "All you need is a tiny amount of faith! Not a great amount! You may feel discouraged and uncertain and frustrated by your errant and wayward followers, but if there is one tiny spark of faith in you, one small flame of hope—that's enough to forgive them and keep going!"

Matt 17:14-20

‹17:14› Καὶ ἐλθόντων
πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ
ἄνθρωπος
γονυπετῶν αὐτὸν
‹17:15› καὶ λέγων,
Κύριε, ἐλέησόν
μου τὸν υἱόν,
ὅτι σεληνιάζεται
καὶ κακῶς πάσχει·
πολλάκις γὰρ πίπτει εἰς τὸ πῦρ
καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ.

‹17:16› καὶ προσήνεγκα αὐτὸν
τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου,

καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν αὐτὸν θεραπεῦσαι.
‹17:17› ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν,
Ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη,
ἕως πότε μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσομαι;
ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν;
φέρετέ μοι αὐτὸν ὧδε.

‹17:18› καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον·
καὶ ἐθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς
ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης.

‹17:19› Τότε προσελθόντες
οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ
κατ' ἰδίαν εἶπον,
Διὰ τί ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν
ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό;
‹17:20› ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς,
Διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν ὑμῶν·
ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν,
ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν
ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως,

ἐρεῖτε
τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ,
Μετάβα ἔνθεν ἐκεῖ,
καὶ μεταβήσεται·

καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσει ὑμῖν.

Luke 9:37-43a

‹9:37› Ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ
κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους
συνήντησεν αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς.
‹9:38› καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου

ἐβόησεν λέγων,
Διδάσκαλε, δέομαί σου ἐπιβλέψαι
ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν μου,
ὅτι μονογενής μοί ἐστιν,
‹9:39› καὶ ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα λαμβάνει αὐτόν
καὶ ἐξαίφνης κράζει
καὶ σπαράσσει αὐτὸν
μετὰ ἀφροῦ
καὶ μόγις ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
συντρῖβον αὐτόν·
‹9:40› καὶ ἐδεήθην
τῶν μαθητῶν σου
ἵνα ἐκβάλωσιν αὐτό,
καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν.
‹9:41› ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν,
Ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη,
ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς
καὶ ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν;
προσάγαγε ὧδε τὸν υἱόν σου.
‹9:42› ἔτι δὲ προσερχομένου αὐτοῦ
ἔρρηξεν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον
καὶ συνεσπάραξεν·

ἐπετίμησεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ
καὶ ἰάσατο τὸν παῖδα

καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.
‹9:43› ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες
ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ.

Matt 21:21-22

‹21:21› ἀποκριθεὶς
δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,

Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν,
ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν

καὶ μὴ διακριθῆτε,
οὐ μόνον τὸ τῆς συκῆς ποιήσετε,
ἀλλὰ κἂν
τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ εἴπητε,
Ἄρθητι
καὶ βλήθητι
εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, γενήσεται·
‹21:22› καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσητε
ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ πιστεύοντες
λήμψεσθε.

Matt 18:6-7, 15-17, 21-22
(Matt 18:8-9 = Moral Surgery)
(Matt 18:10-14 = Lost Sheep)
(Matt 18:18 = Binding and Loosing)
(Matt 18:19-20 = 2 or 3 Gathered)
(Matt 18:21-19:1 = Unforgiving Servant

‹18:6› Ὃς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ
ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων
εἰς ἐμέ,
συμφέρει αὐτῷ
ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς
περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ
καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς
θαλάσσης.
‹18:7› οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων·
ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα,
πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὗ
τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται.

‹18:15› Ἐὰν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ [εἰς σὲ]
ὁ ἀδελφός σου,
ὕπαγε ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ
μόνου.
ἐάν σου ἀκούσῃ, ἐκέρδησας τὸν ἀδελφόν σου·
‹18:16› ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσῃ,
παράλαβε μετὰ σοῦ ἔτι ἕνα ἢ δύο,
ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν
σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα·
‹18:17› ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ αὐτῶν,
εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ·
ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ,
ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης.
‹18:21› Τότε προσελθὼν ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν
αὐτῷ,
Κύριε,

ποσάκις ἁμαρτήσει εἰς ἐμὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου
καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτῷ; ἕως ἑπτάκις;
‹18:22› λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
Οὐ λέγω σοι ἕως ἑπτάκις
ἀλλὰ ἕως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά.

Luke 17:1-6

‹17:1› Εἶπεν δὲ
πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ,
Ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν
τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν,
πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ
ἔρχεται·

‹17:2› λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ
εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται
περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,

ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ
τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα.
‹17:3› προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς.
ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ
ὁ ἀδελφός σου
ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ,

καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ

ἄφες αὐτῷ.
‹17:4› καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις
τῆς ἡμέρας
ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ
καὶ ἑπτάκις
ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς σὲ λέγων,
Μετανοῶ,
ἀφήσεις αὐτῷ.
‹17:5› Καὶ εἶπαν
οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ κυρίῳ,
Πρόσθες ἡμῖν πίστιν.
‹17:6› εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος,

Εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν
ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως,

ἐλέγετε ἄν
τῇ συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ,
Ἐκριζώθητι
καὶ φυτεύθητι
ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ·

καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν.

[With Lk 17:1-2, Luke returns to Mt 18. Lk used Mt 18:1-2, 4-5 at Lk 9:46-48. We have also seen some evidence of Luke's knowledge of Mt 18:8-9 both at Lk 12:49 and again at Lk 14:34-35. The last time Luke was parallel to Mt 18 was at Lk 15:3-7 (Parable of the Lost Sheep//Mt 18:10-14). Now we see evidence of Luke's use of Mt 18:6-7, 15-17, and 21-22. • In this pericope, Luke selects and adapts the substance of Matthew's Community Regulations on how to deal with sinful behavior within the Elect Community. • Luke begins by relocating the statement about the inevitability of sinful behavior (Mt 18:7) from its position after the warning against sinning against one of "these little ones" (Mt 18:6) to the beginning of the pericope (Lk 17:1). At the same time, he has improved the sense: Matthew's ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐλθεῖν "it is necessary" is not as precise as ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν. . . μὴ ἐλθεῖν, "it is not permitted for scandals not to come." This statement sets the stage for the dual instructions for leaders which follow. • The occurrence of the term σκάνδαλον in Lk 17:1 is a non-Lukan word (cf. the discussion in *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers*, 329) • In the saying dealing with sins of the followers against the leaders, Luke's "if he repents" (Lk 17:3b-4) is clearer than Matthew's "if he hears you" (Mt 18:15b); hence, Lk 17:3 is secondary to Mt 18:5. • Luke's use of ἀφίημι in 17:3b (ἄφες αὐτῷ) is used to link up with Matthew's saying on forgiveness in Mt 18:21f. καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτῷ, but Luke has, once again, avoided the ambiguity in Matthew's saying (which counsels unlimited forgiveness with no mention of repentance) by inserting the confession, "if he should return to you, saying, 'I repent'" (Lk 17:4b, cf. the parallel, "if he should repent," at Lk 17:3). • The reference to, "the apostles," in Lk 17:5 (parallel to "the disciples" in Lk 17:1) is a well-known Lukan term (see below). • If we may assume that Luke has understood the instruction to forgive the sinning "brother" any number of times, provided he repents each time, as being one requiring a strong faith in God's power to change such a person's life, then we have the rationale for his turning to Mt 17:19-20 for the saying about faith as a grain of mustard seed. Luke has used both Mt 21:21-22 and Mt 17:19-20 in Lk 17:5-6. Luke has used the rest of the story in Mt 17:14-21 earlier (Mt 17:14-18), at Lk 9:37-43a, in the series of stories depicting the disciples' incompetence, blindness, etc. Now he returns to that context and takes precisely what he has not used, namely Mt 17:19-20. Luke changes Matthew's "mountain, move to yonder place" to "sycamine tree, be rooted up and planted in the sea" (Lk 17:6; cf. Mt 21:21 and Mt 18:7). This constitutes some evidence that Luke is conflating Mt 21:21-22, with the fig tree being cast into the sea, together with Mt 17:19-20 in Lk 17:5-6. Luke later skips over the story of the cursing of the fig tree, having only this echo here. Could "sycamine" be a misspelling of "sycamore," anticipating the Zacchaeus' story? (cf. Lk 19:4)• Luke changes Matthew's "And nothing will be impossible to you" (Mt 17:20d) to "it will obey you" (Lk 17:6), referring to the sycamine tree. • Lukan characteristics are found throughout the pericope and include πλήν, Lk 17:1 (Collison, 121; Goulder, 2:643); οἱ ἀπόστολοι Lk 17:5 (Collison, 168; Goulder, 2:643); προστίθημι, Lk 17:5 (Collison, 64); and ἐλέγετε, Lk 17:6 (Collison, 55).]

Luke 17:7-10. Don't forget who you are

Jesus continues his answer in response to the disciples' plea to increase their faith. Having told them that all they will need is the tiniest spark of trust in God to work wonders, he goes on to warn them to remember who they are. They do not know God's timetable with respect to any follower. It is theirs to do their duty and, when they are done, like a good servant, not even expect thanks.

[This pericope ends Luke's instructions to the leadership of the community regarding the inevitable sins which crop up and how to deal with them. As such, the whole Section is very reminiscent of Paul's injunctions in Gal 6:1-10 on the same subject. • On the structure of Lk 17:7ff., compare the charts and comments in

the discussion under Lk 15 above. • There are only a few Lukan characteristics: ὅς followed by a participle, Lk 17:7 (Collison, 206), and μετὰ ταῦτα, Lk 17:8 (Collison, 139).]

Section 10: Lk 17:11-18:43. The Kingdom of God is Near

Luke 17:11-19. Ten Lepers Healed

Resuming his narrative thread, Luke once again mentions Jesus "on the way to Jerusalem," when he is met by some lepers. They beg him to heal them, which he does. However, out of the ten, only one—a Samaritan "foreigner"—comes back to give Jesus heartfelt thanks. Luke's implication seems to be that the other nine were Jews and did not thank him.

[We take the geographical reference to be a narrative marker, indicating a new theme is about to be introduced. Thus this story acts as a transitional pericope to introduce the rest of the material in Section 10, the nearness of the Kingdom of God, which continues down to his entry into Jericho (Lk 19:1). • The curious phrase "passing along between Samaria and Galilee has occasioned considerable scholarly discussion. However, it may simply mean that Luke meant to portray Jesus traveling east to get to the Jordan River where he took the way south along the river until he came to Jericho. It was not an uncommon way to take when going south or north. • This pericope is replete with Lukan characteristic expressions and terms. To begin with, Jerusalem is given a Lukan spelling (Goulder, 2:647). Its occurrence here points back to Lk 9:51-56 and forward to Lk 19:11-28. Καὶ ἐγένετο + the infinitive (Lk 17:11, 14) is typically Lukan (Collison, 198-199; Goulder, 2:647). Lk 17:12 makes use of the genitive absolute (typically Lukan; Collison, 77-78). ἀνήρ is characteristic of Luke's style (Collison, 167; Goulder, 2:647). Other favorite terms include: ὑποστρέφω (Lk 17:15; see Collison, 67; Goulder, 2:647), φωνὴ μεγάλη (Collison, 187), and δοξάζων τὸν θεόν (Collison, 48). The reference to the healed Samaritan "falling at Jesus' feet" is a favorite Lukan expression for the ideal response of the believer (cf. Lk 7:38; 8:28, 35; Goulder, 2:647). Finally, the reference to faith "saving you" is a well-known Lukan theme (cf. Lk 7:50; 8:48; 17:19; 18:42). • The occurrence of "foreigner" in Lk 17:18 hearkens back to the rejection of Jesus by the Samaritan village (Lk 9:51-55) and forward to the Samaritan mission in Acts 8. In any case, a clear hint is thrown out that "foreigners" know how to thank the Lord Jesus properly. • The function of this story, as we have said, is to provide a transition to a whole series of pericopes dealing with the nearness of the Kingdom of God. Hence there is, in the response of the Samaritan leper, one person at least, who recognizes the fact that the Kingdom of God came to him that day in the person of Jesus. In other words, for Luke it is clear that Jesus' healings were meant to be understood as epiphanies of God's Kingdom (cf. "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come [past tense] upon you!" (Lk 11:20/Mt 12:28). In any case, some such understanding as this is required in the context because the very next story depicts the Pharisees coming up to Jesus and asking when the Kingdom of God was coming.]

Luke 17:20. Blindness of the Pharisees to the Presence of the Kingdom of God

Abruptly "the Pharisees" are reintroduced into the narrative. It is as if they were hovering in the background, see the healing of the leper, and come ask Jesus, "when is the Kingdom of God going to come?" The very fact that they have to ask the question, in view of all Jesus has done, proves their blindness. His answer underlines this fact. "You want signs? There won't be any because it is already here in your midst!"

[Again we are in the presence of a Lukan construction that serves as a transition to the very important speech regarding "signs" in Lk 17:21-37. • There is a slight similarity with Mt 24:23; and the pericope begins with an echo of Mt 16:1. But the basic concept is purely Lukan. The phrase, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, is Lukan (Collison, 170) and occurs three times in these two verses (Lk 17:20 two times, and once in 17:21).]

Lk 17:21-37. Have Faith in the Day of the Son of Man!

(Mt 24:17-18, 23-28, 37-41 and 10:39)

Once again, Luke follows one answer to the blind and unbelieving "Pharisees" with another answer to "the disciples." However, to them he says: "Don't give up! Don't be misled by false leaders who claim to have seen signs! Trust in God and wait. It is clear from the opening statement that Luke is thinking of the situation of his Gentile audience: "The days are coming when you will desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man and you will not see it." It is clear from Paul's correspondence with the Christians in Thessalonika that some Christians were losing hope in Jesus' return in glory. It is to such despair that Luke's Jesus says, "Do not listen to those who come to you and say, 'There he is!' Such people are deluding you!" But then the speech to the "disciples" ends with a number of dire warnings to be prepared, no matter what the circumstances may be.

[Luke connects this pericope with the preceding one (Lk 17:20-21) by the repetition of ἰδοὺ ὧδε. . . ἐκεῖ ἰδοῦ (Lk 17:21), ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ, ἰδοὺ ὧδε (Lk 17:23). • By an association of ideas, Luke turns to the material in Mt 24 and uses it selectively. He initially follows Mt 24:23-27 (par Lk 17:21-24) at the conclusion of which he makes the identification of Jesus with the Son of Man (Lk 17:25; cf. the discussion of Lk 7:11-35 above and Acts 7:55-56). He then draws from Mt 24:37-41 following the Matthean *Stichwort,* παρουσία. By omitting Mt 24:39a, he removes the emphasis of "not knowing" and adds the parallel statements about the time of Noah, Lot, and the Son of Man. The paraenetic exhortation (Lk 17:32-33) echoes Matthew's Missionary Discourse at Mt 10:39. This is the last verse from Mt 10:26-39 which Luke has used, *in Matthew's order,* beginning at Lk 12:2 and culminating here at Lk 17:32-33. It is a virtual certainty on the Two Gospel Hypothesis that Luke kept some kinds of annotations either on his text of Mt or in some separate record of every verse he had utilized of Mt, as he utilized it. • Within Lk 17:34-37 there are pairs of parallel references to male/female subjects that is most probably Lukan in origin. • Other evidence of Luke's characteristic terminology are: ἐροῦσιν, Lk 17:23 (Collison, 77-78), τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, Lk 17:25 (Collison, 204), καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, Lk 17:26 (Collison, 133; Goulder, 2:656), καθὼς in Lk 17:26, 28 (Collison, 155-156), ἧς, Lk 17:27 (Collison, 205-206), καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις in Lk 17:28 (Collison, 133; Goulder, 2:656), ᾗ, Lk 17:29 (Collison, 205), and ἕτερος/α in Lk 17:34-35 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:657).]

Lk 18:1-8. Pray and Don't Lose Heart!

Jesus then tells a story about a widow who refused to be put off by a judge who, at first, would not respond to her. Luke prefaces this story by saying, "Jesus told this story to the effect that we should always pray and never lose heart—the Son of Man will return as he promised!"

[This story was found by Luke in his non-Matthean parable source and placed here to illustrate his theme of untiring prayer to God (cf. Lk 11:1-13, to which this story hearkens back) to send the Son of Man. • Its location here is surrounded by signs of Lukan compositional activity. The reference to "the son of Man" in Lk 18:8 hearkens

back to the preceding pericope (Lk 17:20-37), while the use of cognates of δικαῖος point ahead to the story of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector, which follows immediately (Lk 18:9-14). Other Lukan additions are: • Ἔλεγεν δέ (Collison, 56; Goulder, 2:662) and προσεύχεσθαι (Collison, 63).]

Lk 18:9-14. Don't Trust in Yourself!

(cf. Mt 18:4 and 23:12) (cf. Lk 14:11)

Jesus continues teaching his "disciples" on the attitude to have in the interim, the story of the Pharisee and the Tax-collector. As always, the Pharisees are portrayed as those who "justified themselves" while the Tax-collector humbly begs God to bestow righteousness upon him out of His mercy.

[This parable also was taken by Luke from his non-Matthean parable source. It is linked with the preceding parable on the Wicked Judge by the themes of praying (προσεύχεσθαι, Lk 18:1, 9), and by cognates of δίκαιος (ἐκδίκησον in Lk 18:3; δίκαιοι-ἄδικοι-δεδικαιομένος in Lk 18:9, 11, 14). • Luke has connected Lk 18:14 to the parable. The saying here is a precise doublet to Lk 14:11. Lk 18:14 recapitulates the message of the parable and also, in being a close echo of Mt 18:4 (cf. Mt 23:12), prepares the transition to the next saying about accepting the Kingdom like children (Lk 18:15-17). • Evidence of Lukan editorial activity include δὲ καί Lk 18:9 (Collison, 103), τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην, Lk 18:9 (Collison, 204, cf. Goulder, 2:669), προσεύχομαι, Lk 18:10, 11 (Collison, 63), ἕτερος, Lk 18:10 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:669), and οὐκ . . . οὐδέ (Collison, 164-165).]

Mt 18:3, 19:13-15 ===> Lk 18:15-17. Accept the Kingdom Like Children

Luke continues with the theme of humility, giving a story where Jesus points to infants as the true type of those who receive the Kingdom: they can bring nothing of their own.

[In the preceding pericope and this one, Luke has re-entered the order of Matthew's narrative. Luke created the conclusion to the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax-collector with a hint from Mt 18:4; being humble as a child and entering the kingdom like a child. Luke has already used what he wants out of the divorce material (Lk 16:18) and thus arrives at the next pericope in Mt; the blessing of the children (Mt 19:13-15) which Luke reproduces here. • Luke has altered Matthew's παιδία (Mt 19:13) to βρέφη (Lk 18:15) to stress their greater dependence and helplessness. • Likewise, in Luke's version, Jesus "touches" the children rather than "lay hands on and bless them" (Mt), an expression which might not be easily understood in the non-Jewish context. • Luke concludes the pericope with a phrase from Mt 18:3 (cf. Mt 18:1-2, 4-5/Lk 9:46-48) containing the words "entering the Kingdom of Heaven/God." This serves as a transition to the next story, where the issue is "entering the Kingdom" (cf. Lk 18:24, 25)]

Mt 19:16-30 ===> Luke 18:18-30. Give your Possessions to the Poor!

As if in reply to Jesus' words, a rich ruler of the people asks Jesus how he too may inherit eternal life? Jesus suggests that he try keeping the Commandments. The Rich Ruler says that he has. But apparently he hasn't, for Jesus interprets them to him further. "One thing you lack: sell your possessions and give the money to the poor and come and follow me." At this, the rich ruler became sad, evidently hearing something he could not do. Looking at him, Jesus comments, "How hard it is for those who are rich to enter the Kingdom of God!" This statement prompts a shocked reaction from the crowd. "Who can do what you ask?" they shout. Jesus answers, "With

God, all things are possible." At this Peter steps forward and proudly announces: "We have left our homes and followed you!" To which Jesus replies, "Yes and you will be richly rewarded both in this life and the next!"

Synopsis

Matt 19:16-21	Luke 10:25-28	Luke 18:18-23	Matt 22:34-40	Matt 5:43-48
			‹22:34› Οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ἐφίμωσεν τοὺς Σαδδουκαίους συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, ‹22:35› καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν [νομικὸς] πειράζων αὐτόν, ‹22:36› Διδάσκαλε, ποία ἐντολὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ;	
‹19:16› Καὶ ἰδοὺ εἷς προσελθὼν αὐτῷ εἶπεν, Διδάσκαλε, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω ἵνα σχῶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον; ‹19:17› ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ θέλεις εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν, τήρησον τὰς ἐντολάς.	‹10:25› Καὶ ἰδοὺ νομικός τις ἀνέστη ἐκπειράζων αὐτὸν λέγων, Διδάσκαλε τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ‹10:26› ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; πῶς ἀναγινώσκεις; ‹10:27› ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν,	‹18:18› Καὶ ἐπηρώτησέν τις αὐτὸν ἄρχων λέγων, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ‹18:19› εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός. ‹18:20›	‹22:37› ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ,	‹5:43› Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. ‹5:44› ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ‹5:45› ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. ‹5:46› ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ‹5:47› καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ‹5:48› Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.
Οὐ φονεύσεις, Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, Οὐ κλέψεις, Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ‹19:19› Τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καί, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. ‹19:20› λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ νεανίσκος, Πάντα ταῦτα ἐφύλαξα· τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ; ‹19:21› ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὕπαγε πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς [τοῖς] πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι. ‹19:22› ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος τὸν λόγον ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος· ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά.	καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. ‹10:28› εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ, Ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης· τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ.	Μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, Μὴ φονεύσῃς, Μὴ κλέψῃς, Μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ‹18:21› ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος. ‹18:22› ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἔτι ἕν σοι λείπει· πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ διάδος πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι. ‹18:23› ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα περίλυπος ἐγενήθη· ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα.	‹22:38› αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή. ‹22:39› δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. ‹22:40› ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται.	
Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου,	τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας·	Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου·		

Matt 19:27-30	Luke 18:28-30
‹19:27› Τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι· τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν;	‹18:28› Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες τὰ ἴδια ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι.
‹19:28› ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.	‹18:29› ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
‹19:29› καὶ πᾶς ὅστις ἀφῆκεν οἰκίας ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ ἀδελφὰς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τέκνα ἢ ἀγροὺς ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός μου, ἑκατονταπλασίονα λήμψεται	οὐδείς ἐστιν ὃς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ γονεῖς ἢ τέκνα ἕνεκεν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, ‹18:30› ὃς οὐχὶ μὴ [ἀπο]λάβῃ πολλαπλασίονα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.
καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει. ‹19:30› Πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι.	

Matt 20:1-15
Parable of Laborers in the Vineyard

Matt 20:16

‹20:16› Οὕτως
ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι
πρῶτοι
καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι
ἔσχατοι.

[The location of this story here is explained by Luke's following the order of stories in Mt. He includes most of Mt 19:16-30. • It is linked thematically to the foregoing by "entering the Kingdom of God." • Luke has altered Matthew's "what good thing must I do?" (Mt 19:16) to "Good Teacher, how may I inherit eternal life?" (Lk 18:18) consistent with the ending of his story, "and, in the age to come, inherit eternal life" (Lk 18:30b) • Luke also alters Matthew's address "Teacher" (Lk 19:16a) to "Good Teacher" (Lk 18:18a) in order to set up the next question back to the Ruler: "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone" (Lk 18:19).• In the recitation of the Decalogue that follows, Matthew's version follows the order of the LXX whereas Luke is similar to the order in Hellenistic Judaism (cf. Philo) • Luke omits the

reference to Lev. 19:18 in Mt 19:19b • Lk omits Matthew's "If you would be perfect . . ." (Mt 19:21) as he had already at Lk 6:36 (cf. Mt. 5:48); it was a Jewish expression easily misunderstood among the Gentile audience for which the Gospel of Luke was intended. • Luke temporarily sidesteps Matthew's mention of sitting on thrones with the Son of Man judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel (Mt 19:28); he will use it later at Lk 22:28-30. • Luke focuses Jesus' answer instead on "leaving houses and brothers, etc." (Mt 19:29), to which Luke adds "wife" (Lk 18:29b), a typically Lukan touch (see below at Lk 20:27-40). • Luke has changed Matthew's "for my name's sake" (Mt 19:29a) to "for the sake of the Kingdom of God" (Lk 18:29b) as more consistent with the basic theme of the story ("entering the Kingdom of God").]

Mt 20:17-19 ===> Lk 18:31-34. Blindness of the Disciples

Immediately, Jesus adds a warning he has given before, namely, that, once they reach Jerusalem, "the Son of Man . . . will be mocked and shamefully treated and spit upon. Gentiles will . . . kill him and on the third day he will rise." (Lk 18:31). However, God prevented the disciples from understanding a word Jesus said.

[Luke has skipped over the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard in Mt 20:1-16 in order to append the immediately following prediction about the suffering, death and vindication of the Son of Man (Mt 20:17-19/Lk 18:31-34, cf. Lk 9:21-24, 43b-45; 17:22-25; 22:21-23; 24:19-27) to the preceding material about giving up everything to follow Jesus. • One reason for this may be that Luke will use another vineyard parable later at Lk 20:9-19/Mt 21:33-46. Another may be the "blindness" of the workers who "grumble" at the vineyard owner's generosity (Mt 20:11) • There are numerous Lukan characteristics throughout, such as τοὺς δώδεκα, used absolutely (Lk 18:31; cf. Collison, 168) though here it is also in his source; καὶ αὐτοί, Lk 18:34 (Collison, 196; Goulder, 2:674), ἦν . . . κεκρυμμένον Lk 18:34 (Collison, 74; Goulder, 2:674), and τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, Lk 18:34 (Collison, 204; Goulder, 2:674).]

Mt 20:29-34 ====> Lk 18:35-43. The Blind Man Who Sees Jesus

(Mt 9:26-31)

Synopsis

Matt 9:26-31	Matt 20:29-34	Luke 18:35-43
		‹18:35› Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ
	‹20:29› Καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰεριχὼ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς.	τυφλός τις ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπαιτῶν.
	‹20:30› καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο τυφλοὶ καθήμενοι παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν	‹18:36› ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο τί εἴη τοῦτο.
	ἀκούσαντες	‹18:37› ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος παρέρχεται.
κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες, Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, υἱὸς Δαυίδ.	ὅτι Ἰησοῦς παράγει, ἔκραξαν λέγοντες, Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, [κύριε], υἱὸς Δαυίδ.	‹18:38› καὶ ἐβόησεν λέγων, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με.
‹9:28› ἐλθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν		‹18:39› καὶ οἱ προάγοντες ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ ἵνα σιγήσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔκραζεν,
προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ τυφλοί,	‹20:31› ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σιωπήσωσιν· οἱ δὲ μεῖζον ἔκραξαν λέγοντες,	Υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με.
	Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, κύριε, υἱὸς Δαυίδ. ‹20:32› καὶ στὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐφώνησεν αὐτοὺς	‹18:40› σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν,
καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Πιστεύετε ὅτι δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ναί κύριε.	καὶ εἶπεν, Τί θέλετε ποιήσω ὑμῖν; ‹20:33› λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Κύριε, ἵνα ἀνοιχῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν. ‹20:34› σπλαγχνισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἥψατο τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτῶν,	‹18:41› Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. ‹18:42› καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
‹9:29› τότε ἥψατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν λέγων,		εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἀνάβλεψον· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.
Κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῖν. ‹9:30› καὶ ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. καὶ ἐνεβριμήθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, Ὁρᾶτε μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω. ‹9:31› οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες διεφήμισαν αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ.	καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψαν	‹18:43› καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν
	καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.	καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ.

As if to drive home the point, Luke immediately describes how, as they were entering Jericho, a blind man, hearing that Jesus was passing by, cried out to him "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!"—evidently expecting that Jesus could cure his blindness. The crowds tried to quiet him, but he shouted all the more insistently, "Son of David, have mercy on me!" Jesus heard him and stopped, inquiring of him what he wanted. He begged Jesus to restore his sight. "Receive your sight," replies Jesus. "Your faith has made you well."

[Luke is following the order of Mt. After the passion prediction, he comes to the story of the sons of Zebedee who have their mother ask Jesus to grant them places of honor at his left and right hand in the Kingdom. Luke has already touched on this squabble as to who was the greatest in Lk 9:46-48 and will make use of part of this story again in Lk 22:24-27. • Luke passes over Mt 20:20-28 for now and comes to the story of the healing of two blind men as Jesus was leaving Jericho (Mt 20:29-34). This Luke modifies to a healing of one blind man as Jesus is entering Jericho, since he has another story from his non-Matthean source material telling of Zacchaeus, which is set in Jericho. • The references to "faith" and the surrounding words and ideas in Lk 18:42 and Mt 9:29 give an indication that Luke is conflating Mt 20:29-34 with the Matthean doublet at Mt 9:26-31. • The story of the blind man who "sees" Jesus in faith, and is healed by him, sets the stage for the story of Zacchaeus, who climbs a tree in order to "see" Jesus (Lk 19:3f.). • The phrase "your faith has saved you" is a favorite Lukanism (cf. Lk 7:50; 8:48; 17:19 and 18:42). • Lukan themes dominate the narrative: e.g., the blind, discipleship, the people. Lukan stylistic characteristics occur: ἐγένετο δέ, Lk 18:35 (Collison, 56; Goulder, 2:674), ὄχλου διαπορευομένου, Lk 18:36 (Collison, 60); τί εἴη τοῦτο (τίς + the optative, Lk 18:35 (Collison, 209; Goulder, 2:674); αὐτὸς δέ, Lk 19:39 (Collison, 196), ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, Lk 18:40 (Collison, 77-78); παραχρῆμα, Lk 18:43 (Collison, 154; Goulder, 2:674); and πᾶς ὁ λαός, Lk 18:43 (Collison, 174; Goulder, 2:674).]

Section 11: Lk 19:1-27. Conclusion of Jesus' Journey to Jerusalem

Lk 19:1-10. Zacchaeus the Ideal Follower

On the verge of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, Luke tells the story of a chief tax collector who so eagerly wishes to see Jesus that he awkwardly climbs a sycamore tree. Immediately recognizing the situation, Jesus invites him to come down, that he will come to his house to dine with him. At this, people in the crowd "grumbled" complaining that he was "going to be the guest of a sinner." During the meal, Zacchaeus told Jesus that he had repented of all his evil gain, giving half of everything he had to the poor, and, to anyone whom he had extorted too much in the way of tax money, a four-fold restoration of their money. Jesus praises Zacchaeus, saying, "Today salvation has come to his house!"

[This story has been taken from Luke's non-Matthean source material. • Nevertheless, the story is unusually dense with favorite Lukan themes: repentant tax-collectors eagerly seeking to see Jesus, the good rich who give their goods to the poor, opposition to Jesus' associating with sinners (cf. Lk 15:2), and "the Son of Man coming to seek and to save the lost" (Lk 19:10). • As such, this story recapitulates nearly all of the previously emphasized themes in the Travel Narrative.]

Lk 19:11-27. Parable of the King Preparing to Come to His City

(Mt 25:14-30)

Then, in a very important clarification of the direction of his narrative, Luke comments, "Jesus proceeded to tell them a parable because he was near to Jerusalem and because they supposed that the Kingdom of God was to appear immediately" (Lk 19:11). With this introduction, Luke portrays Jesus telling a complex allegorical story about a nobleman who went "into a far country to receive kingly powers," and, while there, gave enormous sums of money to ten servants to manage until he returned. After he had left, however, some dissidents sent an embassy after him saying "We don't want you to be our king!" Some time later, the nobleman arrived back, having been made king, and asked each of his servants what they had done with what had been entrusted to them. Some had increased the amount, but one had done nothing. The nobleman praised the former but chastised the latter severely. And then he ordered the citizens who had not wanted him to be their king brought before him and killed immediately. After telling them this story, says Luke, "Jesus went on ahead, going up to Jerusalem" (Lk 19:28).

[Luke may have found this allegory in his non-Matthean source material, for it is quite different from the parable of the talents in Mt 25:14-30. On the other hand, the story exhibits numerous indications of Lukan compositional activity, so that it may well be a revision of that story, inserted here in this context, to serve as an allegory of the fate of Jerusalem and the Church, which functions for Luke as the prelude to the Triumphal Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (Mt 21:1-9//Lk 19:28-44). • Looked at in this way, Section 11 is Luke's composition, in which the story of Zacchaeus looks backward, drawing together all of the themes of the teaching of Jesus during his Journey to Jerusalem, while the Parable of the King Preparing to Come to his City looks forward to the rest of the Gospel and Acts, focusing on the themes of the judgment of Israel and the vindication of the Church (Acts). • Evidence of Luke's stylistic activity includes: Ἀκουόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, Lk 19:11 (Collison, 77-78), παραχρῆμα Lk 19:11 (Collison, 154: Goulder, 2:683), ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, Lk 19:11 (Collison, 170), ὑποστρέψαι, Lk 19:12 (Collison, 64; Goulder, 2:683), ἐξουσίαν (Collison, 173), δὲ καί, Lk 19:19 (Collison, 103), ἕτερος, Lk 19:20 (Collison, 184; Goulder, 2:684), the participle + relative pronoun (five times in Lk 19:21, 22, 26; cf. Collison 78-79), αἴρω Lk 19:21, 22 (Collison, 36), ἔθηκας, Lk 19:21, 22 (Collison, 66), πλήν (Collison, 121; Goulder, 2:685), and ἀγάγετε (Collison, 35).]

Writing a *bios*: Matthew's Genre Choices and Rhetorical Situation

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Over the past two decades or so we have seen the dissolution of the old consensus that the Gospels are *sui generis*. The work of both American and continental scholars has urged the view that the canonical Gospels are related to the biographical genre of antiquity (*bios* in the Greek; *vita* in Latin). Richard Burridge's *What Are the Gospels?* provides a comprehensive generic analysis of the gospels and locates them within the Graeco-Roman biographical tradition.[1] Even if one is not completely convinced that the *bios* tradition is the most proper one for situating the Gospels' genre, it is probably fair to say that most scholars recognize it as illegitimate to treat the Gospels as an isolated class.

Scholarship is at the point where it is beginning to ask, if the Gospels do belong to the genre of *bios*, or is at least related, how can this be exploited in terms of its hermeneutical potential? Such hermeneutical reflection inheres in Charles Talbert's latest statement on the subject and it is the point at which Richard Burridge's dissertation closes.[2] This paper will attempt to show how the perspective of genre can inform our understanding of Matthew's presentation of Jesus' teaching. Matthew's choice of intermixing speeches of Jesus with narratives about Jesus will be compared to the ways some other Greek *bioi* presented similar material relating to a teacher. These comparisons are intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

First, however, some comments are in order about how the phenomenon of genre is viewed in this paper. Current genre theory eschews the idea that genre is a means of classification. The boundary lines between genres are not always so clear as some might wish. As genres change, die, and are remade, classification attempts become more difficult. For example, the classification model of genre may lie behind some of the debate about whether Luke-Acts is history or biography. Current theory prefers to conceive of genre in a more dynamic manner, as concerned with communication and interpretation.[3]

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1 Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

2 Talbert, "Once Again: Gospel Genre," *Semeia* 43 (1988) 53-73; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels*, 259.

3 Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford University Press), 37.

Genre is conceived in terms of family resemblance. As Alistair Fowler states, "In literature, the basis of resemblance lies in literary tradition. What produces generic resemblances, reflection soon shows, is tradition: a sequence of influence and imitation and inherited codes connecting works in the genre."[4]

Such a notion of genre accounts for the mutability of genres, and hence recognizes the historically localized nature of genre. For example, one must speak of Attic tragedy or Elizabethan tragedy. This is where current genre theory and the recent discussions of the Gospels' genre come together. We can place the Gospels within the biographical tradition of antiquity with an eye to their similarity and dissimilarity to other examples in the tradition. Where different writers faced a similar problem it is instructive to observe how they solved it. If one document differs in some respect from most of the others, that is a clue as to how it communicates. If the Gospels, or any other work, simply followed a strictly defined generic recipe, we would not expect much in the way of fresh communication.

The objection may be raised that this understanding of genre does not fit the ancients' understanding of genre. It is true that ancient literary theory tended to be more prescriptive than modern theory. But two observations need to be kept in mind:

1) ancient literary theory had very little to say about biography, so that the generic rules that did exist were more implicit than explicit.

2) the surviving biographical works from antiquity demonstrate the flexibility of the genre. An examination of Klaus Berger's list of ancient *bioi* illustrates the variety *within* the genre.[5]

It is this flexibility within the genre itself which permits and invites hermeneutical reflection. Matthew's organization and presentation of Jesus' teaching has been chosen to demonstrate how this hermeneutical model of genre can be effective.

First, we shall observe how some other *bioi* attempted to present a person's teaching. The ancient writer of a biography faced some questions about how s/he was to integrate the figure's teaching into the account of his/her life. Judging from what was done, several ways were taken. In Plato's biographical dialogues, we see the essential Socrates.[6] His teaching appears as a method or procedure of inquiry more so than as a body of doctrines related to subjects. Themes and doctrines emerge via the Socratic method, but it is the method which gives unity to Plato's presentation of Socrates' teaching, not its content. Judged from Plato's perspective, this was an effective way of correlating the

4 Ibid., 42.

5 "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt* II, Principat 25.2. Ed. Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984, 1232-1236. The value of Burridge's work is its ability to identify the patterns or family resemblances of the *bios* genre while allowing for diversity; see his comments in *What Are the Gospels?*, 189-90.

6 The works of Plato and Xenophon devoted to Socrates do not qualify as *bioi*, but since they demonstrate a biographical interest in the teaching of Socrates, it seems appropriate to use them here for comparative purposes.

career and teaching of Socrates. It was this way of approaching life through a dialectical probing that was Socrates.

Xenophon's *Memorabilia* appears at first to be following a similar path. Socrates the teacher is shown primarily in dialogue with others. But Xenophon's organization of these dialogues is more clearly topical and conventional. Given his particular apologetic aims, Xenophon was concerned to show that the content of Socrates teaching was not dangerous to the state. The Socratic method appears in the *Memorabilia* to be much tamer, having as its aim the production of a wisdom that confirms and supports Athenian values.

Other biographers invented or followed other ways of balancing a figure's career and teaching. In his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Diogenes Laertius displays the following pattern of organization:

I. The birth and ancestry of the philospher with dates
II. Account of his education and other intellectual contacts
III. Events in his career
IV. Death and will
V. List of pupils/disciples
VI. Presentation of his doctrines

This pattern can be simplified by recognizing that II-V relate primarily to the figure's career. So essentially, Diogenes Laertius follows the pattern A (birth) + B (career) + C (teachings). A and B are held together in a loose chronology, the birth and death being the simple frame for the career. It should be noted, however, that in the case of some minor philosophers, there is not always a section C on the philosopher's teaching. In such cases there is only an A + B pattern.

An exception to this basic pattern is Laertius's biography of Diogenes, the cynic philosopher. Laertius's material about Diogenes is dominated by *chreiai*, so that much of Diogenes' teaching is presented through these anecdotes. Given the unsystematic character of Diogenes' cynicism, the *chreia* usefully communicated the philosopher's iconoclastic life-style. In this instance, the close relationship between Diogenes' manner of living and his teaching led Laertius to choose to organize Diogenes' biography by stringing together numerous *chreiai*, even though he apparently had at his disposal a number of books attributed to Diogenes which could have served him as the source for a section C (see *Diogenes* VI.80). In VI.70-73, Laertius does provide something like a short epitome of Diogenes' views without any of the anecdotes so that there is a sense in which the C pattern persists. It simply is a shorter section in the Diogenes *bios* in comparison with other *bioi* of comparable length.

Overrall, because Diogenes Laertius's interests are pedantic, the A + B + C pattern can be seen to have served him well. Lacking apologetic or overtly moralistic motives, Laertius's *Lives* has a somewhat encyclopaedic quality about it.

At first glance, Lucian's *Demonax* looks like Diogenes Laertius's *Diogenes*. Both contain numerous anecdotes about their respective philosopher and use them as the principal vehicle for revealing their figure's character. Lucian's purpose, however, is clearly apologetic and paradigmatic. In what is the only

serious work of his to survive,[7] Lucian presents Demonax as a model from the recent past from whom young men may pattern their lives (c. 2). So before Lucian recounts the teaching of Demonax he first tells the story of how Demonax almost suffered Socrates' fate (c. 11). This incident is located before the anecdotes so as to provide Demonax's teaching with moral legitimation. Without this account of Demonax's trial before the Athenians, the paradigmatic effect Lucian wished to work upon young men would not have succeeded. Having demonstrated the morality of Demonax as a subject fit for emulation, Lucian chooses anecdotes (*chreiai*) rather than a systematic presentation of Demonax's teaching. Like Laertius's *Diogenes*, Lucian's *Demonax* shows the principal figure in action. Because Demonax himself is the object of imitation more so than the content of his teaching, the string of anecdotes serves Lucian's purpose. The pattern of composition then is similar to Laertius's: A (birth) + B (education + trial) + C (anecdotes).[8]

The anonymous life of *Secundus the Silent Philosopher* is both like and unlike *Demonax* and the lives in Diogenes Laertius.[9] *Secundus* contains a brief account of his birth and education, followed by his career. But the account of his career is limited to two events.[10] The first event tells how Secundus came to his vow of silence, and the second relates how his fidelity to that vow was tested by the emperor Hadrian. Then comes a systematic presentation of his teaching, organized around twenty topics, in the form of twenty questions (by Hadrian) and their answers (by Secundus who writes them down). Like the story of Demonax's trial, the test of Secundus's silence serves to give moral credibility to the teaching which follows. The teaching has a more formal shape in *Secundus*, more akin to the C section in Laertius's lives. But *Secundus* is distinguished from the lives of Laertius because its teaching is given a concrete, historical occasion, the encounter with Hadrian.

Philo's *Life of Moses* is organized around four motifs: Moses as king, lawgiver, high priest, and prophet. Under these motifs, Philo can identify and illustrate the appropriate virtues. So, for example, when dealing with Moses the lawgiver, Philo devotes a section to the "legislative condition of the mind" (II.8). After detailing the virtues attending such a mind, Philo declares that Moses possessed them all and proceeds in encomiastic fashion to argue for the superiority of Moses' legislation above all others.

We do not find with Philo's *Life of Moses* a presentation of Moses' teaching or legislation. E. R. Goodenough's thesis may explain this. He argued that

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7 Hubert Cancik, "Bios und Logos, Formengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukians *Demonax*," in *Markus-Philologie: Historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 33, ed. Hubert Cancik (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1984) 115-130.

8 Cancik, 121, divides *Demonax* into two parts, the *Lebenslauf* (c. 3-11) and the *Lebensform* (c. 12-67). The *Lebensform* contains the anecdotes and the *Lebenslauf* contains the birth, education, and trial.

9 For a translation of this text see David E. Aune, "Greco-Roman Biography" in *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament*, SBL Sources for Biblical Study 21, ed. David E. Aune (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 114-121.

10 Burridge has shown that the *bios* genre allows for this concentration upon one or two events in the subject's life because these few events reveal the essence of the subject. See Burridge, 164.

Philo wrote the *Life of Moses* as a complement to *The Special Laws.*[11] Having produced an exposition of the Jewish law for a hellenistic audience, Philo then determined to record an account of Moses' life so that the qualities of the lawgiver could be considered more directly.

Within the structures of his history of the Jewish people, Josephus provided accounts of Moses' career (*Antiquities* II.201ff.) and legislation (IV.196-308). Josephus follows the device of the book of Deuteronomy and presents the legislation in the form of a direct discourse by Moses. It should be noted, however, that within the career of Moses there is a section summarizing the Mosaic regulations pertaining to purity and sacrifice (*Antiquities* III.224-286). The order of the Pentateuch probably influenced Josephus's ordering of Moses' career and legislation. By following the Pentateuch, Josephus gives to Moses' legislation an historical occasion which is not as characteristic of the Greek *bioi* we have discussed (*Secundus* is the exception).

In his *Life of Pythagoras* Iamblichus sometimes gives a general historical occasion for the delivery of a teaching by Pythagoras. For example, chapter 8 puts Pythagoras in Croton where, "A few days later, on entering the gymnasium, he was surrounded by a crowd of young men, and he embraced this opportunity to address them."[12] Then using third person indirect discourse, Iamblichus presents Pythagoras's teaching on various topics. So on the occasion marked above, Pythagoras instructed the Crotonian youth on reverence for elders and the gods, then temperance, and finally, the importance of education.[13] In other places, Iamblichus inserts teaching material without providing an occasion. For example, in chapter 23, "Tradition tells of another kind of teaching, by Pythagorean maxims pertaining to human opinions and practices, some examples of which may here be mentioned. It is advised to remove strife from true friendship. . . . Faith should never be separated from friendship, whether seriously or in jest. . . . Such is an example of the Pythagorean exhortatory maxims, which extended to all the virtues, and to the whole of life."[14] This latter device is the more common choice. Most of Iamblichus' biography devotes itself to topical treatment of Pythagorean maxims and doctrines. In this respect, Iamblichus appears to be similar to Diogenes Laertius.

We have observed how several biographers from antiquity managed the problem of integrating a person's teaching and career. When summarized or organized topically, the figure's teaching is not integrated well with his career. Only in *Secundus* and Josephus's account of Moses do we see topically arranged material given an historical occasion as the direct discourse of the biographical figure. In most other instances where the teaching material is

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11 E. R. Goodenough, "Philo's Exposition of the Law and his *De Vita Mosis*," *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1933) 109-25.

12 Trans. by Thomas Taylor in *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library: An Anthology of Ancient Writings Which Relate to Pythagoras and Pythagorean Philosophy*, introduced and edited by David R. Fideler (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Phanes Press, 1987), 65. Henceforth cited as Fideler, *Pythagorean Sourcebook*.

13 Fideler, *Pythagorean Sourcebook*, 65-66.

14 Fideler, *Pythagorean Sourcebook*, 82-83.

topically presented, it appears as an "add on" to the narrative of the figure's career. In those cases where *chreiai* are liberally used, bits and pieces of the figure's teaching appear within short narratives.

As we turn to Matthew's Gospel the same question faces us. How did Matthew proceed with the task of recording Jesus' career and teaching? Is there an integration of the two, and if so, to what effect?

The anecdotal character of Matthew's Gospel is obviously similar to *Demonax* and *Diogenes*. Where Matthew's Gospel stands out, however, is in its topically arranged presentations of Jesus' teaching. We are referring, of course, to the five major speeches and the polemic against Pharisees and scribes (chapter 23) in this Gospel. We should note right away that these speeches present Jesus' teaching as Jesus' own discourse, not as Matthew's summarization of Jesus' views. And, these teachings are given general historical occasion by their location within the narrative of Jesus' career (5:1-2; 10:1-5; 13:1-3; 17:24-18:2; 24:1-3). The effective result of Matthew's effort is a tighter integration of Jesus' career and teaching. Imagine how Matthew's Gospel would read if the teaching of Jesus was presented not as direct discourse, but as Matthew's summarization of it. Furthermore, imagine if the materials in these five speeches had been deferred by Matthew until after a presentation of Jesus' career. Thought of in this way, we may appreciate how Matthew created a lively rhetoric of communication. For example, Matthew could have chosen to present Jesus' opinion of the scribes and Pharisees as follows:

> Jesus was at odds with scribes and Pharisees who had a talent for the minutiae of the law, but lacked understanding of its just intent. For he held that these men were not genuinely interested in the justice of the Almighty, but pretended so to obtain honor and favor for themselves.

Written this way, the sting of Jesus' attack on the scribes and Pharisees would have been lost.

If we stay with the same example, we can see, too, that presenting the teaching of Jesus as Jesus' direct discourse contributes to the characterization of Jesus. In chapter 23, although there is no adjective to describe Jesus' mood, the strong rhetoric of Jesus' speech provides the reader with plenty of information with which to infer his mood. This impression of Jesus' character (and the character of the scribes and Pharisees) is strengthened when we recognize that the speech in chapter 23 has both narrative and discourse precedents and antecedents. The simple device of presenting this material as a speech of Jesus creates of it a dramatic scene in an historically connected narrative. One need only recall the structural organization of Matthew's Gospel wherein narrative and teaching alternate in five major blocks from chapters 3-25.[15]

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15 Prologue (1-2)

I.A. Narrative (3-4)	IV.A. Narrative (14-17)
I.B. Discourse (5-7)	IV.B. Discourse (18)
II.A. Narrative (8-9)	V.A. Narrative (19-22)
II.B. Discourse (10)	V.B. Discourse (23-25)
III.A. Narrative (11-12)	Epilogue (26-28)
III.B. Discourse (13)	

Janice Capel Anderson helps us observe one way in which the discourse and narrative material is integrated in Matthew's Gospel.[16] She points out how Jesus' teaching against false piety in chapters 6 and 7 prepares the reader for the introduction of pharisaic and scribal opposition in chapter 9 (see 9:2-8, 10-13). Matthew could have presented this opposition as Mark did, without preparation. But the warnings against false teachers and false forms of piety in the Sermon on the Mount predisposes the reader to be on the lookout for characters who embody such traits. Pharisees and scribes are not just opponents of Jesus (as in Mark's Gospel); their opposition is given a rationale—they are hypocritical. There is a continuous thematic thread extending from chapters 6-7 through the controversy stories of chapters 9, 12, 15, 19, 21, and 22 into chapter 23 where the picture of the opposition that has been built up is confirmed and extended by Jesus' speech against them. Jesus' dare to the scribes and Pharisees in 23:32, "Fill up, then, the measure of your fathers," already has its narrative precedent in 21:45-46 where the reader learned of the Pharisees' conspiracy with the chief priests to arrest Jesus. Because the reader knows of this plot against Jesus, his words here have a special poignancy.

Another instance of how intercalating discourse and narrative material permits Matthew opportunities for dramatic effect is the close connection between 10:24-25 and 12:24. As part of his sending out of the twelve, Jesus commends to the disciples a humility commensurate with their status as pupils. And he underscores this by saying "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household." This sets up the reader for 12:24 where, indeed, Jesus is accused of casting out demons by the power of Beelzebul.

Likewise, Matthew establishes a connection between 10:11-15 and 11:20-24, even down to repeating phrases. In 10:11-15 Jesus tells the disciples what to do if a town does not receive them and indicates an eschatological fate for such towns comparable to Sodom and Gomorrah. In 11:20 Matthew condenses into one sentence an account of Jesus' inhospitable reception in two towns, Bethsaida and Chorazin. Because Jesus' mighty deeds provoked no repentance in them, Jesus pronounces that it will be more bearable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for these towns (11:24).

These last two examples are not as elaborately constructed as Matthew's intertwining of teaching about false piety and the picture of the Pharisees and scribes. But examples like these last two are akin to what Fred Burnett has termed "redundancy."[17] Redundancy refers to the repetition of material within Matthew's Gospel, the second instance often providing some new wrinkles on the theme. Burnett points out that redundancy functions to drive the message home to the reader. Saying it more than once gives the message a better chance to communicate. Moreover, the repetition of the message with attendant variations broadens the message, giving the reader additional clues about what s/he should understand. In the two examples set out above Jesus warns the disciples about possible situations they might experience. Jesus

16 "Matthew: Sermon and Story" in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers*, ed. David J. Lull (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 496-507.

17 "Prolegomenon to Reading Matthew's Eschatological Discourse: Redundancy and the Education of the Reader in Matthew," *Semeia* 31 (1985) 91-109.

himself is then shown in these situations. This correspondence between discourse material and narrative episode suggests to the reader a coherence in the narrative world Matthew has created.

Because the missionary discourse was probably intended by Matthew to be relevant for his community, he has given its instructions an historical mooring in the life of the original twelve and in the life of Jesus. The "doubling effect" of these themes played out in teaching and narrative would have reinforced their importance for the historical reader of Matthew's community.

We have already suggested how criticism of the scribes and Pharisees in the form of Jesus' direct discourse functions to reveal Jesus' character even though no description of his interior mood is given. The subject of characterization needs to be explored futher. There are some places where Matthew explicitly reveals to the reader Jesus' interior mood.

> When he saw the crowds, he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd.
> 9:36

> As he went ashore he saw a great throng; and he had compassion on them, and healed their sick.
> 14:14

> And Jesus in pity touched their eyes . . .
> 20:34

Yet there are not in Matthew's Gospel the sort of descriptive character statement commonly found in Greek *bioi*, e.g.,

> [Demonax] never was known to make an uproar or excite himself or get angry, even if he had to rebuke someone . . . Such was the character of his philosophy—kind, gentle and cheerful.
> Lucian, *Demonax* 10

> Theophrastus was a man of remarkable intelligence and industry. . . . Furthermore, he was ever ready to do a kindness and fond of discussion.
> D. Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, V.36-37

> The chief and most essential quality required by a priest is piety, and this [Moses] practised to a very high degree, and at the same time made use of his great natural gifts. In these, philosophy found a good soil, which she improved still further by the admirable truths which she brought before his eyes, nor did she cease until the fruits of virtue shewn in word and deed were brought to perfection.
> Philo, *Life of Moses*, II.66

The distinction between these examples and Matthew's presentation of Jesus' character is the distinction between "telling" and "showing."[18] The

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18 See chapter 6, "Showing and Telling" in Robert Funk, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Sonoma, California: Polebridge Press, 1988) 133-161.

above quotations from the Greek *bioi* tell the reader about certain qualities, attitudes, or habits of the biographical subject. Showing these qualities, attitudes, or habits requires action. Showing and telling are present in all of the above works as in Matthew's Gospel, but it is important to know which mode of presentation is dominant. In Matthew's Gospel the mode of showing is most in evidence. We have noted the fondness for the *chreia* in Matthew and other *bioi* (such as *Demonax* and D. Laertius's *Diogenes*). Certainly the *chreia* is a form suited to showing the reader. But the speeches of Jesus collected and adapted by Matthew also show the reader a Jesus of action. Along with showing Jesus' actions (healings, debates with opponents, etc.), Matthew's preference for letting Jesus speak for himself allows the reader to infer the sort of person Jesus was.

At this point we should like to observe some examples where Matthew has correlated Jesus' teaching material into the narrative plot.

Jesus' Sermon on the Mount contains several sayings urging acts of goodness or forgiveness (5:43-48; 6:14-15; 7:12). Naturally, the reader expects this quality to be evident in Jesus' conduct. So a correspondence exists between these teachings in the Sermon and scenes like 9:2-8, 10-13. 9:10-13 is particularly apt because the quality of mercy inherent in Jesus' fellowship with sinners and tax-collectors is underscored by Jesus himself when he commends to the Pharisees the text "I require mercy, not sacrifice" (from Hosea 6:6). Likewise, in 12:8-14, the reader understands that Jesus heals on the Sabbath because of his merciful nature, rather than out of a disregard for the Sabbath. The reader makes a natural connection between this story and the sayings in the Sermon and 9:10-13. An additional link in the chain of association is 12:1-7 where in response to pharisaic objections about plucking grain on the Sabbath, Jesus again quotes Hosea 6:6.[19]

From a consideration of these few texts within Matthew, the reader has a clear set of signals for construing Jesus' character. The reader observes the importance of forgiveness and deeds of kindness in Jesus' teaching and can then observe Jesus as he exemplifies this teaching in his own deeds. The fact that his actions are misunderstood and opposed gives the narrative plot its conflict and also may strengthen the moral image of Jesus. The opposition functions to set Jesus' merciful spirit in greater relief.

By choosing to insert Jesus' teaching material into his narrative of Jesus' career, Matthew achieved a fuller characterization of Jesus and his opposition than was the case in Mark's Gospel. Reflection will show in what sense this is so. There is a gradual filling out of the character of the scribes and Pharisees through Matthew's alternation of teaching and narrative. Imagine how the scribes and Pharisees would appear in Matthew's Gospel without the teaching blocks relevant to them. Their identity as opponents would still be obvious, but without the teaching material the reader's understanding of their opposition would be the weaker.

Moreover, since most of what the reader knows about these opponents comes from Jesus' mouth, amd these opponents behave according to Jesus' description of them, Matthew prepares his reader to accept his conviction that

19 This is another case of redundancy.

Jesus will function as judge, as the future Son of Man (25:31-46). By showing that Jesus is on the mark in his comments about his opponents, Matthew is helping the reader to accept the picture of Jesus as the future Son of Man.

Among the more significant advantages Matthew gained by intercalating teaching and narrative material was the opportunity to create a more closely connected acount of Jesus' career. By "plotting" Jesus' teaching onto the story line, Matthew created a fuller narrative sense of time and space. However marginal are some of the temporal indicators in Matthew's Gospel, the impression given is that all of this occurred in this sequence. A summarization of Jesus' teaching would not have achieved this effect. Chronology, plot development, and character development exist in a symbiotic relationship to the intercalation of narrative and teaching material.

Rhetorical Situation and Function

The recent works of Andrew Overman and Graham Stanton ably argue that Matthew's Gospel was produced in a community struggling to define itself and its beliefs over against a parent body, identified by Overman as "formative Judaism".[20] The post-70 CE period is commonly perceived as a time when Judaism was required to redraw and consolidate its boundaries in response to the tragedies inflicted by the war with Rome. Sectarian diversity, prominent in the pre-70 era, required the survivors of the war to redefine Judaism in a way that established limits for diversity. Modes of appropriate interpretation and legitimate authority had to be discovered or invented. Matthew's Gospel has been read against this background with many illuminating insights being the result.

One of the debated issues is whether Matthew's Gospel reflects a community that sees itself competing within the camp of Judaism for a voice or one that has left the camp. The Matthean community Overman describes sees itself as the true Israel over against formative Judaism. "The Matthean community claims the same tradition and history as their opponents from the consolidating formative Judaism. This has placed these two movements in direct confrontation with one another." In other words, one must speak of Matthean *Judaism* rather Matthean *Christianity*. However, at the conclusion of chapter 3, Overman says, "Lines of separation have been drawn, in a manner that appears to offer no way back. The paths of the Matthean community and formative Judaism do not flow together from this point forward, but appear rather to diverge."[21] While sharing with Overman the view that Matthew's gospel comes out of a sectarian conflict, Stanton more strongly emphasizes that Matthew's Gospel is evidence of its community's break with Judaism. "I am convinced that Matthew's communities have parted company with Judaism and that some Gentiles have been accepted. Nearly every pericope of the gospel relfects rivalry between 'church' and 'synagogue.' Matthew's

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20 J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism, The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People, Studies in Matthew* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

21 Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism*, 148, 149. See Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People*, 123, where he criticizes Overman for not being consistent on this point.

communities are *extra muros*, but they are still responding in various ways to local synagogues and they still hope that even if Israel has been rejected by God, individual Jews will be converted. On this view the gospel can be seen, at least in part, as an apology—a defense of Christianity over against non-Christian Judaism."[22]

By considering Matthew's choice of genre, *bios*, support can be given to Stanton's position. Whereas the Matthean community likely emerged from within Judaism, the legitimation of itself in the form of a *bios* would seem to indicate an awareness that a break from the parent group has been achieved.

Some contemplation of the Dead Sea Scrolls may provide perspective in this regard. Clearly the scrolls come from a Jewish group which sees itself as the true Israel. The Qumran community believed that God had revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness the true interpretation of the scriptures. Therefore, the community formalized institutions and interpretive procedures which provided self-definition and legitimation. The crucial points of disagreement between Qumran and the larger Jewish society were the temple and torah. Consequently, the sectarian literature of Qumran devotes considerable attention to the group's particular justification for its differences. Here are a few well known examples:

> And God observed their deeds, that they sought Him with a whole heart, and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. And he made known to the latter generations that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way.[23]

> When these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness according to everlasting truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness that they may obtain lovingkindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free-will offering.[24]

> Whoever approaches the Council of the Community shall enter the Covenant of God in the presence of all who have freely pledged themselves. He 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, the Keepers of the Covenant and Seekers of His will, and to the multitude of the men of their Covenant who together have freely pledged themselves to His truth and to walking in the way of His delight.[25]

From the above examples, we can see that the Qumran community had defined itself as the legitimate covenant community by virtue of its legal and

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22 Stanton, 124.

23 CD1; Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 2nd edition (New York: Penguin, 1975) 97.

24 1QS 9; Vermes, *DSS* 87.

25 1QS 5; Vermes, *DSS* 79.

ritual observances. The community itself takes the place of the defiled temple; its priests constitute the legitimate and loyal priestly line; and its halakic interpretations accord with the truth of God's will. The opposition to the parent body is obvious.

It is important to remind ourselves of an important fact. Despite the obvious importance of the Teacher of Righteousness to Qumran, his name is not even preserved. Qumran produced no *bios* of the Teacher of Righteousness. It sought to legitimate itself throught midrash, pesher, and halakic interpretation, through rule books and apocalyptic speculation. But a genuine biographical interest in its founding figure is lacking. It might be said that the Teacher left Qumran an authoritative hermeneutical method,[26] but the fact remains that Qumran was torah/temple centered.

By contrast, the Matthean community's vehicle for legitimation is a *bios* of Jesus. While Matthew's gospel certainly is vitally concerned with the torah and its proper interpretation and observance, Burridge's analysis of verb subjects should not be overlooked. Burridge determines that Jesus is the subject of more than one-sixth of the verbs in Matthew's gospel (17.2%), while the amount of verbs in Jesus' teaching comes to 42.5% of Matthew's gospel.[27]

The focus upon Jesus is even more appreciated when one recognizes that Jesus' teaching is presented as direct speech in Matthew's gospel.

Matthew's choice of a *bios* indicates that torah is not the voice of authority in his community, but the voice of Jesus is. "You have heard that it was said . . . , but I (*ego*) say to you . . . ." While Matthew shows a clear concern for the correct understanding and performance of the torah, stress falls on the authority of Jesus the teacher. Matthew 11:25-30 is significant because it explains why the figure of Jesus is central for this community. He is the son to whom God the father has given everything. Therefore, the people are encouraged to take upon themselves *Jesus'* yoke, not the yoke of the torah (". . . learn from me . . ."). Furthermore, in the climactic final scene of the gospel, the risen Jesus claims all authority in heaven and upon earth and exhorts the disciples to teach initiates "to keep all that I have commanded you" (28:20). These few examples are expressive of the direction toward which a *bios* points—toward the biographical subject as the source of authority and legitimation for the author and her/his community.

These comments are not meant to dismiss the importance of the torah or the theme of scriptural fulfillment in Matthew's gospel. But viewed from the perspective of *bios*, these elements more properly are understood as topics within the genre. By being taken up and addressed in the context of Jesus' biography, they derive their significance *in relationship to the figure of Jesus.* While Matthew is concerned with the correct interpretation of torah, neither the torah nor a tradition of interpreters serves as the definitive authority of the Matthean community; the source of ultimate authority and legitimation is Jesus. *Bios* was the culturally appropriate genre for expressing this.

Burridge points to the many possible purposes of *bioi.*[28] Several of these purposes can co-exist in the same work. Indeed, several purposes from

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26 See the Pesher or Habakkuk 2.1-2 in 1QpHab 7; Vermes, *DSS* 239.

27 Burridge 196.

28 *What Are the Gospels?* 149-152.

Burridge's list would seem to be applicable to Matthew's biography of Jesus: exemplary, didactic, apologetic and polemic. It is because of these different aims that Matthew's gospel is at times speaking against opponents, like Pharisees and scribes, and at other times is speaking to those within the community (see Matthew 18). Attention to the socio-rhetorical dimensions of these biographical aims merits future consideration.[29]

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[29] My thanks go to Vernon Robbins, who provided helpful suggestions for this part of the paper.

The Convergence of Source Analysis, Social History, and Literary Structure in the Gospel of Matthew

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Introduction

The thesis set forth in this paper is a unified proposal of three elements: (1) Matthew composed his Gospel from Q, Mark, and traditions peculiar to his community. (2) Matthew's adoption and use of his sources reflects the history of his community. (3) The resultant structure was devised by Matthew to communicate his message, but reflects the particular sources he has used and aspects of the history of his community.

An elaboration of the third element of this thesis on the structure of Matthew will form the body of this paper. The first two elements, which I do not propose to defend here, may be briefly elaborated as follows:

(1) By Q and Mark I mean the version of Q and Mark that were current in Matthew's community. For Q this probably means a different edition than that used by Luke (Q^{Mt}—though not greatly different). Matthew appears to have used essentially the same edition of Mark as used by Luke, probably a slightly revised version of the edition of canonical Mark. Matthew did not merely edit his sources, but composed his narrative to express his own theology.

(2) Some important moments in the social history of the Matthean community may be posited, two of which are related to the adoption of Q and Mark as authoritative sacred traditions.

A. *The initial Q phase.* Matthew's community had Q as an authoritative document before it had Mark.[1] It may be that the Matthean church was "founded" by the messengers of the Q community in the 50s of the first

[1] The argument, which may not be developed here is that Matthew seems to presuppose familiarity with Q and Mark on the part of his readership. He treats both his sources with the respect due the sacred tradition of a community—but respects Q more. Even though he adopts the Markan narrative as the fundamental genre for his composition, he prefers Q at points where they overlap (not just textual overlaps, but where they overlap in theology).

century CE.[2] In any case, the acceptance of this collection of Jesus' sayings played a decisive role early in the life of the community. During this initial phase, among the dominant themes of Q that had a formative influence on Matthew's church were the image of Jesus as authoritative teacher, the importance of the sayings of Jesus, the future coming of the Son of Man as the divinely appointed eschatological Judge, the continuing importance of the Law, and the mission to Israel that had already been rejected.

B. *The Markan phase.* Not very long after 70 CE, perhaps as a result of the displacement of groups caused by the 66-70 war, the Matthean community was joined by a group of Christian disciples who brought with them as part of their sacred tradition a recent composition known to us as the Gospel of Mark. With the failure of the Jewish revolt, the destruction of Holy City and the temple, and the arrival of the Markan Christians, the life of the Matthean community entered a new phase. Without surrendering its earlier convictions based on its use of Q for many years in its worship and instruction, some strikingly new elements and emphases entered the life of the community. The Gospel of Mark offered a connected narrative of Jesus' ministry, death, and resurrection as a way of affirming the community's faith. It was a major move in the thought of the Matthean community to adopt this genre of Christian confession. Though Q was chronologically prior, Matthew made the Markan narrative basic to his own composition. The Gospel of Matthew is a narrative with inserted speeches, which themselves become part of the narrative, not a collection of speeches with a narrative framework. The stress on the *crucified* Jesus shifted the emphasis from Q's picture of Jesus, and filled in the content of the Q declarations about the suffering and crucifixion. Likewise, narratives about the disciples and their relation to Jesus gave a new mode of talking about the Christian life. The Markan narrative emphasized Peter in a way that the Matthean community had not previously done. "Son of God" became an important title during this phase of the community's life.

C. "*Jamnia.*" Without claiming to have much specific information about what happened at Jamnia 70-90 CE and its relation to the Christian congregations, I use "Jamnia" as a cipher for the more intensive phase of relations between the Jewish leaders, as they attempted to reconstitute Judaism after the debacle of the war, and the Christian congregations that were becoming more aware of their own identity. This growing tension, hostility, and mutual suspicion formed the ongoing background for a specific incident or series of them, which we may call:

D. "*The Beelzebul charge.*" The scene in which (presumed false) Jewish leaders who not only reject the message of Jesus and his disciples but charge them with operating by demonic power had made a deep impression on the collective consciousness of the Matthean community. The charge is levelled not only at Jesus (twice, 9:34; 12:24), but at the disciples (10:25). It is difficult to decide whether this is "only" a literary image projected from the pages of the community's sacred tradition, or whether it reflects an actual happening or

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[2] Following Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Benziger Verlag and Neukirchener Verlag, 1985, 1990) 1:65.

happenings in the life of the community's confrontation with its non-Christian Jewish neighbors. As a literary image it did not enter the community's consciousness only in the later phases of the community's life.[3] This picture was already present in the community's earliest Christian tradition (Q 11:14-15); Matthean disciples had heard it repeatedly from their earliest days as Christians. As the relations between the Jewish leadership and the Christian communities became increasingly hostile after 70, there may have been an actual key incident, or series of them, which the community understood in terms of this charge. In any case, as will be argued below, the "Beelzebul charge" became the focus of important concerns within the community.

Having stated the first two interrelated elements of my proposal as presuppositions, I turn now to the third and main interrelated element for this paper, the structure of Matthew.

I. The Variety of Proposed Outlines for Matthew

Numerous outlines for Matthew have been proposed. Numerous outlines for Matthew have been proposed. The field presents "ein recht chaotisches Bild."[4] Only those need be considered that claim to discover Matthew's own outline. Those that simply impose an outline on Matthew for dogmatic or mnemonic purposes, making no effort to determine Matthew's own outline, can be ignored. All recognize, of course, that there are units within Matthew's narrative that stand out as identifiable sections (the genealogy; the parable collection in chapter thirteen; the narrative of Jesus' arrest, trial and crucifixion, etc.). The issue is whether there are fundamental turning points in the narrative that divide the document into major units, and if so, their number, location, and function.[5] The current major contenders on this issue are:

A. No fundamental turning points = Matthew is one major unit

There are two varieties of this view.

(1) Georg Strecker is representative of those scholars who have not made *Gliederung* of Matthew into a major element of their interpretation. He is much more interested in the way the Matthean story, understood as a whole, fits into the wider framework of history, than in dividing the story itself into major

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[3] By "later" I mean "relatively late" with reference to the time of the Gospel's composition, which I judge to be ca. 90 CE.

[4] Luz, *Matthäus* 17. For a helpful survey of major options, cf. David R. Bauer, *The Structure of Matthew's Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Sheffield, England: Almond Press, 1988), Chapter 2, pp. 21-56.

[5] Bauer's dividing outlines into "geographical or chronological" and "topical" seems problematic to me. Since Matthew's story is chronological, almost any positing of dividing points is going to be chronological (though whether the chronological divisions are determined by when the story makes a geographical move is another matter). In any case, his own outline following (Krentz, Kingsbury) seems to me to belong more appropriately under the "chronological" heading rather than the "topical" one, since "from that time . . ." is the key phrase.

segments. He never presents an extensive argument for a particular outline of Matthew. "Der Einschnitt in der Zeitlinie" with which he thinks Matthew is concerned is the segmentation of saving history constituted by the whole "Leben Jesu" (birth-resurrection story) as its past-historical mid-point, rather than divisions within the narrative itself. He explicitly rejects, for example, the view that 16:21 begins a new period in the life of Jesus, and regards the ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς + inf. formula as marking continuity rather than segmentation in the united story line.[6]

(2) Other scholars, without any particular theological agenda that affects their view of Matthew's structure, simply do not see Matthew as having written his story as divided into major sections. Not all are as forthright as Robert Gundry, whose 640 page commentary on Matthew's "Literary and Theological Art," devotes one page to "The Structure of Matthew," and declares that after Matthew had rearranged his sources in the early part of his work, "editorial fatigue set in," and in the latter half of his Gospel he simply followed Mark.[7] In practice, however, many adopt the view that Matthew himself had no comprehensive structure, dividing Matthew into manageable chunks for purpose of discussing them in a commentary without attempting to discover Matthew's own structure, as e.g., Harrington's recent commentary.

Though I regard it as incorrect, the "one point outline" view of Matthew's structure does facilitate grasping a fundamental insight about Matthew's Gospel, namely that it is a narrative, a story. The Gospel is not a collection of texts arranged topically, structured by whatever obvious or subtle pattern, but a unified story that moves from Abraham in its first sentence to the end of the age in the last, with Jesus the Messiah as the primary character. Luz points out the difficulty of recognizing Matthew's major turning points in the sense of dividing the Gospel into distinct sections, as signaled by such phenomena as Matthew's binding pericopae together with τότε replacing Mark's paratactic καί, which illustrates Matthew's interest in presenting a unified story that flows, rather than a composition divided into distinct sections.[8]

B. Two fundamental turning points = three major units

It has long been noticed that the phrase ἀπὸ τότε Ἰησοῦς plus an infinitive expressing Jesus' communication of his message in 4:17 is repeated in 16:21, that the phrases are introduced by Matthew himself, and that each time a turning point in Jesus' ministry is introduced. This older view has recently

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6 Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit* (Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 91-92. On the other hand, while 8 of his 9 references to 4:17 are unrelated to structure, he does once indicate that the phrase here marks "einen Abschnitt im Lebem Jesu." Likewise, his critique of Grundmann's *Gliederung* takes him to task for ignoring the five concluding/transitional formulae at the end of major speeches, and the geographical marker at 19:1 (pp. 271-272).

7 Gundry, *Matthew* 10. Gundry's position is curious not only because of the literary focus of his commentary, but because he considers the Papias testimony essentially accurate, a key point of which is the emphasis on Matthew's order (συνετάξετο) in contrast to Mark (609-622).

8 Luz, *Mattaeus* 19. Cf. also Strecker note above.

been revived and amplified with supporting literary evidence so that the book is divided into three major parts:[9]

I. The Presentation of Jesus (1:1-4:16)
II. The Ministry of Jesus to Israel and Israel's Repudiation of Jesus (4:17-16:20)
III. The Journey of Jesus to Jerusalem and His Suffering, Death, and Resurrection (16:21-28:20)

Not only are the phrases in 4:17 and 16:21 strikingly identical, the periods they introduced are characterized by a particular audience and message (but not exclusively so). 4:17-16:20 is a public message of announcement of the Kingdom of God and call to repentance, while 16:21 is the private announcement of the suffering, death, and vindication of the Son of Man. This three-fold structure would correspond to a Matthean penchant for triadic composition. We know that Matthew is fond of three-fold divisions, from the genealogy onward. The arguments for Matthean triads are convincing (see below). They are a Matthean redactional feature. It is thus understandable that there is some agreement among Matthean scholars that 4:17 and 16:21 are important turning points in the structure of Matthew's story, and that this three-part division represents "the" outline of Matthew has won wide, but far from universal, support.[10]

C. Five fundamental turning points

If the five concluding/transitional formulae at the end of major speeches are taken as marking fundamental turning points, the structure of Matthew can be seen as five "books" with a "prologue" and an "epilogue," i.e., as constituted by seven segments. The classical statement of this view by B. W. Bacon has been roundly criticized, but variations of it continue as perhaps the most prevalent view of Matthew's structure.[11]

D. Eleven units

If each of the narrative sections is regarded not merely as connective or filler material, but also as a major structural unit, the five concluding/transitional formulae can become the basis for a chiastic structure, as in the proposals of Peter F. Ellis and C. H. Lohr. Both Ellis and Lohr regard the whole

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9 According to Franz Neirynck, T. Keim in the first volume of his *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara,* published in Zürich in 1867, was the first to propose this outline ("APO TOTE HRXATO and the Structure of Matthew," *Evangelica II* [BETL 99. Leuven: University Press, 1991] 141-82). After being noticed by a few others, Edgar Krentz, "The Extent of Matthew's Prologue: Toward the Structure of the First Gospel," *JBL* 83 (1964) reintroduced this view to the current discussion. Jack Dean Kingsbury has argued for this view in several works, including *Matthew as Story* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2nd ed. 1988), from which the above wording is taken. Bauer's monograph supports this view of Matthew's structure.

10 A thorough history and moderate critique of this view is given by Neirynck in the article cited above.

11 Bacon's structure has been rightly criticized for not giving the narrative nature of Matthew's composition its due, and this way of seeing Matthew has been mostly abandoned—cf. however, F. W. Beare's declaration that "the narrative itself has become in Matthew little more than a setting for a series of 'discourses,'" in G71.

Gospel as one coherent chiastic structure, an arrangement correlated to the "Five Books" scheme discussed above:[12]

A 1-4 Birth and beginnings	Narrative
B 5-7 Blessings, entering the kingdom	Discourse
C 8-9 Authority and invitation	Narrative
D 10 Mission discourse	Discourse
E 11-12 Rejection by this generation	Narrative
F 13 Parables of the kingdom	Discourse
E' 14-17 Acknowledgement by disciples	Narrative
D' 18 Community discourse	Discourse
C' 19-22 Authority and invitation	Narrative
B' 23-25 Woes, coming of the kingdom	Discourse
A' 26-28 Death and rebirth	Narrative

The neatness of such charts is beguiling, and does not fit the text exactly, but the general pattern does not seem to be accidental, even if it is not "the" key to Matthean structure. The five discourses do seem to be arranged in a roughly chiastic pattern. The Sermon on the Mount and the last discourse correspond: blessings and woes, entering the kingdom and the coming of the kingdom. Then chapters 10 and 18 are a pair: sending out the missionaries and receiving the little ones, and both deal with the use of apostolic authority. In this arrangement, chapter 13 becomes the central core: the centrality of the kingdom of God and its relation to the church as a *corpus mixtum*, a mixed bag in the present to be sorted out only by God at the eschaton. This corresponds to a central tenet of Matthean theology.

The variety of reconstructions and the continuing debate as to the structure of Matthew shows that in positing a structure for the document imaginative reconstruction plays a role, and not only the empirical phenomena of the text. This approach has scored a major point however, in insisting that discussions of Matthew's structure be based on the phenomena of the text. Most of these phenomena are familiar to all who have concerned themselves with Matthew's structure, but may be briefly reviewed and summarized.

II. Phenomena of the text

A. Topical Collections

Matthew is beguilingly "easy to outline," in the sense that there is a memorable story line, and many like materials are clustered together. Matthew has organized much of his material topically. Parables are in chapter 13, miracles are in chapters 8-9, eschatology is in chapters 24-25, beatitudes are in chapter 5, and the Lord's prayer is in chapter 6 along with other teaching on prayer. It is clear that topical organization is a factor in Matthew's structure, but it cannot be "the" structural key, for it misses the flow of the narrative, and

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[12] Peter F. Ellis, *Matthew: His Mind and His Message* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1974) 10-13; C. H. Lohr, "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew," *CBQ* 23 (1961) 404-27.

Matthew is a story with movement, not a list of sayings and events arranged under topical heads.

B. Geographical notices

Unlike John, which has Jesus commute regularly from Judea to Galilee, in Matthew Jesus makes only one trip to Jerusalem. In this regard Matthew is following the structure of his major source Mark, with the result that, like Mark, Matthew can be divided into a two-part outline, "Galilee" (chapters 1-18) and "Jerusalem" (chapters 21-28), with a brief transitional section occupied by the journey (chapters 19-20). Matthew has tightened up the narrative connections in Mark, and has given notice when the story changes location. Thus some scholars take geography to be the sole clue to Matthew's structure, arranging the outline into "First Galilean Ministry, Sermon on the Mount, Second Galilean Ministry," and so on.[13] In fact, if geography is taken as basic to Matthew's structure, a clear two-part outline without a "transition" is preferable to the above suggestion, which is too dependent on Mark's structure. Matthew rewrites Mark so that Jesus is in "Judea" from 19:1 on. Galilee and Judea are important theological categories for Matthew. Since 19:1 is a geographical turning point as well as a concluding/transitional formula, these structural markers here reinforce each other. But geography is not "the" basis for Matthean structure.

C. Summaries and transitional statements

In any narrative, summaries and transitional statements are important structural considerations since they are mostly editorial. If there are Matthean summary statements at key points, they must be considered in delineating Matthew's structure. Q had no narrative summaries, and Mark had only three that picture Jesus travelling and summarize an extended period of preaching and healing, 1:14-15, 1:39, and 6:6b. In addition, Mark had a number of summary statements that picture Jesus healing and teaching on individual occasions, without narrating the details (1:32-34; 3:7-12; 6:32-33; 53-56; 10:1). Matthew takes over all the Markan summaries, uses them as transitions, and even elaborates them. Mark 3:7-12 and 6:6b are used in 4:23-25 and 9:35 as important structural brackets for a key Matthean unit.

In addition to transitional statements made after major speeches (7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1; all developed from Q 7:1), Matthew includes summaries of Jesus' preaching, teaching, and healing activity (4:13-17 = Mark 1:14b; 4:23-25 = Mark 1:39, 9:35 = Mark 6:6b; 12:15-21 = Mark 3:7-12). That some of these have structural significance is clear, for example, in the way 4:23 is repeated almost verbatim in 9:35, forming a frame around the Sermon on the Mount in chapters 5-7 ("the authority of the Messiah in word") and the collection of miracle and discipleship stories in chapters 8-9 ("the authority of the Messiah in deed"). Matthew has not composed summary statements of his own that serve as major structural markers. He has, however, developed and repeated

13 Cf. Robert Funk, *New Gospel Parallels, Volume One, The Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) 3-12.

some summary statements from his sources and used them as structural signals (Q 7:1; Mark 1:14; especially Mark 3:7-12 [see below]).

D. Recurrent phrases, clauses, or sentences

1. ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς + infinitive

The influence of this repeated clause in 4:17 and 16:21 has been mentioned above and is well known.

2. OT formula quotations

Matthew includes a number of formula quotations, marked off from the numerous other references to the Bible in that they are introduced by something like "All this took place to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet . . . ." One may count from ten to fourteen in all, depending on how rigidly one looks for the exact formula: 1:23; (2:6), 2:15, 2:18, 2:23; (3:3); 4:15-16; 8:17; 12:18-21; (13:14-15), 13:35; 21:5; (26:56); 27:9-10.[14] They are all from Matthew's hand, not from his sources, and are unevenly distributed throughout the Gospel.

The formula quotations are very important for understanding Matthew's theology;[15] our interest here is in whether they also play a structural role in Matthew's composition. They seem sometimes to be placed at strategic locations in the narrative. It has often been noted, for example that five formula quotations are clustered in the "infancy narrative," and since five is a significant number for Matthew, this clustering is an indication that Matthew 1-2 is a literary unit. David Bauer has recently noted, without pressing the point, that seven is also a significant number for Matthew, and that there are seven formula quotations in the unit 1:1-4:16.[16] The seventh formula quotation may indeed signal the end of a major unit (see below).

3. Passion predictions

In a carefully structured segment of Mark, Jesus had three times predicted his suffering, death, and resurrection (8:31, 9:31, 10:32-33). Matthew includes these same three passion predictions in the corresponding locations (since this is in the section in which he is following the Markan order exactly), and adds a fourth (26:2), but the predictions in Matthew do not seem to serve the same structuring function as in Mark.

4. "When Jesus had finished these words . . ."

With reference to Matthew's structure as purportedly based on a typological adaptation of the pentateuchal pattern, we have already noticed the

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14 I regard as formula quotations only those that are from the narrator to the reader, a total of ten, those not in parentheses.

15 Cf. e.g., Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew. And Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968) and R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

16 *Structure* 78. In order to find five formula quotations in chapters 1-2 and have the seventh come at 4:15-16, one must count 2:6 as a "formula quotation," which is very questionable.

influence this repeated formula at the end of major speeches has played in the efforts to determine Matthew's outline. But apart from the questionable validity of the Moses typology and purported "pentateuchal" structure this repeated formula is supposed to support, the fact remains that the repetition of the five concluding/transitional statements function as some kind of structural signal.

E. Framing devices, inclusions

Sometimes the repetition of phrases serves as a frame around a group of items to bind them into a unit. We know that Matthew uses this kind of bracketing, for example in 4:23//9:35. That this is not the literary critic's imagination is made clear by 11:4. "Tell John what you hear and see" looks back to 5-7 ("hear") and 8-9 ("see") and binds them into a unit, "the words and deeds of the Messiah." Matthew has changed Q here to get this pair, and altered the usual "see and hear" to "hear and see."[17] This is a clear example of framing, and demonstrates that Matthew intentionally used this rhetorical device.

We have definitely identified a Matthean structural technique. Like an elegant "periodic" sentence in the old style of composition, Matthew sometimes arranges his material to return to an introductory theme or phrase, "rounding off" the thought or section by coming back around to the beginning. The theme of "God-with-us" brackets the entire Gospel, occurring in key beginning and ending statements (1:23//28:20). "Law and the prophets" is an inclusio-formula that binds together a major section of the Sermon on the Mount (5:17//7:12).

F. Chiastic patterns

Some scholars have seen Matthew using an elaboration of this framing technique in which the entire section, and not just beginning and ending, form a series of corresponding frames in the pattern ABCDEFE'D'C'B'A'. There is no doubt that Matthew, like other ancient authors, used this technique for smaller sections of his composition. As pointed out above, others take this Matthean compositional trait as the key to the structure of the whole Gospel.

G. Triadic Patterns

The recent work of W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr. has brought to light another striking aspect of the structuring hand of Matthew, namely his propensity to compose in triads. The narrative power of triadic structure in storytelling has long been noted. Matthew, it now seems clear, has structured much of his own composition in a triadic pattern. The opening line which functions as a title contains three names (Jesus, David, Abraham). This is followed by a genealogy explicitly and somewhat artificially structured in

17 The order "see and hear" is three times as frequent in the NT and apocrypha as "hear and see" (45x vs. 15x). The "hear and see" order would not be this frequent except for the fact that this order is sometimes required by a narrative in which the subject first hears and then sees. Matthew's own usual order is "see and hear" (13:13, 16, 17; 21:15); only here does he have the order "hear and see," differently than the parallel Luke 7:22, which apparently reflects the Q order.

three sections. In Davies and Allison's analysis, each of the remaining stories prior to the Sermon on the Mount falls naturally into three sections:[18]

I. The conception and infancy of Jesus
   A. The virginal conception (1:18-25)
   B. The visit of the magi (2:1-12)
   C. The infants and Herod (2:13-23)[19]
II. John the Baptist and Jesus
   A. John introduced and described (3:1-6)
   B. John's words (3:7-12)
   C. John baptizes Jesus (3:13-17)
III. The beginning of Jesus' ministry
   A. The (three-fold!) temptation (4:1-11)
   B. The return to Galilee (4:12-17)
   C. The calling of four disciples (4:18-22)

Then comes the Sermon on the Mount, in which triadic structure is fundamental (see Allison's analysis, and my own adaptation of it in the forthcoming *New Interpreter's Bible*). It has often been noted that following the Sermon on the Mount and included in the same framework by the almost-identical 4:23 and 9:35 is a collection of ten miracles, 8:1-9:38. But Allison and Davies point out that though there are ten miracles, there are nine miracle *stories*, arranged in groups of three.[20] That triadic structure is a part of Matthew's own compositional technique is apparent from two additional striking facts documented by Davies and Allison: (1) When Matthew takes over and expands a Markan speech, the section derived from the source is not triadic, but his own additions are structured in tripartite units. This is clearly seen in both the Matthean additions to the Markan collection of parables (Mark 4 = Matthew 13) and to the Markan eschatological discourse (Mark 13 = Matthew 24-25). (2) The triadic structure is very carefully worked out in the early part of the Gospel where Matthew is creatively composing and restructuring his sources, but disappears as soon as Matthew begins to follow the Markan order except, as noted, for the Matthean *additions* to the Markan speeches.

Others have documented additional patterns such as thematic verses that begin or conclude a section (Kelalim), doublets, and anticipatory signals,[21] but the above sampling is adequate to illustrate the fact that there are numerous

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18 Cf. Luz, *Matthäus* 20 and especially W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988-1991) 1:66-68. Already W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (ICC; New York: Scribners, 1910), lxv gives a long list of Matthean triads. One can perceive that the story line does unfold as a collection of threes and tripartite stories without necessarily agreeing that the rubrics and structuring of their major headings is the most appropriate.

19 The section 2:13-23 is one unit, though broken up by formula quotations. Thus the formula quotations cannot be a structural device *on the same plane* as the triadic pattern.

20 *Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, 67.

21 Luz, *Matthäus* 19-24, and the literature he cites.

patterns in Matthew that could function as structural signals. How may they be adjudicated in attempting to assess Matthew's structure?

III. Accounting for the phenomena

The major options presented in Matthean scholarship so far are:

A. Ignore or minimize all but one

Since scholars have tended to look at the literary structure of Matthew as though all the structural signals were on the same plane, the proposals for "Matthew's outline" have for the most part been mutually exclusive claims. In order to support one view of Matthew's structure, it has been felt necessary not only to assert a claim for that structure, but also to attack the claims made by others. This can be seen in the arguments and counter-arguments of, for example, the advocates of 4:17/16:21 vs. the five-speeches as the clues to Matthew's structure.

B. Tradition and redaction

One can concentrate on the peculiarly Matthean elements in the structure and construct an outline based on them, relegating the others to tradition. This is difficult to do without comparing Matthew with his sources, but both the "five books" and the "three acts" proposals can point to the Matthean compositional elements in their major headings, with or without comparing them to their presumed sources. The difficulty is that redactional elements can be used as the building blocks for more than one outline.

C. A super-outline that places all the phenomena on the same plane

This is difficult or impossible to do in such a way that all the phenomena of all seven categories above are given their due. I am unaware of any such proposal. But one can combine elements from the various categories into a mono-outline that incorporates much of the phenomena as major and sub-headings.

IV. The present impasse

Based strictly on phenomena "within" the text, without appealing to reconstructions of the history or sources "behind" the text, no proposal has turned out to be compelling. There is no consensus, probably no clear majority. Judgments about what "most scholars" think are hard to make in any case, since who is to be counted and whether some votes count more than others are difficult to justify. This situation itself calls for some reflection.

A. What are we looking for and why we not only haven't found it, but will not find it

In speaking of "the" structure of Matthew, if we are looking for a way of subdividing Matthew that corresponds to an "outline" in the modern classical form of a series of major headings of the same form, each of which is elaborated by an analogous series of sub-headings and sub-sub-headings (and so on), but with the rubrics omitted, we will not find it. The variety of our

results so far may well indicate that it is a mistake to look for and argue for one exclusive and explicit structure, the rubrics of which have been omitted and are now supplied by us. Matthew's structure, whatever it is, is implicit rather than explicit. Even by "implicit structure" we should not claim that Matthew made a detailed outline at the beginning of his composition, which he then filled in with material from his sources and traditions, and then erased the outline. The lack of transparency, neatness and precision in Matthew's structure is due in part to the fact that he is does not begin with a blank page and create his narrative *ab ovo*, but works with a tradition, a tradition that both he and his community respect (Luz). We ought thus not to expect to find a crisp outline on or just below the surface of Matthew's text.

This is not to counsel despair or claim that Matthew "just rambles," nor to suggest that we abandon efforts to determine Matthew's structure. But the ambiguous results of scholarship on this issue so far might point to three features that could be helpful in pointing the way forward:

(1) The search for precision and crispness, in which one argues whether a verse or half-verse belongs with the preceding or following unit might be replaced with a search for the more general turning "points" of Matthew's story represented by larger and somewhat more vague transitional units ("point" may already suggest too much precision, as do all our outlines designated by verse references). We might be able to detect the major turns in the story in a way helpful to understanding Matthew's meaning, but the edges of these turns may not always be sharply delineated.

(2) Reflections on the way Matthew put his narrative together might be expanded to include the composition history of the document, and not only the compositional features. The final form of the text may reflect, in a hermeneutically meaningful way, the process of composition. The "major turns" in the narrative suggested above may be related to, or even identical with, the "major turns" in the process of composition.

(3) Reconstructions claiming to be based entirely on internal data being ambiguous, we need to ask whether there may be an external fixed point, an Archimedean που στῶ from which Matthew's structural moves (in both the above senses) might be perceived. There is such a point, and it has not been given its due in the discussions of Matthew's structure.

V. A New Beginning Point

A. The phenomenon of order with relation to Mark

It has often been noticed that Matthew begins to agree with the Markan order at a certain point, sometimes vaguely designated.[22] Actually, the point at which Matthew begins to follow Mark's order can be determined quite precisely.[23] *Beginning at Matthew 12:22 = Mark 3:22, Matthew never changes the*

[22] Gundry, *Matthew*, "the latter half" (p. 10); often "from chapter fourteen onward"; Green (1968) is an exception in pointing to chapter 12, as is Luz, *Mattäus* 24, who points to 12:1. B. W. Bacon's designated 13:52, *Studies in Matthew* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930)

[23] Absolute precision is not possible in such statements, since the phenomenon of parallel order in the Synoptic Gospels depends on how pericopes are divided (cf. J. B.

order of Markan pericopes.[24] *This is a remarkable datum that needs to be considered not only in discussions of the Synoptic Problem, its customary Sitz im Leben, but in discussions of Matthew's structure.*

Since both source analysis and the history of the Matthean community deal with realities "behind the text" they will represent our reconstructions, and thus always be disputed points. It might be asked whether it is not the better part of exegetical valor to dispense with such reconstructions and deal only with the text. In particular, it may be found objectionable to consider the relation of the order of the Matthean pericopes to that of Mark as a factor in determining Matthew's own literary structure. Before proceeding with the argument, these anticipated objections may be briefly addressed.[25]

First, no approach based only on the text of Matthew has produced compelling results. If there were a clearly-discernible outline derivable solely from observing the phenomena of Matthew's text, further discussion would be inappropriate. Further, I would agree that violence should not be done to the text before us by attempting to impose an alien structure on it by comparing it with one of its assumed sources. The New Testament documents as historical documents require to be interpreted historically, and that historical interpretation cannot live without reconstruction. That is, historical understanding of a text requires that the interpreter project some situation into which the text makes sense. Such reconstructions must not be arbitrary, but must be based as carefully as possible on data within the text and appropriate data outside the text.

What is the exegete to do when he or she becomes aware of a datum that may well be related to the way the author composed the document and expected it to be read and understood, i.e., a part of Matthew's historical situation? That Matthew began to follow the Markan order at 12:22 is such a datum, suggesting something about Matthew's situation and his mode of composition. What if the readers for whom Matthew wrote had the outline of

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Tyson, "Sequential Parallelism in the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 22 [April, 1976]). Pericope division is not a mechanical or 100% objective operation, for here too data is to some extent unavoidably created by the investigator. As in microphysics, the phenomena are disturbed by observing them. As a starting point at least, I simply adopted the pericope division in Aland's *Synopsis*.

24 This is not the same as saying "Beginning with Mark 3:22, Matthew never changes the Markan order," for in creating his extensive Part One, Matthew has several times extracted Markan material that occurs after Mark 3:22 and placed it in his Part One (Matt 8:23-34 = Mark 4:35-5:20; Matt 9:18-26 = Mark 5:21-43; Matt 9:35-10:14 = Mark 6:6-13; Matt 10:42 = Mark 9:38-41; in Matt 12:38-42, Matthew follows Q [cf. Mark 8:11-12]). Also, Matthew has occasionally made transpositions within pericopes (Mark 4:25 = Matt 13:12; the most extensive such rearrangement is joining the withering of the fig tree to its being "cursed," i.e., transposing the fig tree incident from a Markan frame for the "cleansing" of the temple to its introduction, so that Mark 11:11, 20-26 is treated as a unit. But there are no rearrangements of Markan pericopes after Matthew 12:21.

25 Cf. representatively Bauer *Structure* 25: ". . . in the judgment of literary critics, it is methodologically unsound to begin an examination of the structure of one Gospel by comparing it with another. According to literary criticism, one begins with an investigation of one Gospel itself before moving on to compare it with another." Cf. also 35, 39.

Mark's narrative in mind, as Matthew himself did, and Matthew intentionally composed his Gospel with reference to this sacred document that had already played a significant and authoritative role in the life of his community? It is necessary that source analysis in the sense described here, the social history of Matthew's community, and the literary phenomena of the text be seen together ("synoptically!"), in order to perceive what we have before us. That this cannot be done with certainty is inherent in the nature of historical study. When this is done, observations about Matthew's structure made on the basis of a comparison with Mark (and/or Q) are no longer the *Schreibtischarbeit* of modern redaction critics who can make interesting observations that would be alien to the intended original readers. In this case, such observations may contribute to the clarification of the historical situation in which the document was written, and thus to the recovery of the original reading experience and the intended meaning.

Historical criticism has always had its analogy to literary criticism's implied reader. Matthew does not write for naive readers, as though to introduce them to the Jesus story, but to interpret a story they had heard before—many times. Just as it is presupposed that Matthew's readers know Greek, it also seems to me to be presupposed that Matthew's readers know Q and Mark. The issue of source analysis should not be conceived merely as a matter of Matthew's *Schreibtischarbeit,* but should be thought of in relation to the history of Matthew's community. I posit a community that had known Q in its worship and catechesis since its earliest days, and had known Mark in the same way for a decade or more. This is not to claim that Matthew's readers were redaction critics equipped with colored pencils, noting every change in Matthew's text from the version of Q and Mark with which they were familiar. What I am suggesting is something like the experience of a modern congregation that will notice, and is intended to notice, when new versions of sacred texts with which they are thoroughly familiar are introduced into the liturgy and community instruction (especially if they have been revised to communicate a revised theology).

Such changes may be of two kinds, micro-changes and macro-changes, i.e. changes not only in the wording but in the structure of a familiar text. Micro-changes are illustrated by changes in the wording of the Lord's Prayer, the Doxology, or familiar passages slightly modified in new translations of the Bible. Other analogies to the micro-changes that would be noticed by the congregation might be Lyndon Johnson's televised speech a short time after he had been sworn in as the president replacing the slain John F. Kennedy. Many in the nation were wondering whether Johnson, a WASP-ish southerner, would continue the civil rights program supported by Kennedy. The answer became clear when, at a rhetorically key point, the speech contained the phrase "we shall overcome," with no indication that it had ever been used before, and with no direct reference to civil rights legislation. A second example would be Martin Luther King Jr.'s speech in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial, containing the phrase "Five score years ago . . . ."[26]

[26] Here I am composing from memory (in Göttingen), without access to King's speech. The validity of the point does not rest on my remembering the phraseology correctly.

Whoever attempts to understand these words without reference to their "sources," i.e., without reference to their occurrence in history and documents external to the "final form of the text" with which the intended hearers/readers are expected to be familiar, simply does not get what is being said. In the one case (Johnson), it is a matter of exact repetition of the words of a familiar tradition in a different context. In the other case (King), it is a matter of varying the text in the source to make a new point, a point that can only be made on the presupposition that the hearer/readers are familiar with the "source" and recognize the change.

An analogy to varying the macro-structure of a story might be a retelling of the story of "American history" beginning with the Spanish invasions in central America, telling the earlier story of the American southwest in such a way that the pilgrims arrive late in a story that begins elsewhere (e.g., as in James A. Michener's *Texas*), or telling the story from the native American point of view, from the west looking east, as in Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*). Those who have "always" heard the American story from the point of view of the pilgrims, beginning in New England in 1620, will recognize that part of the story when they come to it, but it will have a different meaning by virtue of being placed in the context of a different macro-structure. Modern analogies are hard to come by, and unavoidably reflect my own North American perspective (my apologies to international colleagues). Nonetheless, they may illustrate something of what I understand Matthew to have done by placing the Markan story in a different macro-structure, and the hermeneutical value of the modern exegete's recognizing this as a basic element in the structure of Matthew's Gospel.

To return to the argument: The sudden shift from the creative restructuring of his sources in 1:2-12:21 to unswervingly following Mark's order is too striking to be coincidence, and requires some explanation. Once one has become aware of this datum, something must be done with it, whether one "begins" with it or not. The same arguments inveigh against "editorial fatigue." The dramatic shift in compositional technique raises the question whether Matthew has two basic parts, 1:2–12:21//12:22–28:20.[27] Furthermore, two additional reasons point to the juncture of 12:21/12:22 as a major turning point in Matthew's structure:

B. The section 12:14-21 forms an appropriate concluding scene for Part One

1. Climax of developing conflict

As will be argued below, 1:2-12:21 narrates the developing conflict between two kingdoms. The conflict begins with the birth of Jesus in 1:18-2:25, first emerged in his ministry in 9:1-8, and comes to its climax in 12:14 with the resolution of the Pharisees to put him to death. Jesus' response to this threat was to "withdraw" (ἀναχωρέω). The withdrawal is not to passivity, but to the work of healing—still on the Sabbath. Instead of retaliating, Jesus heals. Matthew makes this pattern a programmatic christological paradigm in which

[27] I regard 1:1 as a title for the whole Gospel.

ἀναχωρέω becomes a key theological term.[28] Jesus' "withdrawal" in the face of threat is not a matter of cowardice or strategy, but represents the divine response to human violence that will ultimately lead to the cross, in which human violence is met with divine self-giving. Here we have not the renunciation of divine sovereignty, but its redefinition. It is the Christian redefinition of the Christ figure in terms of Jesus as the one who suffers at the hands of his enemies rather than making them suffer, the non-retaliatory mercy both taught (5:38-48) and practiced (26:50-54) by the sovereign Son of Man who makes known his divine power in suffering love (16:21-23; 17:22-23; 20:17-19; 26:2).

In Mark, the command to silence was addressed to the demons who had identified him, corresponding to Mark's theory of the secret Messiahship. Matthew does not share this perspective. In Matthew, the command not to make him known (12:16-17 = Mark 3:12) is directed to those of the crowds he has healed, and is understood by Matthew as a dimension of his Servant Christology, for the Servant works quietly, avoiding publicity and acclaim, as expressed in the concluding formula quotation.

2. The seventh formula quotation

By my reckoning, 12:18-21 is the seventh of Matthew's formula quotations. I agree with David Bauer that for Matthew "seven" is a mark of completeness and that the seventh one denotes the end of a major unit, but I enumerate them differently.[29]

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[28] This word was found once in Matthew's sources, Mark 3:7, where in response to the death plot Jesus does not retaliate but *withdraws* and *heals*. Matthew takes over this Markan scene as the climax of his creative Part One (12:15 = Mark 3:7; cf. Introduction II.C.5.), omitting Mark's disciples in order to focus on Jesus' act alone. Of the fourteen occurrences of ἀναχωρέω in the New Testament, ten are in Matthew, mostly with reference to Jesus, in a specifically theological sense (2:12-13, the magi follow the example of Jesus and good disciples; 2:14, 22, the baby Jesus proleptically models this; 4:12, Jesus' response to the arrest of John the Baptist; 14:13, Jesus' response to the murder of John the Baptist; 15:21, in response to the "scandalized" Pharisees, who have already decided to kill him). Thus eight of the ten instances of ἀναχωρέω in Matthew represent this christological pattern, the only exceptions being 9:24 and 27:5. That the word is not simply a synonym for other, more common words for "go away" (ἀπέρχομαι *aperchomai*, ἐξέρχομαι *exerchomai*) is clear from Matthew's adding it to 15:21, which already had a Markan word for "go away" (cf. Mark 7:24).

[29] Bauer, *Structure* 78. I find there to be exactly ten formula quotations (ten also a significant number for Matthew): 1:22-23; 2:15; 2:17-18; 2:23; 4:14b-16; 8:17; 12:18-21; 13:35; 21:4-5; 27:9-10. All are introduced by Matthew into their contexts. Except for the four formula quotations in the birth narrative, all are triggered by a Markan context. Except for Zech 9:9 cited in Matt 21:4-5, none are cited elsewhere in the New Testament. They thus seem not to belong to a standard repertoire of early Christian proof texts, but to belong exclusively to Matthew and/or his own tradition. They are distinguished from the other quotations, including the others peculiar to Matthew (1) by their introductory formula identifying an event in Jesus' life as the fulfillment of Scripture, (2) by the fact that all are spoken not by a character in the story to other characters, but by the narrator to the reader, and (3) by their text type. So understood, there are ten formula quotations, of which 12:18-21 is the seventh.

This Scripture quotation is also significant in that it is the longest in Matthew. Though directly related to its context, it contains much more than the context calls for, and serves as a summary of the Matthean picture of the ministry of Jesus as a whole. The following points are also significant:

a. The direct point of contact with the context is the retiring nature of the Servant, who does not wrangle or seek publicity, but who quietly utilizes those considered rejected by others. A bruised reed is "good for nothing"; it is "trash." A smoking wick must be thrown out or trimmed. But the Son/Servant rejects neither the one nor the other, just as Jesus calls as disciples those considered unacceptable by the religious authorities (11:25-30).

b. The quotation is from Isa 42:1-4 [and 9], portraying the Servant of the Lord. This text was already considered messianic. The Targum reads "Behold my servant the Messiah." Since "my servant David" is a common biblical phrase (22x in the OT), the term also has Davidic overtones. Matthew interprets Jesus in Davidic terms, but understands the powerful Son of God/Son of David to be identical with the meek (11:29; 21:5) Servant of the Lord who heals and suffers on behalf of others.

c. God himself speaks in this quotation from Isaiah, describing the Servant. This is similar to the heavenly voice at Jesus' baptism, which also used Servant vocabulary in the context of the Spirit being given to Jesus (3:16/12:18). The divine declaration of Jesus' Son/Servant ministry filled with the Spirit forms a literary bracket around the entire ministry of Jesus to this point (3:16-17/12:18).

d. As the quotation points back to the beginning of Jesus' ministry, it points forward to the conclusion, the last words of Part One striking exactly the same note as the conclusion of Part Two and the Gospel as a whole: the extension of the gospel to all nations.

e. The announcement of judgment/justice to the Gentiles/nations anticipates not only the end of the Gospel, but the next section, the beginning of Part Two, in which the rejection of Jesus and his message by [the leaders of] Israel becomes clear and "final." Until this point in the Gospel, Jesus and his disciples have preached exclusively to Israel. The offer has been refused by the Jewish leadership. A new community will be formed, comprising all nations. The double reference to nations/Gentiles (18, 21) anticipates and emphasizes this. The Servant will announce justice to the Gentiles as his disciples carry on the Christian mission after his death, a mission in which Jesus remains present and active in the work of his disciples (28:18-20; cf. 25:31-46).

f. The Servant, though meek and quiet, is ultimately victorious. The conflict that will result in Jesus' death is anticipated. The Matthean reader who will follow Jesus into the conflicts and passion story of Part Two must see all that transpires in the light of this declaration.

C. The Beelzebul pericope is a programatic opening scene for Part Two

Matthew's choice of Mark 3:22 as the point at which firmly to join the order of the Markan narrative is not accidental or arbitrary. The fact that the Beelzebul pericope which begins here is in both his sources (Q 11:14-23; Mark 3:20-29) has often been noted in studies of the Synoptic Problem, as one of the

few "Mark/Q overlaps," but is rarely given prominence in discussions of Matthew's structure. Here is a point at which source analysis and the history of Matthew's community is an aid in discerning the literary structure of the Gospel. Since this scene had been in Q, therefore forming a part of the sacred tradition of Matthew's community from the earliest days, it is natural that when the Gospel of Mark was adopted by the community as the fundamental genre for confessing the community's faith, those places in Mark that were already familiar and important to the community would gain the community's attention and form a point of contact with the new document. When the Markan narrative was adopted one of the few points in Mark that made contact with the previous sacral Christian tradition was the Beelzebul scene, which had already become a symbolic scene in the community's self-understanding. There may have been an actual event, or series of them, in which the community was charged with operating by the power of Beelzebul, or understood itself to be so charged. One can plausibly postulate a situation in which this scene had played a role in shaping the community's theology and self-image; the theology and self-image so shaped focuses on this scene in the new document it adopts as sacred tradition.

As rewritten by Matthew, several important elements of Matthean theology converge in this one paragraph: the kingdom of God (12:28) over against the kingdom of Satan (12:26); the power of the Spirit in Jesus' life (12:28, 31-32); Jesus as Son of David (12:23); forgiveness of sins (12:31-32). Further, the charge of collusion with Beelzebul is particularly significant to Matthew, who refers to it in three different times, as a charge leveled at both Jesus and his disciples (9:34; 10:25; 12:24). Matthew's community, like the early Q-community from which it is descended, has apparently been grievously offended by having heard this charge directed against itself, and it had made a deep impression on them and on Matthew. The dualistic theme of the conflict of kingdoms was already in Q (Matt 12:26/Luke 11:18; cf. Mark 3:26, which lacks the concept of Satan's kingdom).

Two kingdoms stand over against each other in this scene. Jesus represents the kingdom of God (12:28). But in Matthew, Satan also has a kingdom, the alternative to God's kingdom revealed in Jesus (12:26). In this pericope, the Pharisees who oppose Jesus are portrayed as representatives of Satan's kingdom. These two kingdoms vie for the loyalty of "the crowds," who are present at the beginning (12:23) and end (12:46) of Jesus' pronouncements.

Matthew has used this scene from Q before (9:32-34). The healing of a demon-possessed person who was blind and mute was a great act of mercy, signaling the way the Messianic King uses his divine power (cf. on 11:1-6). Yet nothing is made of the miracle *per se*; neither the man's name is given, nor any details of his life. Form-critically, the pericope 9:32-34 is not a miracle story, but a disputation, in which all attention is focused on the words of Jesus. As in the preceding sections 11:1-12:21, the minimal narrative serves as a framework for the authoritative pronouncements of Jesus.

Until the final scene in which they appear, the "crowds" in Matthew are potential disciples, aligned neither with the opposition nor committed to following Jesus (cf. 27:20-26). The last response of the crowds, in the earlier version of this same story, was wondering admiration (9:33). Here they go a

step further in the direction of discipleship, entertaining the possibility that Jesus might indeed be the hoped-for "Son of David," despite the fact that his merciful deeds do not correspond to the popular image.

There thus seems to be reason to see 1:2–12:21 and 12:22–28:20 as two distinctive parts of Matthew's composition. The structure of Part Two is fundamentally given by Matthew's adoption of the Markan outline at this point (Matthew's modifications will be discussed below). Thus the question arises as to the structure of Part One: if Mathew does not follow Mark here, what is the structural principle (if any) for 1:2–12:21? I propose the hypothesis that Mark intentionally chose this scene in Mark on which to build, and constructed his creative Part One for this purpose.[30]

VI. The Structure of Part One, 1:2-12:21

A. Fixed points: 4:23/9:35

Let us begin with two fixed points that almost everyone regards as structural signals in Matthew's narrative, whatever the overall structure is judged to be. Matt 4:23 and 9:35 are so similar in wording that they are rightly taken as bracketing the material between them, for which there is other evidence as well. They are redactional, but not creations *ex nihilo.* Each is an expansion of a Markan summary, combining the picture of Jesus as the proclaimer of the kingdom of God and Jesus as the healer. Both pictures are in each of Matthew's sources, but neither Mark nor Q combines them in this way.

There is general agreement that they bracket the Sermon on the Mount as the presentation of Jesus as "Messiah in word" and chapters 8-9 as the presentation of Jesus as "Messiah in deed." Within these brackets is a comprehensive summary portrayal of the message and ministry of Jesus as Messiah. At the very center of Matthew's creative Part One he has placed Christology—not in the abstract, but as a series of focal instances of the Messiah Jesus as authoritative teacher and powerful deliverer.

It has also often been noticed that the "Missions Discourse" in chapter 10 is closely related to the preceding unit, as Jesus sends forth his disciples with the authority to continue both his preaching and healing as pictured in 4:23-9:35. After the Christology section is a discipleship section, closely related to it. Since 4:23//9:35 seems to establish "bracketing" as a compositional feature of this section, one wonders whether there is a "discipleship" section on the other side of the "Christology" section, and is not surprised to find that 4:18-22, the call of the disciples, immediately precedes the Christology section. This gives the following structure for 4:18–10:42:

A	**B**	**A'**
4:18-22	4:23–9:35	9:36–10:42
disciples called	Messiah in word and deed	disciples sent

[30] It will be recognized that the hypothesis is not entirely new, but a development of the proposals of Luz and others. The advance I claim beyond Luz is to identify 12:22-37 = Mark 3:22-30 as the key pericope to which Part One builds, and the proposed structure for Part One, 1:2-12:21.

This structure relates Christology and discipleship closely, but makes Christology the center. Though Christology and discipleship (or "ecclesiology") are inseparable, of these two, Christology is the principal member. Matthew's thinking does not begin with a community and ask about its founder or leader, but with the advent of the Christ as the representative of the kingdom of God, an event that generates a new community. The Christology central in Matthew is not speculative, person-of-Jesus centered, but functional, Jesus the Messiah as representative of the kingdom of God. Matthew is ultimately *theocentric.*

This A B A^1 structure for this section raises the question whether it is extended beyond 4:18–10:42, and if so, how far. A new unit featuring John the Baptist begins after the concluding transitional summary of 11:1. The unit extends to 11:19, where the ἔργα of v. 2 is repeated, forming a literary bracket. The intervention by the narrator in 11:20 then begins a new unit. Matthew has gathered all the remaining Q material about John the Baptist to form a literary unit.[31] Just as the Missions Discourse had not been about the disciples as individuals but presented them in relation to Jesus, so the new unit is not about John as an outstanding individual, a "great man," but about the relationship of John and Jesus. This relationship had become problematic in Christian tradition and was dealt with in a variety of ways in early Christian documents. Matthew must deal with it too, and does so not once, but twice. The reader cannot but remember John's earlier appearance in the story, a major feature was John's own affirmation of his inferiority to Jesus, and one might wonder whether these two units about John the Baptist, one on either side of the discipleship/Christology/discipleship structure already noted, are an extension of this structure. Is there a unit about John the Baptist and his relation to Jesus in the corresponding slot prior to the call of the disciples? There is. John is introduced in 3:1, he preaches, and baptizes Jesus—not without a Matthean addition clarifying the relation of John and Jesus. His removal from the scene in 4:12 becomes the occasion for Jesus' move from Nazareth to Capernaum and the beginning of his own preaching ministry, signaled by a formula quotation that concludes a section, and 4:17 as a major transition. This suggests that 3:1-4:17 forms a John the Baptist section corresponding to 11:1-19, giving the following structure:

A	**B**	**C**	**B^1**	**A^1**
3:1–4:17	4:18–22	4:23–9:35	9:36–10:42	11:1–19
John	disciples	Christ	disciples	John

A pattern begins to emerge in which Matthew's theology is expressed in terms of literary structure. Christ is in the center, but not Christ as a great individual. It is Christ the proclaimer of the kingdom of God, Christ who teaches and heals, Christ whose ministry is inseparable from disciples. On either side of the central Christological section is a discipleship section. As Christ is not independent of disciples, so disciples are inseparable from Christ.

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31 Matthew 11:2-19 corresponds to Luke 7:18-35, plus the additional Q reference in Luke 16:16. Matthew preserves the remaining references to John in Mark in their Markan context: Mark 6:14-25 = Matt 14:2-10; Mark 8:28 = Matt 16:14; Mark 11:30-32 = Matt 21:25-32.

On either side of the discipleship section is a John-the-Baptist section. John is an ally of Jesus and the disciples, but never became a disciple, remaining something of a transitional, borderline figure.

"Borderline" implies something beyond the boundary, that John stands between the disciples and . . . what or whom? Does the pattern extend further? Immediately following the John-the-Baptist section 11:1-19 Jesus reproaches the unrepentant Galilean cities, declaring them to be worse than Sodom and Gomorrah. Immediately joined to this prophetic denunciation are two sections beginning with ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ 11:25-30; 12:1-14. In the first of these sections, Jesus contrasts the "wise and understanding" who have not accepted him with the "babes" who have accepted him. In the second section Jesus' conflicts with the Pharisees climax in their resolution to put him to death. The identical beginnings ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ relate both subsections to the paragraph 11:20-24 beginning with τότε, forming them into one literary unit. The theme of this unit is conflict, in which Jesus' opponents are contrasted with those who accept him.

Is there a corresponding section preceding the structure described above? Yes. 2:1-23 presents those who reject the newborn king and try to kill him, a section in which opponents are contrasted with those who accept him. The above structure may thus be extended one more level:

A	B	C	D	C^1	B^1	A^1
2:1–23	3:1–4:17	4:18–22	4:23–9:35	9:36–10:42	11:1–19	11:20–12:14
opponents	John	disciples	Christ	disciples	John	opponents

If the above represents something of Matthew's own structure, it is obviously not yet complete. *Prior to* the conflict in which the opponents are intent on killing Jesus is a section presenting the incursion of the kingdom of God into the world in the person of Jesus as the royal Son of David, 1:2-25. *After* the conflict climaxing in his opponents' decision to kill Jesus, Matthew has placed the meek servant of the Lord, empowered by God's Spirit to bring justice to the nations, forming the appropriate conclusion to the whole of Part One and signaling the themes of Part Two (see above).

A	B	C	D	E	D^1	C^1	B^1	A^1
1:2–25	2:1–23	3:1–4:17	4:18–22	4:23–9:35	9:36–10:42	11:1–19	11:20–12:14	12:15–21
Christ	opponents	John	disciples	Christ	disciples	John	opponents	Christ

Not only does the structure have Christology as its center, the whole structure begins and ends with an affirmation of Jesus as the retiring, vulnerable one through whom God's kingdom is realized in this world, the Son of David/Son of God who exercises his royal sonship in meekness and suffering. The structure that has Christ as its center begins and ends with Christ the king, the meek and helpless one protected and vindicated by God. The enemies are intent on killing, but the helpless one goes into and out of Egypt, into and out of the tomb, and is enthroned precisely as the one who is weak and vulnerable.

B. Summary of proposed structure of 1:2-12:21

The story begins with the announcement of the advent of a new "King of the Jews" (1:1-25). But this proclamation is made in a setting where there is already a king representing the power of this age. In the conflict that necessarily results, the Jewish leaders side with the earthly ruler, while the king sent from God is worshipped by Gentiles (2:1-23). John the Baptist appears with the message of the near advent of God's kingdom, and Jesus begins his ministry only after being baptized by John (3:1-4:17). Jesus then calls disciples (4:18-22), who are witnesses to the word and works of the Messianic king (4:23-9:35). The disciples are called to follow Jesus, who empowers and equips them for their mission representing him, but they still live in this age and are tempted to waver (9:36-11:1), as is John the Baptist himself (11:2-19). Thus the conflict continues (11:20-12:14), even though the new king is a servant figure who, when the Jews reject him, will fulfill Scripture by bringing salvation to the Gentiles (12:15-21). Using a chiastic pattern, Matthew has carefully arranged, rewritten and expanded his traditional materials into the following structured narrative.

A. Jesus as Messianic King, Son of David and Son of God	1:2-25
B. Conflict with the Kingdom of This Age	2:1-23
C. The Ministry of Jesus in Relation to John the Baptist	3:1-4:17
D. The Disciples Called	4:18-22
E. The Authority of the Messiah in Word and Deed	4:23-9:35
D'. The Disciples Authorized and Sent	9:36-11:1
C'. The Ministry of Jesus in Relation to John the Baptist	11:2-19
B'. Conflict with the Kingdom of This Age	11:20-12:14
A'. The Servant King	12:15-21

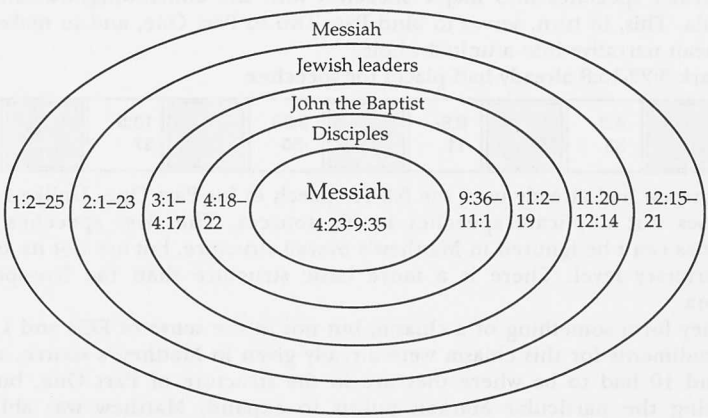
This chiastic structure is formed "from the inside out," and thus may also be thought of as a series of concentric circles The section 4:23-9:35 is clearly marked off by Matthew himself, by more than one signal: (1) 4:23 is a bracket with 9:35; (2) 11:2, "the deeds of the Messiah," points back to chapters 8-9, continued by the disciples in chapter 10; (3) 11:4 "hear and see" refers to 5-7 ("hear") and 8-9 ("see"), and (4) 11:4b-5 describes the content of chapters 5-9. Thus, "the Messiah in word and deed" as the central defining core, is surrounded by discipleship sections: 4:18-22, the disciples called, and 9:36-11, the disciples authorized and sent. The Messiah is not thought of individualistically (a "great man"), but as the generator of the Messianic community. So 4:18-11:1 embrace the Messiah/disciples. There are clear structural markers at these two points in the narrative.

The next "concentric circle" is comprised of the sections presenting John the Baptist. John is located *between* "the disciples" and "the opponents." On the one hand, John is honored as a true prophet of God, the "greatest of those born of women," (11:11) whose message anticipates and is identical with Jesus' (3:2 = 4:17) and whose ministry marks the turning point of the ages (11:12). On the other hand, he never becomes a disciple, nor do his disciples transfer their allegiance to Jesus but continue as an independent group (9:14), though after 3:17 the logic of Matthew's theology and story requires that they should do so. Matthew's story comes to terms with this historical reality by locating John and his disciples as neither disciple nor opponent, though playing an

important role in God's saving plan on the border between disciples and opponents, but having the same opponents and forming a proleptic model of his ministry and destiny.

The next circle is represented by the Jewish leadership, who are portrayed as flat characters consistently opposed to Jesus and as antithetical to the kingdom proclaimed and made present by him. They are in fact the representatives of the kingdom of Satan. They struggle with Jesus for allegiance of "the crowds," and finally win them over (27:20-25).

The outermost bracket surrounding the whole, as well as the central core, is filled by Jesus the king-who-redefines-kingship. This may be graphically represented as follows:



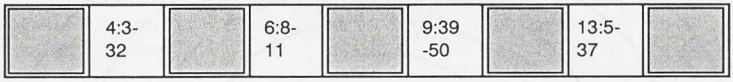
In this framework, Jesus himself as Messianic king is central, filling not only pivotal central section 4:23-9:35 (E), but the beginning and ending units that frame the entire section as well (A, A'). The reader should note that the conflict is not ultimately between Jesus and the Jewish leaders, but that the narrative unfolds as the earthly, historical segment of a cosmic story (see on 4:1-11; 12:22-32; 13:36-39). The this-worldly conflict with which the narrative is concerned has a cosmic, mythological backdrop, and points beyond itself. Thus God is the hidden actor in the story throughout, and Satan is the hidden opponent. The conflict with Satan is woven into the structure throughout as an underlying theme (exorcism stories), and is not to be localized only in the "temptation" passage 4:1-11, which is one incident among others, not a major turning point in the outline. Especially the repeated charge of collusion with Beelzebul in 9:32-34 and 10:25 keeps the conflict alive in an *ironic* way, and prepares the reader to rejoin the Markan story line at 12:22//Mark 3:22 on the note of conflict with Israel. The reader now knows that Satan, though already defeated by Jesus, is in the background of this conflict. The original readers were aware from their own experience that the conflict continues through the narrative and into the reader's own time, even among the disciples of Jesus (16:23).

This extended and carefully-composed Part One, derived mostly from non-Markan traditions for which Q formed the central focus and organizing principle, in effect makes Q the hermeneutical key with which to read the Markan narrative.[32]

VII. Structure of Part Two, 12:22-28:20

From 12:22 onward, Matthew is difficult to outline.[33] This is due to the fact that from this point on he simply adopts Mark's outline, in which Mark 8:31 = Matt 16:21 was a decisive turning point (cf. Kingsbury, et al., on other grounds). The most prominent structural feature of Part Two is the elaboration of Markan speeches into major speeches with the concluding/transitional formula. This, in turn, serves to bind Part Two to Part One, and to make the Matthean narrative into a united whole.

Mark 3:22-16:8 already had places for speeches:



Matthew had already used the 6:8-11 speech in his Part One. Unlike Luke, he does not duplicate speeches in his sources. The fives speeches and formulas can't be ignored in Matthew's overall structure, but are not its key at the primary level. There is a more basic structure than the five-speech schema.

They form something of a chiasm, but not in the sense of Ellis and Lohr. The rudiments for this chiasm were already given in Matthew's source, since 5-7 and 10 had to be where they are in the structure of Part One, but by choosing the particular Markan points to expand, Matthew was able to structure the whole into a two-part structure held together by the chiastic pattern of speeches which holds the two major parts together as one unified compisition.

Conclusion

Experienced students of Matthew will have noted that there is little that is new here. Most of the elements of this proposal have in fact been noticed and argued for before. But source analysis, social history, and study of literary structure have often been studied in isolation from each other. I regard the new dimension of this proposal to be the combination of elements that have been proposed and argued in previous scholarship, especially looking at the structure in the light of the social history of Matthew's community and the two source hypothesis. Once a new starting point/orientation point is given, old data fall into new configurations. Whether or not this particular proposal turns out to be persuasive, it seems that the way forward for source analysis,

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32 Cf. Luz, *Mattäus* 26.

33 Cf. Luz, *Mattäus* 25.

study of the social history of Matthew's community, and study of the literary structure of Matthew's is along a common path.

Framing the Account: Alleviating Confusion on the Lukan Portrait of Jesus

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Introduction: Framing and Lukan Christology

Jonathan Culler, the well known post-modern literary critic, prefers to speak of "framing the sign" rather than to speak of context in analysing literary texts.[1] In his preface (p. xiv), he explains his preference for this phrase,

> Since the phenomena criticism deals with are signs, forms with socially-constituted meanings, one might try not to think of context but of the framing of signs: how are signs constituted (framed) by various discursive practices, institutional arrangements, systems of value, semiotic mechanisms?
>
> The expression *framing the sign* has several advantages over *context*: it reminds us that framing is something we do; it hints of the frame-up ("falsifying evidence beforehand in order to make someone appear guilty"), a major use of context; and it eludes the incipient "positivism" of context by alluding to the semiotic function of framing in art, where the frame is determining, setting off the object or event as art, and yet the frame itself may be nothing tangible, pure articulation.

Though one might demur on a few of the caricatures in the explanation, the major point Culler makes is well taken and could prove profitable in looking at Lukan texts tied to Christology. In particular, I choose to compare two frames of reference to one another: that of historical-source and form criticism with a literary reading of Luke's Christology. The results by comparing and contrasting perspectives should be illuminating.

The difference between a consideration of sources, form and redaction with a narrative reading are well known. Source, form and redaction treat each unit on its own terms, largely as a self-contained unit, though redactional themes move in a more synthetic direction. Narrative study links the various pieces to one another with a story and plot line. Hopefully a coherent story emerges, though the stitching together of so many disparate pieces tends to make many biblical scholars skeptical about the unity of the

[1] J. Culler, *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Instituitions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

ultimate result. The perception of Luke's christology has been no exception to this skeptical trend.

One often sees one of two approaches by authors who stress the more historical-critical disciplines. First, one can simply argue, as C. F. Evans does, that Luke's christology is "the most variegated in the New Testament."[2] He attributes the variety to the "greater diversity of sources and traditions, with their different emphases."[3] He goes on to argue that none of the portraits is dominant, nor is any title worked out in detail. Is this really the case?

A second approach out of the historical-critical school argues that all the titles are assimilated, so that they have lost their distinct meaning, reflecting the force these titles now have in the church. Though noting that Luke has taken over certain titles from tradition (prophet, holy one, righteous one, and παῖς), Conzelmann goes on to say, "We can leave on one side the question, what Christological conception was originally expressed when these titles were applied to Jesus. In Luke, they have already become traditional, and in his view they have the same meaning as other titles, Christ and Lord."[4] But is the explanation so simple?

In contrast, a literary reading has tried to consider more carefully the relationship of the titles to one another. The result has been a heightened emphasis on the importance of the title of prophet (or prophet like Moses) for Luke. A recent example of such an emphasis is L. T. Johnson's commentary on Luke.[5] Johnson carefully notes that Luke's shaping of the portrait of Jesus as a philosopher and prophet combines with another key image, that of king, and that "it must not, however, be thought that Luke's first readers would find these images in any sense contradictory."[6]

Our thesis is to confirm this observation and give it more specificity. The Lukan narrative reveals a clear relationship between these titles by the way the individual pieces of tradition are "framed" into a larger story. The story shows that Luke prioritizes titles, rather than simply homogenizing them. As varied as the traditions are upon which Luke draws, there is a coherence to his portrait of Jesus.

Method

Our study will treat several example texts and initially treat them in source-form-redaction critical isolation. Our premise for doing so is that the traditions related to Jesus were probably preached units of material. This might have been how these accounts were originally heard. What impression does each text leave as an isolated unit? The first group of texts considered are all accounts unique to Luke or that have emphases unique to

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2 C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (TPI New Testament Commentaries; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 65.

3 C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, p. 65.

4 Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (Trans. Geoffrey Buswell; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961) 171-72.

5 Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina 3; Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier, 1991) 18-20.

6 Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 20.

Luke: the infancy material, Luke 4:16-30, 7:11-17 with 9:7-9, 13:31-35, and 24:13-36. Considered in isolation all these texts highlight the role of Jesus as prophet. After considering a text in isolation, we then set that text in its larger narrative frame. In each case, the question is, "How has Luke framed his prophetic emphasis by his larger story?" Finally, we shall consider two other key sets of text that expand the original frame even more: the Lukan use of Psalm 110:1 and the key speech of Acts 3 as framed by the other speeches in Acts. We choose Acts 3 because it highlights the prophet like Moses theme in Luke's second volume more than any other account. The two distinct approaches complement each other by showing: 1) how Luke adds notes to his christological portrayal that the other Synoptics play at a much lower key, and 2) that Luke frames those additions so that his christology is prioritized and developed as the story proceeds.

Prophet Texts and Their Messianic Frames

The Infancy Narrative. There are no explicit "Jesus as prophet" texts in the infancy material, though there is an allusion to the triumphant servant in Simeon's description of the messianic child as a "light for revelation to the nations," which might come close (Luke 2:32; Isa 42:6; 49:6). Interestingly, in the frame of Luke's story this image parallels the portrait of Zechariah, who refers to Jesus as the "Rising Star" in Luke 1:78. The image of the star is part of a larger hymnic section, where Zechariah utters a praise psalm to God for raising up "a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his servant (1:69)." These texts, along with the explicit regal declarations of Luke 1:31-35 are the initial "Jesus frame" in the Lukan account. Whether one compares Luke to a symphonic piece or to a painting, the infancy material serves as an overture or as the frame into which the two-piece painting is placed. It sets the tone for what follows and hints at where the story is headed.

There is universal consensus that the major goal of the infancy material is to show the superiority of Jesus to John the Baptist. Everything about the structure of these two chapters points in this direction. The staging of John in chapter one sets up the more developed portrait of Jesus in chapter two extending his story to the age of twelve. The hymns always move from John to Jesus. Elizabeth's baby leaps at the presence of the younger, but more significant Jesus. One could argue that John is portrayed as a great prophet, one like Elijah (1:17), but he is nothing compared to Jesus. The relative merit of John to Jesus is important to consider in thinking about Jesus' role as a prophet, because John is not just any prophet. John is an eschatological prophet. So how does Jesus rate in comparison to John?

Two texts in the body of the gospel clearly explain the relationship. The highly popular and respected John is the subject of speculation in Luke 3:15: "Might he be the Christ?" John's answer is emphatic. There is so much difference between the "stronger one to come" and John that even the divinely commissioned prophet is not worthy to perform the most menial task

of a slave, to untie the thong of Jesus' sandal.[7] John refuses not because the task is too menial for him, but because Jesus is too great.

The second "prophet John" text comes in Luke 7:28. Here John is described as "the greatest born among women." As a prophet who introduces the new era, he is the greatest man to have lived up to that point. In fact, he is "greater than a prophet" (7:26). But Jesus brings a new situation, the arrival of "the kingdom of God." Its presence means that the lowest in the new era is greater than the greatest in the old era. This indicates that the one responsible for the new era is the greatest of all, or at the least, he is greater than the greatest prophet (and human being) to live up to that time. Granted this conclusion is an inference the text does not explicitly make, but it seems clearly implied by all that the John the Baptist–Jesus texts have said up to this point. These later texts help frame the issue for the reader retrospectively and keep earlier declarations about Jesus in their proper priority, just as earlier texts, like the infancy material do the same prospectively. It is this pattern of framing major themes and thus developing the story about them that is consistently a part of the Lukan discussion about christology. With the initial frame in place and the confirming value of a retrospective glance, we must turn to the more explicit Jesus as prophet texts to see how they are framed.

Luke 4:16-30. Perhaps no Lukan text is as much discussed for its christological content as this one.[8] Though drawing on traditional material like that in Mark 6:1-6, Luke has clearly gone his own way and has enhanced that traditional portrait. For our purposes, it is irrelevant whether he did so through additional source material or more directly through his own hand. What is clear is that the evangelist had more to say about Jesus' ministry in Nazareth. What is debated is whether the event highlights Jesus' prophetic or messianic office. The answer may well come in considering how the question is framed.

Some have highlighted Jesus as a prophetic figure in this text. He is "the evangelist of the eschaton" (O. Betz) and is treated as a false prophet by the crowd on the basis of Deuteronomy 13:1-11; 17:2-7 (Reicke).[9] Others have argued that his messianic identity excludes the presentation of Jesus as a

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[7] The extent of the difference is highlighted when one looks at the later Jewish tradition about Hebrew slaves. *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael* on Exodus 21:2 indicates that Hebrew slaves were not to undertake such a task, since it was seen as so degrading. See J. Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1935) 5.

[8] It is not just christology that makes this passage such a center of discussion. Issues related to Jew-Gentile mission and to liberation theology also help bring this passage in for special attention. The recent bibliography in C. J. Schreck's review of the discussion of this text runs sixteen pages and covers only 1972-89! See C. J. Schreck, "The Nazareth Pericope: Luke 4,16-30 in Recent Study," *L'Evanglie de Luc* (ed. F. Neirynck; BETL XXXII; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989) 397-471.

[9] O. Betz, "The Kerygma of Luke," *Int* 22 (1968): 131-46, esp. 134-36; B. Reicke, ""Jesus in Nazareth—Lk 4,14-30," *Das Wort und die Wörter: Festschrift Gerhard Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. H. Balz and S. Schulz; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973) 47-55; P. Feiler, *Jesus the Prophet: the Lucan Portrayal of Jesus as the Prophet like Moses* (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1986) 139-43, emphasizes the portrait of the prophet like Moses and speaks of a merging of royal and prophetic motifs (p. 244), a point we affirm.

prophet.[10] We prefer to argue that the answer to the question depends on how it is asked.

Considered as a distinct unit of tradition, it seems clear that the emphasis of this text is on the prophetic office. The proverb Jesus cites in v. 24 speaks of a prophet being without honor in his own country. The examples of Elijah and Elisha push the prophetic emphasis even more to the fore.[11] The scriptural citation that stands behind these remarks comes primarily from Isaiah 61:1-2, a text that seems to outline a prophetic ministry. Fitzmyer speaks of the redactional emphasis of the unit in these terms.[12] So if one "framed" the unit as form criticism does, as an individual piece of tradition, then a prophetic emphasis is likely.

However to call this Luke's redactional point, because he is responsible for the additions, ignores the literary flow of the passage. Framing the text in this larger border, the answer becomes more complex and may also help to explain a redactional peculiarity within the passage, namely the addition of Isaiah 58:6. Everyone recognizes that the allusion to anointing in the Luke 4 account is an allusion *within the larger Lukan story* to the baptism. This means that to understand the literary force of this declaration, the reader is to recall that event, which cited Psalm 2:7 and Isaiah 42:1.[13]

Now the interpretive force of these remarks is also disputed much as the Luke 4 text. Though Psalm 2 is clearly a royal psalm, Fitzmyer argues that this baptismal remark is merely regal and non-messianic.[14] But a nagging question remains, would a baptism taking place in as eschatological a context as John the Baptist's ministry and carrying regal implications only suggest a non-messianic, regal connection? The title or citation of the Psalm 2 text alone might not suggest a messianic understanding in the sense of *the* messiah, but placed in an eschatological frame, it seems hard to avoid that conclusion. It is clear that this messianic, regal import is how this event was read from a period early in the traditon history as the settings of Mark 1:1,7 and Matthew 3:1, 11 suggest.

When one adds to this Luke 4 event the anointing and ancient scriptural allusions that come from the voice at Jesus' baptism, and then considers the additional background of Luke's infancy material, it seems clear that whatever Luke's redactional christological motives were within the Luke 4 event, he has framed his presentation so that Jesus the prophet is subsumed to the fundamental portrait of Jesus as promised Messiah. Another way to say this is that the "prophet like Moses" motif may be nothing more than a

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10 F. Schnider, *Jesus der Prophet* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1973), pp. 163-67.

11 This emphasis is well developed in R. L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 18-27. He also emphasizes the portrait of the prophet like Moses, while noting that the prophetic and messianic claims are "complementary" (p. 16, n. 20).

12 J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX* (AB 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981) 529-30 is undecided whether the emphasis is strictly prophetic or heraldic.

13 For a defense of the presence of these two texts in light of text critical questions, see my *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology* (JSNTMS 12; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987) 99-104.

14 Fitzmyer, *Luke*, p. 482.

functional way to call Jesus a leader-prophet (as Acts 5:31 suggests). Though Moses was not a king, he often functioned like one. He was a type of "founder-leader." Elijah and Elisha are mentioned for other reasons, at the least because they ministered in a period of intense disbelief.[15]

This raises a final question. Why the citation of Isaiah 58:6 in the middle of Isaiah 61:1-2? Isaiah 58 contains a prophetic rebuke of the nation for not exhibiting justice towards those in need in their nation. God declares that the fast he desires is that one treat one's neighbor properly. Isaiah 61 proclaims a type of time like that envisioned, but not executed, in Isaiah 58. In fact Isaiah 58 has Jubilee overtones in that it pictures a Sabbath year, a timing that also connects it to the "acceptable year" of Isaiah 61.[16] Jesus thus proclaims that what the nation failed to do, he will do. He brings the time of comfort; he does not just proclaim it. Thus Jesus' activity on the Sabbath in the synagogue is a start to that realization.[17] He is *both* prophet and Messiah, proclaiming and bringing the salvation in question. Once again, the larger frame of the question, this time looking back, helps to show the full extent of Luke's literary, theological effort.

Luke 7:11-17; 9:7-9. We examine two texts, one unique to Luke (7:11-17) and another paralleled in the synoptics (9:7-9 with Mk. 6:14-16 and Matt. 14:1-2). The texts appear in a larger unit where the dominant question is, "Who is Jesus?" (Luke 7:16, 19-20, 49; 8:25, 28). Both Luke 7 and 9 revolve around a similar theme, the public perception of Jesus.

The resuscitation of the widow of Nain's only son recalls the description of resuscitations in the scripture of old as performed by Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings 17:17-24; 2 Kings 4:4-37). Late rabbinic Judaism accepted the ability of the righteous to perform such deeds (*b. Pesaḥ.* 68a; *Pirke R. El.r* 32 [16c]). Sometimes this ability was also attributed to rabbis (*Lev. Rab.* 10 [111d]). Now all of these examples are late, but they show that such an action could be understood as being mediated through one who was God's agent.[18] Given the nature of the event described and the scriptural parallels, it is no surprise that some in the crowd conclude that "a great prophet is raised up amongst us" (Luke 7:16).

Now it is debated whether this reference is to the "great eschatological prophet" or is more generic. Given the return to this theme later in the book in Luke 9:8, 19, it seems that a wide variety of possibilities were considered as answers: Elijah, some form of a returning John the Baptist, or one of the prophets. The one category not mentioned is a "prophet like Moses." The

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15 I leave aside for now the additional question about whether there is a Jew-Gentile point here, since it is not directly relevant to the christological point being made.

16 On the Jublilee theme, R. Sloan, *The Favorable Year of the Lord: A Study of Jubilary Theology in the Gospel of Luke* (Austin: Scholars Press, 1977) 37-41; G. Kyo-Seon Shin, *Die Ausrufung des endgültigen Jubeljahres durch Jesus in Nazaret: Eine historisch-kritische Studie zu Lk 4,16-30* (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXIII: Theologie 378; Bern: Peter Lang, 1989).

17 M. Daniel Carroll, R., "La cita de Isaías 58:6 en Lucas 4:18: Una Nueva Propuesta," *Kaíros* 11(1992): 61-78. Carroll argues that Jesus' remarks make a call for a pure religion and relationship to God, which Jesus reveals and brings.

18 For a summary of these texts an the issues they raise, H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus* (SNT IX; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968) 559-66.

populace seems to be viewing Jesus in some type of prophetic role, rather than as a specific figure.

Again, if Luke 7:11-17 were considered as an independent circulating portion of material, then the passage's major point is the concluding testimony of the crowd's recognition of Jesus as prophet. Jesus is making inroads into the populace who see God's hand in his work. They are open to him.

Brief mention should be made of an intervening uniquely Lukan unit, since it adds to the "Who is Jesus?" picture. Luke 7:39 has the host of Jesus doubt his prophetic office because he lets the sinful woman anoint him.[19] The remark is significant because it portrays the religiously sensitive being aware of the popular speculation around Jesus. The question of his identity was circulating.

Similar in force is the short unit in Luke 9:7-9. Here we see what kind of reports were reaching Herod about Jesus. It is in this text the various popular speculations are aired: John, Elijah, one of the prophets. For us, the only matter of importance is the continual raising of the "prophetic option" about Jesus. Again, the point of the unit by itself is simply to show the popular perception of Jesus as a prophetic figure, along with the curiosity that possibility is generating.

Once again, however, a framing by the larger story brings clarity to this theme. For after these two texts which echo one another in terms of the popular perception of Jesus, Luke mentions two other texts which echo and go beyond the categories raised in the earlier two texts.

Luke 9:18-20 recalls Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi. Its right to be tightly linked to Luke 7:16 and especially to 9:7-9 emerges when one notes the repetition of the discussion of the public's view of Jesus. The same three prophetic categories mentioned in Luke 9:7-9 appear here. In this threefold breakdown of the options here, Luke parallels the synoptic tradition (Matt 16:13-19; Mk 8:27-29). By raising these three categories again, Luke "frames" the prophetic question around the reply he is about to receive. Peter's confession of Jesus as "the Christ of God" (Luke 9:20) indicates that whatever truth there is to the perception of Jesus as prophet, it is inadequate in comparison to the recognition of him as Christ. Thus this text with its framing role shows a similar pattern to the Nazareth pericope earlier, where Jesus' anointing, though involving prophetic elements, does not stop at a merely prophetic understanding of Jesus.

This understanding is reinforced only a few verses later where the framing continues. The transfiguration in Luke 9:28-36 is unique in mentioning Jesus' approaching "exodus" (v. 31). That uniquely noted imagery in Luke does evoke a more "Mosaic" feel to the account than its synoptic parallels. Nevertheless, when Peter suggests building three booths (no doubt, one in honor of each great figure present), the remark meets with a double rebuke, both from the narrator and from the event itself. The omniscient narrator simply says that Peter "did not know what he was saying," while the voice in the cloud identifies Jesus as "the elect son" and

[19] Note the second class conditional sentence in the verse. In the speaker's view, the possibility of Jesus being a prophet is presented in the most skeptical way.

adds the exhortation, "listen to him." Now this remark echoes the voice at the baptism, but with one addition, the remark about listening to Jesus—words that recall Deteronomy 18:15. Here is Jesus singled out as distinct with the two great prophets, Moses and Elijah, in the midst. The category of prophet, though applicable to Jesus, is not the key category. He is a messianic figure (Elect Son), who also instructs (listen to him). He is a leader-prophet, which means that he is a founder of a new movement and bringer of a new way and era (Luke 16:16). A text like this might explain why the new movement is called "the way" in Acts (9:2; 18:25-26; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22).

Again, the prophetic category, which is the focus of the presentation of Jesus in one set of texts, is linked to other texts that explain the relationship between Jesus' function as prophet and the other major function he has as Messiah. Once again, the account is framed. Only in this case, Luke uses texts from his tradition to complete the framing.

Luke 13:31-35. Yet another crucial Lukan text appears here. The text is considered Lukan because Luke 13:31-32 has no parallel, while 13:33-35 finds itself in a very distinct locale in the gospel versus its parallel in Matthew 23:37-39. What Luke has on the journey to Jerusalem, Matthew has said in Jerusalem. Many credit Luke for the relocation, but deciding that question is not significant for our study.[20]

The remarks in Luke 13:33-34 and the use of Psalm 118 in v. 35 are of interest for our study. Both Luke 13:33-34 stress that a prophet should not perish outside of Jerusalem, because it has been the nation's pattern to kill and stone the prophets God has sent in the capital city. In response to the threat of Herod, Jesus portrays himself as a righteous, suffering prophet who must suffer in Jerusalem. The Lukan use of δεῖ in v. 33 adds a note of divine necessity about this suffering, as does the use of τελειοῦμαι in v. 32. Jesus the prophet then speaks for God in the first person and expresses God's longheld desire to protect the nation like a mother hen over her young brood (v. 34). Considered as an independent unit, everything about this passage presents Jesus as a prophetic figure.

The citation of Psalm 118 in Luke 13:35 appears to have a similar thrust. Declaring the nation's house desolate, much as Jeremiah 12:7 and 22:5 do, Jesus notes that the nation risks an exilic-like judgment until their heart changes. Their house is desolate until they confess that "blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord." The citation is from Psalm 118:26, where it refers to a group of pilgrims led by a major figure like a king. The blessing comes as they are entering the temple. As they enter, the one who leads them is received with this blessing. In Judaism, this text was often read with eschatological or messianic overtones (*m. Sukk.* 3.9; *Midr. Ps.* 118 and 22).[21] As with other texts we have considered, it is clear that this text considered as a unit by itself looks heavily prophetic in force.

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[20] For this discussion, see H. L. Egelkraut, *Jesus' Mission to Jerusalem: A Redaction Critical Study of the Travel Narrative in the Gospel of Luke, Luke 9:51-19:48* (Europäische Hochschulschriften; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1976) 176-79.

[21] H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 1:849-50, 876, note other texts.

But again the Lukan framing of the text makes the portrait more complex. This time the framing goes both backward and forward in the gospel. Looking back in Luke's account, the phrase "the one who comes" has already surfaced in Luke 3:15-16 and 7:18, 22 and is instructive given its link to Luke 13. In Luke 3:15-16 John the Baptist is denying that he is the Christ and points to one stronger than him who is to come. This remark, building as it does on Luke's infancy portrait, sets up Jesus' baptism and its presentation of him as the Christ through Psalm 2:7 and Isaiah 42:1. As noted above, the regal leaning of Psalm 2:7 and its connection to the Luke 3:15-18 discussion should not be missed. Luke 7:18 and 22 is another earlier text developing the Luke 3 motif, since John the Baptist through his two disciples asks Jesus if he is the coming one they expected, a direct allusion back to Luke 3. Thus the frame looking back reveals that the title of "the one to come" possesses regal force.

The forward-looking frame is similar. Here Luke 19:38 cites Psalm 118:26 again, only there is one addition, an addition unique to Luke's version, though Mark 11:10 is close conceptually. Luke reads "Blessed is *the king* (ὁ βασιλεύς) who comes in the name of the Lord. What was implied by the back frame of Luke 3:15-16 and 7:18, 22 becomes explicit here. The one who comes is a king. The reuse of Psalm 118 from Luke 13:35 plus the explanatory addition make Luke's reading and framing of the prophetic function of Jesus clear—to be a prophet is only an aspect of his larger messianic role.

We have one text left to examine in the gospel, but a pattern is emerging whose consistency is hard to attribute just to chance. Consistently the Lukan texts that present Jesus as a prophetic figure are framed (and even mirrored) by texts that place that presentation under the larger rubric of Jesus as regal messiah. Sometimes these texts come earlier, sometimes they come later, and sometimes it is both. Luke's presentation of christology may have more order to it than many have imagined. A literary reading of the text can spot these frames. Luke's framing of the story appears designed to alleviate confusion about who Jesus is, as he functioned in a variety of roles and was perceived in a variety of ways. Here is our major thesis. By presenting Jesus in this way, Luke wished to reassure Theophilus about who Jesus was. As I shall argue, Luke does this to show Theophilus and those like him how they fit into God's plan. But one more text in the gospel completes the pattern of this initial christological framing by Luke.

Luke 24:13-36. This final text is also unique to Luke. Since this text comes later, the two concepts of prophet and messiah appear more closely juxtaposed to one another. As the two travellers reflect on the recent passion events in Jerusalem to their new-found, unknown companion, one of them identifies Jesus as a "prophet, mighty in word and deed before God" (v. 19). In fact, they had hoped that he would be the one "who is about to redeem Israel" (v. 21). The second remark indicates that Jesus' work as prophet is again only an introduction to the larger hope that he would be a redeemer of God's nation.

The remarks of the still unrevealed Jesus unlock the connection even more. After a rebuke about being slow to believe the prophets, Jesus speaks about the Christ's suffering, which was always the stumbling block in terms of understanding (Luke 18:31-34), as well as discussing Christ's glory to follow. Then Jesus interpreted the Scripture for them beginning with Moses and from all the prophets. Luke brings Jesus' words and Scripture together to

make the point about who the Scripture portrayed the Christ to be. With disciples who were struggling to make sense of the pieces and their relationship, Luke uses Jesus to bring the package together.

This text is framed by the next passage in Luke 24:43-47, when Jesus summarizes the well known Lukan outline of the plan of God about the Christ as revealed through the Scripture: The Christ must suffer, be raised on the third day, and repentance for the forgiveness of sins was to be preached in his name beginning from Jerusalem. The disciples' preaching would reflect their role as witnesses to Jesus. Now the prophetic message was in their hands. They were to await enablement, to be clothed with power from on high, just as the Father had promised (v. 49), a remark that points to Acts 2, a text that reveals yet another even larger frame into which the now well established portrait of Messiah falls.

Reframing the Messianic Frame into a Larger Frame

Luke 20:41-44. Another major Lukan christological frame is his appeal to Psalm 110:1. This frame is more traditionally based, since the use of this psalm in Luke 20:41-44 and 22:69 have parallels in the synoptics (Mark 12:35-37a; Matt 22:41-46; Mark 14:62; Matt 26:64). However, the final element of the frame is the unique material in Acts 2. In fact, that text completes another linked sequence much like those we have already seen, except in this case it is the messianic office that occupies the "title being defined" position that the prophetic texts held in the previous examples.

The Luke 20 passsage is the well-known conundrum text, where Jesus asks a messianological question about why the Messiah is called David's son, when the father David calls him his Lord. Fathers do not call sons Lord. This reversal of sonship status is where the tension lies in the question. As an independent piece, the text could well look like a distancing of Jesus from the Son of David connection for the Messiah—He is not David's son; he is David's Lord. But rabbinic technique may well suggest this surface reading, even of the initial unit, may not be correct. Daube has spoken of the haggadic technique of a "rabbinic antinomy" here, where the rabbis cite a seeming contradiction only to assert both points as valid.[22] He argues that the point in this text is that the Messiah is David's son up to a certain moment, but he is Lord from then on, or as Romans puts it, he is David's son according to the flesh, but he is Lord according to the Spirit.

The other uses of the psalm in the larger frame indicate that Daube is probably going in the right direction, though probably with less temporal

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[22] D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone Press, 1956) 160-63. He uses *b. Nid.* 69b as the basis of the comparison, because it deals with a series of twelve questions. Though the rabbinic example is late, we would argue that the use made of the Psalm 110 text by Luke shows that at least he read the text this way. The example Daube notes works with the seeming contradiction between Ezekiel saying that God "has no pleasure in a sinner's death" and 1 Samuel's remark that "it pleased him" to kill Eli's sons. Rabbi Joshua takes Ezekiel to refer to the death of those who repent, while Samuel refers to the impenitent. Though the synoptic example does not juxtapose two texts, it does seemingly contrast two major messianic concepts. So one can still refer to the "rabbinic antinomy like" reading of Jesus' question.

contrast than Daube has. As early as Luke 2:11, the gospel declares Jesus to be "a savior, who is Christ the Lord." The term Lord, though present throughout the gospel in narrative introductions to events, is never explained until this sequence of three texts (Luke 20:41-44, 22:69; Acts 2:30-36). But for Luke the title is present from the beginning, though undeveloped until the end of Jesus' ministry. There is no exchange of offices here, only a relationship between them, just as we saw between prophet and Messiah. Luke 20:41-44 raises the question and calls on the reader to ponder the reply. Yet Luke does not leave the question there in the larger literary frame.

Luke 22:69 explains how the relationship between Messiah, Psalm 110, and Jesus works. This much discussed trial remark speaks of the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God "from now on." In the context of Jesus' trial, the remark simply declares that regardless of what the leadership does with Jesus, he still will be vindicated and possesses the authority to rule with God. That point is true from this moment on, a point full of irony, since Jesus is at the edge of being condemned to die by those he came to save. Though the title Lord does not appear in this passage, the allusion to Psalm 110:1 echoes back to the messianalogical question Jesus raised in Luke 20. This response comes after Jesus is asked if he is the Christ (v. 67), a question he did not answer directly, but instead chooses to answer with this Son of Man-Psalm 110 reply. The combination shows how the Lukan Jesus views his messiahship. The indirect affirmative reply to the subsequent question about whether Jesus is the Son of God also indicates how Luke brings the major titles together at the trial scene. Jesus' access to the right hand of God is the key to understanding Jesus' lordship and messiahship. The ascension will only make the point more vivid.

The third framing text is Acts 2:30-36. Here Peter expounds the bestowal of the Spirit as evidence that Jesus is raised and distributing salvation's benefits on those who "call upon the name of the Lord." He is both "Lord and Christ," with Lord occupying the emphatic position in the phrase (v. 36). In this context, Jesus is seen as a certain kind of messiah, seated at God's right hand, exercising regal, executive prerogatives in sending the Spirit. Now on his name women and men must call to be saved (v. 38). He performs all these activities in initial fulfillment of promises made about the "seed of David" as alluded to through Psalm 132:11 (v. 30). God now possesses a regal mediator of his blessing (Messiah) with total authority (Lord) over salvation's benefits. As prophet was subsumed under Messiah in the earlier texts, now another relationship is explained. In this literarily centrally located transition speech, the Messiah is defined by the concept of Lordship. This emphasis reappears in the other ground breaking christological speech in Acts, Peter's speech to the Gentile Cornelius (Acts 10:34-43) with its theme announced parenthetically in 10:36.

Acts 3. One more text needs attention. It emphasizes the prophetic function of Jesus, but fits it into what has become a larger christological frame. The speech in Acts 3 also has a key role to play in the teaching of Luke-Acts. This has been highlighted by J. T. Carroll. He summarizes the central role of the chapter as follows: "Acts 3:12-26 sets the paradigm for the rest of the story: participation in the blessings of God (promised to Abraham) comes to those

who repent (vv. 19, 26), but those who fail to attend to the voice of the Mosaic prophet will find themselves rooted out of the people of God (vv. 22-23)."[23]

The appeal to repent is rendered serious by the additional appeal to the prophet like Moses motif from Deuteronomy 18:15-20 and the citation of a warning of curse and excommunication from Leviticus 23:29.[24] Again the prophet like Moses citation is sandwiched between references to the servant (παῖς, vv. 13, 26), the holy and righteous one (v. 14), the author of Life (v. 15), the Christ (v. 18) and Christ Jesus (v. 20). The portrait of the Christ's suffering is said to come from the prophets. Both the stacking up of titles and the appeal to the suffering Christ as revealed in Scripture are major Lukan themes. There is even a hint of the individualized "seed of Abraham" interpretation in v. 25 that turns up so vividly in Galatians 3. Luke's interchange of titles is not a mere listing of synonyms but is an attempt to present and relate various titles to one another.

Jesus' anointing as the Christ has many aspects. Acts 3 highlights the righteous yet suffering trailblazing Leader-Prophet. At the prophetic level, Jesus is the reforming leader of an emerging group who seek to honor God's call in renewal of the true way to God. This theme was a major concern of Jesus' teaching in his journey to Jerusalem, a theme set up by the remark at the transfiguration that the disciples should "listen to him."[25] Just as Moses delivered the people and revealed to them the nation's covenant, so Jesus provides for the people's deliverance as "the righteous and holy author of life" and reveals to them the way to live in a God honoring life.

This speech comes in the midst of a larger frame of speeches where the concern is to declare Jesus as the exalted Lord or Christ (Acts 2, 10), to point out the implications of what it means for the promise to David to be realized in Jesus (Acts 13), or what the implications are for the "hut of David" to be restored (Acts 15). The speeches in Acts 10 and 15 are extremely significant, since they are speeches to or about Gentiles where Luke presents christology through appeal to Scripture for the final time. From this point on, christology

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23 J. T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts* (SBLDS 92; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 137-41. The quotation is from p. 138, where he also notes the work of P. Feiler on the prophet theme, a work we noted above (see n. 9). Carroll highlights the connection between christology, soteriology and eschatology here. For another study covering the same ground and picking up this relationship from where Carroll left it, H. Bayer, "Christ-Centered Eschatology in Acts 3:17-26," *Jesus of Nazareth Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus an New Testament Christology* (J. B. Green and M. Turner, eds.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1994) 236-50. He stresses that time frames are less of a concern in this speech than the deeds Christ performs, which is why the tensions associated with these events' timing and their relationship is so ambiguous.

24 For a concise summary of the Jewish use of this theme in her eschatological expectation see C. A. Evans's discussion in his and James A. Sanders's *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1993) 190-92. Evans's article argues that Luke is not anti-Semitic, but that his polemical use of Scripture is a prophetic argument in critique of the attempt to reject Jesus and the Gentile mission. He also notes that *Sipre Deut.* §175 states that the prophet God raises up from the nation will not go to the Gentiles, a text he sees in opposition to the theme as it emerges in Acts.

25 This theme is traced in careful detail by D. P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989).

surfaces in the use of titles, rather than through scriptural appeal and the explanations those texts supply.

This observation is important because it indicates that Luke desired to develop his christological portrait as the foundation for other concerns in his two volumes. Once Luke has related the Messiah to the triumphant (exalted!) servant and the prophet like Moses, he also shows that this exalted Messiah is Lord, seated at the right hand of the Father. Since this Jesus is Lord of all (exalted and distributing benefits from God's side), the gospel can go to all. So the first two speeches to Gentiles highlight Jesus' universal authority and the gospel's resultant multi-racial availability as indicated by Jesus' giving the same gift to Gentiles in Acts 10 that he gave to Jews in Acts 2. In this way, God's promise to Abraham to bless the nations through his seed comes through the prophet like Moses that God raised up. So both Moses and Abraham are for the universal mission the emerging community undertakes! This new community is the genuine torchbearer of the true promise of God to reach all humanity.

Interestingly, just as Acts 3 combines Moses and Abraham, Acts 2 combines David and Jeremiah. For the citation of Joel and his promised distribution of the Spirit echoes the hope of Jeremiah for a "new covenant" day when God would pour out his blessing in the hearts of his people. Thus, Acts 2 and 3 reveal all the major covenant figures as supporting Jesus, either by citation or allusion. All the Scripture from Moses to the prophets point to Jesus as the Christ who graciously offers these marvelous new things.

These speeches and the christology in them do not represent a repudiation of Judaism and Israel, but are an attempt to call her back to faithfulness and to her destiny as the source through which the world is blessed. The eschatological prophet Jesus is the prophet of renewal and reformation, a formative leader-prophet like Moses. This function of Jesus fits into and underneath his messianic function as the regal executive over the people of God. Both those functions in turn lead to the recognition of his lordship, the one in whom authority over salvation resides. The combination of these traits explains not only Jesus' exaltation and vindication by God, but also his current ministry as it is revealed through his servants in the new, reformed community.

Christology serves not only as the basis of a universal proclamation of the gospel to all races, but also as an internal call to Israel to reform. The prophet like Moses is to be heard, so that the Messiah from the house of David as seed of Abraham can bless both those inside and outside the physical nation of Israel. As Lord of all, Jesus takes his message to all, and can form a people from "the rest of men" who can seek the Lord, including "all the Gentiles who are called by my name" (Acts 15:17).

Conclusion

We have argued that Luke's portrait of Jesus as a prophet like Moses is complementary to his portrait of Jesus as Messiah. Jesus is a leader-prophet. He forms a new people as he calls some others to reform by asking them to turn back to God. My earlier work had made a case for this through working with

the use of the Old Testament.[26] Here we have argued that narrative framing makes the same point and helps to define even more precisely the relationship between the prophet like Moses and Messiah for Luke.

Luke appears to build his christology from "the earth up," using familiar categories before pushing the portrait to the limits of former boundaries, as he describes Jesus' function as Lord. The portrait also prevents one from treating Jesus as just another in a line of great prophetic voices sent from God. The effect of Luke's portrayal means that Jesus is everything or Jesus is wrong. Jesus may be like divine agents of the past, but he is much more than any one of them. Whether one thinks of the greatest man born of women, John the Baptist (Luke 7), or of the great prophets of old, like Moses, Elijah or Elisha (Luke 4, 9), one should recognize that they are nothing compared to Jesus. The one option Luke closes by his portrayal is the perception that Jesus is only a prophet, a mere sage of wisdom and parables. There is no *via media* between the new community's claim that Jesus is the decisive eschatological agent of God and the refusal by many Jews, including most of the leadership, to accept that claim. To agree that Jesus had prophetic gift is to see him as the prophet like Moses who is a leader-prophet.

Nothing up to this point has been said about the implied audience for this christology. An observation should be made about that question. Reflecting on this portrait, it seems quite possible that this christology speaks to both a Jewish and a Gentile audience.[27] The concern to express Jesus' authority over salvation in terms of a leader-prophet who brings God's blessing to all nations reflects a multi-ethnic concern. To the Gentiles, there is assurance that they belong in the people of God the promised Christ is forming. It is God's plan as God's scripture reveals. To the Jewish believers, there is a note that all these developments fit into their hope and represent part of the reform Jesus sought to bring to Judaism as it stood in Jesus' time. Jesus cannot be respected as a prophet, if he is not embraced as Messiah and Lord. He cannot be Lord, if the salvation he brings is not intended for every nation.

This is the christological genius of Luke's framing of the account. By alleviating confusion about the various popularly debated portraits of Jesus, Luke attempted to show how Jesus came both to save people from every nation while honoring promises involving the great luminaries of Jewish faith, people like Abraham (Acts 3), Moses (Luke 9, Acts 3) and David (Luke 1-2, 4, 9, 20, Acts 2). The prophet like Moses who is also Messiah and Lord can, to put it in the words of Paul's summary of his own commission, "proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles" (Acts 26:23), a theme that echoes back to the beginning of Luke's story as well when Simeon says the Lord's Christ is "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel" (Luke

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26 I am referring to *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*, along with an update in the *SBL 1990 Seminar Papers*, edited by D. J. Lull, entitled "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts: Christology and Mission," pp. 494-511. The latter paper developed the relationship of Christology to mission in Luke-Acts. A further, updated version of this essay will appear in a forthcoming volume edited by J. A. Sanders and C. A. Evans for Sheffield Academic Press.

27 Given over a decade of remarks in this study group and its predecessor arguing for one audience or another, this author is now wondering if we do not have a both/and ethnic setting in view here, rather than an either/or.

2:32). By framing the account and alleviating the confusion, Luke hoped to bring Jew and Gentile together through the promised and now revealed Christ.

The Title "Author of Life (Leader)" in the Acts of the Apostles

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In his Regensburg dissertation Paul-Gerhard Müller presents a thorough investigation into the evolution of the term *archēgos* with particular attention to its performance as a christological title in the NT.[1] This paper will focus, ultimately, on the two important verses in Acts where *archēgos* appears: 3:15 and 5:31; but, first, we must review the evolution of the term.

I. Archēgos in Greek Literature[2]

In Greek sources *archēgos* denotes "first cause" and, by derivation, can refer to a "hero" or "founder" of a city, family, or nation;[3] the "leader" of an army;[4] the "author" of good things;[5] or a "guide" on the heavenly path.[6]

II. Archēgos in Jewish Literature[7]

In the LXX *archēgos* translates *rōš*, "head," at Exod 6:14; Num 25:4; Deut 33:21; Judg 11;11; 1 Chr 5:24; and Mic 1:13.[8] Its Hebrew counterpart is *nāśi*,

1 *CHRISTOS ARCHĒGOS: Der religionsgeschichtliche und theologische Hintergrund einer neutestamentlichen Christusprädikation* (Bern: H. Lang/Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1973); see my review of Müller's work in *JBL* 95 (1976) 305-7.

2 Especially helpful are G. Delling, "*archēgos*," *TDNT* 1 (1964) 487f.; Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 72-81; G. A. Galitis, "*Archēgos-Archēgetēs* dans la littérature et la religion grecques," *Athena* 64 (1960) 17-138; and H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia Commentaries; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989) 87f.

3 Examples include Athena, the founder of Athens, in Plato, *Tim.* 21E; Zeus, the founder of nature, in Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* (*SVF* 1.121-23, no. 537); and Aristotle, *Metaph.* 983B 20; see W. L. Knox, "The 'Divine Hero' Christology in the NT," *HTR* 41 (1948) 229-49.

4 E.g., Euripides, *Tro.* 1267 and Polybius, *Hist.* 10.34.2.

5 Isocrates, *Or.* 4.61 and Polybius, *Hist.* 2.40.2 can be cited.

6 Both Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 33.47 and Heraclitus, *Hom. all.* 34.8 refer to Heracles as *archēgos* in this context.

7 See Delling, "*archēgos*," 487f.; Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 82-91, 114-212; and Attridge, *Hebrews*, 87f., 356.

8 J. R. Bartlett, "The Use of the Word *rōš* as a Title in the OT," *VT* 19 (1969) 1-10 is frequently mentioned here.

"prince," at Num 13:2 and 16:2.[9] And *śar* becomes *archēgos* at Judg 5:15; 1 Chr 26:26; Neh 2:9; Isa 30:4; and Dan 10:13, 21.

Although Philo does not use the term *archēgos*, he does call Abraham *archēgetēs*, "first leader" or "founder of a new race of men,"[10] and Josephus refers to Moses as "the founder (*archēgos*) of the Hebrew nation."[11] *Archēgos* is used for an "instigator" of trouble in 1 Macc 9:61 and the term reoccurs at 1 Macc 10:47. The Messiah is "captain" at *Pss. Sol.* 17:23-27 and *Sib. Or.* 3:652-56. A "guide" on the path to heaven is the meaning at *1 Enoch* 71:16, and in *2 Enoch* 72:7 Melchizedek is described as a "leader."

III. Archēgos in Christian Literature

A. Archēgos in the Apostolic Fathers and Patristic Literature[12]

The term is used of Jesus in *1 Clem* 14:1; 51:1, and at *2 Clem* 20:5 where he is "the Savior and originator (*archēgos*) of immortality."[13] Among the Fathers who use the title for Jesus are Aristides of Athens, Tatian, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Origen, Athanasius, and Basil the Great. When referring to the martyrs at Lyons, Eusebius says: "For they gladly conceded the title of 'Martyr' to Christ . . . the first born of the dead and originator (*archēgos*) of the life of God."[14]

B. Archēgos Elsewhere in the NT

1. The Letters of Paul[15]

In 1 Thess 4:14 Paul says "through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have died," and at Rom 8:29 Jesus is described as "the firstborn within a large family." According to 1 Cor 15:20 he is "the first fruits of those who have died," and, at 1 Cor 10:4, "the spiritual rock" from which the ancient Hebrews drank.

2. The Synoptic Gospels[16]

In Mark 10:32-34 Jesus is "going up to Jerusalem," walking ahead of the disciples who follow in amazement. At 11:9 the distinction between those who "go ahead" and those who "follow" is repeated. In both 14:28 and 16:7 Jesus "goes before" (*proagein*) his disciples. In Matt 21:1-11 Jesus enters Jerusalem as

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9 At Qumran, with reference to Ezek 34:24; 37:25; and 44:13, *nāśi* is a designation for the Davidic Messiah. According to the Messianic *Florilegium* from Cave IV, the messianic "scion of David" shall "save Israel" in the last days; K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community: Its Origin and Teachings* (London: Black, 1959) 150.

10 *On Ab.* 46.

11 *Ap.* 1.130; see also *Ant.* 7.207.

12 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 92-102.

13 This is one of several places in early Christianity where *archēgos* appears with *sōtēr*; see Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 95.

14 *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.3.

15 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 313-16; all biblical quotations are from the NRSV.

16 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 317-33.

a kingly leader. At 2:6 it was prophesied that from Bethlehem shall come a "ruler" (*hēgoumenos*). At 15:14; 23:16, 24 the term used for "guides" (*hodēgoi*) in "blind guides" relates to *archēgos*. In Luke 9:51, 57 Jesus is "going" (*poreuesthai*) to Jerusalem. He must be on his "way" (13:33). At 21:8 Jesus' disciples are not to "go after" false prophets. In 9:31 Moses and Elijah speak of Jesus' "departure" (*exodos*), and at 24:50 the risen Christ "leads them out" (*exagein*) as far as Bethany.

3. The Johannine Literature and the Letters of Peter[17]

In John 10:3, 4 the shepherd "leads out" (*exagein*) his sheep and "goes ahead" (*poreuetai*) of them. He "must lead out" (*dei me agagein*) other sheep not of his fold (10:16). At 12:32 the exalted Christ will "draw" (*helkuein*) all people to himself, for he is "the way" (*ho hodos*, 14:6) and he will "guide" (*hodēgēsei*) all to the truth. The "ruler" (*archōn*) of this world is condemned and will be driven out at the judgment (12:31; 16:11). There is a Moses-Jesus typology: Moses gives circumcision (7:22) and Jesus heals (7:23). "If you do not believe what Moses wrote, how will you believe what I say?" (5:47).

In Revelation, Jesus is the "ruler" (*archōn*) of the kings of the earth (1:5), "the first" (*prōtos*) and the last (1:17; 2:8; 22:13), and "the guide" (*hodēgēsei*) to the water of life (7:17). In 1 Pet 5:4; 3:18 Jesus is "the chief shepherd" (*archipoimenos*) who will bring you to God (*prosagagē tō theō*). At 2 Pet 2:2 "the way" (*ho hodos*) of truth is maligned by false prophets.

C. Archēgos in the Letter to the Hebrews

As a christological title in the NT *archēgos* is variously interpreted and translated. Among the more prominent renderings are "leader," "prince," "captain," "author," "originator," and "pioneer."[18] It appears only in Heb 2:10; 12:2 and Acts 3:15; 5:31.[19] Its basic meaning is that of an eschatological leader who, by means of his death and resurrection, leads his followers to faith and salvation.

The entire exposition of Jesus' work in Heb is flanked at either end—2:10 and 12:2—by the use of *archēgos*. At the former, we find: "It was fitting that God . . . in bringing many children to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation (*archēgos tēs sōtērias autōn*) perfect through sufferings," while 12:2 begins, "looking to Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of our faith (*archēgos kai teleiōtēs tēs pisteōs*)."

Archēgos of salvation (2:10) would be the same as *archēgos* of life in Acts 3:15 since in Aramaic the same term, *hayyē*, means both "life" and "salvation."[20]

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17 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 334-52.

18 See Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 103-11.

19 Among the important works on the title are G. Johnston, "Christ as Archegos," *NTS* 27 (1981) 381-85; T. Ballarini, "Archegos (Atti 3,15; 5,31; Ebr 2,10; 12,2) autore o condottiero?," *Sacra Doctrina* 16 (1971) 535-51; and R. R. Niebuhr, "Archegos: An Essay on the Relation between the Biblical Jesus Christ and the Present-Day Reader," *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* (eds. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, and R. R. Niebuhr; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 79-100.

20 L. Sabourin, *The Names and Titles of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1967) 97. Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 289 notes that this is another occasion where *archēgos* and *sōtēr* appear together; on 2:10 generally see E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship* (Naperville, IL: Allenson,

The conception of Jesus as "pioneer" or "captain" reminds us of Joshua, with Israel as the prototype for the people Jesus leads.[21] *Archēgos* is similar to both *aitios*, "source," in Heb 5:9, "the source of eternal salvation"[22] and *prodromos*, "forerunner," at 6:20, "Jesus, a forerunner on our behalf." Jesus, as pioneer of salvation, is made "perfect through sufferings" (2:10). "He learned obedience through what he suffered" (5:8).[23]

With regard to 12:2[24] and Jesus as *teleiōtēs*, "perfecter," of our faith, Oscar Cullmann writes: "The expression *teleios* and words from the same root play a very important part in the Christology of Hebrews."[25] I take exception with Müller's statement: "Die ideelle Polarität 'Alpha-Omega' spielt in Hebr 12,2 keine Rolle."[26] The rare *teleiōtēs*, doubtless due to the etymological contrast of *archē* and *telos*, is scarcely proper as a correlative of *archēgos*.

D. Archēgos in the Acts of the Apostles

1. Author of Life (archēgos tēs zōēs) in 3:15[27]

"You killed the Author of life, whom God raised from the dead. To this we are witnesses" (3:15).

In marked contrast with 3:14 where a murderer is pardoned, in 3:15 the Jews are indicted by Peter for killing "the Author of life." This verse parallels 2:36, "God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified," and the title relates to John 1:4, "in him was life." According to

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1960) 88; R. A. Greer, *The Captain of Our Salvation: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1973); and L. D. Hurst, "The Christology of Hebrews 1 and 2," *The Glory of Christ in the NT: Studies in Christology in Memory of G. B. Caird* (eds. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright; Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 151-64.

21 C. P. M. Jones, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings," *Studies in the Gospels* (ed. D. E. Nineham; Oxford: Blackwell, 1957) 119, 128.

22 See H. J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts," *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles* (eds. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, 5 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1920-33) 5.370.

23 C. H. Talbert, in "An Anti-Gnostic Tendency in Lucan Christology," *NTS* 14 (1968) 271, emphasizes Jesus' being capable of suffering and death, as does I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970) 209.

24 Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 356; Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 302-12; and P. Andriessen-A. Lenglet, "Quelques passages difficiles de l'Epître aux Hébreux (5,7.11; 10,20; 12,2)," *Bib* 51 (1970) 207-20.

25 *The Christology of the NT* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 92; of the many excellent studies on the christology of Heb, see J. Swetnam, "Christology and the Eucharist in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Bib* 70 (1989) 74-95; F. Laub, *Bekenntnis und Auslegung: Die paränetische Funktion der Christologie im Hebräerbrief* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1980) and W. R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hohepriester: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981).

26 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 310.

27 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 249-70.

Philip E. Satterthwaite,[28] the force of verse 15 lies in its use of emotionally loaded language—you killed him, but God raised him.[29]

Müller calls special attention to the meaning of "life" in the title,[30] e.g., it refers exclusively to the future and the focus for its interpretation is Jesus' resurrection. Conspicuous by its absence in his discussion, however, is any reference to the important contribution here by Hans Conzelmann,[31] i.e., that Jesus, as "the first to rise from the dead," (26:23)[32]—a phrase crucial to the understanding of *archēgos*—is the guarantor of our own resurrection. Conzelmann avoids calling Jesus "originator" since, according to verse 15, he did not "rise," but "was raised" by God. Although Stephen S. Smalley[33] regards Conzelmann's proposal as "a piece of special pleading of the most loaded kind," Ulrich Wilckens gives it full endorsement.[34] Jesus' resurrection guarantees the general resurrection. G. W. H. Lampe reads this out of John 14:2, "I go to prepare a place for you."[35] While Luke in his gospel adopts the traditional expression "the resurrection of the righteous" (14:14), his own understanding is revealed in Acts 24:15 where we read that not only the righteous but also the unrighteous will be raised.

The closing lines of Luke's gospel refer to the important role of Jesus' disciples as "witnesses of these things" (24:48).[36] In Acts 3:15 the task of Peter and the others is to affirm the reality of Jesus' resurrection: "To this we are witnesses." The role of Jesus' disciples as "witnesses" in the gospel is "interlaced" with the same role in the early chapters of Acts (1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 4:33; and 5:32).[37] Of the thirty-five times "witness" appears in the NT, eleven

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28 "Acts Against the Background of Classical Rhetoric," *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (*The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*, Vol. 1; eds. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 371.

29 Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts* (2 vols.; Vol. 1. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986; Vol. 2. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 1.30, 2.36 calls this a "reversal." Robert L. Brawley, *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke-Acts* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) 103 says the resurrection is God's affirmation of the one who was killed: "potential disconfirmation turns into confirmation."

30 *ARCHĒGOS*, 256f.

31 *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960) 205, 230 and *Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia Commentaries; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 28; see also E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 206, and H. Flender, *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 19.

32 On this verse see R. F. O'Toole, *Acts 26: The Christological Climax of Paul's Defense (Ac 22:1-26:32)* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978).

33 "The Christology of Acts," *ExpTim* 73 (1962) 362.

34 *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961) 174ff.

35 "The Lucan Portrait of Christ," *NTS* 2 (1956) 167; see 1 Cor 15:20f. and Col 1:18.

36 See H. C. Kee, *Good News to the Ends of the Earth: The Theology of Acts* (London: SCM, 1990) 96, and R. J. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978).

37 Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 1.295; M. C. Parsons, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke-Acts: The Ascension Narratives in Context* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987) 94 calls it "linkage" or "a hinge;" see M. C. Parsons and R. I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 59.

are in the Acts speeches.[38] Charles H. Talbert is right when he says: "Acts is dominated by the theme of witness."[39]

2. Leader (archēgos) and Savior in 5:31[40]

"God exalted him at his right hand as Leader and Savior that he might give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins" (5:31).

In this verse, as Darrell L. Bock notes,[41] there is one allusion to Deut 21 and one to Ps 110. God raised up Jesus, fulfilling Deut 21:23 by hanging him on a tree.[42] In addition to this verse, the frequently-cited phrase from Ps 110, "at the right hand of God,"is found in Acts 2:25, 33, 34; 7:55, 56.[43] Like Acts 2:36, 5:31 contains another declaration of Jesus' theological identity. According to Marion L. Soards: "'Author of Life' at 3:15 may explain the exact sense of *archēgos* at 5:31."[44]

Eric Franklin[45] suggests there is no intermediate stage in the majority of the Acts speeches between the resurrection and exaltation, and that even when in 5:30-31 the exaltation[46] as well as the resurrection[47] is mentioned, it is not necessarily thought of as a special event. Conzelmann[48] agrees, claiming that the resurrection appears to be identical with the exaltation.[49]

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38 Cf. M. L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994) 192f. and the literature cited there, especially A. A. Trites, *The NT Concept of Witness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

39 *Luke and the Gnostics: An Examination of the Lucan Purpose* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 17.

40 Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 271-78.

41 *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan OT Christology* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987) 208f.

42 See here M. Wilcox, "'Upon the Tree'—Deut 21:22-23 in the NT," *JBL* 96 (1977) 85-99.

43 Among the good studies here are D. M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Ps 110 in Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973); W. R. G. Loader, "Christ at the Right Hand—Ps. CX.I in the NT," *NTS* 24 (1978) 199-217; and M. Gourgues, *A la droite de Dieu: Résurrection de Jésus et actualisation du Psaume 110.1 dans le NT* (Paris: Gabalda, 1978).

44 *Speeches in Acts*, 52. Acts 5:31 is the third occurrence where *archēgos* and *sōtēr* appear together, notes Müller, *ARCHĒGOS*, 272.

45 *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 31ff.

46 See G. Bouwman, "Die Erhöhung Jesu in der lukanischen Theologie," *BZ* 14 (1970) 257-63. While agreeing with Müller that the *pais theou* title in 3:13 is to be understood "im Kontext der lukanischen Erhöhungs-christologie" (254), I cannot accept his implication that the title identifies Jesus with the Suffering Servant of Isa 53. It seems to me, rather, that the *Gottesknechtstitel* was ascribed to Jesus in the general sense of the OT title of honor, *ebed Yahweh*; see *JBL* 93 (1974) 470-71 for my review of E. Kränkl, *Jesus der Knecht Gottes: Die heilsgeschichtliche Stellung Jesu in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1972).

47 There are several helpful studies here, among them H. Braun, "Zur Terminologie der Acta von der Auferstehung Jesu," *TLZ* 77 (1952) 533-36 and I. H. Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles," *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce* (eds. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 92-107.

48 *Acts*, 21.

49 For the view that in Lucan thought the exaltation of Jesus is distinct from his resurrection, see Flender, *St. Luke*, 18ff.

Here is Müller's conclusion: "Jesus ist *archēgos*, weil er dies durch sein Leiden und seinen Tod, durch seine Auferstehung und Erhöhung geworden ist."[50]

Luke, perhaps more than any other NT author, accentuates the theme of salvation.[51] It is prominent from the infancy narratives of his gospel, e.g., 1:77, to Paul's declaration in Rome: "This salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles" (Acts 28:28). Jesus himself is salvation (Luke 19:9; Acts 13:26); it may be found in no other name (Acts 4:12).[52] Inherent in the "salvation" theme, though frequently overlooked, is the concept of "healing."[53] In Acts 3:15 "Author of life" stressed the life-giving and healing power of Jesus. A similar meaning may be attributed to "Leader and Savior" in 5:31.

The Jews who listened to Peter are convicted of their corporate guilt in crucifying Jesus and are summoned to repent. According to Hans Conzelmann, repentance is thought of as the gift of salvation.[54] "Despite the wording," he writes, "Luke means the *opportunity* for repentance. He does not mean that repentance as such is a gift of God, but that God gives *metanoia* in the sense of an opportunity to repent."[55] Repentance is the appropriate response of one who accepts Jesus as Savior.[56] Forgiveness of sins is a special Lucan phrase which seldom appears elsewhere in the NT. It is used frequently in Acts to designate the content of salvation. It is God's response to repentance. Repentance and forgiveness of sins appear together in the early speeches: 2:38; 3:19; 5:31.[57]

The description of Jesus as Leader (*archēgos*) and Savior in 5:31 reminds us of the first great "ruler and liberator" (*archonta kai lutrōtēn*), Moses, mentioned in Acts, surprisingly enough, only in the Stephen speech (7:35).[58] One might have expected Luke to make more of Jesus as the new Moses—and the new Joshua—than he does.[59] To be sure, Joshua is cited in 7:45, but the analogy is

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50 *ARCHĒGOS*, 312; see also F. Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-Three Years of Research (1950-1983)* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1987) 193.

51 See R. Glöckner, *Die Verkündigung des Heils beim Evangelisten Lukas* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald, 1975).

52 Lampe, "Lucan Portrait," 170; according to Marshall, *Luke*, 169: "Salvation is linked with the exaltation of Jesus and with his name."

53 See Cadbury, "Titles of Jesus," 371, and A. J. Malherbe, "Christology in Luke-Acts," *ResQ* 2 (1958) 115.

54 *Theology of St. Luke*, 228 n. 2.

55 *Acts*, 42. The idea of God's giving repentance recurs at 11:18.

56 W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970) 375 believes that Luke is thinking of forgiveness in the call to repentance and the witness to baptism (Acts 2:38).

57 See Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking Unity*, 59; Kee, *Good News*, 89; and R. F. Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Reinterpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971) 61.

58 Among the better works on the Stephen speech are J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech: A Literary and Redactional Study of Acts 7,2-53* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976); see my review in *CBQ* 40 (1978) 639f., and J. Bihler, *Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte* (Munich: M. Hueber, 1963).

59 On these typologies see Zehnle, *Pentecost Discourse*, 76-78; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 54; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2.91; and L. Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the OT in the New* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

nowhere developed. As Moses and Joshua led Israel to her establishment as a nation and gave her the law, so, in a far greater sense, Jesus, as Captain and Pioneer of the new Israel, leads the eschatological people of God, not across the Jordan, but across the river of death into the promised age of life. Müller presents Jesus as the *Anführer* of a new Exodus,[60] and Reginald H. Fuller suggests that *archēgos* may have derived from a Mosaic-prophet-servant complex with *lutrōtēs*, "liberator/redeemer," as the analogous term.[61]

3. Archēgos as Christological Title in the Acts Speeches

In his discussion of methodology Müller emphasizes the importance of research on christological titles. When the early Christian community recognized that Jesus had fulfilled the OT promise of salvation, it conferred upon him certain appropriate designations—among them *archēgos*. The OT *Heilsverheissung* and Jesus' reception of titles in the NT stand, then, in a direct "question-answer" relationship since such titles are always answers to questions concerning saving activity.[62] The strongest argument supporting title research in the determination of NT christology[63] is that by such means the manner and extent to which traditional designations of Christ have been taken over and integrated with the conceptions of a particular writer can be observed.[64]

J. C. O'Neill makes the point that Luke alone of the writers who use *archēgos* does so without a qualifying genitive, the result being that a description becomes a title.[65] Several scholars have contended that Luke's use of the title

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60 *ARCHĒGOS*, 329-31; also on this point see G. L. Balentine, "Death of Jesus as a New Exodus," *RevExp* 59 (1962) 39; J. Mánek, "The New Exodus in the Books of Luke," *NovT* 2 (1958) 8-23; E. L. Allen, "Jesus and Moses in the NT," *ExpTim* 67 (1955-56) 104-6; and E. Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4: The Author's Method of Composition* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978) 102ff.

61 *The Foundations of NT Christology* (New York: Scribner, 1965) 48.

62 *ARCHĒGOS*, 63.

63 Helpful resources on NT christology not previously cited include F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (London: Lutterworth, 1969); C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); and P. M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origin and Development of NT Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991).

64 During the last several years I have employed this method on Luke's use of titles: Donald L. Jones, "The Christology of the Missionary Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1966); "The Title *Christos* in Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 69-76; "The Title *Kyrios* in Luke-Acts," *SBL 1974 Seminar Papers* (ed. G. MacRae; 2 vols.; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) 2.85-101; "The Title *Pais* in Luke-Acts," *SBL 1982 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; Chico: Scholars Press, 1982) 217-26; a revised version of this paper appears, with full documentation as "The Title 'Servant' in Luke-Acts," *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the SBL Seminar* (ed. C. H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984) 148-65; "The Title 'Son of God' in the Acts of the Apostles," *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers* (Ed. K. H. Richards; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 451-63.

65 *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 1961) 141; for Cadbury, "Titles of Jesus," 370 *archēgos* is a very attractive term for Jesus, though hardly a title. I, obviously, regard it as a title. Other works on Lucan christology not previously mentioned include M. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1969); G. Voss, *Die Christologie der lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965); F. Schütz, *Der leidende Christus: Die angefochtene Gemeinde und das Christuskerygma der*

archēgos reflects an "archaic christology" behind the speech in chapter 3.[66] In 1956 J. A. T. Robinson argued for the presence of not one but two primitive christologies, incompatible with each other and with Luke's own theology, in the second and third chapters of Acts.[67] He contended not only that Peter's Pentecost sermon in 2:14-40 is a product of the church's earliest christological thinking, but also that his speech in 3:12-26 contains an even more embryonic christology, perhaps "the most primitive christology of all." Robinson bases his case on the absence of any reference to the parousia in the second chapter and its presence in the third. Jesus, in chapter 3, is still not Messiah but Messiah-designate, only at his second coming will he be the Christ.[68] Then Richard F. Zehnle[69] took up the argument as did Müller.[70]

In an important work Eckhard Plümacher contends that Luke employed a method called "archaizing" whereby he included older christological titles, including *archēgos*, in order to give the Acts account an archaic tone.[71] As Soards puts it: "Luke wrote Acts in the style of Hellenistic history because he wanted to establish the worldwide or universal significance of the claims of Christianity."[72]

IV. Conclusion

We have been concerned with how Luke has adopted and integrated the title *archēgos*/*archēgos tēs zōēs*, "leader/author of life," into his theological perspective and are now prepared to draw some conclusions from our study.

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lukanischen Schriften (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969); and W. S. Kurz, "Hellenistic Rhetoric in the Christological Proof of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 171-95.

66 Among the other studies on the christology of Acts which I have not cited earlier are C. F. D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of P. Schubert* (eds. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 159-85; G. E. Ladd, "The Christology of Acts," *Foundations* 2 (1968) 27-41; G. W. MacRae, "'Whom Heaven Must Receive Until the Time'—Reflections on the Christology of Acts," *Int* 27 (1973) 151-65; and S. S. Smalley, "The Christology of Acts Again," *Christ and Spirit in the NT: In Honour of C. F. D. Moule* (eds. B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) 79-93.

67 "The Most Primitive Christology of All?" *JTS* 7 (1956) 177-89; reprinted in *Twelve NT Studies* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1962) 139-53.

68 There are many fine studies on this aspect of the speech, among them G. Lohfink, "Christologie und Geschichtsbild in Apg 3,19-21," *BZ* 13 (1969) 223-41; W. S. Kurz, "Acts 3:19-21 as a Test for the Role of Eschatology in Lukan Christology," *SBL 1977 Seminar Papers* (ed. P. J. Achtemeier; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 309-23; D. Hamm, "Acts 3:12-26: Peter's Speech and the Healing of the Man Born Lame," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 11 (1984) 199-217; C. H. Scobie, "The Use of Source Material in the Speeches in Acts III and VII," *NTS* 25 (1979) 399-421; H. N. Ridderbos, *The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Tyndale, 1962); and K. Kliesch, *Das heilsgeschichtliche Credo in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte* (Köln-Bonn: Hanstein, 1975).

69 *Pentecost Discourse*, 47-53, 71-94.

70 *ARCHĒGOS*, 268-70.

71 *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1972) 72-79; for an excellent review of Plümacher's argument see Soards, *Speeches in Acts*, 140f.

72 Speeches in Acts, 141.

We found the term to be firmly grounded in both Greek and Jewish literature with various meanings like "leader," "founder," "author," and "guide." In Christian literature we saw it means "originator" in both *2 Clem* and Eusebius. We saw definite threads of the "leader" theme in the Pauline letters, the Synoptic gospels, the Johannine tradition, and the Petrine letters. In Hebrews the title means "pioneer of salvation" who is made "perfect through sufferings" and "pioneer of faith" who is the "end" or "perfection" (*telos*) of that faith as well.

In Acts 3:15 "the Author of life" is "the first to rise from the dead" and, as such, guarantees our own resurrection. Peter and others are "witnesses" to this. At 5:31 Jesus is God's "leader," exalted at his right hand, who offers salvation, repentance, and forgiveness of sins to the believer.

The argument of Robinson, Zehnle, and Müller that Luke's use of *archēgos* reveals an "archaic christology" behind Peter's speech in Solomon's Portico is popular, but equally valid is the explanation of Lucan "archaizing." As John T. Carroll puts it: "In any case, if Luke has incorporated early traditions here, he has thoroughly reworked them to fit them into his narrative. He has made them 'his own.'"[73] I couldn't agree more.

We may say, then, that although *archēgos* had a long and diverse history, dating back to Hellenistic religious practices, by Luke's day it had gained currency in the church as an accepted title of its Lord. It is not surprising that Luke adapted it to serve his theological purpose.

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73 *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 153 n. 150.

The Jesus of the Apocalypse Wears the Emperor's Clothes

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Money is power. Approximately two millennia ago the first century BCE playwright Publilius Syrus (*Sententiae* 455) wrote: *pecunia unum regimen est rerum omnium.*[1] To describe money in this fashion seems appropriate enough for people who imagined that its power could even challenge death's grip.[2] Money also conveyed power in disseminating ideology.[3] And so, briefly

[1] All citations from ancient sources are taken from the Loeb editions; all (not to scale) photographs of coins were taken by the author. I extend my thanks to the Chief Curator of the American Numismatic Society, Dr. William E. Metcalf, for his assistance and permission to reprint; all abbreviations follow the SBL Handbook and thereafter, *L'année Philologique*; all biblical citations (Greek/English) are from the 26th edition Nestle-Aland/RSV; the main numismatic sources and their abbreviations are: H. Mattingly ed., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1966) henceforth *BMC* (unless otherwise indicated, all references from *BMC* are Vol. II); H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham eds., *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1926) henceforth *RIC*; A. S. Robertson ed., *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) henceforth *HCC* and E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage Of The Roman Republic* (London: Spink & Son Limited, 1952) henceforth *RRC*. None of these volumes translate the Latin abbreviations and legends on the coins. For such data, and an explanation behind this (sometimes interpretive) process, the reader may want to consult: J. Y. Akerman, *A Numismatic Manual* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1840) 137-69; H. N. Humphreys, *The Coin Collector's Manual* (2 vols.; London: H. G. Bohn, 1853) 1. 602-25; A. Blanchet, "Etude des Abréviations sur les Monnaies de l'empire Romain," *RN* Ser. 5 Vol. 14 (1952) 21-30; F. W. A. Schlickeysen and R. Pallmann, *Erklärung der Abkürzung auf Münzen der neueren Zeit, des Mittelalters und des Altertums sowie auf Denkmünzen und münzartigen Zeichen* (Graz: Adademische Druck, 1961) 468-505; H. Cohen *et al.* eds., *The Coin-Inscriptions and Epigraphical Abbreviations of Imperial Rome* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1978) xv-lx; J. E. Hartmann, "Imperial Roman Coin Legends," *VTu* 5/5 (1966) 155-57; D. S. Sigler, "Inscriptions On Roman Imperial Coins," *San* 2 (1970-71) 12-16.

[2] S. T. Stevens, "Charon's Obol And Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice," *Phoenix* 45/3 (1991), summarizes as follows: the practice of placing coinage in the mouth of the dead spanned some 1,100 years (p. 229), was not uncommon in Christian graves (p. 226), witnessed modifications such as "tipping" Charon with multiple coins and/or adding silver issues (p. 224), and even attempted bribery: "The poverty of the world of the dead is personified in the venality of Charon. He only has to be paid one pitiful coin to be bribed to do what is forbidden, to take her back across the river" (pp. 222-23). Expanding the range of the quote by Publilius Syrus, Stevens quips: "In fact, it is money that makes the underworld go around" (p. 223).

stated, attempts to reconstruct any ideological *Sitz im Leben* relevant to New Testament Christianity can only benefit by including the numismatic evidence.[4]

The Apocalypse is the only New Testament text which in its entirety contains a harsh polemic[5] against Imperial Rome: "controversy with the *imperium* runs through the whole book."[6] However, I concur with those scholars who maintain that the occasion of the Apocalypse was not a systematic and widespread persecution of Christians.[7] Accordingly, the "crisis" facing the community of the Apocalypse continues to be re-examined.[8]

Since the Apocalypse was engaged in an ideological battle with Rome, the numismatic evidence is particularly helpful in exposing and explaining the nuances of the book's verbal rhetoric in light of the fact that the very right to strike coins was itself an implicit claim to and demonstration of power.[9]

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3 This two-sided nature of power vis-à-vis coinage is nicely captured in C. Pérez, *Monnaie du pouvoir; Pouvoir de la monnaie* (Paris: Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 1986).

4 "En bonne méthode descriptive, le recours à la comparaison, aussi précieuse au numismate qu'à l'exégète, est requis." R. Beauvery, "L'Apocalypse au risque de la numismatique: Babylone, la grande prostituée et le sixième roi. Vespasian et la déesse Rome," *RB* 90 (1983) 246. See R. E. Oster, "Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry," *JBL* 101/2 (1982) on the value of a numismatic method for NT studies, and especially on power language, p. 203-14, 218-22.

5 "Selten wohl ist eine so entschlossene, fulminante Streitschrift gegen ein herrschendes System geschrieben wie in diesem merkwürdigen Buch." W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906) 137.

6 K. Wengst, *PAX ROMANA and the Peace of Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 118. Similarly B. F. Harris, "Domitian, The Emperor Cult and Revelation," *Prudentia* 11/1 (1979) 15 and W. Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (3 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 1.99: "no other writing in the New Testament burns with such intense political fury." Cf. the unconvincing argument of A. J. Beagley (*The "Sitz im Leben" of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987]), who sees Jews as the "primary focus" (p. 1) of the Apocalypse.

7 Adding to the research of T. D. Barnes ("Legislation Against The Christians," *JRS* 58 [1968] 32-50), F. Millar ("The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions," *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire Romain* [Genève: Vandoeuvres, 1972] 145) effectively argues that there is no good evidence for "any general law or edict against Christianity before the reign of Decius." A survey of biblical scholars on this is provided by A. Y. Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984) 69-73, and H.-J. Klauck, "Das Sendschreiben nach Pergamon und der Kaiserkult in der Johannesoffenbarung," *Biblica* 73/2 (1992) 162-64.

8 Collins (*Crisis* 84): "Relative, not absolute or objective, deprivation is a common precondition of millenarian movements. In other words, the crucial element is not so much whether one is actually oppressed as whether one feels oppressed." L. L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 175: "In a nutshell, the conflict and crisis in the Book of Revelation between Christian commitment and the social order derive from John's perspective on Roman society rather than from significant hostilities in the social environment." See his helpful "Appendix: Recent Theories about the Social Setting of the Book of Revelation" p. 202-210.

9 Proof of this comes in the counter-claims to those in power by either over-striking the currency then in circulation, or, by issuing one's own coinage. An example of the first scenario can be seen during the Social War (91-88 BCE) when rebel forces produced their

Secondly, the ideology disseminated on the coinage perpetuated that claim to power in types and legends that varied in the thousands.[10] Thirdly, the coinage more than any other form of Government propaganda circulated throughout the vast Empire and was required by all inhabitants for the payment of taxes.[11]

In light of the persuasive near-consensus on the date of the Apocalypse (app. 95 CE)[12] and on the object of its polemic (Rome),[13] it is advantageous to examine the language of the Apocalypse's adversary effectively disseminated on the coinage. This evidence is more than abundant[14] and offers a highly accurate window into Imperial policy. The level at which the *imperium* was actually involved in the choosing of types and legends continues to be debated, with C. H. V. Sutherland as the prominent contributor in favor of a

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own "counter-propaganda." *ROMA* was replaced with *ITALIA* on the obverse by the confederation of Italian allies thereby declaring their open rebellion against Rome. L. B. Voelkel, "Coin Types and Roman Politics," *CJ* 43 (1948) 404. The Bar Kochba war aptly demonstrates the second scenario: "There was no better way for the rebels to declare their independence from Rome and to deny allegiance to her emperor Hadrianus Augustus than to circulate a Jewish coinage announcing the existence of the rebel state and naming as its prince Shim'on ben Kosiba. For, coinage was the communication medium of the ancient world and the best, if not the only, means of propaganda." L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (Aarau: Verlag Sauerländer, 1984) 69. See also Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel-Aviv: Am Hassefer, 1967) 92-102, and especially the legends on these issues (e.g., Year one [and two] of the redemption of Israel; for the freedom of Jerusalem, etc.).

10 On the vast range of coin types during the Flavian period, T. V. F. Buttrey, "Vespasian as Moneyer," *NC* Ser. 7 Vol. 12 (1972) 91: "the final picture of the Flavian coinage will be at hand only when some martyr undertakes a full die study."

11 "Propaganda" here and throughout the paper is used to describe the process whereby Imperial Rome disseminated its ideology its way (like our CVs which communicate only the positive components of our academic life and not the job rejections). M. H. Crawford, "Money and Exchange in the Roman World," *JRS* 60 (1970) esp. p. 41-45, writes (p. 42): "Taken as a whole, the literary and documentary sources seem to show that coined money came to be essential to the life of the cities at all social levels. The picture is inevitably composite, but its validity is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of coin finds." The NT demonstrates considerable familiarity with these monetary requirements of the *imperium* in passages discussing taxes such as Matt 5:46; 9:9-11; 10:3; 11:19; 17:24; 18:17; 21:31-32; 22:17-19; Mark 2:14-16; 12:14; Luke 3:12; 5:27-30; 7:29,34; 15:1; 18:10-13; 19:2; Rom 13:6-7.

12 Valuable discussions include Collins, *Crisis* 54-83 and Thompson, *Revelation* 13-17.

13 "One of the major themes in the Apocalypse is unquestionably the conflict between imperial Rome with its divine claims and the rule of the Christian God." Thompson, *Revelation* 17. On the well-established presence of the Imperial cult in Asia Minor at the end of the first century CE, H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John* (London: Macmillan, 1907) lxxviii-xciii; E. S. Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 192-199; Klauck, "Sendschreiben," 153-182; M. P. Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult, Especially in Rome," *HTR* 28 (1935) 5-44 who discusses Domitian at length. More comprehensive studies include the still valuable K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936) and more recently, S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

14 K. Kraft (*Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien: Materialien und Entwürfe* [Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1972] 11) refers to the numismatic resources of Asia Minor during Imperial Rome as "die ungeheure Masse."

high (Imperial-generated) communicatory level for coinage.[15] His position is one that for the most part has held its ground,[16] but the ongoing dialogue has caused Sutherland to sharpen, modify and nuance earlier claims.[17] The extent to which the emperor was himself involved in the minting activity[18]

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15 The debate over the information level of coinage was prompted by the early works of C. H. V. Sutherland (*Ancient Numismatics: A Brief Introduction* [New York: American Numismatic Society, 1958], and "The Personality of the Mints under the Julio-Claudian Emperors," *AJP* 68 [1947] 47-63). The first real critique challenging Sutherland came from A. H. M. Jones "Numismatics and History," *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (eds. R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956) 13-33, in turn responded to by C. H. V. Sutherland, "The Intelligibility of Roman Imperial Coin Types," *JRS* 49 (1959) 46-55. A. Wallace-Hadrill ("Galba's *Aequitas*," *NC* 141 [1981] 20-39 + plates 10-12 and in the same year "The Emperor and his Virtues," *Historia* 30 [1981] 298-313) which was especially helpful in voicing the necessary challenges to the uncritical use of "virtues" for coinage (cf. H. Mattingly, "The Roman 'Virtues,'" *HTR* 30 [1937] 103-17 and Mattingly [*BMC* II: xxi-xxii] wherein he responds to "friendly criticism" based on *BMC* I. He re-addresses the question and concludes that one *can* speak of "virtues" on the coinage. More recently the work of R. A. Pitcher "The Emperor and His Virtues: The Qualities of Domitian," *Antichthon* 24 [1990] 88-95 supports Wallace-Hadrill's position). This was followed by M. H. Crawford, "Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion," *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson* (eds. C. N. L. Brooke *et al.*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 47-64 whose argumentation was weak at best and vigorously challenged by C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt, "Roman Coin Types and the Roman Public," *JNG* 34 (1984, pub. 1985) 41-54 and A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," *JRS* 76 (1986) 66-87. This latter article also interacted more or less favorably with B. M. Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage," *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 104-116, but was unable to include the response to Levick by C. H. V. Sutherland, "Compliment or Complement? Dr. Levick on Imperial Coin Types," *NC* 146 (1986) 85-93.

16 The watershed article is certainly that of Jones ("Numismatics"). It is an important contribution chiefly in its reminder not to read too much in the coinage, but his point was unfortunately marred in swinging the pendulum too far in the other direction. Recently, Buttrey ("Vespasian," p. 106 n. 2) assessed the dialogue between Jones and Sutherland: "he [Jones] is right on insisting that coin types are selected by the bureaucracy, not by historians. Jones's less acceptable strictures on type interpretation are trenchantly dissected by C. H. V. Sutherland."

17 In 1951 he could write (*Ancient* 26): "This [Roman] world-empire had no information-services like the newspapers and television and radio which are today regarded as fundamental means of communication; and travelling itself was a slow business. An emperor who wished to preserve loyalty must preserve interest; and interest could be maintained only by the careful dissemination of news. And that, with all the bias and the overstatement and (equally important) the understatement that an emperor could give it, was exactly the purpose of the imperial coinage." The "newspaper" metaphor was, appropriately, challenged so that 32 years later Sutherland ("The Purpose of Roman Imperial Coin Types," *RN* Ser. 6 Vol. 25 [1983] 79) would write "It would be foolish to suggest that the imperial coinage was a mini-newspaper with a world-circulation: too much of it would too often be out of date . . . It is not accurate to regard a series of frankly informative imperial types as a *Regierungsprogram*, to use Wallace-Hadrill's phrase." The modification of Sutherland's position resulted in a more finely honed description of the role of Imperial coinage.

18 Sutherland ("Compliment," 85-93) soundly refutes Levick's suggestion ("Propaganda," 104-16) that the coinage, like panegyric, was directed at the emperor and not to the public. "Therefore to postulate, as Dr. Levick does, a total reversal of the idiom of coinage when that idiom had been firm for six centuries, and to substitute an inward-looking and self-congratulatory explanation of imperial coin types for one that views them as continuing to

varied from reign to reign, but there is substantial evidence to suggest a direct hand for many reigns, especially among the Flavians.[19] In the discussion to follow, a specific "personality" will be detectable on Domitian's coins. We do well to remember that his coins and their "message" was a substantial part of the *realia* produced by the *imperium* which the Christians of the Apocalypse found offensive.[20]

We know that the ideological underpinnings of the coinage were first of all not unnoticed by Christians, and secondly, not innocuous.[21] Coins carried an ideological—and even theological—claim, as witnessed in the attempt to trap Jesus with the Tribute Penny question (Matt 22:15-22; Mark 12:13-17; Luke 20:20-26 and *Gos. Thom.* 100).[22] Jesus' response in the Synoptics reveals

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express an unambiguous state-authority, is a theoretical step so great that it cries out for some firm historical justification. It cannot be said that she provides this." Sutherland, "Compliment," 86.

19 Buttrey ("Vespasian," 108) marshals compelling evidence that prior to taking the throne, Vespasian was a moneyer.

20 A numismatic method "Enjoins the discipline of history in the fullest sense. It walks hand in hand with archaeology. It contributes regularly to the recorded sum of chronological truth. It is one of the physical reflections of economic policy. It points to the major currents of trade and commerce. It may spring from religion, and speak with the voice of politics. It deals with the creations of craftsmen whose work may frequently be admired, and sometimes even recognized individually. As a treasury of historical evidence it is virtually inexhaustible. It is, in a very real sense, the business of every student of antiquity." Sutherland, *Ancient* 29 and the similar thesis in P. Grierson, *Numismatics and History* (London: George Philip & Son, 1951).

21 Underscoring all the more the value of a numismatic method for biblical research. Oster, "Numismatic," invited biblical scholars to engage such a method more readily, but few have responded to his altar call. Those who have successfully used numismatics as history's handmaiden for biblical research include Beauvery, "L'Apocalypse," 243-60 + plate 1; E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars: Historical Sketches*, (London: SCM, 1955) throughout and esp. pp. 147-91; H. Ulfgard, *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9-17 and the Feast of Tabernacles* (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989) 131-147. Among the more problematic recent publications are Beagley, *Apocalypse* which introduces numismatic evidence by quoting secondary sources (esp. pp. 8, 75-76, 79-80, 109); similarly, Thompson (*Revelation* 95) who claims to recognize the importance of numismatic evidence in establishing the "social historical situation" but, like Beagley, does so sparingly with selective secondary sources (esp. pp. 102, 110, 149). J. McRay, *Archaeology and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991) 33: "For the New Testament period, coins are of paramount importance." Of some interest then is his opening disclaimer (pp. 13-14) that he will give "little space" to coins because this "is readily available in standard works on everyday life in Bible times." Finally, see my review (forthcoming in *Toronto Journal of Theology* 11/1 [1995]) of the methodological flaws in the numismatic method of D. N. Schowalter, *The Emperor and the Gods: Images from the Time of Trajan* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

22 In the Synoptics the coin brought to Jesus is a denarius whereas for Thomas it is an aureus. This type was struck in both precious metals (March 10, 15 CE onwards: *BMC* I 124f.), but I suspect that the reference to a gold coin in Thomas is unreliable as it smacks of other logia that not only reflect knowledge of Synoptic tradition pericopes but which attempt to supersede them. Hence, a gold coin is given to Jesus and not a silver one. Further examples include the higher yield in the Sower went out to seed, 120 for Thomas but no higher than 100 for the Synoptics (*Gos. Thom.* 9 and Matt 13:3-23; Mark 4:3-20; Luke 8:5-15); the amount of bread leavened by the woman, large loaves for Thomas compared to three measures of meal (*Gos. Thom.* 96 and Matt 13:33; Luke 13:21); and finally the lost

knowledge of the ideological component of the coinage: "whose likeness [εἰκών] and inscription [ἐπιγραφή] is this"?[23]

The contrast between Jesus' casual response to the Tribute question and the gravity with which the Apocalypse treats similar themes could not be more striking. And my numismatic investigation of the *imperium* with which the Apocalypse interacts will profitably begin with the numismatic evidence during the reign of Augustus for two reasons. First of all, it was his reign that brought to fruition the minting directives of the past to use Imperial coinage as a means of disseminating propaganda.[24] Secondly, the developing role of the emperor as divine mediator figure took on unprecedented proportions during and especially after his reign. For the sake of brevity I will focus on the DIVVS issues which are the more overt expressions of this proclamation.[25]

The death of Julius Caesar and his subsequent deification by Augustus marks a watershed for the divine nature of the emperor and the promulgation of that claim throughout the Empire. The deification of Caesar was typologically communicated by means of a star over his head[26] while the

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sheep: in Thomas it is the largest sheep and the one that Jesus cared for the most (*Gos. Thom.* 107 and Luke 15:4-6).

23 Helpful studies on this include Stauffer, *Christ* 112-37; C. J. Roetzel, *The World That Shaped the New Testament* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985) 22; D. Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament* (Fribourg: University Press, 1974) 36-39; H. Schröder, *Jesus und das Geld: Wirtschaftskommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Karlsruhe: Badenia Verlag, 1979) 45-55; Wallace-Hadrill, "Image" 68-69 and J. N. Pemsel, *Antike Münzen zur Heilsgeschichte* (Zürich: Verlag Schnell & Steiner München, 1989) 57-63. Jesus' query as to εἰκών and ἐπιγραφή strikes at the very heart of the power implicit in coinage: "The imperial portrait and titles were the mark of authority by which the coinage was issued." C. H. V. Sutherland, "Augustan Aurei and Denarii Attributable to the Mint of Pergamum," *RN* Ser. 6 Vol. 15 (1973) 151.

24 Wallace-Hadrill ("Image," 70) refers to this as "the moment of transition." See also P. V. Hill, "Coin-Symbolism and Propaganda During the Wars of Vengeance (44-36 BC)," *NAC* 4 (1975) 157 and R. Göbl, "Moneta Imperii Romani (MIR) = Der Neue 'Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit,'" *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* (eds. M. Alram and W. Szaivert; Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1983) 195, who concludes that Imperial issues were the "ersten Massenkommunikationsmittels der Geschichte." Precursors to such communicatory facets of coinage were realized by Alexander the Great who desired to foster a spirit of concord and community by means of types and legends. I. Carradice & M. Price, *Coinage in the Greek World* (London: Seaby, 1988) 112-15.

25 Other examples antedating the output of Domitian's mint by a century or more announced the emperor to the Empire as *Pater Patriae* (father of his country) and *Pontifex Maximus* (High Priest). Beauvery, "L'Apocalypse," touches on these terms throughout his article concerned with Rev 17.

26 Initially in 38 BCE (*RRC* 1329) and again in 17 BCE during the *Ludi Saeculares* (*BMC* I: 13 no69-73). Of the latter issues Mattingly (*BMC* I: civ) writes: "The young laureate head, with star above, used by Sanquinius, is undoubtedly 'Divus Iulius' rejuvenated, and the star is the 'Sidus Iulium.'" The resurrection of this type from twenty years past is explained by the divine portent of that year, described by Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 54.19.7): "a flame like a torch [*lampas*] had shot from the south towards the north all night long." The star signifying divinity is also used by Matthew's community. The "wise men" follow the star which they claim announces the birth of this king (*basileus*). It, like the stars on the coinage, finally comes to rest over Jesus making the identification positive (Matt 2:1-11).

legends proclaimed Caesar as divine, and family members as divine by association.[27]

The DIVVS issues span centuries[28] and E. A. Sydenham has suggested that such numismatic evidence could effectively be drawn upon to trace the developing trajectory of the emperor's divinity. As he correctly observed, the "logical conclusion" from the posthumous deification of Caesar by Augustus was that if divine after death, then divine during life as well, "or, at any rate, of a divine nature."[29]

Domitian not only perpetuated the DIVVS issues, but introduced new concepts throughout the *imperium* against which the Apocalypse directed its polemic. The assessment of his reign is currently undergoing a revision, with some biblical scholars challenging the impression of Domitian given by the ancient sources. The numismatic data, however, strongly suggest that many of the claims made about his megalomania are solidly grounded.[30] The DIVVS issues provide such evidence while simultaneously offering hermeneutical keys for descriptions of Jesus in the Apocalypse.

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27 First struck by Augustus: bust of Caesar facing bust of Augustus, legend: under Caesar's bust *DIVOS IVLIVS* (= the divine Julius) and under Augustus's *DIVI F* (= son of the god). *RRC* 1330.

28 H. Cohen et al, *The Coin-Inscriptions and Epigraphical Abbreviations of IMPERIAL ROME* (Chicago: Ares, 1978) xi-xv delineate the more than 100 members of the Imperial family from Augustus to Constantine honored after death with title *DIVVS* or *DIVA*, although strangely absent is Domitian's issue to be discussed below.

29 E. A. Sydenham, "Divus Augustus," *NC* Ser. 4 Vol. 17 (1917) 277. Aggripina (daughter of Julia and granddaughter of Augustus) taunted Tiberius with this in 26 CE by asking how he could sacrifice to *DIVVS AVGVSTVS* while simultaneously persecuting his descendants: "Not into speechless stone had that divine spirit been transfused: she, his authentic effigy [*se imaginem veram* = I am his true image], the issue of his celestial blood" (Tacitus, *Annals* 4.52). Further, R. A. Bauman, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome* (London: Routledge, 1992) 108-13.

30 "It is particularly hard to evaluate Domitianus both as a ruler and as an individual because literary sources are very slanted. Ancient historians were prejudiced and put him besides such tyrants as Tiberius, Caligula, or Nero. Much of this is being revised now, be it his military exploits or concept of power. Domitianus's coins prove to be a particularly objective and accurately dated source for the latter. Since Domitianus used them for his official propaganda we are now able not only to describe general tendencies in his policy but also to determine its specific stages." L. Morawiecki, "The Symbolism of Minerva on the Coins of Domitianus," *Klio* 59 (1977) 185. "The writers dislike Domitian; but his fine coinage increases our understanding of his policy and publicity." R. Grant, *Roman History from Coins: Some Uses of the Imperial Coinage to the Historian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958) 69-70. Antedating these comments are the words of K. Pink ("Römische Kaisermünze als Geschichtsquelle," *Klio* 29 [1936] 230): "Wenn man in der angegebenen Weise vorgeht, wird man aus den Münzen ein Material gewinnen, daß jedes andere in verschiedener Beziehung übertrifft. Vor allem ist es die Sicherheit dieser Grundlage. Sie wird verbürgt einmal durch die Vielheit der Objekte, die eine wirksame Kontrolle gestatten, dann aber auch die strenge Arbeitsweise des römischen Münzamtes, das ein Hin-und Herschwanken oder Irrtümer so gut wie ausschließt. Ferner sind die Münzen von viel größerer Objectivität in ihren Darstellungen und Legenden als die oft adulatorischen Inschriften oder die subjektiven Schriftsteller."

In 69 Vespasian assumed the throne and used his coinage to proclaim Empire-wide that the Flavian dynasty had begun.[31] These issues placed the reigning emperor on the obverse with the reverse depicting his two sons facing each other.[32] After the death of Vespasian, his subsequent consecration by Titus and later Domitian was announced on the coinage.[33] These issues parallel those of Augustus in utilizing the legends DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER and DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESP.[34] Similarly, Domitian ensured a perpetuation of the *gens Flavia*[35] by consecrating Titus after he died.[36] Concomitant with previous minting activity, Domitian also struck restoration series that celebrated past emperors.[37]

Unprecedented however are two facets of Domitian's DIVVS issues. The "present" divinity of Domitian's family is evident on those issues where his wife (Domitia) was advertised as the mother of the divine Caesar with legends DIVI CAESAR MATRI and DIVI CAESARIS MATER.[38] These are references to the son they had lost as an infant; this comprises the second radical departure in the DIVVS issues, the consecration of a son while the emperor

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31 Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 25: "he had so much faith in his own horoscope and those of his family, that even after constant conspiracies were made against him he had the assurance to say to the senate that either his sons would succeed him or he would have no successor." Also, Dio, 65.12.1.

32 See plate 1.1 = *BMC* 1 no2. The legend under Titus's bust *CAESAR AVG F COS* (Caesar and Consul, son of Augustus) and under Domitian's *CAESAR AVG F PR* (Caesar and Praetor, son of Augustus). Summarizing the breadth of the minting activity based on *BMC*, this type was struck at the mints of: Rome (1 no1-2); Tarraco (69 no351a); Lugdunum (78 no*); Antioch (106 no*); Asia Minor (88 no429, + and ++); Ephesus (95 no455); as well as attributions to an "Uncertain Mint" (pages 89-92). It should be noted that Vespasian set a precedent in striking in the East as a first matter of business after his acclamation. Tacitus (*Histories* 2.82) indicates that these were precious metal issues. See also C. H. V. Sutherland, "A Coin of Nero Overstruck for Galba," *NC* Ser. 5 Vol. 20 (1940) 266. The type is a clear copy of Augustus's issues with his bust facing Caesar's, see note 27 above.

33 On Titus's coins, *BMC* 238 no86 - 241 no104A; 242 no107; 243 no112-246 no135. For Domitian's, see plate 1.2 = *BMC* 419 no516, struck in 82. Head of Domitian, laureate, bearded, r. *IMP DOMITIAN CAES DIVI VESP F AVG P M TR P P P COS VIII.* No coinage prior to Domitian's was as insistent on including all titles and acclamations. This legend: Imperator, Caesar, Domitian, son of the divine Vespasian, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunician Power, Pater Patriae, eighth consulship.

34 "Even after death *consecratio* provides Vespasian with the ultimate analogy to the greatest of Rome's emperors and the founder of his dynastic line." T. V. F. Buttrey, "Vespasian's Consecratio and the Numismatic Evidence," *Historia* 25 (1976) 455-56.

35 Cf. Suetonius, *Domitian* 1.1.

36 On the consecration of Titus and other members of the Flavian family (Vespasian, Domitilla, and Julia) by Domitian see *BMC* 312 no68; 313 no69; 350 no*,250,+; 351 no*; 354 no260 - 358 no285; 359 no*-§; 405 no471-406 no473; 413 no501-414 no*. Also, from the mint of Asia Minor, and probably Ephesus, 353 no258.

37 And so, *DIVVS AVGVSTVS* (414 no++ - 415 no508) and also for the divine: Tiberius (415 no509); Agrippa (416 no510) Drusus (416 no*); Germanicus (416 no511); Claudius (417 no*,512,+).

38 *BMC* 413 no501 - 414 no*. See plate 1.3 = ob. of *BMC* 413 no503 (bust of Domitia, *DOMITIA AVG IMP CAES DIVI F DOMITIAN AVG* and plate 1.4 = rv. of same (Domitia, draped, veiled, sacrificing out of patera and holding vertical sceptre, *DIVI CAESARIS MATER, S C* l. and r. in field).

was still alive: Obverse, Bust of Domitia, DOMITIA AVGVSTA IMP DOMIT. Reverse, naked infant boy (DIVVS CAESAR as a baby Jupiter) seated on a globe, marked with cross zones, stretching out hands at sides: above and around seven stars, DIVVS CAESAR IMP DOMITIANI F (= the divine Caesar, son of the emperor Domitian).[39]

These Imperial issues from the mint at Rome were certainly known in Asia Minor. The DIVVS CAESAR types were struck in both gold and silver,[40] but it is especially its representation on (silver) denarii that merits attention for several reasons. Denarii were introduced into Roman coinage late in the third century BCE and by the beginning of the first century CE they had effectively penetrated Asia Minor as the chief coin in circulation and were especially so used by Domitian.[41] Second, the familiarity of this type is given tacit approval

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39 *BMC* 311 no62 (aureus) and plates 1.5 and 1.6 = *BMC* 311 no63 (denarius); cf. 347 no246 and 251 no14. "The term *divus* was originally not sharply distinguished from *deus* ('god') but from the consecration of Caesar onwards it was used almost exclusively (outside poetical texts) of properly consecrated members of the imperial family. This is not to say that *divus* and *deus* were two exclusive categories; rather, *divus* was a subcategory of *deus* and it was thus perfectly possible to refer to a consecrated emperor as *deus*." S. R. F. Price, "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors," *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (eds. D. Cannadine and S. Price; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 77. Keeping the role of Domitia as mother of the divine in mind I will focus on Domitian's *DIVVS CAESAR* issue.

40 "Les émissions de métal précieux (surtout l'or) possèdent un prestige qui augmente leur valeur intrinsèque." J.-L. Desnier, "*DIVVS CAESAR IMP DOMITIANI F*," *REA* 81 (1979) 57.

41 The earliest date suggested for the circulation of imperial denarii in Asia Minor is the civil wars of the late first century BCE (A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World* [London: Seaby, 1987] 37-38) while the latest is Augustus's reign (P. Kinns, "Asia Minor," *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic* [eds. A. M. Burnett & M. H. Crawford; Oxford: B. A. R. Publications, 1987] 112-13). Staggering amounts of Roman Imperial denarii have been found in modern-day Turkey, recorded in S. Bendall, "An Eastern Hoard of Roman Imperial Silver," *NC* Ser. 7 Vol. 6 (1966) 165-70 and R. Bland & P. Aydemir, "The Haydere Hoard and Other Hoards of the Mid-Third Century from Turkey," *Recent Turkish Coin Hoards and Numismatic Studies* (ed. C. S. Lightfoot; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1991) 91-180. The range of circulation is evident in that with the exception of Egypt, the denarius was found throughout the empire (e.g., the denarius of Tiberius, the so-called "Tribute Penny" is found in large quantities as far away as southern India). Burnett, *Coinage* 83-84. The denarius was "easily the most important silver coin, whose rôle in the empire became more and more vital . . . it became even more important as it first penetrated and later often took over as the principal circulating medium in more and more areas [including Asia] . . . apart from the interest of the designs used the only real alterations to the denarius during the whole period were in the decline of its silver fineness; otherwise it proved a remarkably stable coin for over 400 years." Ibid., 47-48. It is unclear to what extent Roman Imperial bronzes were in circulation compared to Greek Imperial bronzes. I. Carradice and M. Cowell ("The Minting of Roman Imperial Bronze Coins for Circulation in the East: Vespasian to Trajan," *NC* 147 [1987] 25-50, esp. p. 42-43) conclude that during the Flavians both circulated in Asia Minor. More importantly, there was very little "Romanization" of provincially-struck coinage during the Republic. However, in the early Empire the opposite is true in that "the trend is almost a mirror image, from the bland to the particular, of what happens to the official coinage from Rome." Burnett, *Coinage* 80; also Kraft, *System* 15-16. Cf. T. Hackens, "La circulation monétaire, questions de méthode," *Numismatique Antique: Problèmes et Méthodes* (eds. J.-M Deutzer *et al.*; Louvain: L'Université de Nancy, 1975) 213-22. On the principal role of the Roman denarii in Asia Minor during Domitian's reign, I. Carradice, *Coinage and Finances in the Reign of Domitian, AD 81-96*

by those who forged it.[42] Third, the Apocalypse itself identifies the denarius and not the locally struck cistophorus as the coin familiar to its readership.[43] Finally, "commentary" on the effectiveness of this coin's message is subsequently provided by Trajan who copied it as a reverse type for his coins.[44]

The message of the coin is not debated: "Son fils étant dieu, Domitien ne pouvait manquer d'être dieu!"[45] How that message was communicated on the other hand demonstrates the creativity of Domitian's mint.[46] Astrological representations such as the globe and stars were not uncommon on coinage. The globe was representative of world dominion and power,[47] while stars typically bespoke the divine nature of those they accompanied.[48] That an

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(Oxford, B. A. R., 1983) 1-5; Buttrey, "Vespasian," 91 and Mattingly, *BMC*: xiii and p. lxxxiii: "the coinage of Domitian was concentrated in the one Mint of Rome."

42 See the example in *BMC* 347 no246, and the comments on plated coins as forgeries during the Flavians by Mattingly, *BMC*: xvii, and I. Carradice, "Plated Denarii of the Flavian Period," *NCirc* 88 (1980) 306-07.

43 Rev 6:6. The cistophori circulated together with the Roman Imperial denarii, but from the late Republic onward the denarii increasingly played a larger role. Mattingly, *BMC*: xiii. It was the denarius noted earlier as the coin required by Christians to pay their taxes, and the Tribute Penny pericope implies "a much greater awareness of a particular coin by the population at large." Burnett, *Coinage* 68. On the widespread use of coinage on a large scale by everyone everywhere see p. 96-97. What the public received was also "current" as aptly demonstrated by C. H. V. Sutherland, "Roman Imperial Type-Selection: The Degree of Immediacy," *SNR* 65 (1986) 105-09.

44 J.-N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, 1972) 348 no85 + plate 35:1.

45 Desnier, "*DIVVS*," 61. In addition to Desnier's article on this specific issue, there is the earlier work by A. Dieudonné, "Une monnaie de l'impératrice Domitia," *RN* Ser. 4 Vol. 2 (1898) 673-81 which Desnier for the most part concurs with.

46 "Cet *aureus* de Domitia témoigne effectivement d'une excellente qualité artistique et son revers montre une scène originale, allégorique ou mythologique." Desnier, "*DIVVS*," 57, and, four pages later, "L'*aureus* de Domitia en est la reprise sur le plan de la propagande monétaire."

47 See "Globe," J. M. Jones, *A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins* (London: Seaby, 1990): "The globe always symbolises dominion over the world . . . when it is combined with a rudder the message is that of the governing of the world." The globe first appeared on the coinage of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther in 74 BCE. By the Middle Ages, the earth as flat had become Christian doctrine, but the earlier depictions on coins were round/spherical often with accompanying legend *orb*. Also the five-part series by G. Tabarroni, "Globi celesti e terresti sulle monete romane," *IN* 19/1 (1968) 1-3; 19/3 (1968) 49-51; 19/5 (1968) 97-98; 19/7-8 (1968) 145-47; 20/4 (1969) 81-83. Further, Mattingly, *BMC* I: ccvii; II: xix; III: cxxxi and Sydenham, "Divus," who points to the globe/*orb* held in hand type originating in Augustus's reign (p. 271) and as symbol of universal dominion (p. 277).

48 "Star," Jones, *Dictionary*. During the Republic a star-like impression identified the coin as a denarius. Thereafter, stars on coins "may allude to a particular constellation (e.g., the Septemtriones), or the appearance of a comet, or may be a general symbol of the idea of divinity or of mortals who have joined the stars, as it were, and become gods." On *DIVVS* issues it can be more certainly determined that the stars are a component of the consecratory message. It was thus that Hadrian consecrated his parents: Trajan and Plotina with facing busts, a star above each, and legend *DIVIS PARENTIBVS* (*BMC* III 318 no603 and comments in *BMC* I: cxxx). Cf. how the ancient writers connected consecration with stars: Horace, *Odes* 1.12.46-48 (c. 23 BCE); Martial, *Epigrams* 9.1.8-10; 9.20.1-10; 9.101.1-

infant appeared is less common, as children were not popular coin types.[49] This innovative blending of largely popular coin types was certainly effective in communicating the consecration of Domitian's son, but it said much more.

The two added implications of this issue are that the infant depicted on the globe was the son of (a) god and that the infant was conqueror of the world. Inhabitants of the Roman Empire had for approximately one century been witness to the developing role of the emperor as divine mediator figure. He and family members were routinely consecrated after they died, but Domitian's DIVVS CAESAR issues eclipsed those previous claims with divine status in the present. In fact, Domitian's minting activity throughout his 15 year reign complements the claims communicated by the DIVVS CAESAR example. First of all, the range of his personal power and control assumed heretofore unknown proportions which the MONETA AVGVSTI issues bear testimony to.[50] The ideology of power, previously implicit, was now explicit: Imperial control included the activities of the mint.[51] But there were other significant changes that offer windows into the man Domitian.[52]

One of the more obvious examples are his Minerva types, described as "monotonous" by those surveying his coinage.[53] Prominently displayed on

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24 (c. 95 CE); Suetonius, *DIVVS IVLIVS* 88 (c. 120 CE) and Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 45.7.1-2; 54.29.7-8; 56.29 (c. 210 CE); and Origen, *Scholia in Apocalypsem* 38 and the discussion thereof in A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 139.

49 The coin we are examining "shows the infant god seated, like a baby Jupiter." Mattingly, *BMC*: lxxxix. Children as types can be seen in *BMC* 112 no527; 129 no596; 200 no*; 237 no§ and 239 no88-90.

50 See plate 2.1 = rv. of *BMC* 361 no288. *MONETA AVGVSTI* = the money of the emperor. In discussing this legend Mattingly (*BMC*: lxxxiii) said that it suggested "something like imperial control of the coinage" and that "Clearly a chapter of mint history is written here." The early research of F. Kenner "Moneta Augusti," *NZ* 18 (1886) 39-41 contains a still helpful appendix tracing the usage of *MONETA AVGVSTI* to the fourth century.

51 An important—though often overlooked—fact in the debate over the emperor's hand in the minting process. The *MONETA AVGVSTI* type began in 84 and was found in every year thereafter (*BMC* 359-409).

52 A broad summary for the changes of the mint under Domitian include: (1) The standards of the precious metal coinage were improved to the levels of Augustus; (2) the long-serving secretary *a rationibus* was removed from office and sent into exile; (3) all but one of the reverse types employed on the First Period gold and silver coinage were abandoned, replaced by a succession of new designs; (4) minting of *aes* coinage in all denominations ceased completely, and all the old reverse types were dropped; when production resumed in 84 an entirely new series of reverse types appeared (together with a new obverse portrait of the Emperor). Carradice, *Domitian* 142. Carradice (Ibid., 16) concludes that these changes "represent a revolutionary change in minting policy." On the metrological changes, esp. pp. 9-11. The improvement of precious metal content did not go unnoticed. While Vespasian "very occasionally" struck the aureus of heavier weight prior to Nero's reform (Mattingly, *BMC*: xiii) Domitian did so regularly from 82 to the close of his reign. These heavier issues were preferred as reflected in Martial, *Epigrams* 4.28.5; 12.55; 12.65.6. Mattingly (*BMC*: lxxxiii) summarizes that the numismatic evidence points "to what must have been a complete overhaul of the Roman mint."

53 So Robertson, *HCC* I: clvi and Mattingly, *BMC*: lxxxv. The four Minerva types are found in each year from 83 onward based on *BMC* and hoard evidence too cumbersome to include here. They are, following Mattingly, *BMC*: lxxxv-lxxxvi: 1) the fighting type—plate 2.2 = *BMC* 334 no*; 2) a variant of the first with Minerva advancing in fighting posture on ship's prow—plate 2.3 = *BMC* 334 no+; 3) standing holding spear—plate 2.4 =

these types was Minerva with *fulmen*, the divine attribute of Jupiter. Minting directives such as these suggested the closer proximity of the divine to the emperor while he lived.[54] Beyond these innovative and provocative statements were Domitian's clear claims to present divine status on the types where he himself held the *fulmen* (while simultaneously being crowned by Victory): "The one ugly feature [of his coinage] is the vanity that leads Domitian to take over for himself a divine attribute—the thunderbolt."[55]

Pliny's panegyric to Trajan often compared Trajan's rule to that of Domitian, and not surprisingly much to the damnation of the latter.[56] Pliny's commentary on Domitian's megalomania should be read as historically accurate because Trajan's mint supports this reading. The "modesty" of Trajan is conveyed in issues which eschewed Domitian's posturing and depicted Jupiter reunited with his *fulmen* standing in protection over Trajan.[57]

Read in light of this focused survey of Domitian's numismatic propaganda, it can be said with conviction that his money deliberately selected a wardrobe of divine empowerment.[58] Given the monetization of the

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BMC 334 no173; 4) standing with spear and thunderbolt—plate 2.5 = *BMC* 334 no171. Reader beware: in the text of *BMC* Mattingly inverts categories 3 and 4.

54 Minerva was uniquely Domitian's patron goddess. The four standard types are also complimented by other Minerva types, such as plate 3.1 = *BMC* 363 no296: Domitian, togate, veiled, sacrificing out of patera: in background a shrine of Minerva, in the shrine Minerva helmeted holding owl and spear. Further, plate 3.2 (= *BMC* 301 no13) where Minerva holds Victory in her hand, and finally, in what can only be understood as the culmination of Minerva's association with Victory, Minerva and Victory are now merged into one personification, a winged Minerva (see plate 3.3 = *BMC* 344 no237). This was another Domitianic innovation occurring in 95 CE, corresponding to the date of the Apocalypse! After Domitian, only Minerva on prow (type 1) was continued. See Morawiecki, "Minerva," 187-88.

55 Mattingly, *BMC*: xcv. This type "clearly suggests a parallel between himself and 'Jupiter tonaus' (the thunderer) or the father of the gods." L. El. Kanitz, "Domitian: The Man Revealed by His Coins," *San* 5/3 (1973-74) 47. J. R. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems," *ANRW* II: 17.2 (1981) 823-24: "Since the Flavians an intimate association between Jupiter and the emperor and victory had been a central feature of imperial ideology." See plate 3.4 = *BMC* 380 no373 (Jupiter seated, holding sceptre and Victory, *IOVI VICTORI S C* in ex.) This reached a noticeable climax in Domitian's mint: in 84 Domitian struck reverse type Jupiter holding thunderbolt and spear (360 no§). The first issue of 85 continued this type (see plate 4.1 = *BMC* 366 no*) but the second issue witnessed the *fulmen* in Domitian's hand (372 no*). He and Jupiter would "share" the *fulmen* for the years 85-6 (for Jupiter, 375 no354, 378 no+, 384 no* and for Domitian, 377 no+, 381 no381) after which Jupiter remained as a regular type, only without *fulmen*. From 87-96 Domitian alone held the *fulmen*, persuasive evidence of a developing megalomania (see 386 no11, 403 no465, 406 no474-75). See plates 4.2 (= *BMC* 389 no410) and 4.3 (= *BMC* 399 no443) which place the *fulmen* in Domitian's hands and are clearly patterned after the Jupiter with *fulmen* types.

56 In passages such as Pliny, *Panegyricus* 2.3-4; 10.5; 11.2; 33.4; 52.1-7; 82.2. These and others are handily exegeted by Schowalter (*Emperor*, chapter 3) to provide an illuminating commentary on Domitian's reign.

57 *BMC* III 100 no493-97.

58 To this can be added Domitian's taking of the *aegis* (an attribute of Zeus and his daughter Athena) from Minerva. Martial (*Epigrams* 14.179) records a conversation in which Minerva is queried: "Tell me, fierce maiden, since you have helmet and spear, why have you no aegis? To this the goddess replies, 'Caesar has it.'" This, however, was

Empire, the community of the Apocalypse was not only familiar with the numismatic propaganda, it was offended by it.[59] In addition to the aforementioned text Rev 6:6 which singled out the Imperial denarii, there are numerous other indicators that support the suggestion that the community of the Apocalypse was monetarily conscious.[60] The drawn-out delineation of Rome's financial destruction in ch. 17-18 is a lengthy example of this.[61]

Two of the seven letters (Smyrna—2:9; Laodicea—3:17-18) make reference to monetary conditions explicitly while the others do so implicitly.[62] In light of Rev 6:6 and 17-18 the celebration of Rome's financial ruin is heightened by earlier statements in this paper about the ideological power (read control) inherent in money, for "control" was an important message of the Apocalypse. Regardless of present experience(s), God was ultimately in control and the one who held the balance of power.[63] Thyatira is promised

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not unique to Domitian for previous emperors had also worn the *aegis* (e.g., Nero. See *BMC* I: 218-223). Instead, the adoption of *aegis* by Domitian complimented the trajectory otherwise evident in type and legend selections that were innovative.

59 On the speed with which coinage (esp. denarii) spread through the Empire, Cuss, *Imperial* 37-38 and Crawford, "Money," 43. Cf. note 43 above and the bolder suggestions that there was Empire-wide knowledge of decisions made in the city of Rome. Schowalter (*Emperor* 124-25) points to the effectiveness of the coinage for this purpose as does R. J. Cassidy, *John's Gospel in New Perspective: Christology and the Realities of Roman Power* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1992) 80-82.

60 Commentary on 6:6 is largely confined to the observation that the denarius was a day's wage, e.g., G. E. Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 100; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 132-33; P. E. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 86 and G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966) 81. Others, in addition to "day's wage" draw attention to possible connections with Domitian's edict of 92-3 for high prices in time of famine. Here, Swete, *Apocalypse* 87-88; H. Lilje, *The Last Book of the Bible: The Meaning of the Revelation of St. John* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 125-27; R. H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 155-56; J. B. Smith, *A Commentary on the Book of Revelation: A Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Scottdale: Herald, 1974) 122-23; Thompson, *Revelation* 17 and J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 87.

61 See Roloff, *Revelation* 202-08, Lilje, *Last* 223-37 and Beasley-Murray, *Revelation* 262: "To declare to them the total overthrow of the city that ruled the world was like foretelling the end of the world." Note also Collins (*Crisis* 132-34) whose analysis interacts more with the conflict between rich and poor whereas mine does so more with a mind to the power ideologically inherent in the Roman mint.

62 "Those communities that receive censure are rich, complacent, and do not experience any harassment." Fiorenza, *Justice* 196. Numismatic evidence is drawn upon heavily in reconstructing the *Sitz im Leben* of these seven cities in W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia: and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906) and C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1986). Hemer writes (*Letters* 210): "the symbolism of the letters was forcibly applicable to the original readers." Cf. Ramsay, *Letters* 57-73. Commentary on Smyrna includes Hemer, *Letters* 57-77; Ramsay, *Letters* 251-80, and for Laodicea, Hemer, *Letters* 178-209; Ramsay, *Letters* 413-30.

63 The very language of the text communicates this powerfully by means of δίδωμι: The power to carry out the wrath of God in the three septets (seals, trumpets, bowls) is given to the angels by God (6:2, 4, 8; 7:2; 8:2; 9:1, 3, 5; 15:7-8; 16:6, 8, 19). The angels and the beast "have" power (etc.) only because it has been given to them (for the angels, 6:2, 5; 8:6; 15:1, 6; for the beast, 13:2, 4, 5, 7, 13, 15, 16; 17:13 but cf. 17:12). Mounce, *Revelation* 254: "The

power as a reward (2:26-27), while Philadelphia is consoled for having but little power (3:8).[64] The remaining three churches are also addressed with the numismatic *realia* as backdrop. Pergamum in light of Satan's throne being there (2:13), Ephesus and Sardis (2:1 and 3:1 respectively) because of the reference to seven stars, imagery which I will shortly exegete.[65] In addition to the thorough research drawing upon numismatic evidence by Hemer and Ramsay, I add the significant fact that of these seven cities, Ephesus, Pergamum and Smyrna were the most prolific coin producers in Asia Minor at this time,[66] with Laodicea, Thyatira, Philadelphia and Sardis sharing significantly in that activity.[67]

The "beast" described in the Apocalypse has a definite financial component to it.[68] An image (εἰκών, 13:14-15) is made of the beast and it causes all to be marked (χάραγμα, 13:16-17) if they wish to engage in buying or selling, relevant because the terms εἰκών and χάραγμα are both used to describe the minting process.[69] There is also a possible allusion to the minting activity of Rome in the reluctance of humankind to repent after the sixth trumpet; they continue worshipping "demons and idols of gold and silver and bronze

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reign of the beast is by divine permission. He operates within the limitations determined by God." That the evil powers are derivative and limited is aptly summarized in 17:17 "for God has put it [ἔδωκεν] into their hearts to carry out his purpose by being of one mind and giving over [δοῦναι] their royal power to the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled." The seated woman in Rev 17 is also a symbol of Rome's power says Beauvery ("L'Apocalypse," 258-59). He suggests that part of the polemic of the Apocalypse is against this posture found widely on the Roma seated types (e.g., *BMC* 195 no795 [Vespasian]; 259 no182 [Titus]; 418 no514 [Domitian]).

64 The churches will receive power only if the correct choice is made, suggested by Caird, *Commentary* 45 in a way reminiscent of Jesus' words: "Christians may render to Caesar what is Caesar's, but not what is God's." See also Beasley-Murray, *Revelation* 93. On Thyatira, Hemer, *Letters* 106-28; Ramsay, *Letters* 316-53; for Philadelphia, Hemer, *Letters* 153-77; Ramsay, *Letters* 391-412.

65 On Pergamum, Hemer, *Letters* 78-105; Ramsay, *Letters* 281-315; for Ephesus, Hemer, *Letters* 45-56; Ramsay, *Letters* 210-50; and with regard to Sardis, Hemer, *Letters* 129-52; Ramsay, *Letters* 354-90.

66 There is also growing evidence that Sardis could and should be included among the ranks of these three. A. Johnston, "Greek Imperial Statistics: A Commentary," *RN* 26 (1984) 254 Fig. B, 255 Table B; Kraft, *System* esp. p. 20-22,42 and W. Leschhorn, "Die kaiserzeitlichen Münzen Kleinasiens: Zu den Möglichkeiten und Schwierigkeiten ihrer statistischen Erfassung," *RN* Ser. 6 Vol. 27 (1985) 214.

67 They are referred to as the "larger cities" vis-à-vis output. Johnston, "Greek," 248.

68 An observation made by K. Marx, *Capital* (3 vols.; New York: Penguin Classics, 1990) 1.181. My thanks to Dr. William E. Arnal for drawing my attention to this.

69 Other passages on the image/mark include Rev 14:9-11; 16:2; 19:20-21; 20:4. While LSJ does not provide evidence for εἰκών, it is discussed by G. Kittel, "εἰκών" *TDNT* 2.395-97 and H. Kleinknecht, "εἰκών" *TDNT* 2.388-90. In addition to εἰκών in the Synoptic account (Matt 22:15-22 and parallels) see the earlier use in Herodotus (II.130—c. 5 century BCE). For *charagma* as the impress on coins, Plutarchus (*Lysander* 16 and *Agesilaus* 15—c. 1-2 century CE) and later, Julianus Imperator (*Misopogon* 355d—c. 4 century CE). As referring to coinage proper, *Anthologia Graeca* 5:29 and *P. Oxy.* 144:6; U. Wilckens "*charagma*" *TDNT* 9.416-17; Roloff, *Revelation* 160-65 and Caird, *Commentary* 173-77.

and stone and wood" (9:20) the first three of which constitute the metals of the Imperial mint.[70]

Coming full circle, we return to the texts which I argue use the coins as source material. These are 1:16, 20; 2:1 and 3:1, where Jesus is described as the one holding seven stars in his right hand. Biblical scholars provide an interesting range of interpretation for this symbolism. Some make little or no comment.[71] Others suggest the seven stars refer to seven churches, not to mythological or astrological referents.[72] Semitic,[73] or Semitic and Hellenistic sources are also drawn upon to explain the imagery.[74] Finally, Imperial Rome is held to provide the source of this image, perhaps even by means of the coinage.[75] Only if 1:16, 20; 2:1 and 3:1 are removed from their historical *Sitz im Leben* and from the polemic of the text as a whole can this symbolism be reduced to a discussion of the "perfectness" or "completeness" of the number seven.[76]

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70 I make this suggestion based on Suetonius's account (*Domitian* 13.2) of Domitian's command to be addressed as *Dominus et deus* which appears in the same context of Domitian erecting so many statues of gold and silver that someone wrote "*Arci*" (which the note in Loeb explains: "*Arci* is a transliteration of the Greek work *arkei* with a pun on its resemblance in sound to *arcus*, 'arch.'") In other words, the statues are of gold and silver only and not bronze, whereas the coins are of all three. Similarly in Dio 68.2.1 where he writes about statues of "gold and silver." Pliny (*Panegyricus* 55.5) views Trajan to be a man of modesty because instead of erecting gold and silver statues, he chooses to erect bronze ones.

71 Ladd, *Commentary* 33-35; Hughes, *Revelation* 27 and I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John: Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967) 440-41.

72 Mounce, *Revelation* 79.

73 Swete, *Apocalypse* 18; Bousset, *Offenbarung* 196-202.

74 Caird, *Commentary* 24-25; Roloff, *Revelation* 36-38.

75 Fiorenza, *Revelation* 52-53; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation* 70; Oster, "Numismatic" 220 and most provocatively by Lilje, *Last* 55-57 in describing Jesus as *Christus Imperator.*

76 Those who wish to engage the discussion from this vantage point are refuted by A. Y. Collins, "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature," *ANRW* II: 21.2 (1984) 1222-86 and esp. pp. 1268-79. Collins is correct in challenging the perfectness of 7 with Philo's comment that 6 is the perfect number (*Op.* 14, 89; *L.A.* 1:3) to which I add that Philo also said that 12 was a perfect number (*Fug.* 184) as was 4 (*Op.* 47).

Instead, the seven stars should (initially) be read as representative of the seven churches which themselves are also representative.[77] The numismatic evidence that I have introduced adds considerable weight for a Domitianic date for the Apocalypse. More importantly, it provides a window on the religio-political circumstances of the day.[78] The introduction of the DIVVS CAESAR type and its provocative message during Domitian's reign suggests that *it* served as source material for the imagery in 1:16, 20; 2:1; 3:1.[79]

Domitian's son died in infancy. According to Suetonius (*Domitian* 3.1) this occurred in 73 during Domitian's second consulship.[80] The magnitude of this loss was announced only when Domitian came to the throne in 81 for it was then that he consecrated his son and disseminated propaganda of a deified son on his coinage.[81] Jones writes, "There was no delay whatsoever in stressing his view of the imperial position, no attempt to disguise how he felt,"[82] a sentiment antedated by Mattingly: "Domitian, who built a temple to the *gens Flavia*, seems to have claimed immortality as a prerogative of his house."[83]

Writing as a contemporary of Domitian, Martial assists our exegetical task handily. His ninth book of Epigrams was written during Domitian's final year, suggesting that in it we can find Martial's "most confident expression."[84] Therein the Flavian household is repeatedly associated with the stars or with those who have already joined the stars,[85] something which

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77 The number seven, and more specifically seven stars, are best understood as planetary or astrological references. As an organizing principle for the Apocalypse as a whole the number seven is certainly central (seven seals, trumpets, bowls, etc.). But for our texts of concern I concur with Collins that they are planetary allusions. Collins, "Numerical" esp. p. 1274, 1278. Thus, as the seven stars on the coins are representative of the cosmos, so the seven stars in the Apocalypse are representative of the church: "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches and the seven lampstands are the seven churches" (Rev 1:20). Jesus stands in the midst of the lampstands (1:12-13; cf. 1:9 and 3:21) and holds the "seven angels" in his hand. It is to the angels of the churches that the exhortations are directed, hence I take no license in reading the stars as churches. See on this K. Gamber, *Das Geheimnis der sieben Sterne: Zur Symbolik der Apokalypse* (Regensburg: Kommissionsverlag Friedrich Pustet, 1987) 23-33; Lilje, *Last* 68-69 and R. G. Bratcher and H. A. Hatton, *A Handbook on the Revelation to John* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1993) 35 for grammatical considerations.

78 Ulfgard, *Feast* 131: The numismatic evidence provides "first-hand witnesses to circumstances and concepts."

79 Cf. Oster, "Numismatic," 219 who suggests that much of the bizarre imagery in the Apocalypse is represented on coin types.

80 See also Martial, *Epigrams* 4.3 and comments on this text by B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London: Routledge, 1992) 204 n. 41.

81 "Si courte qu'ait été son existence, les textes et les monnaies qui mentionnent le fils de l'empereur, font donc connaître les espoirs qui avaient été placés en lui pour la continuité de la dynastie flavienne. Ils nous permettent en outre d'approfondir la politique religieuse de Domitien." Desnier, "*DIVVS*," 63.

82 Jones, *Domitian* 162.

83 Mattingly, *BMC*: xix.

84 Pitcher, "Emperor," 88.

85 In poems 1, 3, 18, 20, 24, 28, 34, 39, 64, 65, 86, 91, 93 and 101.

the "book-ends" of the ninth Epigram vividly convey.[86] This Epigram also contains Martial's attempts to comfort Silius on the loss of his son; he reminded Silius that Apollo had lost Linus, Calliope Orpheus, Zeus Sarpedon and Domitian his son (Martial, *Epigrams* 9.96; cf. 4.3): "All are gods and their children divine."[87]

Domitian disseminated a divine message clearly exceeding previous claims. Christians received that propaganda on a medium not only controlled by the *imperium* but one they were required to carry with them (cf. Rev 13:16-18). On this coinage the son of god was depicted with the earth as his seat (world conqueror) and hands outstretched to seven stars (deification and power concomitant therewith).[88] Our texts reflect awareness of these issues by blatantly usurping this imagery to describe a different son of god.[89] It is Jesus, the Christians of the Apocalypse claim, who holds the seven stars and is world conqueror (cf. 3:21).

In light of the occasion that prompted the writing of the Apocalypse—an ideological crisis responded to by means of a vision—we should not be surprised to find a text that relies heavily on the use of similes and metaphors.[90] John explained his vision by comparing it to things with which his readers were familiar.[91] There is no doubt that these Christians were all too familiar with Imperial propaganda,[92] and as a component of the Imperial

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86 Poem 1: "the towering glory of the Flavian race shall endure, coeternal with sun and stars, and with the light that shines on Rome. Whatever an unconquered arm has founded, that is of Heaven!" and poem 101 (there are poems 102 and 103 but the ninth Epigram effectively concludes at 101): "he [Domitian] won a victor's name from the Hyperborean world; temples he gave the Gods, mortals to the people, rest to the sword, immortality to his own kin, to heaven stars, wreaths to Jove. The Deity of Hercules sufficed not for deeds so great: let him, our God, lend his features to the Tarpeian Sire!" Cf. the similar remarks in Statius (*Silvae* 5.1.239-41), dated c. 95 CE.

87 Scott, *Imperial* 72.

88 "In the ancient world the stars were viewed as powers that determine the course of the world and control human destiny in a variety of ways. Dominion over them thus means supreme power and authority that encompasses everything." Roloff, *Revelation* 36. The American Numismatic Society (ANS) has an extremely rare variant of the *DIVVS CAESAR* type with six not seven stars (see plate 1.7 = *BMC* 311 no63 variant). In light of the variety among the numerous seven star issues I have collected in photographs and casts (with the assistance of Museums and Libraries around the world), I have not encountered a six star type other than that at the ANS. This variant type is therefore explained as either a failed experimental issue, a mis-strike, or perhaps the seventh star is in the right hand of the infant!

89 J. E. Hurtgen (*Anti-Language in the Apocalypse of John* [Lewiston: Mellen Biblical, 1993] 51) provides an interesting exegesis of Rev 11:19-15:4 with his thesis that the text as a whole is anti-language: "the language of social resistance."

90 Thompson, *Revelation* 46-48 who discusses "like" and "as."

91 "The separation of the seer's language from the social order is an artificial one. John's language—its shape, its genre, the vision it transmits—communicates a message, and that communication is a social act that takes its place in the social order. However visionary John's writing is, it does not operate in a symbolic universe apart from the world of actual, social relations." Thompson, *Revelation* 95; see also Ramsay, *Letters* 59.

92 The most recent and thorough study of the Imperial cult was limited geographically to Asia Minor because "the evidence for this area is far richer than for any other part of the empire." Price, *Rituals* 20.

machinery the coinage played a vital role. Furthermore, the occasion of the Apocalypse was largely prompted by the ideological clash between the claims of the *imperium* and those of the Christian community of the Apocalypse living in Asia Minor. The coins were not only source material for the wording of John's counter-claims, but in part at least, the very cause of the ideological clash in the first place. The issues from the Imperial mint were, therefore, an inevitable source upon which John needed to draw to make his polemic effective.[93]

Coinage was ideology.[94] It not only expressed the ideology of the *imperium* in types such as have been noted above, but each issue singularly attested to the ideological fact that Rome was in control. Domitian's coinage was overpowering as legitimation and embodiment of power currently exercised while proleptically celebrating the ability to maintain that control in the present and immediate future.[95] The Christian community of the Apocalypse disagreed.[96] Faced with the escalating offensiveness of this propaganda which reached its zenith in Domitian's mint, their response could hardly have been more lucid.[97]

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93 "Once the modern reader of Revelation interprets these symbols in light of acknowledged parallels on Graeco-Roman coinage, the so-called esoteric nature of the book of Revelation is somewhat diminished." Oster, "Numismatic," 220. The counter-claims to the *imperium* have also been explored in other ways for the Apocalypse. For example, D. E. Aune ("The Influence of Roman Imperial Court Ceremonial on the Apocalypse of John" *BR* 28 [1983] 5) suggested: "Accordingly, the thesis of this paper is that John's description of the heavenly ceremonial practised in the throne room of God bears such a striking resemblance to the ceremonial of the imperial court and cult that the latter can only be a parody of the former." This same author has also argued the following concerning the seven letters in Rev 2-3: "John has consciously employed the form of the royal or imperial edict as part of his strategy to emphasize the fact that Christ is the true king in contrast to the Roman emperor who is both a clone and tool of Satan." D. E. Aune, "The Form and Function of the Proclamations to the Seven Churches (Revelation 2-3)," *NTS* 36 (1990) 204.

94 Part of that ideology came in the fact that the coinage was "real" money. It was only later—from Caracalla on—that the steady debasement of the silver/gold content of the coins resulted in the coinage being reduced to "fiduciary currency." M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 1.470-71.

95 "Domitian presented himself as a god during his lifetime, and thereby tried to utilize improper symbols of his authority." Schowalter, *Emperor* 70.

96 As did Pliny, who in commenting about deified emperors to Trajan warned him of the necessity to maintain a balance of power in the process: "Given the imbalance of power and disregard for traditional order which had marked Domitian's reign, Pliny, speaking from his senatorial perspective, wanted to remind Trajan that. . . ." Schowalter, *Emperor* 64-65.

97 Collins concludes that the purpose of the Apocalypse is found in its attempt to resolve the tension between what was and what ought to be which manifested itself "in the opposition between symbols of God's rule and symbols of Satan's rule, between symbols of the authority and power of Christ and symbols of the authority and power of Caesar. When one reflects upon the symbols of the Apocalypse in the light of its historical situation, one sees that its task is to overcome the intolerable tension between reality and hopeful faith." Collins, *Crisis* 141. This is not unlike the adoption of the cross by Christians as their "sign," and see J. M. Whittaker, "Coins and Christian Symbolism," *NCirc* 87 (1979) 3-4. Domitian's offensive depictions, ironically, came to be the means whereby Jesus

The Apocalypse countered the numismatic claims of Domitian, whether control, divine status, or world conqueror.[98] The numismatic evidence graphically displays Domitian's increasing delusions of grandeur as his reign progressed.[99] Perhaps it is time to re-evaluate the re-evaluation of the ancient sources on Domitian using coins as a main datum. L. L. Thompson, for example, may wish to question the ancient sources that wrote *about* Domitian,[100] but those sources are for the most part confirmed by Domitian's *own* sources—his coins.[101]

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was described and around which the community identified itself. Cf. the "pink triangle" during Nazi Germany and present-day use.

98 Consider the emperor on horseback which was another popular type used to convey world domination. A profitable summary on this type is provided by G. C. Brauer Jr., "Horseman Spearing a Fallen Enemy: A Recurrent Coin Type," Part I, *San* 5/1 (1973) 9-11 and Part II, *San* 5/2 (1973) 25-27. Domitian first occurs on horseback on his father's issues (71 CE—*BMC* 113 no528) and especially from 83 on with the defeat of the Germans (Mattingly, *BMC*: lxxxiv-lxxxvii). This specific type is found in the issues of 84-89, and resurfaces again in 95-96 (*BMC*: 364-407), issues reconstructed with the help of C. M. Kraay ("Two New Sestertii of Domitian," *ANSMusN* 9 [1960] 109-114) who provides evidence for this type in 84 for which *BMC* has no record. Domitian was permitted to attend the shared triumph of his father and brother (in celebration of the Judean defeat) and did so riding a white horse (Suetonius, *Domitian* 2.1). In 91 the famous equestrian statue (*Equus Maximus Domitiani*) was erected in the Forum. I. Carradice ("Coins, Monuments and Literature: Some Important Sestertii of Domitian," *Actes du IXe Congrès international de numismatique, Berne, septembre 1979* [eds., T. Hackens & R. Weiller; Luxemburg: International Association of Professional Numismatics, 1982] 376-77) compares Statius's description (*Silvae* 1.1.32-107) of the statue with the depiction on the sestertius of 95-96 (*BMC* 406 no+) which "reproduces virtually all these features in remarkable detail . . . The coin thus records faithfully the great statue that Statius so carefully described." In Rev 19:11-21, Jesus is described as the one on the white horse who comes to conquer. The name inscribed (*γεγραμμένον*–see notes 22 and 23 above) on his robe and his thigh is "King of kings and Lord of lords" (19:16) and he comes to defeat those who were responsible for deceiving people to receive the mark of the beast (*χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου*—see note 69) and to worship its image (*προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ*—see note 69).

99 Supported by what the poets wrote about Domitian's attention to his public image: Suetonius: "But he exercised all the tyranny of his high position [as son of the emperor] so lawlessly, that it was even then apparent what sort of a man he was going to be." (*Domitian* 1.1; cf. Tacitus, *Histories* 4.39). Further, his: active building programme (Ibid., 5.1); celebration of the Quinquatria every year (Ibid., 4.4; cf. Cassius Dio, *Epitome* 57.1.2. on celebration of Panathenaea on a magnificent scale); renaming of the months September and October to Germanicus and Domitianus (*Domitian* 13.3); banning of scurrilous lampoons (Ibid., 8.3); exercising restraint over the city officials and governors of provinces so that "at no time were they more honest or just" (Ibid., 8.2); use of *dominus et deus* (Ibid., 13.2; cf. *Epitome* 57.5.7, 13.4); erection of so many triumphal emblems and arches that someone wrote "It is enough" (*Domitian* 13.2; cf. *Epitome* 57.8.1; 58.1.1). In fact, "He made many innovations also in common customs" (*Domitian* 7.1) many of which were no doubt not viewed with approval, so that Suetonius can conclude that he "became an object of terror and hatred to all" (Ibid., 14.1, cf. Suetonius *Vespasian* 1.1). He also made public proclamations which were nothing more than "mere vain show" (*Epitome* 2.1,6) and "had this worst quality of all, that he desired to be flattered" (Ibid., 4.2); gave great banquets at great expense, which "gave pleasure to the populace" (Ibid., 4.5; 8.4; 9.1). He also concerned himself with the "gossip" that circulated about him (Tacitus, *Agricola* 41).

100 Thompson, *Revelation* 96-115.

101 Thompson, *Revelation* 105: "Moreover, among the many inscriptions, coins and medallions from the Domitianic era there are no references to Domitian as *dominus et*

The community of the Apocalypse struggled with its powerless position in the daunting shadow of Rome's immense power. The seemingly endless and ever-escalating numismatic propaganda of the *imperium* only added to the throng that "cried out with a loud voice, 'O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before thou wilt judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth?'" (6:11). The text itself however suggests that the community of the Apocalypse did more than stand by idly.[102] The final destruction of evil incarnate was an eschatological and therefore future event (Rev 16:7f.) However, that did not prevent the community from developing a realized eschatology, formed in part by a present refutation of the ideology of offence. The claims of Domitian, both numerous and unprecedented, could not be left unchallenged. The propaganda he saturated the Empire with met with unforgiving recipients who not only disapproved but displaced his claims on the one they thought was worthy. The Apocalypse is counter-propaganda.

R. E. Oster concluded his discussion of utilizing a numismatic method for NT studies thus: "I would not want to leave the impression that I believe that the preachers and prophets of the early church intentionally responded in

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deus." With regard to coins (and medallions?—a curious entry by Thompson who rarely engages with coins let alone medallions) I believe I have provided evidence to demonstrate the divine direction of Domitian's claims. True, no coin found to date actually has the words *dominus et deus* on them, but that message is clearly communicated in other ways. As to inscriptions, I am presently persuaded that these too existed but were, subsequent to his murder, obliterated. My basis for this is, again, the numismatic evidence. Augustus, Domitian and Septimus Severus all celebrated the *Ludi Saeculares*. The *cippi* which announced these centennial celebrations survive from the reign of Augustus and Septimus Severus but not for Domitian. To this should be added the fact that all the festivities of this two week celebration were best preserved on Domitian's coinage, including the *cippus*. Plate 4.4 (= *BMC* 328 no137) has the *cippus* with inscription *LVD SAEC FEC COS XIIII* (= *LVDOS SAECVLARES FECIT*, he conducted the Secular Games, 14th consulship). Other examples in *BMC* are 326 no130-34; 327 no135-36; 328 no138; 395 no429). C. W. A. Carlson, "*Ludi Saeculares* Rites on the Roman Imperial Coinage," Part I, *San* 3/1 (1971-72) 9-11 and Part II, *San* 3/2 (1971-72) 27-29. That which the Senate could destroy after his murder they did with great success. The coinage however, precisely because of its inherent value regardless of image thereupon, could and did survive to tell its story. Recently A. Martin (*La Titulature épigraphique de Domitien* [Frankfurt-am-Main: Athenäum, 1987]) collected the titulature of Domitian as preserved in the epigraphic and papyrological evidence. In response, T. V. F. Buttrey, "The President's Address: Some Observations on the Titulature Of Domitian," *NC* 150 (1990) v: "On my count, the numismatic evidence can confirm the validity of four legends of which Martin is uncertain—that is, these are among the 24 varieties of epigraphical legend confected by editors, but they really did exist independently. Much more impressively, the coins add no fewer than 20 additional varieties which do not appear at all in the epigraphy or papyri and therefore are not included in Martin's book. I would hope that this enlargement of the evidence would be a salutary reminder to others of the importance of the numismatic material."

102 "At a deeper level, the hearers' powerlessness and lack of control over events is not denied, but affirmed. It is of little importance, however, because they are God's and God is in control. The reinterpretation of prophecy and the use of typology and allegory imply that the course of events has been fixed. The forces of chaos are dominant now, but their defeat is certain." Collins, *Crisis* 152. As revolutionary as Collins's cathartic thesis is, it is in my opinion still too passive. I see a much more engaging nature in the polemic of the Apocalypse.

their preaching and letters to Graeco-Roman coin types. . . ."[103] That is exactly the impression, however, that I want to leave.

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103 Oster, "Numismatic," 222.

Plate 1



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Plate 2



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Plate 3



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Plate 4



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4

Angelomorphic Christology in the Book of Revelation

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Of late, interest in angelomorphic Christology has revived.[1] Because explicitly angelomorphic Christology appears more prominently in early Christian literature postdating the NT than in the NT itself, more attention has gone to that later literature.[2] To discover such Christology in the NT, scholars have extrapolated backwards by inferring an angelomorphic Christology that stayed more or less underground in the NT but subsequently surfaced into full view. OT and later Jewish literature are also adduced to support an underground Christology of this sort in the NT. For example, the portrayal of Melchizedek as a heavenly being in 11QMelch is combined with Melchizedek-Christology in Hebrews to infer the presence there of an underlying angelomorphic Christology (but very underlying, because Heb 1:4-14 emphatically distinguishes Jesus as a son from angels, much inferior). Similarly, an angelic identification of the "one like a son of man" in Dan 7:13 is put together with Son-of-man Christology in the NT, and especially with the

1 See C. Rowland, "A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10:6ff. and Jewish Angelology," *JSNT* 24 (1985) 100, for "angelomorphic" as avoiding the categorization of Christ as a creature instead of deity (contrast the creaturely implication of "angelic"). A. F. Segal, "The Risen Christ and the Angelic Mediator Figures in Light of Qumran," *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; AB Reference Library; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 302-28, presents an example of recent interest in angelomorphic Christology and offers a brief history of such interest (pp. 302-3).

2 A partial bibliography: W. Lueken, *Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1898); J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1941); M. Werner, *The Formation of Christian Dogma* (New York: Harper, 1957) 120-61; J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd/Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1964) 119-27; R. N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (SBT 2/17; London: SCM, 1970) 26-32; C. H. Talbert, "The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity," *NTS* 22 (1976) 430-35; R. Lorenz, *Arius judaizaus? Untersuchungen zur dogmengeschichtlichen Einordnung des Arius* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 31; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1980) 141-79; L. W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 71-92; M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ 34; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1992) 287-91; E. Testa, *The Faith of the Mother Church* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 32; Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1992) 31-34; M. Barker, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992) 190-232.

use for Jesus in Rev 1:7, 13; 14:14 of phraseology from Dan 7:13 and from the description of a man-like but angelic figure in Daniel 10, to infer an angelomorphic portrayal of Jesus even though the term ἄγγελος, "angel, messenger," does not appear for him there.[3] Again similarly, the celebration of Christ's authority in Rev 12:10 after the victory over Satan of Michael and his angels is used to equate Christ with Michael, an archangel.[4]

With hardly any exception, however, the revival of interest in angelomorphic Christology has neglected the only passages in the NT where ἄγγελος may well apply to Jesus. These passages are found in the Book of Revelation. Surprise at the recent neglect of them comes not only from the possibility of their using ἄγγελος for Jesus, but also from the fact that older commentators—beginning with Victorinus and continuing up through the likes of Augustine, Andreas, Bede, Calovius, Vitringa, J. Gill, E. W. Hengstenberg, and E. B. Elliott (to name a few)[5]—quite often gave these passages a Jesuanic interpretation. Perhaps the time has come to reconsider it, perhaps even to revive it.

Pride of place belongs to Revelation 10, because there the evidence for a Jesuanic identification of the angel who dominates the passage has proved so strong (and will prove stronger than heretofore recognized) that even a few recent commentators have dared to adopt the identification.[6] The description of this angel as "clothed with a cloud" recalls 1:7, which said that Jesus "is coming with the clouds,"[7] so that the angel's "coming down out of heaven" (again 10:1) looks very like the Second Coming of Jesus from the "opened heaven" (19:11-16; see also 18:1 and 20:1 with discussion below, and cf. the use of καταβαίνω for his First Coming from heaven in John 3:13; 6:33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51, 58[8]). The shift from "clouds" (plural—1:7) to "a cloud" (singular—10:1)

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3 C. Rowland, "The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev. 1. 13ff.: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology," *JTS* ns 31 (1980) 111; idem, "A Man Clothed in Linen," 99-110; A. Y. Collins in J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993) 102, 104-5.

4 For this last exegesis, see J. J. Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 93 (1974) 65-66. Collins's argument has its weaknesses, however: (1) he speaks about the awarding of the kingdom to Christ, but the biblical text about the taking place (ἐγένετο) of Christ's authority; (2) the immediately preceding part of the biblical text parallelistically speaks about the taking place of "salvation and power and the kingdom of our God," yet no one would equate God with Michael.

5 See esp. the dialogue carried on with these and other older commentators by H. A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Revelation of John* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1887), and H. Alford, *The Greek Testament* (4th ed.; London: Rivingtons/ Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co, 1871).

6 H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16a; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1974) 147; J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979) 176; M. Barker, *Great Angel*, 76.

7 See also Mark 13:26; 14:62; Matt 24:30; 26:64; Luke 21:27; Acts 1:9-11; cf. Dan 7:13; 1 Thess 4:17.

8 In view of John 3:13 ("And no one has ascended into heaven except the one having descended out of heaven, [viz.] the Son of man"), the ascending and descending of angels on the Son of man (John 1:51) presupposes on his prior descent and ascent. See R. Schnackenburg, "'Der Vater, der mich gesandt hat.' Zur johanneische Christologie," *Anfänge der Christologie* (F. Hahn FS; ed. C. Breytenbach and H. Paulsen; Göttingen:

need not imply a difference in personal identity. The plural appears in Mark 13:26; Matt 24:30, but the singular in the parallel Luke 21:27; the plural in 1 Thess 4:17 for the clouds in which the saints are caught up at the Parousia, but the singular in Rev 11:12 for the cloud in which the two witnesses, probably standing for the saints, ascend into heaven at the end, and the singular again in Acts 1:9-11 for the cloud in which Jesus was taken up at his ascension—and he will come back "in the same manner." The well-known use of clouds as a theophanic symbol[9] combines with the present angel's being "clothed" with a cloud to support his deification; that is to say, he wears the divine majesty that elsewhere in Revelation is worn only by Jesus in addition to God.[10] That the sitter on a cloud in Rev 14:14-16 carries the description "one like a son of man" and that this description comes from the very text, Dan 7:13, which supplies phraseology for Jesus' return in Rev 1:7a as well as elsewhere (Mark 13:26; 14:62; Matt 24:30; 26:64; Luke 21:27) favors an identification of the angel in 10:1 and his coming down out of heaven with Jesus, the one like a son of man, and with his coming down out of heaven at the Parousia (cf. also the use of Dan 7:9, 13 for Jesus in Rev 1:13-14).

The rainbow on the head of this angel recalls the rainbow arching over the throne of God in Rev 4:3 (cf. Ezek 1:26-28). Since Jesus occupies the throne of God (3:21; 22:1, 3), its rainbow signifies him as well as God and thereby identifies the angel with Jesus.[11]

The description of the angel's face (*πρόσωπον*)—*ὡς ὁ ἥλιος*, "as the sun"—recalls the description in 1:16 of Jesus' face (*ὄψις*, a synonym of *πρόσωπον*): *ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ*, "as the sun shines in its power" (cf. 21:23; 22:5; Matt 17:2). We may well think that in 10:1 John omits *φαίνει κτλ.* out of an expectation that his audience will supply it by memory of 1:16, just as the first *ὡς*-phrase in 1:15 is meant to be supplied in 2:18 (see the following paragraph and footnote). John's describing the faces of Jesus and the angel with the same simile favors an identification of the angel with Jesus.

The description of the angel's feet (here including the legs; cf. Dan 10:6) *ὡς στῦλοι πυρός*, "as pillars of fire," recalls the description in 1:15; 2:18 of Jesus' feet, *ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης*, "like burnished bronze, fired as in a furnace,"[12] only with a shift from burnished bronze to pillars (the elements of feet and fire remaining the same) for an allusion to the pillar of fire (doubled to match a pair of feet) by which Yahweh led Israel from

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Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1991) 284-85, on the close interrelationship of Johannine Son-of-man Christology with descent from heaven and ascent to heaven.

9 See numerous references in R. H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 460, 745, 785-86.

10 See 1:12-16; 5:11-14; 7:9-17; 11:15-18; 12:10; 19:11-16; 21:22-22:5. The use of clouds for taking up the two witnesses and the saints in Rev 11:12; 1 Thess 4:17 does not weaken this theophanic implication, but indicates a divine reception of the witness-saints.

11 R. C. H. Lenski (*The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation* [Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1943] 312) objects to a correlation with 4:3 on the ground that there the rainbow is large enough to encircle God's throne whereas the rainbow here rests only on the angel's head (cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 11:3). This objection presumes what needs proof, viz., that John means to convey information about size.

12 The *ὡς*-phrase is missing in 2:18, but almost certainly meant to be supplied by the memory of 1:15.

bondage in Egypt (Exod 13:21-22; 14:19, 24). Again the correspondence favors an identification of the angel with Jesus.

The angel has in his hand a scroll. This scroll looks very like the scroll that Jesus took in 5:1-8:5. "Hand" appears in both 5:1 (by implication of *τὴν δεξιάν*—cf. 1:16, 17; 10:5; 13:16) and 10:2, 8, 10, though because of the taking in 5:2, 7-8 the scroll has shifted from the hand of God to Jesus' hand.[13] Jesus took the scroll to open it (5:2, 3, 4, 5, 9); and now that he has opened it by opening the seven seals that kept it closed (6:1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 12; 8:1), John describes it as "opened" (*ἠνεῳγμένον*—perfect tense; 10:2, 8). Though this description contrasts with the earlier description "sealed" (*κατεσφραγισμένον*—likewise perfect tense; 5:1), the contrast does not prove a difference between the two scrolls (despite statements to this effect by numerous commentators). On the contrary! Inasmuch as Jesus has opened all seven seals between chapters 5 and 10, the opened state of the scroll in chapter 10 favors the identity of this scroll with the formerly sealed scroll which in chapter 5 Jesus took to open. N.B. that opening the *scroll* in 5:2, 3, 4, 5 merges into opening its *seals* in 5:5, 9; 6:1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12; 8:1, so that the opening of the seals has produced an opened scroll.[14]

The use of *βιβλαρίδιον* for the scroll of 10:2 ℵ* A C^2 P 1 2351 *al* (cf. *βιβλιδάριον* [$ℵ^1$] C* 1006 1611 1841 2053 2344 *al*; *βιβλάριον* 2329 *pc*), 8 ℵ P 1 2344 2351 *al* (cf. *βιβλιδάριον* Majority Text; *βιβλάριον* 2329), 9 A^c C P 1 2351 *al* (cf. *βιβλιδάριον* Majority Text; *βιβλάριον* A* 2329), 10 A C 2344 2351 Majority $Text^A$ (cf. *βιβλιδάριον* 1006 1611 1841 2053 *al*; *βιβλίδιον* P^{47} *pc*) does not block an equation with the *βιβλίον* of 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9; for both *βιβλαρίδιον* and *βιβλίον* are diminutives of the same word *βίβλος*. Thus, *βιβλαρίδιον* does not refer to a scroll smaller than the one referenced by *βιβλίον*. Furthermore,

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13 A. Y. Collins (*The Combat Myth* [HTR Harvard Dissertations in Religion 9; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976] 21) sets out further parallels between chapters 5 and 10 but comes to a different conclusion regarding the scrolls.

14 This merger comes out most clearly in the compound phrase, "to open the scroll and its seven seals" (5:5), and spoils the argument of H. Alford (*Greek Testament*, 4. 654) that the scroll of chapter 10 must differ from that of chapter 5 because the earlier scroll has not been opened, but only its seals, whereas the present scroll has been opened. Some commentators attribute the opened state of this scroll to John's borrowing from Ezek 2:10 (see, e.g., I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John* [New York: Macmillan, 1922] 580), not to Jesus' having opened the scroll of chapter 5, and thereby free themselves to distinguish the present scroll from the earlier one. To be sure, John's eating the scroll in 10:8-11 borrows from Ezek 2:8-3:11. But there the scroll appears as still closed when Ezekiel is told to eat it, and it is then opened as he watches, whereas here the scroll appears as already opened some time before John is told to eat it. This difference favors that the already opened state of the scroll in Revelation 10 derives from Rev 6:1-17; 8:1-5, not from Ezek 2:10. It might be argued that the recommissioning of John (10:11: "You must prophesy again . . .") after he has eaten the scroll requires that it has to do with following materials as distinct from preceding materials related to a different earlier scroll (cf. A. Y. Collins, *Combat Myth*, 26-32). But the symbolism of eating so as to prophesy, as in Ezek 2:8-3:11, is satisfied by understanding the further prophesying to deal with the same process that the past prophesying has dealt with, i.e., the process by which Jesus takes his rightful possession of the world. The sameness of the process eliminates any need to distinguish between scrolls. Naturally, equation of the scrolls in chapters 5 and 10 invalidates the many attempts to specify the textual boundaries of the scroll in chapter 5 as, say, 6:1-8:5 or 6:1-11:19, and those of the scroll in chapter 10 as, say, 11:1-13 or 12:1-22:5.

John's interchanging of βίβλος and βιβλίον for one and the same "scroll of life" shows that for him a diminutive form of this word does not have any distinguishing function (see 3:5; 13:8 P^{47} ℵ 1611 1854 2344 *al*; 20:15 for the βίβλος of life; 13:8 C; 17:8; 20:12; 21:27 for the βιβλίον of life; cf. the interchanging of πρόβατον with the diminutives ἀρνίον and προβάτιον in John 21:15, 16, 17 [including v.ll.]). Furthermore again, 10:2 P^{47vid} Majority Text gig vg^{mss} Vic Tyc Prim, 8 A C 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 *pc* lat (the reading accepted in the current edition of N-A and UBS), 9 P^{47} ℵ 1006 1841 1854 2053 *pc* latt, 10 ℵ 1854 Majority $Text^{K}$ lat read βιβλίον for the scroll of chapter 10 just as in chapter 5.

The angel's placement of his right foot on the sea and of his left on the land (10:2, 5, 8) symbolizes his taking possession of the whole world (cf. 5:13; 7:1, 2, 3; 10:6; 12:12; 14:7; 16:2-3; 21:1), even that part of it harboring the chaotic forces of evil (the sea; cf. 5:13; 13:1; 21:1), as rightfully his (for placing one's feet on something as owning and possessing it, cf. Gen 13:17; Deut 1:36; 11:25; Josh 1:1-9, esp. 3; 4:9; Zech 14:4; Acts 7:5). That John mentions this element of his vision no fewer than three times puts great emphasis on the possession-taking. Because the angel has opened the scroll, which is a title deed to the world,[15] the angel can take possession. Jesus' taking the scroll in chapter 5 indicated rightful ownership (so the implication of the question, "Who is worthy to open the scroll and loosen its seals?" and of the statements, "And no one was able . . . to open the scroll or look [inside] it," "no one was found worthy . . . ," "Behold, the lion . . . has conquered to open the scroll and its seven seals," and "Worthy are you to take the scroll and open its seals" (5:2, 3, 4, 5, 9). But rightful ownership was one thing. Taking possession is another. The events triggered by Jesus' opening of the seven seals enabled him to seize his property, the world, from those forces of evil who had usurped control over

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15 When at first no one is found worthy to take the scroll and open its seals, John weeps because the evil forces that have usurped control will persecute the saints so long as the rightful owner does not take possession. The scroll should be viewed as a title deed, then, not as a book of destiny in which future events are inscribed. With the opening of each seal certain events take place, to be sure. But these events do not make up the contents of the scroll, for it is not open for the reading of its contents till all seven seals are opened. Nor is any reading said to be done on the opening of each seal, or even after all seven seals have been opened (contrast *1 Enoch* 81:1-3; 93:1-3; 103:1-2; 106:19-107:1, the sealing in heaven at 108:7 B C having prevented a reading on earth without prevention of a reading by heavenly angels). The opening of the seals does not reveal events; it causes events, just as conversely the sealing up of the seven thunders in 10:3b-4 does not conceal events so much as it keeps them from taking place (the equivalent in John's Apocalypse of the shortening of the great tribulation in the so-called Little Apocalypse [Mark 13:19-20 par. Matt 24:21-22]) and just as the command that John "not seal up the words of the prophecy of this scroll" (22:10) has the purpose, not of ensuring their publication, but of ensuring their fulfillment (as likewise in the OT the very speaking or acting out of prophetic words ensured, indeed contributed to, their own fulfillment [L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient* (MVAG [E.V.] 42/1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938)]). The very next clause, "for the time is near" (contrast the sealing for secrecy in Dan 12:9 because the time of the end lies at a temporal distance from Daniel), has to do with fulfillment (see 1:1, 3), not with publication (cf. T. Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes* [TU 85; 2d ed.; Berlin: Akademie, 1971] 35-36; against A. Y. Collins, *Combat Myth*, 24-25, though Collins does take note [p. 22] that deeds are to be included among legal documents sealed in the ancient world [cf. Jer 32:9-15]).

it, so that "the kingdom of the world has become [the kingdom] of our Lord and of his Christ" (11:15). Thus again, the angel who puts his feet on the world's two constituent parts, sea and land, equates with Jesus, the Christ who with his Lord now takes possession of the world, his kingdom.

The loudness of the angel's voice tends toward the same equation (see n. 30), and "as a lion roars" recalls the portrayal of Jesus as a conquering lion (5:5; cf. Joel 4[3]:16; Amos 3:8; 2 Esdr 11:37; 12:31-32).[16] The use of ὡς-phrases for comparisons of Jesus' loud voice in 1:10 and 4:1 (with the blast of a trumpet), 1:15 (with the sound of many waters), and 14:2 (with the sound of many waters and of loud thunder—for the voice of the Lamb plus the 144,000 "with him"[17]) combines with the present ὥσπερ-phrase to provide minor support for an identification of the angel with Jesus (cf. occurrences of ὡς-phrases in other descriptions of Jesus [1:14 (*tris*), 15, 16; 2:18, 27; 3:3; 5:6; 16:15], though ὡς-phrases describe voices other than his in 6:1; 19:6 [*tris*; but in both passages for a multiple voice, Jesus' voice being the only one of a lone individual described as loud as this or that] and also draw other comparisons quite unrelated to Jesus [*passim*]).

Though sometimes thought to rule out an identification with Jesus,[18] the angel's raising his right hand to heaven and swearing by the ever-living Creator (10:5-6; cf. Dan 12:7) suits well the element of subordination to God in Johannine Christology (cf. the implication of "our Lord and his Christ" in 11:15).[19] According to Deut 32:40, God lifts his hand to heaven and says, i.e., swears, "As I live forever . . ."; and in Heb 6:13 God even swears by himself, so that neither swearing itself nor swearing by God implies less than deity in the swearer. The fact that earlier in Revelation John has referred four times to the right hand of Jesus (1:16, 17, 20; 2:1), the only exception being the right hand of God his Father (5:1, 7), also lends some support to an identification of the angel with Jesus. In view of the many parallels in Johannine Christology between Jesus the Son and God his Father (in Revelation, for example, they share the same throne, kingdom, and authority—3:21; 5:13; 6:16; 7:9-11, 15-17;

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16 Comparisons with lions' teeth and heads at 9:8, 17 use λέων in the plural. The singular in a comparison with the mouth of a lion (so 13:2) draws on Dan 7:4 and parodies Jesus (see the whole of 12:18-13:18 for a Satanic trinity).

17 The Lamb is "standing," not seated on his throne (14:1), and a new song is sung "before the throne and before the four living creatures and before the elders" (14:3). Therefore the 144,000's standing with the Lamb (14:1) seems to imply that his and their voice are one.

18 R. H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 207.

19 See Rev 1:1, 6; 2:26; 3:2, 12; John 5:19-20, 30; 7:16; 10:29. After noting the parallel between Rev 10:5-6 and Dan 12:7, R. H. Charles (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920] 1.258-59) draws an equation between the man in Dan 12:7 and the man-like Gabriel in Dan 8:15-16, and suggests that John's describing the angel in Rev 10:1 as strong plays on the similarity between גבריאל ("Gabriel") and גבור ("strong man"). Since John never mentions Gabriel, however, even though he does mention Michael (Rev 12:7), such a play would hardly prove an identification of the angel with Gabriel rather than with Jesus. Even if an anonymous allusion to the angel Gabriel were to be accepted, it might represent an identification of Jesus with the angel Gabriel, just as *Herm. Sim.* 8.3.3 with 9.12.78 may represent an identification of Jesus with the angel Michael.

11:15; 12:5, 10; 20:6; 22:1, 3), the two earlier references to God's right hand add to this support.[20]

The angel's instruction to John that he eat the scroll draws on Ezek 2:8-3:3 (cf. Jer 15:16). In that passage God gives the instruction. It seems likely, then, that in Rev 10:9-11 the same instruction is given by none less than the divine angel-messenger, viz., Jesus.

If the "voice from heaven" (10:4, 8) is the voice of God, as seems likely (cf. 6:6; 9:13; 11:12; 14:13; 16:1, 17; and esp. 18:4), we have a hint of the angelomorphic Christ in the plural of λέγουσιν, "they say," at 10:11. For elsewhere in Revelation Christ is constantly paired with God.[21] It would therefore make good sense to identify the "they" who recommission John as the angelomorphic Christ, who has just spoken to him (10:9), and God, who spoke to John just before the angel did (10:4, 8). After all, it was Christ through whom God gave John his original commission to prophesy (see 1:11 with 1:1-2[22]).

How then do John's other descriptions of the angel fit an identification with Jesus? It has been argued that John's describing the angel as ἄλλος (10:1) forestalls the identification with Jesus, because ἄλλος means "another of the same kind," whereas Jesus would be ἕτερος, "another of a different kind," i.e., a divine angel and therefore uniquely superior.[23] But the distinction between ἄλλος and ἕτερος does not hold.[24] Ἕτερος appears nowhere in Revelation, and ἄλλος sometimes means "another of a different kind": a red horse as opposed to a white one (6:2, 4), an angel ascending from the East and having the seal of the living God as differentiated from four angels standing at the four corners of the earth and holding its four winds (7:1-2), and an angel standing at the heavenly altar as distinct from seven angels who stand before God and to whom seven trumpets were given (8:2-3). Though both signs qualify as great and heavenly, the "other (ἄλλο) sign" of the great dragon, the ancient serpent called the Devil and Satan, surely differs in kind from the sign of the woman who bears the messianic child (12:1, 3, 9), as does also the "other (ἄλλο) sign," again heavenly and great, of the seven angels having the seven last plagues of God's wrath (15:1). The "other (ἄλλο) beast" of 13:11 differs from the beast of 13:1 by coming up out of the earth and having two horns rather than coming up out of the sea and having ten horns. The description of the "other (ἄλλο) scroll" as the scroll "of life," containing the names of the saints, seems to put it in a category different from that of "the scrolls," apparently the scrolls containing a record of human beings' "deeds" (20:12). To stay within the Johannine corpus for one further example, but with respect

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20 The imprint of the mark of the Beast on the right hand of his worshippers has yet to appear (13:16); and inasmuch as the Beast parodies Christ, that later reference hardly damages a reference to the right hand of Christ in John's mention of the angel's right hand.

21 See 1:1-2, 4-6, 9; 2:28; 3:2, 5, 12, 14, 21; 4:11 with 5:9-14; 6:16-17; 7:9-17; 11:15; 12:10, 17; 14:4, 10, 12; 20:4, 6; 21:22-23; 22:1, 3 *et passim* in the Gospel of John.

22 See the comments below on the angel in 1:12.

23 See, e.g., R. L. Thomas, *Revelation 17: An Exegetical Commentary* (Chicago: Moody, 1992) 467 (though with reference to the same expression in 7:2-3).

24 BAGD *s.v.* ἄλλος 1ea, ἕτερος 1bγ.

to ἕτερος, the "other (ἑτέρα) scripture" of John 19:37 surely does not differ in kind from the scripture of John 19:36.[25] Though ἄλλος calls attention to similarity, then (otherwise why use the word at all?), distinctions are not ruled out. Thus in 10:1 ἄλλον calls attention to similarity with regard to angelhood but does not rule out a uniquely superior kind of angelhood.

John's description of the angel as "strong" (10:1) does not favor a Jesuanic identification, but neither does it disfavor the identification. Some have argued contrariwise that the description of angels as "strong" also in 5:2 and 18:21 do disfavor it, because the angel in 5:2 differs from Jesus the Lion and Lamb, the parallel with 10:1 then favoring a similar differentiation there. But reasons will come to light below for identifying the strong angel of 18:21 with Jesus, and in any case 18:8 describes as "strong" the Lord God who judges Babylon. If the description "strong" does not cancel out other reasons to see the Lord God as superior to beings similarly described, neither does this same description of the angel in chapter 10 cancel out the reasons just canvassed for seeing him as superior to the angel similarly described in 5:2. That the two angels differ from each other, in fact, is supported by the one angel's never even touching the scroll in chapter 5 (the scroll is passed from God to Jesus) whereas the other angel is holding the scroll in chapter 10.[26]

It might also be argued that an interpretation of the angel's descent from heaven in terms of the Second Coming puts that coming too early in the Book of Revelation. But the fullest description of that coming, i.e., the description in 19:11-16, has been anticipated already in 1:7. And within the main body of the book prior to 19:11-16, the sixth seal has brought things to the verge of the end (cf. 6:12 with Mark 13:24-27 par. Matt 24:29-31) and the seventh seal to the end itself (so the meaning of a half hour's silence in heaven, the casting of fire to earth from the heavenly altar, and the peals of thunder, rumblings, flashes of lightning, and earthquake—accompaniments of the Parousia like those of the theophany at Sinai [cf. 8:1-5 with Exod 19:16-19; 20:18; 24:15-18; Judg 5:4-5; Heb 12:18-19]), just as the seventh trumpet and the seventh bowl will bring things to the end itself, the Parousia (11:15-19: "The kingdom of the world has become [the kingdom] of our Lord and of his Christ. . . . you [Lord God Almighty] have taken your great power and reigned [ἐβασίλευσας, an inceptive aorist: 'begun to reign'] . . . and your wrath has come, and the time of the dead to be judged and to give reward to your servants the prophets [*et al.*]," plus an opening of the heavenly temple, a display of the ark of the covenant, flashes of lightning, rumblings, peals of thunder, an earthquake, and a great hailstorm; 16:17-20: "It has happened!" plus flashes of lightning, rumblings, peals of thunder, a great earthquake, the fall of Babylon and of the cities of the nations, the disappearance of every island and mountain, and a great hailstorm; see also 11:11-13; 14:14-20 for other anticipations of the end). So there is no problem of order in understanding the angel's descent at 10:1 in terms of the Second Coming.

An angel in some respects reminiscent of the one in chapter 10 appears at 18:1-3. The description ἄλλον, "another," has already been found uninimical

25 Cf. R. H. Gundry, "On True and False Disciples in Matthew 8.18-22," *NTS* 40 (1994), forthcoming.

26 Against Alford, *Greek Testament*, 4.649.

to a Christological identification. "Coming down out of heaven" links up with the same phrase in 10:1, where we found ample reason to make an identification of the angel with Jesus. Just as there the angel's descent to take possession of sea and land represented what Jesus will do at the Second Coming, so here, too, the angel's descent represents what Jesus will do at the Second Coming, i.e., preside over the fall of Babylon, which the angel proceeds to announce (see also the comments below on the descent of an angel from heaven in 20:1-3 to seize the Dragon and throw him into the abyss; cf. the throwing of the Dragon's Beast and False Prophet, the latter also a beast according to 13:11-12, in the lake of fire at the Second Coming [19:20]).

The greatness of this angel's authority (ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην—18:1) likewise suits the authority of God's Christ in 12:10, an authority which there relates to the downfall of the Dragon, Devil, or Satan just as in 20:1 the angel coming down out of heaven will throw the Dragon, Devil, or Satan into the abyss. The Beast who suffered a mortal wound but lived (or came to life [13:1-10, 12, 14; 17:8, 11])—i.e., the second person of the unholy trinity of Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet—stands over against Christ the Lamb, who died and came to life (1:5, 18; 2:8; 5:6) the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. Therefore, the description of the angel's authority as "great" in 18:1 combines with the description of the Beast's authority as "great" in 13:2 (cf. 13:4, 5, 7, 12) and with the lack of this description for anyone else's authority in Revelation (see 2:26; 6:8; 9:3 [*bis*], 10, 19; 11:6 [*bis*]; 17:12, 13; 20:6; 22:14) to favor an identification of the angel having great authority in 18:1 with Jesus the Lamb, messianic counterpart to the Beast having great authority in 13:2.

The enlightenment of the earth with the glory of this angel anticipates the enlightenment of the New Jerusalem, which like the angel comes down out of heaven to the earth (21:1-4), with the glory of God and of Jesus the Lamb (21:23-25; 22:4-5; cf. Ezek 43:2) to further the identification of the angel with Jesus.[27] The strength of the angel's voice tends toward this identification (see n. 30 and 10:3). Because of the frequent pairing of God and Jesus throughout Revelation,[28] the pairing of the angel, who announces that Babylon has fallen (18:1-3), with God, who calls his people out of Babylon and describes in detail the fall of Babylon (18:4-20), yet again points to an identification of the angel with Jesus.[29]

At 18:21 a "strong angel" appears, as earlier in 5:2; 10:1. Just recently, 18:8 has described "the Lord God who judges her [Babylon]" as "strong." This description-*cum*-action of the Lord God parallels that of the strong angel who in 18:21 picks up a large millstone and throws it into the sea as a sign of Babylon's judgment. The parallel suggests an identification of the strong angel with Jesus inasmuch as this angel and his activity are paired with God

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27 For Jesus as the light of the world in Johannine literature, see also John 1:4-5, 7-9; 3:19-21; 8:12; 9:5; 11:9-10; 12:35-36, 46; and for the glory of Jesus, Rev 5:12-13; 15:3-4 *et passim* in the Gospel of John.

28 See n. 21.

29 It might be objected that the order elsewhere in Revelation, viz., God-Jesus, militates against a present identification, which would reverse that order. But 20:4 presents a clear case of the reverse order (cf. also 1:1), so that the objection would fail.

and God's activity in accordance with Johannine Christology and 10:1-11; 18:13, where additional considerations favored the identification.[30]

Since in 18:21-24 an angel, *not* called "another" to distinguish him from the last-mentioned angel in 18:1, announces the fall of Babylon just as did that angel, we should probably equate these angels and thus identify the one in 18:21 with Jesus because of the evidence for such an identification in 18:1-3. The parallel between descriptions of the present angel as "strong" (ἰσχυρός) and of the earlier angel's voice as likewise "strong" supports this argument, especially as everywhere else in Revelation (and this twenty times!) voices are said to be "loud" (μεγάλη), but not "strong."[31] Perhaps εἷς, attached in 18:21 to ἄγγελος and meaning "one," is designed to equate these angels. The usual translation is "an," and one should not dispute the possibility of this translation. But its propriety may be questioned here (cf. John 7:21; 8:41; 10:16; 11:49, 50; 18:14, 22; 20:7). If the angel of 18:21 is to be identified with Jesus, the use of εἷς likewise agreeing in gender, case, and number with a noun in 8:13; 9:13; 19:17, and only in these passages so far as Revelation is concerned, suggests that in them, too, an adventurous identification should be made between Jesus and the eagle crying with a loud voice as it flies in midheaven, the voice from the four horns of the golden altar before God (cf. the comments below on 8:3-5), and the angel standing in the sun, respectively.[32]

As in 10:1-7; 18:1-3 the angel's coming down out of heaven to take possession of sea and land and to preside over the fall of Babylon represented what Jesus will do at the Second Coming, so in 20:1-3 the angel's coming down out of heaven to bind Satan and throw him into the abyss represents what Jesus will do at the Second Coming. "Having the key of the abyss"

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30 The strong angel in 5:2 seems to differ from Jesus. But since chapter 5 acknowledgedly portrays Jesus as both a lion and a lamb, perhaps—*just* perhaps—we should allow the possibility of an identification between him and this strong angel proclaiming "with a loud voice, 'Who is worthy to open the scroll and loosen its seals?'" Jesus is the only one to have earlier spoken with a loud voice (1:10); and apart from the loud voice of crowds in 5:12; 6:9; 7:10; 11:15; 12:10; 19:1 (cf. 14:2), the individual speakers with a loud voice in 7:2; 10:3; 8:13; 11:12 (cf. 4:1 with 1:1); 14:6; 16:1, 17; 18:2 v.l.; 19:17; 21:3 are either certainly or conceivably to be identified with Jesus. The matter remains in doubt, however, because the speakers with a loud voice can hardly be identified with Jesus at least in 14:7, 9, 15, 19. Nevertheless, the loud voice of the strong angel in 10:1; 18:21 agrees with the same in 1:10; 4:1 (with 1:1); 11:12, where little or no doubt exists that Jesus is speaking. Just as deity as well as less-than-deity is described as strong, so the voice of deity as well as that of less-than-deity may be described as loud, so that the loudness of the angel's voice in 10:1; 18:21 should in no way inhibit the recognition of a divine angel Jesus as distinct from creatures less-than-divine though they, too, have loud voices.

31 See 1:10; 5:2, 12; 6:10; 7:2, 10; 8:13; 10:3; 11:12, 15; 12:10; 14:7, 9, 15, 18; 16:1, 17; 19:1, 17; 21:3 (cf. 14:2).

32 In 19:17 the standing of "one angel . . . in the sun" (ἕνα ἄγγελον . . . ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ) may slightly favor an identification with Jesus inasmuch as Jesus' face shone like the sun in 1:16, the angel who for other reasons may be identified with him in 7:2 (see the discussion below) ascends from the rising of the sun, the angelomorphic Christ of 10:1 has a face like the sun, and the light of the Lamb as well as of God eliminates any need of the sun for the New Jerusalem (21:23; 22:5). The frequency of Jesus' association with the sun adds some support. See the foregoing discussion for the loudness of the angel's voice. On the other hand, "in the sun" may merely indicate a position that all the birds of prey can see, just as the loudness indicates a voice that they all can hear (cf. 8:13; 14:6-7).

recalls Jesus' having "the keys of death and of Hades" in 1:18 (cf. 3:7-8). In 9:1 a fallen star seems to represent the angel of the abyss, probably Satan (9:11). His being given (ἐδόθη, probably a "divine passive") the key of the shaft of the abyss parodies Jesus' having keys and thus favors an identification of the angel having the key of the abyss with Jesus.[33] It would also seem to take no less a figure than Jesus to seize the Dragon, Devil, or Satan, bind him, throw him into the abyss, and lock him up there for a thousand years (cf. Matt 12:29; John 12:31; *1 Enoch* 10:4-6; 10:11-12). Michael and his angels succeeded only in throwing the Dragon and his angels down to earth, where the Dragon and his angels were then able to vent their wrath (12:7-17). The angel's sealing the abyss in 20:3 recalls the multiple earlier associations of Jesus with seals (5:1-2, 5, 9; 6:1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12; 7:2 [according to the interpretation offered below]; 8:1; cf. 7:4-8 for the seal of God, with whom Revelation often pairs Jesus) and thus offers further support for an equation of the two.[34]

The business of sealing figures in 7:2-3, too. There John sees "another angel," distinct from the angels holding the four winds (see the foregoing discussion of 10:1 for ἄλλον, "another"). This angel is not coming down out of heaven, as in 10:1; 18:1; 20:1. Hence, the passage does not initially allude to the Second Coming. It is too early for that: the four winds have yet to blow during the hour of testing which is coming on the whole inhabited earth. Rather, the angel is "going up (ἀναβαίνοντα, 'ascending') from [the] rising of [the] sun [i.e., the East]" to supervise the sealing of the 144,000, about whom John *hears* as such but whom he then *sees* to be the innumberable company of saved people, just as he *heard* about a lion whom he then *saw* to be a lamb (cf. 7:4, 9 with 5:5-6), and thus make them able to withstand those winds of judgment (cf. 6:17, "because the great day of their [God's and the Lamb's] wrath has come, and who is able to stand?" and 7:9, which answers the question of standing: ". . . a large crowd [of the saved] . . . standing before the throne and before the Lamb . . ."). Especially in Johannine theology, Jesus' ascension had the purpose of completing the work of salvation (John 3:13; 6:62; 20:17; cf. the

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33 M. S. Moore, "Jesus Christ: 'Superstar' (Revelation xxii 16b)," *NovT* 24 (1982) 82-91, for a possible contrast between Jesus as the bright and morning star and Satan as a fallen star, with stars indicating angels or deities.

34 In 9:11 the double naming of the king over the demonic locusts as "Abaddon," Hebrew for "Destruction," and "Apollyon," Greek for "Destroyer," seems to parody the inscription on Jesus' cross, "The King of the Jews," written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek (John 19:20), but with Latin omitted to concentrate attention on the pun regarding Nero's (and Domitian's?) claim to be Apollo, whose name sounds like "Apollyon" (cf. Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1082-83, 1085-86), and on the contrast between this king as a destroyer and Jesus as the king who saves from destruction (see the use of ἀπόλλυμι John 3:16; 6:27, 39; 10:10, 28; 11:50; 17:12; 18:9). But since Rev 9:11 describes this king over the demonic locusts also as "the angel of the abyss," the antithetic parallel with King Jesus may suggest that Jesus, too, is an angel, a heavenly and divine one. Strangely, R. H. Mounce (*Book of Revelation*, 351) favors an equation of the angels in 9:11 and 20:1. But how can we think that the destroying angel of the abyss, who leads the demonic locusts, equates with the angel who stops the nefarious activity of Satan? Mounce goes on to argue that the recurring "I saw" of 19:11, 17, 19; 20:1, 4, 11 (missed by Mounce), 12; 21:1 (plus 2, 22, we might add) produces a succession of events, one following another, so that recapitulation is unlikely. Certainly a back reference to the First Coming is unlikely, as Mounce is concerned to argue, but not a reference to a further aspect of the Second Coming.

theme of Jesus' being lifted up in John 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34); and from a standpoint on Patmos, the Ascension took place in the East, where the sun rises (cf. the association of Jesus' resurrection, which makes up one element in the Johannine Jesus' glorification-lifting up-ascension, with sunrise in John 20:1 [Mary comes to his tomb "while it is still dark," in contrast with Mark 16:1; Matt 28:1; Luke 24:1, so that the risen Jesus' appearance to her makes a sunrise (he is "the light of the world" [John 8:12; 9:5; 12:46], i.e., the sun [John 11:9])] and in John 21:4 [where the risen Jesus' appearance correlates again with sunrise]; see once more his association with the sun in Rev 1:16; 21:23; 22:5 [and 10:1; 19:17 under the foregoing interpretations]). That the angel is ascending even though the 144,000 are to be sealed on earth points to Jesus' ascension as the means by which the saved are guaranteed their safety from divine judgment.[35]

"Having [the] seal of [the] living God" anticipates 20:1-3 (cf. the association of seal and God with Jesus in John 3:31-34). According to John 6:27, God has sealed Jesus. If the foregoing interpretation of Rev 20:1-3 is correct, the angelomorphic Christ has the power of sealing there. In that passage, sealing is linked with "shutting" by means of "the key of the abyss"; and according to 1:18 it is Christ who has the keys of death and of Hades. Similarly, in 3:7-8 he has "the key of David" and "shuts and no one opens" as well as "opens and no one shuts" (again cf. the parody in 9:1-11 of a fallen star's being given the key of the abyss and opening it, and see n. 30 for a discussion of the angel's loud voice). The angel's phrase "our God" does not rule out an identification with Jesus, but favors it; for God is the God of Jesus according to 2:7 1006 1611 1841 2050 2053 2351 Majority Text^{K} latt sy^{h} co; 3:2, 12 (*tris*); 11:15, and of Jesus along with his disciples according to John 20:17 (in connection with the Ascension, as here: "but go tell my brothers and say to them, 'I am going up . . . to my God and your God'").[36]

Another angel now comes and stands at the altar of incense (8:3-5; again see the foregoing discussion of ἄλλος, "another"). As can be told from the preceding phrase "in heaven" (8:1) and from the subsequent throwing of fire "to the earth" (8:5), this altar belongs to the heavenly sanctuary (so 9:13). It is appropriate that the angelic ascent of 7:23 eventuates in an angelic coming (ἦλθεν) to heaven, and thus the text gives some initial encouragement to think again of Jesus' heavenly ascent and arrival. Standing at the altar echoes Amos 9:1, where Yahweh stands at the altar. Both here and there, the stander plays a judgmental role; and Jesus often stands in for Yahweh. Moreover, John has described Jesus as girded with a golden girdle (1:13). The twenty-four elders had golden crowns and golden bowls full of incense, "which are the prayers of the saints" (4:4; 5:8). They cast their crowns before the throne of God and the Lamb, and here the incense of the saints' prayers is given to the angel (8:3). The parallels in the use of "golden" and between the casting of crowns

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35 Notably, commentators labor over the meaning of the East but pay little or no attention to the angel's going up.

36 Against Thomas, *Revelation 1-7*, 467. See J. Gill, *An Exposition of the New Testament* (London: George Keith, 1776) 5. 504: "for who but he [Jesus Christ] should have the privy-seal of heaven . . . and who could speak in such an authoritative manner to the four angels . . . and who should seal the servants of the Lord, but he who has them in his hands, and keeps them by his power, so that none of these shall perish?"

and the giving of incense favor an identification of the angel with Jesus the Lamb, and praying in his name (John 14:13-14; 15:16; 16:23-24, 26) correlates with the angelomorphic Jesus' offering up the prayers of the saints. Since no one comes to the Father except through Jesus (John 14:6) and Jesus is the saints' advocate with the Father (1 John 2:1; cf. John 17), it would seem according to Johannine theology that only Jesus could offer up the saints' prayers, as here.[37]

The angel's taking a censer, filling it with fire from the altar, and throwing it to the earth represent vindictive judgment on persecutors of the saints in answer to the saints' prayers (cf. 6:9-11), a judgment such as elsewhere in Revelation Jesus inflicts on those persecutors (see, above all, 19:11-16 with 19:1-10, 17-21, but also 12:10-12; 17:1-18:24, esp. 17:6 with 17:14). Furthermore, the peals of thunder, rumblings, flashes of lightning, and earthquake that accompany the fiery judgment look like the accompaniments of the seventh trumpet, when "the mystery of God has been finished" (10:7), and the seventh bowl, when "it has happened," and as under the present seventh seal again the thunder, lightning, and earthquake seem to draw a parallel between God's descent at Sinai and Jesus' descent at the Second Coming (cf. 8:1-5; 11:15-19; 16:17-21 with Exod 19:16-20).[38]

John identifies the speaker in 22:6 as "one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls" and who said that he would "show" (δείξω) John "the bride, the wife of the Lamb" (21:9). In 22:6 this speaker refers to God's "angel as one whom God "sent (ἀπέστειλεν) to show (δεῖξαι) to his servants the things which must happen soon." According to 1:1, God gave Jesus Christ a revelation "to show to his servants the things which must happen soon." Furthermore, in 1:1 God signified the revelation by "sending (ἀποστείλας) [it] through his angel

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37 Cf. the mediatorial role of angels in Tob 12:15; *1 Enoch* 8:4 with 9:1-11; 15:1-2; 16:2; 89:76; 104:1; *T. Levi* 3:5-6; *3 Apoc. Bar.* 11-17). Alford (*Greek Testament,* 4.632) objects that since in 5:6 the twenty-four elders holding the golden bowls full of incense do not equate with Jesus, neither does the angel with the golden censer. This objection overlooks other possibilities, e.g., that the twenty-four elders represent the saints themselves in their prayers for deliverance from persecution (cf. the 12 + 12 of the gates and foundations, inscribed with the names of the patriarchs and apostles, respectively, in the New Jerusalem [22:12-14]), the present angel functioning as the Christ-Advocate who mediates those prayers to God.

38 In 14:14 the figure like a son of man sitting on a white cloud and wearing a golden crown on his head (cf. the golden censer of the angel in 8:3-5) most likely represents Jesus in terms of Dan 7:13, used also in Rev 1:7, 13. The description of the angel in 14:15 as "another" may then imply that the figure like a son of man is to be considered angelic. But this argument is weak in that "another" may relate rather to the angels in 14:6, 8, 9, 10 (cf. A. P. Van Schaik, "Ἄλλος ἄγγελος in Apk 14," *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans la Nouveau Testament* [ed. J. Lambrecht; BETS 53; Gembloux: J. Duculot/Leuven: Leuven UP, 1980] 217-25). Since the other angel in 14:15 came out of the temple and differs from Jesus the figure like a son of man, the further other angel also coming out of the temple in 14:17 is probably not Jesus, either. But in 14:18 the yet further other angel who comes out of the altar and has authority over the fire must equate with the "other angel" in 8:3-5 who stood at the altar, offered incense with the prayers of the saints, and threw fire to the earth, and whom we have identified with Jesus. Thus Jesus, the altar-angel who as fire-power, gives a subordinate angel who comes out of the temple an order to sickle in judgment the ripe grapes representing wicked people.

to his servant John."[39] The parallel between God's giving a revelation to Jesus Christ to show to his servants, on the one hand, and signifying it by sending it through his angel to his servant John, on the other hand, favors that God's angel is none other than Jesus Christ, especially since the very next verse says that John testified the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. This understanding is further supported by the chiasm that results from it: (a) the revelation of Jesus Christ (subjective genitive in the Greek text); (b) the revelation which God gave; (b) the Word of God (subjective genitive, equivalent in meaning to "which God gave"); (a) the testimony of Jesus Christ (subjective genitive). God's servant John then writes down the revelation, Word, or testimony for the rest of God's servants. The parallel with 22:6 (cf. "the words of the prophecy" and the "keeping" [τηρέω] of them in both 1:3 and 22:7) then favors that in 22:6 the angel sent to show God's servants the things which must happen soon is none other than Jesus Christ, God's angel of sent revelation also in 1:1.

Is the angel who speaks in 22:6 and whom 21:9 identified as one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls—is this angel speaking about himself in 22:6 when he speaks about the angel whom God sent? If so, Jesus is the seventh angel. Favoring such an identification is the following of the statement, "And behold, I am coming soon" (22:7), without any indication of a change in speakers, just as in 22:12 the "I" who is "coming soon" appears to be the angel speaking to John in 22:10 and ever since 21:9 (see also 22:1, 6). For it is surely Jesus who is coming soon (22:20: "The one testifying these things says, 'Yes, I am coming soon.' Amen! Come, Lord Jesus"). Also favoring an identification of the angel who speaks in 22:6 with the angel about whom he speaks is the parallel between the description of the angel spoken about as sent "to show" God's servants "the things which must happen soon" and the description in 22:8 of the angel who has been and is speaking as "showing" John "these things." Yet again favoring this identification is the parallel between the description of the speaking angel's words as "faithful and true," Jesus' description of himself in 3:14 as "the faithful and true testifier," and John's description of the returning Jesus in 19:11 as "faithful and true."

On the other hand, it may seem questionable that the angel uses the third person ("his angel") rather than the first ("me") if he is speaking about himself. Moreover, the speaking angel's refusal of John's falling down and worshipping (22:8-9) disagrees with the falling down and worshipping of Jesus, and Jesus' acceptance of those actions, in 5:8-14; 7:9-12 (cf. 15:3-5). (Yet John's falling down before the angel to worship him even though in 19:10 he was corrected by the angel "for the same ill-advised act"[40] suggests that John could think of Christ as an angel worthy of worship.) And the angel who in

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[39] On the ground that according to 22:16 Jesus sent his angel "to testify these things," one might regard Jesus as the subject of "signified" in 1:1 and as the one who "sent" the revelation "through his servant John." As a matter of fact, however, it is Jesus who first appears to John with a revelation (1:9ff.). God is the dominant subject in 1:1a; Jesus Christ has been referenced only in the genitive and dative. "His angel" whom the Lord God has sent to show the things which must happen soon refers indubitably to God's angel. And elsewhere in Revelation servants (δοῦλοι) belong predominantly to God (so 7:3; 10:7; 11:18; 15:3; 19:1-2, 5; 22:3, 6) rather than to Jesus (so only 2:20 and possibly 22:3).

[40] Mounce, *Book of Revelation*, 391.

19:9 (see 17:1, 7 for the angelic identity) tells John, as here, not to worship him seems to distinguish himself from Jesus not merely by referring to Jesus in the third person, but also by including himself among those who "hold" (ἐχόντων) the testimony of Jesus (19:10), an expression which elsewhere describes Jesus' followers (6:9; 12:17). Moreover again, the Jesus of Revelation, the ruler of the kings of the earth (1:5), the King of kings and Lord of lords (19:16), who sits on God's throne with God (3:21; 22:1, 3), would hardly describe himself as a fellow servant with John, with John's brothers the prophets, and with the ones "who keep the words of this book." Consequently, just as the unintroduced "I"-Jesus in 22:18 differs from the speakers in 22:17, who ask him to come, so also the unintroduced "I"-Jesus in 22:7 differs from the speaker in 22:6. And there turn out to be two angels, the angelomorphic Jesus spoken about and sent by God in 22:6b and the angelic speaker in 22:6a, 8c10, respectively.

How should one respond to such exegetical data as seem to display angelomorphic Christology in the Book of Revelation? Though no attempt has heretofore been made to set them out with such detail as in the present essay, their older expositions have usually been met by a response perhaps best stated by H. Alford:

> Throughout the book [of Revelation] . . . angels are the ministers of the divine purposes, and the carriers out of the apocalyptic course of procedure, but are every where distinct from the divine Persons themselves. In order to this their delegated ministry, they are invested with such symbols and such delegated attributes as beseem in each case the particular object in view: but no apparent fitness of such symbolical investiture to the divine character should induce us to break through the distinction . . . .[41]

As seen above, however, not only the descriptions but also the activities of certain angels in the Book of Revelation match those of Jesus Christ. But for the term ἄγγελος and the nonhuman and nondivine meaning of its usual English translation "angel," whereas it truly means a messenger of any kind, an equation of these angels with Jesus would probably meet with little resistance. To sharpen the point, one could easily substitute Jesus' name for ἄγγελος, though not in the case of other angels appearing in the book. Now according to 22:16, "I Jesus sent my angel to testify these things," and the "I" who "testifies" in 22:18 seems to be Jesus "the one testifying these things" in 22:20 and saying, "Yes, I am coming soon." Therefore, it is probably best to understand the angels who look and act like him as his angel in the same sense that in the OT Yahweh has an angel, i.e., not as a messenger distinct from Jesus or Yahweh, but as Jesus or Yahweh in the form of a messenger (cf. Dunn's succinct statement: "'the angel of Yahweh' is simply a way of

41 *Greek Testament*, 4. 649; cf. M. E. Boring, *Revelation* (Interpretation; Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1989) 139; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (2d ed.; London: SCM, 1989) 156.

speaking about Yahweh himself,"[42] as can be told from the identification of Yahweh's angel with Yahweh.[43]

The great variety of Christologies in Revelation makes the presence there of angelomorphic Christology unsurprising; and the role of Yahweh's angel in the Exodus-narrative and later Jewish literature concerning it[44] combines with the prominence of Exodus-typology throughout Revelation,[45] and with the prominence of angelology elsewhere in apocalyptic literature, to provide multiple impetuses for an angelomorphic Christology in Revelation comparable to angelomorphic theology in the OT and later Judaism. Inasmuch as such Christology provides an angelic connection for the saints on earth with God in heaven, a further impetus may be found in the felt need of such a connection, a need due to the original audience's having suffered ostracism from Jewish synagogues, Greco-Roman civic life and culture, the Roman government and its agents (with the threat of emperor-worship), and the rich and powerful provincial elite.[46] Given the possibility of these impetuses and the probably late date for Revelation as compared with most other books of the NT, one should be reticent to treat this angelomorphic Christology as a low and primitive sort that maintained a literarily secret existence for the most part until Revelation brought it out of the closet.[47] It still seems likely that Christology started with Jesus' talking and acting out of a sense that God was his Father in a distinctive way,[48] and proceeded with the effect of the Resurrection on Jesus' first disciples. But though a later development, the angelomorphic Christology in Revelation may well have

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42 *Christology in the Making*, 150.

43 See, e.g., Gen 16:7-13; 21:17-18; 22:15-16; 31:11-13; Exod 3:2-4:17; Judg 6:11-27; Acts 7:30-34; cf. Acts 23:11 with 27:23. Sometimes the texts oscillate between God and the angel of God rather than between Yahweh and Yahweh's angel.

44 Though not without opposition in later Jewish literature; see J. Fossom, "Kyrios Jesus as the Angel of the Lord in Jude 5-7," *NTS* 33 (1987) 23437, for the evidence.

45 See, e.g., 1:5-6 and 5:9-10 with 5:10; also 7:1-17; 8:5; 12:1-17; 15:2-4; 18:4 and, of course, parallels of detail with the ten plagues that fell on Egypt.

46 Cf. A. Y. Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984); idem, "The Revelation of John: An Apocalyptic Response to a Social Crisis," *CurTM* 8 (1981) 4-12.

47 Against R. N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (SBT 2/17; London: SCM, 1970) 32; L. W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 82. In particular, whether Gal 4:14 represents angelomorphic Christology hinges on whether the parallelism in . . . ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ . . . , ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν is synonymous or progressive. The anarthrousnss of ἄγγελον favors progressive parallelism ("as an angel of God . . . , and [what is more] as Christ Jesus") and therefore undermines support for early angelomorphic Christology. Though in Dan 7:13 "one like a son of man" may refer to an angel (see, e.g., J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* [HSM 16; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977] 123-52); idem, *Daniel*, 305-6, 310, 313-19; H. Sahlin, "Wie wurde ursprünglich die Benennung 'Der Menschensohn' verstanden?" *ST* 37 [1983] 147-79), the shift in the canonical gospels and Acts from the comparative "one like . . ." to a straightforward "the Son of man" veers away from angelomorphic Christology: only the comparative expression implies an angel.

48 So, correctly, W. Michaelis, *Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum* (Gegenwartsfragen Biblischer Theologie 1; Basel: Henrich Majer, 1941) 5-12, though Michaelis's negativism toward angelomorphic Christology goes to an extreme.

contributed to the even later Christology in the fourth gospel of Jesus as the one sent from heaven and returning there.[49]

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49 Cf. U. B. Müller, *Menschenwerdung des Gottessohnes* (SBS 140; Stuttgart: KBW, 1990) 62-67, 80-83 (though without reference to Revelation). On Jesus as the sent one in John, see J.-A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium* (WUNT 2/2; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1977).

An Angelic Refusal of Worship: The Tradition and Its Function in the Apocalypse of John

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In 1981 Richard Bauckham published an influential article devoted to two motifs which occur in the Apocalypse of John and the *Ascension of Isaiah*: the worship of Christ and a prohibition of angel worship. Here he drew special attention to the two scenes in the Apocalypse in which the mediating angel refuses to be worshiped by the seer (19:10; 22:8-9).[1] On the basis of his analysis of the tradition underlying this refusal and its function in the Apocalypse, Bauckham came to some important conclusions which may be summarized in the following three statements: (1) The angel's refusal to be worshiped in the Apocalypse derives from a tradition preserved in early Jewish and Christian literature which reflects an attempt to safeguard monotheistic worship from the (potential) danger of an excessive interest in prominent angels. (2) In the Apocalypse this angelic refusal tradition is less a polemic against "a tendency towards angel-worship" among Christian communities in Asia Minor than it is a reflection of the author's literary and theological design.[2] (3) In the Apocalypse Christ is clearly superior to and distinguished from angels[3] and, in the question of worship, is aligned with God.

[1] "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity," *NTS* 27 (1980-81) 322-41. Unfortunately, during the writing of this paper, I have not had access to a revised version of this article printed as chapter 4 in a collection of Bauckham's essays, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992). For recent, less-detailed discussions see also Ernst Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946) 151-3; Oscar Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zephaniah," in ed. James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (hereafter *OTP*) (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85) vol. 1, 504-5; Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983) 65-66 and 151-6; Pierre Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (CNT 14; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988) 2857; and James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways* (London/Philadelphia: SCM and Trinity International, 1991) 218-9.

[2] Ibid., pp. 327-31. In addition, see esp. Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 30-33.

[3] Ibid., p. 338 n. 42: Though admitting "traces of an angel-Christology in the terminology of the Apocalypse," the instances which Bauckham identifies (1:13-16; 14:14-16) show for him that "it has been reduced to relative insignificance by the sharp theological distinction between Christ and angels."

In each of these points Bauckham has unquestionably made a contribution which adds insight into the ways early Christian circles attempted to juxtapose "high" christological claims, on the one hand, with a claim to be monotheistic, on the other. In what follows I would like to go beyond the aims of Bauckham's study by (a) exploring the traditio-historical roots of the angelic refusal tradition and by asking whether, on this basis, we can infer anything concerning the religious circumstances among any of the circles in which it was circulated. Such an analysis, I think, may provide sufficient grounds for reconsidering the function of the refusal tradition in the Apocalypse and to rethink how Christology and angelology are related in the author's conception.[4]

A. Components of the Refusal Tradition and Their Traditio-Historical Roots

In addition to the passages in Revelation, the motif of an angel refusing worship by a seer in a visionary encounter is preserved, beginning in the Second Temple period, in a number of Jewish, Jewish-Christian, and Christian writings. These are presently listed (with names of the angelic figures in parentheses):

Tobit 12:16-22[5] (Raphael)
Apocalypse of Zephaniah 6:11-15[6] (Eremiel)
Ascension of Isaiah 7:18-23 (one seated on a throne?); 8:1-10, 15 (7:2, a glorious angel)
2 Enoch 1:4-8[7] (two huge men)
3 Enoch 1:7 (princes of the chariot);[8] 16:1-5 (Metatron)[9]

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[4] For a more extensive treatment of these questions, see my forthcoming volume, *"Do Not Worship Me, Worship God!": The Problem of Angel Veneration in Early Judaism and Angelomorphic Aspects in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, to appear shortly in the WUNT series of J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) in Tübingen.

[5] Of the five MSS of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4, two contain words or portions of words corresponding to this passage: 4Q196ar (vv. 18-22) and 4Q200heb (vv. 20, 22), collated in Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994) 144-45. Due to the fragmentary condition of the Semitic evidence, it is necessary to rely primarily on the Greek recensions; see Robert Hanhart, ed., *Tobit* (SVTG 8/5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983).

[6] Following the numeration of Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zephaniah, " *OTP* 1.509-15. See 9:12-10:9 in G. Steindorff's edition of the Akhmimic MS, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (TU, n.s. 2/3a; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899).

[7] See the English translation in F. I. Andersen in *OTP* 1.106-9. Unclear is whether "do not fear" in v. 8 is intended as comfort (so Andersen, p. 107 note) or as a rejection of the seer's prostration.

[8] Though here the reprimand is directed at the princes of the chariot, not the seer, and presumably, therefore, not included by Bauckham in his evidence for the refusal tradition. For convenience, see the translation of P. Alexander in *OTP* 1. 224-315. For an overview of literary problems connected with *3 Enoch*, see Peter Schäfer's edition, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (hereafter *Synopse*) (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981), from which references to the MSS are taken.

[9] See Schäfer, *Synopse*, par. 856; cf. the secondary version in *b. Ḥag.* 15a. Though in the literal sense it is not Metatron, but the Bath Qol, who rejects Aḥer's exclamation that

Geniza fragment "T.-S. K 21.95.C" (Zehobadyah/youth/Metatron)[10]
Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew 3:3 (an angel of God)[11]

In addition there are passages in the New Testament, as well as in later Christian and Jewish writings, which may well have been influenced by such a motif. In this connection we may especially note Mark 10:17-18 and parallels ("Good Teacher . . . Do not call me good; nobody is good except one, God"); Acts 10:25 (Peter's response to Cornelius); *History of the Rechabites* 5:3b-6:1 (a mild version); *Joseph and Aseneth* 15:11-12 (esp. the longer recension);[12] *2 Enoch* 20:1-3 and 21:2-3; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:1-5 (together with 17:1-2); *Ladder of Jacob* 3; and *Apocalypse of Paul.* The last-mentioned work, included by Bauckham in his list of texts,[13] does not preserve a rejection of an unwarranted form of angel veneration; the seer prostrates when seeing the angelic hosts worshiping "God the Father." More than likely, the guiding angel's command "Do not fear!" is less a reprimand than a word spoken to assuage the seer's fright. Lastly, it is possible that early Christian circles adapted such a tradition for christological emphasis, such as in the Matthean redaction in the Transfiguration (17:6-8; cf. Mk. 9:8) and resurrection (28:2-10; cf. Mk. 16:3-8).

With respect to the passages more strictly containing an angelic refusal to be worshiped, it is possible to identify several form-critical or traditional elements:

(1) an *angelophanic* context (all passages), often accompanied by a description or some allusion to the angel's special appearance (Tob 12:15, 22? [4Q196heb];[14] *Apoc. Zeph.*; *Asc. Isa.* 7-8; *2 En.* 1; *3 En.* 1 and 16; and the Geniza Frg.);[15]

"there are two Powers in heaven!" (on which account the passage is not specifically included among the *angelic* refusals), the 1st person account is narrated by Metatron.

10 Text in Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 6; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1984) 104-5 (text and photo) and 111, originally published as "Cairo Genizah Hekhalot A/2, 13-16," by Ithamar Gruenwald in *Tarbiz* 38 (1968) 354-72 (see esp. p. 362, but without photo for leaf 2).

11 See the critical text by K. von Tischendorf in *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1876).

12 In the longer version ("15:12x" in *OTP* 2.227), after Aseneth prostrates before the angel and inquires after his name, the angel refuses to divulge the information.

13 "The Worship of Jesus," 325-6.

14 In 4Q200+4Q196 to Tob 12: 22 the accent on the angel's appearance may be stronger than in the Greek recensions: "[. . . praising] his great work and marvelling (ptc.) at how the angel of God had appeared to them." If this served at all as a *Vorlage* the Greek recension represented by Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, then an allusion to the angel's appearance has been modified: "(they were exclaiming the great) and marvelous (adj.) (works of God) and how the angel of the Lord appeared to them." The latter would then have enhanced an emphasis that God was the real source of God's healing and protection.

15 See, further, the *Ladder of Jacob* 3 (the angel Sariel's face is declared by the seer to be no match for that of God).

(2) the visionary's *revering posture* before the angel (all except the Geniza Frg., in which such a posture is simply prohibited; the inappropriate reverence, however, whether narrated as real or potential, is implied);

(3) an explicit *rejection of such reverence* (all passages), usually by the angel (except the Geniza Frg.; *3 En.* 1 and 16), in the form of a *prohibitive command* (e.g., "Do not fear/worship [me]!": Tob 12:17?[16] and all the other passages), and/or

(4) the angel's *self-demotion* to the level of the seer (e.g., "I am not your lord"/"I am your fellow-servant": only in Rev 19:10; 22:9; *Asc. Isa.* 8:5; and *Apoc. Gosp. Mt.*); and

(5) an explicit attempt, usually by the angel, to *redirect the visionary's devotion or attention to God* (e.g., "Worship God!") except *3 En.* 1 and 16, though such is implied).

Of these elements (3) and (4) comprise the "refusal" itself, while (1) and (2) set the stage and (5) expresses the monotheistic emphasis of the tradition. I shall presently discuss each of the elements in turn.

A.1. Angelophanic Setting

In most of the writings containing the refusal tradition, the visionary's encounter with an angelic being includes some description of or allusion to the latter' s extraordinary appearance. At the risk of brevity I will forego here a detailed description of each instance in the texts listed above. Significantly, the angel's overwhelming, divine-like appearance functions in these narratives as an explanation for a seer's venerative response.[17]

The angelophanic motif is, of course, widespread in apocalyptic and related literature and, in a number of writings, does not prompt a seer to behavior which runs counter to monotheistic belief.[18] A seer's fearful reaction in such texts, linked as it is to an angelophany, is understood as an appropriate response to the numinous and thus functions rhetorically to legitimate the divine origin of the vision.

In addition, the speculation concerning a guiding angel's appearance and assigned mediary role reflects a genuine interest which both authors and their intended readers may be presumed to have shared. This point is

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16 See n. 5 above.

17 In some cases, it is possible, however, that the seer's unhealthy response to the appearance of an angelic figure does not arise simply from a fascination with *an angel*, but is rather a matter of genuine confusion or mistaken identity. Such obtains in *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:4 (the seer thinks the figure is the "Lord Almighty," but in reality is looking at the angelic "accuser"); cf. perhaps also *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:13; *3 En.* 16:2; and the Geniza Frg. In *Somn.* 1.232 Philo entertains the possibility of confusion arising when God appears in an angelic form which both resembles (in "glory") and is distinguishable from God. Philo regards such confusion, however, as normal and does not expressly censure it.

18 See esp. Dan 10:5-6, 18-21; *Test. Abr.* 3:5-6 and 9:1-3 (Rec. A); *Apoc. Abr.* 11:3-4; *Jos. and Asen.* 14:9-11; and cf. Rev 1:17.

especially interesting when one recognizes that a genuine fascination, on the one hand, could be combined with an angelic rejection of worship, on the other. The refusal tradition in Tobit 12:16-22 provides a pertinent example. In the narrative, it occurs after a doxology in 11:14, in which "holy angels" are praised alongside God.[19] To be sure, the doxology is monotheistic in emphasis. However, the venerative language directed toward God's angels betrays an interest in the angelic activity to which the author and readers may in principle be said to have subscribed. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that both parties would have agreed on just where the accent should be placed: Is it *God* who in the story has acted through the angels, or, if one pays attention to the more novel element of the doxology, is the happy ending due to *the angels* through whom God has acted? That the author must have considered the latter option as more than a hypothetical possibility is suggested by the inclusion of Raphael's refusal to accept the seers' prostration in chapter 12 (vv. 16-17) and the subsequent and repeated emphasis that it is *God* who should be praised (vv. 18-22). Given the doxology in 11:14, a distinction between admiration for God's angel and an unhealthy fascination for the same could not be taken for granted.[20] We may argue, then, that in Tobit the refusal tradition has functioned to interpret that an ambiguity present in the received tradition of the author and his readers.

A.2. The Visionary's Revering Posture

It is ultimately the seer's reaction which elicits the prohibitive response from the angel: for example, trembling (*3 En.* 16:2); terror or "fear" (Tob 12:16; *3 En.* 16:2); and prostration or προσκύνησις (*Apoc. Zeph.* 6:5, 14; Rev. 19:10 and 22:8; *Asc. Isa.* 7:21; and *3 En.* 1:7). This supposition would seem compulsory, since the venerative behavior before an angel is deemed inappropriate precisely because it has assumed forms which in many ancient texts is associated with encounters with the divine.[21]

If we ask, however, whether a narration of the visionary's posture constituted a decisive element in the growth of the refusal tradition, we find there an insufficient explanation. As Bauckham noted,[22] quite frequently in biblical and early Jewish writings, any one of the above-mentioned reactions in the presence of an "angel" or human superior is *not portrayed as an*

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19 Esp. in Codex Sinaiticus: "Blessed be God, and blessed be his great name, and *blessed be all his holy angels*; may his great name be upon us, and *blessed be all the angels unto all the ages*, for he [sg.!] has afflicted me and behold, now I see Tobias my son." Codd. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, in a shorter version in the 2nd person, preserve a formulation which shows more reserve towards the angels: "Bless are you O God, and blessed be your name forever, and *blessed be all your holy angels*, for you afflicted and had mercy on me; behold, I see Tobias my son."

20 If 12:16-22 expresses an implicit critique, then it is not monotheism itself which is at stake; given the formulations in 11:14, we may be sure that readers who knew this doxology would not have thought that in praising God's angels they were compromising monotheism.

21 See, for instance, Isa 6:5; Ezek 3:23; 43:3; 44:4; Dan 7:15, 28; *1 En.* 14:13-14, 24; 71:11; *2 En.* 22:4-5; *Vita Ad. et Ev.* 26:1; 27:1; 28:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 22:3;23:2; and *Apoc. Abr.* 10:1-5.

22 "The Worship of Jesus," 324 and n. 11.

endangerment to the worship of one God.[23] This kind of behavior would have been acceptable within a monotheistic framework on the grounds that the one being honored was thought to be God' s instrument or that the action accorded somehow with divine purpose.[24]

From what perspective, then, did venerative behavior become reprehensible? For now we may observe that it was linked with language reminiscent of proscriptions against idolatry (see A.3 below). To place angels in the same category as idols could not have been achieved without some degree of conscious reflection. Clearly, throughout Jewish literature any show of reverence towards other deities, whether because they were simply alien or objects fashioned by human hands, is condemned. Furthermore, it is not surprising to find that venerative behavior is shunned before personages who were either associated with foreign deities or were seen as attempting to undermine the well-being of the Jewish people.[25] Thus, in order to safeguard a strict monotheistic belief against unacceptable venerative behavior towards angelic beings, traditional injunctions against idolatry were given a more narrow application. While an association with idolatry is only logical in the case of monarchs or prominent persons linked to alien deities, a further reflective step or traditio-historical development would have been necessary in the case of those angels who, by contrast, were believed to be subordinate to and aligned with God. This brings us to the angelic prohibition itself.

A.3. "Do not Fear" as a Prohibition

At the heart of the refusal tradition is an angel's prohibitive declaration which suspends the visionary's show of veneration. The proscriptive statement could be expressed in several forms: "Do not fear!" (Tob 12:17); "Do not worship!" (*Apoc. Zeph.* 6:15; *Asc. Isa.* 7:21); "Do not bow down to him!" (Geniza Frg.); and "Do not see (to do it)!" (Rev 19:10; 22:9). The example from Tobit, "Do not fear," probably represents the refusal in its most traditional form, from which the other, more specific formulations, may be said to have derived. Verbal roots for "to fear," as in early Semitic usage, could either

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[23] In the case of "trembling," see 1 Sam 16:4; 21:1; Dan 10:10-11; and Acts 16:9. For terror or "fear," see Exod 34:30 and Acts 16:29. Finally, with respect to *proskunesis* or prostration, see Gen 18:2; 19:l; 23:7; 33:67; 42:6; 43:26; 28:12; Josh 5:14; Judg 6:19 (esp. LXX Cod. Alex.); Ruth 2:10; 1 Sam 20:41; 24:6; 25:23; 28:14; 2 Sam 9:8; 14:22, 33; 24:20; 1 Kgs 2:15; 4:37; 1 Chr 21:21; Dan 8:17-18; Rev 3:9; *Jos. and Asen.* 5:7; 15:11-12 (longer recension); 22:5, 8; 28:2, 9; 29:6; *Test. Abr.* 3:5-6 (rec. A); 9:1-2 (rec. A); Philo, *Jos.* 164; *Somn.* 2.90; and *3 Bar.* 11:6. According to Josephus, in *Ant.* II.331-3, Alexander the Great is made to justify his prostration before the high priest in Jerusalem as follows: "I did not worship (*προσέκυνησα*) this one, but God for whom he is honored [to serve] as high priest."

[24] See esp. H. Greeven on "*προσκυνέω, προσκυνητής*," in *TDNT*, 6.761-3, and Joachim Becker, *Gottesfurcht im Alten Testament* (AnBib 25; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965) 39-41, 43.

[25] Greeven ("*προσκυνέω, προσκυνητής*," pp. 761-2) and Bauckham ("The Worship of Jesus," 337 n. 14) both cite the LXX addition to Esth 13:12-14 as the "earliest" instance of protest against *προσκύνησις*. The refusal to bow before another deity is, however, already implied in 1 Kgs 19:18 (LXX tradition has *ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτῷ* for MT *nshq lw*). In the first century, Philo (*Ad Gaium*, 114-16) labels *προσκύνησις* before Gaius as "a barbarous custom" which the Jews reject because "there is but one God the Father and Creator of the world."

simply denote "to be frightened" or carry the further sense of "to revere."[26] The precise meaning, of course, is almost wholly dependent on the context. While not exclusive of the former connotation, the prohibition, in denoting a censurable reverence, represents a convergence of two usages of the expression "Do not fear" in the literatures of ancient Israel and Early Judaism.

First, there are many occurrences of "Do not fear!" as an expression of divine comfort. In adverse or uncertain circumstances, those addressed are told not to be afraid since they are assured of divine intervention on their behalf. The assurance could consist in a promise of future progeny, of protection from the enemy, of victory in battle, or of a combination thereof.[27] Here the context is most often represented as a "real-life" situation, for which the promise of a favorable resolution is an indispensable component. In the biblical texts this use of "Do not fear!," though often placed within a theophanic setting, could also be mediated by a human invested with special authority[28] or by an "angel" (*mlʾk*).[29]

Neither a theophany nor a divine oracle communicated through a prophet would, by definition, have been viewed as a threat to monotheistic belief. In the case of angelophanies, this may or may not have been true. While in both the Hebrew scriptures and early Jewish literature divine reassurance is not uncommonly mediated through "angels,"[30] the visionary aspect of angelophanic encounters raised a further possibility: Sometimes it is not only the seer's human circumstances, but also—as in theophanies in biblical and early Jewish tradition[31]—the vision of the angel could itself become the source of the seer's alarm.[32] Though the use of angels as intermediary agents may have originally functioned as a means of certifying the divine origin of a communication or of avoiding facile assertions about "seeing" God directly, *the angelophany itself could be regarded as an obstacle to an appropriate reception of a divine communication.* The result of such a development is, in some texts, a

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26 Both these meanings are well attested for the Semitic roots *yrʾ* and *shtʾ* or *ttʿ* (in Hebrew and Ugaritic), *palaḫu* (Akkadian), and *dḥl* (Aramaic) in the Hebrew scriptures and Ancient Near Eastern texts. See comprehensive discussions of these meanings by H. F. Fuhs, "יָרֵא, *yareʾ*" in *TDNT*, (trans. David E. Green; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 6.290-315 and Mayer I. Gruber, "Fear, Anxiety and Reverence in Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew and Other North-West Semitic Languages," *VT* 40 (1990) 411-22.

27 For instance, Gen 15:1 (to Abraham); Deut 31:8 (to Joshua); 2 Kgs 19:6 (to Hezekiah); Isa 35:4 and 44:8 (to Israel); Jer 1:17 (LXX, to Jeremiah), *passim.* Edgar W. Conrad, in *Fear Not Warrior. A Study of ʾAl Tiraʾ Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures* (BJS 75; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), traces the form back to "war oracles," imagery from which was subsequently extended analogically.

28 As in Gen 43:23 (Joseph to his brothers); 1 Sam 23:17 (David to Mephibosheth); 1 Kgs 17:13 (Elijah to the widow), *passim.* See also the adaptation of Deut 20:2-4 in 1QM 10.3 and 15.8 (the high priest to Israel).

29 See esp. Gen 21:17; 2 Kgs 1:15; and Judg 6:11-24, though in the latter the *mlʾk yhwh* is difficult to distinguish from *yhwh*, to whom the reassurance is ascribed (v. 23).

30 In addition to n. 27 see esp. Tob 5:15; 6:18; *Jub.* 32: 24; *2 En.* 21:3; *Apoc. Zeph.* 4:9; *3 Bar.* 8:5 (Slav. recension); *Apoc. Abr.* 9:3-4; 16:2; and *Test. Jac.* 2:4-27; and 3:5. In New Testament writings see Mt 1:20-21; Mk 16:5-7; Lk 1:11-20, 26-35, and 2:8-12.

31 For example, Isa 6:5; Ezek 3:23; 43:3; 44:4; *1 En.* 14:13-14, 24; 71:11; *2 En.* 22:4-5; *Vit. Ad. et Ev.* 26:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 22:3; and *Apoc. Abr.* 10:1-5.

32 See the passages cited in n. 18.

corresponding shift in the meaning of "Do not fear!" A statement of reassurance could be transformed into a prohibitive expression.[33]

Given the development of a proscriptive force in angelophanies, the expression would then have functioned to divert the seer's focus from the visionary medium, thereby directing it to the ultimate purpose of the vision. On the one hand, in visions where "Do not fear!" in the sense of assurance predominates, the phrase forms an indispensable part of the message itself. On the other hand, when the expression is used as a prohibition, it has acquired a sense distinct from the ultimate purpose of the vision. This suggests that the prohibitive force presupposes the existence of two religious attitudes which may be said to have developed: First, the idea of a divine-like appearance of angelic figures must have become an acceptable commonplace—that is, a given—among circles showing an interest in them flourished. Second, the fascination with the appearance of prominent angels necessitated in places a restructuring of theophanic motifs, sometimes to the extent that any notion of angelic interference had to be dispelled before the message could be communicated at all. In their adaptation of a widely popular angelophanic context, some authors could no longer assume an undivided attention to God on the part of their readers.

The refusal tradition, however, was more than a simple clearing of the way for a reception of a message from God. In an attempt to explain the intensity of the angel's refusal *to be worshiped*, we may call attention to a second traditio-historical context in which "Do not fear" occurs: strictures forbidding the worship of alien gods and idols. Here the verb is followed by either a direct object (marked in Heb. by *ʾt* and in Grk. by the accusative case) or a prepositional phrase (Heb. *mlpny*; Grk., the accusative) to denote the forbidden object of worship.[34] As such, the expression does not occur in visionary contexts. Rather, it is the negative formulation corresponding to the use of the root *yrʾ* (as verb and noun) when it refers to the exclusive devotion to God.[35] Placed within an angelophanic context, this usage brings with it strong monotheistic overtones reminiscent of the Second Commandment. The angel's refusal not only serves to direct attention away from the angel to God; its emphasis is decidedly monotheistic: the angel should not be the object of a worship which is due to God alone.

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[33] Concerning a necessary distinction between *ʾāl tyrʾ* as comfort and as a prohibitive command in a numinous encounter, see Becker, *Gottesfurcht*, p. 53. Nevertheless, these connotations cannot always be clearly distinguished; see Dan 10:12; *2 En.* 20:1-4; 21:2-3. In Mt 28 both uses are apparent in μὴ φοβεῖσθε (v. 5, prohibition by the angel of the Lord; v. 10, reassurance by Jesus); see also, in a non-angelophanic context, Gen 50:18-21 (v. 19, prohibition by Joseph; v. 21, reassurance).

[34] So in Judg 6:10; 2 Kgs 17:35, 37-38; and esp. LXX tradition of the *Ep. Jer.*, in which the proscription against idol worship sounds one of the central themes (vv. 16, 23, 29, 65, 69).

[35] For example, in Deut 6:13 the command to "fear the Lord your God" is synonymous with the injunction to "serve him" (and not other gods); see also Josh 24:14 and 1 Sam 12:14, 24. The verb *yrʾ* followed by God as the direct object is, among others, especially frequent in the Psalms (14:4; 21:23; 24:12, *et passim*), wisdom literature (e.g., Prov 3:7; Qoh 5:6; Sir 1:13, *et passim*), and in exilic and post-exilic prophetic literature (e.g., Jer 5:22; Mal 1:6, *et passim*).

Both functions of "Do not fear"—whether as comfort or as a warning against idolatry—are presupposed in the refusal tradition. On the one hand, the polemic against foreign deities incompatible with the God of Israel is now directed against an angel or angels who are aligned with God. On the other hand, whereas "Do not fear" in visionary contexts started out as an exhortation based on a divine promise to act on behalf of the seer, it has evolved into a statement which clears the way for a following exhortation to worship God. Our considerations thus far indicate that the development from divine reassurance to angelic injunction is marked by traditio-historical continuity with respect to a *visionary setting*, while an unequivocal prohibition against the worship of alien gods has been imported into this context for the purpose of *delineating more narrowly the bounds of monotheistic belief.*

A.4. An Angelic Denial of Superiority over the Seer

This element of the refusal tradition is only attested in writings preserved among Christian circles and marks a secondary development. I shall limit my comments here to the Apocalypse of John and the *Ascension of Isaiah*, since the *Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew*, a rather late work, shows signs of dependence upon the Apocalypse.[36]

In this motif the angel, by rejecting the notion that he is superior to the seer, goes beyond merely clarifying a status in relation to God. In Revelation 19:10 the guiding angel emphasizes that he is a "fellow-servant" (σύνδουλος) of the seer" and of those who have the testimony of Jesus," while in 22:9 the equality is asserted with John, "your brothers the prophets, and those who keep the works of this book." The latter passage betrays the writer's specific interest in his readers to whom, by implication, the ensuing exhortation to worship God is also addressed. The emphasis on worshiping God is brought into sharper relief as the author dispenses with the contours of a heavenly hierarchy in which angels and human beings are ranked according to importance. It is therefore conspicuous that the most prominent angel of the Apocalypse, whose function is to mediate the great visions of judgment and the New Jerusalem (1:1; 22:6), is chosen as the one to be demoted (see section B below). When it comes to worshiping God, the refusal tradition is used to remove any ordered cosmology which might pose a hindrance; coupled with the assertion that the substance of the visions is trustworthy (19:9; 22:6), it underscores the divine origin of the substance of the book. By the end of the Apocalypse it becomes clear that, despite the frequency with which angels are mentioned, God is no less imminent to the seer, the group of prophets with which he is associated, and the righteous of the communities addressed (cf. 22:9; 12:17; 20:4) than God is to the heavenly angels who mediate the divine message (21:3-7). The angel's refusal, in its immediate context, thus serves both to legitimate John's activity as a prophet and to link this activity to the status of those who recognize its authority.

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[36] So correctly Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus," 326. In addition the *Apoc. Gosp. Mt.* draws upon traditions extant in the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Gospel of Thomas*; on this see M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924) 70 and 79.

Like the Apocalypse, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, in its present form a Christian apocalypse from the second century CE, has two angelic rejections of worship which occur in the second (7:21-22) and sixth (8:4-5) heavens. In the first instance the ascending Isaiah is inspired to join the angelic praise of an enthroned figure whose precise identity is not revealed (7:19).[37] The guiding angel forbids Isaiah to show such veneration, since the throne already allotted to him (and other righteous ones after death)[38] is located in the seventh heaven. In other words, Isaiah's ultimate position will exceed that which he saw in the second heaven. The angel's restriction, then, pertains to any heavenly being in the first six heavens, implying that in the seventh the prohibition to worship will be lifted.[39]

In the second instance the angel's admonition, according to the Ethiopic, Slavonic and Latin versions (8:4-5), more closely resembles the tradition in the Apocalypse. Michael Knibb's translation of the Ethiopic in *OTP* volume 2 (p. 168) runs as follows:

> (4) And I said to the angel who led me, "What (is) this which I see, my lord?"
>
> (5) And he said to me, "I am not your lord, but your companion."[40]

The angel adopts the same self-designation in 8:14, and stresses there that the seer will be made equal to the angels of the seventh heaven.

At first, the seer's address of the angel as "lord" appears innocuous. In most early Jewish writings, such an address or a seer's self-designation as an angel's "servant" is tolerated, even in visionary contexts,[41] and seems to have

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37 The Ethiopic recension is clearest on this point; for the text see the edition of R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London: Black, 1900), from which citations of the versions are taken. It is unclear, however, whether the angels in the second heaven are directing praise to God or to the enthroned figure in their midst. Suggestive of the former interpretation is the angel's comment in 7:17 that the praise of the first heaven is addressed to God (all recensions agree there). Nevertheless, the rejection of Isaiah's attempt to worship the enthroned figure suggests either that he had falsely supposed that the angels were worshiping this figure or that he was simply joining in angelic praise which, though ultimately intended for God, was being addressed to this figure.

38 See *Asc. Isa.* 7:23; 8:11-14; 9:17-18; and 11:32.

39 This is reading with the Eth. MSS: "until I tell you in the seventh heaven." The Lat.^{2} and Slav. versions have simply, "until I tell you," thereby eliminating a potential theological problem, if the Eth. is understood to imply that *this kind of worship* will be allowed once Isaiah reaches the seventh heaven. In favor of the Eth. version is that in the seventh heaven the seer is given instructions to worship (9:31, Christ; 9:36, the Holy Spirit).

40 The Eth. *bişka* ("your fellow-counselor") corresponds to the Lat. (*consiliator*) and Slav. versions, which in Grk. would be σύμβουλος. The text may, then, be a corruption from σύνδουλος, as in the Apocalypse (19:10; 22:9) and in the "Greek Legend" (2:11), a much abbreviated version of *Asc. Isa.* contained in a twelfth-century compilation of stories about the martyrdoms of saints.

41 For such occurrences of "lord" see esp. *2 En.* 21:3-4; *Apoc.Zeph.* 4:8; 4 Ez 4:38; *3 Bar.* 8:5 (Grk.); *Apoc. Abr.* 13:6; *Jos. and Asen.* 14:7; Rev 7:14; 4QAmram 2 1.3, and *passim.* For instances of a visionary as an angel's servant see esp. *Apoc. Abr.* 11:4; 14:1, 9; Dan 10:17, 19 and 12:8 (while addressing the angel as "lord," the seer designates himself as his "servant").

functioned as a show of respect. The angel's refusal in the *Ascension*, however, may reflect part of the writer's distinctive agenda. First, we should note that, in contrast to the Apocalypse, the angel refusing to be called "lord" is one with whose appearance the visionary has been fascinated in 7:2: "I saw a glorious angel; he was not like the glory of the angels . . . but he had great (Lat.[1] and Slav.: and holy) glory. . . . I cannot describe the glory of this angel." Second, in contrast to the Apocalypse of John, the portrayal of the heavenly world in the *Ascension of Isaiah* is stratified into seven heavens through which the seer ascends while undergoing a metamorphosis corresponding to the glory of each level. More than in the Apocalypse, there is an interest in enumerating the various degrees of glory assigned to the angels, whose positions not only correspond to each of the seven heavens but also are distinguished within each heaven itself.[42] Included within this stratified cosmology is an apparent distinction between angels, especially those of the first six heavens, and righteous human beings. The angelic rejection of worship in the second and sixth heavens (7:21; 8:5) functions to dismantle any notion that faithful humanity is inferior to these angelic beings. As the seer is brought into the seventh heaven (9:1-5), it is an angel from the sixth heaven who questions his worthiness to enter, until Christ overrules him. Looking back at the refusal in 7:21, the accompanying angel's proscription of worship prepares the author to declare Isaiah's eventual superiority over the angels by whose glory he has initially been overwhelmed (7:2, 19). In this way, the rewards of faithfulness by humans in this life are underscored, in terms both of superiority to angels from the first six heavens and of equality to the guiding angel and other angels in the seventh heaven. The retention of these categories, which results in a differentiation within the seventh heaven itself, reinforces monotheistic belief; due to christological interests, however, the use of worship as an exclusive criterion is modified (see A.5 below).

A.5. The Emphasis on God

Thus far, I have argued that, traditio-historically, the refusal tradition was the product of a transformation from theophanic and angelophanic exhortations into a prohibitive statement which drew its force from strictures against idolatry. Given the nature and extent of this development, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the angel's rejection of worship, in the dynamic of its inception, reflects a coming to terms with the growing popularity of the medium of angelophanic encounters, in which a pure devotion to God *over against some prominent angelic beings* could not be assumed. Thus a *sine qua non* of the angelic refusal tradition is the concern for a monotheistic emphasis on God. Two points in this respect merit consideration here: (1) the relation between the angel's refusal and the assertion of God's ultimate superiority, and (2) the adaptation of this emphasis within some apocalyptic Christian circles.

First, the summons to worship God or the emphasis on God' s superiority is, in itself, an element independent of the refusal tradition. Frequently, in

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42 Within the first through fifth heavens the versions, taken as a whole, distinguish between three classes of angelic beings (listed here in order of rank): the throne in the middle, those angels to the right, and those angels to the left.

visionary narratives which preserve nothing about the danger of angelolatry, a seer is explicitly enjoined to direct his attention toward God, from whom the resolution of a given crisis is awaited. Consequently, one may be relatively certain that such an emphasis on God, inherited from theo- and angelophanic accounts (see section A.3), does not so much distinguish the refusal tradition as it is conditioned by it. God's preeminence, now reasserted in combination with the prohibitive element reminiscent of the First Commandment, attains a sharpened focus in which the importance of strict monotheistic belief is underscored.

Second, it is striking, on the basis of the Apocalypse of John and the *Ascension of Isaiah*, that in some Christian circles, the traditional motif of worshiping God is coordinated with interest in showing devotion to Christ. In the *Ascension* the qualified rejection of worship "until the seventh heaven" (7:21) employs the refusal tradition not only to say something about the relationship between the righteous and angels, but it also anticipates Christ and the Holy Spirit as legitimate objects of worship (9:31, 36). The author, in insisting on an absolute transcendence for God "the Father,"[43] shows himself to be at pains to safeguard a strict monotheism; worship, however, is not the decisive criterion. Christ and the Holy Spirit, themselves attributed with angelic qualities,[44] are worshiped by the righteous and angels in the seventh heaven, and they join with the angels there to worship God (9:40). Therefore, whereas the motif of worship serves both the author's portrait of the righteous and his emphasis on Christology,[45] it is transcendence which distinguishes God.

In the Apocalypse of John the angelic refusal reaches its climax in the exhortation to "worship God!" Bauckham demonstrates successfully, I think, that for the author this emphasis sounds a theme central to the Apocalypse.[46] The question which remains is how this emphasis on God is correlated to the author's Christology. In this connection Bauckham makes two observations: (1) Christ, though subordinate to God, receives worship in contradistinction to angels (e.g., 5:8-12), and (2) with possibly one exception (6:17), the author consistently refers to Christ and God with singular pronouns and verbs.[47] His

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43 The *Asc. Isa.* the seer is not given to see a throne-theophany; God is apparently enthroned above the seventh heaven, "in the holy world" (10:6).

44 The Holy Spirit is more explicitly described as an angel, as in the expression "the angel of the Holy Spirit" (9:36, 39-40). Christ, who is normally designated "the Beloved" or "the Lord," assumes a form in the seventh heaven like that of an angel (9:30), a description assumed in 9:35 where the Holy Spirit is called "the second angel." It is doubtful, then, whether the writer entertained an angelomorphic Christology at all. Implicit in the reticence to designate Christ as an angel is the subordination of pneumatology to Christology, both of which, in turn, are subordinated to God.

45 It is necessary to distinguish here between Christ's function (as one who can be worshiped, which shows his superiority over angels) and his nature (which retains angelomorphic elements).

46 "The Worship of Jesus," 329.

47 Ibid., pp. 330-1. Most obviously, note the ambiguous antecedents to the singular forms in 11:15 (*βασιλεύσει*), 14:1 (*γεγραμμένον*), 20:6 (*μετὰ αὐτοῦ*), 21:22 (*ἐστίν*), and 22:3b-4 (*οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ; λατρεύσουσιν αὐτῷ; τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ; τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*). It is possible, though not certain, that *αὐτοῦ* in 1:1 (3x) reflects the same linguistic phenomenon; see Traugott

conclusion is that in the area of worship Christology has been absorbed into the author's monotheistic framework. While I find this thesis convincing, a radical disjunction drawn by Bauckham between Christology and angelology does not seem to do justice to another aspect of the author's monotheism which merits consideration: If Christ is so radically distinguished from angels in the Apocalypse, how is one to account for the writer's application of angelomorphic characteristics at all?[48] If the author has incorporated angelological elements into his Christology[49] (e.g., Rev 1:12-17; 14:14-16),[50] it is significant that—as in the *Ascension of Isaiah*—this does not prevent Christ from being made an object of worship.[51] By formulating the problem in this manner, we are in a position to consider the author's monotheistic presentation in Revelation, as it relates to Christology and

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Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalpse des Johannes* (TU 85; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971, 2nd ed.) 202. Concerning 6:17 see Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus," 339 n. 51.

48 I deliberately avoid the term "angel Christology" here, since it raises the expectation that the identification of Christ as an angel plays a significant role within a given author's theological framework. With respect to the overlap of symbolism between angelology and Christology, the terms "angelomorphic" or "angelophanic Christology" seem to be more appropriate; see Christopher Rowland, "A Man Clothed in Linen," *JSNT* 24 (1985) 100.

49 See also the features which, on the level of the text, are associated with angels which are either identical or similar to those of the opening epiphany: 15:6 (*περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς*; 1:13, *περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν*); 14:2 (*φωνήν . . . ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν*); and 10:1 (*τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος*; 1:16, *ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ*).

50 On angel characteristics of Christ in Rev, see Christopher Rowland, "The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev. i.13ff.: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology," *JTS* 31 (1980) 1-11; "A Man Clothed in Linen" 99-110 (esp. p. 108 n. 1); and Adela Yarbro Collins, "The 'Son of Man' Tradition and the Book of Revelation," in eds. James H. Charlesworth *et al.*, *The Messiah. Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), esp. pp.548-51. In my forthcoming book, the overlapping symbolism between Christology and angelology in the Apocalypse is explored for ways the author has handled traditional material.

A major reason for the relative novelty of this interest among scholars is the sharp reaction during and after the last World War against Martin Werner's one-sided thesis, namely that as long as early Christian communities held the *Parousia* to be imminent, Christ was primarily regarded as an angel (*Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* [Bern/Leipzig: Haupt, 1941] 302-21). Among others, see esp. W. Michaelis, *Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum. Abbau der Konstruktion Martin Werners* (GBTh 1; Basel: Majer, 1942); W. G. Kummel, "Das Urchristentum," *ThRund* 17 (1948-49) 108-11; and H. R. Balz, *Methodische Probleme der neutestamentlichen Christologie* (WMANT 25; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967) 208. Similarly, see Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 156, 158-9, whose claim is perhaps exaggerated: ". . . the thesis that an angel christology was entertained in some parts of earliest Christianity has little or nothing to sustain it, and the suggestion that any NT author maintained an angel christology runs clearly counter to the evidence." Dunn's assessment is correct if "angel christology" refers to a complex of ideas which play a decisive role in a given author's theological presentation. Such, however, cannot be made to exclude the possibility that angel speculation could contribute to early Christology; see Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 72-4 .

51 Cf. Bauckham (ibid., p. 329) and n. 3 above.

angelology. This question is, in turn, closely linked with the appropriation of the refusal tradition in the Apocalypse of John.

B. The Refusal Tradition in the Apocalypse of John

It should at this point be made clear that in considering angelomorphic aspects in the Christology of Revelation, we are not seeking to uncover something which played a predominant role in the author's theology. Our task is, rather, to inquire into how and why the author has made use of his material and, in so doing, to ask whether this had anything to do with what he wished to communicate to his readers.

The discussion of various elements in the refusal tradition above suggests ways in which the author of the Apocalypse has modified the tradition to suit his purposes. In section A.4 we have seen that it functioned as a way of legitimating his prophetic office and placing him, other prophets, and the faithful among his intended readers on an equal footing with the prominent angel through whom the vision is mediated. Give a similar tone in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, we may suppose that this rhetorical function was known already to the author; the tradition enabled the writer to simplify and collapse distinctions frequently associated in apocalyptic literature with the (especially heavenly) created order. Against this backdrop God stands out in sharper relief as the one who is victorious over the forces of evil. At the same time, God does not stand alone. Here the decisive victory accomplished by the "lamb standing as if slaughtered" (5:6), and the use of angels as agents of divine activity come into play.

Another point emerged from the traditio-historical analysis in section A.3: the refusal tradition emerged within and continued to be transmitted within the context of visionary encounters. When the phrase "Do not fear!" takes on a proscriptive connotation and the narrative describes an angelophany, the angel's appearance acquires an increasing significance; though it could serve to legitimate the divine origin of the message, it could also become an obstruction. In the refusal tradition, then, the angel's appearance (*Asc. Isa.* 7:2, 19; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11-15; *2 En.* 1:4-8; *3 En.* 16; the Gen. Frg.; Tob 12:22?), or the performance of a special deed or series of acts on behalf of the human characters (as in Tobit), plays a key role as that which arouses a reaction subsequently rejected as a misplaced show of veneration. In none of the extant materials does an angelic figure's mere function as interpreter and guide of a heavenly journey produce such a reaction.

These observations make the peculiarity of the angel's refusal in the Apocalypse of John all the more puzzling. For one, the seer falls at the angel's feet twice during the course of the narrative after the angel has mediated a vision. The nature of these visions, the destruction of Babylon culminating in heavenly worship (17:1-19:8) and establishment of the New Jerusalem (21:9-22:5), may be spectacular and bring the apocalyptic portion of the work to a fitting climax, but, on the basis of what we know of the refusal tradition, would not have provided sufficient reason for the seer's attempt to worship *the angel.* Thus it probably marks a departure when the seer reports, "I fell to worship before the feet of his angel who showed these things to me" (22:8).

Furthermore, the angel's appearance plays almost no factor in the narrative, and this, even though the angelic guide(s) are taken from the seven angels with the seven bowls of wrath (cf. 15:1; 17:1), who are described as wearing "pure bright linen" and "golden girdles around their breasts" (15:6; cf. 1:13 for the latter). Of course, one may argue that an elaboration of a prominent angel's appearance in this part of the Apocalypse would have been counterproductive to the author's wish to play down the importance of angelic mediation; the description in 15:6 would then have been suppressed. The absence of any reference to the angel's appearance in 19:10 and 22:8-9 may, however, be explained on the basis of how the author has adapted the refusal tradition itself . From the analysis in sections A.1-3 above, we may argue that the refusal tradition known to the author—and, more generally, to his readers—was probably circulating in a form in which more speculative attention was devoted to the mien of a prominent angel. If so, then the writer has separated the angel's refusal to be worshiped from an epiphany[52] to which it is normally attached.[53]

This form-critical observation may place us in a position to reconsider the opening christophany in 1:13-18. This vision, of course, includes several features which are distinguished by the author from characteristics which he includes in descriptions of angels: "in his right hand seven stars" (v. 16; cf. vv. 20; 2:1; 3:1); "out of his mouth a sharp two-edged sword" (v. 16; cf. 2:12); "I am the first and the last and the living one; and I was dead and behold I am alive for ever" (vv. 17-18; cf. 2:8). In this way, the "one like a son of man" is unambiguously represented as superior to the seven angels of the churches who are addressed in the letters in chapters 2-3.[54] These features notwithstanding, the vision is strongly reminiscent of an angelophany: (1) the terminological influence of the vision of the angelic "man" in Daniel 10 is conspicuous;[55] (2) the "hair white as snow," language characterizing the "ancient of days" in Daniel 7:9, has been absorbed into angelophanic traditions by the end of the first century CE;[56] and, finally, (3) several features

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52 Does this emphasis perhaps explain the curious terminology in the angel's refusal: "Do not *see*!" (19:10; 22:9, *ὅρα μή*).

53 See Martin Karrer, *Die Johannesoffenbarung als Brief* (FRLANT 140; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1986) 175 n. 159.

54 Of the remaining characteristics, none are taken up in the letters to the seven churches which elsewhere in the Apocalypse are applied to angelogic figures (see n. 49 above).

55 The following are instances in Rev 1:13-17 which approximate the epiphany of the "man" in Dan 10: *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός* (v. 14; Dan 10:6 LXX=Th.: *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρός*); and the prohibition *μὴ φοβοῦ* (v. 17; Dan. 10:12, 19). The description in Dan 10 is similarly reflected in the angelophanies in *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11-12 and *Jos. and Asen.* 14:9.

56 See the "old Greek" text recension (esp. now the Cologne portion of the second-century Papyrus 967; see Angelo Giessen, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel. Kap. 5-12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1,1a-2,15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* [PTA 5; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1968] 108), in which the "one like a son of man" is said to come "as the ancient of days." See *Apoc. Abr.* 11:3. Such an angelomorphizing interpretive tradition of Daniel 7 may be presupposed in Rev 1:14; see Yarbro Collins, "The 'Son of Man' Tradition," 554.

of the vision are attributed to angels elsewhere in the Apocalypse.[57] The continuity and discontinuity between this vision and traditional angelophanies result in a scenario which differs strikingly from the two encounters in 19:10 and 22:8-9. As in the latter two passages, the seer falls at the feet of Christ; unlike the angelophanic refusal, however, the venerative posture of the seer is neither interpreted as "worship" *nor is it rejected as an inappropriate form of behavior.* In other words, the encounters in 1:13-17, on the one hand, and in 19:10 and 22:8-9, on the other, contain formal elements which if found together, would represent the refusal tradition. While both contain a commission to write, the opening vision consists of an epiphany which is lacking in the angelic encounters, while the latter contain a refusal to be worshiped lacking in the christophany.[58]

In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (6:11-15) the refusal tradition closely resembles parts of the opening epiphany and the angelic refusals in Revelation.[59] Since nothing in the passage from the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is indicative of dependence here on the Apocalypse, it is quite probable that Eremiel's rejection of worship must stem from the original (Jewish or Jewish Christian) part of the document.[60] As the christophany of Revelation 1, the vision of Eremiel is reminiscent of Daniel 10 and, significantly, nowhere does the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* here agree with features in Daniel 10 against Revelation 1. I think, therefore, that it is not too far afield to argue that the author of the Apocalypse of John may have known of a tradition of this sort. If so, the refusal tradition in the Apocalypse may be more intertwined with the author's christological presentation than is immediately apparent: An angelophany, detached from the angel's rejection of worship, has been filled out with further allusions to Danielic tradition (e.g., Dan 7:9) and christological motifs, resulting in a Christophany in which the seer reacts in a manner appropriate to a numinous experience. The refusal has been saved for a mediating angel whose appearance plays virtually no role in the seer's desire to worship him. The refusal is supplemented by the author's paraenetic emphasis on the equality of the faithful with the angel, who is but a "fellow-servant." In so doing, the author has framed the main body of the Apocalypse

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57 See n. 49.

58 In 1:17 "Do not fear" (cf. Dan. 10:12,19) is prohibitive, not of John's *venerative reaction* to the christophany, but of the possibility that John might allow the vision to interfere with the message which he is commissioned to communicate to the churches.

59 See Wintermute's translation ("Apocalypse of Zephaniah," p. 513) of the passage (elements similar to Rev 1; 19:10; and 22:8-9 are given in italics): "Then I arose and stood, and I saw a great angel *standing* before me with *his face shining like the rays of the sun in its glory* (1:16) since his face is like that which is perfected in its glory. And *he was girded as if a golden girdle were upon his breast* (1:13). His *feet were like bronze which is melted in fire* (1:15). *And when I saw him* (1:17a), I rejoiced, for I thought that the Lord Almighty had come to visit me. *I fell upon my face, and I worshiped him* (cf. 19:10; 22:8). He said to me, 'Take heed. Don't worship me (cf. 19:10; 22:9). I am not the Lord Almighty, but I am the great angel Eremiel, who is *over the abyss and Hades* (cf. 1:17), the one in which all the souls are imprisoned from the end of the Flood, which came upon the earth, until this day.'"

60 Correctly, Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus," 324 and esp. Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zephaniah," 504-5.

(2:1-22:5) with a tradition in a way that reflects a conviction that Christ is superior to the angels.[61]

We may ask why the author would have wished to stress this superiority. As has been noted above, there are overlaps in the way Christ and angels are presented in the Apocalypse.[62] The analogy extends even to the function of mediation. In 1:1 the ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is interpreted as a message "which God has *given to him* [i.e. Christ] to show his servants the things which must take place soon, and he made (it) known, sending (it) through his angel to his servant John." In 22:6 the function of showing "to his servants the things which must take place soon" is attributed more directly to the guiding angel, who has been sent by God. These analogies raise the question of how Christ's role as mediator is related to mediary roles attributed to angels, a question made all the more necessary if Christ could be portrayed with angelomorphic characteristics.

If it was so important to make a distinction between angels and Christ, why, then, did he not simply remove the analogues altogether? Here an answer seems clear: an angelophanic Christology was part of the author's (and readers') *Vorstellungswelt*, a motif perhaps closely associated with visionary experiences which served to legitimate prophets within early Christian communities.[63] It could not be dispensed without calling into question the glory of "the Most High," from whom they derive their majesty, and without doing away with a motif which was woven into the fabric of shared perceptions concerning the nature of cosmological reality. Nevertheless, though Christ does not refuse worship in the opening epiphany, *it is not because Christ has angelic characteristics that the author thinks he is ultimately worthy of worship.* Not as an angel, but *as the victorious "lamb standing as slaughtered"* (5:6, 9), is Christ to be worshiped alongside and subordinate to God (5:8-14; 22:3).

Conclusion

The above discussion does not leave much room to infer that the refusal tradition in the Apocalypse of John—or in any of the other literature cited—provides evidence for a polemic against a veritable angel "cult."[64] It is possible,

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61 The author's use of the vision in Exek 9 is also indicative of a splitting of a tradition with both christological and angelogical ends. On the one hand, in 1:13 the description of Christ as ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη most closely approximates Ezek 9:2 LXX, according to which the "man" (one among six "men" from the heavenly temple dispensing judgment) commanded to place a mark upon those to be spared from judgment is ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδήρη (cf. 9:11). On the other side, the emergence of the seven angels with the seven plagues in Rev 15:1, 6 is likewise reminiscent of the Ezekiel passage. The angel, who mediates to John the visions in 17:1-19:8 and 21:9-22:5, is taken from this group (17:1; 21:9). Did the author take over a tradition in which Christ was interpreted as the "man" in Ezekiel (cf. *Shepherd of Hermas, Sim.* 3; 6-7, and 12), and bifurcate it so that the prominence of this "man" is absorbed into the angelic figure? If so, this might explain the correspondence of appearance between 1:13c and 15:6c.

62 With respect to appearance, see n. 45.

63 Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 119-20.

64 *Contra*, e.g., Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums in späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, (3rd ed.; rev. by Hugo Gressman; HNT 21; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1926)

however, that a rejection of angel worship in the mouth of an angel may have functioned as a *critique from within* which recognized a danger inherent in speculations concerning the prominence of angels thought to be encountered in heavenly journeys. Since the application of the refusal tradition leaves no trace that the notion of an angel's striking appearance is being questioned, we may assume that the author and the position being opposed shared a common interest in angelophanies. In the case of Revelation this common interest extends to the question of angelomorphic Christology as well. John thus has used (split?) the refusal tradition to communicate something about each link in the chain of Revelation (1:1): the angel may not be worshiped; the seer, the prophets, and faithful readers are "fellow-servants" with angelic mediator; God is to be worshiped; and Christ who, as an angelomorphic being superior to the angels, does not refuse worship, is worthy of worship as the Lamb.[65] A critique is implicit in the author's effort to recast a tradition, in order to sort out more clearly attributes and functions associated with both Christ and angels than received perceptions had previously allowed. A situation which the writer perceived as a crisis thus contributed to his formulation of a "higher" Christology for which an adaptation of angelophanic categories could not suffice.

330, and R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, (2 vols; ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920) 2.224-5.

[65] In 22:6 Christ is not explicitly mentioned within the chain of revelation.

The Deification of Jesus

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1. Introduction

In a recent book, I proposed a new explanation of the origins and development of New Testament Christology.[1] It has been very controversial. A major dispute centers on the point at which Jesus became genuinely deified, the process or mechanism by which this took place, and the reasons why it happened. The main purpose of this paper is to address this issue. I begin with a discussion of the nature of Jewish monotheism, because different views of this partly determine the point at which different people perceive it to have been breached, or not breached.

2. Jewish Monotheism

In the second Temple period, Jews gradually committed themselves to a strict form of monotheism, according to which only the LORD himself was regarded as genuinely God. Moreover, several texts state this in a clear way as being the difference between being Jewish and Gentile. Accordingly, we must regard Jewish monotheism as a boundary marker of the Jewish community. That is to say, Jewish people committed themselves to recognition of the LORD as the only real God in such a way that Jews who recognized another deity as God would leave the Jewish community. Equally, Gentiles who wished to join the Jewish community abandoned other gods. Gentiles generally had the same perception, so they might knowingly demand assimilation, or they might enable Jews to opt out of such things as worshipping the emperor. My presentation of Jewish monotheism has been criticized as if it were a sort of dogma to which I adhere. Accordingly, I exemplify the kind of evidence on which it is based.[2]

Deutero-Isaiah has vigorous monotheistic statements: "Thus says YHWH, the king and redeemer of Israel, YHWH of hosts is his name, 'I am the first

[1] P. M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God. The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (The Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham, 1985-86. Cambridge: James Clarke; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991).

[2] For a summary presentation of the evidence, with bibliography, L. W. Hurtado, "What Do We Mean by 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism'?" in E. H. Lovering, Jr. (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 348-68, at 356-60.

and I am the last, and except for me there is no god.' . . . All who fashion idols are nothing and the things they delight in are of no value . . ." (Isa 44:6, 9). Ps-Aristeas declared that Moses "proved first of all that God is one" and "went on to show that all the rest of mankind except ourselves believe that there are many gods" (132, 134). In the persecution instituted by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Temple in Jerusalem was renamed the temple of Olympian Zeus, and Jewish people were compelled to worship other gods (cf. 1 Macc 1:43, 47, 51, 54-5; 2:15, 23-5; 2 Macc 6:2, 7-9). This recognizes that abandoning monotheism would mean abandoning Judaism. So Philo interpreted the first commandment as follows: "Let us then engrave within us the first and most sacred of commandments, to acknowledge and honour one God who is above all. But let the idea of polytheism never even reach the ears of a man who is accustomed to seek truth honestly and genuinely" (*Decal.*, 65). The same situation is reflected by the two powers heresy. Even if the second power were the mighty angel Metatron, the two powers heresy involved leaving Judaism (e.g., *b. Ḥag.* 15).

There is ample evidence of this kind. It is straightforward, and unambiguous. Being monotheistic was Jewish, and being polytheistic was Gentile. This is the reason why we should recognize a commitment to monotheism as a boundary marker of the Jewish community. Some scholars, however, have recently argued otherwise. For example, Hayman has suggested that Jewish religion retained a "dualistic pattern" from its ancient Canaanite environment, and that "functionally Jews believed in the existence of two gods."[3] While he does not accept this, Hurtado was impressed by similar evidence when he suggested that I showed "a disappointingly simplistic and wooden grasp of the complexities and possibilities of ancient Jewish and Christian beliefs."[4] We must therefore consider some of this evidence too. In doing so we must be careful about how we determine what features of a figure should count as indications of deity. As Hurtado put it,

> I urge us to work more inductively, gathering what 'monotheism' is on the ground, so to speak, from the evidence of what self-professed monotheists believe and practice. In fact, I suggest that for historical investigation our policy should be to take people as monotheistic if that is how they describe themselves, in spite of what we might be inclined to regard at first as anomalies in their beliefs. Such 'anomalies,' I suggest in fact are extremely valuable data in shaping our understanding of monotheism out of the actual beliefs of actual people and traditions who describe themselves in monotheistic language.[5]

Firstly, then, a number of figures took over functions which had previously been functions of God himself. For example, at Wsd 10-11, the author attributes to Wisdom the major events of salvation history, so that she plays the role given in the OT account to God. She is not, however, hailed as a goddess,

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[3] A. P.Hayman, "Monotheism—A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?" *JJS* 42 (1991) 1-15: I quote from p. 14. Cf. M. Barker, *The Great Angel. A Study of Israel's Second God* (London: SPCK, 1992).

[4] Hurtado, "What Do We Mean?" 351.

[5] Hurtado, "What Do We Mean?" 354-5.

precisely because this would have violated the boundary marker of Jewish monotheism. Secondly, the application of scripture to an intermediary figure does not indicate its deity. For example, Dan 7.13 is applied to Enoch in the Similitudes of Enoch, with consequent use of the term "son of man," and it is interpreted of the future Davidic king in 4 Ezra 13.[6] In both cases, the resultant figure is very exalted, but it should be clear that Jewish monotheism is not violated in either work.

Thirdly, occasional use of a word for "God" does not necessarily indicate full deity. For example, Moses is described by Philo as "God (θεός) and king of the whole nation" (*Life of Moses* I.158). Philo's lengthy discussion of the unusually exalted position of Moses shows no other sign of elevating him to the position of a second deity, he does not call him a second deity, and we have already seen his unambiguous commitment to monotheism at *Decal.* 65. We must therefore infer that, from Philo's perspective and that of the Jewish community to which he belonged, his description of Moses as θεός did not infringe monotheism. More dramatic is his description of the λόγος as a second God (*Qu. in Gen.* II.62). The λόγος was however genuinely difficult for Philo to describe. It is in effect the aspect of God by which he can be known to insightful people. We must therefore infer that a committed monotheist did use the term "second God" of the λόγος, and we must be all the more careful to use people's own criteria in deciding how far they have genuinely deified a being other than the one God.

More extensive use of terms for "God" is found in Jewish angelology. For example, both אלים and אלהים are used extensively for principal angels in 4QShirShabb.[7] Here too there is evidently no intention of violating the oneness and uniqueness of God. Both words are plural in form, and in a Jewish environment which held a strict form of monotheism, these plural words are used for the chief beings in the heavenly host. After 70 CE, however, angelology does show signs of concern that the oneness of God might be violated. At *3 En.* 12.3-5, God crowns Metatron, who is enthroned in heaven, and calls him "the lesser YHWH." It was Metatron whom Elisha ben Abuyah saw when he thought there might be two powers in heaven (*3 En.* 16// *b. Ḥag.* 15). This does mark the point at which Elisha became apostate, and the two powers heresy involved leaving Judaism. We must compare this with Philo's description of the λόγος as a second god. This was not felt to be threatening, because Philo's commitment to monotheism was unwavering, and he was merely in difficulties providing a clear description of the λόγος. The two power heresy was felt to be threatening to Judaism, so Jews told stories about Metatron, Elisha ben Abuyah and others to make the boundary marker clear. There is not however much difference between "two powers" and "a second god," and if anything we might have thought Philo's expression was the more un-Jewish. This demonstrates that abstract logical cogitations on the words used by a given text are not enough to determine whether Jewish monotheism was perceived to be breached. We must always consider what

6 Cf. further P. M.Casey, *Son of Man. The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel* 7 (London: SPCK, 1980) 99-112, 122-9.

7 Cf. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 23-38.

use of these words was thought to have been made by the people involved in the situation.

Jewish texts which portray the cultic worship of another being with sacrifices portray a breach of monotheism (e.g., 2 Macc 6:1-9). The boundary marker of prayer and worship was however less sharp than is sometimes supposed. Centuries before the time of Jesus, it was permissible to address angels as "Lord," which, whether κύριε or אדני, was also the term used for God. These angels could appear and be asked questions and would interpret visions (e.g., Zech 4). In sight and sound their appearance could be almost as amazing as the Chariot, reducing a man to unconsciousness until the mighty angel touched him (cf. Dan 10). When Enoch sat on a throne in heaven, the rich and mighty fell down before him and begged him for mercy (*1 En.* 62:9).[8] Some Essenes got up before dawn and offered traditional prayers to the sun, as if asking it to rise (Jos. *War* II.128). We must therefore treat non-cultic prayer and worship with the same care as descriptions. We must ask whether people perceived full deity and/or a breach of Jewish monotheism, not merely draw logical deductions which satisfy *us* that a certain development has taken place.

It follows that some scholarly attempts to cast doubt on the monotheism of Jewish sources should be regarded as using unfruitful criteria. For example, Hayman sought to support his position by arguing that a doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* is not found in Jewish sources before the mediaeval period.[9] This criterion is irrelevant to our texts, and should therefore not be used. From a different perspective, O'Neill suggested that there were "Jews before Jesus who had already come to believe that the Messiah, when he was born, would be the incarnate Son of God who had existed with the Spirit, three-in-one from the beginning." We should not accept this because it cannot be properly supported from extant Jewish texts, for it arises from trying to read them with Christian spectacles.[10]

All this illustrates the nature of Jewish monotheism as a boundary marker. It was, and is, a dogmatic commitment to belief in one God. Consequently, detailed treatments vary in exactly what was felt to be compatible with that commitment. What is more, this entails that when the next intermediary figure was raised to a greatly exalted height, the point at which Jewish monotheism was perceived to be developed or breached might vary from the details of any intermediary figure previously developed. It follows, therefore, that in considering the deification of Jesus, we must be careful to describe the perceptions of our ancient sources as to the point when he was genuinely deified, not impose upon them our own.

The ministry of the historical Jesus, and the first of the three stages into which I divide Christological development in the NT period, both belong within the framework of Jewish monotheism. Jesus was deified somewhere

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8 For the identification of the Son of man figure as Enoch, P. M.Casey, "The Use of the Term 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 11-29.

9 Hayman, "Misused Word?" 2-4.

10 Cf. J. C. O'Neill, "An Introduction to a Discussion with Dr. Maurice Casey about His Recent Book," *IBS* 14 (1992) 192-8; P. M. Casey, "*From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God.* A Reply to Professor O'Neill," *IBS* forthcoming (1994).

around the end of stage two or, as I have argued, the beginning of stage three. We must therefore look next at some of the evidence from these stages.

3. The End of Stage 2

In stage 2 of Christological development, many Gentiles entered the Christian churches, and in so doing they did not become Jewish. In the modern world, it is conventional and has been fruitful to measure identity on the borders of the Jewish and Gentile worlds with identity scales. In *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, I used an eight point scale: ethnicity, scripture, monotheism, circumcision, sabbath observance, dietary laws, purity laws and major festivals. These eight factors were isolated because our primary sources treat them as serious indexes of Jewish identity and of acculturation, and because they can be used in measurements which improve our understanding of Christians origins. The same cannot be said of the Temple. Many faithful Jews did not attend the Temple regularly because they lived too far away, some rejected it (cf. *1 En.* 91-93; CD VI.11-18), and some went to Egypt and built another Temple at Leontopolis (Jos. *Ant.* XIII.62-73; *War* VII.421-36). As well as leading to incorrect measurements of Jewish people, the Temple is not as fruitful as major festivals in analyzing early Christianity. Nor could we use the land of Israel, important though that was too. Most Jewish people did not live in it, some Gentiles did, and neither entering it nor emigrating from it indicated acculturation. Nor can it be used for fruitful measurements which help to understand Christian origins. Identity factors cannot be arbitrarily selected from what people considered important: they must be carefully chosen to accord with the perceptions of our primary sources as to what constituted identity and how it could change.

The eight point scale enables us to clarify the largely Gentile identity of the average Pauline Christian. Gentile converts did not have to take on Jewish ethnicity, circumcision, sabbath, dietary laws, purity laws or major festivals. They read and interpreted scripture, but did not observe the halakhah enjoined in it. They had to abandon other gods, so they were monotheistic to some extent, whatever conclusions we reach about their Christology. At most, therefore, they did not take on more than $1^1/_2$ of the proposed eight identity factors. This indicates how Gentile they remained, and it illustrates the extent to which people like Paul and Timothy had to assimilate in order to conduct the Gentile mission.

It follows that Christological development included features which could not be found in the Jewish community. For example, in Romans 6 Paul ties Christian ethics to the process by which Christians died with Christ in baptism, and were similarly associated with his resurrection. This function would not be attributed to Jewish intermediary figures because Jewish ethics are based on the Torah. At the same time, there were many Jewish people still in the Christian community. At this stage, therefore, Jewish monotheism remained a restraining factor which limited Christological development. Accordingly, the figure of Jesus was developed more than any figure was developed within Judaism, in accordance with the flexibility characteristic of Jewish monotheism and the needs of an increasingly Gentile community. At the same time, he was not developed in such a way as to make people feel that

Jewish monotheism was violated, for this would have split the Christian community, and a serious split would need a cause.

This structure for seeing early Christian Christology has been criticised as if it were a dogma invented by me, so I propose to clarify my arguments for supposing that it reflects empirically the operation of dogmatic commitment to Jewish monotheism in the real world. For this purpose, I examine one text, Phil 2:6-11, as a sample of texts which have a very high Christology in which Jesus might be thought to be divine (cf. e.g., Col 1:15-20; Heb 1; Rev 5).

At first sight, Phil 2:6-11 seems like the presentation of a divine being. At the beginning of his existence, he was "in (the) form of God." Whatever the meaning of the difficult word ἁρπαγμός, equality with God was at least a possibility for him. After his exaltation, he is given "the name which is above every name," and every tongue confesses "Jesus Christ (is) Lord." There are, however, three reasons why we should not suppose that the full deity of Jesus was thought to have been presented in this passage when it was written. Firstly, there are aspects of the cultural background of the piece itself: in particular, there are so many parallels and contrasts with the story of Adam that this must have been in mind when the piece was composed. Secondly, and overlapping with it, there is the flexible nature of Jewish monotheism, on account of which creative use could be made of the Adam story which made Jesus more exalted in status and function than the original model, provided that monotheism was not perceived to be breached. Thirdly, there is the absence of controversy about this high Christology, in letters which show ample evidence of controversy over other matters.

We must take the first two of these points together. Adam was created in the image of God (Gen 1:26-7). The words "form" (μορφή) and "image" (εἰκών, Gen 1:26-7 LXX) overlap to a large extent, so the author could slip easily from one to the other. He had good reason to do so. Many Jews believed that man did not lose the image of God at the fall of Adam (cf. 1 Cor 11:7), whereas the form of God included his glory, which people evidently do not possess (cf. Rom 3:23). Consequently, "form" is much more suitable than "image" for indicating something which Jesus could be thought of as laying aside when he was born. It also makes an excellent contrast with "form of a slave" (Phil 2:7). In the same way, the expression "being on a level with God" (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) overlaps in meaning with being "like God" (כאלהים, Gen 3:5, cf. 22; 1:26). The self-abasement of Jesus contrasts with the fall of Adam. Whereas Adam tried to make himself on a level with God by eating the forbidden fruit, and was consequently punished by God for his sin and made subject to death, Jesus voluntarily took on "the form of a slave" and became subject to death, a death moreover inflicted on slaves rather than on Roman citizens, crucifixion.

It was believed that God would eventually exalt man with all the glory of Adam. This has been used to present Jesus' exaltation, and a prophetic text, Isa 45:18-25, has been interpreted for details specific to him. The term "Lord" was already part of the oldest Christian confession, so we have a combination of scripture with ancient Christian tradition, as strong a combination as possible for the creation of new Christological material. The words "every knee shall bow" and "every tongue shall confess" are from Isa 45:23, where "swear" has been interpreted in terms of early Christian confession of Jesus. The text contains both the name of God, YHWH, always replaced by "Lord" when it

was read, and a word for God, *Elohim*. Consequently, it can be interpreted of two figures, Jesus, who has been given God's name, the name which is above every name, and of God himself. For example, the LXX of Isa 45:25 reads, "They shall be justified by the Lord, and in God all the seed of the sons of Israel will be glorified." It is not difficult to interpret that of the Gentile mission, in which Gentiles were justified by faith in the Lord Jesus, and of the ultimate salvation of Israel in accordance with God the Father's overall plan for salvation (cf. Rom 9-11).

Subsequent Christian tradition has frequently interpreted this piece in terms of the full deity of Jesus, both before and after his earthly life. This perception is not necessary, however. We have seen that slippage could take place within Jewish monotheism between the Adam story and the first part of the piece. The same applies to the end of it, for Isaiah 45 is a major scriptural presentation of Jewish monotheism, and consequently what was within the bounds of Isaiah 45 could be perceived as within the bounds of Jewish monotheism. What perception was normative when this piece was written? It is at this point that our third argument is decisive—the lack of controversy produced. If any significant number of people within range of this piece thought that it breached Jewish monotheism, fierce argument would necessarily have followed.

At this point, we must go beyond this single piece to the whole of the Pauline corpus, Hebrews and Revelation, three separate portions of literature, the Pauline corpus written over a considerable period of time. This literature contains several pieces the Christology of which is equally high. If we consider that Phil 2:6-11 goes beyond the confines of Jewish monotheism, we are likely to think the same of pieces such as Col 1:15-20, Heb 1 and Rev 5. Moreover, this literature contains much controversy material about other aspects of Judaism and Christianity—circumcision (e.g., Gal 5:2-6), unclean food and sex outside marriage (e.g., Rev 2:14), and some arguments imply conflict over aspects of Christology, such as the relative status of Jesus and Moses (Heb 3). There is not, however, any controversy about the deity of Jesus. This permits only one conclusion—the development of the figure of Jesus, going ahead as it did creatively under the very flexible constraint of Jewish monotheism, was not perceived to have breached Jewish monotheism. We must add here the evidence of the narrative account of Acts. This shows massive controversy between followers of Jesus and various Jews, from the chief priests at the beginning to diaspora communities at the end. Controversy over whether to preach anything to do with Jesus was central to this, and his messiahship is presented as important near the beginning and central as time went on. His deity is, however, not so much as mentioned.

We must therefore conclude that, in stage two of Christological development, when the Christian communities contained Jews as well as increasing numbers of Gentiles, Jewish monotheism was not perceived to be breached even by unique aspects of the development of the figure of Jesus. At the same time, in passages such as Phil 2:6-11 he is such an exalted figure that only the exercise of purely Gentile perception is required for him to be regarded as fully God. This is central to the development of Christology in stage 3, for Jesus' deity was genuinely perceived during conflict between Christians and "the Jews."

Before moving to stage three, we must consider one of the arguments put forward in another attempt to explain the development of New Testament Christology, the learned, careful and creative work of Professor Hurtado. In *One God One Lord*, taken up in his subsequent paper, Hurtado has suggested that early Christian worship is central to understanding the development of New Testament Christology, and he has dated this cultic activity in my stage one, let alone stage two.[11] The evidence to which Hurtado has drawn attention is important, and must be subsumed in any fully explanatory theory. It is especially important that, when compared with purely Jewish figures, Jesus was developed in a partly unique manner. It sees to me that, like most Christian scholars, Hurtado has exaggerated the degree of uniqueness. In particular, I am not convinced that early development may be properly described as a "binitarian mutation," because our sources do not indicate that a serious departure from Jewish monotheism was perceived until my stage three.

For example, Hurtado suggests that Paul's persecution of Jewish Christians was occasioned "partly by the reverence they gave to Jesus," and that the "devotion" of "early Jewish Christians" "to Jesus may have caused other Jews to regard them as having violated the uniqueness of God."[12] This suggestion goes too far. After Jesus' death, it was the chief priests who took action against the earliest Jewish Christians (e.g., Acts 4:1,7), sometimes at least with scribes and elders (e.g., 4:5). When Paul set off for Damascus, he obtained letters authorising persecution from the high priest Acts 9:1-2). When Paul himself was finally arrested, it was the high priest Ananias and some elders who brought an orator to set out the case against Paul (Acts 24:1). Throughout all these proceedings, there is no charge which appears to be connected with violating the uniqueness of God. We must therefore infer that this was not a significant issue. That the persecution was occasioned partly by the reverence which Jewish Christians gave to Jesus is true. Indeed it is central, for Jesus was at that stage the only detectable identity factor marking off the Jesus movement from Judaism as a whole, and it is precisely his centrality to the Jesus movement which explains why it was he whom Paul saw on the Damascus road. Jesus was moreover central to a movement which claimed divine vindication through him, for the claim that he was at the right hand of God and had appeared to this disciples after his death could mean nothing less than God's approval of the Jesus movement, and the guilt of chief priests, scribes and elders follows ineluctably (cf. Acts 5:28). Hence Luke portrays the Captain of the Temple, with priests and Sadducees, aggravated about the preaching of the resurrection of the dead through Jesus (Acts 4:2), not the violation of the uniqueness of God. We must infer that the central Jewish power group perceived a threat to themselves, not a violation of the uniqueness of God.

Limits must also be placed on the important use of the Aramaic invocation *maranatha* (1 Cor 16:22). Hurtado correctly argues that this is an invocation of

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11 L. W. Hurtado, *One God One Lord. Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (London: SCM, 1988): id., "What Do We Mean?"

12 *One God One Lord* 2.

the risen Christ, and that it comes from the Aramaic-speaking church.[13] This does mean that the veneration of Jesus went beyond that normal in the case of other figures, and it gives us valuable insight into the religious experience of early Christians. It is probable that it goes back well before the epistle to the Corinthians, to a stage when Christians spoke Aramaic and were therefore to some considerable extent Jewish. It must have been preserved because Pauline churches shared the early faith in the risen Jesus, and in his second coming. It must have been said at meetings for prayer and worship. It will therefore have reinforced faith in the reality of the resurrection and the second coming. It is evidence of the dialectical relationship between belief and experience which was an essential part of the development of New Testament Christology. We must not exaggerate, however. We cannot date it, it is a brief Aramaic prayer, not a fragment of a long one, and above all it occurs in one of a group of letters which show signs of much polemic, but not about monotheism. We must therefore infer that it was not felt to breach normal Jewish monotheism, which was flexible enough to allow these developments. Accordingly, "binitarian mutation" is surely too strong a term.

Again, we have seen that Phil 2:6-11 is an important passage in which Jesus is so highly exalted that only the exercise of sympathetic Gentile perception is required to turn him into a full deity. Here too, however, we must not exaggerate. Hurtado takes from previous scholarship the notion that this is a hymn, and describes it as "a 'window' opening upon the faith and devotion of Jewish Chrstians from still earlier years."[14] Criteria for describing this as a hymn, however, have never been satisfactorily determined. Its only obvious feature is that it is not in Greek verse, and a major feature of scholarly attempts to portray it as a hymn has been the excision of pieces, all of which have an excellent *Sitz im Leben* where they are. Translating it into Aramaic has been a dubious enterprise altogether, and it has an excellent *Sitz im Leben* where it is rather than in earlier Jewish Christianity.[15] Even here, therefore, we must be careful. This piece shows exceptional development, but it was not necessarily anchored in cultic veneration, nor can it be shown to have been produced before the Gentile mission had been flourishing for years. We must therefore classify it where it is, as part of a letter by the outstanding known missionary to the Gentiles, at the limits of Jewish monotheism but not threatening enough to cause controversy. For such controversy, we must move to the Johannine community, where the Jewish version of monotheism was abandoned in favour of a new Christian monotheism.

4. Stage 3

The third stage of Christological development took place after 70 CE, when Judaism, struck a massive blow by the destruction of the Temple and the

13 *One God One Lord* 106-7.

14 *One God One Lord* 96.

15 A critical assessment of the massive secondary literature cannot be offered here. The best Aramaic version is that of J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Background of Philippians 2:6-11," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 470-83, but even this does not show that an Aramaic version existed before this epistle was translated into Syriac.

devastation of the holy city, reformed itself round the Torah. At this stage, the Johannine community quarrelled with "the Jews" so decisively that they took on Gentile self-identification. At this stage also, they dropped the boundary marker of Jewish monotheism, and hailed Jesus as God with such clarity and determination that "the Jews" accused them of blasphemy. The main evidence of this situation is in the Gospel attributed to John, which we must consider in some detail.[16]

A decisive piece of evidence of the Gentile self-identification of the Johannine community is its hostile use of "the Jews." The fourth Gospel uses the term more than 60 times, and it often denotes opponents of Jesus, despite the fact that all Jesus' disciples at this stage were Jewish. The Cleansing of the Temple begins, "And the Passover of the Jews was near" (Jn 2:13). This indicates Gentile self-identification, and it typifies many uses of the term in narrative. Immediately after the Cleansing, "His disciples remembered that it is written, 'Zeal for your house will consume me.' The Jews therefore answered and said to him, 'What sign do you show us, that you do this?'" (2:17-18). The contrast is reinforced with further mention of these two groups, "the Jews" and "his disciples," in the immediate sequel. At Jn 13:33, Jesus himself speaks of "the Jews" as if they were an outside group. Similarly, Jesus refers to the Law as "your Law" (8:17, 10:34), and he explains to the disciples the hatred of the world by quoting "their Law" (15:25).

With this goes the perception of the Jews as a group rejecting the Gospel. At the time of Jesus, some Jews rejected him, but other Jews became his disciples, and subsequently formed the nucleus of the early church. According to John, however, "his own (people) did not receive him" (1:11). In ch. 5, "the Jews" sought to kill him (5:18), and to them he says, "Your accuser is Moses, on whom you have set your hope. For if you had believed Moses, you would have believed me, for he wrote about me" (5:45-6). This acccuses "the Jews" of not believing Moses, because they do not accept Christological exegesis of the Old Testament. In ch. 8, it is "the Jews" who, having been told that their Father is the devil (8:44), respond to Jesus, "Aren't we right to say that you are a Samaritan and have a demon!" (8:48), and the same group take up stones to throw at him when he declares his pre-existence (8:58-9). In ch. 9, "the Jews" have agreed that if anyone confesses Jesus as Christ, they will be prevented from attending Jewish meetings (9:22). In ch. 10, "the Jews" seek to stone Jesus for blasphemy (10:31-33). In the passion narrative, it is "the Jews" who insist that Pilate must have Jesus crucified (e.g., 19:7). After the resurrection, "the disciples" meet behind closed doors for fear of "the Jews" (20:19).

The anti-Jewish life-stance which this reveals is so uncomfortable that many scholars have argued that the Greek term Ἰουδαῖοι means something else, usually "Jewish authorities" or the like. This view should not be accepted.[17] Firstly, the Greek word Ἰουδαῖοι means "Jews," not "Jewish

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16 I do not consider in this paper the more difficult evidence of the Johannine epistles, which are very short and surely not a unity. I assume that the Fourth Gospel does not offer a literally correct account of the ministry of the historical Jesus, but the theology and to some extent the life of the Johannine community. It is regrettable that this position still needs defending: I propose to defend it in a book, *Is John's Gospel True?*

17 A critical discussion of the secondary literature cannot be attempted here. It will be offered in *Is John's Gospel True?* ch. 7.

leaders," "Jewish authorities" or the like. There are thousands of examples of this, and for the most part they are not contested. Since, however, Jewish leaders speak and/or act on behalf of the Jewish people, the word Ἰουδαῖοι may *refer* to leaders or authorities. We must not confuse meaning with reference. There are naturally examples of such usage in John. At 1:19, for example, "the Jews" who sent priests and Levites must have been in some position of authority. It does not however follow that the word Ἰουδαῖοι *means* "Jewish authorities."

Secondly, the fourth evangelist has perfectly good words to denote Jewish authorities. He describes Nicodemus as a "ruler of the Jews" (Jn 3:1), and he refers separately to "the rulers" as a group (7:48). He could have referred to "rulers," or "the rulers of the Jews" repeatedly, if he had meant this. Sometimes he specifies Pharisees (e.g., 12:42). He could have referred to "the Pharisees" instead of "the Jews," if he meant Pharisees. Again, he refers several times to the chief priests: in some passages, "the chief priests and the Pharisees" have servants (e.g., 7:32), and it is they who gather a sanhedrin (11:47), and give orders for Jesus' arrest (cf. 7:32; 11:57; 18:3). The author could have referred to "the chief priests" or "the chief priests and the Pharisees" repeatedly, if they were the Jewish leaders whom he meant.

Thirdly, there are passages in which "the Jews" cannot mean the authorities. References to Jewish customs are of this kind. For example, "the Passover of the Jews was near" (2:13). Passover was not confined to Jewish authorities: it was a major pilgrim feast for Jews in general. So Ἰουδαῖοι in such passages means "Jews." Nicodemus was a "ruler of the Jews" (3:1), he was hardly a ruler of the Jewish authorities (cf. 7:45-52). The evangelist believed so strongly that God revealed himself to Israel that "salvation is of the Jews" (4:22), not, surely, from the chief priests and Pharisees. In the eucharistic discourse, "the crowd" become "the Jews" when the theology becomes impossible for faithful Jews (6:41,52), not especially for Jewish authorities. The "large crowd of the Jews" who went to see Jesus and Lazarus (12:9) are not authorities either.

All this evidence is coherent. When John says Ἰουδαῖοι, he means "Jews." It follows that the Johannine community had Gentile self-identification. This may be further clarified with my eight point identity scale. From an ethnic perspective, a community which was Jewish enough to mind being prevented from attending Jewish meetings, and which also included Gentiles, must have contained both Jews and Gentiles. We cannot measure the proportions accurately, so I symbolize mixture with a half. Scripture gets another half: the community accepted the authority of Scripture as a witness of Jesus, but did not accept its commands to follow its halakhah. Monotheism gets another half: the deity of Jesus means that the community remained monotheistic from a Gentile perspective, but it was not monotheistic from a Jewish perspective. This does not give us a symbolic $1^1/_2$ out of 3, where the halves might be thought too symbolic to be accurate: it is $1^1/_2$ out of 7 or 8, a difference which is big enough to be real and decisive.

Circumcision is presented as an alien custom: "Moses has given you circumcision . . . and on the sabbath *you* circumcise a man" (7:22). The sabbath is explicitly removed (5:18). Dietary laws are never mentioned: it might be argued that we should not count them (so $1^1/_2$ out of 7, not 8), but we

should note the implication that we are well clear of an orthodox Jewish environment. Purity is identified as belonging to an alien group: stone waterpots were for "the purification of the Jews" (2:6). Major festivals are repeatedly identified as belonging to an alien group. For example, "Now the feast of the Jews, Tabernacles, was near" (7:2). In this instance, the measurement of $1^1/_2$ out of 7 or 8 is not precise in numerical terms, but the message is clear. When we look at the basic identity factors of Judaism, the community emerges as Gentile. This makes perfect sense of its self-identification: people who did not keep the main observances which marked out Jewish identity identified themselves as not "the Jews."

We can now see what is wrong with the classic arguments of Westcott and Morris, that the author of the fourth Gospel was a Jew.[18] Westcott argued this on the basis that he was familiar with Jewish customs, such as "the law of the sabbath which is shown to be overruled by the requirements of circumcision (vii.22f.)". In the ancient world, that would merely have shown that he was a person familiar with Jewish customs, just as Westcott was, not that he had Jewish identity, any more than Westcott had. This shows again how carefully we must handle identity. Mere knowledge of Jewish culture tells us little about a person's identity, nor should we apply our own view of Jewish identity to ancient sources. We must rather utilize a scale constructed in accordance with the perceptions of our primary sources as to what constituted identity and how it could change.

The Gentile self-identification of the Johannine community was the cultural setting for the presentation of the full deity of Jesus. The Gospel begins with a prologue in which Jesus' deity is openly declared: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (Jn 1:1). At the prologue's climax, "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us", and his name and title are given as "Jesus Christ" (Jn 1:14,17). The prologue ends with a brief summary of Jesus' nature and mission on earth: "No-one has seen God. Only-begotten God,[19] who is in the bosom of the Father, he has revealed him" (Jn 1:18). This also makes the deity of Jesus quite explicit, straight after describing the incarnation and naming him "Jesus Christ". It follows already that we are justified in describing this document's presentation as that of the deity of Jesus, not merely the deity of the λόγος. This is made more obvious by the equally explicit "My Lord and my God" (Jn 20:28).

Two other passages are equally clear. John 5 begins with a healing on the Sabbath, at which Jesus orders a man to carry his pallet. In the debate with "the Jews" which follows, Jesus justifies his apparent breach of sabbath law by identifying himself closely with God his Father: "My Father works until now, and I work" (5:17). Many Jews believed that God was continuously active, on the seventh day as on others. Jesus associates himself so closely with the divine activity that he effectively lays claim to divinity, claiming

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18 B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel according to St.John* I (London: Murray, 1908) x-xx, developed by L. L. Morris, *Studies in the Fourth Gospel* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1969) 219-27, followed e.g., by D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Leicester/Grand Rapids: IVP/Eerdmans, 1991) 70-71.

19 For this reading, B.L.Mastin, "A Neglected Feature of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 22 (1975-6) 32-51.

God as his own Father as well. The evangelist tells us that "the Jews" understood his words in this way: "For this reason, therefore, the Jews sought all the more to kill Jesus, because he not only abrogated the sabbath, but also called God his own Father, making himself equal with God" (Jn 5:18). At 10:31-39, "the Jews" threaten to stone Jesus for blasphemy and because he makes himself God, and Jesus justifies his position, asserting as he does so "I am the Son of God", and "the Father is in me and I am in the Father".

Jesus' exalted position is filled out with extensive discussion. At 8:58 he declares his pre-existence in debate with "the Jews": "before Abraham was, I am". The Jewish reaction of taking up stones to throw at him shows that they have interpreted his words as a claim to divinity. This is remarkable because pre-existence does not usually carry this connotation. Jesus' unity with the Father, and his position as revealer of the Godhead, are expounded in his reply to Philip's request, "Show us the Father" (Jn 14:8-11). Jesus' divine position is further indicated by a passage in the same discourse where he can answer prayer, in a context which evidently refers to the period after his return to the Father (14:13-14). Another function which Jesus claims after his Resurrection is that of sending the Paraclete (15:26).

All this means that Jesus has been deliberately raised to the level of deity, and that when we describe Johannine Christology, we are entirely justified in speaking of the deity of Jesus, not only the deity of the λόγος. At the same time, we are not justified in speaking of a second deity, because the Johannine community thought of themselves as remaining within the bounds of monotheism. The classic statement is in the middle of a passage which presents the full deity of Jesus: "I and the Father are one" (10:30). This is a clear attempt *not* to speak of a second deity just at a point where Jewish accusations of blasphemy are incurred. There are similar references to the unity of Jesus and the Father, related to the hoped-for unity of the Christian community, in the prayer of ch. 17 (17:11, 21-2). This document marks a genuine step on the road to Chalcedon. It has embraced the paradox that Jesus is fully God, that the Father gave the Son and subordinationist language is appropriate, and that God is one. At this stage we can talk of a binitarian mutation, or even, with the Paraclete in mind, a trinitarian mutation, for now we have the full deity of Jesus, perceived by the Johannine community as within the true form of monotheism.

It was not so perceived by "the Jews." Both narratively explicit presentations of Jesus' deity are accompanied by objections from "the Jews," who seek to kill him (5:18; 10:30-39). At the end of ch. 8 they do so when he declares his pre-existence, and the treatment of pre-existence as indicative of deity is distinctively Johannine. Even more dramatically, "the Jews" seek the death penalty because Jesus has violated the Law by making himself the Son of God (19:7). This requires the specifically Johannine interpretation of Jesus' sonship as indicative of his deity. It follows that "the Jews" regarded the position of Jesus in the Johannine community as a violation of Jewish monotheism, contrary to the Law in basic texts such as Deut 6:4. At this point, therefore, the boundary marker of Jewish monotheism has been breached. Moreover, since two points at which it is breached depend on specifically Johannine interpretation of previously known Christological items, we must

infer that Jewish monotheism was first breached by the Johannine community in conflict with "the Jews."

This quarrel led to Johannine Christians being banned from Jewish meetings (made ἀποσυνάγωγος).[20] At 9:22, "the Jews" have agreed to ban people who confess Jesus as "Christ," which is primarily a confessional term in this Gospel. This happens to one man, who is examined by Pharisees. At 12:42, "However, many even of the rulers believed in him, but they did not confess because of the Pharisees, so that they might not become ἀποσυνάγωγοι." We must infer a leading role for Pharisees, and connect this with their importance at Yabneh, where the twelfth benediction was formulated before Gamaliel II. This blesses God for removing serious threats to Judaism, apostates, heretics, and the Roman empire. Christians, whether singled out as Nazarenes or subsumed under מינים, were an obvious threat, because they claimed to *be* the covenant community and were not observant. Both the twelfth benediction, and the banning of Johannine Christians from meetings in Ephesus, are evidence of the defense of Jewish identity which was made more necessary by the destruction of the holy city and its sanctuary. The seriousness of the situation is underlined by Jn 16:2, which shows that Johannine Christians were at least afraid of being put to death. Many people did not want this split to happen. We must infer from Jn 12:42 that some Jews, including prominent members of the community, were very sympathetic to Johannine Christians. On the other side, we would not have these reports that Johannine Christians were banned from Jewish meetings if none of them wanted to go.

More insight into the role of Christology in this split is available from the eucharistic discourse of John 6. Here "the Jews" begin to grumble over Jesus' pre-existence (6:41-2), and they become more obstreperous as the ever higher Christological language heads for the anti-Jewish rewrite of Jesus' words at his final Passover: "Amen, amen I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you do not have life in you" (Jn 6:53, cf. Mk 14:22-5, already rewritten at 1 Cor 11:23-6). The exposition of this also excludes non-Christian Jews from salvation. Consequently, many disciples grumble and leave. With another reference to his pre-existence (Jn 6:62), Jesus explains: "It is the spirit which gives life, the flesh is no help. The words which I have spoken to you are spirit and life" (6:63). Not only is the eucharist essential, it is insufficient. Like the end of ch. 12, this entails that a significant number of Jewish people left the Johannine community at the time of the split. It also declares the necessity of the Johannine interpretation of the eucharist, which those who left will not have held.

Jews who left the Johannine community will also have been baptised, for this was a universal initiation rite for Christians. A generation previously, it was dramatically interpreted by St. Paul (Rom 6), who baptised Ephesian Christians in the name of the Lord Jesus so that they received the holy spirit (Acts 19:1-7). In John 3, this is presented with the otherwise Greek concept of rebirth, but birth again/from above "of water and spirit," a necessary process

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[20] I.e., "away from," "without" (ἀπό), συναγωγή, a word which has a semantic area covering meetings as well as buildings. Detailed discussion cannot be attempted here, and will be offered in *Is John's Gospel True?* ch. 6.

for the previously Jewish activity of entering the kingdom of God (3:5). This discourse is addressed to a Pharisee who is also "a ruler of the Jews" (Jn 3:1). He fades away as it shifts into the plural, "you do not receive our witness" (3:11). Jesus' pre-existence is declared again (Jn 3:13), and in the theological exposition which follows, people who do not believe in Jesus are excluded from salvation. This is a similar complex of material to John 6. It refers to a repeated ceremony in the community, one which has received more and more positive interpretation for the Johannine community itself, and one which entails rejection of "the Jews." The developed interpretations of these repeated ceremonies and the rejection of "the Jews" are organically connected, for Jewish people who had left the Johannine community had been baptised and had taken part in eucharists.

Scriptural interpretation was another major experience. John 6 is partly a midrash on the Exodus narrative, and Jn 3:14 interprets Num 21:9, perhaps with Isa 52:13 and Dan 7:13. Other passages include quoted texts applied to Jesus (e.g., Zech 9:9 at Jn 12:15), and more complex midrashic activity (e.g., Gen 28:12 at Jn 1:51, perhaps with Zech 12:10 and/or Dan 7:13). The rejection of Jesus is also found in scripture (Isa 53:1; 6:10 at Jn 12:37-43). A discourse addressed to "the Jews" testifies that they too searched the scriptures (5:39), and accuses them of not believing Moses because they do not accept Christological exegesis (5:47-9). Here too a major community experience in the development of Christology is organically connected to the quarrel with "the Jews." Only one passage, however, is concerned with Jesus' deity, and that seems to presuppose rather than seek to establish it (Ps 82:6 at Jn 10:34-6). This is because Jewish scriptures were within the boundary marker of Jewish monotheism. For scriptural argument expounding the deity of Jesus, therefore, we have to wait for Christianity to move further away from Judaism (cf. Justin, *Dial.* 62-74).

The presentation of the presence of God in the community also has Christological aspects. The mutual indwelling of Father and Son is stressed (e.g., 14:8-11). Jesus answers prayer (14:13-14) and sends the Paraclete (15:26; 16:7), the same event as asking the Father who sends him (14:16-17). The traditional eschatology, retained as belief (e.g., 5:28-9; 21:22), is also transmuted so that Christians have passed from death to life (e.g., 5:24), whereas non-believers have already been condemned (e.g., 3:18). So Jesus does not come on the clouds of heaven, he comes with the Father and they make their home with anyone who loves Jesus and keeps his word (14:23). Jesus' coming is thus an interpretation of the religious experience of the Johannine community. The presence of the Paraclete is another way of interpreting this. The Paraclete will bear witness to Jesus and glorify him (15:26; 16:14), so that the developed Christology of the Johannine community is due to the holy spirit. These developments describe the community's experience of God so that it is seriously different from that of "the Jews."

Another major experience for the Johannine community was their love for each other. This was said to be a new commandment given by Jesus (e.g., 13:34-5). They were united by love for Jesus, and they felt that Jesus loved them (e.g., 14:21). They reified this as the governing relationship between the Father and the Son (3:35; 14:31; 17:24, 26, cf. 1 Jn 4:7-21), and understood Jesus' love for them in this light (e.g., 15:9). The Father loved them too (e.g., 16:27).

They are thus in striking contrast to "the Jews," who do not have the love of God in them (5:42), are children of the devil (8:41-4) and seek to kill Jesus (e.g., 5:18).

These major experiences were common to Johannine Christians as a whole. In understanding them, they evolved a complex and speculative theology. This had aspects which are less clearly related to experience. The most straightforward example is replacement theology. Jesus replaces the sacrificial system (1:29), the Temple (2:21-2), Tabernacles (7:37-8; 8:12), Hannukah (10:14-39), and Passover (19:14,36). In all these cases, creating and believing Christian theology has replaced the observance of Jewish rites, which some members of the community had once observed. This means that theology was of central importance to the people who wrote this Gospel.

They also told and retold stories of Jesus. This too had its negative correlation because of the influence of the quarrel with "the Jews." Major aspects of Jesus' life and teaching have been removed. Exorcism has gone altogether, leaving only the more manageable traces of the hostile accusations which it aroused (e.g., 10:20-21). The kingdom of God survives only to ward off hostile accusations that it had been meant to come sooner (Jn 3:3, 5; cf. 21:20-23), and involved opposition to Rome (18:36). Even the word "parable" has been dropped.

All these points together form the cultural context in which Jesus was raised to the level of deity. The central matter was the quarrel with "the Jews," which is interwoven with all the other main points. These points together reflect the dialectical relationship between the community's experiences and the development of its commitment to the deity of Jesus. The evidence provided by this document is independent of the evidence from Jewish sources about the nature of Jewish monotheism, and coherent with it.

This community included people who had been members of the Jewish community. The men among them were circumcised, and all had celebrated the sabbath and the major festivals, and had kept purity and dietary laws at least some of the time. It will also have included people whose identity on a Jewish/Gentile trajectory was variable and could be differently perceived. Jesus was the central focus of the identity of these people, for whom he replaced aspects of identity previously perceived as Jewish. The change in these people's identity will have been at least as important a driving force as the originally Gentile identity of other members in changing their perceptions of Jesus as fully divine. The maintenance of their identity as it changed required the culturally Jewish material which has made Gentile Christians scholars feel that the author of this document was Jewish. This again underlines the importance of establishing clear criteria for determining identity. This is why my eight point scale consists of factors consistently regarded by our primary sources as marking serious differences between Jews and Gentiles, and this is why it genuinely measures identity. Knowledge of Judaism does not measure this, and the Temple does not do so consistently.

We can now see why the deification of Jesus was at the same time a massive step, and a tiny one. It was tiny because some people already had Jesus as the focus of their identity. They believed in his pre-existence, held him son of God in a special sense, his atoning death central to their salvation,

they prayed at least *maranatha* to him, they attended baptisms and eucharists, interpreted the scriptures of him, regarded their morals as related to his death and resurrection, and they believed he was at the right hand of God and would soon come again and carry out the final judgment. Such a being was not regarded as God because this was not consistent with Jewish monotheism. Only the exercise of Gentile perception was required for him to be hailed as God. At the same time, this was a massive step because it required a major social change. It is this which was provided by the quarrel between the Johannine community and "the Jews." Gentile perception was exercised, and Jesus was hailed as fully God. Consequently, we cannot ask which came first, as if Jesus was hailed as God *because* Johannine Christians were banned from Jewish meetings, or as if "the Jews" banned Johannine Christians from Jewish meetings *because* they hailed Jesus as God. Relationships between Christians and Jews had been intermittently stressful right from the start, and it was a generation since Paul taught Ephesian Christians separately, because of trouble in the synagogue (Acts 19:8-10). It was also years since pieces like Phil 2:6-11 were written. After 70 CE, when Jewish identity was being reinforced following the destruction of the Temple, there was a quarrel between the Johannine community and "the Jews," in the course of which Johannine Christians presented Jesus as fully God and "the Jews" accused them of blasphemy and banned them from Jewish meetings. These events were organically related to one another, and to the previous development of Christology and of Jewish-Christian relations. We have no positive reason to suggest that one was prior to the other, and such ordering would be contrary to the nature of so culturally grounded a development.

This hypothesis is so culture-specific that later developments should not be regarded as inconsistent with it.[21] Second century Christians had already deified Jesus. They were not Jews. Accordingly, they had to defend themselves, sometimes in a situation of persecution, against assimilation into the Gentile world, which included defending themselves against polytheism. In that situation, they were just as concerned with monotheism as Jewish people, but it was their unique form of monotheism which they used to defend their identity, not the Jewish version. We must not slide over the difference, which is fundamental both to appreciation of a Jewish perspective and to understanding the development of Christology in the first century. In the first century, the Jewish form of monotheism was a boundary marker for the Jewish community, and hence at first in the Christian community. Consequently, it was perceived to be breached when the Johannine community split with "the Jews." Islam began in a different cultural situation from that of late second Temple Judaism, and consequently did not experience the same pressure towards the deification of its founder. Moreover, Christianity was flourishing when Islam started, so that its version of monotheism was a reason for Muslims not to copy it.

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21 *Pace* Hurtado, "What Do We Mean?" 350 n. 7.

5. Conclusions

I therefore propose the following conclusions. The deification of Jesus took place at the end of the NT period. It was not generally perceived in passages such as Phil 2:6-11, as we must infer from the absence of early Christological controversy. This stage of development was however essential in preparing for the final step, which was taken in the Johannine community. Here we find both statements of the deity of Jesus, and polemic with "the Jews." The Gentile self-identification of the Johannine community was an essential ingredient in this step, and the polemic with "the Jews" shows what an un-Jewish step it was. Whereas Christological development in stage one might seem to be further insight into the significance of Jesus as he really was, this final step is so un-Jewish that it contradicts the Jewish identity of Jesus of Nazareth and the first apostles. We should stop playing tricks with Ἰουδαῖοι, and consider the implications of this for Christian belief in the Incarnation.

Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion

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I. Introduction

A renewed interest in the description, definition, and categorization of apocalypticism has been a major preoccupation for scholars of early Judaism during the past two and a half decades (Hanson 1985; Collins 1986). Catalyzed by the discovery and analysis of the Qumran Scrolls and spurred on by the pioneering monograph of Klaus Koch (1972), the discussion of apocalypticism has been advanced by such persons as Paul D. Hanson, Michael E. Stone, John J. Collins, and other scholars who have worked on the problem in general or certain apocalypses in particular.

So radical have been the shifts in emphasis and method and in the primary materials discussed, that some of the giants who dominated the discussion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (R. H. Charles, Hermann Gunkel, and Paul Volz) would find the current discussion of apocalypticism as much alien territory as they often found the apocalypses themselves. Because apocalyptic literature holds such a central place in the study of Israelite religion in the Greco-Roman period, a revolution in the understanding and assessment of this literature was bound to have a ripple effect in the broader discussion of the history of Israelite religion. And so it has, as one can see by reviewing the burgeoning literature on early Judaism.

Ripples, however, do not always follow their predetermined path, either because they meet with counterforces or because they run up against the inertia of stationary objects. For reasons too complex to analyze here, much New Testament scholarship has had a love–hate, attraction–avoidance relationship with the modern study of early Judaism—drawing deeply from it at times and blissfully ignoring or even actively resisting it at other times.

Perhaps the two places where the ripples have most often been diverted or blocked have been in discussions of Torah and in the use of the term "apocalyptic." My interest here is with the latter, specifically, the manner in which this adjective-become-noun is sometimes used with little or no concern for the discussion during the past two decades and no evident knowledge that *much in that discussion remains unresolved and unclarified.*

II. The Present Project

Two related objectives have been set for a new SBL Consultation on Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Early Judaism and Early Christianity. The initiators of the consultation believe that the achievement of these objectives will require the full five-year term of an SBL seminar, and we would like to structure the consultation sessions this year and next year in order to shape such a scenario.

The first objective is some clarification of the nature and interrelationship of the wisdom, prophetic, and eschatological components in Jewish apocalyptic writings. Like the study of Jewish apocalypticism, the discussion of Israelite wisdom literature has made substantial advances over the past decades (Crenshaw 1985; Mack and Murphy). Two developments are especially significant for our present concern. The first is the increasing frequency with which works like Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon are discussed in connection with the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible (von Rad; Crenshaw 1981). The second is a recognition of wisdom elements in apocalyptic literature, as well as a debate about their origin, function, and importance. During the first half of the life of our projected seminar, we propose to look at the apocalyptic literature with a view toward identifying wisdom elements and their relationship to analogous elements in post–biblical Jewish sapiential literature, including, possibly, some of the texts from Qumran.

Our second proposed objective is to shed light on some relevant New Testament texts, such as "Q" and the Epistle of James. Is it appropriate to ascribe wisdom and apocalyptic elements in Q to separate sources and separate communities? What might our study of the Jewish texts tell us about the coexistence of sapiential and eschatological elements in Q and in James?

Two considerations will guide our discussion of the Jewish and Christian material. The first is some serious reflection on the way in which the study of our primary sources has tended to distill, abstract, and often reify terms like "wisdom" and "apocalyptic" without recognizing that the abstraction is the result of a (necessary) process of historical reconstruction. The second is a concerted effort to reconstruct aspects of the social and cultural realities that gave rise to, and are reflected in the relevant primary sources: the institutions, offices, roles, and functions that resulted in the Jewish sapiential and apocalyptic literature and made use of it. These two considerations, in turn, have immediate implications for our understanding of the rise of Christianity, the genetics and functions of its literature, and perhaps our reconstructions of the career of Jesus of Nazareth.

The program for the initial session of the consultation will provide entrée into the two segments of the life of the projected seminar. The present paper offers for discussion in the first part of the session some observations about wisdom and apocalypticism in early Judaism. The second half of the session will consider the paper of Richard Horsley, entitled "Wisdom Justified by All Her Children: Examining Allegedly Disparate Traditions in Q," a review and evaluation of the discussion of Q as it relates to the topic of the consultation.

The relationships between wisdom and apocalypticism and the implications that these might have on the current discussion of Q have

already been taken up in an article by John Collins (1993), which focuses on "generic compatibility." The present project was conceived with no knowledge of the Collins article, yet both his article and mine have reached similar conclusions: Jewish wisdom and apocalypticism cannot be cleanly separated from one another. Our conclusions are also complementary; he focuses on genre and on distinctions within the sapiential literature. I have attempted a more detailed comparison of a broader range of sapiential and apocalyptic texts with less concern for generic matters as such. Collins concludes that a posited dichotomy between the wisdom and apocalypticism must be used with caution in the analysis of Q. Considerations of space, a companion paper on the Q discussion, and the prospect of a multi–year seminar have led me to omit any explicit discussion of relevant NT texts, but in general, I am wary of the wisdom/apocalytpic dichotomy that has become an important part of the Q discussion. It is my hope that the extended discussion of our topic will bring some clarity to the issues.

The thesis of this paper is that the entities usually defined as sapiential and apocalyptic often cannot be cleanly separated from one another because both are the products of wisdom circles that are becoming increasingly diverse in the Greco–Roman period. Thus, apocalyptic texts contain elements that are at home in wisdom literature, and wisdom texts reflect growing interest in eschatology. Moreover, claims to revelation, inspiration, or divine enlightenment can be found in both "sets" of texts. Our subject matter is complex and the issues are often not clear. The presentation in this paper is intended only to be suggestive—to present briefly *some* issues for discussion, some pointers toward an agenda.

III. Some Established Findings or Points of Consensus

The renewed discussion of apocalypticism that began in the early 1970s has produced some important results; in some cases they have found wide consensus.

It is useful to distinguish between three terms: the literary genre "apocalypse"; the "apocalyptic eschatology" found in such documents and, according to some scholars (e.g., Hanson 1975, 1976), in texts antecedent to the apocalypses; and "apocalypticism," "the symbolic universe in which an apocalyptic movement codifies its identity and interpretation of reality" (Hanson 1976, 29–30).

In order to be semantically meaningful, the terms "apocalyptic" and "apocalypticism" should designate entities for which revelation is a significant component. In this respect, it makes a great deal of sense to begin a study of apocalypticism with an analysis of texts that are widely agreed to be apocalypses, such as *1 Enoch*, Daniel, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 4 Ezra, *2* and *3 Baruch*, and the Book of Revelation (Koch).

While all of these texts contain, in part or as a whole, revelations of a hidden past or future and/or of hidden parts of the cosmos mediated through a revealer figure, they vary widely in their specific content and emphases (Collins 1979). For example:

- *1 Enoch* is a complex text attributed to a pre–Mosaic sage, which contains mythic narratives about the primordial past, a prophetic call based on a heavenly ascent, guided tours of the cosmos interpreted by angels, detailed Torah about the movement of the heavenly bodies, dream visions about the future of human history, and discourses composed of ethical admonitions and prophetic exhortations.
- In the Book of Daniel, the narrative section consists of a cycle of legends about the wisdom and faithful conduct of Jewish sages in exile. Revelation comes through dream visions and their interpretation, through inspired sages.
- Like Daniel the *Apocalypse of Abraham* combines legend (Abraham's rejection of idolatry), an ascent to the divine throne, and visions about shape of the cosmos and (mainly) the future of Israel.
- The contemporary apocalypses 4 Ezra and *2 Baruch*, claim to base their information on auditions and visions about the future of Israel, mediated or interpreted by angels. 4 Ezra in particular eschews the notion that one can know the kind of cosmic secrets revealed in *1 Enoch* (Stone 1976), and both 4 Ezra and *2 Baruch* understand wisdom in terms of the Mosaic Torah and its post–prophetic interpretation by scribes and sages.

In short, even when we tie the notion of apocalypticism to texts that are formally apocalypses, we find wide diversity in the content of what is revealed and the form through which it is mediated. *We must use the generic terms with caution and the recognition that we do not know exactly what we are talking about.*

It has long been recognized that Jewish apocalyptic texts are rooted, in part, in Israel's prophetic tradition. The throne visions in *1 Enoch* 12–16, Daniel 7, and the Apocalypse of Abraham recall Isaiah 6, 2 Kings 22, and Ezekiel 1–2. 1 Enoch roots the sage's authority as a revealer in a prophetic call scene that draws heavily of Ezekiel 1–2 and prepares Enoch to be preacher against the sins of the watchers. Although Daniel 7 is not a call scene, the seer describes the heavenly tribunal taking action against the rebellious kingdoms and kings of the earth. Both within and outside the framework of dream visions about the future, apocalyptic texts from *1 Enoch* to *2 Baruch* have an eschatological focus and emphasis that has much in common with the biblical prophetic texts.

The discussion of apocalyptic literature has also recognized that these texts draw on the language, genres, and motifs of Israel's wisdom literature. Even if von Rad overemphasized this point (Collins 1986, 355), scholars have continued to discuss the sapiential elements in apocalyptic texts (Smith; Coghenour 1978 and 1982; Argall).

In short, a careful study of Jewish apocalypses from 1 Enoch to the post–70 texts places us in a religious and intellectual world that is strongly reminiscent of the prophetic and sapiential corpora of the Hebrew Bible. The texts also reflect the influence of ancient near eastern myth and Mesopotamian mantic wisdom (e.g., Collins 1977a), but that is not our concern at present.

IV. Some Points for a Discussion of the Jewish Literature and its Settings

Working from the findings of a generation of scholarship and my own investigation especially of *1 Enoch*, I suggest that it is worthwhile to discuss the following issues, observations, and theses about the sapiential and apocalyptic literatures, their possible social settings, and the modern discussion of these bodies of literature.

A. Jewish Literature

1. Wisdom Literature: Its Interest in Prophecy and Claims to Inspiration

Although Israelite wisdom texts like Tobit, Sirach, and Baruch hold the Mosaic Torah in high regard and contain much (proverbial) instruction about (sometimes Torah-related) human conduct, they also have a high regard for the *prophetic* tradition, including its concern about future events, and they place the sage, scribe, or teacher in the role of an inspired spokesman of God and interpreter of Torah and prophets.

a. The Book of Tobit

The righteousness of Tobit and his family is tied to the Mosaic Torah, and Israel's exile is due to the people's apostasy from the Torah. Although Tobit is not a sage, as such, he speaks in proverbs, some of which are tied to the concerns of the Torah. His function as a court official is reminiscent of the sage Daniel and his colleagues, and his association with Ahikar recalls the heavily proverbial content of The Story of Akikar. Nonetheless, the Book of Tobit ends with a look toward the future. The Zion hymn in chapter 13 draws on the tradition of Second and Third Isaiah. Tobit predicts the time when the words of the prophets will be fulfilled in detail, and his scenario for the future in chapter 14 is reminiscent of *1 Enoch*'s periodized Apocalypse of Weeks (Nickelsburg 1988, 61). Tobit is the recipient of revelation when Raphael discloses his identity as one of the seven holy ones in the divine throne room, and Tobit's predictions presume a certainty about the future that, while tied to prophecy, functions as new revelation.

b. The Wisdom of ben Sira

For ben Sira, the Torah is the repository of heavenly wisdom, which the sage, inspired by God, expounds like prophecy (chap. 24). Wisdom instruction—both the exposition of Torah and practical advice—is the primary content of ben Sira's book. Nonetheless, ben Sira's fascination with the prophets is evident in chapters 44–50, which feature Moses, Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve. He also evidences a deep concern about the unfulfilled oracles of the prophets (notably Second and Third Isaiah) and the need that these divine spokesmen be found faithful (36:11–16). Moreover, he employs traditional prophetic literary forms (Baumgartner).

c. The Book of Baruch

The book of Baruch has important sapiential elements, makes explicit reference to the Mosaic Torah, and speaks in prophetic idiom. The book is attributed to the scribe of Jeremiah. The wisdom poem in chapter 3 is reminiscent of Job 28. In 4:1–9, the Torah is said to be the repository of

heavenly Wisdom (cf. Sirach 24), and both in these verses and in 3:29–30, the author takes up the idiom of the wisdom material in Deut 30:11–14. In the early chapters, Baruch speaks and acts like a prophet, employing the language of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as well as the prophetic voice of Moses in Deuteronomy. Israel's Exile was predicted by "your servant Moses" (Bar 2:28). The Book of Baruch concludes as the author predicts Israel's return from Exile (Deut 30:1–5), employing the idiom of Second and Third Isaiah (Bar 4:9–5:9).

To summarize, in various ways, the authors of Tobit, Sirach, and Baruch focus on the importance of the Mosaic Torah, employ the idiom of the wisdom texts of the Hebrew Bible, and evidence high respect for the predictions of Israel's prophets, either referring to them explicitly or speaking in the language of their writings. While we might debate whether these authors have an eschatological emphasis, they do operate with a teleology that anticipates a time when the prophetic oracle will reach their goal or fulfillment.

2. Apocalyptic Literature: Its Focus on Revelation and Use of Wisdom Elements

Although the heavy emphasis on prediction has led scholars to see the apocalypticists as successors to the prophets, at many points these apocalyptic texts speak in the idiom, motifs, and forms of Israelite *wisdom* literature. The variety in these texts, which span four hundred years (300 BCE to 100 CE) is especially evident in their attitudes toward the Mosaic Torah, their relationship to the prophets, and the emphasis that they place on the newness or derivative character of the revelation that they present.

a. *1 Enoch*

The collection known as *1 Enoch* is especially remarkable for its wisdom components (Coughenour 1978, 1982; Argall).[1] The content itself is described as "wisdom" (5:6; 37:1; 92:1; 93:10). The heart of the opening oracle is an appeal to observe the created world (2:1–5:4). Much of the content of Enoch's journeys is paralleled in wisdom texts like Job (Stone 1978). The two-ways instruction that runs through chapters 91 and 94–105 (e.g., 91:3–4, 18–19; 94:1–4; 99:10; 105:2) speaks the wisdom vocabulary of Proverbs, Tobit, and Sirach. The relationship of Enoch's wisdom to the Mosaic Torah is ambiguous. His revelations preceded those of Moses by millennia. At least in the Animal Vision, the giving of the Torah is deleted from the account of the Sinai experience (89:28–35). Instruction focuses on cosmology and, where it deals with ethical issues (chaps. 92–105), it parallels the concerns of the prophets and the wisdom corpus (Nickelsburg 1977), though not ignoring "the commandments of the Most High" (99:10). Especially striking is the use of the wisdom myth in 81:1–82:4, where, in contrast to Sirach 24 and Baruch 4:1, it is Enoch's books rather than the Mosaic Torah that are the earthly repository of heavenly wisdom (Argall, 125–35). Enoch's relationship to the prophets is also ambiguous. His use of prophetic forms is evident in the opening oracle of salvation and judgment (chaps. 1–5), which employs the vocabulary of the

[1] To my knowledge the first systematic attempt to compare in detail a sapiential text and an apocalyptic text is the dissertation of my student Randal A. Argall (1992). At many points my discussion is indebted to his work.

Balaam oracle and language reminiscent of Third Isaiah. Enoch's ascent to heaven is cast in the form of a prophetic call vision (chaps. 12–16). The Woes, Exhortations, and predictions of the future in chapters 92–105 also recall prophetic usage (Nickelsburg 1977). Nonetheless, the prophets are never cited, and the long recitation of Israel's history in the Animal Vision barely alludes to them (89:51–53). As with the Mosaic Torah, here Enoch's primordial prophecy long precedes the voice of the prophets.

b. The Book of Daniel

The Book of Daniel offers a narrower spectrum of wisdom components when compared to *1 Enoch.* Its chief feature is the mantic wisdom that dominates the stories in chapters 1–6 and runs through the visions in chapters 7–11. Daniel and his colleagues are skilled interpreters of dreams and visions, greatly exceeding the capabilities of their Babylonian counterparts. Lacking in Daniel are the many sapiential literary forms found in *1 Enoch,* the Enochic books' heavy emphasis on cosmology, and any equation between wisdom and Torah, even if the piety of Daniel and his friends relates to *kashrut* and the avoidance of idolatry. Daniel's relationship to the prophetic corpus has two aspects. The last vision draws on the prophecies of Isaiah (Ginsberg 1953), though it does not cite them. Alongside this use of prophetic material, which parallels *1 Enoch*'s approach, is the explicit concern with the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy in 9:2, 24.

c. *2 Baruch*

In *2 Baruch,* an extensive apocalypse from around the year 100 CE, wisdom is especially equated with the Torah (51:1–10). Although Baruch is the scribe mentioned in Jeremiah, he is the recipient of dream visions and, like the prophets, of the word of the Lord (1:1; 10:1). Different from Daniel, his interpretation of dream visions derives not from innate wisdom, but from conversation with God or an angel (e.g., chaps. 41–42, 55). Nonetheless, the use of prayer to trigger these interpretive conversations is reminiscent of Daniel 9 and Sir 39:5–8, and some of the wisdom vocabulary in these prayers is noteworthy (38:1–4; 54:1, 13).

d. 4 Ezra

For Baruch's contemporary, the author of 4 Ezra, wisdom is less tied to Torah than to the understanding of eschatological secrets, and though Ezra is inspired to rewrite the Torah (14:1–26), similar inspiration results in Ezra's dictation of the twenty-four secret books (14:37–48). *1 Enoch*'s strong interest in cosmological wisdom, however, appears to be the object of polemic in 4 Ezra (Stone 1976). Finally, the literary form of both *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra, with their argumentative dialogues between the sage and God over the issue of theodicy, are reminiscent of the Book of Job.

3. Different Emphases in Wisdom and Apocalyptic Texts

Our survey has identified ways in which texts that are usually categorized as sapiential can equate wisdom with Torah and also transmit elements of the prophetic tradition, and how they can even make claims of revelation or inspiration. Conversely, we have noted wisdom components in the apocalyptic texts, with wisdom and Torah being equated especially in *2*

Baruch. The prophetic element, especially noteworthy in the many strata of *1 Enoch*, is to some extent retained in the ongoing interest in eschatology.

In short, both sapiential and apocalyptic texts display a number of common elements: wisdom forms; an interest in Torah and prophets; prediction of future events; ethical admonitions; claims of revelation. Of course, there are many variations among the texts in each group. Nonetheless, in the paragraphs that follow, I shall suggest some differences in nuance and emphasis that may help us to distinguish the one group from the other. In making these generalizations, however, I shall also indicate some exceptions and qualifications, which reflect the complexity in the historical development of sapiential and apocalyptic literature.

a. Dualism

Some apocalypses are strongly dualistic in their orientation. Enoch, for example, is marked by: a spacial dualism between earth and heaven, or the inhabited world and the recesses of the cosmos inaccessible to humanity; a temporal dualism between the present time and the eschatological future, and, perhaps, the primordial past; an ontological dualism between humans and a vast world of good and, especially, evil spirits (Nickelsburg 1991). The Book of Daniel reflects the same general viewpoint.

Exception 1: The Book of Tobit posits a heavenly throne room from which emissaries are sent to earth to do battle with a world of evil spirits who inflict illness on human beings (Nickelsburg 1988).

Exception 2: Although 4 Ezra and *2 Baruch* have a strong eschatological emphasis, neither focuses on a heaven/earth dichotomy or the activity of evil spirits.

b. Eschatology

Although wisdom texts like Tobit, Sirach, and Baruch work with prophetic eschatological themes, eschatology is more dominant in most of the texts that we describe as apocalypses.

Qualification 1: For some apocalypses like *2 Enoch* and *3 Baruch*, eschatology focuses more on the fate of the individual than on a general conclusion to history (Collins 1984, 198–201).

Qualification 2: *1 Enoch* is striking for the diversity with which it deals with eschatology. Little space is devoted to periodized reviews of history. The judgment is rooted in creation, where the places of reward and punishment are located (chaps. 17– 36). Reward and punishment are referred to in woes and exhortations typical of the prophetic tradition (chaps. 92–105).

c. New or Derived Revelation

The claims of revelation in the wisdom literature tend to be tied to traditional texts, namely, the Mosaic Torah and the prophets. The authors of apocalyptic texts, while they actually draw heavily on the Torah and the prophets, present new revelations, although they attribute them variously to pre–Mosaic authors (Enoch and Abraham), Moses himself, and post–Mosaic

figures (Daniel, Ezra and Baruch). The sources of these new revelations are said to be cosmic journeys and dream visions, interpreted by angels

> *Exception*: On occasion, the association with scripture is explicit in apocalyptic texts: Daniel obtains an explicit interpretation of Jeremiah, albeit from an angel. Both the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Testament of Moses* are expanded versions of parts of the Pentateuch, which, however, are said to be part of a revelation to the author of the biblical text.

4. Texts that Complicate the Categories

a. The Wisdom of Solomon

Its attribution to the author of the Book of Proverbs and Qoheleth, its frequent references to wisdom, and its use of the literary form of the proverb situate the Wisdom of Solomon within the tradition of sapiential literature. Other characteristics of the work suggest close analogies with apocalyptic thought (Collins 1977), even if they are expressed in ways that seem closely related to Greek philosophy. The story of the righteous one in chapters 2 and 5 is dominated by eschatology. In this context immortality is an important conception, but the description of the judgment in chapter 5 reflects a Jewish apocalyptic tradition attested also in *1 Enoch* 62–63 (Nickelsburg 1972, 70–78). The cosmic dualism that governs the story also suggests Platonic thought, while reflecting Jewish apocalyptic cosmology. Moreover, the form of the story of the persecuted and exalted righteous one recalls the genre attested both in the wisdom tradition of Genesis 39 and the stories included in chapters 3 and 6 of the apocalyptic Book of Daniel. Finally, wisdom for this author involves revelation of divine mysteries and an understanding of the secrets of the heavenly realm, unknown to the ungodly (2:22–3:4).

An intriguing aspect of the Wisdom of Solomon is its parallels to the Book of Enoch (Larcher 1969, 106–12). Enoch is the epitome of the righteous person (4:10–15). In addition to the judgment scene in chapter 5 which is paralleled in *1 Enoch* 62–63, the general form of argumentation in chapters 2–5 is reminiscent of *1 Enoch* 102:4–104:8 (Nickelsburg 1972, 128–29). It appears, therefore, that the first part of the Wisdom of Solomon is a Hellenizing and philosophizing version of Jewish apocalyptic tradition. The transformation is possible because of the perceived compatibility of the alternate forms of expression.

The interest in prophetic tradition, which we have observed in both sapiential and apocalyptic writings is present also in the Wisdom of Solomon. The story of the persecution and exaltation of the righteous one in chapters 2 and 5 is a traditional, rewritten form of Isaiah 52–53 (Nickelsburg 1972, 70–78), set in part in the context of other material drawn from Third Isaiah. Like other texts in the apocalyptic tradition, the author reshapes rather than quotes the prophetic prototype. Strikingly, the prophetic figure in the Deutero–Isaianic text looks like the sages in Genesis 39ff. and Daniel 3 and 6.

b. The Qumran Scrolls

The Qumran Scrolls are a treasure trove and a mine field for students of apocalyptic literature. Although no apocalypse has been identified as originating at Qumran, the Scrolls containing many motifs characteristic of

apocalyptic literature. The Community Rule (1QS) offers an example of the complexity of the situation, attesting both sapiential and apocalyptic conceptions and characteristics.

1QS 3:13–4:26 is a section of two-ways teaching with many analogies in sapiential literature (Nickelsburg 1972, 156–64). A major difference from these wisdom texts, however, is the pronounced dualism that governs the section. Human works are functions of the good and evil spirits. The section concludes with reference to an eschatological confrontation between the two spirits and an eschatological purifying of the earth (4:18–26), both with analogies in apocalyptic literature (Nickelsburg 1972, 158; see, in addition, *1 Enoch* 10:11–11:2).

Although the two-ways section lacks the revelatory component necessary for our definition of apocalyptic literature, 1QS 11:3–9 is startling for its saturation with language and conceptions at home in accounts of visionary experiences recorded by the apocalypticists: revelation in the form of enlightening and seeing; the mystery to come; the fount of righteousness; knowledge hidden from humans; the dwelling place of glory; standing in the presence of the holy ones, the sons of heaven.

Thus while 1QS is not generically an apocalypse and should not be defined as apocalyptic in a technical sense, its dualism, eschatology and use of apocalyptic conceptions indicate that the authors of this wisdom and legal text worked within an apocalyptic orbit.

B. Institutions and Social Settings

Since texts are products of persons and communities, the discussion of apocalyptic and sapiential material should include an attempt to reconstruct the institutions, social settings, and functions that gave rise to this literature and made use of it. Such a focus may also help us to avoid the elusive abstraction that sometimes attends the history of ideas.

1. Figures and Functions in the Texts

A brief survey of some of the texts surveyed above may enable us to identify types of figures who were involved in the generating and use of sapiential and apocalyptic literature and some of their roles or functions.

a. The Wisdom of ben Sira

Among all our texts, the Wisdom of ben Sira is the only one attributed to a named historical figure; hence, it may be useful to start in his "non-fictional" world with his own self-description. Ben Sira's title, according to 38:24, is "scribe" (*grammateus*), here and elsewhere his work involves not only the ability to write, but also divinely given "wisdom" (*sophia*). The prologue of the book, written by ben Sira's grandson and translator, and three passages in the book describe his activity. According to the prologue (7–13), ben Sira read and studied the Torah, the Prophets, and the other books of the fathers and then wrote his book for the purpose of instruction and wisdom (*paideia* and *sophia*). The third person singular self-description in 39:1–11 also refers to the study of "the Torah of the Most High," "the wisdom of the ancients," which includes proverbs and parables, and "prophecy" (vv. 1–3). The use of "ponder" (*dianoeomai*) with reference to the Torah, "occupy oneself with" (*ascholeō*) of

the prophets, and "seek out" (*ekzēteō*, twice) of wisdom indicates a thorough, ongoing scholarly process, one that excludes the possibility of another occupation (38:24). This daily activity is preceded by prayer, which, the Lord willing, results in the scribe's being filled with "the spirit of understanding" (*pneuma syneseōs*) that enables him to pour forth words of wisdom (*sophia*), rightly direct "counsel" and "knowledge" (*boulē* and *epistēmē*) (cf. Isa 11:2–3, of the king's inspired wisdom for judgment), ponder "secrets" (*apokrypha*), and "make the instruction of his teaching shine forth" (*ekphanei paideian didaskalias autou*). In 24:27, 32–34, ben Sira speaks again of his teaching activity as enlightenment, analogous to inspired prophecy, which extends the life-giving power of Torah's wisdom, preserving it in ben Sira's book. In 51:21–29 the wording suggests that his teaching activity has a specific locus, in his "house of instruction" (*oikos paideias*). In addition, 39:4 describes the scribe as a travelling scholar, who presents his knowledge before rulers and in foreign lands.

Thus, ben Sira the scribe is a *scholar* of the Torah, the Prophets, and the wisdom texts, who is also a *teacher*. The form of his teaching, to judge from his book, is not halakic exposition of the Torah, but proverbial. A text like 3:1–16 suggests a kind of homiletical exposition on the implications of the Torah, and the form of many of his proverbs embodies the notion that obedience and disobedience result in divine blessing or judgment.[2] Taken as a whole, the body of his teaching has a strong ethical and admonitory character, rather than being directed simply to the transmission of knowledge.

b. *1 Enoch*

A discussion of the real-life figures behind *1 Enoch* is difficult because of the pseudepigraphic character of the text. But a few observations are possible, first with reference to Enoch. The authors' term is "scribe" (12:3; 92:1) and "scribe of righteousness" or "scribe of truth" (*grammateus tēs dikaiosynēs* [12:4], *grammateus tēs alētheias* [15:1]). Most basically, the scribal designation relates to his alleged writing of the Enochic corpus, whose character as book is emphasized in 81:6–82:3, 100:6, and 104:12–13. In addition, his writing and reading of the watchers' petition in 12:3–13:7, which has an analogy in Ezra 9–10, places him in the role of a religious mediator, if not, strictly speaking, a priest. Like ben Sira, the fictional Enoch presents his books as the embodiment of life-giving heavenly wisdom, intended for "all the generations of eternity" (82:1–4; cf. Sir 24:33). Though he does not call his instruction "prophecy," he repeatedly speaks in the idiom and forms of the biblical prophets (see above, IV.A.1), and though the text does not cite them, it knows them well.

If we move from the fictional world of the primordial sage to the real world of the authors, we find figures who parallel Enoch the scribe. In 98:9 and 99:10 they are "the wise" (*phronimoi*), and their "words" are heard and, to judge from 98:15 (where their opponents are mentioned as writing books), they write their words in books that are read. Thus the fictional Enoch has real life counterparts, known as "the wise" and functioning as scribes. They are, in fact, the persons who compose and utter the prophetic woes that run through chapters 94–103. In this respect that parallel Enoch's role as God's spokesman

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[2] Ibid., 225–339.

of doom against the wicked. The form of much of the material in chapters 94–105 is typical of sapiential literature (e.g., two-ways sayings), but a passage like 99:2 (Greek) suggests that they are also engaged in halakic disputes about the proper interpretation of the Torah (Nickelsburg 1982, 334–43). Much of the content in *1 Enoch* relates to the rewards and punishment that will come to those who obey or disobey Enochic Torah. In addition, Stone has rightly seen behind the cosmology of the journey accounts in chapters 17–36 the activity of learned scholars (1978), and there are remarkable parallels between *1 Enoch* and the Wisdom of ben Sira in this respect (Argall, 136–224). However, it needs to be emphasized that the authors of *1 Enoch* 17–19 and 20–36 have put their cosmological wisdom at the disposal of their eschatological message (Nickelsburg 1981, 54–55).

c. The Book of Daniel

Different from Sirach and *1 Enoch*, the Book of Daniel places little emphasis on the role of the scribe. Daniel is alleged to have written down the visions in chapters 7–12, but even in 12:9 this is not explicit; in all of Daniel's visions the emphasis is on his receipt of, or participation in the visions, the interpretations that he heard, and his undefined transmission of them. The chief quality of Daniel and his friends, apart from their faithfulness to their God (1:17), is their wisdom as inspired interpreters of dream visions, similar to, but vastly superior to their Babylonian counterparts.[3] Different from Enoch, who received and recounts visions, these persons belong to a professional class of interpreters. In addition, though they are not interpreters of the Torah, both the three youths and Daniel are God's spokesmen, preaching, on the basis of revealed information, against the arrogance of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar and announcing God's judgment. The role is prophetic, even if they are not called prophets.

A hint of the real world of Daniel's authors appears in 12:3 in the reference to the *maśkilîm*, who "cause many to be righteous." The teaching role of these wisdom figures may be suggested in the claim that they will "shine" (*yazhîru*) like the firmament, perhaps an allusion to the metaphor of teaching as enlightenment (cf. Sir 24:24:27; 39:8; cf. *1 Enoch* 5:8 Greek; 1QH 4:5–6, 27). The teaching role is explicit in the statement that they cause many to be righteous. Striking in 12:3 is the author's use of Isa 52:13 and 53:10; the prophetic Servant of that text is identified with the wise teachers of the Maccabean period. In view of the issues at stake in chapters 1–6 (observance of *kashrut* and rejection of idolatry) and in the Maccabean period, these teachers are rightly seen as teachers of the Torah, encouraging other Jews to stand fast in righteous conduct.

d. The Wisdom of Solomon

The protagonist in the Wisdom of Solomon 2 and 5 is not only a righteous person, but one who, inspired by the knowledge given by God (2:13) and privy to divine secrets (2:22), speaks against the sins of the godless (2:12), claiming to be God's son or servant (2:13). Combining motifs in Daniel 1–6

[3] Although ben Sira is suspicious of dream interpretation (34:1–8), his description of the sage who travels to foreign courts (39:4) is reminiscent of the stories in Daniel 1–6.

and 12:3, he is the righteous and wise spokesman of God, persecuted and exalted, and he is described in the language of Isaiah 52–53. Once again, the prophet–like figure emerges as a wise man. The role of scribe or writer is implied in the book only in Solomon's authorship of the book. The real author, of course, is an expositor of Torah and prophets, who speaks in the idiom of Israelite wisdom and Greek philosophy.

e. The Qumran Texts

The Qumran texts provide many hints about their authors and their roles. The sapiential and eschatological instruction in 1QS 3:13–4:26 is for the *maśkil* to use in teaching the community (3:13). The Damascus Document describes a plurality of sages (*ḥkmym*) and persons of perception (*nbwnym*) who are led by one who "searches" (*drš*) the Torah (CD 6:2–11). A continued process of Torah study is reflected in 1QS 8:12–16, and 1QS 5:7–9 makes it clear that the community's definitive interpretation is revealed. The author of 1QH 4:5–5:4 describes himself as an enlightened teacher of the Torah, cast in the image of Second Isaiah's Servant (Nickelsburg 1981, 138–39), who stands in opposition to a cadre of false interpreters and seers (cf. *1 Enoch* 98:8–99:10; Nickelsburg 1982, 334–43). The Teacher of Righteousness (cf. Enoch, the scribe of righteousness) is both an expounder of the Torah and an inspired interpreter of the prophets (CD 1:10–12; 1QpHab 6:1–5). In addition to the study of the Torah and the prophets, the sapiential ambience of Qumranic activity (ben Sira's third area of activity) is evident not just in the term *madkil*, but in the language and conceptions of texts like 1QS 11 and 1QH 1.

f. *2 Baruch* and 4 Ezra

I note only briefly that the alleged authors of two post-70 apocalypses, Ezra and Baruch, although they speak like prophets at times, are both scribes. Their activity, moreover, involves the receipt and transmission of revelation. Ezra's function is to reconstitute the Torah, while Baruch makes heavy allusion to the wise interpreters of the law who will follow him as community leaders (chap. 77; see Sayler, 116–17). Thus, again, we are led toward scribes as prophetic successors with responsibility for teaching Torah and interest in eschatology.

2. Synthesizing our Information: Developments in Israelite Wisdom Circles

Our review of texts has pointed us toward a related set of figures with specific roles or functions. Of course, it is not possible to equate all of these types of figures with one another, but I shall risk framing an hypothesis about the situation in the fourth to the second century BCE.

In the Greco–Roman period, the study of the Torah and the collection and study of prophetic oracles became a major occupation among "scribes" and "the wise." Although these persons worked with the vocabulary and conceptions of the proverbial wisdom tradition, they were interpreters of the Mosaic Torah and understood themselves to be the heirs of the prophets.[4] Theirs was a learned profession, dedicated to "searching" (Heb. *drš*) ancient texts for new meanings.[5] As such, they were scholars and teachers. However,

4 See Hengel 1: 134–35.

5 See Smith, who concludes that apocalypticism is a learned, scribal phenomenon.

standing in the train of the prophets, they also played the role of preachers, though precisely in what settings is not clear. Through their interpretation of Torah *and* prophets, a new thing was coming into being. While some of the prophets surely knew some of the Mosaic traditions and could speak in a sapiential idiom, "the wise" framed their ethical instruction with reference to the *Torah*, in the genres used by *the prophets*, and in *wisdom idiom*. In addition, their sensitivity to the realities of their historical circumstances led them increasingly to employ the language and historical scheme of Deuteronomy 28–32 and the eschatological scenarios of the prophets, notably Second and Third Isaiah, to describe problem and solution.

There was clearly a close relationship between these interpreters of the tradition and the "apocalypticists," those who claimed that the new teaching they presented was *revelation* apart from the Torah and the prophets. This is attested in the manifold similarities evident in their common use of the literary forms and vocabulary of the wisdom tradition and the titles "the wise" and "scribe," their keen de facto interest in both the Torah and the prophets, and their focus on the future resolution of present troubles.

As we compare the sapiential and apocalyptic literatures, we shall *not* discover that ben Sira and the authors of Enoch and Daniel were really clones of one another. Indeed they had some serious points of disagreement. Nonetheless, they appear to be different species of the same genus, and as is often the case, one argues most heatedly with those most similar to oneself, or those using different methods to draw divergent and sometimes conflicting conclusions from a common starting point.

The activity of interpreting the Torah had its own variations, developing alternatively into halakic refinement and sapiential instruction. The former may well reflect the belief that the circumstances of the nation or one's community reflected the covenantal curses and required careful searching of the Torah to determine precisely how it was to be obeyed (Jub 23:17; CD 1).

In discussing the social settings in which the wise did their exposition and admonition, we need to consider the issue of community and community setting. Here caution is important, because diversity is likely. The detailed evidence that we have about the Qumran community is helpful but can send us in wrong directions. Some of the apocalyptic texts in *1 Enoch* do suggest a sectarian setting (Nickelsburg 1982), though of what sort is unclear. Closed groups can be the function of halakhic disputes, but *1 Enoch* breaks the mold with its openness to outsiders (indeed, Gentiles, it would appear). Daniel is an apocalypse that suggests an open, non–sectarian setting with anyone in Hellenizing Israel as the potential object of the author's admonition.

The spectrum of allusions in the sapiential and apocalyptic literature suggest many possibilities for consideration as one thinks of concrete settings: school (of what sort); synagogue (with what meaning); temple court; closed conventicles; the open market place. All of this requires hard work with Jewish and non–Jewish texts, as well as epigraphic and archeological evidence, using the tools of philology, literary criticism, and social scientific methods, and keeping an open mind that is not bound to traditional categories and conclusions.

3. Two Cautions about Compartmentalization

a. Confusing Functions with Institutions and Offices

Although I wish to avoid the notion than everyone was like everyone else, it seems important to emphasize that the differentiation of functions need not indicate a corresponding differentiation in offices and institutions. We need not suppose that first century teachers of the Torah and the prophets were professors of the academic study of religion, who might never take to the pulpit or the soap box. Indeed, texts as different as *1 Enoch*, the Wisdom of ben Sira, and certain Qumranic texts referring to the Teacher of Righteousness seem to indicate that sages of very different dispositions engaged in analogous (though not totally identical) sets of functions. It would be worthwhile to set up a table or grid in which one could plot: text, titles or self–designations, functions, and settings.

b. Confusing Scholarly Terminology and Historical Reality

The history of scholarship indicates that we have sometimes confused our scholarly abstractions and heuristic categories with flesh and blood realities in the ancient culture that we study. Terms like sapiential, apocalyptic, and eschatological are useful and, indeed, necessary, but they must be seen for what they are: windows into another world, means for trying to understand that to which we do not have first hand access. It is imperative that the means not be construed as the end, or the window, as the landscape.

The history of scholarship also attests the ways in which our categories have become hermetically sealed compartments that give the impression that each refers to, or contains something totally different from the other. Thus "wisdom" or "sapiential" is distinct from "apocalyptic." By focusing intently on one or the other, as the thing itself, we fail to see that in the world from which they have come to us, they were related parts of an organic whole, each with some of the same genes as the other. Having used the terms "wisdom" or "sapiential" and "apocalyptic" in this paper to describe discreet bodies of literature, I have drawn conclusions that suggest that these are flawed categories.

4. Thinking Holistically about the Past

My observations, as rough and flawed as they are, invite us to think holistically about the past. In synchronic terms, we can consider the following:

- How did the apocalypticism variously attested in the texts we have surveyed relate to broader currents and counter–currents in the circles of the learned successors of the prophets?
- In what various ways were eschatology and ethics related to each other in the texts of the Greco–Roman period and the activities of those who created and read them?

We also need to think about the crucial diachronic dimension:

- Can we find a continuum from prophet to sage?
- Is it really meaningful to use the term "*apocalyptic* eschatology" to refer both to the prophet Third Isaiah, whose oracle is not an apocalypse, and his successor, the author of *1 Enoch* 26–27, who cast material from Isaiah 65–66 into the form of an apocalypse?

- What were the different nuances in the notions of revelation or inspiration held by the prophets and their various successors?

Above all, I wish to emphasize the need to study text in context. Part of the bind that scholarship has gotten itself into is the result of dealing with texts and our abstract descriptions of them apart from the real worlds that created the texts. In fact, texts are historical artifacts. As we try to understand the functions that they fulfilled and the settings in which they were employed, we may discover that the similarities in texts that *we have decided* belong to different categories are not really all that strange after all, because in the wholeness of life in antiquity they were tied together in ways that we have yet to understand.[6] In short, the problem may not be in the texts, but in the categories and methods that we have used to describe and interpret them.

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6 In my SBL paper, "Tobit and Enoch: Distant Cousins with a Recognizable Resemblance" (1988) I struggled with the problem of the similarities between a sapiential and an apocalyptic text. The configuration of these similarities will not go away, and we need to find some appropriate tools and categories to explain the common genes in these family members.

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Wisdom Justified by All Her Children: Examining Allegedly Disparate Traditions in Q

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Probably because of the different orientations or theologies expressed in key texts, apocalypticism and wisdom have become dichotomized as paradigmatic worldviews according to which New Testament literature and figures can be interpreted. With his call through an *apocalypsis* of Christ and his focus on the parousia of Christ as the sequel to his crucifixion and resurrection, Paul is clearly "apocalyptic." But Apollos, the eloquent missionary from Alexandria, who invaded Paul's turf in Corinth with a message of *sophia* and *gnōsis*, stands on the wisdom side. John's revelation on Patmos, of course, is apocalyptic, while the epistle of James is wisdom. According to the work of the Q Section and a number of recent publications on Q, the dichotomy between sapiential instruction and apocalyptic judgment is the key to understanding the Synoptic Sayings Source and the Jesus movement that produced it. Indeed, say the Q experts, so clear are the differences between the sapiential material and the apocalyptic elements in Q that there must have been two major steps in the composition of the document, a formative set of sapiential speeches which were later redacted by the addition of a layer of apocalyptic sayings.

The intended agenda of this new consultation is a broader study of the relationship between Jewish wisdom and apocalyptic literatures and that between sapiential and apocalyptic elements in early Christianity in whatever dimensions, literary, ideological, and/or sociological. In the New Testament side of the discussion we begin with a focus on recent discussion of Q because there appears to be a serious divergence of opinion between those who have participated in the Q Section, on the one hand, and those who are more familiar with Jewish wisdom and apocalyptic literature, on the other. Some of our colleagues not involved in the Q Section simply shake their heads that so many apparently intelligent card-carrying members of the guild can take seriously an utterly hypothetical document. (In response, Q scholars acquainted with the intricacies of the early transmission of the texts of the Gospels can simply point out that the text of Mark is also a hypothetical reconstruction.) Other are more sympathetic to the interpretation of Q, but are puzzled that so much is claimed on the basis of the supposed dichotomy between sapiential and apocalyptic genres, forms, functions, and motifs. We hope, in this consultation, to provide a forum in which, through a critical review of recent analyses of Q, we can explore a number of issues in the

relationship between wisdom and apocalypticism, from the importance of genre for meaning through the mixing of particular forms and the social role of sages to the discernment of social location and worldview. While there are now numerous recent publications on Q, many from long-standing participants in the Q Section, there has not been much critical engagement with those publications by others. This consultation (and this paper in preparation) may then be an opportunity for those who have not shared the assumptions and analyses of the Q Section to engage those who have in some probing discussions.

The dichotomy between sapiential and apocalyptic forms and theology has been prominent in American discussions of Q for some time, long before Kloppenborg's detailed delineation of a formative sapiential stratum and a redactional apocalyptic stratum (1987), which has become canonical for some in the Q Section. As Kloppenborg notes, in his programmatic studies of the different types of gospel literature, Koester proposed the hypothesis that became the key to subsequent analysis. Very recently, moreover, there has been some criticism of the hypotheses of different strata in Q based on the dichotomy between sapiential and apocalyptic. Yarbro Collins (1989) made a detailed response primarily to Koester, while J. Collins (1993) and Horsley (1989, with response by Kloppenborg) focused primarily on Kloppenborg's extended hypothesis. Rather than repeat those criticisms (which are now relatively accessible for those interested) we can focus discussion on several of the interrelated issues they raised in an attempt to focus further discussion.

Because his formulations of fifteen and even thirty years ago became so central to subsequent analyses of Q, a number of the issues requiring discussion can be raised by reference to a paragraph by Koester that Kloppenborg (1986:447; 1987:33) deemed key for the hypothesis of Q strata. (It should be noted that Koester has recently presented a highly nuanced interpretation of the the Synoptic Sayings Source that decisively qualifies the dichotomy between sapiential and prophetic-apocalyptic; see Koester 1990.) This focal paragraph should enable us to see how the understanding of Q as comprised of two very different strata, formally and theologically-christologically, fits into a grand scheme of early Jewish literature as involving the same generic and theological dichotomy. (The content of the notes are included in brackets because they are important for the points being made.)

> The primary problem in the assessment of the *Synoptic Sayings Source* is the difficulty which arises when one tries to determine its literary genre [Robinson, "LOGOI SOPHON"]. On the one hand, wisdom materials are obvious. In addition to proverbs and rules for right conduct, there are I-sayings in which Jesus speaks in the first person with the voice of Wisdom [Matt 11:25-30] and even a quotation from wisdom material [Luke 11:29-51]. On the basis of such materials, the *Synoptic Sayings Source* would have to be identified as a wisdom book, comparable to such works as the Wisdom of Solomon. On the other hand, a number of sayings reveal a very different theological orientation which is more clearly evident in the sayings about the coming Son of Man [Luke 17:22-32]. This eschatological expectation

> has its ultimate origin in the Book of Daniel. It appropriately dominates the Synoptic Apocalypse (Mark 13). Among the wisdom sayings of the *Synoptic Sayings Source*, it is a foreign element. If the genre of the wisdom book was the catalyst for the composition of sayings of Jesus into a "gospel," and if the christological concept of Jesus as the teacher of wisdom and as the presence of heavenly Wisdom dominated its creation, the apocalyptic orientation of the *Synoptic Sayings Source* with its christology of the coming Son of man is due to a secondary redaction of an older wisdom book. (Koester, 1980:112-13)

This paragraph helps pose several issues for the way in which Q has been interpreted in the last decade or two.

- Since Robinson's seminal essay "LOGOI SOPHON," genre has been the starting point of analysis. Perhaps because it was assumed that Q was basically a collection of sayings, the procedure for determining the genre of the document or its component strata has usually been to determine the type or category (form) of the individual sayings (even though most of the individual sayings are not particularly intelligible apart from their immediate or larger literary context in Q). If primary focus falls on the individual sayings, however, are the shape and contours of the overall document being missed?
- The genre ("Sayings of the Wise") is understood as "the catalyst for the composition of the sayings of Jesus into a "gospel" (Robinson 1964; Kloppenborg 1987:30). One senses that a literary model for genre underlies the discussion of this point, despite Robinson's implication that the genre of *logoi sophōn* functioned in an oral milieu (Kloppenborg 1987:29). We probably need to probe a good deal more into the function of oral modes of communication before we can attribute such "generative" importance to a (literary) genre in a predominantly oral milieu.
- The supposed quotation from wisdom material, Luke 11:49-51, as well as the other explicit reference to Wisdom, 7:35, and the other text where supposedly Wisdom speaks, 13:34-35, are placed squarely in the redactional *apocalyptic* stratum by those who have worked out the "stratigraphy" in detail. On the other hand, the text where Jesus supposedly speaks with the voice of Wisdom, Matt 5:25-27//Luke 10:21-22, which is located in the sapiential stratum, displays the most explicitly "apocalyptic" language in Q and has Jesus give thanks that God has "hidden these things" specifically from "the wise"! (few would include in Q the continuation in Matt 11:28-30, one of the principal proof-texts for Matthean "wisdom-christology"). If Wisdom appears in apocalyptic or prophetic sayings and sapiential sayings use apocalyptic language against the sages, perhaps the criteria of categorization require attention.
- Wisdom of Solomon, here mentioned as representing the theological orientation of Wisdom, is commonly thought to have developed partly from apocalyptic influence. It is also thought to stem from a Hellenistic diaspora milieu and to contain a fairly developed wisdom-speculation and individual devotion to Wisdom. It raises the issue of how wide a range of wisdom literature is included in the synthetic concept by reference to which Q is to be interpreted.

- The book of Daniel, to which is attributed the origin of a "very different theological orientation," portrays "Daniel" and his friends as wise men skilled in some of the traditional specializations of sages, such as dream interpretation, and portrays the *maskilim* who apparently wrote the book as making many wise (11:33-35). If apocalyptic literature was produced by teachers of wisdom, how and why does its orientation differ?
- The eschatological expectation (evident in the coming Son of Man sayings) is deemed a foreign element among the wisdom sayings of Q. But we find apocalyptic/eschatological sayings side by side with wisdom sayings in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and wisdom sayings included in the apocalyptic paraenesis of *1 Enoch* 94-104 (esp. 101). Apparently the form of sayings and their use or function as well as the relation between sayings and their framing requires some closer analysis with regard to the ideology or orientation being expressed in particular documents.
- Can Q be said to express or presuppose a "christological concept of Jesus" either as "the teacher of wisdom" or as "the presence of heavenly Wisdom"? Or does Q in its final form have a "christology" of "the coming Son of Man"? It was an important breakthrough (thanks to Koester) to realize that Q might have an understanding of Jesus basically different from the crucifixion-resurrection christology of Mark. But is the concept of "christology" (or other modern theological concepts) even appropriate to Q?
- Does Q in its final form have an "apocalyptic orientation"?

It will not be possible to address any of these issues adequately or all of them equally in the scope of a conference discussion paper. Others will have far more of a critical grasp of most of them. The following sections attempt only to open discussion a little further on some of these issues, along with one or two related ones.

Of Taxonomy and Genre: The Synoptic Sayings Source Is Not a Collection of Sayings but a Series of Discourses

The genre of Q cannot be established by determining the types of sayings by the broad general categories of "sapiential" and "apocalyptic" for a few basic reasons. (a) Precious few of the sayings can be classified as "apocalyptic" according to the standard criteria of form criticism. Clearly the term has been used loosely and the characterization of several of the Q sayings as apocalyptic has involved reading motifs from the scholarly construct "apocalypticism" into Q (Yarbro Collins 1989:370; Horsley 1989: Jacobson). Recognizing this Kloppenborg (1989:208) now agrees that the "apocalyptic" character of the supposed redactional stratum cannot be stressed. With that admission, however, the dichotomy with regard to the types of sayings in supposed Q strata would seem to disappear. Kloppenborg admitted that of the five "sapiential" speeches, the bulk of material in two of them (Q 10 on mission and Q 11:2-4, 9-13 on prayer) was not typically sapiential at all. Mack (1988: 613) was even more revealing in his admission that the material in the formative stratum is *not* sapiential "with respect to traditional forms of

conventional wisdom," but appears "sapiential" only by comparison with the "apocalyptic" secondary layer.

(b) The categorization according to the dichotomized concepts "sapiential" and "apocalyptic" simply does not fit certain key sayings, as noted above. That Wisdom appears in apocalyptic or prophetic sayings while sapiential sayings use apocalyptic language against the sages suggests that these scholarly categories do not elucidate Q's medium and message. Those same sayings indicate that there is a relationship, apparently an important and particular one, between wisdom and revelation in Q (one which cannot be captured by our scholarly dichotomy). Those Q sayings claim vindication by Wisdom for the poor, the persecuted, the babes, the prophets, to whom the kingdom has been "revealed," over against "the sages," the professionals who cultivate wisdom.

(c) As was clearly understood in form-criticism, it does not take us very far to categorize sayings by purely formal features. Analysis of the function of sayings in social context was always a major aspect of form-criticism. In many a case in Q, the function of a saying is not clear without reference to at least the immediate literary context.

Recognition that genre is a key factor determining meaning has been a crucial step toward wider recognition of the importance of both literary context and social context for understanding the sayings of Jesus. The genre of Q, however, would have to be determined from the structure and contours (and function?) of the whole "document," the relations among the sayings as means of communication, rather than from the classifications of the sayings. This (rather than their intended purpose as arguments for stratification of Q) appears to be the implication of Kloppenborg's "compositional" analysis of the Q speeches. Much of the scholarly analysis of Q and other sources of the sayings of Jesus has assumed, in effect, that "in the beginning was the aphorism," the separate individual saying. In fact, to extricate the teachings of Jesus from later narrative and other literary contexts which overlaid the earliest form of those sayings, we have struggled mightily precisely to isolate those nuggets of Jesus' wisdom. But not only does meaning depend upon context, suggesting that the current literary context of Jesus sayings would have to be the starting point of analysis (Horsley 1991); it may well be that individual sayings were not the basic medium of communication but components of larger units which were that basic medium of communication.

In generic terms, the Synoptic Sayings Source is *not* simply *a collection of sayings, but a series of discourses* or speeches focused on several related topics/concerns, as I have recently proposed, if somewhat provisionally and without fuller argument from comparative materials and social context (1991). In the discussion of Q since Robinson's "LOGOI SOPHON" and Koester's programmatic delineation of the different forms of Gospel literature (1965; 1968), Q and the *Gospel of Thomas* have been assigned to the same broad genre, with *Gos. Thom.* hypothesized to "reflect a stage antecedent to the final form of Q in terms of generic development" (Horsley 1991:202). Note that I was still assuming the standard "trajectory" of development from isolated sayings or pairs and trios of sayings to larger complexes. It is possible that *Gos. Thom.* represents a breaking up of larger complexes of sayings, or that no "trajectory"

should be projected either way, from simpler to more complex units or vice versa. In any case, if both *Gos. Thom.* and Q, with their strikingly different understandings of Jesus and the kingdom, along with *Pirke Avot* or Sirach, are to be assigned to the same genre (*logoi sophōn*), then that genre is so broad as to be undistinguishing for any of those documents, except perhaps vis-à-vis a narrative such as Mark or visions + interpretation such as Daniel 7-12. Comparison of Q and *Gos. Thom.* in terms not of individual sayings but of the structure and contours of the whole documents suggests they are strikingly different. *Gos. Thom.* is a collection of sayings, a written document, the point of which is to provide individual or coupled sayings for focused individual pondering and interpretation (stated at the very outset in Logion 1! Cf. Logion 3). Q, however, is a series of discourses, each with a particular focus or concern, although the number and shape of those discourses cannot now be determined through the use made of them by Matthew and Luke.

Many of these discourses can be seen to have an internal structure and not simply a topic or theme, but a function for a concern of a community. In some the functions are readily apparent, such as the instructions for "mission" in 9:57-62 + 10:1-16 (+21-24?), or the instructions on prayer in 11:2-4, 9-13, or woes against the Pharisees in 11:39-52, or the exhortation on preparedness in 17:23-37. The function of others may not be all that difficult to discern. Might the "sermon" in 6:20-49, with its opening blessings (and "curses"), closing sanctions (6:46-49), and covenantal instruction on social-economic relations within the community (not merely religious teaching to individuals!), be a paradigmatic renewal of covenant for the Q communities/movement? (on this and other discourses, see further Horsley 1992 & 1992). Some of these discourses can even be seen to have a function in the "document" as a whole: e.g., the covenantal discourse could be foundational for the whole (community as well as "document"); the exhortation on preparedness in 17:23-37 could be the sanction on all of the preceding exhortations: and the sayings of John in 3:7-9, 16-17 on the crisis of impending (in effect currently happening) judgment and salvation ("Spirit and fire") and Jesus reassuring declaration in 22:28-30 on the restoration/liberation (not judgment!) of Israel function respectively as the opening and closing of the whole series of discourses. The unifying theme of the whole document is clearly "the kingdom of God," which appears prominently at key points in most (nine) of the discourses (6:20; 7:28; 10:9, 11; 11:2; 11:20; 12:31; 13:18-21; 13:28-29; 22:28-30).

The Function of Discourses in an Oral Communication Environment

The effects of the standard scholarly assumptions of literary models criticized by Kelber (1982) persist in our discussions of Q and related materials. We are only beginning to learn where to look for guidance in understanding the forms of oral communication. If Q is not simply a collection of sayings but a series of discourses—that is, if the some internal structure can be discerned in Q—*and* if those discourses can be seen to have had a function in a community, then it may be easier to imagine the relationship between the situation or oral communication in which the material remained alive and the formation of a document that was available for use by Matthew and Luke. Other implications of Q being a series of

discourses, however, should be noted: What took the form discerned through Matthew and Luke had been functioning as discourses, however they may have been related, and would presumably have been changing and developing as used in an oral communication environment. The parallel discourses in Mark to the mission speech and the Beelzebul controversy, along with several shorter Markan parallels, provide a few windows onto such uses and parallel or divergent development of discourses. That means, however, that for most of the discourses we have little "control" on the history/use of the material prior to Q. The implication for our analysis of "sapiential" and "apocalyptic" features and their relation is that we look for how such features function in discourses. Behind Q stands a well-rehearsed and frequently performed standard repertoire of the principal spokespersons of a movement, of which we have no "recordings" other than Q.

That the Q discourses functioned in an oral communications environment also has an implication for the relative importance of determining a sapiential or other literary genre for Q. As noted already, *logoi sophōn* is such a broad, vague Gattung, with many variations, such that it hardly helps distinguish Q. As Robinson comments, "designations for Gattungen are less precisely and consistently used as technical terms in the sources themselves than in modern scholarship." In a relatively more traditional culture, the forms of communication are more taken for granted with less need to signal them explicitly. It will surely contribute to our understanding to gain a sense of those forms. Yet we may be attributing more significance to the catalytic role of genre in "composition" than warranted for material which was regularly functioning in a milieu of oral communication.

Are the Apocalyptic Son of Man Sayings a Key to Understanding Q?

Representative of current experts, I believe, Kloppenborg (1987:33) suggests that the key to the hypothesis that Q is composed of a formative sapiential stratum and a redactional apocalyptic stratum was Koester's observation that "the *Gos. Thom.* reflects a stage antecedent to the final form of Q," and that the inclusion of the apocalyptic Son of Man sayings makes Q into a secondary version of a "wisdom-gospel". Koester's first statement of this hypothesis came in 1965: "the theological tendency of such collections of Logoi . . . depends upon the Christological post-Easter frame to which they are subjected. Q domesticated the Logoi through a particular apocalypticism according to which Jesus was identified with the future Son of Man" (the 1980 restatement of the same hypothesis cited above). In a close analysis that precedes Kloppenborg's "stratigraphy," Yarbro Collins concludes that "the Son of Man sayings are found at virtually every stage of the formation of the tradition included in the Sayings Source" (1989:381). The results of her analysis would appear to be decisive against the notion that the future Son of Man sayings were characteristic only of the redaction and final composition of Q.

Kloppenborg (1987:38-39) recognized that the procedure had to be shifted. "It must be shown on redactional grounds that certain elements (e.g., apocalyptic Son of Man sayings) belong to a second compositional level and that . . . . the wisdom sayings and the wisdom-gospel format are formative . . . ." However, he never gets around to analyzing how the "apocalyptic son of

man" sayings function as a redactional element or principle that changes the genre or blocks its theological tendency, i.e., the key (from HK) to redaction and recognition of genre that he started with. In fact, he reads the "apocalyptic son of man" sayings simply as components of judgmental speeches directed at the ostensible audience of the impenitent, hence not as statements of Son of Man christology. Of course, he may simply be avoiding the latter issue. It is increasingly clear that Q does not have any reference to the resurrection of Jesus. It is also difficult to find what could be called any "Son of Man" christology. In fact, it is difficult to believe that the two types of "son of man" sayings were understood even in parallel let alone identical fashion. It appears that whenever "the son of man" refers to Jesus the future/final judgment is not involved (6:22; 7:34; 9:58; 11:30; 12:10?), whereas whenever the future/final judgment is involved, "the son of man" does not refer to Jesus (12:8, 40; 17:24, 26, 30). Of the latter, moreover, three refer apparently to "*the day* of the son of man," the *parousia* being Matthew's substitution and redactional arrangement, and not in Q 17 itself, while "the son of man" in 12:8-9 is an advocate in the divine court.

Once the claim to a "Son of Man" christology is pared away, Kloppenborg would appear to have his point: whatever their previous history of formation and combination, the "apocalyptic son of man" sayings all belong to what Kloppenborg claims are secondary judgment speeches or a redactional interpolation (12:8-9). Kloppenborg's hypothesis, however, concerns five speeches, and the "apocalyptic son of man" sayings appear in only two: three in Q 17 and the one in 12:40 toward the beginning of a speech the contours of which remain vague. This supposed key to the redaction thus plays no role in three of those five speeches, and its role in a fourth is unclear.

One could argue not that the "(the day of) the son of man" in 12:8-9, 12:40; and 17:24, 26, 30 is the "typical" apocalyptic element in Q but one of the only apocalyptic elements in Q. Even though it is *the* topic of one whole speech, Q 17, it is difficult to see how the addition of that one speech would have had the sort of effect on a "wisdom gospel" that Koester imagined and Kloppenborg singled out as the key to the redaction. In Q 17:24, 26, 30 as in 12:40 and 12:8-9, the "apocalyptic son of man" sayings reduce to one prominent symbol in the theme of judgment. The broader theme of judgment appears to be the best candidate for the redactional key.

Is Judgment or Eschatology Incompatible with Wisdom, Requiring Stratification of Q?

As explained however briefly in the previous sections, (1) the strata discerned behind Q are inappropriately characterized as "sapiential" and "apocalyptic" because there are very few elements in Q that can be appropriately called "apocalyptic" and the material assigned to the formative stratum is *not* "sapiential" with respect to traditional forms of conventional wisdom (Mack); (2) Q consists of a series of discourses and not a collection of sayings; and (3) those discourses functioned in oral communication. There may still remain the sense, if not that "the eschatological expectation evident in the coming Son of Man sayings in particular are foreign elements among

the wisdom sayings of Q, then more generally that (prophetic) pronouncements of judgment and other eschatological features are so divergent from the instructions on social relations, mission, prayer, anxiety, etc., that they must belong to a separate redactional stratum. The comparative material and/or the scholarly construct one has in mind is decisive in determining a judgment on this matter. Insofar as the construct of "traditional forms of conventional wisdom" is based primarily on Proverbs and Sirach, or ancient Near Eastern instructional genres and Hellenistic gnomologia provide the comparative material, then prophetic pronouncements of judgment and eschatological features are indeed foreign. Critical assessment of how wide a range of comparative material is appropriate for interpretation of Q depends in turn on one's picture of the social location and cultural situation in which Q was produced, which will be discussed below. Analysis of the role of pronouncements of judgment in the discourses of Q can provide a clearer sense of how they are related to other material and/or discourses in Q itself.

Kloppenborg concludes that five clusters of sayings (3:7-9, 16-17; 7:1-10, 18-35; 11:14-26, 29-32, 39-52; & 17:23-37) constitute a redactional layer pronouncing judgment because they share the "several common features" of a projected audience of outsiders, certain forms, and distinctive motifs. The projected audience of the impenitent and opponents of the community in all five clusters "includes all of Israel." The typical forms are *chriae* against "this generation" and prophetic judgment and apocalyptic sayings. Similarly, the preponderant motifs in these speeches are imminence, the parousia, judgment against Israel for its hostility contrasted with the positive response by Gentiles.

These features are unevenly distributed among these five clusters or are simply projections of modern scholarly constructs onto the Q material. Most striking on closer examination are the projections of motifs, such as the parousia and imminence, which are difficult to find anywhere. To claim a positive Gentile response to Jesus, indeed a Gentile mission, highlighting Israel's unfaithfulness is apparently a residue of a Christian theological agenda typical of scholarship on Q, but not in the text. If the standard translations of Luke 22:28-3//Matthew 19:28 were freed of such Christian projections, it would appear that Q was caught up with the renewal, not the judgment, of Israel. The only occurrence of "Israel" is in 7:1-10, which portrays a Gentile responding to Jesus with faith. The point of the story, of course, is to challenge Israel to fuller response, not to exemplify a mission to Israel. As for form, only certain parts of three of the five clusters are *chriae*, none of them appear to be "apocalyptic" sayings, and only three of the nine sayings listed actually articulate a "threat" (see further Horsley 1989:187-88).

Perhaps more undermining to the argument that these five clusters together comprise a redactional stratum is that little of the material is directed at the (outsider) impenitent and opponents as a "projected audience." Three of these clusters and part of a fourth are proclamations, exhortations, or sanctions (and not all pronouncements of judgment by any means) directed to the Q community itself (7:1-10, 18-35; 12:39-59; 17:23-37; and 11:14-26). John's preaching in 3:7-9, 16-17 announces a baptism of Spirit as well as of fire, i.e., positive renewal as well as negative judgment. The only materials in these clusters directed at a projected audience of outsiders are the woes against the

Pharisees and the immediately preceding sayings (11:29-32, 39-52). That is, only two of three parts of one of those five speeches supposedly comprising the redactional "apocalyptic" stratum actually fits the description/criteria of judgment sayings directed against a projected audience of outsider impenitents or opponents. Strictly speaking, only 11:29-32 and 11:49-51 display the three common features offered as the criteria for the redactional layer, although even then not quite in the ways Kloppenborg characterized them.

The role of judgment is thus both less ominous and more complicated in the Q discourses than can be explained in a sweeping hypothesis of a redactional layer with common features. 7:1-10; 7:18-35; 11:14-26 and 12:49-59, as well as 3:16-17, refer not to future judgment but to the present crisis of fulfillment/renewal, to the presence of the kingdom with both salvific and judgmental implications. The most "apocalyptic" sounding material, 17:23-37, is addressed to the Q people themselves, perhaps functioning as a penultimate sanction on the instructions in all of the preceding discourses. The sayings in 13:28-29 and 13:34-35, and perhaps the parable in 14:16-24 could be understood as another cluster of prophetic pronouncements of judgment, in this case against the ruling "house" in Jerusalem.

If the hypothesis of a whole redactional judgmental stratum thus lacks credibility, its corollary, that certain prophetic of judgment sayings in the otherwise "sapiential" speeches must be redactional interpolations, requires critical reexamination. Perhaps the prophetic sayings are integral to integrity of those discourses.

Sanctions (Promise, Threat, Vindication) in the "Sapiential" Speeches

Although six clusters in Q are listed as "sapiential speeches," Kloppenborg characterizes only three as sapiential, the others being atypical instructions on mission (9:57-62 + 10:2-16, 21-24) or on prayer (11:2-4,9-13) or a speech which is difficult to discern (13:24-30). (Further critique of the arguments for a foundational "sapiential" layer in Horsley 1991:198-99.) All three of the speeches actually characterized as "sapiential" have sanctions as part of their current structure, 6:46-49 in the "sermon," 12:8-9 in the exhortation to courage in the face of potential martyrdom, and 12:31 in the counsel not to worry about necessities. Kloppenborg, however, finds the vindication/threat of judgment in the second to be a later interpolation, whereas the sanctions in the other two he deems part of the original speech. Review of Kloppenborg's treatment may help us discern the relation of sanctions, such as promises or threats of judgment, to admonitions in these discourses.

Q 6:20-49 (Kloppenborg 1987:171-90)

Even in the concluding section on "The Composition of the Q Sermon" Kloppenborg is still focused primarily on the question of the category in which the sayings fit, sapiential or prophetic. The beatitudes, of course, pose a problem. Since they are in a sapiential speech they must be found to be sapiential. That they do not fit is solved by describing them as "the radical wisdom of the kingdom." Little attention is given to the shape of the speech as a whole. Procedure is primarily by individual sayings, which leads to finding parallels for one in Jewish sapiential sayings, for another in popular

Hellenistic philosophy. That most of 6:27-33 appears to be a development or interpretation of traditional biblical covenantal teaching (e.g., from Lev 19; Exod 21:24-25; 22:26-27; Deut 19:21) is rejected both on formal grounds and because "only in Matthean redaction . . . does . . . Torah interpretation come to the fore." (178-9). But what of (a) the substance of several sayings being covenantal instruction, combined with (b) several of these appearing all together and comprising a whole sub-section of a "speech," combined with the question of the overall *form* of the speech as a whole, which has several covenantal features? If the discourse as a whole is covenantal, then along with the sanctioning double parable at the end, the speech opens with at least a positive sanction in the blessings offering the kingdom to the poor, indeed if the woes were part of the speech, it opens with a pronouncement of judgment against the rich as well as a promise to the poor.

12:22-31 (Kloppenborg 1987:216-21)

Kloppenborg concludes that "either 12:22b-24, 26-28 was an original unity, or that 12:24, 26-28 was an early addition composed expressly for 12:22b-23. Detecting shifts in vocabulary and logic in 12:29-31, he finds the latter to be an "originally independent admonition" attached later by theme and catchword. Why, if 12:29-31 were "originally independent," is this unit considered a part of the original stratum of Q rather than an interpolation like 12:8-9 in the previous Q "speech"? Because even though 12:31 is "problematic" with regard to its category as a saying because "the kingdom" seems to introduce an eschatological aspect, the saying is nevertheless categorizable as sapiential because the metaphor of "seeking" is often associated with the pursuit of Sophia, which provides "all good things" in wisdom texts such as Prov 3:9-10; Wis 7:7-14; and Sir 4:15; 6:27-28. Kloppenborg also understands this speech to be addressed to "a community of poor" people (not to itinerant missionaries). As Zeller points out, however, without the presence of 12:31, the admonition in 12:22-28 or 12:22-29 concluding in 30b, is a negative appeal, without much positive promise or grounds for hope. That would be a rather paternalistic admonition to be addressing to a community of the poor. As seen by nearly all interpreters of the synoptic Gospel tradition, one of the most important and most distinctive aspects of Jesus' teaching is the pronouncement of the presence (the offer) of kingdom of God, which provides grounds for hope or a new lease on life for the poor, hungry, mourning (see Q 6:20-21). The point of these sayings as characteristic speech of Jesus (in Q) would seem to require 12:31 as an integral part, as the climax that makes the whole "make sense" as part of Jesus' message to Jesus' audience (and not just a typical wisdom speech with its appeal to observation of nature). The basic message of the speech is stated at the opening and concluding statements, in 12:22 and 12:31, the keynote being the kingdom. Concern with categorizing the sayings as sapiential *or* prophetic diverts attention from the pattern of the discourse as a whole. If, as Kloppenborg agrees, "in the beginning was a 'speech'" and not just an isolated saying to which others were joined, then that core speech would have included 12:31 (as well as 12:22).

12:2-12 (Kloppenborg 1987:206-16)

Kloppenborg finds 12:4-7 to be the core to which 12:2 and 12:3 and 12:11-12 have been added to form a coherent unit which encourages fearless preaching in a situation of persecution. (12:10 perhaps was never quite assimilated into Q, as suggested by the similar awkwardness in both Matthew and Luke. Note its very different setting in Mark 3:28-29.) 12:8-9, on the other hand, which Kloppenborg reads as having to do with confession with an explicit christological focus instead of preaching and addressed ostensibly to outsiders, he judges to be a prophetic saying interpolated into the discourse later. He devotes much of his discussion to the taxonomic classification of the sayings, especially 12:4-7.

Kloppenborg's compositional analysis is unconvincing and problematic with regard to both this Q discourse and the Jewish (sapiential-apocalyptic) literature used for comparison, in at least three respects. 1. Concepts or issues appear to be imposed upon (read into) this discourse from Christian theology and/or the conceptual apparatus of theologically oriented New Testament studies. There is nothing about preaching anywhere in the whole discourse. 12:8-9, focused on confessing or denying Jesus, is about community members in a trial or forensic situation, and hardly about outsiders (who are the public or the court). Nor does the confession have a christological focus, it having long been recognized that "the son of man" here is distinguished from Jesus, while more recently it has been discerned that his role is one of advocate or accuser in the divine court.

2. By focusing on categorization of individual sayings or small sets of sayings (12:4-7) according to the alternatives "sapiential" versus "prophetic-apocalyptic," the analysis misses broader patterns in the literature in which sayings of different types are used together in larger units that are the functioning units of communication. The first step in his argument that 12:4-7 is "sapiential" involves some curious reasoning: these sayings cannot be "prophetic" because "apocalyptic paraenesis" (such as in *1 Enoch* 94-104) includes "sapiential" exhortation. The project in which Kloppenborg and others are involved is based on the premise that sapiential sayings do not belong with apocalyptic judgment sayings, hence the juxtaposition of sapiential and apocalyptic/judgment sayings in Q must mean that an original sapiential document was redacted by the imposition of an apocalyptic stratum, including the interpolation of 12:8-9 into 12:2-7, 11-12. Following that premise, we would have to conclude that *1 Enoch* 101:2-8 did not originally belong with it current "apocalyptic framing" in 101:1, 9 + 102:1-3, i.e., presumably the "sapiential" references to ordinary human experience were interpolated into *1 Enoch* 93-104 at this point. Because the focus of analysis is the proper categorization of the sayings, however, the fact that ostensibly "sapiential" exhortation occurs in the "apocalyptic paraenesis" of *1 Enoch* 94-104 does not evoke an interest in the rhetorical patterns in which the sayings are cast. Those patterns in *1 Enoch* 94-104, however, are of more than passing interest for Q 12:2-9 (-12) and a few other Q discourses in particular. Not only are there repeated references and appeals to the divine court peopled by the angels in *1 Enoch* 94-104 parallel to 12:8-9—and series of woes that are reminiscent of the immediately preceding discourse in Q 11:39-52—but the rhetorical patterns in *1 Enoch*, particularly the pattern including the parallel

that Kloppenborg finds most striking, are similar to Q 12:2-9 (-12)! Yes, *1 Enoch* 101:2-7 refers to ordinary human experience as illustrations of God's providence/creation (as does Q 12:6). Without the framing, however, there would be no point, no particular meaning. And that framing in *1 Enoch* 101:1 and 102:1-3 is about the divine judgment, including the roles of the angels (but judgment against the "sinners," and not judgment/vindication for community/movement members facing martyrdom, as Kloppenborg suggested).

3. Even though Kloppenborg, far from assuming that "in the beginning was the aphorism," provides what might appear to be sufficient material for an intelligible original mini-discourse, 12:4-7 does not make sense by itself. We still need some context indicating what the issue is. And although 12:4 and 5 go together and 12:6 and 7 go together, it is not clear what 12:4-5 and 12:6-7 have to do with each other without some additional keynote or context. What are this warning and this assurance about? It is separated from the mission discourse by the prayer discourse, the Beelzebul discourse, and the woes against the Pharisees. A separate discourse must be starting here, but what is it about? 12:(2-)3 suggests the somewhat more concrete scenario of the Q people saying something in secret. But 12:2-3, like 12:6-7, appear to be a reassurance about something else. 12:8-9 and/or 12:11-12 would provide the context or issue: the Q people's bold confession of Jesus in public and/or their being called to trial before the authorities is what the threat and reassurance are about. (Moreover, 12:8-9 and 12:11-12 fit together, both about a forensic situation, the one focused on the concrete political situation, the other on the parallel between the human court and the divine court, the one providing reassurance about how they will defend themselves, the other sanctioning their bold confession with divine vindication/judgment.) The "core" must have included 12:8-9 and/or 12:11-12 along with 12:4-7. As can be seen from their parallels in Mark, however, 12:2-3 and 12:11-12 were separable sayings that could be used in other, similar connections. Thus it seems more likely that 12:8-9 was part of the core discourse, providing the context or issue for which 12:4-7 gave additional threat as well as reassurance.

4. Concentration on individual or small sets of sayings does not bring broader patterns in the groups of sayings into focus. A comparison of Q 12:8-9 with Mark 8:38 is worth two sentences. The more telling comparison would be between Q 12:2-9 (-12) and Mark 8:34-38 in the structure or form of these similar discourses. As in Q 12:2-9 (-12), the "sapiential sayings" in the middle of the Markan discourse are vague and general, having no meaning apart from the context or issue provided by their framing. In both discourses, the parallel sayings Q 12:8-9//Mark 8:38 provide the concluding sanction (only the threat, without the vindication, in Mark 8:38).

The cumulative implications for Q stratification: Once we realize that Q is a sequence of discourses with different functions which therefore require different sorts of materials—such that there may be sanctions in some, vindication in another, and judgment in another—the hypothesis of strata is superfluous. Presumably Q developed/grew by joining discourse(s) to discourse(s). What indication is there that all of those supposed Q2 discourses (with their diverse concerns ranging from proclamation of the kingdom to sanctions on community preparedness to woes against opponents) would have been added to the supposed Q1 together?

Using Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature in Comparisons with Q

It is ironic that the recent intense scholarly analysis of Q has made such incisive distinctions of strata and interpolations within Q by using such wide-ranging groupings of other literature for comparisons—particularly when pieces of literature in one group display characteristics of the pieces of literature in the other group. With more precise recent study of wisdom and apocalyptic literature, we are finally recognizing not only the diversity within each grouping but the overlap of forms, motifs, and even worldviews (see Nickelsburg's paper for this Consultation; and Collins 1993). As Nickelsburg notes, the Wisdom of Solomon, to which Koester likened Q, shares certain features with apocalyptic literature (cf. the judgment scene in Wis 5 with *1 Enoch* 62-63; cf. Wis 2-5 with *1 Enoch* 102:4–104:8 and Dan 3 and 6), the story of the persecuted and exalted righteous one with Isa 52-53. Yet these have become assimilated into a worldview focused on a cosmic and anthropological dualism apparently dependent on Platonic thought, similar to that expressed by Philo of Alexandria. Such theology is surely not present in "sapiential" sayings of Q. It clearly seems unwarranted methodologically to generalize from the forms or themes or traditions present in a document to its worldview, much less from the forms or themes or traditions of one document to the worldview supposedly expressed in another document. A more appropriate procedure would be to compare how the same or similar motifs, forms, or traditions in different documents are used, framed, or otherwise interpreted. Such comparison might reveal some dramatic differences between Q's wisdom and the Wisdom of Solomon. The latter is concerned with the exaltation or immortality of the soul of the individual suffering righteous one (and in chaps. 6-9, with the "kingdom" = immortality attained by the soul who achieves intimacy with heavenly Sophia), whereas Jesus' wisdom in Q pertains to the social renewal of Israel by means of covenantal teachings to the community, reinforced with sanctions (6:20-49), and exhortations (to poor people) not to be overcome by worries about necessities, which will take care of themselves if all keep their eyes on the communal purpose, realization/practice of the kingdom (12:22-31).

The apocalyptic Book of Daniel, in which Koester saw the eschatological orientation of Q, features mantic wisdom as a means toward the conviction that God, still in control of history, will imminently implement a plan for its fulfillment. Comparison of the use of the symbol "(one like a/the day of the) son of man" is at least somewhat revealing. What was a symbol for the restoration or renewal of the people/Israel in Daniel 7 has become a symbol for the eventual divine judgment (Q 12:40; 17:24,26,30) or an advocate figure in the court of judgment (12:8-9). Beyond this somewhat similar use of a symbol, however, the court tales, dream-visions, systematic review of world history, and symbols of resurrection in Daniel seem to belong to a world different from that of Q. In order to use Daniel for comparison with the eschatology or general orientation of Q, we would have to move through the different forms, motifs, themes, and media of revelation to the respective overall orientation and agenda of the two documents.

The range of literatures thought to be appropriate for comparisons will depend upon the estimate of the respective social-cultural location of Q and

those literatures respectively, as noted briefly above. Insofar as Q seems firmly rooted in the culture and traditions of Israel, special attention might well be given to the wisdom and apocalyptic literatures closest in time and location to Q, e.g., Sirach, *1 Enoch, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* The most telling comparisons are probably possible in cases where the same or similar traditions or forms or themes are shared between Q and another document, such as those cited above between Q 11:39-52 and 12:2-9 and *1 Enoch* 94-104.

In Comparison with Sapiential and Apocalyptic, the Prophetic Orientation of Q

If we consider the function along with the form of sayings and discourses and consider the substantive message as well as the medium of the document, Q would appear to have prophetic characteristics more than sapiential or apocalyptic. If function is taken into account along with form, most of the Q discourses could be described as *prophetic.* This includes not just material in the supposedly redactional stratum already recognized as prophetic and not apocalyptic, but much of the material classified as "sapiential." Koester's recent interpretation of Q (1990:128-171), while ostensibly still following the division of Q into divergent strata, may be leading the way to the recognition of the prophetic tone in Q:

> [In Q 6] Such beatitudes are not sapiential, but prophetic. The first sentences of the original version of Q introduce Jesus as a prophet, not as a teacher of wisdom. . . . The admonitions which follow upon the beatitudes . . . depart radically from admonitions normally found in this [sapiential] genre of literature. (1990:156-57)

Generally, in fact, the material in the "sapiential" stratum departs from wisdom teaching in two major respects:

> (1) the ethical demands of Q are far more radical than those of traditional wisdom teaching; (2) Q's wisdom is addressed to a community in whose life the kingdom of God is present, not to an individual who follows the advise of a father or teacher. (160)

In the mission discourse as well as the inaugural "sermon" there is no question of either connecting or disconnecting with a supposedly apocalyptic judgment, because the urgency of the mission and the ethical demands on the community stems from the sense of present eschatological fulfillment in Jesus preaching of the kingdom.

Another prominent prophetic feature of Q is the portrayal of Jesus, John, and even the Q people themselves as prophets and/or in the great line of the prophets. Again, this is not simply in the clusters assigned to the supposed redactional stratum (7:18-35; 11:20; 11:29-30; 11:39-52; 12:49?, 51-53; 13:34-35), but in the so-called "sapiential" speeches as well, with the prophetic announcement of renewed covenantal teaching and the introduction of the mission discourse with allusion to Elijah's commissioning of Elisha (6:20-23, 27-49; 9:57-62 + 10:2-16).

Moreover, the general eschatological orientation of Q, while it cannot be characterized as "apocalyptic," is associated with the prophetic forms, features,

and roles in the discourses. This can be seen by comparison with the general eschatology of Daniel. While the eschatology of Q and Daniel may seem similar insofar as both are clearly collective-historical, in contrast to the individual-immortality of Wisdom of Solomon, they display significant differences. Whereas Daniel (along with certain other Jewish apocalyptic literature; Horsley 1987) presents revelations about the future judgment of foreign imperial oppressors, the future restoration of Israel, and the future vindication of faithful martyrs, the Q discourses present prophetic declarations and demonstrations of future judgment against domestic rulers and their representatives, the renewal of Israel *currently underway*, and the future vindication of previously martyred prophets (including John and Jesus). Whereas in Daniel the future restoration is imminent in response to foreign imperial attack, in Q the renewal is already begun, is already a threat to the domestic rulers, and will be vindicated in the future judgment which does not seem particularly imminent (see esp. Q 6:20-21; 7:18-35; 10:1-16; 11:14-22; 11:39-52; 13:28-29, 34-35; 14:16-24; 22:28-30).

Social Context and Social Location

Virtually all of the above differences and distinctions between Q and both sapiential and apocalyptic literary forms, features, and motifs are compounded/reinforced by recognition of the difference between Q and those literatures in social location and social interests.

As Nickelsburg lays out, those who produced both wisdom literature and apocalypses were professional scribes or sages, engaged in study of the prophets as well as of the Torah, which they identified with wisdom, and in teaching others. Judging from ben Sira's comments on deference to authority figures, they were politically-economically dependent on the ruling priestly aristocracy. Also judging from ben Sira's comments, while they were concerned to defend the poor, they viewed themselves as several cuts above the peasantry and artisans (esp. Sir 38:24–39:11). It seems likely that scribes such as Ben Sira and the *maskilim* behind Daniel occupied somewhat the same social position as did "the scribes and Pharisees" portrayed in the synoptic Gospels (Saldarini 1988; Horsley and Tiller 1991).

Not only are the Q discourses addressed to the (concretely) poor; they express a mutually hostile relation to the scribes and Pharisees as well as the ruling house in Jerusalem. Jesus thanks God that "these things" were revealed to "the babes" and not to "the sages" in 10:21-22 and in the woes against "the scribes and Pharisees" indicts them for the effects of their professional activities on the people. More generally, the Q discourses articulate a new social order over against that which the professional scribes and sages would have been striving to perpetuate. The social conflict expressed in Q corresponds with the structural political-economic conflict known to have dominated Roman Palestine from other sources such as Josephus (Horsley 1989). It also seems likely that we must factor in a regional-historical difference. Sapiential and apocalyptic literature was cultivated and produced by professional scribes based in Jerusalem (even if they are temporarily alienated from the actual holders of power). Q, on the other hand, we believe was developed in a movement based in Galilean towns and villages, which

had only come under Jerusalem's rule about a hundred years before Jesus after 800 years of northern Israelite experience under foreign rule, social cultural experience divergent from that in Judea and Jerusalem. Not only have we not yet begun to analyze the relations between the popular origins Q materials and its shaping into Q, on the one hand, and the forms and traditions evident in wisdom and apocalyptic literature, on the other hand. We do not even know what questions to ask. It seems obvious, at least, that exploration of such relations is mixed up with the situation of interaction being one of oral communications.

Anthropologists and other social scientists dealing with peasant societies have at least one broad distinction that may be useful: the differences and interrelations between the official or "great tradition" and the popular or "little tradition." The scribal study of and inspired interpretation of Torah, the prophets, and wisdom in its different modes (see again Nickelsburg's sketch), would be an example of the way in which the great tradition was cultivated. Various popular traditions have left no literary remains—except possibly material behind Q and Mark, etc.—so it is difficult if not impossible to trace how it may have interacted with the great or official tradition. At least the awareness that popular traditions almost certainly were cultivated in some way should prevent us from assuming, for example, that allusions to Israelite traditions in Q are dependent on scribally produced texts. To give just one illustration: We are probably correct in assuming that ben Sira or his teachers' teachers received their knowledge of Elijah from the official tradition which, when the Deuteronomistic History or at least stories to legitimate Jehu's kingship in northern Israel were produced, ironically involved the cooptation of popular tradition. But there is no reason to believe there must be some dependence on "scripture" or the official tradition in the allusions to Elijah's commissioning of Elisha in the preface to the mission discourse in Q (9:57-62).

The implications for the relationship between Q and wisdom and apocalyptic literature are not far to seek. An illustration for each: The covenantal teaching in Q 6:27-34, which Kloppenborg insisted was "sapiential" and not covenantal because only with Matthew's redaction was there an explicit reference to "Torah interpretation," need not have a direct relationship to any professional scribal transmission let alone Torah text. It can simply be grounded in popular cultivation of the basic "commandments of God" (cf. Mark 7:9-13). Thus there is also no need to speculate to explain those sayings in terms of wisdom literature. Similarly, the "(day of the) son of man" sayings can be rooted in popular traditions concerning God's judgment, and need have no direct dependence on apocalyptic literature.

Those illustrations should not be understood, however, to suggest that there was no interaction between the official or learned and the popular traditions, between "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7 in early second century BCE Judea and those Q sayings in the mid-first century CE Galilee. There was regular interaction between the official and popular traditions, at least through the agency of scribes and Pharisees charged with the interpretation of the Torah and other "laws of the Judeans" (Josephus) for the subjects of the Temple-state. Moreover, with regard to apocalyptic literature in particular, when the dilemma in which the scribes and sages were placed by close

collaboration between the Judean rulers (on whom they were dependent) and the imperial regime brought them into situations of oppression (and even repression), the apocalyptic literature they produced may well have articulated consolations and hopes for which the peasantry, perpetually under oppressive circumstances, had a good deal of affinity (see further Horsley 1987:129-46). Once we recognize that the same or similar scribes/sages were producing both wisdom and apocalyptic literature, it would be interesting to speculate whether lapse of wisdom literature proper after Ben Sira and the greater prominence of apocalyptic literature is due to the conflictual position in which the scribes perpetually found themselves from early second century BCE through the first century CE.

With regard to "wisdom" in particular there may be another, related factor to be considered. Wisdom *literature* and professional sages are not the only source of wisdom in a traditional agrarian society. Peasants produce their own wisdom. Many of those burned at the stake by the Church or various rulers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century European witch hunts were village wise women and healers. Fontaine (1982) and Camp (1981; 1990) have discussed the parallel role of wise women in ancient Israel (e.g., 2 Sam 14 and 20). It is thus likely that local wise women and men had created and cultivated a whole repertoire of wisdom appropriate to local community life and the relations between villagers and their outside rulers. There is every reason to believe that a regional prophet would tap into such a repertoire of wisdom in his communication with his audiences and his followers-successors would similarly have drawn on that repertoire in continuation of the message and building the movement. Again, there would likely have been some interaction and overlap and similarity between popular and professional wisdom.

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Non-Rabbinic Sources for Elijah Legends in Rabbinic Literature

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The legendary Elijah is best known today as a visitor to every Passover Seder, with a cup prepared for him in each Jewish home. Although this Passover custom is post-Antique, beginning in the Middle Ages, its roots in time are deep. In II Kings 2:11 a chariot and horses of fire separate Elisha from Elijah and he ascends in a heavenly storm. Whatever the meaning of his ascension for II Kings, the story introduces the possibility that Elijah, because he never died, is unbound by constraints of life and death and able to appear again on earth. The first post-ascension role envisioned for him is in Malachi where he comes to bring peace between fathers and children before the "great and terrible day of the Lord" (4:5-6). This notion of Elijah as precursor to the Last Days or herald of the Messiah is found also in Ben Sirach, the New Testament, and the Mishnah, as well as in later Rabbinic sources. Only in the Palestinian Talmud, however, do we first encounter legends in which Elijah comes to heal, reprove, or otherwise influence Rabbis and other pious Jews.

These Rabbinic legends portray a complex and elusive figure. Elijah plays strikingly different roles in different documents, and also in different stories within the same document, appearing as messenger of God, healer, helper, avenger, and teacher of truths from esoteric to proverbial. The Babylonian Talmud supplies the largest and most varied set of legends, but Elijah legends also appear in many of the Aggadic Midrashim. In them, as well as in the Talmuds, Elijah often appears in roles very different from his personae in Scripture. In *Pesiqta Rabbati*, for example, Elijah appears in dream to help a man with money troubles.

> . . . a certain man . . . was carrying his money on a Friday. Towards sunset he went to a synagogue where he found someone praying, with tefillin still on his head. Some say this person was a proselyte. The man carrying the money said to himself: Should I not feel free to leave my money with this person who wears upon his head the proof of his fear of God? Thereupon he left his money in trust with the person wearing the tefillin. But at the end of the Sabbath, when he came for his money, the other denied the transaction. The first man said: "It was not you that I believed, but the holy Name that was on your head." Thereupon he wrapped himself in his prayer shawl and stood up to pray in the same place, saying to God: "Master of the Universe, I put

> my trust in nothing other than the holy Name that was on his head." After he prayed he fell into a deep sleep. Elijah—always remembered on good occasions—appeared to the man and said: "Go and tell the wife of the person with the tefillin the password agreed upon between you and her husband: 'On Passover we eat leaven, and on the Day of Atonement, you-know-what.' Then say, 'Give me the valuables left with you.'" Thereupon [the man went], and the wife fetched the money and gave it to him. . . .[1]

This paper proposes that Elijah's role in stories like this one (so different from those of his Biblical prototypes) developed in relation to non-Rabbinic and even non-Jewish sources. In the case of the story above, as will be argued later in more detail, the character of Elijah was created under the influence, or in dialogue with, attributes of the pagan god Hermes. Hermes, like Elijah here, was the protector of travelers, patron of financial success, and master of clever stratagems of all kinds.

This is not of course to say that Hermes provides the main source for the legendary Elijah. The character of Elijah in third to eighth century Rabbinic legends was largely formed by two other sources which can still be found in various surviving texts: first, Elijah's depiction in the Bible, in both Kings and Malachi, and the Rabbinic midrashim on the biblical Elijah, and, second, a wide body of Rabbinic traits and values, many of which were attributed to the prophet. In addition, the Elijah legends probably developed in relation to traditions about Enoch, like Elijah a mortal who ascended to heaven.

Furthermore, other sources, just as important, must be kept in mind, even though they do not survive in extant texts. Religious experiences of Elijah's appearance probably occurred, and if so are the experiential kernel behind some Elijah legends. Unfortunately, the oral and literary processes by which the legends have come down to us make it impossible trace any particular legend back to a religious experience. Another probable influence on some of the Elijah stories is the trans-national fairy tales, the *Märchen*, which circulated in late Antiquity, of which we possess only scattered traces embedded in literary sources.[2] We do, however, have many fragments of one of the most important sources for the Elijah legends which we read in Rabbinic documents: the whole body of Elijah traditions which circulated in oral and written forms now lost.

This paper will start with short treatments of the first three major sources or influences on the legendary Elijah noted above, the ones which can be found in texts. First it will treat the characteristics which the Rabbinic legendary Elijah draws from his Biblical prototypes and from the Rabbis who portray themselves as his disciples or junior colleagues, and then briefly examine the correspondences between Elijah and Enoch traditions. After that, the bulk of the this paper will concentrate on Elijah's resemblances to Hermes. First, it will mention a few other borrowings by Rabbinic culture of non-Jewish

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[1] *Pesiqta Rabbati*, Piska 22.5. Translation, W. G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati: Discourses for Feasts, Fasts, and Special Sabbaths* (2 vols.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 459.

[2] The *Golden Ass* is one such source, with its tale of a man turned into a donkey by a witch. On the Jewish side, we will discuss the story of Nahum Ish Gamzu, Elijah, and the magic earth (*b. Sanh.* 109a), which is far more fairy story than legend.

beliefs and practices. The point of this section is not to provide a comprehensive treatment of such borrowing, but only to indicate that it was common and to suggest the variety of motives behind it. Then, the main section of the paper will treat some of Elijah's resemblances to Hermes and speculate on possible reasons for each of them.

One source of Elijah's attributes is certainly to be found in the prophet of Kings and the herald of the day of the Lord in Malachi. In harmony with his biblical prototypes, the Rabbinic Elijah defends and protects the poor and powerless, heals, and shares information about the coming of the Messianic era. Furthermore, the Biblical prophet's sudden appearances and disappearances, his lack of family or official cult role, cannot help but suggest the freedom and uniqueness of the legendary Elijah.[3] When seeking the legendary Elijah in his Biblical sources one must also examine the Rabbinic interpretations of those sources, because for the Rabbis the two were inseparable. This point will come up again, but for now it is sufficient to say that various Rabbis describe the Biblical Elijah as acting very freely—sometimes even defiantly—in relationship to God, and that this freedom mirrors that of the legendary Elijah.[4]

Elijah also sometimes behaves like a Rabbi, imparting legal and homiletic teachings which fit Rabbinic norms. In the Palestinian Talmud (*Terumot* 1:6), for example, Elijah informs a "certain pious man" why it is not pleasing to God to recite the Shema while undressed. In the Babylonian Talmud (*B. Meṣi'a* 114a-b) Rabba bar Abbuha asks Elijah three technical halakhic questions, one of which is whether a means test should be applied to a debtor exempting him from his full debt if he simply cannot pay. Elijah answers these questions, not with a fiat from heaven, but with biblical prooftexts such as any Rabbi might use. In such instances, one may say that Elijah has been "rabbinized" by the process in which the Rabbis superimposed their own norms and customs on figures from the past. The relatively recent Hillel, for example, becomes a Rabbi pure and simple.[5] Furthermore, in the Elijah legends, a figure from the past appears in the present, rather than the present being superimposed on the past, and this makes Elijah as Rabbi if anything more natural.

Finally, the legendary Elijah (who is hardly ever mentioned in the Pseudepigrapha) may well have developed in dialogue with the earlier pseudepigraphical Enoch and with the angelic Enoch found in the *3 Enoch* of

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[3] Aharon Wiener, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism: A Depth-Psychological Study*. (London and Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) pp. 5-6; pp. 17-18.

[4] For the biblical Elijah, see Bavli *Berakot* 31a-31b—Rabbi Eliezer said: Elijah uttered words against God, as it says: Thou didst turn their hearts backwards. (I Kings 18:37—not the best reading in context, but possible). R. Shemuel b. R. Itzhak says: How do we know that God later admitted that Elijah was right? We know that from the following verse: "In that day, saith the Lord, will I assemble her that halteth and will gather her that is driven away, and her that I have afflicted" (Micah, 4:6 [translation, Samuel Segal]). For the Rabbinic Elijah, see *b. B. Meṣ.* 85b where Elijah tells the academy of Rabbi how to bring the Messiah before God has ordained and is punished for it.

[5] E.g., *b. Yoma* 35b, where as a poor student Hillel nearly freezes to death of the roof of the house of study because he was too poor to pay the watchman, or in *b. Pesaḥ.* 66a where he solves a halakhic problem in the Second Temple at Passover.

Rabbinic times.[6] Enoch, for example, is sometimes portrayed as a heavenly scribe. In *2 Enoch* 33 God gives Enoch secret teachings and has him write them down to be given to humankind. In the *Testament of Abraham*, Enoch is the "teacher of heaven and earth and scribe of righteousness" who records the deeds of each person (chapter 11 of Recension B).[7] Similarly, there are a few references to Elijah as heavenly scribe, although it is not the dominant aspect of his persona. Midrash *Leviticus Rabbah* states that Elijah and the King Messiah record a person's good deeds and God countersigns, and Elijah also writes a solemn condemnation of one who marries a wife not fit for him.[8]

Other correspondences between the two also exist. Both are portrayed as teachers of proverbial wisdom, as advocates of the poor and oppressed, and as "honorary angels." The last point is very clear in the case of Enoch, whose translation to the angelic realm is explicitly described *3 Enoch* as well as in the earlier pseudepigraphical works.[9] No angelic translation is ever described for Elijah, but sometimes he is placed by implication in the company of the angels as, for example, when it says that Michael flies over the world with one flap of his wings, Gabriel with two, and Elijah with four.[10] This range of interesting correspondences between Enoch and Elijah is worthy of more study elsewhere and does suggest that there was some cross fertilization between the two traditions. Nevertheless, the pseudepigraphical Enoch does not appear to have been a major determinative factor in the development of the Rabbinic Elijah.

To move on to the subject of Judaism's borrowing from other cultures and religions, the Jewish people have never lived in an intellectually sealed environment. The question is, how and why did each case of borrowing occur? Sometimes, as when Masorites learned from Arab grammarians, Jews consciously adopted customs or concepts from outside Judaism. Other times, for example in synagogue architecture, Jews used the practices of the surrounding culture because it would not have occurred to them to do otherwise. Every public building had columns, sculptural decorations, and a pictorial mosaic floor, and so a synagogue did too. Even so, these elements were transformed in distinctively Jewish ways. No human form, only lions or eagles, appeared in synagogue reliefs, and there was no sculpture in the round at all. Furthermore, the symbols of Temple worship, the menorah, the incense shovel, and the lulav, had pride of place among the Bible scenes and zodiacs on synagogues' mosaic floors.

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6 Rabbinic attitudes towards Enoch were mixed. Some held that the veneration of Enoch was a mistaken view of unspecified heretics (*minim*), as we see in *Genesis Rabbah* 25:1 (Theodor-Albeck edition [Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965] vol I, p. 238). Others had more positive views, e.g., *Leviticus Rabbah* 29:11.

7 James Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. I, p. 900.

8 *Lev. Rabbah* 34:9; *b. Qiddušin*, 70a.

9 For more on Rabbinic views of Enoch see Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (6 vols. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1909-28), vol. 5 pp. 156-164; Martha Himmelfarb, "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature," *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978) pp. 259-269; Steven Fraade, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillian Publishing Co., 1987) vol 5, pp. 116-118.

10 *b. Berakot* 4b.

Motives for borrowing also vary. The Passover Seder, for example, owes much to Greco-Roman table manners, the custom of reclining being among the most obvious correspondences. S. Stein builds from this common observation to argue that several details of the Haggadah—the discussion about the food and the extravagant augmentation of the plagues from 10 to 50 to 250, to give two examples—were influenced by Classical literature about symposia. Rather than simply borrowing, however, the Rabbis transformed the partly pagan, partly secular, customs of the Greco-Roman dinner party into a ritual of praise for the One God and recital of Jewish sacred history. In the process, Stein concludes, "The compilers of the Haggadah have made their own contribution to sympotic writings. It is, in fact . . . an unanswered challenge to its models."[11]

The Elijah story quoted near the beginning of this paper may also contain a similar kind of challenge, although perhaps a more popular one. One of its subtexts could easily be, "You deluded pagans hold that Hermes protects travelers, but our Elijah can and does do what you only think that Hermes does." Nevertheless, the key supernatural actor in the story is not Elijah (with or without Hermes' influence) but God, who sends Elijah in response to the defrauded man's prayer and challenge that he had put his trust only on God's holy Name. Furthermore, the story in context makes at least one intra-Jewish point, that hypocrites can wear tefillin—and perhaps another too, that converts cannot be trusted, if indeed the pious-seeming con artist was a convert to Judaism.

The interaction of culture and history also means that some ideas or practices developed in parallel ways in Jewish and Gentile communities without one necessarily having influenced the other. Alan Segal shows, for example, shows how strikingly similar ideas on the sacrifice of Isaac developed in parallel in Judaism and Christianity from a base of pre-Christian Jewish exegetical traditions on martyrdom.[12] It is also possible that traditions which developed separately might then come into dialogue with one another. For example the tradition of Isaac as willing martyr enters into polemic with Islam and with Christianity when Ishmael and Abraham's slave Eliezer argue who will inherit from Abraham now that Isaac is going to be sacrificed.[13]

Deciding whether a particular similarity between Jewish and non-Jewish culture is due to influence or mutual development is particularly difficult for the Rabbinic era. Whereas much of Second Temple Judaism's borrowing from Hellenistic culture arose from conscious adoption of Greek concepts and values, Rabbinic texts tend to assimilate non-Jewish ideas less overtly. Most obviously, Rabbinic Jews did not write in Greek, although many Rabbis must have known the language, and they very rarely refer directly to Greek literature or philosophy. The Rabbis' usual opinion of Greek culture is

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11 S. Stein "The influence of Symposia Literature on the Literary form of the Pesah Haggadah," in Henry A. Fischel, *Essays in Greco-Roman and Related Talmudic Literature* (New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1977), pp. 198-229.

12 "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Judaism and Christianity" in *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987) pp. 109-130.

13 In the eighth or ninth century Midrash *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, Piska 31.

conveyed well by Mishnah *Yadaim* 4:6 where the books of Homer, which unlike Holy Scripture do not make one's hands unclean, are punningly compared to the bones of an ass (*hamor*). Asses' bones are likewise trivial and are not unclean, whereas human bones, analogous to Scripture, are thoroughly unclean no matter how beloved the deceased. Even so, Rabbinic Jews still picked up stories, motifs and concepts from the surrounding cultures; they either didn't admit, or simply didn't consider, that they were doing so.[14]

Whether the figure of Hermes influenced the character of the legendary Elijah from the earliest stages, or whether the legendary Elijah's functions arose largely independently may no longer be knowable. What I seek to show is that at some point a connection existed, or a similarity was noticed: stories circulated in which Elijah performed functions similar to those of Hermes. From there on comparisons may have either been made unconsciously or, in other instances, developed consciously for polemical purposes.

Elijah's resemblance to Hermes has been remarked on in a general way by several authors. Aharon Weiner's Jungian study of Elijah from biblical to modern times notes that the prophet has several aspects in common with the god. Weiner says that Hermes, similar to Elijah, is "a spiritual leader who . . . symbolizes the reconciliation of opposites," citing Keryeni's treatment of Hermes.[15] Samuel Segal in *Elijah: A Study in Jewish Folklore* writes that Elijah "became what the folk wanted him to be, and their desire in turn was dictated by their necessity. . . . He is at times the sublime prophet, at times a shifty Mercury," and so on.[16] Weiner sees prophet and god as expressions of the same or a similar archetype. Segal ascribes Elijah's Hermes-like character to the material aspirations of poor folk, invoking ordinary human desires for healing, help, and success. Neither Wiener nor Segal considers that Jews may actually have taken motifs or functions from the cult of Hermes and transferred them to Elijah, but a good case can be made that happened at least sometimes.

Although we know very little about the popular worship of Hermes, the power of the god was still respected in Late Antiquity. Mercury is called the protector of peddlers, and statues of Hermes presided over marketplaces throughout the Greco-Roman world.[17] The story of the ancient Homeric Hymn to Hermes was still retold by mythologists as such as Apollodorus in the early centuries of our era, and as such is worth summarizing here.

The young god, son of Zeus and Maia, grows from a baby to a young boy miraculously fast. At the first opportunity, he slips out of his swaddling bands

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14 A clear case of conscious but unadmitted borrowing is the Rabbinic adoption of many Hellenistic techniques of interpretation discussed by David Daube's "Alexandrian Methods of interpretation and the Rabbis" pp. 165-82 in Fischel *Essays* cited above. The case of synagogue architecture, noted above, provides an example of borrowing that probably was not consciously seen as such.

15 Aharon Wiener, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism*, p. 179; Karl Kerenyi, *Hermes Guide of Souls* trans. Murray Stein (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1986).

16 Samuel Segal, *Elijah: A Study in Jewish Folklore* (New York: Behrman's Publishing House, 1935) p. 15.

17 Ramsey MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 171 note 11.

and steals Apollo's cattle, tying brush wood to their feet to hide where he is leading them. When Apollo catches up with him, he must take him before Zeus to demand justice before Hermes finally confesses. Hermes then promises to return the cattle—less the two that he has sacrificed to the twelve gods, including himself! Zeus laughs, amazed and amused by his child's presumption. When Apollo goes off with Hermes to claim his herd, Hermes shows him the lyre that he has just invented, playing a sweet song praising Apollo's intelligence and generosity. Apollo not only forgives him but trades his all the cattle for the new musical instrument. When they return to Zeus, Zeus makes Hermes his messenger and herald, and god of commerce and travel, giving him a herald's staff and extracting a promise that he will be better behaved.[18]

This story doesn't preserve the ancient origins of Hermes (thought to be in a pre-Hellenic fertility deity[19]) but it does capture the freedom of action and skill with words that were associated with Hermes. Despite his trickiness, Hermes retains the innocent chutzpah of a child, disarming his opponents and allowing them to forgive him. Of course Hermes' functions did not stop here. He was patron of the art of rhetoric, and like Apollo, associated with divination. He also has another side, as the psychopomp who leads souls to the underworld, and in this role an association with Hecate. In fact, Hermes has so many roles that Lucian, dedicated satirist of philosophy and traditional religion, has Hermes picture himself as the gods' put upon jack-of-all-trades: "It is not enough that I must be busy all day in the wrestling-ground and the Assembly and the schools of rhetoric, the dead must have their share in me too."[20] In fact, Hermes resembles Elijah in the multiplicity of his roles and the difficulty in figuring out what were his key, determinative characteristics.

Although Hermes had few major cult centers in the Ancient world his worship is well attested in Classical and Late Antique times. The Rabbis would have been most familiar with the religions of their immediate neighbors, and the history of Syria does reveal literary and archaeological traces of Hermes. Philo of Byblos, a first century CE Phoenician writing in Greek, connects the local god Taautos with Hermes and Thoth, and derives his cosmogyny from the Egyptian Hermetic traditions of Thoth-Hermes.[21] In parts of ancient Syria, Hermes was assimilated with Nebo, or Nabu, like Thoth the divine scribe and teacher of wisdom, and like Hermes identified with the planet Mercury. In Edessa, he was identified with the Arab deity Monimos, "The Favorable One," god of the Evening Star.[22] Statues or coins depicting Hermes have been

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18 Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (2 vols.; New York: Penguin Books, 1987 [1960 edition]), vol. I, pp. 63-67.

19 Graves, p. 66.

20 R. Bracht Branham, *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 150.

21 Albert. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenecian History of Philo of Byblos* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), pp. 74 & 137.

22 H. J. W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) pp. 75, 161.

found in Baalbek-Heliopolis (not far north of Upper Galilee), Caesarea Philippi, Antioch, Sidon, and Tyre.[23]

Another possible point of connection between Elijah and Hermes is to be found in the cult of Hermes Trismegistus. For later non-Christian Gentiles, Hermes often took on the characteristics of Hermes Trismegistus. Developing from an Egyptian fusion of Hermes and Thoth, the Egyptian celestial scribe god of wisdom, and judge of the dead, Hermes Trismegistus developed an uncentralized but influential cult of his own. Its beliefs were spread in the Hermetic writings, which ranged through magic, astrology, theosophy, to a philosophy with resemblances to both Gnosticism and Neoplatonism. One belief expressed in much of the Hermetic corpus is that there was more than one Hermes, and that their Hermes, author of all the Hermetic books, had once been a mortal man, now divinized.[24]

This notion was sufficiently widely held that some Christians thinkers tried to recruit Hermes as an early witness to the unity of God. Even Augustine grudgingly concluded that "he [Hermes] had much to say . . . about the one true God, creator of the world," but concluded that the doctrine was finally more false than true.[25] The Hermetic Hermes' human origin may have made it easier for Jews to compare him (unfavorably of course) with Elijah. Then, in becoming better than Hermes, Elijah becomes in some ways like him. This process is analogous to that described by VanderKam for Enoch when he writes that that tradition's authors "enlivened . . . Enoch with a variety of mythological traits and thus created for Judaism a primeval hero who outshone the legendary supermen or even divinities of any other people."[26] In this process, though, Enoch took on roles, such as that inventor of civilization, not played by the biblical Enoch.

But would the Rabbis have known of Trismegistus? Almost certainly they would have. Fowden shows that Hermetic material was widely distributed outside of Egypt, although much more as a literary influence than as way of life.[27] Knowledge of cult of Trismegistus was probably widely distributed in Syria. A Syriac Christian commentary on Acts 14:12, where pagans think Paul is Hermes, identifies "Hermes" without epithet as Hermes Trismegistus. "They called Hermes one of the gods who was more rational and skillful and intelligent that all of the Gods; and they called him Trismegistus, that is to

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23 P. Raingeard, *Hermes psychagogue: essai sur les origines du culte d'Hermes* (Rennes: Imprimerie Oberthur, 1934), pp. 272-4.

24 This view was prevalent in the more Hellenized philosophical or alchemical *Hermetica*, whereas some of the more Egyptian texts see Hermes as a god, and often even a creator god, although it gets more complicated than that. See Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp. 25-28.

25 *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 204-210.

26 Cf. James C. VanderKam, in his *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), p. 189. One might also compare it to to the way that the Church over the centuries, asserting Jesus' superior fufillment of the highest current model of human virtue, finds in him echoes of a warrior king, a charismatic teacher, a compassionate liberal, or a heroic revolutionary.

27 *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 212.

say, who knows three things, what is past and what is present, and what will happen; and because of this they called Paul Hermes."[28]

Some of the points of contact between Elijah and Hermes are fairly direct, others are more complex. Elijah's role as financial benefactor seems to make more sense in the Olympian mythos than in the Jewish. Elijah has other roles, however, especially those of herald and divine messenger, which resemble those of Hermes without in any way needing to have been borrowed from him. Still other cases, such as a group of legends, discussed further on, in which Elijah saves Jews in Gentile court settings, probably arose in conscious dialogue with stories about Hermes.

The "origin myth" of the legendary Elijah—the Biblical narrative and the Rabbinic commentary on it—also has resemblances to the character and myth of Hermes. Some of these are general similarities which Jews may have noticed, but which did not arise through borrowing. When Elijah runs before Ahab's chariot like a herald after the sacrifice on Mount Carmel (I Kings 18:46) it is not because of borrowing from Hermes! Similarly the biblical Elijah's great independence of character, even towards God, was elaborated on by the Rabbis without any necessary influence from Hermes.

One midrash, though, has such odd correspondences to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, that it is tempting to suppose some connection. In the Palestinian Talmud, our earliest source of Elijah legends, Elijah is metaphorically portrayed as having stolen the keys of the rain and dew from God, so that he (not God!) could bring about the drought which he prophecies on his first appearance. "This is analogous to the case of one who stole a physician's bag. Later the thief's son was wounded. . . . The physician said 'If you will return my bag in which I keep my medicine, I will cure your son.' So with Elijah. God said to him, 'If you will return to me the key of dew by which the dead can be resurrected, I will grant you the request you made on behalf of the widow's son, whom you wish to revive.'"[29] The motif of stealing from (a) God appears in both the midrash and the Homeric Hymn, and in each case the thief goes unpunished. Each thief, in fact, strikes a bargain with the deity he stole from and gets what he wants: Apollo's cattle or the resurrection of the widow's son.

The point here is not to argue that the myth and the midrash have similar morals (whatever they do mean). It is simply that the resemblances are too great to be ignored. They may in fact be saying something about how permeable the boundaries were between Judaism and the surrounding cultures, especially when a good story was involved.

Returning to the legendary Elijah who appeared to the Rabbis, one of his most common roles is that of God's messenger. Hermes also is from earliest times the messenger and herald of Zeus, commissioned to bear his tidings and do his will. This similarity of role may have allowed Jews to perceive a relationship between the two, and may even have influenced the portrayal of Elijah. Elijah, in contrast to Hermes, is rarely explicitly described as bearing messages sent by God. Instead, Elijah's messenger role is usually to provide

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28 Drijvers, p. 74.

29 *y. Berakot*, chapter 5, translation Samuel Segal, p. 35.

information about what God is doing or thinking to Rabbis who ask him,[30] and once relays a Rabbi's comment back to God.

The difference between Elijah's and Hermes' role as messenger is probably because in Rabbinic Judaism God speaks in Scripture and Oral law, using a *bat kol* on special occasions, and therefore generally doesn't need to send a messenger. In fact, only one Rabbinic source says that God sends Elijah to tell someone something,[31] the way that Zeus sends Hermes. And only once, in the story from *Pesiqta Rabbati* that we began with, does Elijah come in response to a prayer to God. In general, Elijah meets people who then ask him what God is doing. God, in short, does not need Elijah the way that Zeus needs Hermes. The fact that the Rabbinic sources do not seem to require Elijah as God's messenger, and yet portray him as such, may suggest that their emphasis on Elijah's role as messenger was in part borrowed from the myths of Hermes.

Related to his role as messenger, Elijah mediates between the living and the dead, and travels between earth and paradise, sometimes leading people on brief visits to supernatural realms. In showing Rabbis the heavenly academy, or reporting what is done there, Elijah creates a connection between the living and dead representatives of the Rabbinic tradition. Similarly, Hermes appears in the Classical tragedies as mediator between the living and their ancestors.[32] In Bavli *Baba Meṣiʿa* 114a-b, Elijah leads Raba bar Abuha to paradise so that he can collect some of his future reward while still among the living.

The most suggestive among these parallels to Hermes is the passage in which Elijah heralds Rabbi Joshua ben Levi on his arrival in paradise.[33] Elijah in general does not collect mortality's due and lead souls to heaven; in Rabbinic Judaism this role belongs to the angel of death. In this story, Rabbi Joshua has just triumphed over the angel of death, defeating him so totally that God must intercede and ask the Rabbi to return the angel's knife, so that death will not pass from the world prematurely. Elijah's action here is reminiscent of the role of Hermes as psychopomp who leads all souls to the after world. Perhaps, however, it is even more resonant of Hermes' role as helper and companion to the heroes of Classical myths.

Of all the legendary Elijah's roles the one that is least prophetic and most like Hermes is that of financial benefactor. Hermes granted prosperity and riches; a valuable windfall was called a *hermaion.* Elijah provides wealth twice in the Babylonian Talmud.[34] On the occasion mentioned above, Elijah provides Rabba bar Abbuha with a very practical foretaste of the World to Come. In *Kiddushin* Rav Kahana is selling baskets door to door. Propositioned by a matron, the Rabbi prefers death to dishonor and throws himself off a roof. Elijah comes and catches him, but complains that he had to come four

30 *b. Megilla* 15b; *Ḥagiga* 15b; *Giṭṭin* 6b; *Baba Meṣ.iʿa* 59b.

31 *b. Taʿanit* 24b. Rav Yehudah takes off one shoe (as part of praying for rain) and rain begins to fall. Elijah arrives and says "The Holy One Blessed by He says, 'If you take off the other shoe I will destroy the world.'"

32 Raingeard, p. 548.

33 *b. Ketubot* 77b

34 *b. Qidušin* 40a; *b. B. Meṣ.* 114a-b.

hundred parasangs to do it. When Rav Kahana retorts that the whole problem was caused by his poverty, Elijah gives him a bushel of dinars.[35]

In later Midrashim as well, and even more frequently in Medieval Jewish sources, Elijah helps people with cash presents. In the first story cited (one cannot call it a legend because it lacks a historical protagonist), Elijah appears in a dream to help out a man who was cheated by a dishonest trustee. Even if the original source of the idea of Elijah as source of money comes from outside Judaism, the later sources employ it in a distinctively Jewish way. In many of the stories, the recipients of Elijah's gift who are charitable and pious are allowed to remain rich, whereas those who do not use it well do not.[36]

In addition to these major parallels, there are a number of other correspondences between Elijah and Hermes, many of them appearing only once or twice. Their cumulative weight, however, suggests that some at least were consciously or unconsciously borrowed from Hermes. In several Elijah stories, Elijah protects or advises travelers.[37] Elijah, like Hermes, is sometimes encountered at crossroads, and once in a Gentile cemetery, recalling Hermes as guide of the dead.[38] Elijah also appears in dreams as Hermes does.[39] One of the oddest statements is Bavli *Baba Qamma* 60b: "When the dogs howl, the angel of death has come to town; when the dogs frolic, Elijah has come to town," which recalls the iconographic connection between Hermes and dogs.[40]

I will end with three Elijah legends which probably developed in polemical dialogue with the mythos of Hermes. All of them tell of occasions when Elijah saves a Jew who is in danger from a Gentile court, once the royal court of Caesar, and in the two other cases actual judicial proceedings. In all of them Elijah appears in Gentile disguise, by that very fact operating as something of a magician and trickster. In one instance he works a miracle, and in another he helps one along. Not only does the Elijah of these stories display Hermes-like attributes of savior and trickster, but he engages Hermes the patron of rhetoric and law courts on his own ground and wins. The first of these legends comes just before the heartbreaking martyrdom legend of Rabbi Hannania ben Teradion, who was burned alive wrapped in a Scroll of the Torah (the Rabbis were arrested at the same time), and serves as a sort of comic relief to it.

> They brought Rabbi Eleazar ben Perata [to trial] and said, "Why have you taught, and why have you stolen?" He said to them, "If one is a scholar one is not a robber and if one is a robber one is not a scholar, and since I am not one I am not the other either." "Why do they call

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35 Rashi and Jastrow disagree on whether a *shifa* of dinars is a measure or a container, so I harmonized by translating "bushel."

36 Ginzberg, vol. 4, pp. 204-211.

37 *Pesiqta Rabbati*, cited above; *b. Berakot* 3a.

38 *b. B. Meṣ.* 85b.

39 Menander, a Third Century professor of rhetoric, cynically advises speakers to invent dreams in which Hermes informs them, for example, who is the best of the magistrates. *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, pp. 17-18.

40 Raingeard, pp. 359-60.

you 'Rabbi?'" "I am a master of the weavers." They brought him two coils of the thread and asked, "Which is for the warp, and which is for the woof?" A miracle occurred for him, and a female bee came and sat on the warp and a male bee came and sat on the woof. He told them, "This is the warp and this is the woof." They asked him, "Why don't you go to the meeting house?"[41] He said to them, "I am an old man and I am afraid that I might be trampled by your feet." They asked, "And up until now, how many old men have been trampled?" A miracle occurred, and that very day an old man was trampled. "Why did you free your slave?"[42] He replied to them, "These things never happened." One of them got up to give testimony against him. Elijah appeared in the form of one of the great men of the empire. He said to him, "Since a miracle occurred for him in all [the rest], in this one too a miracle will occur for him, and you will show your bad nature." He ignored him and rose to speak to them. There was a letter written by important men of the empire that had to be sent to the Emperor, and they sent it by that man. Elijah came and distanced him by four hundred *parasangs* from there. He went and did not come back.[43]

What is particularly funny here is the way that, even with miracles to aide him, the Rabbi's self-defense becomes more and more lame, until he simply denies the last charge. Even Elijah's persuasion fails to convince a hostile witness, and Elijah must resort to helping the last miracle along. Nevertheless, nothing can prevent the saving of the man whom God has seen fit to save, and no cleverness of a Gentile court can match the Rabbinic cleverness of Rabbi Eleazer, with some help from Elijah. The next story is one of the most fairy tale like stories in the Talmud, its only trace of legend being the proper name of its hero. What ever else we may draw from this, it indicates that the theme of Elijah before a Gentile court was part of the popular imagination.

Nahum of Gamzu used to say about everything that happened to him, "This too [*gam zu*] is for good." One day they wanted to send a gift to the Emperor. They said, "Whom will we send it by? We will send by Nahum of Gamzu, because he has experience in miracles. When he came to a certain inn he wanted to spend the night. They asked him, "What do you have with you?" He said, "I am bringing tribute to Caesar." They got up at night, untied his box, removed everything that was in it, and filled it with earth. When he got there [before the Emperor] they found the earth. The Emperor said, "The Jews are mocking me!" They took him out to be executed. He said, "This too is for good." Elijah appeared in the form of one of them and told them, "Perhaps this is the earth of Abraham our [*sic*] father. He would throw earth and there were swords, chaff and there were arrows." They tested and found it was so. There was a city that they could not conquer; they

41 Literally, *bei avadan* "house of their destruction," which Jastrow takes as a cacophemism for *bei va'adan*, "their meeting place" (for idolatrous purposes).

42 Presumably a Jewish slave freed on the seventh year.

43 *b. ʿAvoda Zara* 17b.

> threw some of that earth on it and they conquered it. They took him to the treasury and said, "Take what pleases you!" He filled his box with gold. When he returned, he came [to the same inn] those innkeepers asked him, "What did you bring to the court?" He told them, "What I took from here, I brought there." They took [some earth] and brought it there and those innkeepers were executed.[44]

In this story, Elijah functions very much as a conventional fairy tale helper, rewarding the honest holy man who looks at the best side of things, and (in effect) punishing the wicked and greedy innkeepers. In Babylonian Talmud *Berakot* 58a, on the other hand, we have the most historical story of the three. It reflects, if not a real incident, a real situation in which Jewish judges attempted to assert their legal authority despite the hostility of the Persian state and of some Jews.

> Rav Sheila had a certain man who had sex with an Egyptian flogged. The man went and informed against him to the royal officials, saying "There is a man among the Jews who passes sentence without royal authority." An official summoned him [Rav Sheila]. When he came they said to him, "Why did you have this man flogged?" He said to them "He had intercourse with a she-ass." They asked him, "Do you have witnesses?" He told them, "Yes." Elijah came in the form of a man and testified. They said to him, "In that case, he should be put to death!" He told them, "From the time we were exiled from our land we do not have authority to put to death. Do what you wish with him."
>
> While they were considering his case Rav Sheila spoke up and said [in Hebrew] "Thine, O Lord is the greatness and the power . . . [I Chron. 29:11-12)]. They asked "What are you saying?" He replied "I am saying this—Blessed is the Merciful, who makes earthly government similar to heavenly government, and gave you rulership and love of justice." They said "Is the honor of the government so precious to him?" They gave him a staff of office and said, "Judge cases." When he went out, that same man asked him "Does the Merciful do miracles for liars?" "Wicked man," he said, "Are they not called asses? For it is written, whose flesh is like the flesh of asses [Ezekiel 23:20]." He [Rav Sheila] saw that he was going to tell them that he had called them asses. He reasoned: this man is [like] a pursuer with murderous intent, and the Torah says, if someone comes to kill you, hasten to kill him. He hit him with his staff of office and killed him.

Obviously, there's a lot going on in this story. We may find it morally troubling, but it's important to remember that the guilt of Rav Sheila's opponent was not so much the original sexual *faux pas*, but that he informed against the Rabbi and thus put his life in danger. The key motif here too is that of Elijah before a Gentile court. Hermes was the god of rhetors fast talkers in general. The Iliad says that Hermes bestows "skill at the oath" on his son Autolycus, also mentioned as an arch-thief, and Elijah certainly displays "skill at the

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44 *b. Sanhedrin* 108b-109a

oath" in this story, swearing to the truth of a midrashic metaphor.[45] Although Hellenistic and Roman sources also describe Hermes as the god of rhetorical eloquence and wisdom in a more positive sense, here Hermes' trickiness in a good cause is what Elijah borrows.

This power, it is important to note, is never used against Jews, and certainly not in Jewish court settings. In all three stories, a Jew faces unequal Gentile opponents with the power of life and death. These stories were created, I think, by Jewish storytellers who were already aware that their prophet had powers which pagans attributed to Hermes. This being so, they delighted in making Elijah outwit the Gentile authorities. In the Roman settings Elijah surpasses the pagan god on his own religious turf, but it easy to see how such a catchy motif could also travel to Zoroastrian Persia.

Thus we see that resemblances between Hermes and Elijah may arise in several different ways. Sometimes, as when Elijah and Hermes function as divine heralds, the cause is in parallel development, rather than influence. Once, however, parallel development produced enough points of contact between two traditions, the spark of imagination could leap the gap, so to speak, and allow cross fertilization to occur. Sometimes this cross fertilization was due to the unexamined adoption of an attractive motif across cultural lines, as when, for example, Elijah appears in dreams as Hermes does. Other times, the Jewish tradition enters into polemical dialogue with the Gentile culture, consciously absorbing or co-opting the virtues of Hermes into the persona of Elijah, and thus presenting Elijah as more powerful and authentic than his Gentile counterpart. Once these stories existed they became part of the tradition too and allowed other Elijah legends to be created along similar lines. It is naturally difficult to reconstruct whether any given resemblance between Elijah and Hermes is due to parallel development, unconscious assimilation, or conscious adoption. However, in some cases, such as the three court legends cited above, a good case can be made that the original creators of the motif, and perhaps the composers of these particular legends, were aware of the correspondence between the two and exploited it.

What is lacking, and what will probably never be found, is any explicit literary trace of the connection. Some hellenized Second Temple Jews, seeking to prove the value of Judaism in a Greek context, tried to show that ancient Jews taught the culture heroes of the Greeks, or called the Sibyl Noah's daughter. The Rabbis, in contrast, sought to distance themselves—or at any rate to present themselves as distant—from the surrounding culture in matters of faith and learning. Thus, a Christian theologian's co-option of Trismegistus as a prophet of monotheism could never have occurred among the Rabbis.

The whole sum of Elijah-Hermes correspondences reveal how permeable the boundaries were between Judaism and the surrounding cultures. The next step may be for someone to combine Lieberman's insight and classical erudition with the new more critical ways of analyzing texts one at a time and only very cautiously trying for "the Rabbinic view on such-and-such." This paper's intention has been only to provide evidence that a connection between Elijah and Hermes exists; if it does, many interesting possibilities arise.

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[45] Kerenyi, pp. 16-17.

Similarities Between the Legendary Elijah and the Biblical Elijah, Enoch, and Hermes, Ordered by Approximate Frequency of Occurrence

Legendary Elijah	Biblical Elijah	Enoch	Hermes
Herald of Messiah or End of Days	Will come before the Day of the Lord		The Herald god
Messenger of God in the present	Prophet in Kings and as such God's messenger	Tells God's sentence to the Watchers	Messenger of Zeus
Benefactor/protector of poor/powerless	Benefactor/protector of poor/powerless	Advocates charity for poor (*2 Enoch*)	
Gives money to the deserving			The god one prayed to for money
Heals	Heals and revives		Connected to Aesculepius, patron of healing
Source of wise proverbs		Teaches wise proverbs (*2 Enoch*)	
Solves difficult questions		Viewed as supremely wise (e.g., *T. Abr.*)	God of rhetorical arts and, esp. when connected to Thoth, of wisdom
Travels between Earth and Eden	Ascends to heaven	Resides in Eden	Travels and mediates between the living and dead
Occasionally Heavenly scribe		Heavenly scribe	Identified with Thoth, heavenly scribe
Sometimes portrayed as one of the angels		Passim but esp. in *2 Enoch* & *3 Enoch*	At times identified with angel by Christians
Sometimes appears in dreams			Appears in or brings dreams
Will lie/deceive to protect righteous			Was god of fast talkers and thieves
Helps travelers			Patron of travelers
Sometimes fallible	E.g., 2 Kgs 1:10ff.		
Once found in a graveyard			Deity of graveyards
Heralds R. Joshua ben Levi in Eden			Herald god and guide of souls to paradise
Once a peacemaker between Rabbis	Peacemaker (Mal)		

The Hekhalot Literature and Shamanism

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Introduction[1]

The Hekhalot literature is a bizarre conglomeration of Jewish esoteric and revelatory texts produced sometime between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The documents have strong connections with earlier apocalyptic and gnostic literature and claim to describe the self-induced spiritual experiences of the "descenders to the chariot" that permitted these men to view Ezekiel's chariot vision (the Merkavah) for themselves, as well as to gain control of angels and a perfect mastery of Torah through theurgy. This material is of particular interest for the study of divine mediation and mystical/revelatory experiences, because the Hekhalot documents claim to detail actual practices used to reach trance states, gain revelations, and interact with divine mediators.

Philip Alexander has drawn on anthropological works on shamanism to illuminate some material in the Hekhalot literature.[2] This paper follows up his observation in depth by analyzing the Hekhalot literature from the perspective of the anthropological study of shamanism. The study of the Hekhalot literature raises the obvious question of whether and to what degree the texts reflect actual mystical experiences. Two approaches have developed

[1] My thanks to Central College for a research and development grant that helped make this study possible. The textual basis of the Hekhalot literature for this paper is found in Peter Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1981); Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1984); and (for 3 Enoch) Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch, or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: Ktav, 1973 [orig. pub. 1928]). The citation "par(s)." plus a number refers to paragraph numbers in the *Synopse* unless otherwise indicated. For 3 Enoch, Odeberg's chapter and verse numbers are given, followed by the corresponding paragraph numbers of the *Synopse* in parentheses. The citation G with a number (e.g., G8) refers to the numbers assigned to the Geniza fragments in *Geniza-Fragmente*. This paper divides the *Synopse* (both Hekhalot and related texts) into the following macroforms: 3 Enoch (paras. 1-79); Hekhalot Rabbati (paras. 81-121, 152-54, 156-73, 189-96, 198-277); Sar Torah (paras. 281-306); Hekhalot Zutarti (roughly paras. 335-74, 407-26); Magic Book (paras. 489-95); Maʿaseh Merkavah (paras. 544-96); Ḥarba de Moshe (paras. 598-622, cf. paras. 640-50); Sar Panim (paras. 623-39); Merkavah Rabba (paras. 655-708); Seder Rabba de Bereshit (paras. 743-853 and parallels). These divisions are for convenience only and do not imply a theoretical statement about the textual boundaries of the Hekhalot literature.

[2] Philip S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28 (1977) 156-80, esp. 169-73.

on this issue. Some scholars, such as Gershom Scholem, Philip Alexander, and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, understand the Hekhalot texts to describe actual theurgical practices and typical visionary experiences of the group that produced the documents.[3] Others, such as David Halperin, see the Hekhalot traditions as primarily exegetical. Halperin reconstructs a tradition of synagogue exegesis associated with Shavuot sermons that he believes generated the traditions found in the Hekhalot literature. He allows for the possibility that the writers sometimes had visionary experiences or "hallucinations," but he sees the major developments as literary.[4]

This exegetical approach to the Hekhalot materials has much to commend it. Halperin has traced the interpretation of Ezekiel 1 and related passages through many centuries and has illuminated this exegetical tradition a great deal. I believe, however, that more can be done with the experiential element in the texts and that the concept of "Merkavah mysticism" has some reality behind it.

However, the term "mysticism" seems to me to be something of a misnomer when applied to the esotericism found in the Hekhalot literature. Our understanding of these documents can be advanced by focusing on shamanism rather than mysticism as a paradigm for what they claim to be about. In order to follow up this assertion it is necessary to define a number of terms and draw some important distinctions. First, there is "mysticism." Evelyn Underhill, in an old but still useful work, defined it as "the expression of the innate tendency of the human spirit towards complete harmony with the transcendental order; whatever be the theological formula under which that order is understood. This tendency, in great mystics, gradually captures the whole field of consciousness; it dominates their life and, in the experience called 'mystic union,' attains its end." The goal of mysticism, then, is union of the soul with the Absolute. Although this union is an absorption of an individual into the divine, the unitive life of the highest mystics is generally intensely social: they seek to bring the benefits of their experience into their community.[5]

Underhill contrasts mysticism with a closely related, but in his opinion, inferior form of esotericism—magic. She says that magic "claims to be a

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[3] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965); Alexander, "Historical Setting" (N. 2); Morray-Jones, "Paradise Revisited (2 Cor 12:1-12): The Jewish Mystical Background of Paul's Apostolate," *HTR* 86 (1993) 177-217, 265-92. I take no position in this paper on the date of composition and redaction of the Hekhalot literature or on its precise relationship to Second Temple apocalyptic and esoteric literature (on the latter question, see the discussion on pp. 27-29).

[4] Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1988). See especially Halperin's comments on p. 441. See also N. 57 below.

[5] Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (New York/Ontario: Meridian, 1974 [1st ed. 1911]) xiv, 428-32. I am well aware that "mysticism" is often used in the more general sense of esoteric spiritual experience. For my purposes it is more useful to use the term in the restricted sense of mystical union. For detailed discussions see Ileana Marcoulesco, "Mystical Union," and Louis Dupré, "Mysticism," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, vol. 10 (New York/London: Macmillan, 1987) 239-45 and 245-61, respectively.

practical, intellectual, highly individualistic science; working towards the declared end of enlarging the sphere on which the human will can work, and obtaining experimental knowledge of planes of being usually regarded as transcendental." Magic, then, is esoteric practice by an individual that seeks to gain knowledge of and power over the supernatural realm. Underhill considers it inferior because it falls short of what she holds to be the real goal of esotericism—the mystical union with the Absolute.[6]

There is, however, an intermediate stage of esoteric spiritual experience unacknowledged by Underhill. This stage, shamanism, is found, like mysticism and magic, in religious traditions all over the world. Åke Hultkrantz has described the shaman as "a social functionary who, with the help of guardian spirits, attains ecstasy in order to create a rapport with the supernatural world on behalf of his group members."[7] The shaman, then, like the mystic, achieves ecstasy, a trance state in which he or she "stands outside" the body. This ecstatic state usually involves the perception that the soul of the shaman is ascending or descending to levels outside of mundane reality. Like the magician, the shaman uses spirit intermediaries and seeks not mystical union, but esoteric knowledge and power. But, again like the mystic, the beneficiary of the esoteric experience is the community, not just the individual practitioner or clients.

The experiences described in the Hekhalot literature do not seem much like mysticism. There is no thought of mystical union. God is nearly as remote in the heavenly throne room as he is on earth. Nor is Hekhalot esotericism merely magic: it includes visionary experiences atypical of magic and often seems to be functioning in the context of a community. I propose therefore that the most illuminating framework for these experiences is shamanism. Using Hultkrantz's definition as a basis, the rest of this paper will test this approach by organizing the Hekhalot literature according to the component elements of shamanism as generally accepted by anthropologists.

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6 Underhill, *Mysticism* (N. 5) 152, 164. Again, definitions of magic are notoriously difficult, since the word "magic" is often used merely to mean religious cult that is disapproved of by the speaker. The comments of John Middleton are useful here: "Magic is usually defined subjectively rather than by any agreed-upon content. But there is a wide consensus as to what this content is. Most people in the world perform acts by which they intend to bring about certain events or conditions, whether in nature or among people, that they hold to be the consequences of these acts. If we use Western terms and assumptions, the cause and effect relationship between the act and the consequence is mystical, not scientifically validated. The acts typically comprise behavior such as manipulation of objects and recitation of verbal formulas or spells. In a given society magic may be performed by a specialist." ("Theories of Magic," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Eliade, vol. 9 [N. 5] 82-89. The quotation is on p. 82.) The definitions of Underhill and Middleton apply well to the ancient and medieval Jewish magical texts whose relationship to the Hekhalot literature will be explored later in this paper.

7 Hultkrantz, "A Definition of Shamanism," *Temenos* 9 (1973) 25-37. The quotation is from p. 34. I accept Hultkrantz's description as a working definition that can, as we shall see, be widely applied cross-culturally. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of other attempts to define shamanism.

Becoming a shaman

There is no one way that a person becomes convinced of his or her call to shamanhood. We can, however, make some significant generalizations about the range of experiences that lead to this conviction. First, the call may be either imposed from an external source (usually the spirits) or a voluntary decision of the future shaman. If the call is imposed, it may come from compelling dreams or revelations from the spirits, who may bring an illness upon an initiate until the initiate agrees to accept the call.[8] Or the call may be hereditary, or determined from childhood by the presence of a "shaman's mark," a special physical characteristic on the initiate's body. Hereditary or "marked" shamans usually do not resist the call.[9] If the decision is voluntary, the prospective shaman seeks out contacts with the spirits.[10]

The Hekhalot literature itself does not indicate how one is chosen to become a descender to the chariot. However, a closely related and overlapping genre of literature, the physiognomic texts, seems to indicate that certain physical characteristics are required of initiates in order for them to be accepted into the group. One of these, הכרת פנים לר' ישמעאל, "The Physiognomy of R. Ishmael," is a Hebrew text originally published from several manuscripts by Gershom Scholem, who dates it to the Talmudic period.[11] (I see no reason that it could not be as late as the Geonic period.) Presented as a revelation to R. Ishmael by the angel Suriah (as in the Hekhalot literature), it

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8 For example, the Gol'd shaman of Siberia, who was smitten with an illness until he entered into a shamanic marriage with his assisting spirit (Joan Halifax, *Shamanic Voices: A Survey of Visionary Narratives* [New York/London: Arkana/Penguin, 1979] 121).

9 The call of Nick Black Elk, a Native American Lakota Sioux, was hereditary: shamanism ran in his family. He was four years old when the spirits first called him. When he was nine, they struck him unconscious for twelve days, during which he received his "Great Vision" (to be discussed below) (John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* [Lincoln Neb./London: University of Nebraska, 1988 (originally published in 1932)] 18-47). Nick was one of the eleven spiritual "grandfathers" of Wallace Black Elk, who was groomed to be a shaman from childhood in accordance with a prophecy of nineteen generations before (Wallace Black Elk and William S. Lyon, *Black Elk: The Sacred Ways of a Lakota* [San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990] xviii-xx, 3-15. Shamans' marks among Siberian shamans are discussed by V. N. Basilov, "Chosen by the Spirits," in *Shamanism: Soviet Studies of Traditional Religion in Siberia and Central Asia*, ed. Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer (New York/London: Sharpe, 1990) 3-48, esp. 8; N. A. Alekseev, "Shamanism among the Turkic Peoples of Siberia," in *Shamanism*, ed. Balzer, 49-109, esp. 99; L. V. Khomič, "A Classification of Nenets Shamans," in *Shamanism in Siberia*, ed. V. Diózegi and M. Hoppál (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978) 245-53, esp. 245.

10 For example, Sanimuinak, the Angamagsalik Inuit, who decided to become a shaman as a boy and actively sought out the spirits (Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* [N. 8] 111).

11 Scholem, "Physiognomy and Chiromancy," in *Sepher Assaf*, ed. M. D. Cassuto et al. (Jerusalem: 1953) 459-95 (Hebrew). The text is discussed on pp. 469-74 and published in Appendix B (pp. 480-87). Scholem also published another article on this text with an improved German translation that took into account a new manuscript: "Ein Fragment zur Physiognomik und Chiromantik aus der Tradition der spätantiken jüdischen Esoterik," in *Liber Amicorum: Studies in Honor of Professor Dr. C. J. Bleeker* (Leiden: Brill, 1969) 175-93. Citations from the Physiognomy of R. Ishmael (hereafter PRI) follow the paragraphing of the latter article.

describes the outward physical characteristics that indicate to the initiated whether a person is righteous or wicked and what that person's fate shall be. A number of the descriptions of the righteous tend to indicate that they are numbered among the descenders to the chariot. They are repeatedly described as "meriting (from one to four) crowns" (PRI paras. 5, 12, 18, 37), which brings to mind the various references to the Great Seal and Fearsome Crown mentioned in the Hekhalot literature (e.g., paras. 318-21 = 651-54). One description indicates that the subject is "a son of two worlds" (PRI para. 4), which Scholem compares to the comment in Merkavah Rabba that the reciter of the Shiʿur Qomah "has good in this world and rest for the world to come" (para. 705).[12] Another reads, "And if he has one (line) that stands on his forehead, thus he ascends opposite those who bind on crowns" (PRI para. 32). Scholem points out that "binders of crowns" seem to be a category of angel mentioned twice in the Hekhalot Rabbati.[13] Other passages describe the good man as exceptionally wise (PRI para. 20) and "a son of Torah" (PRI para. 31), both characteristics of those who participate in Sar Torah theurgy (see below).

A Geniza fragment (T.-S. K 21.88) with similar material, but also including astrological speculation, was published by Ithamar Gruenwald.[14] The connections between it and the Hekhalot literature are less pronounced, but it is worth noting that it has some emphasis on characters who are gifted in Torah (one can learn it twice as fast as his companions) (1a 8-9, 18; 2a 15-17).

The most important physiognomic document for our purposes is a Geniza fragment (T.-S. K 21.95.L [= G12]) that begins as a Hekhalot text but includes physiognomic and astrological material.[15] Entitled סימן טוב, "A Good Omen," it begins with an account by Rabbi Ishmael of his ascent to the chariot and describes how the angel Metatron showed him the souls of human beings yet to be born. Essentially the same material is found in 3 Enoch 1 and 43-44 (paras. 1-2, 61-62), but in a form redactionally secondary to G12.[16] After a tour of the places of the souls of the future righteous, intermediate, and wicked, Metatron shows R. Ishmael the twelve constellations and begins reciting a horoscope:

> He who is born in the constellation of Libra, on the first day, in Jupiter or in the moon: when he, the child, is born in these two hours, he is only born *little and small* and sallow. And he shall have a sign on the fingers of his hands and the toes of his feet, or an extra finger [or "toe"]

12 Scholem, "Physiogonomy" (N. 11) 481 n. 12.

13 Scholem, "Physiogonomy" (N. 11) 485 n. 42; cf. paras. 103, 253.

14 Gruenwald, "New Fragments from the Physiognomic and Chiromantic Literature," *Tarbiz* 40 (1970-71) 301-19 (Hebrew). The text is introduced on pp. 301-304 and published on pp. 306-17.

15 Schäfer translates and discusses the text in "Ein neues Fragment zur Metoposkopie und Chiromantik," *Hekhalot-Studien* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1988) 84-95. It should also be noted that, in addition to the three documents discussed in this section, a number of medieval Jewish writers ascribed esoteric physiognomic wisdom to the descenders to the chariot (see Scholem, "Physiognomy" [N. 11] 459-68; Schäfer, "Ein neues Fragment," 84 n. 1).

16 Schäfer, "Ein neues Fragment" (N. 15) 86-87.

> on his hands or on his feet. And this man shall be a ready <scribe>. And three lines in (the form of) crowns are on his forehead and the middle one is broken into three, and they are wide lines. And he is one of the good. And at the age of seven months and ten days he shall become sick and shall be in hot water. They shall ascend upon him and anyone who sees him says that he shall not be saved from this. . . . (2b 15-22)[17]

Much in this passage is obscure; however, a number of points should be noted. This text combines a Hekhalot vision with physiognomic and astrological speculation. The righteous man described here, whose character is indicated by physical markings and the time of his birth, is also (if we accept the emendation) a "ready <scribe>," that is, one skilled in Torah. Finally, the illness of his childhood is reminiscent of childhood illnesses that sometimes presage the onset of a shamanic call.

Thus, the "call" of the descenders to the chariot seems to be connected with physiognomic, and perhaps astrological, criteria, just as is sometimes true for shamans.

Initiatory disintegration and reintegration

Frequently a candidate will gain shamanic powers during a visionary experience in which he or she undergoes some form of death or personal destruction and disintegration at the hands of divine beings, followed by a corresponding resurrection or reintegration that purges and gives a qualitatively different life to the initiate. For example, the Siberian (Tagvi Samoyed) Sereptie, in his long and arduous initiatory vision (on which see below), was at one point reduced to a skeleton and then was "forged" with a hammer and anvil.[18] Autdaruta, an Inuit initiate, had a vision in which he was eaten by a bear and then was vomited up, having gained power over the spirits.[19] Nick Black Elk, in the narrative of his Great Vision (discussed below), describes what seems to be an initiatory transformation: "I saw that I was painted red all over, and my joints were painted black, with white stripes between the joints. My bay had lightning stripes all over him and his mane was cloud. And when I breathed, my breath was lightning."[20]

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17 "Little and small": emending according to the suggestion of Jonas Greenfield (Schäfer, "Ein neues Fragment" [N. 15] 95 n. 58). "A ready <scribe>": emending to סופר מהיר on the basis of the parallel expression in T.-S. K 21.88 (cf. Schäfer, "Ein neues Fragment" [N. 15] 95 n. 61).

18 A. A. Popov, "How Sereptie Djaruoskin of the Nganasans (Tagvi Samoyeds) Became a Shaman," in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia*, ed. V. Diózegi (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968) 137-45. The forging episode is on p. 142.

19 Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* (N. 8) 108-109. For a cross-cultural overview of initiatory disintegrations and reintegrations see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstacy* (rev. ed.; Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964) 33-66.

20 Niehardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (N. 9) 44. Initiatory disintegration and reintegration is much more common in Arctic (Inuit and Siberian) and Australian shamanism than in Native American shamanism. Daniel Merkur suggests that this experience is a form of anxiety attack generated by sensory deprivation (e.g., "kayak-angst" among the Inuit), and

The clearest example of an initiatory disintegration and reintegration in the Hekhalot literature is found in one of its latest strata: the description of the transformation of the mortal Enoch into the angel Metatron in 3 Enoch 3-15 (paras. 4-19). Enoch's experience is much like that of the shamans:

> As soon as the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot, and all the needs of the Shekhinah, at once my flesh was changed into flame, my tendons into a fire of glowing heat, my bones to glowing juniper coals, my eyelids to radiance of lightningbolts, my eyeballs to torches of fire, the hair of my head to glowing heat and flame, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and my bodily frame to scorching fire. On my right were hewers of fiery flames, on my left torches were burning. There blew around me wind, storm, and tempest, and the noise of earthquake upon earthquake was in front of me and behind me. (15:1b-2; para. 19)

The apotheosis of Enoch in this passage is clearly a literary event, not necessarily meant to describe the experience or potential experience of a descender to the chariot. Nevertheless, it provides an important context for difficult texts in earlier strata of the Hekhalot literature. The following passage from the Hekhalot Rabbati is a case in point. It describes the effect that the vision of God on his throne has on one who sees it:

> And the eyes of every creature are unable to gaze on Him, neither eyes of flesh and blood nor the eyes of His attendants. And the one who gazes on Him and peers and sees Him, *flashbacks* seize his eyeballs and his eyeballs emit and bring forth torches of fire and they scorch and burn him. The fire that goes forth from the man who gazes burns him and scorches him. For what reason? Because of the likeness of the eyes of the shirt of ZHRRY'L YHWH, God of Israel, who is garlanded and comes onto the throne of glory. . . . For with six voices the *beings* who carry His throne of glory sing, the cherubim and the ophannim and the holy living creatures, with voice after voice that is exalted over its companion and that is modulated before Him.
>
> The voice of the first: whoever hears it immediately moans and prostrates himself. The voice of the second: whoever listens to it immediately gets lost and does not return again. The voice of the third: whoever hears it is seized by convulsion and dies immediately. The voice of the fourth: whoever listens to it—immediately the skull of his head, as well as his frame, is shattered, and most of the heads of his ribs are torn out. The voice of the fifth: whoever hears it is immediately poured out like a ladle and it dissolves all of him into blood. The voice of the sixth: whoever listens to it—immediately skipping seizes his

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that perhaps the natural environment in the Arctic and Australia may be more conducive to sensory deprivation than the natural environment normally experienced by Native Americans (*Becoming Half Hidden: Shamanism and Initiation Among the Inuit* [Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 24; Stockhom: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985] 177-98, esp. n. 89).

heart and his heart shakes and overturns his bowels and it dissolves his gall inside him like water. (paras. 102-104 [cf. para. 159])

A related passage appears in the Hekhalot Zutarti. R. Ishmael, speaking of the obscure angel MGH(Y)SŠH or MNḤŠH, reports:

> And he stands at the first gate and ministers at the great gate. When I saw him, my hands and feet were burned and I was standing without hands and feet until PNYYWN the prince from among the heavenly attendants appeared to me before the throne of glory opposite the inner room of the seraphim, whose name is like His name, and it is one name. (para. 420 [cf. G8.2a. 37-41])

It has been recognized by Christopher Morray-Jones that these three passages should be interpreted together. "The meaning must be that the vision of the garment of the Glory, which embodies the name of God, involves a transformation of the mystic's body into fire, a process which is terrifyingly dangerous, even fatal, should he prove unworthy."[21] Thus, the descender to the chariot undergoes a personal destruction and resurrection as part of the process of gaining his power to function in the supernatural world.

Shamanic techniques

Shamans reach the state that gives them access to the supernatural world in a variety of ways. A very common way is by ingesting mind-altering drugs of various types.[22] Another common method is to listen to the protracted pounding of a drum.[23] Less direct methods are also widely practiced. These include various forms of isolation and self-denial, such as fasting, solitary confinement, celibacy, dietary and purity restrictions, and protracted prayer. Igjugarjuk, a Caribou Inuit shaman, claims to have been isolated by his mentor in a small snow hut where he fasted and meditated in the cold, drinking only a little water twice, for thirty days. After his initiatory vision (see below) he continued a rigorous regime involving a special diet and celibacy.[24] Leonard Crow Dog, a Native American Sioux shaman, describes in detail the process of his first vision quest. He participated in a sweat lodge ceremony for spiritual cleansing, then was taken to a fasting place of his family's, where he was wrapped naked in a blanket and left in a hole to fast and pray alone for two days (an adult shaman will fast four or more days).[25] Wallace Black Elk also frequently describes both the sweat lodge ("stone-people-lodge") ceremony and the vision quest.[26] Ascetic practices by Japanese

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21 Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," *JJS* 43 (1992) 1-31. The quotation is on p. 25.

22 See, most recently, Michael Ripinsky-Naxon, *The Nature of Shamanism: Substance and Function of a Religious Metaphor* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993).

23 Eliade, *Shamanism* (N. 19) 168-80.

24 Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* (N. 8) 65-68.

25 Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* (N. 8) 76-84.

26 E.g., Black Elk and Lyon, *Black Elk* (N. 9) 47-48, 60-66, 67-86, 138-170.

shamans are especially prevalent among those who actively seek shamanhood rather than being called by a deity. These practices include fasting and dietary restrictions of various kinds, seclusion in a dark place, walking pilgrimages between sacred places, and rigorous regimes of immersion and bathing in ice-cold water. These disciplines, especially the endurance of cold, eventually fill the shaman with heat and spiritual might.[27]

The magic of song is also drawn upon by shamans in all traditions. Japanese shamans recite words of power that Carmen Blacker has divided into three categories. (1) Some words are considered to confer power on the reciter because of their meaning, such as passages in the Lotus Sutra that describe the redemptive virtue of the Bodhisattva Kannon. (2) Other words have no meaning to the reciter, but their mere recitation gives power, theoretically because of the inherent structure of the words themselves. In Japan, corrupt Sanskrit texts whose meanings are lost to all but a few scholars often serve in this category. (3) The invocation and pronunciation of divine names is also understood inherently to endue the invoker with power. These three types of recitation are normally combined with ascetic practices.[28]

These categories of power words serve as a useful framework for shamanic songs in general. For example, the songs of the Siberian Evenki (Tungus) shamans often contain so much linguistically archaic material that they are unintelligible to a modern Evenki. The songs that can be understood (either through the linguistic knowledge of the researcher or because they are sung in a more modern form by a literate speaker) clearly derive power from their content. Space allows for only a single example, the first part of a song sung during the Evenki ceremony of "searching for souls of the sick." The shaman gathers his helping spirits and he goes down the shaman's river, but encounters difficulties and is forced to retreat temporarily. The entire song is about four times the length of this excerpt and contains lines unintelligible to the translator and his informants.

> Go another way! Go another way! / Go another way! Go another way! / *činəkə* Birds have sent [him off] / Without circling / He went well inside / Down [along the river] he started / Here he led my children [the Evenki] / Children farther / Why do you go forward? / Come here my children! / Now there is a soul / On the sharp peak [of the mountain] of the earth / There we meet / On the wretched place of earth / There where the sharp peak [stands] / In the very middle of the earth. / At the two waterfalls [of the river] / On the third waterfall / I am held up [they catch me] / On the fourth waterfall / I am held up, / On the fifth waterfall, / I am held up / On the sixth waterfall, / I am held up / On the seventh waterfall, / I am held up / On the eighth waterfall / I am held up. / Turn round! Turn

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27 Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (2nd ed.; London/Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986) 85-93, 98-103.

28 Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow* (N. 27) 93-98.

round! Turn round! / Upwards! Upwards! Upwards you go! / My dogs, my fast ones / Don't fall behind![29]

Nothing in the Hekhalot literature indicates that the descenders to the chariot made use of psychoactive drugs to induce their visionary experiences. Nor is there any mention of their using drums. However, a somewhat similar effect may have been achieved by protracted repetition of divine names. In the Hekhalot Rabbati, when R. Nehuniah ben HaQanah suggested to his disciple R. Ishmael that the descender to the chariot must be morally perfect, R. Ishmael despaired. R. Nehuniah then had his protégé gather together the academy so that he could explain a theurgical method for experiencing the descent to the chariot (paras. 198-203). R. Ishmael continues:

> We came and sat before him, and the associates were a whole crowd standing on their feet, because they were seeing to the *globes* of fire and the torches of light that they had set as a barrier between us and them. And R. Nehuniah ben HaQanah sat and set out in order all the matters of the chariot: descent and ascent; how one who descends, descends and how one who ascends, ascends: When a man seeks to descend into the chariot, he calls on Suriah, prince of the Presence, and adjures him one hundred and twelve times by ṬWṬRWSY'Y YWY who is called ṬWṬRWSY'Y ṢWRṬQ ṬWṬRBY'L ṬWPGR 'ŠRWYLY'Y ZBWDY'L and ZHRRY'L ṬND'L and ŠQDHWZY'Y DHYBYRWN and 'DYRYRWN YWY God of Israel. And he must be careful not to add to the one hundred and twelve times, nor to subtract from them. And if he adds or subtracts, his blood is on his own head. But his mouth must only enunciate the names and the fingers of his hands must count to one hundred and twelve. And at once he will descend into and will have authority over the chariot. (paras. 203-205)[30]

Another cluster of techniques, which involve various forms of self-denial and ritual purification, is associated with many passages in the Hekhalot literature. A fairly typical example appears as an instruction of R. Akiva in the Sar Torah text that frequently follows the Hekhalot Rabbati in the manuscripts:[31]

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29 G. M. Vasilevič, "Shamanistic Songs of the Evenki (Tungus)" in *Popular Beliefs*, ed. Diószegi (N. 18) 351-72. The introductory discussion and the song in question are on pp. 351-59. The words in brackets appear to be variants from different recitations.

30 Cf. para. 311 (a theurgical fragment), para. 681 (Merkavah Rabba), and G19.1a. 11-25 (an incantation invoking Metatron) for parallels to this passage.

31 Additional passages that give descriptions of this set of praxes include a Sar Torah fragment (paras. 310-14); the Sar Panim ("The Prince of the Presence") (para. 623); the Merkavah Rabba (paras. 681-84); the Metatron incantation (G19.11-25; see N. 30 above); and the Magic Book (paras. 489, 495). The last belongs, strictly speaking, to the magical literature rather than the Hekhalot literature; but, see the discussion below on the relation between these two genres. The Sar Panim contains elements of both genres, and it is not clear that it should be assigned exclusively to either. Note also that the Merkavah Rabba and the Metatron incantation include both the recitation of divine names (as per para. 204) and techniques of self-denial.

> Let him who would join himself to the prince of Torah wash his garments and his clothes and let him immerse (in) a strict immersion as a safeguard in case of pollution. And let him dwell for twelve days in a room or in an upper chamber. Let him not go out or come in, and he must neither eat nor drink. But from evening to evening see that he eats his bread, clean bread of his own hands, and he drinks pure water, and that he does not taste any kind of vegetable. And let him insert this midrash of the prince of Torah into the prayer three times in every single day; it is after the prayer that he should pray it from its beginning to its end. And afterward, let him sit and recite during the twelve days, the days of his fasting, from morning until evening, and let him not be silent. And in every hour that he finishes it let him stand on his feet and adjure by the servants (and?) by their king, twelve times by every single prince. Afterward let him adjure every single one of them by the seal. (paras. 299-300)

The next two paragraphs give a very corrupt set of angelic *nomina barbara* to be recited.

A similar passage appears in the Maʿaseh Merkavah:

> R. Ishmael said: I was thirteen years old and my heart was moved on each day that *began* with fasting. As soon as R. Nehuniah ben haQanah revealed to me this mystery of Torah, Suriah, prince of the Presence, was revealed. He said to me: (As for) the prince of Torah, Yophiel is his name. Let anyone who seeks him sit forty days in fasting. Let him not eat his morsel with salt, nor let him eat any kind of filth. Let him immerse (with) twenty-four immersions. Let him not gaze on various dyed things. Let his eyes be pressed down to the earth and let him pray with all his might. Let him set his heart on his prayer, and let him seal himself with his seal and invoke twelve words. (para. 560)

Paragraphs 561-64 give various prayers, *nomina barbara*, instructions, and warnings to be used and heeded by the practitioner. Then, in paragraph 565, R. Ishmael continues his narrative:

> I sought this mystery, and I sat for twelve days in fasting. As soon as I saw that I could not serve by means of fasting, I made use of the name of forty-two letters. And PRQDS, the angel of the Presence, descended in rage, so that I shrank back, falling backward. He said to me: Mortal, son of a putrid drop, son of a maggot and a worm! You made use of a great name! It has taken for you arrays of Torah! I am not giving to you until you sit for forty days. At once I stood with all my might, and I carefully invoked three letters, and he ascended. (This: BʿRʾ BYH GDWLT ʾTYT BYH.) And I sat forty days in fasting and I prayed three prayers at dawn, three at noon, three at the afternoon offering, and three in the evening. And I invoked twelve words on every single one. And for the last day I prayed three (times) and invoked and PRQDS, the angel of the Presence, descended, and with him were angels of mercy.

And they placed wisdom in the heart of R. Ishmael.

Songs also play a crucial role in the esoteric practices described in the Hekhalot literature, which is permeated with what Scholem calls "numinous hymns."[32] The Hekhalot Rabbati begins with R. Ishmael's question, "What are these songs that one recites who seeks to observe the vision of the chariot so as to descend safely and to ascend safely?" (para. 81). Starting in paragraph 94, songs of the angels who attend the throne of God are given. This collection of songs concludes, "R. Ishmael said: R. Akiva heard all these songs when he descended to the chariot. He seized and learned them from before the throne of glory, for His attendants were singing before it" (para. 106). Near the end of the Hekhalot Rabbati we are given a set of songs that are recited daily by the throne of glory, which the descender to the chariot should also sing (paras. 251-57 = 260-66). The Maʿaseh Merkavah begins with R. Ishmael requesting "a prayer by which a man prays the praise of RWZYY YHWH God of Israel" (para. 544).

There are countless examples of these songs in the Hekhalot literature. Space permits the citation of only two in their entirety, both from the Maʿaseh Merkavah, and both chosen to show the correspondence of Merkavah hymns to the canons of shamanic hymns established above. The first is a prayer revealed by R. Nehuniah to R. Ishmael for protection from the angels who stand in the heavenly throne room. The other is the second in a series of five hymns at the end of the work.

> Blessed are You, YY' my God and my Former, great and fearsome, living forever, magnificent over the chariot. Who is like You, magnificent on high? Give me success in all my limbs and I will meditate on the gates of wisdom, I will search in the ways of understanding, I will watch closely the chambers of Torah, I will meditate on the treasuries of blessing, and they shall be treasured up for me, for wisdom is before You. And save me from all the enraged ones who stand before You and let them love me before You. And I know that Your holiness is forever, and I bless the holiness of Your name forever, and I sanctify Your great name. And let it be a great seal upon the limbs *of my body*, as it is written, "Holy, holy, holy" (Isa 6:3). Blessed are you YHWH who live forever. (para. 569)

> You are declared holy, God of heaven and earth,
> Lord of Lords,
> Magnificent One of magnificent ones,
> God of the cherubim,
> Rider of the cherubim.
> God of hosts,
> And His rulership is over the hosts.
> God of the attendants,
> And His name is declared holy over the attendants.
> He is His name and His name is He.

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32 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* (N. 3) 21.

> He is in He and His name is in His name.
> A song is His name and His name is a song.
> Z'WPH Z'P ZW'Y ZY' 'HSY HWHSYN RMYY YHH HW' RGŠ BRQ 'ṬG'H HW' ḤYL'H 'HY 'H HW' HW'B DRY 'YL RHY RS 'L DRW ZRYZ YŠ` WYŠ` ZRYZ. Eye to eye, strength in strength, might in might, greatness in greatness, support in support, poor in poor, shadow "in the shadow of ŠDY he will take refuge." (Ps 91:1). You are declared holy, King of the world, since everything depends on Your arm and all declare praise to Your name, for You are the Lord of the worlds and there is none like You in all the worlds. Blessed are You YY', the holy One in the chariot, rider of cherubim." (para. 588)

Thus the techniques of the descenders to the chariot as described in the Hekhalot literature conform well to the techniques used by shamans as established by anthropologists. These include the use of fasting, isolation and sensory deprivation, purity rituals, extended prayer, and singing. The Merkavah hymns, like shamanic hymns, may derive their power from their content, from the divine names recited in them, or from the unintelligible sounds pronounced in them.

Control of the spirits

One of the central functions of the shaman is to control spirits. Almost every other shamanic activity depends on this control. At the end of his ordeal in the snow hut, Igjugarjuk was visited by a spirit in the form of a beautiful woman who came as a sign that he was to become a shaman.[33] Leonard Crow Dog, near the end of his vision quest, was translated to a prairie in another world, where he was visited, empowered, and admonished by spirits.[34] Wallace Black Elk interacted with various spirits in his work as a shaman.[35] Blacker describes four types of spirits with which Japanese shamans have to do: sacred powers in the physical and human world (*kami*), souls of dead people (*tama*), neglected and malevolent human ghosts, and "witch animals" who parasitically possess human beings.[36]

The control of spirits (almost always angels) is also central to the practices attributed to the descenders to the chariot. Indeed, it is not too much to say that this power is the linchpin that holds together the disparate praxes and concepts in the Hekhalot literature. Nearly every passage cited in the previous section associates the methods described with the imposition of human will on angels. In para. 204, the chanting of the divine names summoned the angel Suriah as a guide for the descent to the chariot. In paragraph 299-303 the Sar Torah initiate was instructed to call on the angels in order to obtain, immediately and without effort, the knowledge of Torah that is normally acquired only after years of arduous study. In paragraph 560-65 R. Ishmael

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33 Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* (N. 8) 67.

34 Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* (N. 8) 85.

35 E.g., Black Elk and Lyon, *Black Elk* (N. 9) chaps. 6, 8-10.

36 Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow* (N. 27) chaps. 2-3.

compelled the angelic prince of Torah, with a good deal of difficulty, to give him wisdom (apparently, again, knowledge of Torah without study). Many other passages deal with the control of angels, but these are representative.

The otherworldly journey

Perhaps the best-known element of shamanic experience is the alleged ability, either as a free soul or in bodily form, to journey to other realms of existence not materially connected to our world. Eliade summarizes the cosmology of shamanism in terms that are nearly universally cross-culturally valid: "the universe in general is conceived as having three levels—sky, earth, underworld—connected by a central axis."[37] The latter is usually pictured as a tree growing through the three layers (the "world-tree") or as a mountain (the "cosmic mountain"). The shaman, who originates in the middle realm, our earth, travels to either or both of the other levels. Often the upper and lower realms are subdivided into (frequently seven or nine) layers.

The example from the Arctic chosen here is somewhat atypical for Siberian shamanism, in that the initiate was repeatedly tested by the spirits during the course of his adventure, rather than simply being guided by them. But this and other features of the narrative are strikingly similar to the experiences ascribed to the descenders to the chariot, making the initiatory vision of the Tagvi Samoyed shaman Sereptie of special interest to us. His first-person account describes how, when he was preparing to fell a tree to make a sledge, the tree was transformed into the world tree, from which a guiding spirit emerged and accosted him. With the spirit he descended through a hole into the underworld. He was led through six tents, while the spirit demanded that he explain numerous beings and phenomena encountered along the way. In the sixth he entered as a skeleton and was "forged" into a shaman. Sereptie and the spirit reached two more tents, then the spirit announced that Sereptie must find his way alone for the rest of the journey. He befriended a female spirit who answered some of his questions and tested him further. Finally, he snatched a stone from the underworld, and then revived near the root of the tree he was about to cut down, having been fully instructed as a shaman.[38]

In his "Great Vision" (see N. 9) Nick Black Elk was taken to the upper world on a cloud. He was introduced to his six "Grandfathers," the Powers of the World (the spirits of the four cardinal points, the sky, and the earth) who came to him in the form of horses. They showed him the future tribulations of his people during his lifetime and equipped him with various shamanic powers with which to aid them. At one point he seems to have replanted the world tree (p. 34), and later he found himself on the cosmic mountain looking

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[37] Eliade, *Shamanism* (N. 19) 259. All of ch. 8 of this book deals with shamanic cosmology.

[38] Popov, "How Sereptie" (N. 18) 137-45.

down on the sacred hoops of many peoples, with the world tree growing in the center. After his intiatory transformation he was returned to earth.[39]

Otherworldly journeys are also described frequently in the Hekhalot literature. In the beginning of the story of the ten martyrs in the Hekhalot Rabbati, R. Ishmael relates that Rome ordered the arrest of some of the sages and that R. Nehuniah "stood and made me descend to the chariot." There the angel Suriah explained the negotiations between Sammael, the angelic prince of Rome, and the heavenly law court, and assured R. Ishmael that the situation was well in hand. R. Ishmael then returned and related the news to his companions, who promptly threw a party to celebrate (paras. 107-11).

The longest and most detailed description of the descent to the chariot is in R. Nehuniah's instructions to the academy in the Hekhalot Rabbati. After explaining how to summon the angel Suriah (para. 204, translated above, p. 12), he described how God sits enthroned in the center of the seven concentric palaces. Eight angels guarding the gate of each palace must be shown the proper seal (i.e., a *nomen barbarum*) before letting the descender to the chariot pass. The angels and seals for each gate are listed. In particular, the monstrous nature of the angels guarding the sixth and seventh palaces is belabored in horrific detail. However, the descender to the chariot who follows instructions exactly will pass through every obstacle to be welcomed before the throne of God and allowed to observe the angelic liturgy (paras. 205-37).[40]

In the Hekhalot Zutarti, R. Akiva reports that "I had a vision of and observed the whole inhabited world and I saw it as it is. I ascended in a wagon of fire and gazed on the palaces of hail and I found GRWSQ' GRNSQ' that sits on MQLYLK'" (para. 366). Later in the same work he gives instructions for the journey to the chariot, complete with the names of the guardians of the gates of the seven palaces and the magic seals that placate them. Once one negotiates the seven gates he will be seated in the bosom of God (of whom several names are given) (paras. 413-17). In this case the goal seems to be the magical granting of a wish. R. Akiva instructs,

> Make your request (as follows): May there be favor from before You, YHWH God of Israel, our God and the God of our fathers. (*Nomina barbara*), may You give me grace and lovingkindness before Your

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39 Niehardt and Black Elk, *Black Elk Speaks* (N. 9) 20-47. Otherworldly visionary journeys are not characteristic of Japanese shamanism, although Blacker argues the likelihood that they were much more common in the past. She relates one visionary journey to heaven and hell reported by Deguchi Onisaburō, a founder of a popular religious movement. His experience took place in 1898 (see *The Catalpa Bow* [N. 27] ch. 10). Rather than a world tree, a cosmic mountain seems to be found in Japanese cosmology (ibid. ch. 4).

40 Paragraphs 224-29, missing in an important Geniza fragment, are a later addition to the narrative that purports to explain some of the strange behavior of the guardians of the sixth palace. Although in paragraphs 205-37 R. Nehuniah was clearly describing an ideal descent to the chariot, the writer of paragraphs 224-29 misunderstood that R. Nehuniah was relating a vision as he experienced it (see Peter Schäfer, "Ein neues *Hekhalot Rabbati*-Fragment," *Hekhalot-Studien* [N. 15] 96-103; Margarete Schlüter, "Die Erzählung von der Rückholung des R. Neḥunya ben HaQana aus der *Merkava*-Schau in ihrem redaktionellen Rahmen," *FJB* 10 [1982] 65-109).

> throne of glory and in the sight of all Your attendants. And may You join to me all Your attendants so as to do such and such, O great, mighty, fearsome, strong, valiant, magnificent, and eminent God! (paras. 418-19)

The Maʿaseh Merkavah recounts a number of visions and ascents (not "descents") to the chariot. Summaries of a representative sampling are given here. In paras. 545-46 R. Akiva relates his ascent and vision of the celestial bridges. In paras. 554-55 he describes the vision of the innermost heavens and innermost chambers and the myriads of flaming chariots in the seven palaces. In para. 558 R. Ishmael narrates his ascent through the seven palaces, and his singing of a hymn in the seventh. In para. 595 R. Akiva tells R. Ishmael how he ascended through the seven palaces and saw what was above the heads of the seraphim who stand above the head of God. The Merkavah Rabba, after prescribing the standard praxes (paras. 681-84), describes a descent of R. Akiva during which God on his throne enthusiastically affirmed the value of these praxes for learning Torah (paras. 685-86). Shortly after this another vision of God's throne is narrated by R. Ishmael. In this vision the prince of Torah, at the behest of R. Ishmael, recited the details of the measurements of God's body (*Shiʿur Qomah*). The salutary effects of reciting this teaching are also described (paras. 688-706).[41]

The cosmology of the Hekhalot literature is, not suprisingly, inconsistent in detail; but in its broad outlines it conforms well to the parameters of shamanic cosmology. A description of the world tree forms an inclusio for R. Nehuniah's instructions to the academy in the Hekhalot Rabbati. R. Nehuniah prefaces his instructions with the comments,

> What does this character [of the descender to the chariot] resemble? A man who has a ladder inside his house on which he ascends and descends; there isn't any living creature who can prevent him. . . . I will recite before [the academy] the mysteries, the concealed things, the gradations, wonders, and the weaving of the web that is the completion of the world and on which its plaiting stands, the axle of heaven and earth, to which all the wings of the earth and inhabited world and the wings of the firmaments on high are tied, sewn, fastened, hanged, and stand. And the way of the ladder on high is that its one head is on earth and its other head is on the right foot of the throne of glory. (paras. 199, 201, cf. para. 237)

Seven heavens are mentioned occasionally in the Hekhalot texts (e.g., 3 Enoch 17 = paras. 21-22), but normally the otherworld is conceived of as consisting of seven concentric palaces, with God's throne room in the innermost palace. Mention of the underworld (Gehinnom or Sheol) is also rare, and it is visited by a descender to the chariot only once: R. Ishmael was taken to see the damned souls of the wicked in 3 Enoch 44:1-6 (para. 62, cf. G12). However, lurid descriptions of the various levels of the underworld are given in the cosmological tractate Seder Rabba de Bereshit (the Greater Order

41 A fragmentary account of the descent to the chariot and its perils is also found in G8. Space does not permit a detailed exposition of it here.

of Creation), which appears in some of the manuscripts of the Hekhalot literature (see N. 1 above). Since in the esoteric Jewish tradition the underworld is a place of torment for those eternally damned and beyond help, it may have aroused little interest among the composers of the Hekhalot literature.

The otherworldly journey, like the control of spirits, can have more than one function. In the Hekhalot Rabbati, R. Nehuniah sent R. Ishmael to the otherworld for practical information on the actions of Rome (para. 107-111). In the instruction of R. Nehuniah to the academy (paras. 198-237) the descender to the chariot is already assumed to have knowledge of Torah (he must affirm this before the angels when he arrives: paras. 234-35). The purpose of the journey is to permit the descender to experience the liturgy of the angels before God's throne (para. 236). Something similar appears to be involved in the visions of the Maʿaseh Merkavah (e.g., para. 595). The visionary ascent in the Hekhalot Zutarti seems to be a quest for raw theurgic power (para. 419; translated above, p. 20). Finally, the visions in the Merkavah Rabba discussed above are directly connected with the theurgical use of Sar Torah traditions and the *Shiʿur Qomah* material (paras. 681-706).

The Hekhalot literature and Jewish magic

The question of the relation between the Hekhalot literature and Jewish magic is an important one that has not yet received much attention. Space permits only a few preliminary observations. First, the medieval manuscripts mingle Hekhalot and magical texts indiscriminately. Schäfer's *Synopse* includes magical works such as the Ḥarba de Moshe (Sword of Moses), the Seder Rabba de Bereshit, and the unnamed Magic Book (see N. 1 above), simply because they appear in the manuscripts he used. Indeed, it is difficult to be certain whether to define the Sar Panim as a Hekhalot or a magical document. Second, the magical literature frequent makes use of themes and ideas typical of the Hekhalot literature. For example, the Cairo Geniza amulet T.-S. K1.168 mentions the 390 firmaments, contains speculations about the throne of God and the living creatures, and mentions an angelic high priest of heaven.[42] T.-S. K 1.19, a book of miscellaneous magical recipes from the Geniza, includes a Sar Torah passage.[43] Sepher ha-Razim (the Book of the Mysteries), a magical book reconstructed by Mordecai Margalioth and dated by him to the Talmudic period, is structured around the seven firmaments and the angels in each who can be controlled theurgically.[44] Both types of text make frequent use of *nomina barbara*, and both have some tendency to write

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[42] Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Geniza* (Sheffield, England: Academic Press, 1992) 143-59. See especially lines 20-25 and 40-46, and note that the name reconstructed as [Metatron] in line 40 could also be ʿAnaphiʾel or Michael.

[43] Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993) 158-64 (Geniza 11, p. 4, ll. 7-18).

[44] Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim* (Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966) (Hebrew). The text is translated by Michael A. Morgan in *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (SBLTT 25; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

the Tetragrammaton instead of a substitution or abbreviation. The rhetorical elements that are standard for Geniza incantations also appear in the Hekhalot literature.[45] Overall there are strong indications that closely related and perhaps overlapping groups were using each kind of texts.

This point is of some interest for our comparison of the Hekhalot literature with shamanism, inasmuch as magical healing and exorcism, two practices found frequently in shamanism, are scarcely mentioned in the Hekhalot texts.[46] The main focus of the descenders to the chariot is to gain esoteric knowledge of the otherworld along with theurgical power, especially the power to learn and teach Torah without effort. This power functions as a form of healing, since it sometimes serves as a cure for a scholar who forgets the Torah he is taught. Nonetheless, it may be that magical healing and exorcism are neglected in the Hekhalot literature simply because they are adequately dealt with in the more general magical literature, some of which is preserved in the medieval manuscripts and Geniza fragments discussed above. In other words, context in the manuscripts, content, and the social background reconstructed in this paper all point to the Hekhalot literature being a subgenre of Jewish magical literature. I suggest that the practitioners who used Hekhalot praxes probably used the other closely related magical texts and thus may have been healers and exorcists as well.

Shamanism and community

As indicated by Hultkrantz's definition, the shaman functions in the context of a community. His definition focuses on the exoteric community, for whom the shaman functions as an intermediary in order to create a rapport between this group and the supramundane world. Usually this intermediation involves influencing the spirits to act on behalf of human beings. Sereptie, after his initiatory vision, healed people by propitiating the evil spirits tormenting them.[47] Igjugarjuk was also a healer.[48] Japanese shamans heal, give oracles of various types, and perform exorcisms.[49] Wallace Black Elk used his shamanic powers to have the spirits heal the sick, give information leading to the recovery of stolen horses and a drowned child, bring peace to the dead, and even to repair a television and a stove.[50] We can also generally speak of an esoteric community: the other shamans in the

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45 Michael D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *HTR* 83 (1990) 163-80, esp. 171-79. The same constellation of elements appears in a rather baroque form in Sar Panim (paras. 623-39) and sometimes elsewhere (e.g., paras. 418-20 in the Hekhalot Zutarti).

46 There seems to be an allusion to healing in 3 Enoch 48D:10 (para. 80). The Ma'aseh Merkavah gives an invocation against demons who might harm the practitioner (para. 568, cf. para. 499 in the Magic Book). The end of the Sar Panim appears to be an exorcism text (para. 639).

47 Popov, "How Sereptie" (N. 18) 145.

48 Halifax, *Shamanic Voices* (N. 8) 68-70.

49 Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow* (N. 27) chaps. 12-15.

50 Black Elk and Lyon, *Black Elk* (N. 9) 100-103, 159-170, 173-79

society, which would include, but often would not be limited to, the person or persons who trained a given shaman.

The question of the community or communities behind the Hekhalot literature is a very complex one, and space allows only some generalizations. It has been shown by Ira Chernus that the various macroforms within this literature have somewhat different views of community.[51] The Hekhalot Rabbati presents the descenders to the chariot as acting on behalf of their own esoteric community (paras. 107-11, 200-37). They are also ordered to report their visionary experiences to the Jewish community, so as to make clear the connections between the heavenly and earthly liturgical worship and to harmonize the two realms (paras. 169, 216, 218). The picture in the Sar Torah text (paras. 280-306) is similar. The Maʿaseh Merkavah focuses on the individual and the benefits accruing to him from Sar Torah theurgy. The emphasis in the Merkavah Rabba is also on the individual, although it does speak of revealing the secrets of Sar Torah theurgy "to all Israel" (paras. 675-76). Both macroforms, I would add, show a good deal of interest in the interaction between master and disciple. G8 refers a number of times to the teachings of Hekhalot mysteries to others, including future generations. It also seems to allude to a future leader of an esoteric community in Babylon. Whether this future time is the writer's present or not remains unclear.[52] In sum, the Hekhalot literature shows significant interest in the individual practitioners presented in it, as well as in a larger community. Whether this community was an esoteric group or the exoteric totality of the Jewish people (or even the human race) has not yet been resolved. The answer may not be the same for every macroform in the corpus.

The only sustained effort to locate the community behind the Hekhalot literature has been made by David Halperin. He argues, on the basis of a passage found in some manuscripts of the Sar Torah text (paras. 304-305), that the *ʿam hā-ʾāreṣ*, the "people of the land," the uneducated people who were held in contempt by the rabbis, made theurgic use of the myth of the ascent of Moses to seize the Torah from heaven, and that the result was the Hekhalot literature. As Halperin admits, the term "people of the land" is not well understood, and thus is of limited use for our purposes.[53] I wish to make a proposal that is probably compatible with Halperin's reconstruction, but that approaches the problem from a different angle and provides a somewhat more focused solution. I have already suggested that the Hekhalot literature should be regarded as a subgenre of Jewish magic. It would seem to follow logically that the community behind the Hekhalot texts was at least closely related, and

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51 Chernus, "Individual and Community in the Redaction of the Hekhalot Literature," *HUCA* 52 (1981) 253-74.

52 Chernus does not comment on the Hekhalot Zutarti, since apparently it was not available to him when his article was written. In general the Hekhalot Zutarti focuses on the gaining of theurgical power by the individual. Chernus sees the concerns of the Maseket Hekhalot to be similar to those of the Hekhalot Rabbati, and he declines to tackle the concept of community in 3 Enoch. Since it is widely agreed that the latter two documents are literary reformulations of Hekhalot material that are redactionally later than the other texts, I leave them out of consideration here.

53 Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot* (N. 4) 429-46

probably overlapped with, the community that produced the Jewish magical texts. The Geniza magical texts were produced by professional scribes who did not have a rabbinic education. They had some imperfect knowledge of the Bible and rabbinic teachings, and a wide acquaintance with Jewish folklore.[54] This description also seems to fit well the composers of the Hekhalot literature.

I propose then, that the composers of the Hekhalot literature were a group of professional scribes who lacked formal rabbinic training and whose socio-economic position probably suffered as a result. They envied the superior station of the rabbis and defied them with another skill common in their own profession—magic.[55] The "descenders to the chariot" (the only self-designation they have given us) were familiar with and no doubt transmitted, augmented, and used the Jewish magical literature. But they also developed a strain of magical praxis that from an anthropological perspective is closer to shamanism than anything else. They were, to paraphrase Hultkrantz, social functionaries who, with the help of guardian spirits, attained ecstasy in order to create a rapport with the supernatural world on behalf of the members of their group. According to their beliefs they used theurgy to compel angels to take them to the otherworld and to give them an infallible knowlege of Torah. They in turn passed on the power from their experiences to their community (which on various levels seems to have been as narrow as a circle of adepts and as broad as the human race).

Mediator figures, the Hekhalot literature, and shamanism

The goal of this paper has been to set a single religious community or tradition that made use of many divine mediator figures within its social context. The intersection of a new method (the anthropological study of shamanism) with a relatively unmined corpus (the Hekhalot literature) provides us with a theoretical framework through which it may be useful to filter the earlier traditions about mediator figures. The Hekhalot literature developed, at least indirectly, from traditions that are also found in Second Temple apocalyptic literature, Greco-Roman religion and magic, and gnostic literature, so it is reasonable to hope that it may illuminate the earlier texts. The anthropological approach used here has focused on descriptions of cultic praxes and revelatory experiences and the Hekhalot literature gives us much more information on these areas than any of the other corpora. The following paragraphs suggest some ways in which the approach and material in this study can contribute to our understanding of divine mediator figures in antiquity.

In the Hekhalot literature specific theurgic praxes are used to interact with divine mediators. A closer look at the praxes in the Second Temple and

54 Schiffman and Swartz, *Incantation Texts* (N. 42) 49-52.

55 Thus I disagree to some extent with Peter Schäfer's description of them as "an elite post-Rabbinic group of scholars" in "The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism," *Hekhalot-Studien* (N. 15) 277-95. The quotation is on p. 294. They may well have been post-Talmudic, but they seem to have seen themselves as inferior to the rabbis in education and social status.

gnostic texts associated with otherworldly visions and communication with angelic beings may therefore be in order.[56] Ezra used fasting, prayer, and isolation to prepare to meet (summon?) the angel Uriel in 4 Ezra. Zostrianos used prayer, isolation, (heavenly) immersions, and *nomina barbara* in association with his heavenly journey and angelic guides in the Coptic gnostic Zostrianos tractate. The Qumran texts include a physiognomic tract that allows one to determine the amount of "light" and "darkness" in (i.e., the eternal destiny of) individuals based on their physical characteristics and astrological signs (4Q186; cf. 4QMess ar). The prince of light (opposite the angel of darkness, or Belial) is clearly related to the theology behind this magical evaluation. The question of how the physiognomic material determined the relationship of individuals to this divine mediator and thereby established their status in the community may be illuminated by the use of similar texts in the Hekhalot literature.

It is interesting that the relationship between practitioner and mediator is overall rather hostile in the Hekhalot literature, no doubt due to the theurgic element central to the texts. Suriah, the Sar Torah, and the Sar Panim must be summoned correctly or the practitioner is in danger of precipitating serious violence against himself, if not causing the destruction of the world (para. 623)! Such a relationship is unusual in the earlier texts, although a good parallel is found in the Testament of Solomon in the interactions between Solomon and the demons he compelled to build the Temple in Jerusalem. Only Metatron in 3 Enoch was friendly and did not need to be controlled through magic. Whether this is because Metatron had his roots in Second Temple traditions about Enoch or because the theurgic elements have been deliberately purged from 3 Enoch, or perhaps for both reasons, is open to discussion.

The transformation of Enoch into a divine being may be the mediatorial tradition most directly illuminated by this paper. The Hekhalot literature gives us enough extra information for our anthropological analysis to suggest that, at least for the descenders to the chariot, this transformation should be set in the context of shamanic initiatory disintegration and reintegration, and thus theoretically ought to be available on some level to many or all members of the esoteric group that transmitted the traditions. Whether this was true of esoteric groups in the Second Temple period remains to be seen. Besides the early Enoch traditions (1-2 Enoch), the ascent and deification of Moses described by Ezekiel the Tragedian, the apotheosis of Melchizedek in Qumran and gnostic texts, and the transfiguration of Jesus in Mark 9 are all worthy of reexamination from this perspective.[57]

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[56] Daniel Merkur has made an interesting start in applying the social sciences (in this case, psychoanalysis) to this literature in "The Visionary Practices of Jewish Apocalyptists," *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, vol. 14, *Essays in Honor of Paul Parin*, ed. L. Bryce Boyer and Simon A. Grolnick (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1989) 119-48; *Gnosis: An Esoteric Tradition of Mystical Visions and Unions* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993) esp. chaps. 1- 2, 5-7.

[57] Martha Himmelfarb, in *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), which came to my attention only when this paper was nearly completed, discusses some of these traditions, as well as others not

Finally, the role of magic in divine mediator traditions needs further exploration, and an anthropological approach may prove helpful. Larry Hurtado has argued that Christianity arose from a "mutation" within Judaism that led to the treatment of Jesus as an object of worship and devotion.[58] Some time ago Morton Smith proposed that the historical Jesus was a typical Greco-Roman magician, that veneration of Jesus as a divine being arose directly out of the magical traditions he used, and that this magical element in the Jesus tradition was for the most part purged from Christianity in the first century.[59] Since the Hekhalot literature is a tradition involving mediator figures from which the magical element was not purged, at least until very late (in 3 Enoch and Maseket Hekhalot), it may be helpful in forming a theoretical model for testing Smith's claims. Likewise, the framework of shamanism as presented by anthropologists has proved useful in studying the Israelite prophets,[60] and it may be worthwhile to apply it to the Jesus traditions. Jesus, after all, is presented in the Gospels as a person with a divine calling, if not compulsion, that temporarily drove him into the wilderness, a person who became a healer and exorcist (sometimes using magical techniques), who experienced an initiatory transformation (the transfiguration), and who ascended to heaven and achieved apotheosis. It is not impossible that what we could reasonably call a "shamanic" tradition has influenced the material about Jesus.

Conclusions

In this paper I have argued that the Hekhalot literature describes praxes and experiences that correspond closely to the praxes and experiences that anthropologists report to be integral to shamanism all over the world. The writers claim to do the same things that shamans do, and they claim, as a result of their practices, to have the same experiences that shamans describe. This conceptualization of the Hekhalot literature also sets the material in an

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mentioned here. She takes the position that the Second Temple apocalypses should be read "not as fictionalized accounts of personal experiences but as works of fiction from start to finish" (p. 113). I take no position on this conclusion (to what is an extremely difficult problem), but I take issue with her similar conclusions about the Hekhalot literature (pp. 108-109 and n. 53). The use of songs and repetitions of divine names to trigger a visionary journey (as per paras. 81 and 204) are standard techniques used by shamans. It is true that fasting, purification, and isolation are mentioned only in association with theurgy in the preserved Hekhalot texts, but, as in shamanism, these texts do not make a sharp distinction between the visionary journey and theurgy. The culmination of the ascent in paragraph 419 is the theurgical adjuration of God. R. Akiva descends to the chariot to confirm the efficacy of the theurgical ascesis (paras. 684-86) and to be instructed in the theurgical power of the *Shiʿur Qomah* by the Sar Torah (paras. 691-705). It may be of the ascetic practices of the Hekhalot literature that "[c]ompared to the elaborate rituals of the magical papyri they are not very impressive" (p. 109), but they closely parallel shamanic practices that purport to have the same effects that are claimed in the Hekhalot literature.

58 Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

59 Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), esp. pp. 97-104, 125-26.

60 Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

order and context where it makes sense as an organic whole. The visionary and theurgic elements both flow naturally out of the control of spirits for the good of the community. A further implication of my theory is that the Hekhalot texts contain a tradition of real praxis, not just a tradition of scriptural exegesis (although the latter is certainly true as well). The most natural understanding of the material is that it preserves at least a literary residue of actual practices and experiences.

I have also pointed to a close connection between the Hekhalot texts and Jewish magic. This connection reinforces the other indications of real praxis. The magic texts were made to be used; if the Hekhalot literature was produced in a similar context, it becomes very difficult to deny that it was used as well.

Thus, according to my reconstruction, the descenders to the chariot were a scribal group (among the *ʿām hāʾāreṣ?*) who resented the superior status of the rabbinic scholars, and who compensated with a brand of theurgy that they believed siphoned divine power into their own community. The constellation of practices and experiences that has sometimes been called Merkavah mysticism is better described as a form of shamanism heavily tinged with magic. These results also indicate that both anthropological approaches to intermediation between the human and divine worlds and further study of the Hekhalot literature may give us new tools to help unlock the secrets of divine mediator traditions in antiquity.

The Angel of the Prophetic Spirit: Interpreting the Revelatory Experiences of the *Shepherd of Hermas* in Light of *Mandate* XI

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Scholars have been both intrigued and frustrated by the variety of angelomorphic mediators that the author of *Hermas* adapted in recording these so-called revelations and developing the ideology of a "second repentance" in this early Christian writing.[1] Some previous studies have sought to explain this variety and apparent confusion of mediator figures in terms of multiple authors or sources.[2] While such research provides insight to our understanding of how Hermas could have developed, it is noteworthy that the author or final redactor that brought the document to its present form apparently thought that the text was cohesive as its stands.

This study will explore the Angelomorphic Pneumatology of *Mandate* XI as a hermeneutical paradigm for understanding the revelatory experiences and confusing array of angelomorphic mediators in the rest of the document.[3] We will also set forth textual evidence from the religio-historical literary milieu that enlightens our understanding of the angelomorphic mediators found in *Hermas*. This study will demonstrate the central importance of Angelomorphic Pneumatology for understanding the Christology and Ecclesiology of *Hermas*.[4]

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1 For a comprehensive commentary that is conversant with past research, see N. Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1991). See also L. W. Barnard, "The Shepherd of Hermas in Recent Research," *HeyJ* 9 (1968) 29-36. "Angelomorphic" is used in this study as a term that is more inclusive than "angel." It indicates someone who has the form of an angel, without the normal inference of "created" ontology. For example, although the "Old Lady" and the "Glorious Man" are clearly angelomorphic, they certainly are not angels in the most general sense of the term.

2 Such theories of multiple authorship abounded in the late nineteenth century. A more recent advocate is S. Giet, *Hermas et les pasteurs: Les trois auteurs du pasteur d'Hermas* (Paris: Presses universitaires du France, 1963). For further discussion see Barnard, "Hermas in Recent Research," 19-36.

3 This study will build on the excellent work of J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy: A Study of the Eleventh Mandate* (NovTSup 37; Leiden: Brill, 1973).

4 The central and unifying role of the Spirit in *Hermas* is visible in *Sim.* V.6.5-7 and IX.1.1-2 as discussed below. This study is research that forms a portion of my dissertation in progress entitled: "Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence."

I. The Angel of the Prophetic Spirit in Mandate XI

The only occurrence of ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος in *Hermas* is found in *Man.* XI.9. The content of *Mandate* XI addresses early Christian concerns regarding true or false prophecy and prophets. While its instructional form has some ties with the "Two Spirits" doctrine found in several of the preceding *Mandates*, this chapter is fundamentally an independent literary unit that has been woven into the progression of the Mandates. Its form parallels the recurrent concern for true prophecy found in biblical and related literature, and especially in the *Didache.*[5] The *Sitz im Leben* of this chapter is related in verses 1-7 which demonstrate that this *Mandate* is directed against situations involving false prophecy that were influenced by hellenistic divination.[6] After discussing the character of a true prophet, the author details how God guides this type of prophet to speak:

> (9) Therefore, when the man who has the Divine Spirit [τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον] comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit, and a prayer is made to God by the assembly of those men, then the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit which is assigned to him [ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ πνεύματος ὁ κείμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ] fills the man [πλήροι τὸν ἀνθρωπον], and that man, having been filled by the Holy Spirit [τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ], speaks to the group as the Lord [ὁ κύριος] wills. (10) So in this way the Spirit of the Deity [τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θεότητος] is known.

Who is this Angel of the Prophetic Spirit and what is its relationship to the Spirit? This angelic mediator is sometimes equated by scholars with an angel who is assigned a specific function, such as the Angel of Repentance in *Vis.* V.7 (cf. *Man.* IV.2.2) or with an angel who mediates visions, such as Remiel in *2 Baruch* 55:3.[7] The context, however, shows that this angel is much more than another angel with a specific function. The Angel of the Prophetic Spirit is closely linked with "the Spirit" who is identified in several different ways in this chapter.[8] More significantly, this angel is directly identified with the Holy Spirit in verse 9: "then the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit who has charge of him fills the man and the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit,

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[5] For a discussion of the prophetic office in the early church, see Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, 4-20. For an extensive treatment of prophetic texts, see D. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983). One of the most related texts in form is *Didache* 13. While there are many obvious differences between their view of prophecy and its testing, yet both documents follow a similar form to deal with a community concern (cf. 1 Cor 14).

[6] E. Peterson has shown convincingly the hellenistic elements that are blended with Jewish Christian theology through his two superb articles on *Hermas* reprinted in his *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Freiburg: Herder, 1959) 254-84.

[7] M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Die Apostolische Väter IV; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1923) 541. A much better direction to look is to Gabriel and his associations with the work of the Holy Spirit; see J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1964) 127-131, and Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, 27-57.

[8] The Spirit is identified with the following titles: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον (vv. 2, 5, 7, 9a, 9b, 12); τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (vv. 8, 9); τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεότητος (vv. 10a, 10b, 14); τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄνωθεν (v. 8); τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐρχομένω ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 17).

speaks. . . ." Therefore, "the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit" is equated with, and is a manifestation of, "the Holy Spirit."[9]

Our understanding of this angel is furthered by the observation that it is described in a manner characteristic of guardian angels in Jewish tradition: the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit is ὁ κείμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ. This is best translated "the one who is assigned to him" or "the one who is in charge of him."[10] While it is possible that there may be some influence from the δαίμων πάρεδρος model of hellenistic divination as Reiling argues, there is sufficent evidence to support the prominence of Guardian Angel traditions in Jewish Christianity and their impact on this depiction of prophetic inspiration.[11] It is clear from *Vis.* V.1-3 that the Shepherd is Hermas's Guardian Angel:

> While I was praying at home and sitting on my bed, there entered a man glorious to look on, in the dress of a shepherd, covered with a white goatskin, with a bag on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he greeted me, and I greeted him back. And at once he sat down by me, and said to me, "I have been sent by the most revered angel to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life." I thought he was come tempting me, and I said to him, "Yes, but who are you? For," I said, "I know to whom I was handed over [ᾧ παρεδόθην]." He said to me, "Do you not recognize me?" "No," I said, "I," said he, "am the shepherd to whom you were handed over."[12]

Furthermore, the context speaks against such a hellenistic model. In *Hermas* the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit does not have to be summoned; it is present with or in the prophet and only needs to "fill the man" so that he may speak. A similar type of Guardian Angel tradition is visible with the Angel of Righteousness in *Hermas* that indwells the believer. Notice the parallel description of the Divine Spirit in the prophet according to *Man.* XI.8 and the Angel of Righteousness in the believer according to *Man.* VI.2.3: both

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9 This title can be seen as an appositional genitive: the angel who is the Prophetic Spirit. For a contrary view, see J. Wilson, *Towards a Reassessment of the Milieu of the Shepherd of Hermas: Its Date and Its Pneumatology* (Ph.D. Diss., Duke University, 1977) 161-162. It is clear that "Prophetic Spirit" was a term of some prominence that was used interchangably with Holy Spirit. For this title in Justin, see: *Apol.* 6.2; 13.3; 31.1; *Dial.* 72.2. For the Targumim references to this title, see Str-B II:127-34. For other examples of an angelomorphic Holy Spirit, see Acts 8:26-28 and Section III below.

10 Our translation follows the text of M. Whittaker (ed.), *Die Apostolischen Väter I: Der Hirt des Hermas* (GCS; Berlin: Akademie, 1956). Note the inferior emended text and translation in the LCL (trans. K. Lake): "Then the angel of the prophetic spirit rests upon him [πρὸς αὐτόν]and fills the man."

11 See Reiling's arguments in *Hermas and Christian Prophecy,* 58-95, 110. Guardian angel traditions of the NT are visible in Acts 12:15 and Matt 18:10. For a fuller treatment of these Jewish Christian Guardian Angel traditions, see G. Quispel, "Genius and Spirit," *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts* (NHS 6; ed. M. Krause; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 155-169. Quispel also shows how these traditions influenced Mani's understanding of revelation by means of the Spirit in the form of an angel.

12 A similar type of relationship is described here with the verb παραδίδωμι as is described in *Man.* XI.9 with the verb κεῖμαι. See also: *Man.* XII.4.7; *Sim.* IX.1.3; IX.33.1; X.1.1-2.

highlight the person who is indwellt as being "meek and gentle" (πραὺς καὶ ἡσύχιος).

The following conclusions may be drawn about the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit in *Mandate* XI. First, this angel is clearly a manifestation of the Holy Spirit in a prophetic context. Secondly, the term "Prophetic Spirit" is a designation that is used interchangably for "Holy Spirit". Thirdly, *Mandate* XI is evidence of the Jewish understanding that a prophet's proclamation was inspired by an angel who was with him or indwelt him. An intriguing question arises from this research: To what extent is *Mandate* XI paradigmatic for understanding prophecy in *Hermas*? If *Mandate* XI is indeed a paradigm for the operation of the Spirit in *Hermas*, what role does the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit, or Angelomorphic Pneumatology in general, play in the manner prophecy is imparted to Hermas throughout this document? To answer this, the traditions in the rest of the document and their background must first be examined.

II. Angelomorphic Mediators in Hermas Outside *Mandate* XI

The diversity of mediator figures outside of *Mandate* XI is much more complex to understand. Some of these figures are clearly Christological, some are ecclesiastical, and most have a pneumatic quality. Furthermore, some of the varied figures share the same functions and appear to be manifestations of a single being. To faciliate this discussion, each significant mediator is listed below with a brief summary of his/her mediator function in *Hermas*. Since the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit and the Holy Spirit are discussed extensively at other points in this study, summaries on them are not found immediately below.

The Old Lady. This figure dominates the Visions of *Hermas*. In *Vis.* I.2ff. she appears as an old woman in shining garments on a white chair with a book in her hand as she reveals to Hermas why God is angry with him. In *Vis.* II.1 she apears again, walking and reading a book which reveals Hermas's family sins. She is identified as the Church and protological in II.4.1. In *Vis.* III.1.4 Hermas meets her sitting on a couch (or bench) of ivory covered with linen. She bids the six men who are around her to go and build the tower which *Vis.* III.3.3 and *Sim.* IX.13.1 identify as the Church. *Sim.* IX.1.1 identifies this lady as the Holy Spirit who spoke in the form of the Church.

The Maiden Bride. In *Vis.* IV.2.1 the same lady appears as a radiant maiden bride in white.[13] Despite her relative youthful depiction, she still has her white hair.

The Shepherd. In *Vis.* V, which is an introduction to the *Mandates*, a glorious man appears to Hermas in the dress of a Shepherd. He claims to have been sent by the Most Revered Angel to dwell with Hermas. Hermas does not recognize him as the one to whom he has been handed over (a Guardian Angel or the Angel of Repentence who is not mentioned as being entrusted with Hermas earlier). The Shepherd then changes his appearance and is recognized by Hermas. The Shepherd is identified as the Angel of

[13] This is a prominent image for the church in the NT (cf. Rev 19:6-9; Eph 5:25-32).

Repentance in *Vis.* V.7, *Sim.* IX.1.1 and *Sim.* IX.33.1. He is Hermas's revelatory guide throughout the *Mandates* and *Similitudes.*

The Angel of Repentance. This angel is identified as the Shepherd who looked like a glorious man in *Vis.* V.7. He describes his work in *Man.* IV.2.2. He speaks with the authority of God when he states in *Man.* IV.2.4 (cf. *Sim.* IX.33.1): "You shall live if you keep my commandments and walk in them." He assures Hermas of his continued presence in *Man.* XII.4.7 (cf. *Man.* XII.6.1) and identifies himself as "the one who lords it over" (ὁ κατακυριεύων) Hermas. According to *Sim.* IX.1.1-3 he is a manifestation of the same Spirit who spoke in the form of the church, but who now is in the form of an angel. The Glorious Angel sent the Angel of Repentance to live at Hermas's house. The title "Angel of Repentance" also occurs three additional times in *Sim.* IX: 23.5; 31.3; 33.1.

The Angel/Shepherd of Punishment. Sim. VI.2.5 depicts him as appearing like the Shepherd, but also carrying a whip. He is recognized as a righteous angel. *Sim.* VII.1-6 refers to him as the "Shepherd of Punishment" and the "Angel of Punishment."

The Most Revered Angel. This figure is alluded to as the one who sent the Shepherd to Hermas in *Vis.* V.2 (cf. this action is accorded to the Glorious Angel in *Sim.* IX.31.3). *Man.* V.1.7 mentions that this angel justifies all the righteous. He seems to be the same one who appears to Hermas in *Sim.* X.

The Glorious Angel. Sim. VII.2-3 states that this angel directs the actions of the Angel of Punishment and *Sim.* IX.1.3 testifies that this angel directed the Shepherd to live at Hermas's home. There is a link with the Angel of the Lord since *Sim.* VIII.1.2 describes that angel as "glorious and very tall." *Sim.* VII.3.3 identifies him as Michael. "The one who handed Hermas over to the Shepherd" finally appears to Hermas in *Sim.* X.1.1 and directs Hermas to follow the commands imparted by the Shepherd.

The Glorious Man. Sim. IX.6.1 describes him as so tall that he was taller than the tower. *Sim.* IX.7.1 identifies him as Lord of all the tower. In this text he also commands the Shepherd to prepare stones for the tower. *Sim.* IX.12.8 explains that the Glorious Man is the Son of God and there are six "glorious angels supporting him on the right hand and on the left."

The Angel of the Lord. Sim. VII.5 identifies him as "that angel of the Lord" and *Sim.* VII.1.5 speaks of him as "the angel of the Lord" (cf. *Sim.* VII.2.1). *Sim.* VIII.1.2 describes a vision Hermas has of him as "glorious and very tall." Therefore, he appears to be the same angel as the Glorious Angel and possibly also the Glorious Man.

The Son of God. Has the form of a servant in *Sim.* V.2.1-11. *Sim.* V.6.2-3 explains that the Son of God appointed angels over people, cleansed people of their sins and gave them the law. The Holy Spirit dwelt in him according to *Sim.* V.6.5-7 and he is equated with the Spirit in *Sim.* IX.1.1. This text also asserts his pre-existence. He is identified with the Rock and the Door/Gate in *Sim.* IX.12.2. He is further identified with the Name in *Sim.* IX.14.5-6.

Michael. The Glorious Angel is identified as Michael in *Sim.* VIII.3.3. He is not mentioned by name in any other context.

How does one understand these various figures and their inter-relationship? Scholarly opinion is diverse. M. Dibelius has influenced interpretation in this matter by asserting that the numerous and varied angels

in *Hermas* function Christologically.[14] Furthermore, he sees an Angel Christology at work in *Hermas*, especially in the figures of the Glorious Angel of *Sim.* VIII (who is also identified as the Angel of the Lord) and the Glorious Man of *Sim.* IX. Dibelius asserts that these figures not only function Christologically, but they are manifestations of the Son of God, and thus, of Christ. He proposes that many of the inconsistencies, like the identification of the Glorious Angel as Michael in *Sim.* VIII.3.3, result from the underlying Jewish tradition of *Hermas* not being fully "Christianized" by the author. Much scholarship follows this Christological path Dibelius has established in his exegesis.[15] More recently H. Moxnes has argued the sweeping thesis that there is one supreme angel figure in Hermas: the Son of God, Christ.[16]

Other scholars have been hesitant to identify Angel Christology in these texts. A. Bakker attempts to steer clear of any direct linking of Michael and Christ in an article that downplays the role of Angel Christology in early Christianity.[17] S. Giet rejects the presence of Angel Christology in *Hermas* and distinguishes between the Glorious Angel and the Glorious Man; the latter he sees as Christological.[18] He also proposes a total of three different authors in *Hermas* in order to account for the apparent literary inconsistencies. G. Synder prefers to emphasize the Christological functions of the angels while not identifying any figure directly with Christ.[19] N. Brox wisely comments that the Christology of this document is developed in a very fragmentary manner; therefore, it is difficult to systematize.[20] L. Pernveden takes the discussion in another direction by downplaying the role of Christology and highlighting the Ecclessiology theme which he sees as dominating *Hermas.*[21]

While recognizing that earlier forms of Hermas may have contributed to its apparent inconsistencies, it is important to note the crucial and unifying role that Pneumatology plays in the Christology and Ecclesiology of this document. The central text for understanding this is *Sim.* V.6.5-7:

> The pre-existent Holy Spirit which created all creation, God caused to dwell in that flesh which he wished. Therefore this flesh, in which the Holy Spirit dwelled, served the Spirit well, walking in holiness and purity, and did not in any way defile the Spirit. When, therefore, it had lived nobly and purely, and had labored with the Spirit, and worked with it in very deed, behaving with power and bravery, he chose it as companion with the Holy Spirit; for the conduct of this flesh pleased him, because it was not defiled while it was bearing the Holy Spirit on earth. Therefore he took the Son and the glorious angels as counsellors,

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14 *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 494, 572-576.

15 For example, see Peterson, *Frühkirche*, 276-284, and Giet, *Hermas et les pasteurs*, 181-184.

16 "God and His Angel in the Shepherd of Hermas," *ST* 28 (1974) 50.

17 "Christ an Angel?: A Study of Early Christian Docetism," *ZNW* 32 (1933) 257.

18 *Hermas et les pasteurs*, 228. Both of these figures, however, are clearly angelomorphic.

19 *The Shepherd of Hermas* (The Apostolic Fathers 6; ed. R. Grant; Camden, NJ: Nelson, 1968) 60-62, 105.

20 See his excursus on Christology in *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 485-95.

21 *The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas* (Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1966) 58-64.

> that this flesh also, having served the Spirit blamelessly, should have some place of sojourn, and not seem to have lost the reward of its service. For all flesh in which the Holy Spirit has dwelt shall receive a reward if it be found undefiled and spotless.

Already in the 19th century A. Harnack recognized this text as "Adoptionist Christology" and Dibelius, among others, has affirmed this conclusion.[22] Because of a myopic focus on Christology, however, what has been lacking in assessments of this document is a synchronic treatment of its assertions regarding Pneumatology. J. Wilson has expended some effort in this direction and affirms that there are two distinct pneumatologies in *Hermas*: the dualistic pneumatology involving the Two Spirits and the pneumatic Christology involving the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Son of God.[23]

What is the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Son of God in *Hermas*? As evidenced in *Sim.* V.6.5-7 above, the Holy Spirit is clearly pre-existent and a participant in the work of creation. The same is asserted of the Son of God in these two texts:

> The Son of God is older than all of his creation, so that he was counsellor to his Father in his creation (*Sim.* V.2.6).

> [The Shepherd explains the Rock and the Door of *Sim.* IX.2.2] "The Son of God is older than all his creation, so that he was the counsellor of his creation to the Father, therefore the rock is also old." "But why is the door new, sir?" "Because he [the Son] was manifested in the last days of the consummation; for this reason the door is new, so that those who are to be saved may go through it into the kingdom of God." (*Sim.* IX.12.2-3)

The apparent contradiction is obvious: How can the Son of God be pre-existent (as in *Sim.* V.2.6 and IX.12.2) and also be adopted as the Son by virtue of his obedient life (as in *Sim.* V.6.5-7)? One cannot reasonably attribute this glaring contradiction within the present form of *Sim.* V to sources or authorial ineptitude. J. Daniélou, for example, struggles with the contradiction in this manner:

> This is a matter of some importance for the trinitarian theology of Hermas, which seems to be characterised by the fact that he borrowed his theology of the Word and his theology of the Spirit from two different systems. That of the Word is in the same line of development as the figure of the seventh Angel of the apocalyptic, surrounded by six archangels. That of the Spirit is in the same tradition as the Prince of Light opposed to the Angel of Darkness, and comes from the *Rule of the Community*. This is the explanation of the apparent lack of coherence in his theology. There is one theology of the Word and another theology of the Spirit, both Jewish Christian, but no unified theology of the Word

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[22] Harnack, *History of Dogma* (4 vols.; London: Williams and Norgate, 1894) I:191-92, and Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 572-76.

[23] *Towards a Reassessment*, 274-79. Wilson correctly notes that Harnack and others regard adoptionistic and pneumatic Christology as mutually exclusive.

> and the Spirit together; and when he does speak of them both at the same time his thought is confused, as in the *Fifth Similitude*.[24]

Our examination of the evidence brings us to a different conclusion. There is no "unified theology" of the Son and the Spirit specifically because the author's Jewish milieu leads him to proclaim the Spirit as the single divine mediator: the Son is a manifestation of the Spirit. The solution to understanding the relationship between the Son and the Spirit in Hermas is to stop reading this document with a trinitarian mindset; it is more binitarian in its understanding of the pre-existent Son of God as the Spirit.[25] In *Hermas* the Son is pre-existent through the Holy Spirit which indwelt him. The description of the pre-existent nature of the Son is parallel to that of the Spirit because the Spirit indwells the Son. Further support for this understanding of the relationship between Pneumatology and Christology is found in the parallel usage of "Spirit" and "Lord" in *Man.* III.1:

> Again he [the Shepherd] said to me [Hermas], "Love truth: and let all truth proceed from your mouth, that the Spirit which God has made to dwell in the flesh may be found true by all men, and the Lord [ὁ κύριος] who dwells in you shall thus be glorified, for the Lord is true in every word and with him there is no lie."

J. N. D. Kelly has recognized the prominence of Pneumatology in the Christology of *Hermas* as well as other early Christian writings and calls it "Spirit or Pneumatic Christology."[26] Kelly offers this pointed analysis:

> Hermas clearly envisages three distinct personages. . . . The distinction between the three, however, seems to date from the incarnation; as pre-existent the Son of God is identified with the Holy Spirit, so that before the incarnation there would seem to have been but two divine Persons, the Father and the Spirit. The third, the Saviour or Lord, was elevated to be their companion as a reward for his merits, having cooperated nobly with the pre-existent Spirit which indwelt him. Hermas's theology is thus an amalgam of binitarianism and adoptionism, though it made an attempt to conform to the triadic formula accepted in the Church.[27]

There is much evidence for this Son/Spirit union or Pneumatic Christology in early Christianity.[28] Moreover, there are texts that attribute the inspiration of the prophets to Christ or the Spirit of Christ.[29]

Another item of internal evidence supporting these assertions regarding Pneumatic Christology is the Ecclesiology of *Hermas*. The Church has a very

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[24] *Jewish Christianity*, 143-44.

[25] See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (rev. ed.; San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978) 94.

[26] *Early Christian Doctrines*, 142-44.

[27] *Early Christian Doctrines*, 94.

[28] See: 2 Cor 3:15-18; Rom 8:9-11; Gal 2:19-20 and 5:24-25; Acts 16:6-8; Phil 1:18-19; Ign. *Mag.* 16 (cf. John 14:16; 20:22; Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22). These texts are not touching the issue that the Son is spirit, but that the Son is the Spirit.

[29] For example; 1 Petr 1:10-12; *1 Clem* 22:1; and Justin, *1 Apol.* 33.6-9, 36.1, 38.1.

significant part in *Hermas*, but it is not an independent figure: it is a manifestation of the Spirit. Unlike the Son who is pre-existent through the Spirit, *Vis.* II.4.1 asserts that the Church is protological ("the first-created"; cf. *Vis.* I.1.6; I.3.4). Notice how *Sim.* IX.1.1-2 unites Pneumatology and Christology as it presents the Spirit/Son manifest in the Church:[30]

> After I had written the commandments and parables of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said to me: "I wish to show you what the Holy Spirit which spoke with you in the form [μορφή] of the Church showed you, for that Spirit is the Son of God. For since you were too weak in the flesh, it was not shown you by an angel. But when you were strengthened by the Spirit, and made strong in your strength, so that you could also see an angel, then the building of the tower was shown to you by the Church. You saw all things well and holily as if from a virgin. But now you see them from an angel, yet through the same Spirit."

It is noteworthy that according to this text it was the "same Spirit" who manifested itself in various ways to Hermas, such as in the Old Lady, the Bride, the Shepherd, or the Angel of Repentance. In addition, it is not only the Son of God and the Church that the Spirit manifested itself through, but also angels. *Sim.* V.6.7 states that: "he took the Son and the glorious angels as counsellors."

Given this close relationship between the Spirit and the Son of God, the other mediator figures in *Hermas* may be seen as the Spirit in a fluid Pneumatology that manifests itself in angelomorphic figures. There are instances where some of these mediator figures seem to be distinct, yet they remain related. For example, it is mentioned in *Vis.* V.2 that the Most Revered Angel has sent the Shepherd to Hermas. The Most Revered Angel also justifies the penitent (*Man.* V.1.7). This is also the work of the Glorious Angel who is said to have sent the Shepherd and given him orders regarding Hermas (*Sim.* VII.1-2; IX.1.3) and who is also referred to as the Angel of the Lord (*Sim.* VII.5). This Glorious Angel is Michael (*Sim.* VIII.3.3) and is closely identified with the Glorious Man with his six glorious angels who is identified as the Son of God (*Sim.* IX.12.8). Elsewhere it is stated that the Son of God sends angels, cleanses from sin, and gives the Law (*Sim.*V.6.2-3). Even the Shepherd/Angel of Repentance appears in a fashion similar to the Glorious Man (*Sim.* V.1). How can these different figures be so interrelated and coalesced? Moxnes is correct when he argues that there is one being behind several of these figures, the Son of God.[31] However, the pneumatic character of the various Son of God manifestations must not be overlooked or downplayed: it is the Spirit who is ultimately behind the mediator figures of *Hermas*. These figures are of the same Spirit whose manifestations are primarily Christological and Ecclesiastical in a very fluid Angelomorphic Pneumatology.

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30 Snyder identifies this text as a possible later insertion in order to reconcile these figures; see his *The Shepherd of Hermas* 127.

31 "God and His Angel," 50, 50-56.

III. The Religio-Historical Literary Context

Angelomorphic traditions that influenced early Pneumatology and Christology are ultimately grounded in the appearances of the Angel of the Lord, especially as found in the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges.[32] The form in which this angel primarily manifests himself is as a man, but he also appears as a fire or a cloud. In many of his appearances he is indistinquishable from God (e.g., Exod 3:1-14), yet a distinction between God and this angel is indicated in some of the texts. Especially noteworthy is Exod 23:20-21 because it indicates this angel is distinct from God while possessing of the Divine Name.[33] This tradition led the Angel of the Lord to be linked with the extensive Name Theology which forms a part of the so-called Deuteronomistic History.[34] It also influenced the depicitions of other exalted angels who were understood to possess the Divine Name.[35] Furthermore, the vivid angelomorphic appearances of God as a man in the Angel of the Lord traditions are an important antecedent of the influential depiction of the כבוד ("Glory") on the Merkavah throne as "the likeness as the appearance of a man" in Ezek 1:26-28.[36]

These epiphanies drew the interest of Jewish and Christian exegetes. The varied figures with their various names were often interpreted as different manifestations of a single "many-named mediator."[37] For example, Philo

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32 This figure is identified in various ways. The "Angel of YHWH" or the "Angel of the Lord" (MT: מלאך יהוה; LXX: ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου) is found in: Gen 16:7-14; 22:11-15; Exod 3:1-14; 14:19-20; Num 22:22-35; Judg 2:1-4; 5:23; 6:11-24; 13:3-21. The "Angel of God" (MT: מלאך אלהים; LXX: ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ) is found in: Gen 21:17; 31:11; Exod 14:19; Judg 6:20; 13:6, 9; the "Angel" in Gen 48:16; the "three men" in Gen 18:1-33, and; the "man" is found in Gen 32:24-30 and Judg 13:3-22. There are other texts which refer to the "Angel of the Lord," but this "Angel" is not directly related to the earlier trajectory of traditions (e.g., Hag 1:13). For more detailed discussion regarding the variegated development of a principal exalted angel in Judaism, see: C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 94-113; J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (WUNT 1/36; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985); L. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Ancient Jewish Monotheism and Early Christian Devotion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 71-92. For an extensive treatment of Angel Christology in the second and third centuries, see J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos: Die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums* (rev. ed.; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1964). For rabbinic polemics which discuss a second figure enthroned alongside God, see A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

33 Because the Name of God signifies his divine nature, the being who possesses his name has his full divine authority; see Fossum, *Name of God*, 84-87.

34 See T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (CB OT 18; Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1982) 38-79.

35 For example, Yahoel in the *Apoc. Abr.* 10:8; Metatron in *3 Enoch* 12:5; Jacob/Israel in *Pr. Jos.* Frag. A, Line 9; Michael in *1 Enoch* 69:15.

36 The influence of this text is discussed by Quispel in "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980) 1-13. C. Newman details a thorough tradition-history of "Glory" in *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric* (NovTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 25-153.

37 C. H. Talbert, "The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity," *NTS* 22 (1976) 418-39, esp. 429. For other examples see: *Acts of Thomas* 10; 153; *Acts of John* 88-93.

interprets many of these epiphanies as manifestations of the *Logos* (cf. *Confus.* 146). Justin understands these epiphanies as manifestations of different forms and names of Christ:

> . . . The Power sent from the Father of all which appeared to Moses, or to Abraham, or to Jacob, is called an Angel because he came to men (for by him the commands of the Father have been proclaimed to men); is called Glory, because he appears in a vision sometimes that cannot be borne; is called a Man, and a human being, because he appears arrayed in such forms as the Father pleases; and they call him the Word, because he carries tidings from the Father to men (*Dial.* 128; cf. 61.1; 126.1-2).

That *Hermas* is drawing on traditions about these angelomorphic appearances can be seen in the mention of the Angel of the Lord, the Glorious Angel, the Glorious Man, Michael, and the recurrent depiction of these angelomorphic figures as humans.[38] The Son is depicted as the Name-Possessing Angel in *Sim.* IX.14.5: ". . . the Name of the Son of God is great and incomprehensible, and supports the whole world."[39] Certainly the Glorious Angel/Man figure is related to the כבוד traditions as developed from Ezek 1:26-28.[40]

The depiction of the Holy Spirit as angelomorphic in *Hermas*, however, probably is not based directly upon the Angel of the Lord traditions. It is evident that Jewish Christians drew upon their understanding of the two principal angels to depict the Son and the Holy Spirit. The document that most closely parallels the depictions of the Holy Spirit as an angelomorphic figure in *Mandate* XI is the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah.* In several texts of this document the figure of "the Angel of the Holy Spirit" or "the Angel of the Spirit" is used to identify the Holy Spirit (3:15; 4:21; 7:23; 8:14; 9:36, 39, 40; 10:4; 11:4, 33). Daniélou has demonstrated that the depiction of the Angel of the Holy Spirit in this document draws on Gabriel traditions.[41] Of significance for a comparison with *Hermas* is the inspiration of Isaiah the prophet, other righteous ones, and the Psalmists that is credited to this angel:

> And I asked the angel who led me and I said to him, "Who is this one?" And He said to me. "Worship him, for this is the Angel of the Holy Spirit who has spoken in you and also in the other righteous" (9:36-37; cf. 4.21).

This text indicates that the Angel of the Holy Spirit was "in" the prophet Isaiah and others in some manner and did not only "appear" to them to impart

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[38] The depiction of the Spirit/Church as a woman was probably influenced by Wisdom tradition where Wisdom is depicted as a woman calling out to others (e.g., Prov 8:1-9:6).

[39] The Divine Name here is presented as the word that created and sustains the world; see *Jub.* 36.7 and *1 Enoch* 69.13-25. In the latter text Michael is the possessor of the Divine Name. See also Fossum, *Name of God*, 77-78, 253-54.

[40] For the impact of these traditions on early Christology, see Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, esp. 241-47.

[41] *Jewish Christianity*, 128-130 (cf. *2 Enoch* 21:3-22:5; 24:4). Given the Spirit's role in creation according to *Hermas*, it is noteworthy that Gabriel is associated with that work in various Jewish texts; see Fossum, *Name of God*, 261-66.

revelation. It is probable that this tradition resulted from the union of the Angel of the Lord traditions (which emphasized appearances) with Wisdom (who entered the souls of people and made them prophets).[42] This is close to the tradition in *Mandate XI* where the the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit is present with the prophet and "fills" him before he speaks.

Another significant aspect of this document is its understanding of the relationship between this angel and "the Lord" or "the Great Glory." In spite of polemics against angel worship in early Christianity, Isaiah is encouraged to worship the Angel of the Holy Spirit in 9:37. Clearly this is more than an angel with a pneumatic function. While there are clear associations uniting Christ, the Holy Spirit and the "the Lord" as the foci of worship, there is also a clear distinction between the two angelomorphic mediators (Christ and the Holy Spirit) and "the Lord": the former are subordinate to the latter. The following text shows Isaiah's "Lord" (Christ) and the Angel of the Holy Spirit worshiping "the Lord":

> And I saw the Great Glory while the eyes of my spirit were open, but I could not thereafter see, for the angel who was with me, nor any of the angels whom I have seen worship my LORD. . . . And my LORD approached me, and the Angel of the Spirit, and said, "See how it has been given to you to see the LORD, and how because of you power has been given to the angel who is with you." And I saw how my LORD and the Angel of the Holy Spirit worshiped and both together praise the LORD (9.38-41).

The tradition of the Son and the Holy Spirit as angelomorphic beings who are paired closely together is also found in Elchasai, a Jewish Christian sect leader (c. 100 CE) who has extracts of his writing preserved by Hippolytus. In the following text Hippolytus relates how Elchasai, according to the missionary Alkibiades, received his book of revelation:

> It had been revealed by an angel whose height was 24 schoenoi, which make 96 miles, and whose breadth was four schoenoi, and from shoulder to shoulder six schoenoi, and the tracks of his feet extend to the length of 3 1/2 schoenoi, which make 14 miles, while the breadth 1 1/2 schoenos and the height half a schoenos. There should also be a female with him whose dimensions, he says, are according to those already mentioned. The male is the Son of God, while the female is called the Holy Spirit (*Ref.* 9.13.2-3).

Both the Son of God and the Holy Spirit are understood to be angels of gigantic proportions. Their size indicates that this tradition is in continuity with descriptions of the כבוד upon the Merkavah throne in Jewish mystical literature.[43] This description takes a tradition similar to that in the Martyrdom

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42 See Wis 7:27. Wisdom, Angel of the Lord, and Spirit are all united in Sir 24:3-4. Wisdom and Spirit are united in Wisdom of Solomon (1:4-7; 7:7, 22; 9:17) and Philo (*Opif.* 135; 144; *Gig.* 22; 27). Tertullian even acknowledged that there was an angel inside of the prophet Zechariah; see *De Carne Christi* 14.5.

43 See the discussion of Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism," *VC* 37 (1983) 260-63.

and Ascension of Isaiah, which mentions the Son and Holy Spirit as separate angels in the places of Michael and Gabriel next to the Glory, and enhances it by describing both angels in the proportions of the Glory himself.

The gigantic size of these angels helps one understand why the Glorious Man in *Hermas* is described as ". . . a man so tall that he rose above the tower" (*Sim.* IX.6.1). This size is especially impressive if one remembers that the reader has already been told in *Sim.* IX.3.1 that the tower was built over the Rock which is also identified as the Son of God (*Sim.* IX.12.1) and is described in *Sim.* IX.2.1 as ". . . higher than the mountains and square, so as to contain the entire world." In addition, the Son of God has already been identified with the Glorious Angel who is "very tall" (*Sim.* VIII.1.2). It is clear that similar tradition is being drawn on by both Elchasai and *Hermas.*

The identification of Christ and the Holy Spirit as two supreme Angels of the Presence transcending other angels was also promulgated by Origen through a creative exegesis of Isa 6:3.[44] He appears to be drawing on earlier Jewish Christian tradition since he claims that his source for this understanding was a Hebrew. He states the following in *Princ.* I.3.4:

> The Hebrew said that the two Seraphim with six wings in Isaiah who cry to one another and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord Sabaoth," are the only Son of God and the Holy Spirit. For our part we believe that the expression in the Psalm of Habakkuk [Hab 3:2 LXX], "In the midst of the two living creatures," refers to Christ and the Holy Spirit.

Traditions which depicted the Son and the Holy Spirit as angelomorphic undoubtedly influenced *Hermas.* The author of *Hermas,* however, does not see the Son as a separate angelomorphic figure that existed apart from the Spirit. *Hermas* focuses on a single mediator figure, the Holy Spirit, who manifests itself in various Christological and Ecclesiastical forms and names.

IV. Conclusion

Four foundational conclusions can be drawn from this textual data that has been examined. First, there is clear and prominent usage of Angelomorphic Pneumatology in *Mandate* XI and the rest of *Hermas* that associates the inspiration of prophets with the presence of the Holy Spirit in angelic form. *Mandate* XI draws on three major trajectories of this tradition: the rich Jewish and Christian tradition of angelic mediation in revelation visible in the Angel of the Lord; Jewish Christian traditions that associated Christ and the Holy Spirit with the two principal angels of revelation, Michael and Gabriel, and; guardian angel traditions that espoused the assignment of an angel to an individual. What results in *Mandate* XI is evidence of how Angel and Spirit traditions related to prophecy or revelation were joined together in Jewish Christianity.

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44 See also *Princ.* IV.3.14 and *Hom. Is.* I.2, V.1. For a more detailed discussion of these texts in Origen, see Daniélou, *Jewish Christianity,* 134-40. G. Kretschmar shows the Jewish antecedents of this exegesis in Philo; see his *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (BHT 21; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1956) 62-92. J. Trigg has demonstrated that Origen even understood Christ as his Guardian Angel; see "The Angel of Great Counsel," *JTS* 42 (1991) 35-51.

Secondly, *Mandate* XI can be seen as paradigmatic for the manner in which prophecy is related in the *Mandates* and *Similitudes.*[45] At first sight the rest of *Hermas* appears to have a more complicated scheme for revelation than what is explained in *Mandate* XI. It must be remembered, however, that *Mandate* XI does not relate any specific example of revelation that the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit imparts. Although one gets the impression of momentary filling with short prophetic pronouncements resulting, the text does not state this. Rather it states that a prayer is made to God by men who have the Divine Spirit in an assembly and then the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit assigned to the prophet fills him and he speaks. While *Vision* V and the *Mandates* that follow are not set in a congregation, yet the revelation of *Vision* V and the *Mandates* is imparted to Hermas after he prays (*Vis.* V.1) and by the angel assigned to him (*Vis.* V.2). Although this pattern does not hold true in *Vision* I-IV, yet revelation in the *Similitudes* is also given in response to prayer and by the same angel who was assigned to Hermas. *Mandate* XI discusses that a prophet cannot get the Spirit to begin speaking in response to specific questions (vv. 5-6) and a person cannot ask the true prophet specific questions (v. 8), yet it does not imply that the prophet cannot ask his angel questions during revelation such as is the recurrent pattern in *Hermas.* Furthermore, it would seem very odd for an author to relate stipulations on how prophecy is given and then to completely ignore these in how the prophecy he is writing is imparted. Therefore, Hermas's Shepherd/Angel of Repentance deserves attention as an example of the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit in action.

Thirdly, because *Hermas* is more binitarian than trinitarian in its final form, adoptionism can stand beside a strongly Pneumatic Christology that asserts Christ's pre-existence in the Spirit and greatly exalts the Christological mediator figures of the *Similitudes.* Several texts, as well as mediator figures, in early Christianity testify to such a union between the Son of God and the Holy Spirit. This means that one cannot limit the activity of the Spirit to one particular angelomorphic figure in *Hermas.*

Fourth and lastly, while Christology and Ecclesiology usually occupy "center stage" in *Hermas*, it is Pneumatology that brings some unified understanding to the diverse angelomorphic figures in this document: they are manifestations of the same Spirit. Certainly there are distinctions among the figures and they are not presented in a systematic manner. Yet, it is Angelomorphic Pneumatology that allows for the frequent changes in appearance and the continued unity of this varied revelation. This phenomenon grows out of the tradition of one divine mediator who manifests itself in multiple forms. The Many-Named Mediator tradition fascinated many Jewish Christians, including the author and audience of *Hermas*, as it served a legitimation function for the message of repentance this document imparts.

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[45] Reiling argues against this in *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, 163-70. He emphasizes differences in *Mandate* XI such as the emphasis on the congregation's presence during revelation (Hermas is alone for revelation), prophetic speech (Hermas receives visions), and the supposedly brief nature of the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit's work (compared to the lengthy visions and explanations).

Seated in the Heavenlies: Cosmic Mediators in the Mysteries of Mithras and the Letter to the Ephesians

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Samuel Angus observed that the Christian obligation "to include cosmological speculation in its Christology . . . rested upon the true instinct that religion must put [humanity] right with the totality of things."[1] This sense of a need for restored cosmic unity was especially felt within the first century of the Common Era. The paradigm shift in the Hellenistic world from the classical "three-story universe" to the Ptolemaic cosmology with its concentric spheres was the source of considerable religious angst at many social levels.[2] There was a widely perceived need to escape from the sublunar world and from the dominion of the malevolent astral powers inhabiting the cosmic spheres.

This essay will compare and contrast how two religions which emerged within this matrix, the Mysteries of Mithras[3] and early Christianity as represented in the Epistle to the Ephesians, conceived of the role of a mediator who could assist humanity in escaping the pervasive influence of cosmic evil. Mithraism not only accepted the Ptolemaic view of the universe, but built upon its specific features in significant ways. It presented Mithras as *sol invictus,* a god who not only exercised control over the cosmos itself but could guide the initiate's soul through the planetary spheres prior to death. Although the Christian letter to the Ephesians lacks the direct correspondence to the details of the Ptolemaic cosmology, it nevertheless reflects its religious

1 S. Angus, *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity. A Study in the Religious Background of Early Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925) 68.

2 See M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (2 vols.; Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, V.2.1 [3d ed.] and 2 [2d ed.]; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961–67) 2.702–711; idem, *Greek Piety* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948) 96–103; and E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (New York: Norton, 1965) 5–36.

3 This essay will follow the emerging scholarly consensus that the practice of Mithraism within the Roman provinces of the West was sufficiently distinct from its Persian and Zoroastrian predecessors to consider it a different religious phenomenon. These developments will be briefly discussed below, but see especially R. Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," *ANRW* II.17.4 (1985) 2002–2115; and D. Ulansey, "Mithraic Studies: A Paradigm Shift?" *RelSRev* 13.2 (1987) 104–110.

implications. Like Mithraism, it promises its *readers* deliverance from the evil cosmic powers in this present life. However, by painting these cosmic powers as unilaterally evil, the author of Ephesians emphasizes the unique mediatorial role of Christ. To properly understand these religious innovations, we must begin by sketching the shift in the cosmological *Weltanschauung* which occurred in the Hellenistic period and its impact upon religious consciousness.

Cosmology of the Hellenistic Age

Among the many sweeping changes in the social, intellectual and political climate during the Hellenistic Age was the replacement of the older cosmology with a new vision of the organization of the universe.[4] The "classical" cosmologies had conceived of the earth as a flat "table" floating upon the sea (Gen 7:11; Exod 20:4) or perched atop "pillars" of subterranean mountains (Job 9:6). Above the terrestrial realm arched the dome of the heavens which held back the waters of chaos (Gen 1:7; *Enuma Elish* 4.138–140).

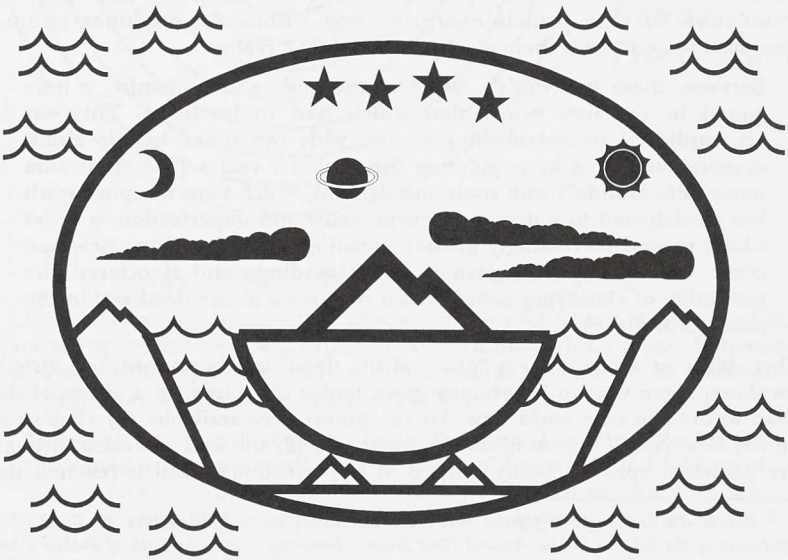


Figure 1. Schematic Depiction of Ancient Near Eastern Cosmology

The dome was supported by a range of mountains which encircled the earth and served as a further barrier to the primeval waters (Job 26:10–11; 38:8, 10–11). The fixed stars, the planets and luminaries (sun and moon) were arrayed

[4] For very brief but nevertheless helpful comparative descriptions of the "classical" three-story cosmology and the "Ptolemaic" cosmology, cf. L. H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 6–8.

under the domed sky to provide light for the earth and to mark the passing of days and seasons (Gen 1:14–15; *Enuma Elish* 5.2–3); the gods lived within this heavenly realm. Beneath the earth was the underworld where the souls/spirits/shades of the dead dwelled (Job 26:5–7). Each culture had its own particular sacred place upon the earth which it considered the '*omphalos* of the universe' and its own particular cosmogonic myths which described the universe's origin and the particular gods or forces which sustained it. Nevertheless, this basic cosmic structure was widely held among ancient cultures of the western Mediterranean basin and the Near East.[5] But this cosmological view could not be maintained over against the developments in science and the competing identifications of this *omphalos* by the numerous cultures which comprised the Hellenistic world.

The "Ptolemaic"[6] universe, which became the new consensus cosmology of the Hellenistic Age, was based on Pythagorean conceptions of the world as a sphere surrounded by a series of concentric spheres. This view was elaborated (c. 390–340 BCE) by Eudoxus, a student of Plato.[7] The number of spheres was fixed at eight, one for each planet and luminary and one for the fixed stars. As described by Martin Nilsson, the earth was the "physical foundation for the principle organization within the sublunar realm," whereas the gods were themselves the superlunar realm.

> Between these two worlds, between the gods and humanity, a hole gaped in the new world view which had to be filled. This was accomplished by establishing a link with the older beliefs about demons and souls by populating the sublunar realm ["der Luftraum unter dem Monde"] with souls and demons, which were not pure spirit but participated to a degree in corporeality and imperfection, a belief which gained increasingly greater meaning since the older view had come in contact with oriental understandings and it offered the possibility of classifying beliefs about demons and the dead within the new world view.[8]

This ability to account for a "place of the dead" was important, for, strictly speaking, there was no longer any place under the earth for a realm of the dead within this new world view. Three options were available: (1) Hades was moved to a specific region of the *Himmelsraum;* (2) the soul ascended through the planetary spheres, being purged of imperfections, until it reached the

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5 For a discussion of Egyptian and Mesopotamian cosmogonies, see O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (New York: Seabury, 1978) 16–60; summarized in H. J. Van Till, et al., *Portraits of Creation: Biblical and Scientific Perspectives on the World's Formation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 226–229. For the same cosmic structure in Greek religious speculation, see Nilsson, *Greek Piety,* 96–97.

6 This designation stems from the codification and elaboration of this astronomical scheme within the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. Although Ptolemy lived from ca. 100–ca. 178 CE, the basic cosmology had become accepted throughout the Hellenistic world centuries earlier.

7 Martin, *Hellenistic Religions,* 7.

8 Nilsson, *Geschichte,* 2.703 [all translations of Nilsson mine]. Cf. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions,* 8.

"highest heaven"; or (3) some maintained the belief in an underworld place of the dead with "extraordinary tenacity."[9]

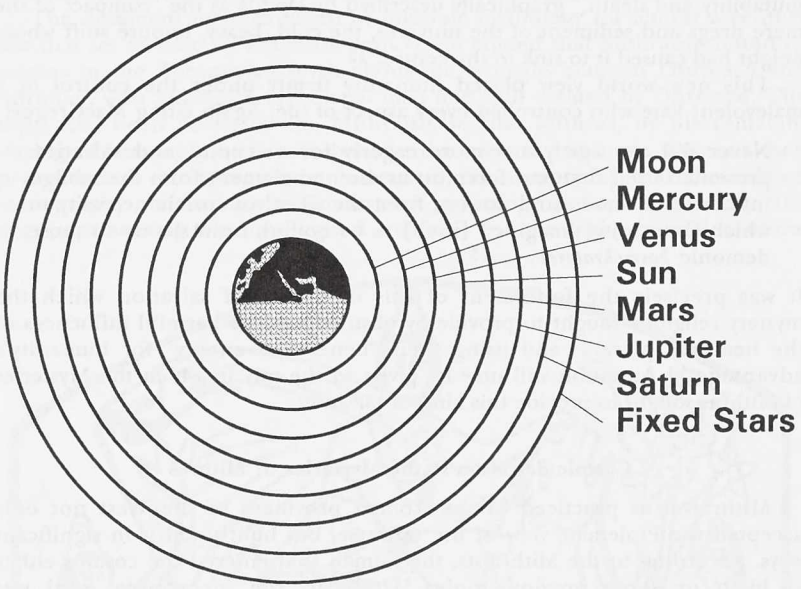


Figure 2. Schematic Depiction of the Ptolemaic Cosmology

It was the second option, the "escape" of the soul from the control of the planetary spheres, which was explored both within Mithraism and Ephesians. But why was escape from this sublunar world felt to be so necessary? MacGregor has described the process as follows:

> The old rejected gods reappear as astral deities. The seven planets are enthroned as *kosmokratores*[10] or "potentates of this world" and arbiters of human fate. . . . By a simple enough psychological process the stars which determined fate appeared to be hostile more often than kindly,

9 Nilsson, *Geschichte,* 2.703–704. Just how tenaciously some maintained the belief in an underworld place of the dead is clearly seen in the cosmic structure of Dante's *Divine Comedy,* published in 1321 CE. In one of the most extensive Christian appropriations of the Ptolemaic cosmology, Dante located *inferno* in the subterranean realm, *purgatorio* in the sublunar realm, and *paradiso* in the cosmic spheres.

10 A word which appears in Eph 6:12 and was "used in the Hellenistic mystical writings of the seven supreme astral deities" (G. H. C. MacGregor, "Principalities and Powers: The Cosmic Background of Paul's Thought," *NTS* 1 [1954] 21).

> so that [the] religious [person] became absorbed in nothing quite so much as devising means of escape from the prison-house of the stars.[11]

Within this cosmology, the sublunar world was "the domain of chance, mutability and death," graphically described by Dodds as the "compact of the mere dregs and sediment of the universe, the cold, heavy, impure stuff whose weight had caused it to sink to the centre."[12]

This new world view placed humanity firmly under the control of a malevolent Fate who controlled every aspect of life. Again citing MacGregor:

> Never did any age yearn more eagerly for σωτηρία, and salvation presented itself first and foremost as disentanglement from the malign influence of these astral powers, from the wheel of cosmic necessity to which [humanity] imagined [itself] to be bound, from slavery to those demonic *kosmokratores* . . . .[13]

It was precisely the fulfillment of this definition of salvation which the mystery religions sought to provide by obstructing "the harmful influences of the heavenly powers" and using their "beneficent energy" for humanity's advantage.[14] Attention will now be given to the way in which the Mysteries of Mithras sought to provide this kind of salvation.

Cosmic Salvation in the Mysteries of Mithras

Mithraism as practiced in the Roman provinces of the West not only accepted the Ptolemaic view of the universe, but built upon it in significant ways. According to the Mithraists, the human soul entered the cosmos either at birth or some previous point. However, the incorporeal soul was incompatible with the material world and could only escape from the planetary spheres with the aid of Mithras.[15] Some recent scholars have even proposed that the tauroctony (the central cult icon of the Mysteries of Mithras; see figure 3) itself depicts "in a complex soteriological code the mechanisms,

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11 MacGregor, "Principalities and Powers," 20. Cf. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions,* 8; Dodds, *Pagan and Christian,* 12–15.

12 Dodds, *Pagan and Christian,* 6–7.

13 MacGregor, "Principalities and Powers," 25.

14 D. H. Wiens, "Mystery Concepts in Primitive Christianity and in its Environment," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980) 1251. Wiens is here following Angus (*Mystery–Religions,* 73), who went on to comment, "In that troubled age of cosmological perils it was no mean merit of the Mysteries that they made [humanity] comfortable in the universe." On the foundational idea of astrology that the astral bodies control and direct human fate for both good and ill as expressed in the Hellenistic world, see Nilsson, *Greek Piety,* 110–115, and *Geschichte,* 2.276–281. For its manifestations in cultures of both the Old and New Worlds, see A. Aveni, *Conversing with the Planets: How Science and Myth Invented the Cosmos* (New York: Times Books, 1992) 128–177, esp. 156–160 on Christian opposition to and Mithraic dependence on astrological concepts.

15 R. L. Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society: Social factors in the explanation of religious change in the Roman Empire," *Religion* 2 (1972) 97.

the celestial routes and the rhythms of genesis and apogenesis."[16] But this proposal begs one of the central problems of Mithraic studies: in the absence of any text reporting the central cult myth of Mithraism, scholars must reconstruct this myth from their interpretations of the tauroctony icon.

The dominant reconstruction of Mithraic mythology for almost a century was that set forward by Franz Cumont.[17] He argued that Mithraism found its origins in the Zoroastrian myth about the struggle between Ohrmazd and Ahriman, who killed the archetypal man and bull created by Ohrmazd. The myth had been recast by the Mithraists so that Mithras, by his reluctant slaying of the primordial bull, became the creator demiurge. Cumont then proceeded to interpret each element of the tauroctony and the related iconography on the basis of Zoroastrian mythology and symbolism; e.g., the dog (representing Ohrmazd's good creation) and the snake (a minion of the



Figure 3. The Tauroctony at Heddernheim, Germany (CIMRM 1083)[18]

16 Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," 2082–2083. Cf. the similar conclusion by M. P. Speidel, *Mithras–Orion: Greek Hero and Roman Army God* (EPRO 81; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) 42–43.

17 Franz Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (2 vols.; Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1896–99); and idem, *The Mysteries of Mithras* (New York: Dover, 1956).

18 Line drawing by author from photograph in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (2 vols.; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956–60) fig. 274 in vol. 2, discussed on 2.64–66

evil Ahriman) are interpreted as battling one another, symbolizing the dualistic struggle of good and evil.[19]

Beginning in the early 1970s, Cumont's proposals became the target of increasingly severe criticisms.[20] The various critiques all share at their base the conclusion that Cumont's hypothesis is hopelessly circular since the tauroctony is identified with symbols from Zoroastrian theology, and then that theology is used as the key to reconstructing the cult legend which interprets the iconography. A new consensus is now emerging around the theory that the interpretative key to the tauroctony lies in astral symbolism. Although the first major proposals along these lines offered by Beck,[21] Insler,[22] and Speidel[23] all had significant weaknesses of their own,[24] Ulansey has presented a persuasive case for interpreting the tauroctony as a celestial map of constellations.

According to Ulansey's interpretation of the recurring features of the tauroctony,

> the bull, the dog, the snake, the cup, the raven, and the scorpion represent the constellations which lay on the celestial equator on or below the ecliptic when the spring equinox was in Taurus. Further, the lion represents the summer solstice which was in Leo when the spring equinox was in Taurus, and the wheat ears growing out of the bull represent the connection between the bull and the spring equinox.[25]

Mithras is the only figure in the tauroctony that cannot readily be correlated with a constellation. Ulansey argued that Mithras should be identified with the constellation of Perseus on the following grounds: the constellation Perseus occupies a position in the sky above Taurus coinciding to that occupied by Mithras in the tauroctony; there are iconographical parallels between the two figures, e.g., they both wear Phrygian caps and both are always portrayed as looking away from their victim; and there was an

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19 See the summary of Cumont's thesis in J. R. Hinnells, "Reflections on the Bull-Slaying Scene," in *Mithraic Studies* (Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies; 2 vols.; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971) 2.290–291 *et passim.*

20 Hinnells's "Bull-Slaying Scene" essay along with a paper presented by R. L. Gordon at the same conference ("Franz Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism," in *Mithraic Studies,* 1.215–248) were the major catalysts in this re-evaluation. For a summary of the developments in this sea change in the scholarly consensus regarding the Mysteries of Mithras, see Ulansey, "Paradigm Shift."

21 R. Beck, "Cautes and Cautopautes: Some Astronomical Considerations," *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2.1 (1977) 1–18.

22 S. Insler, "A New Interpretation of the Bull Slaying Motif," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (EPRO 68; e vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 2.519–538.

23 *Mithras-Orion;* see esp. 4–18, 28–30.

24 For criticisms of their proposals, see Ulansey, "Paradigm Shift," 107–108. Ulansey points out that this "new" direction "emerging" in Mithraic studies is actually the "re-emergence" of an interpretational model first proposed by K. B. Stark in 1869, but rejected by Cumont in his landmark study; see 106–107.

25 D. Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 55.

important Perseus cult located in Cilicia, the birthplace of Mithraism according to Plutarch.[26]

It is the fact that the tauroctony represents precisely those constellations that lie on the celestial equator (see figure 4) that provides the key for deciphering it in Ulansey's theory. The celestial equator is the projection of the earth's equator onto the celestial sphere intersecting the ecliptic at the equinoxes. These two circles provided the very framework upon which the cosmos was constructed within the Ptolemaic cosmology. The celestial equator is not stationary relative to the ecliptic, but undergoes a very slow movement called the precession of the equinoxes as the equinoctial points shift

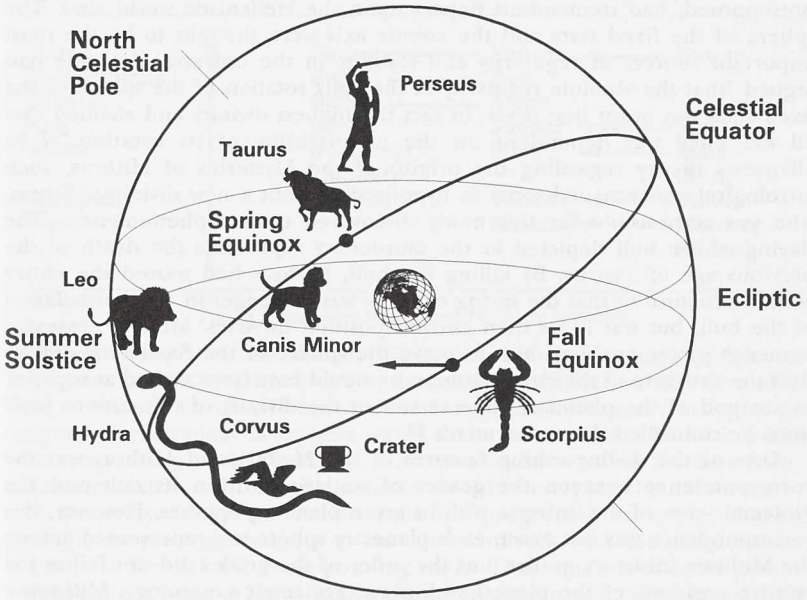


Figure 4. Celestial equator with spring equinox in Taurus and fall equinox in Scorpius[27]

[26] Ibid., 45. Plutarch reported that the Cilician pirates "offered strange rites of their own at Olympus, and celebrated there certain secret rites, among which those of Mithras continue to the present time, having been first instituted by them" (*Vit. Pomp.* 24; see Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives* [LCL; 11 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968] 5.175). Ulansey later notes that in some Greco–Roman astrology Perseus's left knee in the constellation extended to the star cluster Pleiades (Aratos, *Phaenomena,* 254), located in Taurus's shoulder and corresponding to the position in the tauroctony where Mithras's dagger pierces the bull's shoulder. He then asks, "Is it just coincidence that the left knee of Mithras is always shown in an exaggerated fashion pointing to just this spot, as if in illustration of Aratos' description?" (*Origins,* 57).

[27] Adapted from D. Ulansey, "The Mithraic Mysteries," *Scientific American* 262.6 (December 1989) 134.

backward through the zodiac at the rate of one constellation (30° of arc) every 2160 years.[28]

The Greek astronomer Hipparchus discovered the phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes c. 128 BCE. Hipparchus's discovery established that before the Hellenistic age, in which the equinoxes were in Aries and Libra, the equinoxes had been in Taurus and Scorpius from about 4000–2000 BCE.[29] According to modern astronomy, the precession of the equinoxes is caused by a wobble in the earth's rotation on its axis, but given the ancient assumption of a geocentric cosmos the precession could only be understood as "a movement of the *structure of the entire cosmos* rather than the earth."[30]

Hipparchus's discovery, like the shift to the Ptolemaic cosmology which it presupposed, had tremendous impact upon the Hellenistic world view. The sphere of the fixed stars and the cosmic axis were thought to be the most important sources of regularity and stability in the universe. Aristotle had argued "that the absolute regularity of the daily rotation of the sphere of the fixed stars was proof that it was in fact the highest divinity and claimed that all existence was dependent on the immutability of its rotation."[31] In Ulansey's theory regarding the origins of the Mysteries of Mithras, such astrological concerns led some to hypothesize about a new divinity, Mithras, who was responsible for this newly discovered cosmic phenomenon. The slaying of the bull depicted in the tauroctony represents the death of the previous age of Taurus. By killing the bull, Mithras had moved the entire cosmic structure so that the spring equinox was no longer in the constellation of the bull, but was in its then current position in Aries. Mithras possessed immense power enabling him to move the sphere of the fixed stars and to shift the structure of the entire cosmos; he would have been viewed as superior to any god of the planetary spheres and to the divinity of the cosmos itself since he controlled their movements.[32]

One of the distinguishing features of the Mysteries of Mithras was the correspondence between the grades of initiation within its cult and the Ptolemaic view of the universe with its seven planetary spheres. However, this correspondence was not exact; each planetary sphere was represented among the Mithraic initiatory grades, but the order of the grades did not follow the relative positions of the planets within the Ptolemaic cosmology. Mithraism had maintained Saturn as the highest sphere/grade, but next to it were the sun and the moon (the "luminaries") which were then followed by the appropriate sequence of remaining planets. The order was thus a mixture of the cosmological structures and the sequence of days in a week (again, taking

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28 Ulansey, *Origins*, 47–49.

29 Ulansey, *Origins*, 51, 76–77. Thus, the figures in the tauroctony represent the celestial equator when the equinoxes were in Taurus and Scorpius—a circumstance that had not existed for almost two millennia—and not the equatorial constellations observable during the Hellenistic Age. References to the late twentieth century as "the dawn of the Age of Aquarius" arise from the fact that the rising of the sun at the spring equinox will be moving out of Pisces and into Aquarius over the next few centuries.

30 Ulansey, *Origins*, 77–78.

31 Ibid., 79.

32 Ibid., 82–87.

Saturn's day as preeminent). Beck has presented the resulting sequence as in figure 5. He concludes that this pattern "would thus combine within a single sequence an order of Time and an order of Space and so reflect the movement of the initiate through both dimensions."[33] Although it is clear that each initiatory grade was associated with a tutelary planetary god,[34] no fully satisfactory explanation of the particular benefits bestowed upon the initiate by each respective planetary god has yet been offered.[35]

GRADES	PLANETARY ORDERS		
	Temporal (week-days)	*Mithraic*	*Spatial* ('Chaldean')
Pater	Saturn	Saturn	Saturn
Heliodromus	Sun	Sun	
Perses	Moon	Moon	
Leo	[Mars]	Jupiter	Jupiter
Miles	[Mercury]	Mars	Mars
	[Jupiter]		[Sun]
Nymphus	[Venus]	Venus	Venus
Corax		Mercury	Mercury
			[Moon]

Figure 5. Initiatory Grades and Planetary Orders[36]

These observations about the Mithraic initiatory grades highlight two important aspects of Mithraism's understanding of salvation and cosmology. First, it should be noted that the cosmos is not unilaterally evil; the god assigned to each planetary sphere serves as the patron of the Mithraic initiate of corresponding rank. Therefore, Mithraism seeks to utilize the beneficence which remains in the corrupt cosmos as an aid in escaping the domination of evil. Secondly, Mithraism understands the progressive escape of the soul through the planetary spheres to occur concurrently with the progression of the initiate through the corresponding ranks. Thus, one's soul could proceed through the spheres as far as Saturn during life and presumably proceeded on to the final sphere of the fixed stars at death.[37] Salvation in the form of escape

[33] Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," 2093; see his further discussion in idem, *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras* (EPRO 109; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988) 4–11.

[34] Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," 2011–2013.

[35] For critical discussion of some of the proposals, see ibid., 2090–2092; cf. U. Bianchi, "The Religio–Historical Question of the Mysteries of Mithras," in *Mysteria Mithrae* (EPRO 80; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979) 31–42. In Beck's estimation, the best such study is R. L. Gordon, "Reality, Evocation and Boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras," *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 3 (1980) 19–99. Although he deals with the issue of the involvement of planetary gods in the progression of Mithraic initiates in his book *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders,* Beck does not attempt a grade–by–grade explanation of their specific roles.

[36] Adapted from Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," 2093; and idem, *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders,* 10.

[37] Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society," 97.

from the evil influence of the planetary spheres was a present reality for the devotee of Mithraism. This escape of the soul through the planetary spheres was understood quite literally within Mithraism. It "permitted a kind of denial of death. If the body is corporeal and material, then it is merely a hindrance to the soul's ascent; and once the soul has escaped from the world then there can be no great interest in the fate of the body."[38] As a consequence, there is no evidence of distinctly Mithraic funerary practices.

One of the representations frequently found among the icons of the Western Mithraea is the figure of a man with the head of a lion, coiled about by a serpent. According to Hinnells, this leontocephalic deity of Mithraism was "the cosmic being who presides over the soul's ascent through the planetary spheres after death."[39] This icon has occasionally been identified with the Greek Time god Aion, "but since we have no evidence that the Mysteries ever so named their god and since . . . Aion is not even a well-defined deity in his own right, asserting an identification is pointless"[40] in furthering the understanding of Mithraism. Mention of this possibility is made here because Aion is apparently among the spiritual entities mentioned in Ephesians (see note 41 below).

To summarize, Mithraism conceived of Mithras as a deity who exercised complete control over the cosmos, capable even of shifting the physical structure of the cosmic spheres. The Mysteries of Mithras contained a conception of the goal and progress of salvation which was directly applicable to the religious dilemma posed by the Ptolemaic cosmology. It stressed the ability of Mithras to provide the means for escaping the evils of the sublunar realm by passing through the planetary spheres during one's present life by the process of initiation into the progressive ranks of the cult. Ultimate escape from the planetary spheres to the realm of the fixed stars was presumably possible after death. Despite the undeniable evil of life within the material world, there was nevertheless a beneficent aspect to at least some of the cosmic beings in the patron deities of the Mithraic initiatory grades assigned to the respective planetary spheres.

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38 Ibid., 101–102.

39 J. R. Hinnells, "Reflections on the lion-headed figure in Mithraism," *Monumentum (Acta Iranica,* ser. 2; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 1.357. Similar would be Bianchi's position that this deity is related to the Gnostic archons; see U. Bianchi, "Mithraism and Gnosticism," in *Mithraic Studies,* 2.464–465.

40 Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," 2086–2088.

Cosmic Mediator Imagery in Ephesians

It is beyond the scope of the present essay to attempt an exegesis of each passage of the Letter to the Ephesians which utilizes cosmic imagery relative to either the specific role of the mediator or salvation more generally. The purpose will rather be to identify those passages where this influence is apparent and then to address two specific questions raised by the preceding review of cosmic salvation themes within the Mysteries of Mithras. First, are there beneficent cosmic beings as well as evil ones, and how does the answer to that question bear on the role of the mediator? Secondly, to what degree is the cosmic salvation provided by the mediator realized within the present experience of the believer?

The following passages include what may be considered cosmic imagery. In each case, sufficient context is given to provide a setting for the imagery. Because of the elaborate sentence structure utilized in this letter, it has not always been expedient to render the complete Greek sentence. The translations in each case are my own, and have been rendered in such a way as to highlight the cosmic images in English translation.

> Eph 1:10 — "to bring together all things in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things on the earth"
>
> Eph 1:19b–22a — "according to the working of the might of God's strength, which was working in Christ when he was raised from the dead and seated at [God's] right hand in the heavenly realm above every Ruler and Authority and Power and Lordship and every name which is named, not only in this age but in the one which is about to begin, and all things have been put under his feet"
>
> Eph 2:2 — "in which you once walked according to the Aion[41] of this world, according to the Ruler whose seat of authority is in the realm of the air,[42] the spirit which is now working in the 'sons of disobedience'"
>
> Eph 2:6 — "and [we are] raised with and seated with Christ in the heavenly realm"

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41 M. Barth (*Ephesians* [AB 34–34A; New York: Doubleday, 1974] 1.214) favors the translation of *τὸν αἰῶνα* here as a title for a personified "world-age" similar to the Greek god Aion; so also R. Schnackenburg, *Ephesians: A Commentary* (ET of EKK 10; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991) 90–91. Contra T. K. Abbott (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians* [ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903] 40) who argued that a purely temporal sense must be maintained; so also A. T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas: Word, 1990) 94–95; and C. E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic. The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of its Historical Setting* (SNTSMS 63; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 59. See further notes 43 and 46 below.

42 Following suggestions offered by Abbott (*Ephesians and Colossians,* 41) and Lincoln (*Ephesians,* 95–96) for translating *τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*; cf. Arnold, *Power and Magic,* 60–61. The Ptolemaic cosmology "assigns the lower regions of heaven to the earth, the *Lebensraum* of humanity"; it is within this "intermediate area between heaven and earth [that] all those powers and forces which rebel against God and tempt humanity have their abode and sphere of influence" (Schnackenburg, *Ephesians,* 91).

> Eph 3:9–10 — "to manifest to every created thing everything concerning the fellowship of the mystery hidden by God from the Aions,[43] in order that the Rulers and Authorities might now come to know, through the church, the multifaceted wisdom of God"
>
> Eph 3:14–15 — "I bow my knee to the Father for whom each clan[44] in heaven and on earth is named"
>
> Eph 4:9–10a — "Who is the 'Ascended One,' if it is not the one who descended to the lower parts of the earth? The one who descended is himself the one who ascended above all things in the heavens"
>
> Eph 6:11–12 — "Clothe yourselves in the armor of God so that you will be able to stand against the schemes of the Devil; for our wrestling is not against blood and flesh[45] but against the Rulers, against the Authorities, against the World-powers of this darkness, against wicked spiritual beings in the heavenly realm."

It is clear that these references employ cosmic images for both the mediator himself and for the salvation which he brings, or at least involve a conflict between Christ and believers on the one hand and evil powers on the other, even without recognizing the use of several of these "titles" to refer to cosmic beings within the contemporary literature.[46] But are all these spiritual entities antagonistic toward the Christian?

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[43] On the translation of *τῶν αἰώνων* here as a title rather than a temporal phrase ("from eternity"), cf. Barth, *Ephesians,* 1.343–344. He comments, "Most likely the very alternative—either periods of time or heavenly powers—is misleading, for there exists a close relationship between the supposedly mythical powers and the historical institutions, structures, and periods of earthly existence ...." For the temporal interpretation of the word, see Schnackenburg, *Ephesians,* 138; Lincoln, *Ephesians,* 184– 185.

[44] For the use here of *πατριά* in paronomasia to *Πατήρ* as the "origin and orientation" of all spiritual beings and the nations of the earth, see G. Schrenk, "*πατριά*," *TDNT* 5.1017–1019. See also Arnold, *Power and Magic,* 58–59.

[45] The reason for the reversal here of the words in this common idiom for "humanity" is unclear.

[46] For examples, see G. Delling, "*ἄρχων*," *TDNT* 1.488–489 (contra W. Foerster, "*ἐξουσία*," *TDNT* 2.571, who denies there are any uses of *ἄρχων* for supernatural powers in Hellenism); W. Grundmann, "*δύναμις*," *TDNT* 2.285, 287–288; and W. Michaelis, "*κοσμοκράτωρ*," *TDNT* 3.913 (cf. Arnold, *Power and Magic,* 65–67, esp. 66 on the ascription of *κοσμοκράτωρ* to Mithras as "the master of the universe and of time"). The words *ἐξουσία* and *κυριότης* are found with this sense in Christian and Jewish literature, but not in Hellenistic literature. See Foerster, "*ἐξουσία*," 571–573; idem, "*κυριότης*," *TDNT* 3.1096–1097; I. Broer, "*ἐξουσία*," *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (3 vols.; ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–93, hereafter *EDNT*) 2.11; but contrast Arnold (*Power and Magic,* 53) who cites two references from the magical papyri (*PGM* I.125; IV.1193) "where the singular [*ἐξουσία*] is hypostatized and made evil." The opposite contention has been made by Sasse regarding the use of *αἰών*; he argued that "*Αἰών* becomes the name of a god of eternity whose mysteries are known to have been celebrated in Alexandria from *ca.* 200 B.C." ("*αἰών*," *TDNT* 1.198), but that such usage is "alien to the NT" (207; cf. T. Holtz, "*αἰών*," *EDNT* 1.46, who notes its meaning in Eph 2:2 is "debated" but prefers the sense *"the historical realm of this world"* [emphasis his] as elsewhere in the NT). For arguments in support of its usage as a title in Eph 2:2, see note 41 above.

Scholarly opinion has been divided on this issue. Markus Barth has taken the position that in Eph 1:21, and possibly 2:7[47] and 3:10, both "good and evil forces are listed," while in 6:12 only evil entities are in view.[48] But there are difficulties with this position, not the least of which is the virtual impossibility of "identifying" the spiritual beings referred to by each title. Interestingly, the possibility that any clear hierarchy or identification is intended within these lists is denied by Barth.[49] He went on to propose that the author refuses such specifics because the point is to stress that the only important characteristic about these beings is that they have been subjugated to Christ. Or as Lee has phrased it, the titles "have been *indiscriminately* used by [the author] to designate the cosmic powers" making it "difficult to distinguish shades of meaning among them."[50] Commenting on the use of the different titles in Eph 6:12, Whiteley wrote:

> The different entities lack individual character. The whole enumeration is meant to produce a rhetorical mass-effect, to call forth an atmosphere of horror, danger and war. We may paraphrase the verse, 'We must fight not only against human beings, but against the demonic.'"[51]

But if these powers are not to be distinguished as individual entities but rather merely function rhetorically to demonstrate the extent of evil powers within the cosmos, how can some of them be considered beneficent powers?[52]

Some scholars have argued that once these powers have been subjugated to Christ, they become servants of blessing rather than evil. Morrison has correctly rejected this position:

> There is no New Testament evidence whatever to confirm the contention that these hostile powers were in some way harnessed, "*re*-commissioned", to a positive responsibility in the Kingdom of Christ, and could therefore be called his servants. The passages referring to

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47 Barth feels that τοῖς αἰῶσιν may have the sense of a title there rather than a temporal use (cf. note 43); see his extensive discussion of this point in *Ephesians,* 1.222–223. For the temporal interpretation, see Schnackenburg, *Ephesians,* 96–97.

48 Barth, *Ephesians,* 1.154 and 2.801. Abbott (*Ephesians and Colossians,* 41–42) held a similar view.

49 Barth, *Ephesians,* 1.171. Abbott (*Ephesians and Colossians,* 33) makes specific reference to the concluding phrase of 1:21, καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, as emphasizing this point. See also Arnold, *Power and Magic,* 69.

50 J. Y. Lee, "Interpreting the Demonic Powers in Pauline Thought," *NovT* 12 (1970) 55 (emphasis mine). See also Michaelis, "κοσμοκράτωρ," 914; and Foerster, "ἐξουσία," 573. Foerster argued that the cosmic beings referred to in these passages are to be distinguished from the "demons" of the Synoptic Gospels which only possess and control human beings but lack any cosmic power or functions and are restricted to the sublunar realm (ὁ ἀήρ); so also Barth (*Ephesians,* 2.802) and MacGregor ("Principalities and Powers," 19).

51 D. E. H. Whiteley, "Ephesians vi. 12—Evil Powers," *ExpTim* 68 (1956–57) 101.

52 Cf. Schnackenburg, *Ephesians,* 77; Lincoln, *Ephesians,* 63–65; and Arnold, *Power and Magic,* 56.

> Christ's victory and lordship affirm essentially that in Christ believers are no longer subject to the spiritual powers of this world.[53]

It is also interesting to note that there are no references to the ἄγγελοι anywhere within the Letter to the Ephesians. It seems reasonable to assume that the author systematically avoids any reference to good spirits who offer assistance to humanity so as to set in even starker contrast the "beneficent power" of the exalted Christ who alone is able to provide the salvation necessary to break the dominion of the cosmic spirits over the person. Thus, the view of cosmic salvation presented in Ephesians differs from the theology of the Mithraists in that it is not closely tied to the specifics of the cosmology and does not involve any assistance by beneficent astral powers who assist the cosmic mediator, thereby making this mediator uniquely important.[54]

Is deliverance from the evil cosmic powers a present experience for the recipients of Ephesians, or is it something which awaits eschatological fulfillment, either personally (i.e., at death) or cosmically? For the author of this letter the answer is "yes"; deliverance from the domination of evil forces within the world is both present and future. The present reality is clearly stated by the use of the aorist tenses in Eph 2:6 to describe the exaltation[55] and enthronement of believers in the heavenly realm with Christ, the cosmic mediator (*συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*). That the escape is not yet complete is clear from the language of the continuing struggle against these evil forces described in Eph 6:11–17.[56] But the point within this second passage is that the Christian has been provided the "armor" necessary to confront these attacks.[57]

The reason for this apparently paradoxical state of affairs stems from the nature of Christ's victory over the malevolent cosmic forces. Morrison has described this victory as follows:

> the significance of Christ's victory is found among those who believe. In 2.1ff. we see clearly the nature of this victory. It is not that something as happened to the principalities and powers, for "the prince of the power (*ἐξουσία*) of the air" is even at this present time at work among

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53 C. Morrison, *The Powers That Be* (SBT 29; Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, 1960) 45; cf. 138. See also Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 77–79.

54 Cf. Arnold's comments on Eph 1:21 (*Power and Magic*, 56): "Christ's power and authority is cosmic in scope. His name *alone*, and not his name in addition to others, is sufficient for a successful confrontation with the 'powers' of evil." See also his further discussion on 124–126.

55 The image is more precisely that of a "spiritual" resurrection from the "death of sins."

56 Cf. Arnold, *Power and Magic*, 68–69, 147–150.

57 The use of military metaphors here is interesting given the comparisons being drawn in this essay between Ephesians and Mithraism, which was most successful in making converts from the ranks of the Roman army. G. Lease ("Mithraism and Christianity: Borrowings and Transformations," *ANRW* II.23.2 [1980] 1325–1326) is correct in rejecting any suggestions of direct dependence between the two religions at this point. He prefers a background within Jewish apocalypticism for Christianity and notes that such militarist metaphors were a commonplace within the Hellenistic and late imperial periods. Cf. Barth, *Ephesians*, 2:789–790.

"the sons of disobedience" (2.2f.). Rather it is that the love of God in Christ has effectively delivered those who believe from the dominion of trespasses and sins (2.1, 4).[58]

Therefore the position taken by the author is not that different from that found in Mithraism; the continued existence and influence of the evil forces within the cosmos is not denied, but their effect has been mitigated for those who accept the particular religious doctrine and instruction presented in the letter.

Recognizing the role of the Ptolemaic cosmic understanding within the Letter to the Ephesians provides some assistance in interpreting the much debated statement regarding "descending" and "ascending" in 4:8–10. Some interpreters—from ancient to modern times—have argued that the "descent" is a visitation of Hades (taking "the lower parts of the earth," *τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*, to refer to the underworld); the "ascent" would then be the resurrection/ascension of Jesus. Others have seen here a reference to the incarnation and exaltation along the lines of a "descending-ascending Redeemer" myth.[59] The importance of the Ptolemaic cosmology within the rest of the letter would seem to support the incarnation/exaltation model.[60] Recall that strictly speaking this new cosmology did not allow any longer for an "underworld"; thus, *τῆς γῆς* should probably be construed as an appositional genitive identifying *τὰ κατώτερα μέρη* ("the lower regions, i.e., the earth") as contrasted with *ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*. The ascension of Christ "above all things in the heavens" was the return to his natural state for the mediator who had descended through the cosmic spheres to earth and the means by which he delivered his devotees from the control of the evil supernatural spirits.[61]

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58 Morrison, *Powers*, 117.

59 For a review of the arguments, see Barth, *Ephesians*, 2.433–434; and Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 244–247. Lincoln discusses a third possibility, namely, the ascension of Jesus followed by his subsequent descent in the Spirit at Pentecost to give gifts to the church (4:11–16). This possibility seems very unlikely in that it requires a very high degree of identification between Christ and the Spirit, and because a subsequent "descent" of Christ would deny the author's assertion that it is the "ascension" that "fulfills all things"; cf. R. Schnackenburg, "Christus, Geist und Gemeinde (Eph. 4:1–16)," in *Christ and Spirit in the NT* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) 287.

60 Cf. Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 77, 178–179; Barth, *Ephesians*, 2.434. Arnold (*Power and Magic*, 58) rejects this interpretation in favor of the descent into Hades, but nevertheless seeks to relate it to the Ptolemaic cosmology: "It underlines the cosmic supremacy of Christ in a fresh way. Christ is not only superior to the aerial spirits and forces populating the heavens, but he is also superior to the so-called underworld deities."

61 This interpretation may gain additional support from the fact that the presuppositions about the validity of a widespread "dying-rising deity" myth—the redeemer (e.g., Tammuz, Adonis, or Osiris) "dies," descends into Hades, and rises to renewed life—are now being called into question; cf. the criticisms of Wiens, "Mystery Concepts," 1274–1278. For criticisms of the notion of a descent into Hades specifically in Eph 4:9–10, see Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 244–245.

Conclusion

Christianity and Mithraism were to become the chief rival religions in late antiquity Roman Europe. To the degree that these religions instinctively understood "that religion must put [humanity] right with the totality of things" and so "include[d] cosmological speculation" within their theologies,[62] their success was at least in part a consequence of the fact that they so effectively addressed the religious angst created by the shift from the classical to the Ptolemaic cosmologies. Had they not been able to do so, it is likely that they would not have survived long in the religious marketplace of ideas. It is then interesting to consider the possibility that Christianity's ultimate triumph over Mithraism may also, at least in part, have been a function of the types of answers which it proposed for this religious dilemma. We have seen that the presentation of Christ as a cosmic mediator in Ephesians clearly presupposes the Hellenistic cosmological world view, and yet it is not so intricately tied to its details as was Mithraism. Could that strategy—if it were in fact so deliberate a choice as "strategy" might suggest—have given Christianity an edge?

Martin Nilsson has argued that such was indeed the case; Christianity ultimately succeeded both because it addressed the changed world view and because of the way in which it did so.

> Religion had entered into partnership with cosmology, for in the last analysis these religious conceptions and speculations were connected with the new picture of the universe which Greek science had created. . . . [Yet] religion forgets its true nature if it occupies itself too much with cosmology, because its kernel is [humanity], not the universe. Christianity had an instinctive feeling for this truth, and supported it by the authority of the Old Testament. . . . Taken on the whole, Christianity represented the wholesome reaction against the theosophy of late antiquity and won because the majority could not acquire theosophy. . . . The paganism of late antiquity had too much cosmology in it and too little real religion.[63]

It is certainly true that branches of Christianity, particularly some manifestations of Gnosticism, were to become just as obsessed and intertwined with astral speculation as Mithraism, but those expressions of Christianity eventually fell silent as well.

It is perhaps fitting to close this essay by considering what this Ephesian image of Christ as cosmic mediator has to say to the religious angst of Euro–American Christians at the end of the twentieth century. Obviously both the Ptolemaic cosmology and its religious implications have now long since been rejected. What can be maintained by modern Christians is the conviction that humanity has the means necessary, "in Christ," to overcome those "cosmic forces" and "evils" with which we are confronted.[64] But what one should not

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62 Angus, *Mystery–Religions,* 68.

63 Nilsson, *Greek Piety,* 193–195.

64 Both Barth (*Ephesians,* 1.174–176) and Whiteley ("Ephesians vi.12," 102–103) provide excellent suggestions along these lines.

feel compelled to do is to deny the reality of this Ptolemaic world view for the author of Ephesians.[65] The vitality of Christianity is precisely its ability to address the religious needs of humanity in any age.

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65 As MacGregor ("Principalities and Powers," 21) attempts to do. He states that the author was not "in bondage to any such superstition," but then on the next page (22) states that it was not the existence of the "astral and cosmic powers" which the author denied, but only their deity. This point raises the whole issue of the debate between Arnold, Walter Wink and others regarding whether the NT writers were already "demythologizing" the Hellenistic world view (for Arnold's critique of such approaches, see *Power and Magic,* 44–51). I believe Wink cut to the crux of the matter in his review of Arnold's book: "Of course, Paul and the rest of the writers took these powers seriously and as real, ontological beings. I fully concede that and attempt to say what it was, in reality, that they were experiencing in their daily lives that they *named* principalities, powers, demons, angels, and the devil. My case—if I may be permitted to say so—depends not at all on whether Paul demythologized (if he did, he did so only to a degree; 'depersonalized' might be a better word)" (W. Wink, review of *Ephesians: Power and Magic* by C. E. Arnold, *CR* 4 [1991] 166). I would simply add that when we say what in *our* "reality" they "named" as principalities, etc., we have already "remythologized" the text; such is the inescapable nature of any hermeneutical enterprise.

Diotima, Eros, Cherubim and the Sources of Divine Knowledge

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I. Introduction

Diotima of Mantineia, the prophetess friend of Socrates depicted in Plato's *Symposium*, taught Socrates about *ta erotica*, the rites of love. Using the language of Greek mysticism, most probably the Eleusinian Mysteries, she functions as a mystagogue, mediating to the initiate Socrates knowledge about the nature of the divine. In his exegesis of Genesis 3 and 4 entitled *On the Cherubim*, Philo mixes this same Eleusinian mystery language with a discussion of knowledge, erotics and creation. This essay will explore the mystery language in two discrete passages from the *Symposium* and *On the Cherubim*, which are both didactic narratives involving mediation, knowledge, and sex.[1] I will be interested in what Eleusinian mystical language possibly signified to Plato, and to Philo, and to their reading audiences. I seek to identify common meanings that mystical language held for Plato and Philo, and more importantly where the significance of mystical language for the two authors and their respective cultures diverged.[2]

The significance of mystery language is the same for Philo and Plato insofar as it creates a unique context for mediation between human and

[1] The Greek text I am using for Plato is the standard OCT edited by John Burnet, vol.2; for *Symposium* commentaries I use both that of R. G. Bury, *The Symposium of Plato*, Cambridge, second edition, 1932, and that of Kenneth J. Dover, Cambridge, 1980. For Philo I use the 1929 Loeb editions, prepared by Colson and Whitaker. The most recent study of the common mystery language in Plato and Philo is that of Christoph Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987. An earlier study was done by A. E. Harvey, "The Use of Mystery Language in the Bible," *JTS* ns 31 (1980) 320-336. The first chapter of David Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985, gives in general a good introduction to the history of Philo scholarship, including those scholars who originally revealed the links between Philo and Plato in the 19th century. I will throughout this paper be abbreviating *Symposium* as *Symp*, and *On the Cherubim* as *Cher.*

[2] I will be less interested in the origins of the mystical terminology. For more general works on Greek mysticism see Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. Ugo Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries*, Leiden: Brill, 1976. Jocelyn Goodwin, *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981. Luther Martin, *Hellenistic Religion. An Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance*, Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978.

human, and between human and divine. Articulating the different meanings that mystical language had for Plato and Philo will allow me to distinguish some of the varying conceptions of the divine, and the conceivable roles that the divine can play in human social structures, human history, and individual human lives. Although the language in some ways remains the same in these texts by Plato and Philo (mystical narratives of knowledge and sex), the cultural differences evident in the different definitions of the divine and of the functions of the divine will become evident through Philo's and Plato's descriptions of bodily experience.

Mary Douglas has written, "The social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived."[3] In addition to this, I suggest that the social body determines the individual's construction of the physical body's experience, including the experiences of the body that are commonly called "mystical." When Philo evokes Eleusinian mystery language that had earlier been used by Plato in his own Jewish and Hellenistic discussion of knowledge, erotics and creation, he does so to a far different end. Although both authors consciously use the common language of the Greek mysteries to mediate knowledge about the divine, Philo shifts the actual mediators in his account. By adapting and then implementing Mary Douglas's theories about the physical body, the social body and the creation of cosmology, this essay will ultimately suggest that it is the differences in the sources and the boundaries of social knowledge that determine both the mediators of divine knowledge and the message mediated. A fundamental difference between Plato and Philo in their understandings of the body and of bodily experience reflects a corresponding difference in their conceptions of the divine and of divine mediation.

II. Mysticism in the context of sacrificial cult

The language and imagery of "mysticism" and "the mysteries" are common threads that run through Diotima's speech in the *Symposium* (201d–212c) and through Philo's *On the Cherubim* (42–50), but upon closer inspection the issue of the actual meanings of "mystery" and "mysticism" in their respective historical contexts raises fundamental problems. While mystery religions were common to classical Athens in the days of Plato and Socrates, as well as to hellenistic Alexandria at the time of Philo, and while Philo may have picked up some mystical terminology from Plato, we cannot assume that the experiences of mystery cult remain the same over time in 5th century BCE Athens and in 1st century CE Alexandria.[4] While there is some continuity in

[3] Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1970, p. 65. On this same page Douglas goes on to say, "The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other. As a result of the interaction the body itself is a highly restricted medium of expression. The forms it adopts in movement and repose express social pressures in manifold ways."

[4] See Erwin Goodenough, *By Light, Light. The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935. For a good list of secondary sources on mystery language in general in Philo see Dorothy Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women*, Atlanta: Scholars

the practices of piety, there is during the hellenistic period a shift towards the authority of the individual, evident for example in the rise of literacy. Greek mysticism was not in the 5th and 4th century BCE the intensely private and individual experience of union with God known in later Christian mystical traditions. Mysticism in ancient Greece was a communal, group phenomenon that defined and re-articulated the cultural boundaries of human experience differently from the dominant and conventional modes of religious expression.

In classical Greece, the traditional and conventional relation between human and divine was maintained through *thusia*, the public ritual of animal sacrifice practiced within the polis.[5] The institution of cult sacrifice was a public and communal expression of piety intended to mediate communication with the gods by burning the fat and thigh bones of a sacrificial animal victim. The Greek term for piety and the process of maintaining proper communication with the divine is *eusebeia*: *asebeia* is the lack of public piety and respect for city's gods.[6] Sacrifice also has what we today would call a political side. Sacrifice was the center of the public cult; the priests, who as butchers (μάγειροι, *mageiroi*) administered the ritual by slitting the victim's throat, offering the gods their portion and then dividing and distributing the meat to the public, were either appointed political figures or members of an elite, ruling family which transmitted the priesthood from father to son.[7]

The social and political hierarchies of Greek culture were expressed in the slaughter, division and distribution of the sacrificial victim. The sacrificing officials immediately roasted and ate the blood-filled viscera, and gave the

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Press, 1990, 133-35. This essay will focus specifically on Eleusinian mystical language, and not the mysteries of Dionysos, Orpheus, Isis, Mithras, or the Magna Mater.

5 Sacrifice in Greek culture of this period carries with it none of the undertones, familiar from Christianity, of giving something up for the sake of gaining something better later on. It is a symbolic act that both expresses and reinforces social roles. For more on ritual sacrifice in ancient Greece, see Walter Burkert *Homo Necans*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985 (abbreviated GR). Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Myth and Society*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1980. Marcel Detienne, "Culinary Practice and the Spirit of Sacrifice," *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, and also *Dionysos Slain*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979. Stanley Stowers, "Greeks Who Sacrifice and Those Who Do Not: Toward an Anthropology of Greek Religion and Early Gentile Christianity," forthcoming in *The First Christians and Their Social World: Studies in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1995; this traces ritual practices beyond the classical period and into early Christianity, making excellent observations about the continuities of the social functions of sacrifice. Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; this is a comparative study (including Israelite and Greek sacrificial practices) that takes the research of anthropologists and classicists a bit further, arguing that ritual blood sacrifice specifically solidifies systems of patriarchal descent.

6 This was one of the charges levelled against Socrates according to Plato's *Apology* 26b-28a, and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 1.1.2.

7 There is one Greek word for sacrificer, butcher, and cook: *mageiros*. See Detienne *Dionysos Slain* 75; "Culinary Practice" 11. Burkert GR 95-98 discusses priests and the role of priesthoods in animal sacrifice.

gods their portion, then divided and gave the remaining prime portions to the non-sacrificing public officials in attendance.[8] The public next got their share, which was divided up equally among them; lastly the entrails were made into sausages and also distributed to the common people. This combination of separating the inedible parts for the gods, and then equally dividing the remaining edible meat only after the best parts have been shared by the political leadership effectively represents the political structure of the Greek polis.[9] To take part in the religious ritual of animal sacrifice and the subsequent feast was a political act, and the order of eating reflected one's precise political position.[10] The average man, who is not a priest, an official, or a *mageiros*, is in a subordinate position. Slaves, women and children stand even below the average man. Recognition of one's subordinate position maintains the social, political and spiritual order. It would be dangerous for anyone to step beyond where he or she ought to be, either by the preparation or the partaking of the common meal in an abnormal order, or by not partaking of it at all.

In the ritual of polis sacrifice, the animal victim is the locus of communication between the human world and the realm of the divine. The animal body, the animal's behavior, and the ritual acts performed upon the body of the animal by the officiating priest must be without fault and free from miasma. The priest manipulates the parts of the animal around and upon the altar; as smoke from the burning thighbones ascends from the altar to heaven, the common people have evidence that priest is mediating with the divine on their behalf. But, using Eleusis as an example, in the classical mysteries the locus of communication is the individual initiate, the men and the women; the citizens, the foreigners and the slaves together in the sanctuary. Prospective initiates are only required to speak Greek and be free from blood guilt. Each initiate has his or her own sacrificial piglet, and the initiates fast and purify themselves in the ocean before entering the Telesterion on the night of the mysteries. During the liminal period inside the Telesterion, knowledge of the divine is gained before re-entry into society. The Eleusinian mysteries were so efficacious and powerful not simply because of what the priests and officials did, not because of what function the sacrificial victims played, but because each initiate saw the sacred drama, and learned from witnessing the drama and hearing the *ieros logos* that he or she could temporarily, outside the hierarchy of the polis, directly and sensually experience and know the divine. Classical Greek mysticism thus developed

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8 No human could find edible these parts given to the gods. The earliest *aitia* for this is the Prometheus story in Hesiod *Theogony* 541 ff. The viscera that the officials ate were called *ta splanchna.*

9 Detienne, "Culinary Practice" 8-13, *Dionysos Slain* 76-77. Detienne also notes in "Culinary Practice" 13 that there seems to be a marked difference in the way that 5th century ritual divides the victim as against the Homeric ritual, which, after the portion for the gods is taken out, was entirely egalitarian with the meat apportioned by lot.

10 This assertion is Detienne's interpretation of the ancient evidence. But one must be careful of Detienne's conclusions, since he does not always treat the ancient evidence with care; he is apt to conflate evidence from one period or context with that of another, without taking the differences into account. Still Burkert, who is more cautious in handling the evidence, basically agrees: GR 54-60.

within the confines of the Greek polis and its sacrificial cult. "Mystical" describes the religious experience of the private initiatory cults individuals could choose to become a member of, and μυέω most essentially means "to initiate, to become a member of a private religious group."[11] Classical mysticism in the time of Plato and Socrates circumvented the polis, and allowed individuals a temporary, alternative way to mediate and to communicate with the divine.

For Plato in the *Symposium*, the mystical language alludes specifically to the rituals that took place in the annual rites of Demeter at Eleusis, a small village located about 16 miles outside of Athens. This cult was by far the most famous mystery cult at the time of Plato, and indeed throughout most of antiquity.[12] Assuming that some motifs present in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* correspond to the initiation rite, Demeter, or the initiate, is at one time living among the other divinities, but then separates herself from them after Death (Hades) rapes her daughter. The Hymn, or the initiation rite, then becomes the process of preparing to unite oneself with the divine, as Demeter and Kore are reunited with each other and with the Olympians after Persephone's return from the underworld. Demeter then instructs the humans at Eleusis about agriculture, as well as how to celebrate her mystical rights (τελεταί, *teletai*). At the Eleusinian Mysteries, held annually during the fall, initiates or *mustai*, μύσται (μύστης in the singular), were accompanied by mystagogues, or the leaders of the *mustai*, to a unique building called the Telesterion (Initiation Hall) where they all witnessed a spectacle of sorts, perhaps a dramatic performance depicting the rape of Kore, the wanderings of Demeter, and the reunion of mother and daughter. A special group of people, called *epoptai* or watchers, ἔποπται, were those who already had been initiated, and returned to witness the show again.

As Helene Foley has recently written, the Mysteries "are an experience apparently worth repeating."[13] All the groups present in the Telesterion at Eleusis, the *mustai*, the mystagogues, and the *epoptai*, learned something, we don't know exactly what, at the Greater Mysteries in the Telesterion that changed their lot after death.[14] In the classical period, a mystical cult like

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11 Another definition of μυέω connects it with "covering the eyes"; see e.g., Martin *Hellenistic Religion*, 12, and Marvin Meyer, *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook*, New York: Perennial Library, 1987, 4. I think this meaning is anachronistic, and based on later interpretation of ritual behavior that is the result of joining the esoteric group. Earlier usage in Aristophanes and Herodotus, for example "mystic dances" and "mystic shouts," indicates that it simply refers to a quite open, public and visible mode of religious expression that lay outside of the polis cult.

12 See Helene Foley's excellent discussion of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the context of the *Hymn to Demeter* in her recent book, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, esp. 65-75, and 84-97. For more indepth scholarship see also N.J. Richardson's 1974 Oxford commentary to the Hymn, Burkert's *Ancient Mystery Cults*. The standard reference book on Eleusis remains that of George Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

13 Foley 66.

14 The initiates did not necessary acquire a type of immortality, in the later Christian sense of immortality. Earlier in the summer something known as the Lesser Mysteries

Eleusinian Mysteries, which evolved from ritual practices existing alongside public cult, thus answered needs and changing questions about mortality and humanity with a facility and directness that the traditional polis-based cult could not match. In the hellenistic period, the popularity and importance of the classical mystery cults, including but not exclusively the Eleusinian Mysteries, grew phenomenally. As they grew they, they simultaneously lost their original local exclusivity and became internationalized.[15] This meant that individuals from around the Greek world came to take part in the cult at Eleusis; it also meant that the mystery cult of Eleusinian Demeter travelled to other sites around the Mediterranean, including an Egyptian town called Eleusis outside of Alexandria.[16] Following on this hellenistic trend of mystery cult, Goodenough even suggested that there existed Jewish mysteries in hellenistic Alexandria.[17] Philo we know was well acquainted with Plato, and Greek culture in general; there is little solid evidence that he knew Hebrew. But just what exactly he knew about pagan mysteries, and how exactly he would have understood the mystical language even in Plato is difficult to say. Wolfson and Bockmeuhl, for example, argue that it is a generic convention, a philosophical metaphor for attaining knowledge.[18] In any event, as a Jew Philo could not have understood the mysteries, or have experienced the mysteries at Eleusis quite as Plato did. Plato most probably was an initiate, and Philo not. But, like Plato, Philo used mystical language not necessarily to indicate actual practice, nor as a pure and simple metaphor of enlightenment; in a culture where sacrificial public cult remained dominant mode of public religious expression, although the practices of private piety were gaining strength, mystery language still indicates an alternative way of communicating with the divine. As a Greek speaking Jew in Alexandria, Philo already was in a position of being a member of a minority community that had developed its own ways of communicating with the divine, and even had different conceptions of the divine. Philonic mystery language will accordingly reflect this different conception of the divine.

III. Mystical Language in the *Symposium*

The language of the Eleusinian mysteries, found in the ascent passage at the end of Diotima's speech, depicts a "leader" like a mystagogue conducting the "initiate" through the "rites of love"; an encounter with beauty and true

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were celebrated in Athens; these were perhaps a sort of preliminary rite of purification for the *mustai*. See Foley and Mylonas.

15 For bibliography on Hellenistic Mysteries see note 2 above.

16 See Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vols. 1-5, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907, vol. 3, 199-201 for his remarks on the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Egypt) near Alexandria.

17 Goodenough is the main proponent of this view; Wolfson is quite opposed to it. Harry Wolfson, *Philo. Foundation of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, 2 vols., Rev. ed., Cambridge: Harvard Universtiy Press, 1962. See also Markus Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christiantiy*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1990, who also sides more or less with Wolfson, and takes the mystical language to be a relatively empty metaphor.

18 Wolfson 46-50 and Bockmeuhl 12 ff.

being, τὸ ὄν, *to on* (literally, "the being"), is depicted as a rite that one can be initiated into as one was initiated into the cult of Demeter at Eleusis. Diotima's speech thus offers Plato's audience the choice to shift their views on reality, change, and human experience. Just as the mystical tradition challenged individuals to reconstruct their conception of the divine and its relation to the human social and political structures inherent in the standard and conventional polis cult, so Plato in Diotima's speech presents an alternative conception of human experience and its relative distance to and difference from the divine. When Diotima teaches Socrates the τελεταί (*teletai*) of her mysteries, she reveals that the human, an *anthropos*, approaches the divine through the experiences of the body. Her narrative strongly evokes the experience of initiates in the Telesterion at Eleusis who, regardless of gender and civil status, "saw" the divine (*epopteia*). The *mustai* did not achieve union with the divine, but they re-experienced the divine through the power of their senses, unmediated by the hierarchies of conventional animal sacrifice. Likewise, the mysteries that Diotima relates teach that through loving the beauty of another body and experiencing *tokos en kalo* (birth in the beautiful), eventually one recognizes the beauty of all bodies until one obtains a vision of beauty itself (*epoptika*). Eleusinian mysticism allowed the initiates, both male and female, to experience the divine immediately and with their own eyes during the night ritual in the Telesterion at Eleusis; likewise Diotima the mystagogue leads Socrates to see that initiates into her rites of love will, in loving their beloved, enter into a new relation with the divine, and become θεοφιλής, *theophiles* (212a6), both loving-the-divine and beloved-of-the-divine.

The visions of human experience revealed in the *Symposium* stem from a cultural context that is alien to the modern reader. The speeches in praise of love reported to have been given at a victory dinner at Agathon's that night in 416 BCE are set speeches, accounts of the particular views of Eros held by a handful of Athenian citizen men. As such, these speeches contain allusions to some conventions of public and private life that have no real analogue in contemporary western culture. In addition, the narrative structure of these speeches in the *Symposium*, as Helen Bacon first wrote, exemplifies a distancing technique that Plato uses throughout the dialogue.[19] The speech of Diotima containing the Eleusinian language is the most distanced, demonstrating the indirect quality of knowledge in the human world. The symposium that is held at the home of Agathon and provides the dramatic setting for Plato's *Symposium* takes place a few days after Agathon's victory at a tragic festival, presumed to be the Lenaia. This sets the dramatic date of the *Symposium* to January 416, in the midst of the Peloponnesian War.[20] But the

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19 Helen Bacon, "Socrates Crowned," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 35 (1959) 415-430.

20 January 416 is thus also shortly before the Athenians launched the expedition against the Sicilians, and shortly before the infamous sacrilege of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the mutilation of the herms. At least two of the men present at this symposium, Alcibiades and Phaedrus, were implicated in one or both these offenses. On the mutilation of the Herms see Thucydides 6.28, 6.53-61. Thucydides hints that Alcibiades was probably involved in both offenses but he doesn't confirm that he was convicted of both. Martha Nussbaum, *The Fragility of Goodness*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 171 argues convincingly that a 4th century audience would have believed Alcibiades guilty of

story of the drinking party at the home of Agathon is narrated by another man, Apollodorus, many years after the party took place.[21] Apollodorus himself is too young to have been present at the party, and the account he narrates to one Glaucon and a certain unnamed companion had been reported to him by Aristodemus, who long ago had accompanied Socrates to Agathon's dinner party uninvited.

Aristodemus told Apollodorus how, at the combined suggestion of Phaedrus and Eryximachus, the seven Athenian men present at Agathon's gave speeches, each in his own fashion, to the god Eros. They started with the couch on the furthest left occupied by Phaedrus, and worked their way around the room in a counter-clockwise fashion, proceeding to Pausanias, Eryximachus, Aristophanes, and Agathon before reaching Socrates.[22] Socrates, after a brief cross-examination or elenchos with Agathon, then related that he had long ago heard a persuasive logos on "erotics" from "a woman from Mantineia, Diotima, who was learned in these (i.e., "erotics") and in many other things" (201d2-3). Her name is of more than passing interest; Diotima means "Zeus-Honor," either in the active sense of a woman who honors Zeus, or in the passive sense of a woman honored by Zeus. She is said to be from the Peloponnesian city of Mantineia, which was a medium-sized fortified city in the middle of a plain in Arcadia.[23] The Greek form of her name, *Mantinike*, notably contains the root *mantis*, which means "prophet, seer," and strongly suggests that Diotima is herself a prophetess, or at least is somehow linked to prophecy. Socrates then at once relates to his fellow symposiasts more information about the context of their introduction that indicates she had special powers. He adds how, at a time when the Athenians were about to be beset by a plague, Diotima had been able to delay the plague

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both mutilating the herms and profaning the mysteries even though he was never officially found guilty. For more information on the sacrilege of the mysteries, see also Lysias 4 ("Against Andocides") and Andocides *On the Mysteries*.

21 The outer narrative also indicates that Socrates is still alive, so it takes place prior to 399 BCE. Plato probably wrote the dialogue in his middle period, between 380 and 370.

22 The only exception to the established order is Aristophanes, who ought to have gone after Pausanias, but because he was suffering from a case of the hiccups he let Eryximachus the doctor go before him at 185d. See Nussbaum 171-6 on the possible significance of the disruptions of bodily contingencies.

23 See David Halperin, "Why is Diotima a Woman," *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, New York: Routledge, 1990, 119-120 (and accompanying footnotes) on the meaning of Diotima's name, and her reputed historicity, especially as viewed by 19th and early 20th century scholars. Nussbaum 177, with note 28 on 467, also has an interesting discussion. One could also read her name to contain the word meaning "victory", or *nike* making her full name possibly mean "Zeus-Honor from Prophet-victory." The textual tradition, with its occasional misreadings, also reminds us of the similarity of *Mantinike* to the adjectival form *mantike*, "of or relating to prophecy and divination." Among the textual places where these forms got confused Burnet and Bury cite at 201d2 the form *mantike* in one manuscript (W), but *mantinike* in the B and T MSS and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus. Again at 211d1 W alone has *mantinike*. Dover does not even print the W readings in his apparatus. The abstract noun *manteia* will appear again during Socrates' conversation with Diotima at 206d9.

for ten years by prescribing certain sacrifices, *thusiai,* that the Athenians should perform.[24]

But although the Greek here strongly suggests that Diotima has powers of divination, she is not explicitly stated to be a seer or prophetess. Furthermore, nothing at all in the text describes her a being a priestess. A priestess might be a woman who, like a male priest, performs public sacrifices to the gods by spilling the blood of sacrificial animals at an altar and offering the appropriate parts to gods, leaving the edible parts for human consumption. A prophet or a prophetess, a *mantis,* was an individual who would look at the liver or the entrails of the sacrificial animal after the priest had slain it, and would "see" signs that he or she would then interpret. Here at 201d Socrates relates that at one time in the past, Diotima, who was wise in many other additional things, visited Athens and was able to delay the onset of a plague by prescribing that the Athenians perform sacrifices on their own behalf. Socrates thus presents Diotima as a woman with mantic powers enabling her to foresee the means to delay the plague.

Socrates then leads Agathon into the familiar Socratic elenchos that duplicates his own experience with Diotima, only the roles are shifted: once Socrates introduces the character of Diotima, whose prophetic voice will continue to the very end of Socrates' speech, it establishes Socrates in the role of mediator of knowledge just as Apollodorus mediates the narrative in the outermost frame. Formerly in the position of Agathon as student, Socrates is now the teacher of Agathon, as Diotima was once to him. The switch from female to male instructor cannot be fully explained until the end of the ascent passage, when the audience or reader is lead to make a connection between Diotima's guidance and the mystical experience at Eleusis. Eleusinian mysticism had an inclusivity which focussed on the female experience of life, death, and rebirth, as well and the female *and* male experiences of generation and initiation. The switch to a female source of authority and wisdom prepares the reader for the conventional yet unconventional nature of the message that Socrates is about to relate to those men at Agathon's symposium. In a more traditional vein, Plato depicts a female as a source of cultural wisdom, much like Homer's and Hesiod's muses, or Parmenides' goddess.[25] But the content of her message will turn out to be highly unusual

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[24] Some think she is referring to the plague of 430, known also from Thucydides 2.47ff. Bury thinks Diotima is a complete fiction, and doesn't even discuss the date of her conversation with Socrates, but on 94 he does discuss the historicity of the plague. See also Dover's discussion on 138. I do not think that the plague reference is entirely reliable as evidence on which to date the time of her alleged visit to Athens, or on which to affirm her historicity, as some have tried to do. It is more important that Diotima have dramatic relevance, and her historical context must be plausible to the Athenian audience. As Halperin writes, 180: "The pertinent issue for the interpreter is not whether Diotima existed, but what it is Plato accomplishes by introducing her, and that is not an issue whose resolution depends on Diotima's historical authenticity."

[25] There is only one other female authority figure whom Scorates converses with in the Platonic corpus, namely Aspasia, the mistress of Pericles. In the *Menexenus,* she delivers for Socrates an epitaphios (funeral oration) that appears to be a parody of the famous Periclean funeral oration recorded in Thucydides Book 2.

in the way it constructs, and ultimately collapses, the boundaries between male and female, and between human and divine.

The key to Diotima's initial teaching of Socrates lies in her distinction between contraries and contradictories. Using καλός and κακός (*kalos* and *kakos*, beautiful/good and ugly/bad) as examples, she explains that all opposites, all polarities have a middle ground. Before she reveals to Socrates what lies between *kalos* and *kakos*, Diotima generates more examples of contraries that are not contradictories. An important one revolves around the opposition of human and divine: *thnetos* or *anthropos* (θνητός, ἄνθρωπος: human), and *athanatos* or *theos* (ἀθάνατος, θεός: divine). Since Socrates had, like Agathon, agreed earlier at 201a-c that Eros lacks what is beautiful and good, and since the gods are by definition those who are *eudaimon*, or happy, because they possess the beautiful and the good, then Eros must not be a god: *oude theon* (202c-d). Diotima then teaches Socrates that between one pair of polarities, mortal and immortal, is *to daimonion* (τὸ δαίμονιον). Eros is neither human nor divine, but a great δαίμων, *daimon* (202e). Her definition of *to daimonion* stresses its in-between nature, *metaksu*, μεταξύ: "for in fact all that is *to daimonion* is between (*metaksu*) god and mortal," she tells Socrates (202e1). Eros, like Diotima and Demeter, is a mediator of knowledge to humans.

Inherent in this discussion of what is *metaksu* is the notion of mediation, a third term or something intermediate that bridges between and relates two other terms defined as opposite, or commonly conceived to be completely separate from each other. The connection between mediation in this philosophical and linguistic sense, and mediation in a religious sense is made explicit in the next part of Diotima's speech, 202e3-203a8. Since Eros is part of *to daimonion*, it has the power and faculty to cross back and forth between human and divine, carrying prayers and sacrifices from men to the gods, and requests, precepts, and orders from the gods to men (202e3-5). In this part of her speech, Diotima gives a rather complete definition of conventional Greek religion, including a definition of the role that her own possibly mantic skill plays. Since the gods do not mingle at all with men, the entire art of divination, *he mantinike pasa*, ἡ μαντινικὴ πᾶσα, and the skill of priests relate the *thusiai* and the *teletai* back and forth between human and divine (202e7-8). Diotima's outline of Greek religion thus includes sacrifice (*thusia*), prophecy (*he mantike*), and mystical cult (*teletai*).[26]

Diotima defines what religion is, but not what "human" is, except that it is separate from the divine, defined in terms of opposition with the divine. It also includes both genders. This inclusive conception of "human" is as old as

[26] She is therefore more precise about the different categories of religious practice than those discussions of modern scholars who called her a priestess, and not a prophetess, thereby failing to understand the dynamics of classical mysticism, sacrifice, interpretation and mediation. Like a priestess, a prophetess mediates between the human and the divine, but Diotima also notes the difference. The mantic art is an interpretive art, while sacrifices and rites have priests who accomplish mediation with the divine for human individuals by ritually manipulating sacrificial victims. A prophet(ess) not only communicates with the divine, but also interprets signs a priest cannot. Some scholars have changed the text at 210d4 from θυσαμέναις to θυσαμένη in order to create textual evidence that Diotima is a priestess, in addition to being a prophetess.

Homer, who for example in Book 9 of the *Iliad* depicts Agamemnon swearing to Nestor that he never slept with Bryseis (9.132-4):

> ... And to all this I will swear a great oath that
> I never entered her bed and never lay with her
> as is natural for humans, between men and women.
> ἥ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν

An earlier speech in honor of Eros given at this very symposium at Agathon's had also fully discussed these concepts "human," "male," and "female." Aristophanes had narrated a myth about the original three genders: the male, the female, and the androgyne (189d ff.). At the very beginning his myth defines human (*ἀνθροπίνην*) nature (189d5). In the context of a world that includes gods, humans or *anthropoi* were at first wholly different from what they are now—they had two faces, four eyes, four arms and four legs, and went about the earth doing cartwheels (190a). The male gender had two sets of male genitals, the female gender two sets of female genitals, and the androgyne one set of each. These humans were so cunning and awesome and threatened to become so powerful that Zeus split them in two. The rest of the story (190d-193) gives an account of the role that love—what we moderns call homosexual and heterosexual love—plays in the lives of humanity. The myth details how the immortals adjusted human anatomy, Zeus splitting us in half, and Apollo healing our wounds; later the gods felt pity when the humans kept dying because of a great longing to be whole, so sexuality and procreation were invented. These details contribute to a comic yet realistic mythological depiction of the origins of love, and by implication the reasons why love should be praised. In the end, Aristophanes postulates a situation where Hephaistos could meld two bodies together for all eternity to satisfy humanity; yet mere sexual intercourse is not what humans are after. They seek rather a mythic wholeness that sex approximates.

This speech of Aristophanes, clearly a fiction invented by Plato and attributed to the famous comic poet, in no way reflects current popular belief about the origin of human sexuality and procreation; but it nevertheless presents a myth that spells out important Greek conceptions of the relationship between human and divine. The myth's precision about what *anthropos* means in contrast to *athanatos* (immortals, literally those without death, *ἀθάνατος*) underscores that it is death that separates humans from the gods. It also points again to the basic religious role that humans accomplish for their gods: they make ritual sacrifices. The reason the gods couldn't destroy the human race (as they had the race of giants, who also had become overly ambitious, 190c) is that the gods' *timai* or honors that come about through sacrifice would disappear (190c5). In Aristophanes' speech *anthropos* by definition thus includes both male, female, and androgyne mortals who stand subordinate to the gods in a religious and sacral relationship, participating in sacrifice that expressly honors the immortal.[27] Thus even here in Aristophanes' speech, the category human in opposition to the divine has an

[27] Note all the forms of *anthropos* in Aristophanes' speech: 189c4, 189d1, 2, 5, 8, 189e5, 190c5, 8, 190d7, 190e5, 191d1, 3, 4, and 192d4.

important religious component of sacrifice and respect for the divine. *Anthropoi* are those, independent of gender, who, in order to honor the divine, incorporate religious acts and rituals into their lives that are pursued in a world inhabited by both mortals and awesome, powerful immortals.

This same conception of a world inhabited by different categories of beings is implicit also in Diotima's speech. Diotima defines Eros as one of these *daimones* that mediates between human and divine. By implication, since Eros is between mortal and immortal, he is also between *kalos* and *kakos*, and the other opposites mentioned earlier. The myth of Eros' parentage that Diotima next narrates (203b-204a) incorporates this aspect of Love's status as medium between opposites. Love is the child of a mortal woman, Penia (the personification of Want or Lack) and Poros, the divine son of the goddess Metis, or Cunning.[28] The language in the myth of the parentage of Eros underscores all the oppositions Diotima previously made. Diotima describes the nature of the mother Penia as mortal, base, and inherently lacking in beauty. She gives these qualities to her son (203d); Eros is homeless, barefoot, rough and squalid, qualities that Alcibiades will later attribute to Socrates himself (220a ff.). On the other hand, the father, who is by nature beautiful and immortal, gives his son manliness, cleverness, intensity and resourcefulness (203d5). This makes Eros *metaksu*, in-between, neither beautiful nor ugly, neither mortal nor immortal. He is even depicted as continuously dying, and then coming back to life and flourishing (203e2-3). Most importantly for Socrates, Eros maintains the opposition between ignorant and wise: Penia is ignorant, Poros wise, and their son Eros something in between the two. Eros' status as *metaksu* then makes him a *daimon*, and also a philosopher.[29]

Being mortal like Eros' mother and lacking beauty, goodness, and wisdom, humans experience the communicative or hermeneutical aspects of divinity when the *daimonion* relays divine orders, precepts and commands. But for the human there is a need for constant mediation not just between human and divine, but even between human and human. Relation with other people constitutes another type of divine mediation, as when the Athenians learn the gods' will about the plague through the individual Diotima. Diotima understands the gods' will through prophesy, *manteia*, which comes to her through the *daimonion*; she then interprets her mantic experience to the Athenians. The outer-most narrative of the *Symposium* starts with the most human, social level, that of Apollodorus and his unnamed friend; the divine as revealed in the speech of Diotima is conceptually,

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28 Eros was conceived by Penia at a birthday party for the goddess Aphrodite, and it is this that explains his connection to the goddess of love (203c). Metis herself is a personification of cunning. Penia is a marginal figure in cult, perhaps not even immortal; unlike Poros she is not a goddess, and she was not venerated as was Poros who was a recognizable god with cult, altars, etc.

29 A philosopher, by Diotima's definition in 204b, is someone who isn't fully wise, but someone who is reaching after wisdom. Since the gods are by nature wise (204a), as they are by nature beautiful, they do not long for wisdom and beauty. But Eros, the personification of mediation between human and divine, lacks the essential wisdom his father and the other gods possess, and is by nature a "philosopher who is between wise and ignorant" (204b).

narratively, and even syntactically the most removed, buried in layers of indirect discourse. This distancing and the repetition of narratives that transmit knowledge—the movement towards the inner, the esoteric and extraordinary—take on a ritual quality. The many narrative layers needed to reach Diotima's theory on the role of sexual love in the human life demonstrate how humans mediate knowledge, including knowledge of the divine, back and forth to each other. As ritual mediates between divine and human, and as Eros mediates between contraries, so too humans mediate knowledge for each other. The level with Diotima is the most removed, and within her speech and even within her very identity as prophetess are found other examples and definitions of mediation and divinity.

But there are yet other means through which humans can negotiate with the divine. The language of parents and children (appearing twice so far, 199d and 203b) appears again in the section of Diotima's speech that discusses the purpose of Eros and his effects. Diotima recasts the mediating characteristic of Eros and sexuality by suggesting that the correct pursuit of love, accomplished by the ascent up the ladder that leads to the vision of true being, can break down conventional boundaries and make one virtually divine. The metaphor she uses to introduce the ascent follows on the previously established language of parents and children: pregnancy that leads to "birth in the beautiful," τόκος ἐν καλῷ (*tokos en kalo*), becomes her way of introducing Socrates to the goals and ultimately the *teletai*, rites, of love. When Diotima states that the purpose of love is "birth in the beautiful, both in body and in soul" (206b7), Socrates is still puzzled, and responds by saying that he needs *manteia*, prophecy, the Mantinean woman Diotima, to figure out what she is saying (206b9).

There are several different words denoting birth that appear in the section of Diotima's speech on procreation (206c ff.): *kueo*, *tikto*, and *gennao* (κυέω, τίκτω, γεννάω).[30] The subjects of all these verbs meaning "give birth" is uniformly, *anthropoi*, human beings. *Anthropos*, as we have seen, has a particular religious meaning in the context of the Greek cult. When birth, prophecy and what "human" is were first linked together in an earlier part of Diotima's speech (202e-204a discussed above), prophecy is defined as one of the types of mediation that accomplishes communication between the human and the divine. And as can be seen from this root of the word for "mortal," θνῆτος, mortals are mortal because they die, and immortals are deathless, without *thanatos*, ἀθάνατος.[31] One type of immortality that humans can achieve comes about through Eros, and love's role in giving birth and raising children (207a, 207d); but for immortals, who also can give birth,[32] birth does not mean a type of immortality as it does for humans—the gods already are

[30] All these verbs mean basically "conceive, be pregnant, give birth, produce," and they will all play an important role for Philo in *On the Cherubim*; the nouns associated with them mean "conception, pregnancy, birth." I will be discussing them at length below.

[31] Note that English, with its word "immortal" from the latin *mors, mortis*, death, duplicates the Greek expression.

[32] On the birth of the gods see, for example, the narratives in Hesiod's *Theogony*, and the Homeric Hymns.

immortal. For all mortal beings, human and animal alike, procreation replaces the individual with his or her offspring, and thereby allows for a type of immortality. In the context of being human, birth and the procreation of offspring comprise another sort of mediation, connecting one individual with the generations before and after, and providing for a type of familial, social deathlessness. It is the fact of procreation that links an individual in the chain of mediation; in procreating, one human brings the new, the offspring, into contact with the old, the parent which produced him or her. Thus young and old, like beautiful and ugly, knowledge and ignorance, are also contraries and not contradictories, and the mediating faculty of love in the form of procreation relates the two. Conceptually and thematically then, birth and prophecy are linked: both are forms of mediation between the individual mortal, and the larger immortal, whether the immortal is the realm of the gods with which the prophet(ess) can communicate, or whether the immortal is the communal unit of a multi-generational family.

This language of birth also has a tradition of use in other contexts. At first glance to a native English speaker, it would seem that these words having to do with giving birth denote meaning that is gender specific, only having meaning for the female, but a look at other Greek usage shows otherwise.[33] For example, *kueo* can mean "conceive" in the sense that a woman conceives a child or is pregnant; but when a male is subject, it has a causal meaning, something like "impregnate."[34] *Tikto* works the same way. In the most abstract sense it means "bring into the world, engender"; used of women it means "bear," and of men, "beget."[35] *Gennao* is used mostly of the male, but also of the female.[36] Thus these words in Greek cover semantic ground that the corresponding English words and concepts do not. In English, "beget" and "conceive" are thought to be conceptually different, one used solely of the male, the other solely of the female; but in Greek one verb can cover the role that both genders play in procreation. A verb like *tikto* is, in a sense, gender neutral; consider the word for "parents": *hoi tekontes*, οἱ τέκοντες.[37] Yet Diotima's formula "birth in the beautiful, both in body and in soul" evokes an

[33] Dover 147 makes this claim that the words are gender specific, as does Halperin on 117 and at 139ff. Even a brief glance at classical usage bears this out. See also Halperin's note 165.

[34] Examples of it meaning "conceive" or "be pregnant" are found Hesiod *Theogony* 405, *Iliad* 19.117, 23.266; Herodotus 5.92. The causal meaning "impregnate" and applying to the male is attested in Aeschylus fr. 44 (a fragment from the *Danaids*). In Hesiod *Theogony* 125, *Homeric Hymn* 1.4, the aorist middle is used of Night and Semele in a causal sense. The fact that the aorist is causal makes sense: the simple aspect of the aorist tense denotes male role in procreation. When the aorist tense has a female subject it means "conceive"; the present tense with female subject means "be pregnant." Dover's commentary 147 oddly says it can be used of only the female. It can, in fact, be used of the male, but that use is rare. In this text, consider its use at 203c1, ἐκύησε with Penia as subject.

[35] LSJ 1712. In Homer it is used of both men and women: of men e.g. *Iliad.* 2.628, 6.155 of Phyleus and Glaucus; of women, e.g., *Iliad* 16.180, 22.428 of Polymele and Hecuba.

[36] LSJ 344. This verb is the causal form of γίγνομαι, become, be born, e.g. Sophocles *Electra* 1412.

[37] This philological observation contradicts Halperin's conclusion to the long discussion that starts on 117. As for the English word "parents," it is exactly analogous to *tekontes*: "parents" comes from the Latin nominative plural participle of *pareo*, "produce, bear."

older poetic tradition. Even before Plato, these verbs, in addition to having some sort of gender neutrality, also had a tradition of being used metaphorically, as when the earth bears all things, or when the polis does (or does not) produce (*kueo, tikto*) the right kind of citizen.[38] The metaphoric uses indicate that these words have an even broader range of meaning, used literally with men and women as subject, but used figuratively of other things that can produce or form people. This use in the *Symposium* of *anthropoi* with verbs of birth capitalizes on the breadth of meaning inherent in *tikto* and *kueo.* Humans, regardless of gender, by nature engender in body. Diotima adds that humans can also be pregnant and engender in soul. But she postpones in 206d defining the actual offspring of the soul, instead introducing an even more abstract notion of mortal engendering, "the engendering": *to kuoun* (τὸ κυοῦν 206d4). When *to kuoun* draws near to the beautiful, it becomes gracious and happy and "engenders and gives birth": *tiktei te kai genna* (τίκτει τε καὶ γεννᾷ 206d3-5). This is impossible to translate, and seems redundant in addition to being abstract: "When the engendering, *to kuoun,* draws near the beautiful it conceives, gives birth and produces: ὅταν μὲν καλῷ προσπελάζῃ τὸ κυοῦν . . . τίκτει τε καὶ γεννᾷ.

Although Diotima has not yet used mystical language, she gives Eros a profoundly religious context from the outset. Birth language has meaning in a social and gendered context, but in terms of religious conceptions and definitions that oppose human to divine and not man to woman, the language and images of birth represent another sort of mediation that is also essentially religious. Humans by definition require mediation with the divine, and Eros, in his nature and in his effects, accomplishes this. "Birth in the beautiful" means not just simple mediation or intercourse between human and divine, or simple sexual intercourse between human and human; the human and the mortal can draw near to the beautiful and the immortal because the function of mediation in all its forms—ritual, *to daimonion,* Eros, and sexuality—is to bring the human into relation with human, and then to bring both as a social unit into proximity with the presence of the divine. In this case that Diotima is addressing, the social unit brought together is general humanity, *anthropoi,* without any conventional social or political distinctions upon which sacrifice within the polis were based.

The proximity to the divine that Diotima teaches is possible is reached in the ascent passage through the individual human's encounter with true being, *to on.* Diotima continues to speak about people who are pregnant, *egkumones,* in body and soul as she draws closer to the heart of her logos. Those (implicitly male) pregnant in body turn to women, and achieve their measure of immortality, *athanasia,* memory, and happiness by fathering children (208e). As Diotima unfolds her logos, she reveals the objects of human engendering that mediate between the individual mortal and the collective immortal, and that begin to bring the human towards the presence of the divine: these objects

[38] The first example is from Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* 127, the second from Theognis 39. On the date and authenticity of Theognis see Van Groningen's 1966 commentary, esp. 26-27. As for other metaphorical usages see the article in LSJ, 1792. See also Euripides fr. 484 which also uses *tiktousi* metaphorically.

of human engendering also include abstract concepts like *arete*, virtue (ἀρετή, 209b4) in addition to children. Following the examples of poets and lawmakers like Homer and Hesiod, and Solon and Lycurgus, those pregnant in soul, produce wisdom and virtue by writing poems and laws that serve the good of the community.[39] The larger community carries on the memory of an individual and his or her virtuous acts much the same way a family carries on the memory of specific members. But it is only in the presence of a beautiful person, *anthropon* (209b7), that a human soul is able to conceive and produce *arete*, the spiritual offspring of the soul that benefits mankind as it mediates with the immortal.[40]

It is in this context of a discussion of human community, memory, virtue, birth, and immortality that Diotima begins to use Eleusinian language and imagery (209e5-210a2).

> Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ἴσως, ὦ Σώκρατες, κἂν σὺ μυηθείης, τὰ δὲ τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά, ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἔστιν, ἐάν τις ὀρθῶς μετίῃ, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ οἷός τ' ἂν εἴης.
>
> Even you, Socrates, might be incorporated into these erotic rites. But as for the *telea* and *epoptika*, on account of which even these (erotic rites) exist when one goes through them correctly—I just do not know if you could do it.[41]

"These erotic rites" refer to Diotima's discussion about birth in the beautiful. Diotima reveals in retrospect that this earlier part of her *logos* (201-209) that had included the myth of the birth of Eros was a *muesis*, or ritual that incorporated Socrates into an esoteric group that shares specific knowledge about the religious significance of Eros, sexuality and birth.[42] Diotima now extends the metaphor of an engendering humanity by combining language of birth, sexuality and humanity, *anthropoi*, with language and metaphors of Eleusinian experience. Diotima claims that the human ability to engender true virtue (212a1) in the beautiful is what brings the human into proximity with the divine. It is the *telea* and *epoptika* that can ultimately collapse the distinction between human and divine. The Lesser Mysteries of elenchos and myth (parentage of Eros) Diotima implies are relatively simple: "even you, *kai*

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39 The verb here in 209a1 is κουοῦσιν, again from κυέω, to bear, engender, produce.

40 Note the amount of birth language in 209: forms of κυέω (209a1, a2, b1, b5, c3), τίκτω (209a3, b2, c3), and γεννάω; (209b2, b4, c3). Most all of these refer to people pregnant in soul. Also note the forms of *anthropoi* at 209b4, d1, e4. The frequency of birth language here nearly matches that in 206.

41 The verb here is μυηθεῖης, the aorist passive optative of μυέω, initiate, or incorporate into private cult.

42 Her sacred *logos* in the earlier "rites" had been the Lesser Mysteries, a *theologia*, or speech about a god, Eros. Diotima will now go on to the Greater Mysteries as she delivers an *ontologia*, or speech about being. Christoph Riedweg's study of Eleusinian language in the Symposium outlines the structure of Diotima's speech; he concludes that the structure of her speech mirrors the ritual structure of Eleusinian mystical experience, incorporating purification, the Lesser Mysteries, and the Greater Mysteries. Riedweg 3-29. His schema appears on 21: purification = Elenchos (198a-201e); Lesser Mysteries = mythic logos (201e-209e); Greater Mysteries = logos and epoptika (209e-212a).

su, could do it, Socrates" (209e5). One as newly schooled as Socrates, who had just previously thought Eros to be a great god, could grasp the notion that Eros is a *daimon,* and that birth in the beautiful is a form of mediation between human and divine. But *telea* and *epoptika* of the Greater Mysteries are another matter. They constitute the height of Diotima's speech; they lead the way to the vision of being at the top of the "ladder," the one vision of the form of beauty itself that the initiate looks down upon.[43] Diotima teaches in her Greater Mysteries that as the lover loves the beloved, and looks upon him or her, the individual learns to recognize the beauty of one person in the beauty of another, and next the beauty of another in the beauty of all. Gazing at the beloved leads the lover to gaze at all creation. Plato's use of visual language in this passage is particularly effective because it capitalizes on the meanings of "seeing" that are both visual and cognitive. When one truly sees the beloved, one sees—intellectually grasps—that instances of beauty can be conceived of as similar.[44]

Both the visual language and the language of being passively led have more than the two sets of meanings, see/know, and lead/think. The sense of sight and the passivity of being conducted to an unknown place were key components of the experience of the Eleusinian Mysteries.[45] The *telea* and *epoptika* (210a) constituted the ultimate step in the Eleusinian festival. In Diotima's rites as depicted in her logos, one is led to a vision as one is led to the vision of the mysteries at Eleusis. Both revelations, the Eleusinian and the Platonic, are notably passive; one is brought by outside forces or people to the point where sacred learning can take place. Just as Demeter first initiated the Eleusinians, and each Eleusinian *mustes* had a mystagogue, so Diotima serves as a mystagogue for Socrates, and, by extension, Socrates serves as mystagogue for the others at Agathon's symposium. When the *epoptai* and the

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[43] κατίδῃ (210d7), κατόψεται (210e4), καθορᾶν (211b6), and κατιδεῖν (211e4), all forms of καθοράω. Consider also the link between see and know as evidenced in the root *id, as in εἶδον, οἶδα.

[44] Price and Nussbaum most recently have debated particularity–whether the ascent allows a lover to maintain the love of a particular beloved. I agree with Price that it does: Anthony Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989; see 42-54. In addition to these metaphors of sight in Diotima's Greater Mysteries, there is also language in the ascent passage of leading someone through a complex process. In the *Symposium* the initiate into Diotima's rites is led by someone else, (ὁ ἡγούμενος 210a7), who knows the way and is able to lead rightly (210a6). In Diotima's ontologia, one is at first passively led, is taught to love the body and beauty of one person, and through the process ultimately perceive and consider an abstract beauty in all bodies (210b3). As is the case with a verb that simultaneously means "see" and "know", so here there is also word play on ἡγέομαι, a verb that means "lead; think, consider." But the word play is more subtle, and indicates an important shift. The first instance has *ho hegoumenos,* the one leading, as its subject: the leader conducts the initiate lover through the rites of love (210a6-7). But once the lover recognizes that the beauty of one is akin to the beauty of others, it is the initiate lover who is the subject (210b3; 210b6, 7). Once this switch occurs, the meaning of *hegeomai* slips, and instead of meaning "lead" as it did at 210a6 and 7, it now means "think, consider." The leader drops out after a certain point, and the initiate continues the journey alone.

[45] Riedweg 23-29.

Eleusinian *mustai* accompanied by their mystagogues filed together into the Telesterion on the night of the Mysteries, all saw something that forever changed their conception of the world and their place in it. The experience at Eleusis was something above all intensely visual, and certainly passive. The *mustai*, the mystagogues, and the *epoptai* took part in the Eleusinian *teleia*, and saw something that took the terror out of human mortality.

In Diotima's ascent to Being, when an individual has been correctly led and taught and finally views being and considers love correctly, what he or she looks upon is divine (*theion*) being itself (211e3) in its most pure (*katharon*) form (211e1). Once the final vision of the rites and mysteries—the *epopteia*—is revealed in 211d8-e4, Diotima returns to the concepts of the earlier part of her speech. She goes back to speak about birth in the beautiful, combining the mystical language of sight with the idea that the human can give birth to true *arete* (212a3-7)

> ὁρῶντι ᾧ ὁρατὸν τὸ καλόν, τίκτειν οὐκ εἴδωλα ἀρετῆς, ἅτε οὐκ εἰδώλου ἐφαπτομένῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀληθῆ, ἅτε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐφαπτομένῳ, τεκόντι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρεψαμένῳ ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ.
>
> For one who looks at Beauty in the only way that Beauty can be seen—only then will it become possible for him to give birth (*tiktein*) not to images of virtue, because he's in touch with no images, but to true virtue, because he is in touch with true Beauty. And being *theophiles* (god-loved or god-loving) is possible for anyone who has given birth to true virtue and nourished it, and if any human being could become immortal, it would be he.

In the end Diotima teaches that although being human has limits, the limits of mortality can almost disappear for those who choose to view the philosophical *epopteia*, the vision of true being. For an *anthropos* (212a1, 7; cf. *thnetes* in 211e3) who devotes his or her mortal life to this pursuit, two things are assured: that the individual will give birth to true *arete*, and giving birth to truth makes the human divine. Writing laws and poems had been defined and discussed as something that accomplishes mediation between individual mortal and collective immortal, just as when humans engender children. So too it is with engendering *arete*. But there is more; engendering *arete* after viewing true being puts one into a new relation with the divine; one becomes *theophiles*, both loving the divine and beloved of the divine.[46] This type of mutuality did not exist in the conventional religious relationship maintained by polis sacrifice, or in conventional sexual and social relationships that kept male and female, citizen and slave sharply separate from one another. But the possibilities for mutuality are first evident in the metaphor of a mystic rite, which itself redrew the boundaries of the human/divine relationship.

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[46] See Dover's remark 159: "in a relation of mutual *philia* with the gods." Compare this also with Diotima's name (Zeus-loving, beloved-of-Zeus) as discussed above.

IV. Mystical Language in *On the Cherubim*

Before I suggest my reading of Philo's *On the Cherubim*, I would first like to outline what I see as the main points of comparison and the principle similarities between *On the Cherubim* and Plato's *Symposium*. The similarities do not simply end with the common Eleusinian mystical language.[47] Both Diotima's speech in Plato's *Symposium* and Philo's discussion of virtue and logos in *On the Cherubim* share a tripartite narrative structure that starts with an allegory, includes a description of mediation, and concludes with an explicit declaration of what constitues the sacred *teletai*.[48] Both authors articulate the mediating *teletai* in the context of a discussion of reproduction and communication with the divine. And both authors point toward new possibilities of divine mediation.

Both narratives contain an allegory or an exegesis of a familiar narrative. In the *Symposium*, Diotima advances a particular definition of the personified divinity Love that includes notions of mediation, and she therefore invents and narrates a myth about his birth to the pair Poros and Penia. Philo is not necessarily less interested in the role of Eros or sexual love in human life (he will get to that later), but his allegory is focussed on the pair of Cherubim who stand guard east of Eden. Unlike Diotima's myth, Philo's is less a narrative of origins, and more an interpretation of what the Cherubim are, and the multiple ways in which they can be understood.

In Diotima's myth that reveals the parentage and the identity of Love, Eros is defined as a great *daimon*, he is a part of that category of *to daimonion* that mediates between human and divine, carrying *thusiai* to the gods, and gifts and commands from the gods to humans. Eros is *metaksu*, in-between human and divine. As such, he is also a philosopher, seeking the wisdom and knowledge that he himself does not possess. Eros, like Socrates and also Diotima, is thus a mediator. Likewise in *On the Cherubim*, Philo depicts the Cherubim as mediators. They stand on a threshold, marking off the forbidden land of Eden. They stand between the allowed and the forbidden, the Here and the There; the world of the human, where human and divine are separated, and the sacred garden where once the divine walked amidst the human. Thus the Cherubim, whom Philo identifies as goodness and authority, are also mediators, and their mediating identity is revealed in the figure of the flaming sword that whirls between them. This sword Philo identifies as the logos of God, and it in a sense mediates between the two mediating Cherubim: Philo uses the phrase μέσον εἶναι λόγον in 28. The sword's status as in-between the Cherubim underscores its power of mediation.

Finally, the height of Diotima's mysteries is her discussion of birth in the beautiful, or *tokos en kalo*. This is what for Plato constitute the *teletai*, the Greater Mysteries that lead to a vision of being, *to on*. Philo also writes of the *teletai* that

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47 E.g. *teletai* (42, 43, 48), *mustai* (48, 49), *musterion* (48, 49). For a complete list see Riedweg.

48 This three step structure in a way also reproduces the communal aspect of mystical experience: the hearing of the *ieros logos*, the sensual apprehension of the *dromena* and also *deiknumena* (the things "done" and "shown," at Eleusis most likely a sacred drama and additional ritual), and the final knowledge gained from the whole ritual experience.

the initiate must learn, and again these *teletai* constitute a lesson on birth. It is here in the discussion of the birth of the patriarchs that the real differences between Plato and Philo and their conceptions of the divine, of the human, and of mediation between the two, become apparent. For Philo, the discussion of birth takes place in the context of virginity and the female Virtues, the *Aretai*, Ἀρεταί: Sarah, Leah, Rebeccah, Zipporah (42-48); whereas for Plato, virtue is not the prerequisite for giving birth, but it is the very thing that the initiated person gives birth to: τεκόντι δὲ ἀρετὴν . . . θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι (212a5-6).

* * *

Written from the perspective of an Alexandrian Jew of the first century schooled in the Hellenistic tradition, *On the Cherubim* effectively applies the Hellenistic Greek tradition of rhetoric and philosophy to the traditional Hebrew story of the creation of man and the beginning of history. An allegorical method of reading and interpreting scripture enables Philo to write on several levels. Although the deepest of these encoded meanings would have been nearly incomprehensible to hellenistic non-Jews, it would have been well understood by those educated, as Philo was, in both the Jewish tradition, by way of the Greek Septuagint, and in the tradition of Greek philosophy, including Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics.[49]

The Cherubim of Genesis 3:24 are a pair of winged creatures who stand guard at the entrance of the garden of paradise, east of Eden.[50] Philo's treatise *On the Cherubim* is an exegesis not simply of Genesis 3:24, that is:, on the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden and on the Cherubim who restrict their way of return, but also on the birth of Cain immediately after their expulsion, and then, in contrast to Cain, the later Israelite patriarchs. Most probably written for a Jewish audience, this treatise discusses the relationship between man and woman, God and Human; the creator and the created: ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ, τὸ γεννητόν (e.g., *Cher.* 23, 31). In the end, Philo concludes that all things start from God, and belong to God, not to man, including human souls, comprised of Ἀισθήσις, or sense perception, and Nous, Νοῦς, the faculty of human reasoning (*Cher.* 116, 125). All things belong to God; humans are simply alien travelers wandering through God's land (*Cher.* 120).

On the Cherubim has innumerable discrete arguments, including discussions of particular words and phrases, as the discussions of "cast forth" and "over against" in 1-10 and 11-20, as well as more expansive allegories of specific characters in Genesis 3-4, including the Cherubim, and Adam, Eve, and Cain. An allegorical reading in chapter 40 that understands Adam to equal "mind" and Eve to equal "sense" leads Philo into a lengthy digression on virtue and virginity (*Cher.* 40-52); this in turn leads to an even lengthier allegorical discussion (*Cher.* 53-127 with many, many digressions) of the first

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[49] For two views on Philo's cultural background, both with references to primary souces, see Sly 1-6, and Erwin Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, second edition, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962, chapters 3-6.

[50] E. A.Speiser, *The Anchor Bible: Genesis*, New York: Doubleday, 1964, 24-25 relates the Cherubim to the Akkadian *karibu*, "which designate figures of minor interceding deities." As for the flaming sword, this too "appears to be derived from Mesopotamian origin", where the individual gods had their own distinctive weopons.

offspring of Adam and Eve: Cain, allegorized as "Possession," the child of Mind and Sense.[51] The remainder of this paper will be concerned primarily with *Cher.* 21-52: the allegories of the Cherubim, especially the last of the three allegories, and Philo's discussion of the Virtues. Although the Cherubim and the Virtues seem far removed from each other, they are linked by birth language reminiscent of that in the *Symposium.* The rites or the *teletai* of reading, especially Philonic allegorical reading, lead the properly prepared initiate to the realization that God (re)creates the Virtues, the wives of the Patriarchs, making them virgins.[52] Likewise, those who follow Philo's *teletai* will also have their souls made over again into virgins. Transformed to a perpetual spiritual virginity that eschews the sole authority of the senses, which are constructed like Eve as female, the Philonic soul will be purified of the baser, "unmanning" (*Cher.* 50, 52) elements of sense perception while it dedicates itself to the mind, constructed as male, thereby enabling the whole man to consort with God. In the end, the newly-virgin soul ultimately recognizes the unique creative power of God.

Philo begins the third of his allegorical interpretations of the Cherubim and their flaming sword by evoking the beginning of Socrates' account of Diotima's speech in the *Symposium.*[53] For Philo, the figure of Socrates' teacher Diotima is replaced by his own soul. Just as Socrates started out recalling Diotima's speech by saying in 201d: "(I will tell) a speech I heard once from the Manitinean woman Diotima," (ερῶ) λόγον . . . ὃν ποτ' ἤκουσα γυναικὸς Μαντινικῆς Διοτίμας, so Philo writes in 27, "I once heard a speech from my own soul: Ἤκουσα δὲ ποτε . . . λόγου παρὰ ψυχῆς ἐμῆς. Diotima tells Socrates about the *teletai* that Philo's own soul teaches him, yet both speakers, Philo and Socrates, feel they must qualify their ability to retell what they had heard: (*Symposium* 201d6-7) πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διελθεῖν . . . ὅπως ἂν δύνωμαι, "I will try to narrate for you (the speech) if I can"; (*Cher.* 27) ὅν (λόγου) ἐὰν δύνωμαι, ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐρῶ: "remembering, I will tell it (the speech), if I can." And both sources of knowledge, Socrates' friend Diotima and Philo's soul, are especially skilled in prophetic arts: (*Symposium* 201d3): λόγον . . . ὃν ποτ' ἤκουσα γυναικὸς Μαντινικῆς Διοτίμας, ἣ ταῦτὰ τε σοφή ἦν καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, "(I heard the speech) from Diotima of "Prophetville," who was wise in these and in many other things"; (*Cher.* 27) παρὰ ψυχῆς ἐμῆς εἰωθυίας τά πολλά θεοληπτεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδε μαντεύσθαι, "(I will tell the speech I heard)

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51 Philo's reading "Cain" to mean "Possession" is based on a traditional Hebrew word play: the verb form "I have acquired" = *qaniti.* See Speiser, 25-6; note that in his translation Eve utters this statement, "I have acquired a life." Philo assumes that Adam (Mind) utters this statement.

52 There is specific discussion of virgin birth per se in this section. Sly 131-178 discusses in detail the many Philonic virgins. See also Richard A. Baer, Jr., *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female,* Leiden: Brill, 1970, 51 ff.

53 The first two allegorical interpretations had to do with the cosmos: (21-24) the revolution of the whole heaven, and (25-26) the two hemispheres of the heaven.

from my own soul, which is accustomed to be inspired about many things and to prophesy concerning those things it does not know."[54]

Thus, even before laying out the allegory, Philo prefaces his exegesis with Platonic verbal echoes that lend weight and authority to the forthcoming interpretation. It is the voice of his soul that is often possessed by the divine and is inspired to prophesy (*θεολητεῖσθαι, μαντεύεσθαι*) that tells him God is one, and the pair of Cherubim are the two complementary powers of the One, namely goodness and authority, *ἀγαθότης, ἐξουσία*. Here Philo uses the language of birth and creation (*Cher.* 27-28):

> *ἔλεγε δέ μοι κατὰ τὸν ἕνα ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν δύο τὰς ἀνωτάτω εἶναι καὶ πρώτας δυνάμεις ἀγαθότητα καὶ ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ἀγαθότητι μὲν τὸ πᾶν γεγεννηκέναι, ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἄρχειν, τρίτον δὲ συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν μέσον εἶναι λόγον, λόγῳ γὰρ καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν.*
>
> (the voice of my soul) said to me that although God is really one, there are two powers that are principal and highest, namely goodness and authority, for through goodness God created everything, and through authority God rules what has been created, and the third thing uniting the two of them in the middle is the logos, for by the logos God is both ruler and good.

In the allegory of the birth of Eros, Eros was in the middle, *metaksu*, a child of opposites, Poros and Penia. As a part of *to daimonion*, Eros was defined as the third term that mediates between a pair of contradictories. But in this Philonic allegory, the mediating logos unites a pair of attributes that are not opposite, but are in fact two complementary aspects of a single thing: the goodness and authority of God. Again like Plato in the allegory of Penia (*Symp* 203c, *γέγονεν, γεννηθείς, ἐκύησε*), Philo begins to use birth language in his allegory, but he makes a distinction Plato does not. In the *Symposium* when Diotima discusses birth, she uses three verbs almost interchangably: *kueo, tikto,* and *gennao.* Philo also uses these same three verbs, but in *Cher.*, the subjects of *gennao* are always God, while the subjects of *kueo* and *tikto* are always women, including the *Aretai.* As all else in creation, the Virtues come from God. *Cher.* 29 makes the linkage clear: like the logos that mediates between goodness and authority, the Virtues, begotten from the two complementary powers of God (*ἀπογεννωμένας ἀρετάς*), are powers mediating from the divine that humans can strive to attain.

After presenting Balaam (33) as an example of man "unpurified of vanity" who pursues material gain, and after a curious apostrophe spoken by the vain material pursuits (35-38), Philo concludes this portion of his exegesis by again emphasizing the logos as an element mediating between divine and human. The logos is that faculty given by nature which can make the life of man happy and reasonable: *εὐδαίμονα καὶ λογικὸν* (*Cher.* 39). As the logos stands between the goodness and authority of God, so it also stands between man and nature, indicating to man the best way to live. At *Cher.* 39-40 Philo leaves the Cherubim who guard the way to Eden, and advances to the next verse of Genesis which narrates the birth of Cain. Philo now addresses the issue of

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54 The pun here on prophesying is less in English apparent from the Greek place name "Mantineia" so I substitute the translation "Prophetville."

carnal knowledge: why Adam knew Eve, but the other patriarchs did not know their wives yet produced children. The logos of the previous allegory implicitly appears in this allegory, too. God "testifies to the virtue" (40) of those men who are lovers, ἐρασταί, of wisdom. Since they honor logos as lovers of wisdom, they reject their wives (sense) and do not know them: knowledge is the result of estrangement from the body (41). Still, the wives do exist, only they exist as Virtue, a mediating element that like the logos mediates between mortal and immortal. At this point (42) Philo has reached the heart of his argument: his *teletai* will teach how the Virtues came into the world. He speaks of their κυήσις and their ὠδίς (conception and labor) only to those who are rightly prepared.[55] Like Diotima, Philo will only teach the *teletai* of birth to some. *Cher.* 43 starts the Philonic *teletai*: ἀρκτέον οὖν τῆς τελετῆς ὧδε:

> ἀνὴρ μὲν γυναικί, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἄρρην ἀνθρώπῳ θηλείᾳ τὰς ἐπὶ γενέσει παίδων ὁμιλίας ἐπακολουθῶν τῇ φύσει συνέρχεται ποιησόμενος. ἀρεταῖς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τέλεια τικτούσιας θέμις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιλαχεῖν θνῆτου.
>
> Man and woman, male and female of the human race, in the course of nature come together to hold intercourse for the procreation of children. But Virtues, whose offspring are so many and so perfect may not have to do with mortal man.

Philo's *teletai* then instruct humans about what mediates for the human, male and female.[56] In 44 and 45, where the Platonic distinction between *gennao* and *kueo/tikto* occurs, Philo depicts God as unbegotten, the begetter of all, ὁ ἀγένητος θεὸς καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν. The Virtues accordingly conceive by God, but bear their children to their husbands the Israelite patriarchs. When Sarah, Leah, Rebecca, and Zipporah do give birth, the verbs are all forms of *kueo* and *tikto* (45-47)

The heavy concentration of mystery language in 48-50 culminates, as in *Symposium*, with a discussion of becoming God-loved and God-loving, θεοφιλής. Philo's *teletai* teach that Moses is *theophiles*. As such, Moses is Philo's teacher of the *teletai*, the greater mysteries of birth. But Philo reports that he also had a teacher of lesser mysteries, namely the prophet Jeremiah. The lesser mysteries taught to him by Jeremiah are not about birth, but are again about virtue, the virtue of virginity, παρθενία. Here possibly Philo misunderstands Jeremiah 3.4; "youth" gets translated in the Septuagint as παρθενία, *parthenia*, which could mean virginity, but it could also mean youth as in the time of life. Philo clearly takes it to mean the lack of sexual experience. In this same verse he also misreads ἄνδρα for the Septuagints ἀρχηγὸν, husband for leader, thereby lending again a sexual context where none was originally implied. Yet it allows Philo to complete his discourse of the *teletai* of birth.

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[55] Note all the birth words in 42-44, 45: *genesis, tiktousais, kuesousi, speiron, kouousan, tiktousan* (all in the context of the Virtues); then the switch to God's creating, four forms of *gennao* in 44.

[56] In this instance *anthropos* is gender neutral. Sly 62 acknowledges this also, but ultimately her reading of mystery language in Philo, based on her reading of the *Symposium*, is far different from mine.

Cultural differences in bodily experience reflect differences in ideas of the divine, and of divine mediation. Philo assumes a type of perfection in his system; the wives of the patriarchs are the virgin *Aretai.* They are remade into virgins before giving birth, and Moses is even to begin with, by virtue of his knowledge of and intimacy with God, *theophiles.* This stands in a marked contrast to the mystery language and birth language in Plato, where the ultimate goal is to give birth to *arete,* true virtue. If anyone could do that (and the implication is that no one can) then s/he would be *theophiles.* Philo brings to this mystical discourse a Jewish understanding of human/divine relationship that depicts, near the beginning of history, the boundary between human and divine collapsed, with Moses *theophiles.* The femaleness of Eleusis and Eleusinian language was not lost to Plato, he relied on it, depicting Diotima as teacher of Socrates. Philo is less interested in overturning gender roles; he returns to and retells the tradition of the patriarchs. Whereas in the *Symposium* Diotima (and Demeter) are the ones who tell myths and establish and transmit to humans the sacred *teletai,* in Philo it is Philo who tells the story, and Moses who teaches the *teletai.* Paradoxically, Philo's *teletai* return to the bodily experience of sexuality and reproduction, and depict the God who creates all as intimately involved in human history.

V. Conclusion

Understanding Greek mysticism in its cultural context lends insight to why a philosophical text by Plato contains the imagery and language of the Eleusinian mystical experience. The speeches in the *Symposium,* with their sometimes contradictory visions of the role of love in the individual's life, mirror the situation of state sacrificial ritual and private mystical cult in classical Athens. Conventional polis cult and mystical cult existed side by side, and simultaneously offered alternative and sometimes contradictory conceptions of purity and impurity, male and female, human and divine. The boundaries between male and female, and between human and divine in Plato could possibly be collapsed; if an *anthropos* were truly *theophiles,* he or she would become divine, *athanatos.* In Philo the same mystery language combined with the birth language has more resonance than a simple "element of a literary convention."[57] It assumes a characteristically Jewish understanding of what role God plays in society.

The social function of divine mediators is to narrate, to tell and retell the stories that define the boundaries within society, the cosmic boundaries between human and divine, and the means of approaching these boundaries. Diotima and Philo tell narratives of mediators: Eros and the Cherubim. They also instruct *teletai* that ascribe particular relationships between bodily experience and virtue, *arete.* The particular bodily experience is that of birth. Despite the common mystery language in these tales of birth, the cultural constructions of birth vary according to how each author understands the possible mediating role of virtue. Philo assumes that virtue is present at the outset; the Virtues give birth to the children of Israel's patriarchs. For Plato,

57 Sly 135, echoing Wolfson and Bockmeuhl.

virtue is the result of *tokos en kalo*, something perhaps nobody has ever truly experienced.

Social boundaries reflect, are parallel to and paralleled by, concerns with theology:

> ... the same drive that seeks harmoniously to relate the experience of physical and social must affect ideology. Consequently, when once the correspondence between bodily and social controls is traced, the basis will be laid for considering co-varying attitudes in political thought and theology.[58]

Although the language remains the same in Plato and Philo's texts, the cultural differences in conceptual boundaries become evident through their narratives of *teletai* and birth. Plato's "birth in the beautiful, both in body and in soul" represents an ideal; he uses mystical language to introduce a scenario where the human could become divine, could break down the barriers between male and female, human and divine, by becoming *theophiles*. Plato's *teletai* remain conceivable yet somehow abstract. But Philo emerges from a tradition that understands one of its founders, Moses, to be a virtuous, god-loved and god-loving man who stood face to face with God on Sinai. In *On the Cherubim* Philo presents Moses as the one who near the beginning of history actually experienced the collapse of the boundary between human and divine. Thus the source of social knowledge determines for Philo the mediator of divine knowledge, and the message mediated.[59]

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58 *Natural Symbols* pp. 70-71.

59 This paper was written during the spring of 1994 while I was at Emory University, and I thank my colleagues there, as well as at Oxford College, for their support. I am especially grateful to my friend and colleague Louise Pratt who encouraged and cheered me during the roughness of the final few days. Some of this material is also adapted from my 1993 Brown University dissertation, I would like to remember my friends and teachers at that institution, especially Susan Harvey, Martha Nussbaum, Flora Keshkegian, Alan Boegehold and Stan Stowers. Thanks to Ra'anan for everything, far too much to count.

Isaiah's Vision and the Rhetoric of Rebellion[1]

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Abstract

Sequential readers of Isaiah's vision (Isaiah 1–66) discern recurring, unfolding themes likely overlooked in the course of disassembled or purely pericopal readings. Using a reader-oriented methodology, I trace one such theme, Isaiah's "rhetoric of rebellion," introduced already in the opening oracle of Isaiah 1.[2] This theme contributes significantly to the reader's construal of Isaiah as a coherent literary work; rebellious child imagery shapes and intensifies its persuasive rhetorical power.

Introduction

Israel's historic and ongoing rebelliousness constitutes a recurring problem in Isaiah's vision:

> Hear, O heavens, and listen, O earth;
> for the Lord has spoken:
> I reared children and brought them up,
> but they have rebelled (*pasᵉ'û*) against me (Isa 1:2).[3]

In subsequent verses, Chapter 1 will introduce a sort of argot of rebellion, including forms of *pšᶜ*, *sûr*, *mrh*, and *srr*. And each of these terms will reappear in subsequent Isaian contexts where human rebelliousness threatens the ties—often described as familial bonds—joining YHWH and Israel.[4]

In biblical studies, as in other fields, presuppositions and methods shape our questions; and our questions inevitably affect to some degree the answers

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1 This essay is a revised and abridged version of Chapters 1 and 3 in my book, *Isaiah's Vision and the Family of God* (1994).

2 Unless otherwise stated, "Isaiah" and "Isaian" refer to the biblical book, not to the eighth-century prophet.

3 This and subsequent translations are, unless otherwise indicated, taken from the NRSV.

4 Isaiah contains references to offspring of all ages—nurslings, youths, fully-grown adults. Naturally, ancient Israel's associations with children varied, depending upon their ages, stages, and gender. Limited knowledge and competence were associated with young children, for example, but not with adult offspring. But familial models and metaphors could quicken thoughts of the blood, social, and emotive bonds joining members of family units, regardless of their ages.

we discern in texts. Early historical critics of ancient Israel's prophetic literature, for example, set to the tasks of interpreting the prophets' authentic words against their earliest historical settings and of freeing original utterances from later supplements by "glossators." More recently, redaction critics investigate stages by which Isaian texts were shaped, (re-)interpreted, and brought to final form.

The reader-oriented method adopted for this essay requires that I set aside diachronic matters, focusing instead upon how my reader of Isaiah's vision traces the theme of Israel's historic and persisting rebelliousness against YHWH. My purpose is not to discredit other methods. (To the contrary, my literary method requires the results of certain types of historical analysis.) Rather, I pursue a different way of responding to the command, "Read this [scroll]" (Isa 29:11-12).

A Reader-Oriented Method

In "The Book of Isaiah; A Complex Unity," R. Rendtorff defends synchronic readings of Isaiah:

> . . . a changing view on the Book of Isaiah should allow, and even require, studies on topics, themes, expressions, and even ideas characteristic for the book as a whole or significant parts of it . . . . A synchronic reading, if carried out with the necessary sophistication, should have its own right (1991b:20).

Rendtorff does not indicate the "equipment" readers must bring to a sophisticated, synchronic reading. In developing a reader-oriented method, however, John A. Darr focuses upon "the dynamic interaction between text and reader in the temporal, conventional process of reading"(1987:38). Darr's method presupposes that certain biblical books can be read as potentially coherent literary works, and not simply (or exclusively) as mines of historical data (1987:11). Moreover, it is text-specific—appropriate to the literary work at hand. (Here, adaptation is necessary since, among other significant differences (e.g., J. Darr's corpus [Luke-Acts] is largely narrative with some poetry; mine [Isaiah] largely poetry with some narratives.) Too frequently, biblical scholars select literary methods developed with contemporary literary works and worlds in mind, though such methods can prove anachronistic and inadequate.

Three Critical Premises

Three critical premises brace Darr's method. First, literature functions rhetorically, i.e., "it achieves certain effects—esthetic, emotional, moral, ideological—in an audience by means of rhetorical strategies" (1987:15). Figurative uses of language can be intensely rhetorical, initiated—consciously or unconsciously—toward specific ends: to entitle, to persuade, to disguise, or to conceal.

Second, meaning results from the "dynamic interaction of both the rhetorical strategies of the text and the interpretive structures (a repertoire of conventions and expectations) of its reader" (1987:16). In other words, *meaning depends not just upon what the text brings to the reader, but also upon what the reader*

brings to the text. This second premise presumes that modern critics can recover (at least to some degree) the reader's "extratextual repertoire," including "(1) language; (2) social norms and cultural scripts; (3) classical or canonical literature; (4) literary conventions (e.g., genres, type scenes, standard plots, stock characters) and reading rules . . .; and (5) commonly-known historical and geographical facts" (1992:22).

This brings us to Darr's third critical premise: numerous text-specific elements—historical, social, linguistic, literary—are crucial to contemporary interpretation of ancient texts. Against critics who, encouraged by formalist methods such as structuralism and the New Criticism, insist that literature be interpreted without regard to its origins, Darr's method addresses the "environmental displacement" (Jackson 1989:37-62) of ancient texts: ". . . the loss of historical perspective means the loss of vital interpretive clues to New Testament narrative," he insists. (And the same is true, I believe, for Israel's prophetic poetry and prose.) True, certain literary features seem transhistorical and transcultural, so that bridging "the world of the text" and more contemporary worlds apparently poses no special difficulties. But I remain convinced that historically-informed literary intepretations of texts, including Isaian texts, are preferable to historically-uninformed ones.[5]

With Darr, I stand alongside critics like W. Iser and W. Booth (1961) who locate meaning in the dialogue between text, reader, and extratext:

> We envision a dialectic in which the text guides, prefigures, and attempts to persuade a reader to choose a particular path or adopt a certain world-view. At the same time, the reader is only using these textual promptings as starting points for filling in the gaps left by the text, forming opinions about characters and events, and anticipating what is to come as the reading progresses. Texts have a certain determinateness, but the meanings derived from these texts are qualified by the receptivity and creativity of the individual reader in an interpretive community.

True, historically-informed literary critics, no less than wielders of historical-critical tools, cannot eliminate gaps, uncertainties, and the need for informed conjecture. (As Professor Lou Silberman has said, persons who cannot live with uncertainty should not pursue biblical studies!) The frank acknowledgment that texts are "gappy" and that readers play a role in filling those gaps can prejudice some critics against "pragmatic" literary methods.[6] And it is true that Iser's system bears a certain, inevitable indeterminacy, since "by bringing in the reader as co-creator of the work's meaning, [the critic] has left himself open to . . . charges of indeterminacy and relativism. . . . Will not each individual reading of a text be different? Are some readings

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5 This is not to deny any value to "objectivist" interpretations at the hands of skilled and discerning literary critics. But such readings are, to my mind, a different sort of enterprise.

6 The term is from M. H. Abrams who writes in *The Mirror and the Lamp*: "All literary theories, by definition, pay some heed to the text; however, some approaches concentrate on it in isolation (objective theories), whereas others explain the work by relating it to something or someone else—the author (expressive theories), the audience (pragmatic theories), or aspects of the universe (mimetic theories)" (1953:).

better than others? If so, what criteria are used to make these sorts of judgments?" (J. Darr 1987:38-39). Daunting though these questions be, however, they are better faced head-on than ignored (as if readers played no role in construing a text's meaning). Finally, Darr concludes, "responsibility for maintaining a delicate balance between text and reader in the dialectical production of literary meaning lies with the critic; at this point artistry enters the interpretive enterprise" (1987:38-39).[7]

But the reader, a hypothetical construct of the critic, is not solely responsible for this certain indeterminacy. While critics select, order, and balance elements shaping interpretation, their choices are not—protestations notwithstanding—utterly disinterested. To the contrary, "what the critic writes is no less rhetorical than the text itself" (Darr 1987:55):

> . . . the critic is a creative re-reader whose selections specify and limit what is to be perceived and how "best" it is to be understood by others. . . . by reconstructing a particular social-historical setting, identifying specific literary influences, and accentuating select textual phenomena (and ignoring others), the critic attempts to persuade others to accept his or her interpretation" (56-57).

One need look no further than C. Seitz's recent book, *Zion's Final Destiny*, to see that competent critics can construe texts in widely-divergent ways. Seitz suggests that the servant described in Isa 52:13–53:12 is none other than Jerusalem herself. Gender is no obstacle to equating the male servant and the female city, Seitz asserts, since "Zion can be depicted as 'son of her womb' . . . in 49:15, without causing undue strain on the other images of wife and mother" (1991:203-4). I argue, by contrast, that Zion is not depicted as "son of her womb" in 49:15; rather, v. 15 foregrounds the bond between mother and infant, only to claim that YHWH's devotion to and care for Zion *exceeds even that paradigmatic human tie.* In our view, arguments seeking to equate Zion and the servant must treat carefully how tropes are functioning within a given literary context.

"Optical Lenses" and the Critic's Task

Darr adopts W. Booth's "optical lens" imagery to describe how critics negotiate various interpretive options. ". . . Our choices of a given inquiry work like our choices of optical instruments," Booth avers, "each camera or microscope or telescope uncovering what other instruments conceal and obscuring what other instruments bring into focus" (1983:405). Darr's own "optical instrument" requires the manipulation of four lenses: wide-angle; editorial; objective; and reading (57). The wide-angle lens is located in the eye of the critic. Its field of vision is broadest, since it includes all of the information (historical, cultural, social, literary, etc.) that competent critics

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[7] Focusing upon text, reader, and reading does not, of course, rule out appeals to other elements in the interpretive process. Darr's eclectic method admits those cultural, social, historical, and literary contexts pertaining at the time when a given biblical book was completed and first read. It remains essentially pragmatic, nonetheless, by virtue of the ways in which these "extrinsic" elements are perceived and utilized: "in essence, author and historical context are brought into the process of interpretation through the portals of text and reader, respectively" (1987:19).

bring to a given text. The editorial lens, Darr's second optical instrument, probes a smaller field, but at greater depth. Its focus is the text to hand, yet through it modern critics can discern information unavailable to ancient readers. In our case, for example, this lens sharpens signs of multiple authors and levels of redaction in Isaiah.[8] Note that evidence observed through this second lens will become imperceptible through the remaining two lenses, since "such knowledge is the prerogative of the critic (and the critic's readers)..." (1987:60).

The objective lens enables critics to bring an entire work into focus within the same field (1987:60). Unlike first-time readers (see below), critics read and reread a literary work until it appears a "complete mental object" whose recurring themes, motifs, metaphors, etc., take their places within the larger overall design. "Through this lens," Darr writes, the critic "scans the entire work (in any sequence—end to beginning, beginning to end, or randomly) in an effort to compare the part to the whole" (60).

Finally, critics shape and position the reading lens. This lens is most crucial to our task:

> Although some reader-response critics have failed to recognize it as such, "the reader" is an interpretive construct ... implicitly or explicitly construed by the critic. Such a construal is inevitably based, at least in part, on the critic's own reading experience. Every audience-oriented approach is founded upon preconceived notions of (1) the nature of the reading process (in general, and with regard to the specific work in question), and (2) the identity (competence, learning, knowledge of literary and cultural codes) of the reader (1987:61).

Of course, critics inevitably create readers in their own image to some degree. Nevertheless, critic and reader are *not* simply the same:

> ... if our treatment ... is to be truly *text-specific*, then the audience to which we refer should fit the cultural profile of the readers for whom the account was written. That is, we must reconstruct—to the fullest extent possible—the extratextual repertoire, literary skills and basic orientation of the original audience. In doing so, our ultimate purpose is hermeneutical, not historical: we are less concerned with discovering the identities of intended addressees than with ascertaining the type and degree of "cultural literacy" the author seems to have assumed for his audience. In other words, the question is not "Who is the reader *per se*?" but rather, "What did a reader have to bring to a text in order to actualize it competently?" (1992:25-26).

Unlike critics looking through the "objective lens," first-time readers engaging a text sequentially in a dialogical process must contend with a limited field of vision. They cannot compare parts to whole because, immersed though they be in the text, they can actualize it only to the point read *thus far*. But this fourth lens also has implications for modern biblical critics, since peering through it limits their field of vision as well.

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[8] Our use of the editorial lens may be most evident in our appropriation of phrases like "Proto-," "Deutero-," and "Trito-Isaiah."

Identifying the Reader and the Reading Process

Having identified the four lenses in Darr's "optical instrument," we turn to a more precise descriptions of the reader and the reading process.

The Reader

Our first task is reconstructing a "text-specific" reader who possesses the extratext (cultural and literary knowledge) necessary to construe Isaiah with a high degree of competence (1992:27). "Our reader" of Isaiah's vision is part of post-exilic Israel's cognoscenti, a scribe or religious leader and educator enjoying such legal rights and social standing as were possible under Persian rule at the beginning of the fourth-century BCE.[9] Culturally-literate and fully at home within his society, he knows—or at least thinks he knows—basic facts (historical, political, geographical, religious, ethnic) and conventions (social, cultural, literary, etc.) related to Israel and its broad environs. Though this is his first reading of Isaiah, he is familiar with other of Israel's existing religious texts, including the Torah of Moses, certain prophetic collections, psalms, and so on. He also knows the literary "classics" of his larger culture. For the vast majority of his contemporaries, of course, access to Isaiah consists only of listening to brief excerpts in contexts of worship; such a scenario appears in Luke 4:16-20. But our reader, a minority in his society, enjoys the opportunity, access, expertise, and time to read and interpret the unfolding Isaiah scroll on other than just a pericope by pericope basis.[10]

Aspects of the Reading Process

W. Iser describes the dynamic process of reading as follows: "We look forward, we look back, we decide, we change our decisions, we form expectations, we are shocked by their non-fulfillment, we question, we muse, we accept, we reject . . ." (1972:293). From this quotation (see also S. Fish [1972:126-27]), J. Darr identifies four complementary and ongoing aspects of reading: anticipation and retrospection; consistency building (gestaltic activity); investment and identification; and defamiliarization (1992:29). I shall briefly discuss each in turn.

Readers moving through a text continually reassess earlier expectations and judgments, forming fresh ones as new insights and data come to light: "In the dialectic of reading," Darr declares, "each word, sentence, or other textual unit both illuminates and is illumined by what precedes it." And the further one reads, the more complex anticipation and retrospection become

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9 I place my reader at 400 BCE for at least two reasons: first, it is a likely, though not universally-accepted, date by which to posit Isaiah's existence in its final form. Second, it enables us to avoid wrestling with Hellenism's considerable influence upon Israel's long-lived conventional ideas regarding children and women; see T. Frymer Kensky 1992:203-212.

10 Scrolls are more "sequential" than books. One cannot simply flip a scroll open to the appropriate "page"; it must be unrolled sequentially.

(1987:64). This is particularly true, of course, when one seeks to construe so long and complex a text as Isaiah.[11]

Related to this first aspect is the reader's proclivity toward consistency building: "By correlating discrete elements of the text . . . , and adding extratextual information when necessary, the audience is able to image patterns (what Iser calls *Gestalten*) which cover textual gaps, help to resolve tensions, and clarify ambiguities." (1987:65). Consistency building is a more complex process when an extensive and eclectic piece of prophetic literature is at issue, rather than a narrative like Luke-Acts (which tells a continuous story, the life and death of Jesus, and the "history" of the early church). Nevertheless, certain textual features—the initial identification of the scroll's contents as Isaiah's vision (1:1; 2:1; 13:1), the presence of myriad linking words (e.g., *yāqûm* appears at the end of an oracle in Isa 32:8, *qōmĕnāh* at the beginning of the next oracle in 32:9), propelling phrases like "on that day" that facilitate the reader's tendency to correlate texts and fill gaps, the chronological arrangement of narratives in which the prophet plays a role (chapters 6, 7, 20, and 36–39), and transitional passages like Isaiah 34–35 and 36–39—encourage readers to keep moving forward, construing texts on the basis of preceding verses.[12]

A third aspect, "investment and identification," refers to the variability of "distance" between the reader and what is being read. "Consciously or unconsciously," Darr observes, "the reader oscillates between a full-scale involvement in the [world of the text] and a more detached observation of it" (1987:65). Readers of Isaiah are encouraged, as we shall see, to invest in and identify with those in their historically-rebellious community who have repented of its obdurate past, live in obedience to YHWH's Torah, and are awaiting a glorious future secure within redeemed Jerusalem's walls, while concomitantly distancing themselves from those whose rebelliousness perdures.

Finally, biblical and extra-biblical literature from Israel's ancient Near Eastern world suggests that audiences prized literary conventions, e.g., stock story lines and poetic refrains. Yet innovation had its place as well. Indeed, what Iser calls "defamiliarization" (1978:69)—the setting of what is well-known in unfamiliar terrain—could force readers to perceive established elements in new ways. In Isa 42:14, for example, the unconventional meaning and function of the stereotypical simile "like a travailing woman" intensify its effect. Rather than illumine physiological and psychological reactions to incapacitating fear in the face of impending death (its normal usage), it becomes a powerful prelude to YHWH's acts of deliverance (Isa 42:10-17).

Reading, then, is a complex activity requiring interaction between reader, text, and extratext. Many features of Darr's method are applicable to the following examination of Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion. Before turning to that

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[11] In this context we trace only one recurring theme—Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion. Nevertheless, the methodological and theoretical models set forth in this essay can usefully serve to illumine other recurring themes and metaphors.

[12] These and other textual features suggest the expectation that *at least certain readers* would read and interpret Isaiah sequentially.

task, however, we consider how readers, ancient and modern, construe those figurative uses of language that are integral to our theme.

Prophecy and Metaphor: Child Imagery in Isaiah

Central among the vast array of issues addressed in Isaiah are the nature and status of the ongoing relationships between YHWH, Israel (both narrowly and broadly defined), and Judah's capital city, Jerusalem. Isaiah's authors did not, of course, analyze these relationships—which transcended the human realm and were by their nature mysterious—systematically. Rather, they frequently employed tropes derived from everyday familial roles (e.g., parent/child) and experiences (e.g., disciplining recalcitrant children, family reunions) to illumine the powerful bonds they believed to exist between Israel and its God. Such relationships and experiences might not themselves be devoid of mystery (e.g., childbirth), but they were better known, or at least more commonly experienced, than the ties they sought to disclose.

Immediately, a number of questions come to mind: why do certain Isaian texts evoke the attributes and experiences of children to describe the attributes and experiences of other entities? What culturally-defined, stereotypical associations with offspring do literal and figurative references evoke?[13] Do *familial* images within specific Isaian contexts exploit well-established associations with children, highlight previously-suppressed commonplaces (thereby breathing new life into clichés), or create novel insights into past, present, or anticipated phenomena? And if figurative language is strategic speech that invites readers to particular perceptions of reality, then what ends were best served by using these particular tropes? Finally, what do certain recurring child metaphors and models contribute both to the reader's construal of Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion and to his experience of the scroll as a unified literary composition, the vision of the prophet Isaiah? Such are the questions that shape our analyses of pertinent texts.

Figurative Language and Contemporary Theory

Theories of metaphor are properly of interest to many fields of inquiry, including literary criticism, philosophy, mathematics, science, and social and cultural anthropology. In this context, I shall address two of the many tasks and topics in metaphor studies of special importance for our *literary* analysis of Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion: identifying a theory of metaphor that will facilitate our analyses; and describing ways by which to recover, to the degree possible, our reader's relevant extratextual repertoire—that is, those associated commonplaces surrounding terms in a given figurative utterance, and vital to its competent construal.

Figurative language has not been the focus of sustained study and debate within the field of Old Testament studies.[14] P. J. Miller has called for greater

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[13] In Chapter 2 of *Isaiah's Vision and the Family of God* (1994), I identify those ancient Israelite associations with children astir in Isaiah: limited knowledge, competence, and self-discipline; weakness and vulnerability; lovability; hope for familial longevity; disrespectful behavior; and rebelliousness. Recall our earlier acknowledgment that certain associations with offspring are age-specific, while others are not.

[14] The situation is different in New Testament studies, of course, owing to keen interest in the parables of Jesus.

attention to tropes in biblical poetry in "Meter, Parallelism, and Tropes: The Search for Poetic Style":

> . . . What is missing [from contemporary studies of Hebrew verse] is a more extended focus on the figurative dimension of poetry. . . . Considerable work has been done in the analysis and categorization of metaphors in general that is capable of being applied to the metaphors of biblical poetry . . . . the figurative language of biblical poetry should be—and of course is—able to tell us much about Israel's experience and how they assimilated and understood it (1984:103-5).

In the decade since Miller's article appeared, a number of scholars have begun focusing upon Old Testament imagery; witness, for example, recent monographs by K. Nielsen (1989), M. Brettler (1989), P. W. Macky (1990), and J. Galambush (1991). Despite their advances, however, much work remains to be done on figurative language and its functions within particular literary contexts.

Myriad definitions of metaphor and theories of metaphorical construal appear in the philosophical literature. In *Metaphors and Religious Language*, J. M. Soskice groups metaphor theories under three headings: "those that see metaphor as a decorative way of saying what could be said literally [substitution theories]; those that see metaphor as original not in what it says but in the affective impact it has [emotive theories]; and those that see metaphor as a unique cognitive vehicle enabling one to say things that can be said in no other way" [incremental theories] (1985:24). She then locates her own, "interanimation" theory beneath the third heading:

> . . . Our own preferred theory of metaphor . . . should regard metaphor neither as a simple substitution for literal speech nor as strictly emotive. Metaphor should be treated as fully cognitive and capable of saying that which may be said in no other way. It should explain how metaphor gives us "two ideas for one", yet do so without lapsing into a comparison theory. These are basics. Ideally, a theory of metaphor should go even further and discuss . . . the hearer's reception of it, how the hearer decides that the speaker is speaking metaphorically rather than nonsensically, and so on (44).

Soskice's definition of metaphor as "that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another" (1985:15) builds, as she acknowledges, upon I. A. Richards's famous remarks about how metaphors create meaning: "when we use a metaphor," Richards wrote, "we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction" (1938:93). Richards went on to distinguish between the "tenor," or underlying subject of a metaphor, and the "vehicle," or complete utterance conveying that subject. I shall abandon Richards's elegant "tenor" and "vehicle" terminology, however, for the admittedly more cumbersome, but also more precise language employed by J. David Sapir in "The Anatomy of Metaphor" (1977:5). Sapir speaks of a metaphor's "topic" (i.e., "what we are talking about or referring to when we use the metaphor"), its "continuous term(s)" (those implying the topic; in Soskice's example, "writhing script," the topic of the

metaphor implies the continuous term "script" and vice versa) and its "discontinuous term(s)," e.g., "writhing." Distinguishing between these three features permits our analyses greater precision.

Other types of figurative language also appear in relevant Isaian texts, principal among them similes.[15] Many literary critics deny simile the impact attributed to metaphor, since a simile's simple comparison cannot rival metaphor's richer interactive meaning. Soskice counters, however, that "the most interesting similes" are functionally the equivalent of metaphors; the presence of "like" [or "as"] is but "an aspect of superficial grammar" (1985:59). By "most interesting similes," Soskice refers to "modelling similes," i.e., those which, like metaphor, "use a subject that is reasonably well known to us to explain or provide schematization for a state of affairs which is beyond our full grasp." "Illustrative similes," by contrast, simply point to certain similarities between two entities. The former function well, she notes, if one "wishes to produce an exploratory schema," the latter when precision is the goal (60).

Yet another difference between some similes (and metaphors) and others concerns the presence or absence of explicit secondary predicates. The phrase "secondary predicate" refers to "the complex of concepts, assumptions and ideas that, correctly or incorrectly, but usually, is linked to the secondary subject and can be derived from it." (See Kjärgaard [1986:86, 84-105]). But while *implicit* secondary predicates do not specify those associations crucial for a given simile's (or metaphor's) construal, *explicit* secondary predicates do. Return, for example, to our travailing woman simile ("Like a travailing woman I shall shout, I shall gasp and pant"). There, terms of the explicit secondary predicate—"shout," "gasp," and "pant"—direct the reader to precisely those aspects of a travailing woman's behavior that illumine God's power and impending acts (vv. 14-17; see K. P. Darr 1987a).

Identifying Associated Commonplaces

Knowledge of culturally-defined associated commonplaces is essential for construing figurative language. Encountering a contemporary "A is a B" metaphor like "time is money," for example, competent North American readers are able mentally to sift through associations with both the continuous term, "time," and the discontinuous term, "money," to arrive at the metaphor's topic (e.g., unlike U. S. currency, time is not associated with green paper rectangles or round pieces of metal, but it can be "spent" or "wasted"; and its use or misuse has economic consequences).

How can we recover the complex associations that surrounded a trope's terms in the world of ancient Israel? Unlike modern anthropologists doing fieldwork in extant cultures not their own, biblical scholars cannot ask ancient Israelites to explain their figurative uses of language. We have only texts, biblical and extra-biblical, to assist us. The task is hindered by incomplete or

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15 For our purposes, we need not pursue philosophical debates about the "truth" of simile vs. the "truth" of metaphor.

unrecoverable data. It benefits, however, from the biblical authors' penchant for traditional imagery.[16]

Contemporary literary critics often judge metaphors as they would a fish entrée: the fresher the better. But ancient Israel's authors (and "editors") appear not to have shared their preference for novel tropes. To the contrary, the artful use of familiar imagery demonstrated an author's knowledge of his or her tradition, imbued fresh verses with the authority accruing to earlier compositions containing the same or similar imagery, and helped audiences interpret new works. This is not to suggest that the biblical authors never coined fresh metaphors. But alongside (what at least appears to be) innovative imagery, one finds numerous recurring tropes possessing what P. Wheelwright, in his discussion of certain *symbols*, has called "ancestral vitality" (1962:105).[17] Such images enriched new contexts by bringing with them the meanings and associations borne in earlier sources. Hence, the prophets' repeated embrace of traditional imagery aids our interpretation of their diverse child tropes, because it enables us to examine references to offspring in a variety of literary contexts, thereby gaining some sense of their normal range of associated commonplaces. Helpful too are examples of Kjärgaard's "explicit secondary predicate" (see above), such that a simile or metaphor specifically *directs* the reader or hearer to pertinent associations with its terms.

Of course, investigations of ancient Israel's tropes, including its so-called "root metaphors," must be undertaken with care, lest we too facilely assume that the insights gleaned enable us to grasp the "essence" of Israel's society and culture. Cultures are, J. C. Crocker reminds us, too filled with "contradictions, ambiguities, and befuddlements" to be captured by even their most popular and fully-formulated tropes (1977:66). With that caution in place, however, study of metaphors and models can shed light not only on Israel's literary conventions, but also on its experiences and attitudes, its "world view" as it were. Against those averring that historical and literary methods are antithetical, then, we counter that recovering, as best we can, ancient Israel's complex webs of culturally- and socially-conditioned associations with a given trope's terms is an essential "history-recovering" part of our literary approach.

Summary

Thus far, I have set out both a methodological approach to reading Isaiah, and a theoretical understanding of how we can construe figurative uses of language in that ancient Israelite text. Focusing upon the reader (a heuristic device), the text, and the extratext, I have prepared for the following investigation of how Isaiah's "rhetoric of rebellion" contributes to our reader's sequential construal of Isaiah as a coherent literary work. Moreover, our

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16 We cannot, of course, know all the webs of culturally-conditioned commonplaces surrounding terms in an ancient metaphorical utterance. Ostensibly novel texts like Jer 31:22b, for example, flaunt our efforts at interpretation. Imagine how much more difficult our task would be, however, had innovation been most highly prized by Israel's poets.

17 There are differences, of course, between symbols and metaphors. Nonetheless, many observations relevant to ancient Israel's recurring metaphors appear in Wheelwright's discussions of symbols (1973:97, 105).

discussion of how metaphors and related tropes "mean," and toward what ends, takes seriously a primary function of the text: persuading readers to new ways of perceiving their world. For sequential readers, the content of Isaiah's vision is not glimpsed all at once (though Isaiah 1 presages the path it will take). Only by moving within and through that vision can they discover fully the purpose of a divine plan that—like the word of God—"is established forever" (Isa 40:8b).

Isaiah's Rhetoric of Rebellion
Isaiah 1–39

Ancient Israelite society placed great value upon filial obedience and devotion. In the Decalogue the apodictic imperative, "Honor your father and your mother" (Exod 20:12a), was further reinforced by a motivation clause offering long life in the promised land as a reward for compliance (v. 12b). Israel's proverbs admonished offspring to follow parental advice (Prov 1:8-9; 6:20). Even beyond their adolescent years, children were expected to honor, obey, and provide for their parents (Prov 23:22). But despite parental instruction, discipline, and affection, ancient Israel's children could become rebellious and a source of grief. The sages suggested dire threats (Prov 30:17) and corporal punishment to control recalcitrance: "Blows that wound cleanse away evil," they advised: "beatings make clean the innermost parts" (Prov 20:30). Parents justified such thrashings by claiming that they, no less than YHWH, punished out of love (Prov 3:11-12). When such measures failed to rehabilitate a rebellious child, disgrace and dishonor threatened the family (Prov 19:26).

Deuteronomy 21:18-21 prescribes actions for parents who, having exhausted all other methods of controlling a defiant, intemperate child, seek community assistance in the final resolution of a familial crisis:

> If a man has a wayward [*sôrēr*] and defiant [*môreh*] son, who does not heed his father or mother and does not obey them even after they discipline him, his father and mother shall take hold of him and bring him out to the elders of his town at the public place of his community. They shall say to the elders of his town, "This son of ours is disloyal and defiant [*sôrēr ûmōreh*]; he does not heed us. He is a glutton and a drunkard." Thereupon the men of his town shall stone him to death (*Tanakh*).

These harsh words, and others as well (e.g., Exod 21:15; Lev 20;9; Deut 27:16), leave little doubt that in ancient Israelite society, stereotypical associations with unbridled offspring were negative indeed. In the following pages, we shall return to the familial crisis legislated in Deut 21:18-21.

Isaiah 1: "Oh, Rebellious Children"

Most contemporary Isaiah scholars agree that Isaiah 1 functions to introduce not only Isaiah 1–39, but also the scroll in its entirety. An absence of any reference in 1:1-31 to what I call Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion would not, of course, rule out its presence and importance for subsequent chapters, since no introduction of comparable length could include every subject of

significance in so vast a literary work. In Isaiah's initial chapter, however, charges against YHWH's rebellious children constitute their "first impression" of God's people. Moreover, because rebellion language is present as they move from accusation (vv. 1-4) to exhortation (v. 5), from admonition (vv. 18-20) to condemnation (v. 23), and finally to judgment (v. 28), it contributes to their sense of the chapter's coherence. In these verses, of course, grown children, rather than infants or little boys and girls, are decried. Yet referring to chronologically mature persons as children can serve strategic ends.

Readers are invited to perceive YHWH as a parent who has provided Israel's sustenance throughout its life (vv. 2-3). In other words, the familial blood bond uniting fathers and their children becomes the metaphorical lens through which readers perceive the relationship between YHWH and Israel. And in light of the nature of that bond, with its mutual concerns and responsibilities (once the child has grown to maturity), Israel's feckless rebellion and incomprehension appear all the more heinous. They have "turned their backs" (v. 4; *Tanakh*) on their divine parent; and they continue to rebel (*sārāh*), despite repeated beatings (v. 5a). YHWH therefore assumes the role of the thoroughly vexed parents in Deuteronomy 21, assembling witnesses—there, the town's elders; here, the heavens and the earth—to hear the charges against them: God's children practice evil and deal corruptly; they have forsaken and despised their father; and their rebellion persists even in the face of corporal punishment that leaves them bruised and bleeding (vv. 5b-6). Not only they, but also their homes, land, and cities have been decimated because of their corruption (vv. 7-8). So severe is the situation that only a "few survivors" remain (v. 9). Cultic acts alone cannot compensate for the people's defiling, oppressive deeds. To the contrary, their endless but insincere sacrifices and prayers are offensive to YHWH, who sorely desires that the community cleanse itself of evil and oppression (vv. 16-17; note the piling up of imperatives). Even in the face of such serious offenses, YHWH hopes for a change in his children's ways. And in an offer of parental forebearance, the children are given a choice: be willing and obedient and eat, or refuse and rebel and be eaten (v. 19).[18]

The following lament over Zion's depraved status again lodges a charge of rebellion: the city's princes (that is, her powerful leaders) are *sôrĕrîm*, "rebels" and cronies of thieves who love a bribe, but won't be bothered to care for orphans and widows (1:23). Under such conditions, YHWH concludes, only a great purge can restore the once-faithful city:

> Zion by justice shall be redeemed,
> and those in her who repent, by right.
> But rebels [*pōšĕʿîm*; see 1:2] and sinners shall be destroyed together,
> and those who forsake the Lord shall be consumed (Isa 1:27-28; trans. by W. G. E. Watson [1984:221]).

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[18] The root *mrh*, twice present in Deuteronomy's ultimate "cure" for wayward offspring, did not appear in Isaiah's first characterization of Israel as rebellious children (1:2-5). But in v. 20, its presence recalls the accusation lodged in those opening verses.

These two verses presage the course that the rebellion theme will take in the remainder of Isaiah.

Isaiah 1, then, levels charges against Israel and especially its leadership, describing the consequences of persistent obduracy against its God/father. Sans repentance, rebels will become like the snap! crackle! pop! of dried tinder meeting a spark (v. 31). But with its familial metaphors and urgings toward reconciliation, Isaiah 1 holds out hope as well.

In the remainder of this essay, we shall note how various rhetorical strategies would persuade readers to align themselves with "those in [Zion] who repent" (1;27), while distancing themselves from those rebels and sinners who "forsake the Lord" (1:28). Rebellious child imagery need not be an explicit feature of each and every text pertinent to our theme. As we shall see, forms of *pš*ᶜ (BDB, "rebel, transgress") also are significant for the reader's construal of Isaiah's unfolding "rhetoric of rebellion." But unlike *srr*, also part of Isaiah's argot of rebellion introduced in Chapter 1, *pš*ᶜ is not exclusively linked with the attitudes and actions of offspring (be they minors or fully-grown). Rather, it often describes national revolts (with *be*, "against") and rebellion or "transgression" against God. Yet the presence of *pš*ᶜ in the vision's initial oracle already associates the term from the outset with YHWH's rebellious children; its associations also with political and religious obduracy are apropos, since such activities often are precisely the impetus for accusations of rebelliousness lodged against YHWH's children and especially its leaders.

Isaiah 3:8: "Babes Shall Rule Over Them"

Twenty-two verses later, a leadership crisis threatens to leave Jerusalem and Judah in the hands of "children" and vulnerable to anarchy (3:1-5). Again, the entire national population is charged with rebelliousness (3:8). The personification of "stumbled" Jerusalem and "fallen" Judah contributes to the poetic image of a body politic that is out of control.

The reappearance in Isaiah 3 of certain words, speech formulae, and themes encountered already in Isaiah 1 reinforces their importance for readers: once again, Israel's perverted leaders (cf. 1:21-31) are accused of rebellion (3:8, from the root *mrh*; cf. 1:18-20); both chapters employ courtroom formulae (3:13-15; cf. 1:2-3, 18-20); and both contain child imagery, although the associations of limited knowledge and experience in 3:4, 12 differ from the charges of deliberate rebellion lodged against YHWH's (adult) children in 1:2-5a, 20, 23, and 28. Finally, both chapters contain references to Sodom. In 1:9, the city signifies utter destruction, while in 1:10 and 3:9, emphasis falls upon its extreme iniquity.

Read sequentially, then, Isaiah 1–3 argue as follows: YHWH's obdurate children, including their evil, oppressive rulers, are offered the opportunity to repent of their defiance and injustice. Those who accept that offer and become obedient will partake of Judah and Jerusalem's future salvation (1:27; 2:1-4); those who do not, and who persist in their defiance and sinfulness, will surely be destroyed (1:28). Indeed, even now (*kî hinnēh*, 3:1) the purging of Judah's leadership is begun, and social chaos threatens.

Isaiah 30: "O Rebellious Children"

Rebellious child metaphors do not reappear until chapter 30, an indictment of Judean policy makers whose recourse to Egyptian aid is decidedly at odds with YHWH's plan for Israel.[19] Immediately preceding verses (29:22-24) have foretold a time when Jacob, beholding his children, will sanctify God's name and submit to divine instruction. But as 30:1-5 makes clear, that time has not yet arrived. The epithet "rebellious children" (*bānîm sôrĕrîm*) reminds readers of charges already lodged in Isaiah 1 and 3, including the reference in 1:23 to Israel's roguish (*sôrĕrîm*) rulers:

> O rebellious children (*bānîm sôrĕrîm*), says the Lord,
> who carry out a plan, but not mine;
> who make an alliance, but against my will,
> adding sin to sin. (30:1)

The rebuke is followed by God's command that these words be inscribed, lest Israel forget its rejection of YHWH's instruction. For readers, 30:8-9 echo and underscore the scroll's initial characterization of God's people:

> Now,
> Go, write it down on a tablet
> And inscribe it in a record,
> That it may be with them for future days,
> A witness forever.
> For it is a rebellious people (*ʿam mĕrî*),
> faithless children (*bānîm keḥašîm*),
> Children who refused to heed
> The instruction of the Lord. (30:8-9; *Tanakh*)

Here, associations identified thus far—children's limited knowledge and experience, their need for instruction, and rebelliousness—converge to convey a sense of feckless filial obduracy on the one hand, and parental exasperation on the other.

Summary

What, to this point, does our sequential reader surmise about YHWH's rebellious children, including especially their childish (i.e., foolish and destructive) leaders? Taken together, the texts we have examined depict unrepentant Israel as the very personification of the odious son of Deut 21:18-21. The latter is wayward (*sôrĕr*, Deut 21:18a); so is Israel (*sôrĕrîm*, Isa 1:23; *bānîm sôrĕrîm*, Isa 30:1a). He is defiant (*môreh*, Deut 21:18, 20); Israel is rebellious as well (*lamrôt*, Isa 3:8; *ʿam mĕrî*, Isa 30:9a; *hēm pāšĕʿû bî*, Isa 1:2b). Moreover, as sequential readers of Isaiah know, Israel's leaders share the odious son's excessive appetites for food and alcohol (Deut 21:20b; Isa 5:11-13, 22; 22:13; 28:1-4, 7-8 [against Ephraim's rulers]). Finally, neither rebel repents, even in the face of repeated corporal punishment (Deut 21:18b; Isa 1:5a). If, as Deut 21:21

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19 YHWH's "plan" for Israel and the nations is an important, recurring concern in Isaiah. See J. Fichtner (1951:16-33); J. Jensen (1986:443-55); H. Wildberger (1962:83-117); and E. Conrad (1991:52-82).

states, the disobedient son's offenses justify capital punishment, then Israel is no less deserving of death.

Isaiah 40–55: "I Have Swept Away Your Transgressions Like a Cloud"

Rebellious child imagery does not reappear until Isa 48:8-11, part of those chapters identified by virtually all contemporary scholars as the product of so-called Deutero-Isaiah. For our sequential reader, the transition from Isa 39:8 to 40:1 is not the severe "jolt" that modern commentators, presupposing a change in authorship, time, and geographical locale, emphasize.[20] He is, by that point in the scroll, quite accustomed to sudden shifts in subject and tone. Yet there are numerous differences between chapters 1–39 on the one hand, and 40–55 on the other; and our reader will become increasingly aware of them as he progresses through the text. He will discover, for example that chapters 40–55 extend forgiveness to all Israel, including—one presumes—those most guilty of the offenses bristling from texts like Isaiah 30. Indeed, Isaiah 40–55 constitutes a prolonged "grace note" within the larger scroll. To be sure, many of its passages do not sidestep the extremity of Israel's rebelliousness. To the contrary, their accusations can *exceed* in severity those appearing in Isaiah 1–39. But they insist nonetheless that despite its past transgressions, YHWH's care and involvement with Israel persist.

How are readers persuaded that the destruction merited by Israel is not the end of its relationship with God? What of the servant's reconciling role? Will the reader regard him as synonymous with Israel? If not, what is his relationship to God's rebellious offspring? Finally, how do our familial models and metaphors invite readers to perceive the ties binding Israel and its God in Isaiah 40–55? Our reader knows that family bonds often withstand what might otherwise seem unbearable burdens. The harshness of Deut 21:18-21 notwithstanding, ancient parents—like their modern-day counterparts—could continue to love even the most recalcitrant of children. One recalls, for example, David's heartbroken response to the news that Absalom, the son who had sought not only his throne, but also his life, was dead (2 Sam 18:33).

When passages in the Deutero-Isaian corpus speaks of God's willingness to remain in relationship with Israel, or encourage Israel to remain in relationship with its God, they do not always foreground divine love or family ties as the motivation for those choices. Nevertheless, the father/rebellious child metaphors of Isaiah 40–55 are aptly suited to convey a sense of the pain and anger that Israel, YHWH, its divine father, and Jerusalem, its mother, have experienced, and also to express how it is possible that those relationships can survive and be healed in the aftermath of calamity.

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[20] Isaiah 40:1-11 is significant not for its shift in tone, to which our reader is well-accustomed, but rather for its ambiguity. Will our reader construe this material as a return to the divine council whence the prophet received his initial commission (6:1-13)? That commission was to persist until cities, houses, and lands lay desolate (6:11). Isaiah 40:1-11, by contrast, focuses upon the certainty of God's word of hope for Jerusalem, but also on a "second chance" for all Israel, including its persistently sinful leadership. The reader does not rule out Isaiah as the speaker in 40:6 (*contra* Conrad 1991:118). To the contrary, Isaiah's ability to address times and experiences beyond his own lifetime is well-established by this point in the scroll.

"From Birth You Were Called A Rebel"

Four following texts share our rebellion theme, although two of the four do not contain rebellious child metaphors *per se.* Yet each is integral to our larger Isaian "rhetoric of rebellion." Recall that for the sequential reader, the presence of vocabulary associated with Isaiah's argot of rebellion suffices to signal our theme, while passages containing explicit child imagery reenforce the recurring rebellious child metaphors introduced already in Isaiah 1.

Isaiah 43:25-27 and 44:21-22

Isaiah 43:25-27 follows a recital of Israel's offenses culminating with YHWH's complaint:

> But you have burdened me with your sins;
> you have wearied me with your iniquities (v. 24b).

In the following verses, however, God promises to "blot out" the long history of disobedience that justifies Israel's demise:

> I, I am He
> who blots out your transgressions (*pĕšāʿêkā*) for my own sake,
> and I will not remember your sins.
> Accuse me, let us go to trial;
> set forth your case, so that you may be proved right.
> Your first ancestor sinned,
> and your intermediaries[21] rebelled against me (*pāšĕʿû bî*).[22]
> Therefore I profaned the princes of the sanctuary,
> I delivered Jacob to utter destruction,
> and Israel to reviling (Isa 43:25-28).

These verses also recall Isaiah 1: both texts contain forms of *pšʿ*; both issue invitations to resolve the dispute between YHWH and Israel in language associated with juridical settings; both offer alternatives to punishment; and both single out Israel's leaders for special reproach. Yet there is a striking difference between these two texts that is of crucial importance to our larger analysis of rebellion in Isaiah: 1:18-20, 27-28 held out redemption for those who repented of their transgressions and embraced obedience, but threatened with utter destruction those who persistently refused to repent. Isaiah 43:25-28, on the other hand, looks back on well-deserved destruction (v. 28), but freely offers expiation to transgressors (v. 25)—not because they have repented, or because they can justify their actions, but rather "for my [God's] own sake." Said differently, a shift in perspective has occurred. Earlier texts proclaimed the fate of rebels and sinners: refusal to repent meant fiery destruction. In our present text, by contrast, all Israel is characterized as historically rebellious (in agreement with Isa 1:2-3), but all are offered forgiveness.

This same shift from the tenor of earlier chapters appears also in Isa 44:21-22, where God encourages all Israel's return with promises of forgiveness and

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21 NRSV has "interpreters."

22 NRSV has "transgressed."

reconciliation motivated by the intimate Creator/created link uniting YHWH and Jacob/Israel:

Remember these things, O Jacob,
and Israel, for you are my servant;
I formed you, you are my servant;
O Israel, you will not be forgotten by me.
I have swept away your rebellions (*pĕšāʿêkā*)[23] like a cloud,
and your sins like mist;
Return to me, for I have redeemed you.

This text also is part of Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion, though God's people are here called "servant," rather than son. In this context, the epithet clearly refers to all Israel. Will its referent remain the same or change as readers move further into Isaiah's vision?

Isaiah 46:8; 48:8-11

In two persuasive passages, YHWH describes Israel as "rebels." Despite all that God has done for *and* against Israel, the people must be convinced of their God's power and purpose:

Remember this and consider,
recall it to mind, you transgressors (*pôšĕʿîm*),
remember the former things of old;
for I am God, and there is no other;
I am God, and there is no one like me.

The second text, 48:8-11, contains rebellious child imagery. In language strikingly harsh and reminiscent of certain parts of Ezekiel (e.g., Ezekiel 16 and 20), YHWH charges that, despite their long-lived relationship (vv. 1-2), obstinate Israel would have ascribed knowledge of "the former things" to its idols, had not the prophets proclaimed them YHWH's doing. Now, God promises to tell Israel new things, things so unheard of that the people cannot claim to have learned them from some other source. Note that this text goes beyond the accusation lodged in Isa 1:2-3: both texts stress Israel's lack of understanding (1:3; 48:8); both use a form of the root *pšʿ* to describe its defiance (1:2; 48:8); and both contain smelting imagery.[24] But while Isa 1:2 suggested that Israel rebelled only after its upbringing was completed, this text traces its obduracy back to Israel's earliest emergence as a people:

You have never heard, you have never known,
from of old your ear has not been opened.
For I knew that you would deal very treacherously,
and that from birth you were called a rebel (*ûpōšēaʿ mibbeten qōrāʾ lāk*),
For my name's sake I defer my anger,
for the sake of my praise I restrain it for you,
So that I may not cut you off.

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[23] NRSV has "sins."

[24] I discuss the importance of this return to metallurgy imagery in Chapter 5 of my book, "The Ladies' Lots: Isaiah 40–66" (1994).

See, I have refined you, but not like silver;
I have tested you in the furnace of adversity.
For my own sake, for my own sake, I do it,
for why should my name be profaned?
My glory I will not give to another (48:8-11).

In this text, God does not assume the role of a patient parent, extending forgiveness to even the most odious offspring. Yet out of concern for the divine reputation, YHWH has refrained from utterly destroying these "life-long" rebels.

Isaiah 50:1

In Isa 50:1, the people of Israel are cast as the children of their father, YHWH, and their mother, Jerusalem. In preceding verses, God has promised personified Jerusalem that mighty nations will soon return her sons and daughters. The rhetorical questions in v. 24 presuppose a negative response. But that response is immediately countered by a divine refutation. Note how YHWH's role in Israel's plight has been recast: instead of acting as its punisher and destroyer (e.g., 43:28), the Lord delivers Zion's children, saving them from the "mighty" and the "tyrant":

But thus says the Lord:
Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken,
and the prey of the tyrant be rescued;
for I will contend with those who contend with you,
and I will save your children (49:25).

How have Jerusalem's children become the captives of tyrants? YHWH defends the former divine role in their plight, acknowledging that both they and their mother have been separated from him, but blaming the children for their alienation:

Thus says the Lord:
Where is your mother's bill of divorce
with which I put her away?
Or which of my creditors is it
to whom I have sold you?
No, because of your sins you were sold,
and for your transgressions your mother was put away (*ûbĕpiš^ᶜêkem sullĕhāh 'immĕkem*; 50:1).

Here is the pointed claim that the disobedient children are responsible not only for their own suffering, but also for Zion's rejection.[25] The rhetorical questions in v. 1a constitute YHWH's denial that his separations from spouse and offspring are permanent and irrevocable. Zion has indeed been "sent away," but her dismissal was not caused by some misdeed on her part. Since she is blameless and no formal statement of divorce (*sēper kĕrîtût*) can be found, YHWH can reclaim her as his wife (Whybray 1975:149). Moreover, his

[25] R. N. Whybray speaks of "the 'children' of the erring 'mother'" (1975:148). In this poem, however, Zion is not an erring mother. Rather, she is the victim of her children's disobedience, and suffers for their sins.

children were sold off for their sins, and not because their father was forced into a last-ditch attempt to repay his creditors. Why, the very idea that God could incur debts is preposterous! Hence, YHWH has both the power and the means to reclaim his children from the Babylonian tyrant.

In a society where care for one's elderly parents was a crucial obligation, the strategy motivating mother/child imagery in Isa 50:1 seems clear. Personified Jerusalem appears the helpless, hapless mother who birthed and nurtured her children, only to suffer rejection and alienation from her husband on account of their sins. Cast as rebellious children whose irresponsible acts have caused their mother both pain and shame, the people appear all the more heinous.

"The Lord God Has Opened My Ear, and I Was Not Rebellious"

An extended discussion of the so-called "servant songs" of Isaiah 40–55 would lead us far afield of the rhetoric of rebellion in Isaiah. Yet both the third (50:4-11) and the fourth (52:13–53:12) songs contain vocabulary that, by this point in the scroll, is a well-established part of our argot of rebellion. Reading these passages *solely* as part of the "servant songs" corpus threatens to obviate their potential significance for our theme.

Unlike Israel, the servant does not rebel against God. To the contrary, he remains receptive to God's word, despite despicable treatment from those he seeks to teach. The clear distinction between the servant who does not rebel, and Israel, a rebel from birth (48:8-11), mitigates against our reader simply equating the servant (in 50:4-11) with Israel, or at least with the nation as a whole. Similarly, Isa 52:13–53:12 distinguishes between the innocent servant (Isa 53:9) and guilty rebels. Forms of the root *pš*ᶜ appear four times (vv. 5, 8, 12 [twice]) in this poem; and in each case, they refer to the transgressions of those on whose behalf the servant has suffered:

> But he was wounded for our transgressions (*mippĕšāʿēnû*),
> crushed for our iniquities;
> upon him was the punishment that made us whole,
> and by his bruises (*ûbaḥaburātô*) we are healed (53:5).

The sequential reader interprets this "song" in light of the text itself, prior Isaian texts (including programmatic references to children who rebel [*pš*ᶜ], to beatings, bruises [*ḥabbûrāh*], and bleeding wounds [Isaiah 1]), and the extratext, including notions of vicarious suffering. The punishment due Israel so long as it persisted in its rebelliousness (chapter 1) has instead been borne by the obedient servant. In the chapters following this servant song, the single servant will become a plurality of servants who, though by no means historically blameless, have sincerely repented of their past transgressions, live in obedience to YHWH's instruction, and anticipate the complete fulfillment of Isaiah's vision. Who are they, and how can they endure the oppressive acts and cultic offenses of those who, despite the lessons of history and the servant's efforts on their behalf, continually refuse to "turn from rebellion" (Isa 59:20)?

Summary

Within Isaiah 40–55, earlier charges against Israel, God's rebellious children, are not refuted. No less than the wayward son of Deuteronomy 21, Israel has behaved in ways justifying the death penalty. Indeed, Isa 48:8 goes beyond Isaiah 1 and 30 by labelling Israel—all of it—a rebel from birth.

The rebellious child metaphors of Isaiah 40–55 do not function primarily to quicken the reader's sense of the power of family ties. To be sure, familial imagery is well-suited to arguments that certain ineffable relationships can survive the most painful experiences. Many Deutero-Isaian texts draw their rhetorical verve from the human desire to be reconciled with one's estranged family, to embrace again one's children. In the texts we have examined, however, rebellious child metaphors function to emphasize human irresponsibility and guilt. That, too, is an important part of the rhetoric of Isaiah 40–55, which seeks not only to reassure readers of YHWH's ongoing love, devotion, and forgiveness, but also *to explain and justify Israel's suffering at YHWH's hand.*

These observations do not disqualify our earlier claim that Isaiah 40–55 constitute a grace interval in Isaiah. Human culpability notwithstanding, YHWH willingly extends forgiveness to his children (albeit for reasons including concern for the divine reputation) despite their rebellious natures. A way exists beyond the ultimate penalty proclaimed in earlier chapters: God can willingly foreswear their utter destruction, if only Israel accepts forgiveness and steps out in faith. Will YHWH's offer to dispel transgressions "like a cloud" suffice for all Israel, irrespective of its response? Or, when all is said and done, must the outcome announced already in Isa 1:27-28 prevail?

Unlike YHWH's obdurate children, the servant does not rebel against God. To the contrary, he is utterly obedient. The identity of the servant remains ambiguous in chapters 40–55. In some contexts he appears to be Israel; in others, he clearly cannot represent the people as a whole. Will he reappear in subsequent texts, his identity and purpose clear? Can he ultimately atone for the transgressions of others?

Isaiah 56–66: "Surely You Are Our Father"

Chapter-by-chapter analysis of Isaiah 56–66 is crucial to the reader's understanding of Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion, including its rebellious child metaphors. Chapters 1–39 contained YHWH's initial articulation of the dilemma: no less than the odious son in Deut 21:18-21, God's children—and especially their leaders—deserve to die. Chapters 40–55, while maintaining that charge, nonetheless extended forgiveness and reconciliation to a pan-Israelite audience. Now, in Isaiah 56–66, the theme of YHWH's disobedient offspring becomes increasingly prominent even as it moves toward (anticipated) resolution.

Scholars are frequently so interested in recovering the original dates of Trito-Isaian oracles that they never focus upon their meaning when read in their canonical order, and as the climactic, concluding chapters of Isaiah. P. Hanson (1975), for example, argues that chapters 60–62, the restoration program of a post-exilic visionary community, constitute the earliest level of the Trito-Isaian corpus, while 56:9–57:13 is later and reflects that community's

increasingly acrimonious relations with its rivals, the powerful pragmatists responsible for Ezekiel 40–48. By reordering texts chronologically, Hanson argues, we can learn a great deal about both the evolving social, political, and economic conditions of the post-exilic period, and the different groups' politico-theological responses to them. Hanson's efforts reap valuable rewards. At the very least, he has demonstrated that much of Isaiah 56–66 reflects a post-exilic Jewish community torn by internal strife and contention. But because his method requires that he "jumble up" the canonical order of the texts, he never explores chapters 56–66 sequentially and as the conclusion of a larger work.

Our reader-oriented approach asks a different sort of question, namely, what is the sense of these chapters when read by one who brings to them both knowledge of sequentially prior Isaian passages and relevant aspects of his extratextual repertoire? More specifically, how do readers interpret the "rhetoric of rebellion" in Isaiah 56–66 in light of what they have already gleaned from chapters 1–55? Is the persistent problem of Israel's obduracy, first articulated in Isaiah 1 and reiterated at many points along the way in condemnations, calls to repentance, and offers of forgiveness, resolved by scroll's end?

Isaiah 56–57: "Are You Not Children of Rebellion?"

Fresh on the heels of the joyous scene in Isa 55:12-13, Isaiah 56 begins with an imperative and a promise: do what is just and right, including sabbath observance, for God's salvation is imminent (vv. 1-2).[26] Proselytes must be permitted to take their place among YHWH's ingathered people, childless eunuchs will receive an everlasting name; and both groups are welcomed as fully-functioning members of Israel's cultic life (vv. 3-8).

With the chiastic tricolon of Isa 56:9, however, the tone shifts dramatically:[27] wild animals are summoned (see also Jer 12:8-9) to devour Israel's oppressive, intemperate leaders. Yes, the leadership classes so frequently threatened and condemned in Isaiah 1–39 continue to transgress, despite the forgiveness proffered in Isaiah 40–55:[28] witness their self-indulgence and excessive appetites for food and booze (Isa 56:11-12; see also Isa 28:1-4, 7-8). In Isa 57:1-2, the diatribe against these "dogs" gives way to a lament bemoaning how the righteous suffer at their hands. But it resumes in vv. 3-4 as the leaders are summoned and charged. Note that in this text, the image is not of YHWH's children rebelling against their divine parent, but rather of progeny whose parentage renders them *inherently* heinous:

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26 See R. Rendtorff's discussion of the pivotal nature of these verses for the book of Isaiah (1991a).

27 Almost from the outset, the reader of Isaiah has experienced sudden and dramatic shifts from words of judgment to promises of salvation for both Israel and the nations (see, for example, Isaiah 19, in which Egypt is both threatened with harsh servitude and blessed as the people of YHWH). In these latter chapters, readers may come to recognize that such sudden shifts in tone are, in a sense, mimetic of the sudden shifts in circumstances (e.g., 4:2; 10:25; 29:5-6; 60:22b) with which YHWH encourages the faithful and threatens the wicked.

28 On the identities of those addressed, see P. Hanson (1975:195-96).

But as for you, come here,
you children of a sorceress,
you offspring of an adulterer and a whore.[29]
Whom are you mocking?
Against whom do you open your mouth wide
and stick out your tongue?[30]
Are you not children of rebellion (*yildê peša*ᶜ),[31]
the offspring of deceit— (*zeraᶜ šāqer*; 57:3-4).

Here, the leaders are condemned with phrases similar in tone to the contemporary, vulgar "son of a bitch"; in both the ancient and modern slurs, the intent is to insult one's foes by charging that their progenitors are in some sense deviant.[32] From so poisonous a pedigree no good issue can come. Depicted metaphorically as the birth products of transgression and deceit, these community leaders epitomize the proverbial "like mother, like daughter" of Ezek 16:44. True to their horrid natures, they participate in disgraceful forms of worship, including the ritual slaughter of helpless children (Isa 57:5).

Isaiah 40–55 certainly was not without its contentious elements: God's sometimes harsh justifications of the penalty Israel has endured; the polemical choice of Cyrus as God's anointed; the ridicule and condemnation of idolators; the physical and psychological abuse inflicted upon the servant. But this shocking text returns readers to a theme—the singling out of Israel's leadership for special rebuke—that, though integral to Isaiah 1–39, was conspicuously absent from Isaiah 40–55 with its pan-Israelite offers of forgiveness (to an audience that included a significant number of Judah's "upper class" along with their offspring).

How does the reader understand the reappearance of references to an oppressive Israelite leadership? In order to answer this question, we must speak briefly of Isaiah's unfolding vision and our reader's place in it. He knows when Isaiah prophesied (1:1), and he knows that some of his prophecies came to pass prior to Isaiah's death. Others were fufilled in subsequent centuries (e.g., Babylon's destruction of Jerusalem), still others are awaiting fulfillment (e.g., the ultimate redemption of those in Zion who repent). Until that day arrives, however, he lives under circumstances falling far short of God's promises. Despite having "drunk to the dregs the bowl of staggering" (Isa 51:17), Israel's corrupt leadership classes continue to sin, refusing the forgiveness YHWH has proffered (e.g., Isa 55:6-7). Despite the punishments that have fallen upon God's people, despite promises of reconciliation freely

29 Literally, "she acts the harlot."

30 This obviously offensive gesture is, within modern American culture, both regarded as childish and associated with children. Whether such was the case in ancient Israel cannot be known. Psalm 35:21 refers to (adult) males opening their mouths wide, but says nothing about a protruding tongue.

31 NRSV has "transgression."

32 Sorceresses were regarded by the biblical authors as illicit practitioners of magic (Deut 18:10-11; Jer 27:9; Ezek 13:17-23; Isa 47:9-13). Adultery and harlotry, both aberrations of socially-sanctioned conjugal activity within marriage, also were well-established metaphors for illegitimate religious and political activities.

extended (Isaiah 40–55), despite even the claim that the servant has willingly borne the punishment for Israel's past transgressions, its leaders remain as blind, undiscerning (56:10), oppressive (57:1-2), and idolatrous (57:6-13) as their ancestors.

Yet suddenly, the message of Isaiah 40–55 reasserts itself: YHWH's highway *shall* be built (57:14) and the dilemma of Israel's persistent rebelliousness resolved when God heals transgressors. References to persistent wickedness in the face of corporal punishment and to the need for healing both evoke and address the painful accusations of Isa 1:2-6:

> Because of their wicked covetousness I was angry;
> I struck them, I hid and was angry;
> but they kept turning back to their own ways.
> I have seen their ways, but I will heal them;
> I will lead them and repay them with comfort,
> creating for their mourners the fruit of the lips.
> Peace, peace to the far and the near, says the Lord;
> and I will heal them (57:17-19).

Here, God's promises appear to resolve the ongoing problem of Israel's disobedience. But the text does not end with v. 19, of course. The chapter's last words, a counterweight to YHWH's promise of peace, likens the wicked to a troubled sea, constantly tossing, churning up mire, never at peace. Some commentators suggest that Isaiah 57:20-21 refers to sinners *outside* Israel. It is unlikely, however, that readers—even on the basis of the healing proffered in 57:16-19—will simply dismiss v. 21 as irrelevant to Israel's own evildoers. By this point in the scroll, they know all too well that wickedness can persist despite every divine offer and act of reconciliation.

Isaiah 58–59: Accusation and Confession

Isaiah 58–59 are pivotal texts for our reader's construal of Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion. Intimately linked and evocative of Isaiah 1, these two chapters constitute a precise, if proleptic and as yet incomplete, dramatic enactment of events and outcomes first presaged in the initial chapter of Isaiah's vision.

Isaiah 58: "Announce to My People Their Rebellion"

Isaiah 58 begins with YHWH's imperatives:

> Shout out, do not hold back!
> Lift up your voice like a trumpet!
> Announce to my people their rebellion (*piš^cām*),
> to the house of Jacob their sins (v. 1).

The following dialogue (vv. 2-5) condemns those whose ostensible righteousness, based upon impeccable attention to fasting and other cultic obligations, is betrayed by their self-serving motivations and acts of violence. Readers recall YHWH's inaugural claim that "my people" (1:3) have "rebelled against me" (1:2), and their leaders' insincere cultic practices, oppression, and acts of violence (1:10-23). Moreover, just as accusation was followed by invitation and the possibility of reconciliation in Isaiah 1, so here condemnation is not the final word. Instead, rhetorical questions (58:6-7)

coupled with conditional clauses (vv. 9b-10, 13) spell out God's moral mandate, while interspersed verses (vv. 8-9a, 11-12, 14) disclose, in language reminiscent of Isaiah 40–55, the rich rewards awaiting those who obey YHWH's demands. Healing remains possible, but the people must make a choice.

To whom are these words of condemnation, instruction, and invitation directed? The opening verse commands that its rebellion be announced to "my people," that is, to all Israel (though second person masculine singular suffixes function to address Israel individual by individual). Isaiah 1:2-3 also lodged the charge of rebellion against "Israel"//"my people" as a whole; and readers recall other pan-Israelite accusations (e.g., "you were called a rebel from birth"; 48:8bß [*Tanakh*]). In Isaiah, Israel's history is unquestionably a history of rebellion; and none save the servant of Isa 50:4-11 can claim utter obedience. And yet, already in Isaiah 1 the nation's religious and administrative leaders were singled out for special censure. Repeatedly in Isaiah 1–39 and again in 56:9–57:13, generations of leadership are charged with rebellious and self-serving, violent acts. So while Isa 58:1 accuses all of God's people with rebellion, both the technical cultic terminology of vv. 2-6 and the claim that those indicted wield power (vv. 3-4) suggest that Israel's leadership—especially its cultic heads—are particularly the focus of YHWH's sharp critique (Hanson 1975:108-11).

What is Israel's response to YHWH's demands for justice, offers of healing, and promises of salvation? Judging from the rejoinder in Isa 59:1-3, it appears that the accused wonder if *divine* impotence, rather than *human* recalcitrance, explains the delay of YHWH's salvation. In Isa 59:1-3, rhetorically-significant shifts in pronouns encourage readers to align themselves with the first person plural speakers, while rejecting "our" opponents, perpertrators of evil and the cause of our distress. Subsequent verses graphically elaborate upon the sins that "you" (shifting to "they" in vv. 4-8) have committed: lying, perverting justice, bloodshed, and destruction. Faced with the clear choices articulated in Isa 58:6-14, those addressed in 59:3-8 have nevertheless persisted in their iniquities. As a consequence, "we" suffer on account of their sins (59:9-11).

Isaiah 59: "Rebellion, Faithlessness to the Lord, and Turning Away from our God"

Then, in the midst of lamenting, these first person plural speakers do what the nation, and especially its leaders, have persistently refused to do: in a strategically-placed (see below) and pivotal text that is replete with Isaiah's argot of rebellion, *they sincerely confess Israel's sins*:

For our many sins (*pĕšāʿênû*) are before You,
Our guilt testifies against us.[33]
We are aware of our sins (*pĕšāʿênû*),
And we know well our iniquities:[34]

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[33] L. Alonso Schökel (1988:124) notes the personification of *hattôʾwtênû* ("'our sins accuse us' like witnesses or prosecutors in a trial").

[34] Note the moaning assonance created by the eight first person common plural suffixes in this bicolon.

> Rebellion (*pāšōaʿ*), faithlessness ([*wĕ*]*kaḥēš*)[35] to the Lord,
> And turning away from our God,
> Planning fraud and treachery (*sārāh*),[36]
> Conceiving lies (*dibrê šāqer*) and bringing them forth from the heart (Isa 59:12-13; *Tanakh*).[37]

With these words, the lamenters (and the reader) acknowledge the truth and justice of Isaiah's initial charge against Israel. The nation addressed in that first oracle may have lacked the discernment of oxen and even of asses, but these penitents fully recognize Israel's history of culpability before God (vv. 12-13).

What is YHWH's response to this sincere confession that a dearth of justice and its effects (vv. 14-15a) are the consequence of Israel's historic rebellion against its God? Verses 15b-20 function to reassure the lamenters that redemption lies beyond repentance. YHWH, the Divine Warrior, prepares to battle his enemies; and when the battles have been won to the west and to the east (59:19), God will turn toward Jerusalem:

> And he will come to Zion as Redeemer,
> to those in Jacob who turn from transgression (*pešaʿ*), says the Lord (59:20).

The announcement of Israel's rebellion (*pišʿām*) to "my people" in Isaiah 58 may have evoked doubts about YHWH's ability to deliver in some quarters (59:1). But for at least some within the community, it has elicited this sincere act of confession. To them, YHWH shall come as Redeemer. Isaiah 59:20 echoes Isa 1:27:

> Zion shall be redeemed by justice,
> and those in her who repent, by righteousness.

But what of those whose responses are disbelief, violence, injustice, and blaming God? With the notice of YHWH's preparations for battle, readers also recall the fate of Israel's persistent rebels and sinners, proclaimed already in Isa 1:28:

> But rebels and sinners shall be destroyed together,
> and those who forsake the Lord shall be consumed.

Isaiah 60–62: "Arise, Shine, for Your Light Has Come"

It is precisely to those penitents who hear the announcement of Israel's rebellion and respond with wholehearted confession that Isaiah 60–62 speak. True, Zion is the addressee, as the shift from third person masculine plural and second person masculine singular grammatical forms (59:21) to second person feminine singular grammatical forms (Isaiah 60) makes clear. The

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35 Elsewhere in Isaiah, *kḥš* apears only in the charge that the people of Israel are "faithless children" (*bānîm kĕḥāsîm*; 30:9).

36 The same word appears in Isa 1:5, part of Isaiah's indictment of YHWH's rebellious children.

37 *Tanakh* has ". . . and uttering them with the throat."

sequential reader makes sense of this shift, however, assisted by the parallel of "Zion"//"those in Jacob who turn from transgression" in 59:20.

Now, on the "other side" of their confession, the penitents embodied in personified Jerusalem are promised a glorious restoration:

> Arise, shine; for your light has come,
> and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you.
> For darkness shall cover the earth,
> and thick darkness the peoples;
> but the Lord will arise upon you,
> and his glory will appear over you.
> Nations shall come to your light,
> and kings to the brightness of your dawn (Isa 60:1-3).

Addressing these penitents as personified Jerusalem allows the poet to tap the rich ancestral vitality of traditions describing Jerusalem as YHWH's wife and mother, and to present the reunion of YHWH, Jerusalem, and her inhabitants as a *family* reunion. God's promises to Zion/the penitents include the humiliation of all her oppressors. The author of Isa 60:14, for example, relishes an image of the children of Zion's enemies doing obeisance at her feet. References to kings and nations in surrounding verses strongly suggest that Israel's foreign oppressors are primarily in view here. But readers know that the penitents/personified Zion have internal, as well as external foes; and the latter are surely among those who will bow down before her.

Under a new and righteous leadership, Zion's mourning will cease; and she will bask in everlasting light (60:17b-20). Despite that promise, however, the single voice raised in Isa 61:1 must acknowledge that mourning persists in Zion (vv. 2-3). That voice, reminiscent of the first person speech of the earlier "servant songs," briefly abandons the address to personified Jerusalem, speaking directly to those in Zion who mourn, and promising them an everlasting covenant (see 59:21), salvation, and the riches of nations. "For Zion's sake," the speaker avows (and the reader right along with him), "I will not keep silent. . . ." (Isa 62:1). With v. 2, however, the speaker resumes direct address to personified Jerusalem, proclaiming her coming vindication and approaching (re)marriage to YHWH. Moreover, Jerusalem's sentinels are instructed continually to remind God of the as-yet-unfulfilled promises to Jerusalem:

> Upon your walls, O Jerusalem,
> I have posted sentinels;
> all day and all night
> they shall never be silent.
> You who remind the Lord,
> take no rest,
> and give him no rest
> until he establishes Jerusalem
> and makes it renowned throughout the earth (62:6-7).

According to the NRSV annotation for these verses, the sentinels' (prophets') purpose is "to remind Jerusalem of her imminent salvation, the certainty of which the Lord's oath (vv. 8-9) underscores." But the text says the opposite, i.e.,

that the sentinels are to remind *YHWH* of the divine oath to bring about Jerusalem's imminent salvation. The end of Isaiah 62 returns readers to the image of the Lord's highway and promises marvelous new names for both the people of Israel and Jerusalem, names reflecting their transformation. But the oppressors are still oppressing, and the mourners still mourn. The posted sentinels are a tacit acknowledgment that the proclaimed salvation is, for the moment, pure prolepsis functioning as (self-)evidence of the very reality it anticipates. If the reader is disposed steadfastly to believe that YHWH is YHWH, the omniscient and omnipotent deity whose powers and plan have filled the vistas of Isaiah's vision, then the "evidence" compels; and he is emboldened to go on believing God's promises, e.g., "I am YHWH; in its time I will accomplish it quickly" (60:22b). But the dissonance between promise and present reality persists. The quick cut back to the Divine Warrior (Isa 63:1-6) whose preparations for battle were described in Isa 59:15b-19 and the vivid descriptions of his appearance, soaked as he is with the blood of enemy nations, function further to reassure readers that YHWH's plan for Israel and the nations is moving forward.

Isaiah 63:7–64:11: "You, O Lord, Are Our Father, Our Redeemer from of Old Is Your Name"

Flowing out of the extravagant promises and painful undercurrents of Isaiah 60–62, potentially dammed in by the claim that the Divine Warrior's redemptive work has, in fact, already begun (63:1-6), the lament in Isaiah 63:7–64:11 swells to a torrent of suffering, frustration, and despair. Its outpourings are not altogether chaotic, however. To the contrary, the lamenters lift up their filial status in strategic ways, the better to move YHWH to pity and action on their behalf:[38]

I will recount the gracious deeds of the Lord,
the praiseworthy acts of the Lord,
because of all that the Lord has done for us,
and the great favor to the house of Israel
that he has shown them according to his mercy,
according to the abundance of his steadfast love.
For he said, "Surely they are my people,
children who will not deal falsely" (*bānîm lōʾ yĕšaqqērû*);
and he became their savior
in all their distress.
It was no messenger or angel
but his presence that saved them;
in his love and in his pity he redeemed them;
he lifted them up and carried them all the days of old (63:7-9).

As their historical retrospect continues, the penitents confess that YHWH's early confidence in filial devotion and loyalty (v. 8) was misplaced. The children so lovingly protected and reared grew up to become rebels; and their

[38] For recent discussions of this lament, see E. C. Webster (1990:89-102), R. J. Clifford (1989:93-102), and C. C. Broyles (1989).

transgressions had a profound effect upon God's behavior: the once-loving parent became Israel's foe:

> But they rebelled (*mārû*)
> and grieved his holy spirit;
> therefore he became their enemy;
> he himself fought against them (63:10b).

Despite this horrific turn of events, memories of God's past gracious acts—the exodus and Israel's miraculous escape through the Red Sea—embolden the lamenters to plead for renewed love and powerful divine acts on their behalf. For the first time in Isaiah, YHWH's historically rebellious children—the penitents of Isaiah 59:12-13 who continue to suffer—address God directly as "father":

> Look down from heaven and see,
> from your holy and glorious habitation.
> Where are your zeal and your might?
> The yearning of your heart and your compassion?
> They are withheld from me.
> For you are our father,
> though Abraham does not know us
> and Israel does not acknowledge us;
> you, O Lord, are our father;
> our Redeemer from of old is your name (63:15-16).

Commentators disagree about the significance of references to Abraham and Israel (v. 16). Do the lamenters contrast Israel's forebears, long dead and incapable of responding to their present plight, with YHWH, their eternal father?[39] Or do the names "Abraham" and "Israel" refer to the lamenting community's opponents?[40] For our reader, the second of these options certainly comports well with what he has learned thus far about the people's oppressive leadership. Regardless of how one resolves this complex issue, however, v. 16 is striking for its twofold insistence that YHWH is Israel's father, though their relationship has been compromised by a history of human sin and consequent divine abandonment. Repentant Israel pleads with God to relent, to reclaim as his own the children who long for their father's love and protection, but who have become ". . . as a people You never ruled, to which Your name was never attached" (v. 19a; *Tanakh*).

Following a fervent prayer for YHWH's presence (63:19b–64:3) and a description of the lamenters' dilemma, guilt, and alienation from God (vv. 4-

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39 So C. Westermann (1969:393) and J. Muilenberg (1956:736-37). Both are indebted to M. Noth (1928:80-81) for his contrast between Abraham and Israel as powerless *Stammväter* and YHWH as the dependable *Stammvater* of Israel.

40 So P. Hanson (1975:92-93). In Mic 7:20, the names of certain of Israel's patriarchs apparently refer to the contemporary community: "You will keep faith with Jacob, loyalty to Abraham, as you promised on oath to our fathers in days gone by." See also Isa 51:1-3, where Abraham and Sarah are presented as the ancestral couple whence descended all Israel.

6), their cry, "You are our Father!," returns.[41] The implications of this strong familial bond are driven home by the immediately following potter/clay metaphor:

> Yet, O Lord, you are our Father;
> we are the clay, and you are our potter;
> we are all the work of your hand.
> Do not be exceedingly angry, O Lord,
> and do not remember iniquity forever (vv. 7-8; ET 8-9).

This metaphor also appears elsewhere in Israel's prophetic literature. In Jer 18:1-6, for example, the potter and his clay are metaphors for YHWH and Israel. Because clay is an inert substance—unable to shape itself, and only assuming the form that the potter sees fit (or deems unfit)—the metaphor emphasizes YHWH's power over Israel and its destiny. Israel's shape (fate) is entirely in the hands of its God.

Readers of Isa 63:7–64:11 have already encountered an Isaian oracle juxtaposing familial and potter/clay metaphors in Isa 45:9-10 (see also 41:25).[42] There, creatures with the audacity to question their creators' wisdom and authority were chastised: Isa 45:9 insists that God controls the shape of the clay, Israel.

Central to these potter/clay metaphors, then, is the potter's (YHWH's) absolute control over the clay. Less emphasized, but present nonetheless, is the concomitant notion of the clay's (Israel's) malleability, and hence of the potter's responsibility for the form it assumes. Both ideas are integral to the metaphor (though in any given trope one or the other can be foregrounded to a greater degree); and both function strategically within the context of the lament in Isa 63:7–64:11. On the one hand, the penitents acknowledge YHWH's authority, power, and justice, confessing Israel's history of rebellion (Isa 63:10). On the other hand, they remind God, via the potter/clay metaphor, that the father/child relationship entails responsibility for *both* parties. Insisting that "we are all *the work of your hands*" (Isa 64:7bß; ET v. 8bß), the lamenting community not only stresses the intimate link uniting God and people, but also plays upon that sense of parental responsibility to—and for—one's offspring that can persist long after children have passed from their progenitors' control. If such a strategic use of familial imagery strikes us as bold, we should remember that this lament, a daring statement of suffering, frustration, and despair, does not shrink from exploiting a variety of rhetorical strategies in hopes of restoring God's love, mercy, and responsiveness to Israel. In Isa 64:11b also, the supplicants seek to evoke parental guilt *and* compassion ("Will you keep silent, and punish us so severely?" [Isa 64:11b; ET 12b]). Elsewhere, they charge God with turning away from them (Isa 64:6; ET v. 7)

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41 In his commentary, Westermann rightly notes that the appeal to YHWH as father functions somewhat differently in Isa 64:7 than in Isa 63:16: ". . . while the two confessions of confidence are apparently the same," he writes, "in 63.16 the accent falls on God's being a Father, but here in 64.7 (8) it is on the fact that the speakers are children"(1969:397). Of course, what is emphasized in Isa 63:16 is not simply that the speakers are children, but specifically that they are *YHWH's* children.

42 In addition to the following, see also Isa 41:25.

and with hardening their hearts ("Why, O Lord, do you make us stray from your ways and harden our heart, so that we do not fear you?" [Isa 63:17a]).

From the extremities of their distress, the penitents beg for intercession, their lament deeply rooted in YHWH's familial ties and shared experiences with Israel. What will be God's response to their plea?

> After all this, will you restrain yourself, O Lord?
> Will you keep silent,[43] and punish us so severely? (Isa 64:11 [ET v. 12])

Isaiah 65: "So I Will Do for My Servants' Sake and Not Destroy Them All"

God's first response is a disclaimer—a refutation of Israel's charge that its father has turned a deaf ear to his children. To the contrary, YHWH claims repeatedly to have taken the initiative to reunite with his rebellious offspring, but they have refused every overture (Isa 65:1-2). The following catalogue of offenses (vv. 3-5) is an imaginative exercise in the extremities of abomination, while the quotation, "Keep to yourself, do not come near me, for I am too holy for you" (Isa 65:5), places Israel's cultic leaders squarely in the squalor.

YHWH vows vengeance. But punishment will not be inflicted upon the entire nation. Isaiah 65:8-14 spells out the crucial distinction between "you who forsake the Lord" on the one hand, and "my servants" (i.e., those penitents who have sincerely confessed Israel's history of rebelliousness [59:12-13] and await God's redemption) on the other.

Isaiah 66: "It Is They Who Shall Be Put to Shame"

The climactic fulfilment of YHWH's restoration promises to Zion/those in Jacob who repent, already presaged in Isa 1:27, is proleptically described in Isaiah's concluding chapter. But Isaiah 66 contains more than descriptions of Zion's redemption. It also addresses the fate of those who have persisted in their disobedience despite every chastising wound, every purging punishment, every offer of forgiveness, everything.

The chapter begins with YHWH's scornful dismissal of an earthly temple (66:1-29), words reminiscent of the negative response to David's suggestion that a temple be built in Jerusalem (2 Sam 7:5-7). Readers may temporarily find the reference to temple builders obscure. But the following verses dispel any doubt about their identity: they are those cultic officials who oppress the righteous (56:9–57:13). Verses 3-4, a catalog of cultic offenses whose content recalls Isa 65:3-5, cite the most horrid of pagan rituals, and then equate them with their opponents' religious rites.[44] The diatribe against those committing cultic atrocities (66:1-2a, 3-4) was interrupted in v. 2b by a consoling address to "the humble and contrite in spirit, who trembles at my word." Verse 5 returns to these humble ones, reassuring them that their adversaries ("your own people who hate you") will be punished. Here is further, explicit confirmation of the reader's judgment that other Jews, and not just foreigners, are the enemy. These foes mock the servants, because their hopes for divine intervention are as yet unrealized. On the heels of the prophetic word of assurance ("but it is they who shall be put to shame"), however, appears yet

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[43] The same word (*ḥšh*) appears in 62:1 in the prophet's avowal *not* to keep silent.

[44] So P. Hanson (1975:179-80) and—cautiously—C. Westermann (1969:413-14).

another theophanic vision of the Divine Warrior—in Jerusalem at last, and ready to defeat transgressors:

Listen, an uproar from the city!
A voice from the temple!
The voice of the Lord,
dealing retribution to his enemies!

The description of the Divine Warrior's battle is interrupted, in a sense, by the quite different tone of vv. 7-14.[45] But it resumes in vv. 15-16, further detailing the Divine Warrior's approach:

For the Lord will come in fire,
and his chariots like the whirlwind,
to pay back his anger in fury,
and his rebuke in flames of fire.
For by fire will the Lord execute judgment,
and by his sword, on all flesh;
and those slain by the Lord shall be many.

When all is said and done, and YHWH's new heavens and new earth have been unfurled (Isa 65:17-25; 66:22-23), those who have "rebelled against me" (*happōšĕʿîm bî*) will indeed be destroyed (66:24), just as promised in Isaiah's inaugural chapter. And the survivors of the Divine Warrior's final battle, YHWH's repentant, obedient children, will go out and gawk at their smoldering corpses.

Summary

What is the sequential reader's construal of Isaiah 56–66 when these chapters are read in light of all that precedes them, and with special focus upon rebellious child imagery and the larger rhetoric of rebellion in Isaiah? Isaiah 56:1-8 demands justice and righteousness from a thoroughly inclusive community, but also promises imminent salvation and deliverance. Isaiah 56:9–57:13 reintroduces the theme of Israel's corrupt leaders, accusing them of crimes—drunken self-indulgence, oppression, illicit reliance on other deities or international relations—familiar from Isaiah 1–39. This diatribe is followed by a reaffirmation (in the spirit of Isaiah 40–55) of God's intention both to be with the "contrite and humble in spirit" (v. 15), and to heal the wicked who have persisted in their sins. Isaiah 58 announces Israel's rebellion and sin, but also invites reconciliation. Chapter 59 responds to a charge of divine impotence from disbelieving quarters, shifting the blame for salvation's delay squarely upon those whose hands are defiled with blood (59:3; so also the leaders condemned in 1:15), and who thwart justice (vv. 4-8; so also the leaders condemned in 1:17, 23), to "our" hurt (59:9-12). Such are the critical conditions that elicit from the lamenters a confession of the nature and magnitude of the community's historic rebellions against God and their consequences (59:12-15). The significance of that confession is signalled by YHWH's response to it: the divine warrior prepares for battle, anticipating both

[45] By describing the "deliverance" of Jerusalem's children prior to the destruction of rebels, Isaiah 66 honors the order of events presaged in Isa 1:27-28.

world-wide victory and fulfillment of the promise articulated already in Isa 1:27. Chapters 60–62 encourage the lamenters, addressed as "Zion"//"those in Jacob who turn from transgression" (59:20), with both promises of glorious restoration and assurances that God is constantly being reminded of those promises. A second divine warrior passage (63:1-6) functions further to reassure the oppressed that the divine plan is moving forward, as God's vengeance over enemy nations is (proleptically) proclaimed. In a great communal lament, the oppressed again confess Israel's history of rebellion, strategically entreating their father's help (63:7–64:12). God responds first by denying the charge of neglect: Israel, and not its deity, has been silent and rebellious. Yet, for the sake of "my servants," YHWH announces the imminent creation of "a new heavens and a new earth" (65:17). Isaiah 66 describes Zion's miraculous renewal, but also the divine warrior's arrival in Jerusalem, ready to slay "those who have rebelled against me" (66:24).

Conclusion

From its earliest oracles through post-exilic contributions to the emerging scroll, from its first accusation against rebel Israel to the announcement of their demise (chapter 66), Isaiah's vision abounds with references to children—young and old, innocent and obdurate. And just as the prophet's own offspring furthered his ministry, however passively, through their conceptions, births, names, and developmental milestones, so literal and especially figurative references to children function strategically to persuade readers to a perspectival realignment, an assent to the depiction of reality that the text presents: God's relationship with Israel is as enduring, as complex, and as powerful as the familial blood bond binding parents and children across generations (as well as across what we would call "generation gaps"). As such, it can survive even the most painful, wrath-invoking, and shameful circumstances; Jerusalem's intemperate, oppressive rulers are spoiled, headstrong children who stand sorely in need of harsh discipline. Present suffering notwithstanding, God offers repentant Israel a world so edenic, so devoid of natural calamity and human strife, that even its curious toddlers cannot get into trouble.

As we have seen, rebellious child metaphors are recurring and important elements within Isaiah's larger rhetoric of rebellion, for they tap ancient Israelite society's extremely negative attitudes toward disobedient offspring and communicate with unrivaled poignancy both the pathos and the joy experienced by all members of God's family. Readers are informed straight off (Isaiah 1) that the people of YHWH, including especially their leaders, are rebellious children who, despite God's tenacity, forebearance, and love (especially Isaiah 40–55) are doomed to destruction unless they repent of their transgressions (Isaiah 1–39 and especially 56–66). Repeated charges interspersed with offers of forgiveness and healing urge both nation and reader to turn away from Israel's history of rebellion. First person plural confessions and laments, as well as words of consolation and promise addressed to "you," align readers with that element within rebel Israel that confesses its sins, repents of its past, and embraces obedience. Second and

third person accusations function to distinguish "us" from "you" (also "they") who persistently refuse to obey.

The servant who suffered for Israel's rebellions becomes a plurality of servants in Isaiah 56–66. Despite the trials they endure, these servants are committed to emulating his obedience. They do not, however, endure mistreatment *on behalf of* rebels and sinners. The judgment of Isaiah 1:28 stands: persistent transgressors will be destroyed.

Through its pervasive rhetoric of rebellion, then, Isaiah beckons Israel and its readers from a history of disobedience against God to obedience and an edenic life lying immediately on God's horizon. But it also insists that those who refuse YHWH's invitation to repentance will be utterly destroyed. Readers of Isaiah's vision are urged to decide whether to clamor among Jerusalem's reunited and newborn children, or smolder among the corpses of those choosing not to repent (Isa 66:24).

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"Isaiah" as an Exponent of Torah: Isaiah 56:1-8

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Any discussion of Torah in Isaiah 56:1-8 joins the long procession that has formed behind Bernhard Duhm.[1] In this procession, there are few studies of the relation between the traditions in the voice of "Isaiah" and the traditions in the voice of "Moses"—with the notable exception of motifs from *Heilsgeschichte.* In his regard for the term "scribal," Beuken[2] supports new possibilities for reading the text against the background of other texts. His assumption that "literal correspondences" lead to and back from the other texts is quite a powerful tool for discrimination, as Hillel the Elder taught us long ago. The best case for such an analysis is Isaiah 56:1-8, which clearly deals with issues that Duhm did not associate with proper prophetic activity.

The counterpoint between Isaianic language and traditional legal language is apparent in the opening phrase. The double admonition (imperative plural), and the pairing of משפט and צדקה as virtues associated with God, Zion, and kings expresses connection with the rhetoric of "Isaiah"[3]. But the vocabulary of the admonition (56:1a):

> *56:1 Thus says the LORD:*
> *Maintain justice, and do what is right,*[4]

has strong connections with the tradition of legal instruction.[5] Dtr and H ring the changes on the word pair שמר/עשה[6] without offering a precise

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1 Duhm (1968, 419) speaks of a "Thora über die Zulassung der Fremden und der Verschnittenen zur Gemeinde und zum Kultus." But the appearance of the term "Werkgerechtigkeit" in the same paragraph mandates a certain wariness. A *Forschungsbericht* would displace the paper, but Silberman (1983) states the matter well.

2 Beuken (1987), concentrates on Isaianic material. Beuken (1989, 36), however, shows a "kaleidoscope of scriptural material" in Is 56-66, and speaks of 56:1-8 as a "patchwork quilt" (lappendeken).

3 See Bonnard (1972, 344n), Sehmsdorf (1972, 545), and Schmidt (1968, 79-103, on צדק).

4 The *New Revised Standard Version Bible,* Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America: 1989 is used throughout.

5 See the form critical treatments by Begrich (1936) and Lescow (1970).

6 Sehmsdorf (1972), emphasized the ringing of the changes on these two verbs in Dtr/Dtn. The direct pairing of imperfects and waw perfects in admonitions, often with משפטים (4:6; 7:12; 29:8 ET 9; —16:12; 26:16 23:24 ET 23), despite the more abstract משפט, is more to the point. Here and elsewhere, the "dtr-chr Bewegung" (p. 556) is a procrustean bed. See the parallels in H (Lev 18:4; 20:8; 19:37; 20:22; 22:31; 25:18; 26:3).

grammatical parallel, and without using the abstract "justice" for concrete "ordinances."[7]

The basis for the admonition (56:1b):

> *56:1 for soon my salvation will come,*
> *and my deliverance be revealed.*

not only contains thematic Isaianic words,[8] but, as Steck has argued, reflections of specific Isaianic texts.[9] The allusion[10] to the ominous conclusion to a poem announcing the defeat of (the gods of) Babylon:[11]

> 46:12 Listen to me, you stubborn of heart,
> you who are far from deliverance מצדקה:
> 13 I bring near my deliverance קרבתי צדקתי, it is not far off,
> and my salvation תשועתי will not tarry;
> I will put salvation ונתתי תשועה in Zion,
> for Israel my glory.

is fairly simple, bringing forward the context of this reproach as the basis for the general admonition. The allusions to Is. 51, addressed to those who pursue (51:1) and know (51:7) righteousness צדק,

> 51:4 Listen to me, my people עמי,
> and give heed to me, my nation;
> for a teaching will go out from me,
> and my justice ומשפטי for a light to the peoples עמים.
> 51:5 I will bring near my deliverance קרוש צדקי swiftly,
> my salvation has gone out ישעי
> and my arms will rule the peoples עמים ישפטו;
> the coastlands wait for me,
> and for my arm they hope.[12]

has been changed to an admonition addressed to a those who, in the same context, must be admonished to act in conformity with justice and right. The festal joy of the returning "ransomed of Zion" (cf 51:3)

> 51:11 So the ransomed of the LORD shall return,
> and come ובאו to Zion with singing;
> everlasting joy שמחת עולם shall be upon their heads;

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7 Fishbane (1985,128) speaks of "lay exegesis."

8 See Rendtorff (1993). Note his discussion of the juxtaposition of two meanings of צדקה (1a "what is right" and 1b "my deliverance").

9 See Steck (1991b and 1991c) for a discussion of these references in the context of his theory that this text belongs to the final (Ptolemaic) redaction and reconception of the book of Isaiah. See the summary in Steck (1991a).

10 At this point, the generality of Eslinger's (1992) phrase "intertextual allusion" commends it.

11 See Melugin (1976), 132-134 and Westermann (1991), 45-46, 241.

12 51:6 "but my salvation וישועתי will be forever לעולם, / and my deliverance וצדקתי will never be ended." and 51:8 "but my deliverance צדקתי will be forever, / and my salvation ישועתי to all generations." do not add to the argument.

they shall obtain joy and gladness שׂמחה,
and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

has become (56:7) the rejoicing in the temple by עמים (cf. 51:4) whose sacrifices are offered there—or even foreign cultic functionaries, on which more anon. The reference to the name (for eunuchs—56:6) better than sons or daughters may be the counterpoint to the lament of Jerusalem as a woman bereft of the support of children and the corresponding images of the restoration of these children:

51:18 There is no one to guide her
among all the children בנים she has borne;
there is no one to take her by the hand מחזיק בידה
among all the children בנים she has brought up.

In this context, the phrase יחזיק בה (56:2) is interesting—there has been some discussion of the antecedent of the feminine pronominal suffix. Note also that the general terms for the unsympathetic audience to the lamentation (cf. 51:7),

51:12 I, I am he who comforts you;
why then are you afraid of a mere mortal מאנוש who must die,
a human being ומבן־אדם who fades like grass?

appear in the beatitude pronounced on those who respond to the opening admonition and its expansion.

56:2 Happy is the mortal who does this,
the one who holds it fast,[13]

In sum, the text is closer to the work of Steck's authorized transmitter and reinterpreter of a tradition, than to "epigonic allusions."[14]

The final participial phrase of the benediction forms a kind of inclusio that ends the opening.

56:2 who keeps the sabbath, not profaning it,
and refrains from doing any evil.

The repetition of the verbs שׁמר and עשׂה[15] from the opening admonition (1a) emphasizes this specific aspect of the traditional ethos of the community in the context of Isaianic words announcing imminent divine manifestation.[16] At the same time, it is a refrain linking the opening admonition and affirmation with the conditional promises to eunuchs (4a)

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[13] Or "who sustains her," viz. Zion, if this is part of an "echo" of 51:18, discussed above. See Hollander (1981) for the term. Rhetorically, this also anticipates the unique refrain מחזים בבריתי (4, 6), with a feminine object.

[14] Fishbane (1985, 498; see 289).

[15] Odeberg's (1931, 18) silence about "keep your hand from [NRSV refrain from]" confirms the independence of the phrasing. Sehmsdorf (1972, 546n) lists the occurrences of the word pair "observe/do" and of the phrase "do evil" in Dtn/Dtr.

[16] Koenen (1990) confines this particular expression of "ethic and eschatology" to a series of editorial "bracketing texts" that tie Isaiah 56-66 together (see pp. 226-227). He also locates "Mischzitate" (p. 13) in this redactional level.

and foreigners (6b). Fishbane has shown that the extraordinary significance of Sabbath observance in this text is expressed in a dialogue with a variety of then current Sabbath *tradita*.[17] The verb "profane," however, is associated with a particular text:[18]

> Ex 31:12 The LORD said to Moses: 13 You yourself are to speak to the Israelites: "You shall keep my sabbaths תִּשְׁמֹרוּ אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתַי, for this is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, given in order that you may know that I, the LORD, sanctify you מְקַדִּשְׁכֶם. 14 You shall keep the sabbath וְשָׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת, because it is holy קֹדֶשׁ for you; everyone who profanes it shall be put to death מוֹת יוּמַת מְחַלְלֶיהָ; whoever does הָעֹשֶׂה any work on it shall be cut off וְנִכְרְתָה from among the people מִקֶּרֶב עַמֶּיהָ.
>
> 15 Six days shall work be done יֵעָשֶׂה, but the seventh day is a sabbath of solemn rest שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן, holy קֹדֶשׁ to the LORD; whoever does הָעֹשֶׂה any work on the sabbath day הַשַּׁבָּת shall be put to death.
>
> 16 Therefore the Israelites shall keep וְשָׁמְרוּ the sabbath הַשַּׁבָּת, observing the sabbath לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת throughout their generations, as a perpetual covenant בְּרִית עוֹלָם. 17 It is a sign forever לְעֹלָם between me and the people of Israel that in six days the LORD made עָשָׂה heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested שָׁבַת, and was refreshed."

A scattering of specific words and phrases in Is 56:1-8 seem to allude to, or even echo this Sabbath text. The verb שׁמר (Ex 31:12, 16) is quite common in Sabbath laws, but 56:4a (יִשְׁמְרוּ אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתַי) breaks the pattern of the refrain, and strengthens the impression of influence from this text. The grounding of the Sabbath in creation is common, as is the association of holiness with the Sabbath. Here, the grounding of Sabbath in creation gives it a cosmological status,[19] which mandates death for "defiling" it and excommunication/death for labor. In 56:1-8, the emphasis on benefits of "keeping" the Sabbath (Ex 31:13, 14, 16 / Is 56:2, 4, 6) holds the text together. The characterization of the Sabbath as a "covenant" (Ex 31:16) may be echoed by the coined refrain "hold fast my covenant" (4, 6), for which Sabbath observance is the metonym. For the eunuchs, the excommunication formula (Ex 31:14) is brought into the linguistic realm of blood lines in the assurance that the ("everlasting"; cf. Ex 31:16-17) name, even without children, would "not be cut off."[20] For the

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17 Knight (1990), p. 2, neatly summarizes his distinction between "tradition" as "the materials . . . that are being handed down" (*traditum*) and as "the process of transmission" (*traditio*). Fishbane (1985, 14-16) amplifies this distinction. His discussion of the differences of opinion on concrete recurrent issues in the "postexilic" period is exemplary. See also Fishbane (1992). His discussion of this text emphasizes lay opposition to the expansion of priestly prerogatives in the interpretation of Num 18 (pp. 118-119), but see his discussion of the Sabbath (pp. 131-135, especially 132n) and his emphasis on the "axial position" of the Sabbath (pp. 478-479), which seems to provide the key to understanding 56:1-8.

18 *Pace* Grünwaldt (1992), pp. 170-185, who raises the haunting question of direction of influence. Ezek 20 and 44 are treated with Fishbane as variant interpretations of the Exodus text, in whatever form it may have existed.

19 See Sarna (1991, 201).

20 Note the formula in the plea of the daughters of Zelophehad, "Why should the name of our father be taken away יִגָּרַע from his clan because he had no son? (Num 27:4).

aliens, the hallowing associated with the Sabbath (Ex 31:13—cf. 14, 15) may appear in their fitness to be brought to the "holy mountain" and to participate in the rites of the temple (56:7).

Lexical connections with the framework of a variety of Sabbath laws (associated with various strata of the Pentateuch) suggest that a developing body of teachings—even texts—takes on a significance even beyond the boundaries of "schools." This is especially marked in the phraseology of requirements for foreigners (56:6). In particular, the uncommon phrase "to love the name of the Lord"[21] may be a telescoping and reconception of words that appear in decalogues:

> Ex 20:6 but showing steadfast love to ... those who love me אהבי and keep ושמרי my commandments. 7 You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the LORD שם־יי your God, for the LORD will not acquit anyone who misuses his name שמו.

as well as in Deut 5:10-11.[22] Finally, the overriding significance of the Sabbath may echo the traditional connection of Sabbath with the creation, and therefore the structure, of the universe.[23] If there is a subliminal connection between the observance of the Sabbath by the people and the understanding of exile as an enforced observance of the sabbatical for the land (Lev 26:34-35—cf. 42-46), another dimension may be given this text.[24]

The complaint of the alien (v. 3a) and the complaint of the eunuch (v. 3b) provide the structure for the "Torah."[25] This chiastic structure will be broken into its components for the sake of coherence. There is a strong tendency to treat the response to the complaint of the alien:

> *56:3a Do not let the foreigner joined to the LORD say,*
> *"The LORD will surely separate me from his people";*
> *6 And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD,*
> *to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD,*
> *and to be his servants,*
> *all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it,*
> *and hold fast my covenant—*

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21 The occurrences in Pss are outside the scope of this study.

22 The phrases "to be his servants" (6) and "better than sons and daughters" (5) are more distant from Ex 20:5: "You shall not bow down to them or worship תעבדם them; for I the LORD your God am a jealous God, punishing children בנים for the iniquity of parents" (cf. Deut 5:9) and Ex 20:10: "You shall not do תעשה any work—you, your son ובנך or your daughter ובתך, your male עבדך or female slave, your livestock, or the alien resident {וגרך} in your towns (cf. Deut 5:14).

23 Cf. Gen 2:2-3, and Ex 31:17; Ex 20:11. On v. 7, cf. קדש (Ex 31:14, 15; 20:8; Dt 5:12). Note that the Sabbath law in Ex 31 is spoken from Mount [ה ר] Sinai. The Sabbath commandment in Lev 19:3b is followed by 19:5: "When you offer a sacrifice תזבחו זבח of well-being to the LORD, offer it תזבחהו in such a way that it is acceptable on your behalf לרצנכם." See v. 7.

24 Fishbane (1985, 479). Carroll (1993), offers perceptive comments about our readings of the "ideological claims" apparent in these texts in the context of a discussion of intertextuality.

25 Duhm (1892, 391). See Pauritsch (1971, 43-47).

in grandiose terms up to and including "universalism." The foil to this grand vision tends to be a dark background of some variety of "exclusivism," even xenophobia.[26] This presumed attitude toward aliens (בני־נכר/נכרי), despite the Deuteronomistic strictures against Israelites who worship foreign gods:

> Deut 31:16 The LORD said to Moses, "Soon you will lie down with your ancestors. Then this people will begin to prostitute themselves to the foreign gods אלהי־נכר in their midst, the gods of the land into which they are going; they will forsake me, breaking my covenant that I have made with them. 31:17 My anger will be kindled against them in that day."

finds little concrete expression in the legal corpus. Deuteronomy affirms exclusion of the נכרי from idealistic economic benefits (Deut 15:3; 23:21 ET 20) and from the kingship (17:15). At the risk of blandness, it should be noted that the exclusion from the Passover meal (Ex 12:43) and the provision that the carcass of an animal that dies mysteriously (Deut 14:21) may be sold to a foreigner are stated without intense rhetoric.[27] In fact, the lengthy discussion in H of "blemishes" that disqualify an animal for sacrifice, ends by applying these restrictions to animals "accepted from a foreigner בן־נכר as as food to your God." The phrasing does not exclude the possibility that these are offered on behalf of the aliens.[28]

In the fear of the alien "joined to the LORD," the terminology is that of separation/distinction between clean and unclean (succinctly expressed in these terms in Lev 20:24-26).

> Lev 20:22 You shall keep ושמרתם all my statutes and all my ordinances משפטי, and observe ועשיתם them, so that the land to which I bring you מביא to settle in may not vomit you out . . . . 24 . . . I am the LORD your God; I have separated you הבדלתי from the peoples מן־העמים. 25 You shall therefore make a distinction והבדלתם between the clean animal and the unclean, and between the unclean bird and the clean; you shall not bring abomination on yourselves by animal or by bird or by anything with which the ground teems, which I have set apart הבדלתי for you to hold unclean. 26 You shall be holy קדשים to me; for I the LORD am holy קדוש, and I have separated you ואבדל from the other peoples מן־העמים to be mine.

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[26] Bonnard (1972), 347, speaks of "un courant de défiance et parfois d'hostilité vis-à-vis des nokrim."

[27] Dtr 14:21, "For you are a people holy to the LORD your God." In any case, the positions of Ezekiel and Nehemiah attach far more significance to this distinction.

[28] Note the mild description of innocent bystanders (children and aliens) witnessing divine judgment on idolaters: Deut 29:20 ET 21 The LORD will single them [servants of the gods of the nations] out הבדילו from all the tribes of Israel for calamity, in accordance with all the curses of the covenant הברית written in this book of the law. 21/22 The next generation, your children בניכם who rise up after you, as well as the foreigner והנכרי who comes from a distant country, will see the devastation of that land and the afflictions with which the LORD has afflicted it.

Fishbane[29] sees in Is 56:1-8 authoritative prophetic reinterpretation of the terminology of the "joining" and "separation" of Levites from the ordinary community for sacerdotal purposes:

> Num 18:1 The LORD said to Aaron: . . . 2 So bring with you also your brothers of the tribe of Levi לוי, your ancestral tribe, in order that they may be joined וילוו to you, and serve you וישרתוך while you and your sons ובניך with you are in front of the tent of the covenant. 3 They shall perform duties ושמרו משמרתך for you and for the whole tent. But they must not approach either the utensils of the sanctuary הקדש or the altar המזבח, otherwise both they and you will die. 4 They are attached to you ונלוו עליך in order to perform the duties ושמרו את־משמרת of the tent of meeting, for all the service עבדת of the tent; no outsider {וזר} shall approach you. . . . 6 It is I who now take your brother Levites הלווים from among the Israelites; they are now yours as a gift, dedicated to the LORD, to perform the service לעבד את־עבדת of the tent of meeting. 7 But you and your sons ובניך with you shall diligently perform תשמרו your priestly duties in all that concerns the altar המזבח and the area behind the curtain. I give your priesthood as a gift ועבדתם עבדת מתנה.

and

> Deut 10:8 At that time the LORD set apart הבדיל the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to stand before the LORD to minister to him לשרתו, and to bless in his name, to this day. 9 Therefore Levi has no allotment or inheritance with his kindred; the LORD is his inheritance, as the LORD your God promised him. . . . 12 So now, O Israel, what does the LORD your God require of you? Only to fear the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, to love him ולאהבה אתו, to serve לעבד the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul, ...

He has seen in this audacious inversion of language affirming the sanctity of God a concern for the effect of applying this language to categories of humankind. This is amplified by the speaking of aliens who "minister" to the Lord, and are "his servants" (56:5). The characterization of Israelites collectively as "servants of God" appears in legal corpora, and the term is a recurrent one in Isaiah 56-66.[30] But in the pairing of עבדים with שרת, there is an even more audacious implication of a sacral function for these aliens,[31] which may also carry into the allusion to participation in the offering of the sacrifices alluded to in v. 7. Despite the ambivalence of the text on this point, there is a certain irreverence for this high language that might be termed "Menippian" if we had an indisputable perception of the underlying social

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29 (1985, 118-120, 138-143, 262-268)

30 See particularly Beuken (1990).

31 In addition to the above texts, priests are associated with these roots in Num 3:31; 18:6; 16:9.

realities or of the social location of the parties in this counterpoint.[32] The offensive language was recognized later by the scribes of Qumran (1QIs[a]), who omitted לשרתו entirely, reading "to be his servants, and to bless the name of the LORD."

Except for Sabbath observance, the definition of the obligations is quite generally stated, and often in unparalleled coinages. An exception is "to love [the name of] the LORD" (v. 6), which takes us into the ethos of Deuteronomy,[33] both in the phrase "to love the LORD," and also in the reference to the "name of the LORD" resident in the sanctuary (v. 7—see Is 18:7 et al.).[34]

The sacrificial scene that follows is a climactic removal of the threat of "separating" aliens from the community. In the light of the liturgical functions implied in the preceding verse, there is no specific statement that the sacrifices are carried out by cultic personnel on behalf of the aliens.

56:7 these I will bring to my holy mountain,
and make them joyful in my house of prayer;
56:7 their burnt offerings and their sacrifices
will be accepted on my altar;
56:7 for my house shall be called a house of prayer
for all peoples.

If the rhetoric of the priesthood of aliens is seen in a context of argumentation, then the distance between this scene and a defensible reading of a pertinent section of H is not too great.

> Lev 22:18 When anyone of the house of Israel of the aliens {הגר} residing in Israel presents an offering . . . 20 You shall not offer תקריב anything that has a blemish, for it will not be acceptable רצון in your behalf. . . . 24 Any animal that has its testicles bruised or crushed or torn or cut, you shall not offer תקריבו to the LORD; such you shall not do תעשו within your land, 25 nor shall you accept any such animals from a foreigner בן־נכר to offer תקריבו as food to your God; since they are mutilated, with a blemish in them, they shall not be accepted ירצו in your behalf.[35]

This text also contains phrases associated with sacrifice in Dtn's "place that the LORD your God will choose as a dwelling for his name," especially Deut 12:

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[32] Hanson (1987) continues to remind us that these questions are worth investigation. "Menippian satire," discussed in the fourth chapter of the revised edition of Bakhtin (1984, 101-180), has been an influential term. Essentially, it is a play on the language and genre of the powerful, produced by the less powerful. In any case, it appears that not only may sacrifices be made on behalf of foreigners (Lev 22), but the possibility is left open that the foreigners have the same function as the priests.

[33] Sehmsdorf (1972, 549).

[34] See Beuken (1989, 30). Lack (1973, 66) associates 18:7 with one expression of the fundamental "symbolique" of Zion.

[35] Note the casual use of technical terms dealing with "blemishes" and specific sacrifices (Lev 22:18-24). Rendtorff (1967, 58, 63, and especially 253) sees this as characteristic of preexilic groups. It appears that, on the assumption that the technical texts have become available, the popular language persisted.

Deut 12:5 You shall go there, bringing והבאתם there your burnt offerings and your sacrifices עלתיכם וזבחיכם, . . . 7 And you shall eat there in the presence of the LORD your God, you and your households together, rejoicing ושמחתם in all the undertakings in which the LORD your God has blessed you.[36]

In various Sabbath *tradita*, sacrificial rules appear in close proximity to the Sabbath mandate,[37] and the decalogues describe the participation of the "resident alien."[38] Finally, the worship at the "holy mountain" has strong connections across the Isaianic tradition.[39]

The complaint of the eunuch[40] is entirely metaphorical, and the response is within the framework of the assumption that a person's "name" survives in the community through progeny.[41]

56:3b and do not let the eunuch say,
"I am just a dry tree."
4 For thus says the LORD:
To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths,
who choose the things that please me
and hold fast my covenant,
5 I will give, in my house and within my walls,
a monument and a name
better than sons and daughters;
56:5 I will give them an everlasting name
that shall not be cut off.

However the religious history or the physical setting of this gift are conceived, the problem and the solution do not parallel those of the aliens, as Duhm argued long ago.[42] We have here the provision of a "name" that has the same

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36 See also 12:11-15; cf. בנך ובתך at 12:18; מזבח at 12:26-27. Within the ethos of the temple, homage from distant foreigners is anticipated, but this is beyond the scope of the paper. 1 Kgs 8:41 "Likewise when a foreigner נכרי, who is not of your people Israel מעמך ישׂראל, comes ובא from a distant land because of your name שׁמך 42 —for they shall hear of your great name שׁמך, your mighty {והחזקה} hand, and your outstretched arm— when [a foreigner] comes and prays ובא והתפלל toward this house הבית, 43 then hear in heaven your dwelling place, and do {ועשׂית} according to all that the foreigner הנכרי calls to you, so that all the peoples עמי of the earth may know your name שׁמך and fear you, as do your people Israel כעמך ישׂראל, and so that they may know that your name שׁמך has been invoked on this house הבית that I have built."

37 (Ex 20:5/25;) Lv 19:3/5; (16:32/24;) 23:11/12, 16/18; 38/37; Note the pairing of Sabbath/Sanctuary in Lev 19:30 = 26:2; Ex 31:12/9; 34:21/25; (35:2/16).

38 Ex 20:10; Dt 5:14. See the Sabbatical law, Lev 26:5.

39 Steck (1991c, 244-245, 247. See 51:16, e.g.) and (1991b, 31). Note that the present valorization of Sabbath, sacrifice, and prayer as expressions of justice and righteousness contrasts with 1:10-17.

40 Steck (1991c, 248) notes the significant textual location of the reference to סריסים of royal blood at Is 39:7. The metaphor of withered vegetation in Isaiah might be explored.

41 Cf. Nu 27:4, involving inheritance laws for women, cited earlier in the discussion of 56:2b.

42 Duhm (1892, 393; 1968, 393) speaks of a "geistliche Fortleben." See Whybray (1975, 198).

function as progeny. The common interpreter's assumption that this has to do with the danger that physical mutilation or deformity poses to the purity of the sanctuary[43] is only an assumption. The text specifically admits only the "name" into the sanctuary. If lexical connections are important for establishing a relationship between texts, the widely assumed connection with Deut 23:2-9 ET 1-8 has little foundation. However critics are fascinated by the "abrogation"[44] of a primitive rule banning people with deformed genitalia, bastards, and (e.g.?) Ammonites and Moabites, from the "assembly," Is 56:1-8 shows no verbal allusions to this text. If the focus is upon progeny, the coined phrase "give a name" seems to echo the conventional phrase give a child/call its name.[45] This scene is a recurrent one in Isaiah, most immediately expressed in:

Is 9:5 ET 6 For a child has been born for us,
a son given בן נתן to us;
authority rests upon his shoulders;
and he is named ויקרא שמו
Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.
6/7 His authority shall grow continually,
and there shall be endless peace
for the throne of David and his kingdom.
He will establish and uphold it
with justice and with righteousness במשפט ובצדקה
from this time onward and forevermore עולם.
The zeal of the LORD of hosts will do this.[46]

The legal codes offer no guidance concerning eunuchs, of whatever social status, but linking this text with Isaianic themes may open new possibilities for the reader.

The hope expressed in the gathering of the dispersed, and possibly more, places this religious instruction in a broader context.

56:8 Thus says the Lord GOD,
who gathers the outcasts of Israel,
I will gather others to them
besides those already gathered.

There are specific verbal links with a common scene in other parts of the Isaiah tradition.[47]

11:11 On that day the Lord will extend his hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that is left of his people, from Assyria, from Egypt, from Pathros, from Ethiopia, from Elam, from Shinar, from Hamath,

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43 Douglas (1966, 9-28) discusses the academic linking of this concept to "primitive" cultures.

44 Donner (1985) gives a specific term for this assumption.

45 E.g., Gen 30:6.

46 See particularly 7:10-17; (8:3); and the new name of 62:1-6; 65:13-15.

47 Steck (1991b, 41; 1991c, 248).

and from the coastlands of the sea.
11:12 He will raise a signal for the nations,
and will assemble the outcasts נדחי of Israel,
and gather יקבץ the dispersed of Judah
from the four corners of the earth.

This text provides the closest prototype for a scene that envisions a less specific diaspora (note that "my holy mountain" is mentioned near this text: 11:9—cf. 56:7).

Again, the echo of specific Deuteronomic language is quite strong:

> Deut 30:1 When all these things have happened יבאו to you, the blessings and the curses that I have set before you, if you call them to mind among all the nations where the LORD your God has driven הדיחך you, 2 and return to the LORD your God, and you and your children ובניך obey him with all your heart and with all your soul, just as I am commanding you today, 3 then the LORD your God will restore your fortunes and have compassion on you, gathering you וקבצך again from all the peoples מעמים among whom the LORD your God has scattered [הפיצך] you. 4 Even if you are exiled נדחך to the ends of heaven, from there the LORD your God will gather you יקבצך, and from there he will bring you back. 5 The LORD your God will bring you והביאך into the land that your ancestors possessed, and you will possess it; he will make you more prosperous והטיבך and numerous than your ancestors.

In sum, this word represents a response to incompletely specified ethical dilemmas within the community, based on the traditions at the disposal of the community. Despite the echoes of powerful eschatological language, the teaching does not appear to be utopian.[48] The diverse Jewish population,[49] the refugees from neighboring states mentioned in Isaiah, and the likelihood in the Achaemenid or Hellenistic period of metics present in the community for economic or administrative reasons, makes it doubtful that "aliens" were a theoretical eschatological entity in the world expressed in this text. In this closely structured[50] effort to relate a way of life to traditions or traditional texts, prophetic activity appears less adversarial toward law teachers or general public policy than is generally acknowledged.[51]

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48 Kraus (1966) emphasized the crisis of the delay of eschatological hopes behind these texts.

49 Japhet (1983) offers a *prima facie* reading of available materials.

50 The detailed rhetorical analysis in Polan (1986), pp. 43-90, suggests that the present text is more than a pastiche, though the absence of "edlen Stil" (Duhm, 1892, 393) cannot be gainsaid.

51 See Goshen-Gottstein (1987) and Meyers (1983). Lau (1994), regrettably, did not appear in time to be consulted.

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The Influence of Isaiah 40-66 on Christology in Matthew and Luke: A Comparison

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The influence of Isaiah 40-66 on the gospel message is readily acknowledged. From the hopes expressed during the exile by Deutero-Isaiah came the gospel motifs of the restoration of the Kingdom of God, pardon for sin, good news for the afflicted, being a light to the nations and many others. Because Jesus came announcing the Kingdom, preaching the good news, and pronouncing the forgiveness of sins, the message of Isaiah 40-66 is important for the understanding of Christology. Both Matthew and Luke quote from this source to illustrate Jesus' mission and purpose. Because of this, many have traditionally held that Jesus defined his messiahship in terms of the Suffering Servant. On the basis of Isaiah 53, Jesus saw as a major purpose of his mission to give his life as a sin offering for Israel and the nations. Oscar Cullmann, for instance, argued that, with the title *ebed Yahweh,* we come straight to the heart of New Testament christology.[1]

For many scholars this traditional view was successfully overthrown by, among others, Morna Hooker's work, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament.*[2] Although she acknowledged the influence of Deutero-Isaiah on the Gospels she claimed there were no certain references in them which in any way suggested that Jesus was identified with a messianic interpretation of the Servant.[3]

While a full re-examination of this whole question is not possible in the scope of this paper, I shall attempt to open up some of the issues by approaching the question from a different standpoint. In recognition that our conclusions are often formed by our presuppositions, I shall survey briefly first the christology of the infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke on the assumption that both writers were consciously setting down there their christological tenets for their readers. I will then explore some of the major quotations and allusions to Isaiah 40-66 in Matthew, comparing them to Luke's where applicable. Then I will look at the importance of the Lucan quotations and allusions for that Gospel. On the basis of this I shall draw conclusions

1 Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Revised edition; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 51.

2 (London: SPCK, 1959).

3 Hooker, 149.

regarding the possible dependence of Luke on Matthew and suggest some implications of the study for other Christological titles.

The Christology of Matthew's Infancy Narrative

Mt's Christology is stated quite emphatically at the very beginning (Mt 1:1). Jesus is Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Here Ἰησοῦς Χριστός appears to be a title familiar to Mt's readers. It is used again in Mt 1:18, although a number of MSS omit Ἰησοῦς. Mt never uses this combination in the rest of his Gospel. Elsewhere in the infancy narrative he speaks of ὁ Χριστός (Mt 1:17; 2:4) or Ἰησηοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός (Mt 1:16). In Mt 2:4, Herod inquires where the Christ is to be born. The meaning here is obviously "the Messiah," since the chief priests and scribes answer with the quotation from Micah 5:1//2 Sam 5:2, and the magi's inquiry was for him "who has been born king of the Jews."(Mt 2:2) One must assume that the same is true, then, of the reference to "the Christ" at the end of the genealogy (Mt 1:17), particularly since the genealogy emphasizes Davidic sonship, and also of "Jesus who is called Christ" in Mt 1:16 (Pilate uses this same phrase in Mt 27:17, 22).

The genealogy, arranged in its symbolic pattern of three sections of fourteen, emphasizes four focal points; Abraham, David, the Babylonian exile, and the Christ. All four are significant christologically. First of all, Jesus is a descendant of Abraham and, as such, is not only a true member of Judah; but also the one who will fulfill the promise to Abraham that through his seed all the nations will bless themselves (Gen 22:18; cf. Mt 8:11). Thus, it is appropriate that Jesus' genealogy should start with him. Secondly, he is the son of David, the promised royal messiah expected by the Jews. Thirdly, the Babylonian exile is significant because this is the turning point and the time of the promised restoration of the Kingdom which will be inaugurated by the Anointed One, the Christ. This, and the patterning of the genealogy into three sections of fourteen, probably to make a subtle reference to David (ד + ו + ד = 14), is part of Mt's strong apologetic to the Jews that Jesus is the long awaited royal Messiah, the son of David.[4]

However, it must be kept in mind that, from the time of the Babylonian exile, ὁ Χριστός had taken on a different meaning for the prophetic minority. According to Isaiah 55:3-5 the eternal covenant made with David that he and his descendants would be Yahweh's son and servant forever (2 Sam 7:13-16) was actually transferred to the people. They were now to be witnesses to Yahweh's power (Isa 43:10, 12; 44:8) in place of David (Isa 55:4). Because of this, Trito-Isaiah could speak in the role of Servant-Israel as the one anointed (משח; ἔχρισεν) by God to bring good news to the afflicted (Isa 61:1), reaffirm the everlasting covenant (Isa 61:8), call the people a "crown of beauty" and a "royal diadem" in the hand of Yahweh who reigns (Isa 62:3), the "shoot" (נצר) of God's planting (Isa 60:21; cf. 11:1), the "sprout" of righteousness and praise (Isa 61:11, the righteous branch of Jer 23:5; 33:15). In this case ὁ Χριστός means Servant-Israel anointed by God to be a people-covenant and a light to the nations (Isa 42:6; 49:6, 8) as they witness to the reign of God.

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[4] Many of these points are made by Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, NY : Doubleday, 1977) 59-81.

Matthew may very well have been conscious of this second meaning, but he wished to emphasize here that Jesus fulfills all the hopes of the Jewish people and so claims royal messiahship for Jesus. He is the son of David by a legality. Joseph, son of David (Mt 1:20), becomes his father legally in marrying Mary, the mother of Jesus.[5] His conception was ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, brought about by divine power.

In the birth narrative (Mt 1:18-25), Matthew makes one further Christological point: "His name shall be called 'Jesus,' for he will save his people from their sins"(Mt 1:21). This is paralleled with a citation from Isa 7:14 in which the virgin's son "shall be called Emmanuel (God with us)" to emphasize the point that God is working through this Jesus to bring about deliverance. Deliverance from the guilt of sin is a concept deriving from Deutero-Isaiah who saw deliverance from exile and the restoration of the Kingdom as a setting free from the punishment for breaking the covenant (cf. Isa 40:2; 42:24; 43:24, 25; 44:22; 45:17; 46:12, 13; 47:6, etc.). In Mt, the forgiveness of sins is a sign of the Kingdom (Mt 6:12, 14, 15; 9:2, 5, 6; 12:31; 18:15-35; 26:28).

In Mt 2 the Christological emphasis changes somewhat. Matthew's combined quotation of Mic 5:1-2 and 2 Sam 5:2 in response to the magi still affirms Jesus coming as the royal son of David, but the emphasis now shifts to implications of Jesus' purpose. It is the magi, representing the nations, who recognize the coming of the Messiah and give the new born king homage (Mt 2:1-11). The promise to Abraham is already being fulfilled. This mission to the nations is further implied by their gifts (2:11), a clearer allusion to Isa 60:6 than to Ps 72:10-11. While the star is mentioned, Matthew makes no reference to Num 24:17. This is probably because the emphasis in Mt 2:1-12 is on Israel's witness to the nations, particularly as that is set out so clearly in Isa 40-66. However, it is Israel's mission, and this is why, in Mt 2:13-23, Matthew wants to show that Jesus represents Israel. In this brief sketch of the child's flight to Egypt and return and consequent withdrawal to the district of Galilee, he relives the whole history of Israel in miniature. The mentioning of strategic places; Bethlehem, Egypt, Ramah and Galilee; covers messiahship, the Exodus, the Exile and the mission to the gentiles (Mt 2:22; cf. Mt 4:14-16)—what Krister Stendahl called "christological geography."[6]

There are certainly Mosaic allusions here (Mt 2:13, cf. Exod 2:15; Mt 2:20, cf. Ex 4:19, 20) but the Jer 31:15 citation connects the Exile with the Exodus in a way that suggests the coming restoration of the Kingdom as a new exodus similar to the Exodus typology of Deutero-Isaiah.[7]

The other citations are also important christologically. The Hos 11:1 quotation ("Out of Egypt have I called my son") not only emphasizes Jesus' status as representative of Israel but anticipates the baptism and temptation of Jesus (Mt 3:17-4:11) in which Jesus once again relives Israel's history of testing

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5 Cf. Brown, 139.

6 Krister Stendahl, "*Quis et Unde?* An Analysis of Matthew 1–2," in *The Interpretation of Matthew* (Graham Stanton, ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) 59. See also Brown, 217.

7 See Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson, eds.; New York: Harper, 1962) 177-195. Anderson isolates 10 Exodus allusions: Isa 40:3-5; 41:17-20; 42:14-16; 43:1-3, 14-21; 48:20-21; 49:8-12; 51:9-10; 52:11-12; 55:12-13.

in the wilderness as God's son (cf. Exod 4:22 23 and Deut). The other citation, "He shall be called a Nazarene (Ναζαραῖος)," spoken "by the prophets" (Mt 2:23) most likely alludes to the "shoot" or "branch" (נצר) of Isa 11:1, transferred to the people in Isa 60:21 who will grow up into "oaks of righteousness" in Isa 61:3. Similar terminology was used in Isa 53:2 ("like a young plant, like a root out of dry ground"). That נצר and its related terminology were used in this way of the faithful of Israel collectively is clear from the Qumran psalms (1QH 6:15; 7:19; 8:5-10).[8] Thus, once again, Jesus is depicted as the representative of faithful Israel in terms of Isaiah 40-66.

The Christology of Luke's Infancy Narrative

By drawing parallels between the annunciations and births of John the Baptist and Jesus, Luke's main point of concern in the infancy narrative appears to be to show that John was great but Jesus is greater. His christology is set in this context.

Mary is told that she is to have a child whom she will call Jesus. The angel then tells her that her son will be called "son of the Most High" (*υἱὸς ὑψίστου*). Calling God ὕψιστος is a Lucan characteristic. Here Jesus is called "son of the Most High" (Lk 1:32, as also in Lk 8:28), just as John the Baptist will be called "prophet of the Most High" (Lk 1:76) and the Holy Spirit is referred to as the "power of the Most High"(Lk 1:35).[9] Being given this title and receiving the throne of "his father David," simply emphasizes that Jesus is the royal Messiah. Raymond Brown has rightly pointed out that Lk 1:32-33 is a free interpretation of 2 Sam 7:8-16.[10] The promise to David is thus fulfilled in Jesus. The parallel statement in Lk 1:35: "will be called holy, the son of God" also recalls 2 Sam 7:14 with its echoes in Pss 2:7 and 89:26-29. Jesus is clearly identified with the Davidic Messiah. That is further alluded to in the hymn of Zechariah (Lk 1:68-70) who praises God that he has "redeemed (*λύτρωσιν*) his people," "raised up a horn of salvation . . . in the house of his servant David," and made explicit in the birth announcement to the shepherds (Lk 2:11).

In the Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55) Mary praises God that "he has helped his *servant* Israel in remembrance of his mercy, as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed forever" (Lk 1:54-55). The reference here to "servant-Israel" is reminiscent of Deutero-Isaiah where Israel's purpose is to be "a light to the nations" (Isa 42:6; 49:6), and is mentioned here in relation to the promise to Abraham and his seed (Gen 22:17). This is developed further in Zechariah's hymn in which the salvation through the house of "servant David" will lead them "to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant, the oath which he swore to our father Abraham" (Lk 1:72-73). What we have here is very similar to what we found

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8 See Brown, 212-213. However, Brown prefers to see Isa 4:3 and Jud 16:17 as the background for this citation, 223-225. The name of the town, "Nazareth," itself may have derived from נצר (see D. C. Pellett, "Nazareth," *IDB* III, 524) in which case it may have been a settlement established by those who regarded themselves as the "shoots" of God's planting (Isa 60:21). If that were so, it would have given Joseph and Mary good reason for going there.

9 Note also that where Mt 5:9 has "shall be called sons of God," Lk (6:35) has "sons of the Most High."

10 Brown, 310.

in Mt. Jesus' christology is presented as Davidic messiahship through which he will fulfill the promises of blessing to the nations through Abraham's seed in terms of the Isaianic servant Israel. As Brown has pointed out, it is scarcely accidental that David and Abraham are mentioned in these verses in the same order as in Mt 1:1.[11] The final verse of this hymn (Lk 1:79: "to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death") clearly alludes to Isa 9:1-2 (cf. Mt 4:15-16) and Isa 42:6-7 and the many ensuing references to light in Isaiah 40-66.

The combination of Davidic messiahship with the role of the Servant is also found in the birth announcement and in the angelic song of praise (Lk 2:11,14). The announcement of *σωτὴρ, ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς κύριος*. *Σωτήρ* is not found in Mt or Mk, and in Lk only here and in Lk 1:47 where it refers to God. However, Matthew had made the point that the child was to be called Jesus, "for he will *save* his people from their sins" (Mt 1:21). Jesus is the means by which God saves. As the bringer of the good news of the Kingdom of God, Jesus is the one who "publishes salvation" (Isa 52:7; cf. 61:1), and through whom salvation comes (Isa 49:6, 8; 52:10; 62:11). In the light of this, the unique title, *χριστὸς κύριος* probably should be translated as "anointed Lord," leaving it with double meaning to refer both to the Davidic Messiah and to the anointed one who brings good news in Isa 61:1. Brown sees Isaiah passages behind the whole Lucan account of the birth and angelic announcement: Isa 1:3, behind the manger motif; Isa 9:5(6), behind the angelic message to the shepherds; and Isa 52:7, for the mention of good news in Lk 2:10.[12] To cap it all off, the heavenly host in Lk 2:14 uses the word *εὐδοκία* which, in Isa 40-66, has the special meaning of the blessing bestowed by God in the restoration (see especially Isa 61:2; 49:6, 8; 60:10. The verbal form is in Isa 42:1).

The Isaianic motif is brought out more explicitly in the depiction of Simeon (Lk 2:25-35). He is described as one waiting for the *παράκλησις* of Israel. *Παράκλησις* is the comfort to those who mourn promised so frequently in Isa 40-66 (Isa 40:12; 49:13; 51:3, 12; 52:9; 57:18; 60:20; 61:1-2; 66:7-11, 13).[13] Similar is the phrase used of Anna who speaks concerning Jesus "to all who were waiting for the redemption (*λύτρωσις*) of Jerusalem (Lk 2:38). This is an Isaianic parallel to the "consolation of Israel" as illustrated most clearly in Isa 52:9: "Break forth together into singing, you waste places of Jerusalem; for Yahweh has *comforted* his people, he has *redeemed* Jerusalem." Similar also is the phrase regarding Joseph of Arimathea (Lk 23:51) who was one "waiting for the Kingdom of God." All three phrases probably give evidence of a group among the people who were looking for the coming Kingdom specifically in terms of the Isaianic promises. Consequently, Simeon's conviction that he would not see death before he has seen *τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου*, "the Anointed of the Lord" (Lk 2:26) would likely have reference to Isa 61:1. Simeon's response

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11 Brown, 383. However, Brown traces both back to a pre-Gospel tradition. For other similarities between Mt's and Luke's infancy narratives suggesting Lucan dependence, see John Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1976) 122-128.

12 Brown, 425.

13 See my comments on Mt 5:4 in "The Beatitudes, Salt and Light in Matthew and Luke," *SBL 1991 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 826-828.

to the child Jesus (Lk 2:29-33) is loaded with Isaianic allusions. It is really a composite of Isa 40:5(LXX); 52:10; 42:6; 49:6; 46:13.[14]

Clearly, the Lucan christology in the infancy narrative is for all intents and purposes the same as Matthew's. Jesus is the royal Messiah, the son of David, who carries out his mission in terms of the Servant of Yahweh in Isa 40-66. Luke's references to Jesus as that Servant are less subtle than Matthew's, do not bring out the representative nature of the Servant as Israel, and rely primarily on hymns for the traditional terminology. Also, in regard to Jesus as the son of David, Luke appears to come across as less apologetic than Matthew.

One final comment regarding Luke's christology in reference to his use of the term κύριος: Luke uses the word 27x in chaps. 1-2; 25x for God and twice for Jesus (Lk 1:43 and 2:11). In the rest of his Gospel, he uses the word 76x; 13x for God, 27x as a general term for "master"; and 15x (incl. Lk 24:3, not found in some MSS) it is used by Luke in his narrative to refer to Jesus. In comparison, Matt uses κύριος only 6x in his infancy narrative and always for God. In the rest of his Gospel, it is found in discourse sometimes for God (14x), mostly for "master" generally (36x) or when Jesus is addressed as such (22x). Matthew never uses it of Jesus in his narrative. In the light of this we cannot read too much into Luke's use of χριστὸς κύριος in Lk 2:11, nor into Elizabeth's greeting Mary as the mother "of my lord"(Lk 1:43, τοῦ κυρίου μου). In the latter case, Luke's theological concern, as Brown points out, is to indicate the superiority of Jesus over John the Baptist.[15] But it does echo, with Luke's general use of the term, its more developed devotional use in regard to Jesus in the early church than is found in the Gospel of Matthew.

Servant Christology in Matthew and Lucan Parallels

The body of Matthew's Gospel begins with John's baptism (Mt 3:1, 6) as a fulfillment of Isa 40:3, as do also Mk and Lk. This is the indication that the promises contained in Isa 40-66 are about to be accomplished. As the voice calling for people to prepare for the coming of the Kingdom, he calls on them to repent and to undergo a rite of purification in the Jordan. Luke speaks of John as "preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," thus reading back into John's baptism the early church's practice of announcing the forgiveness of sins to those baptized into Christ (Acts 2:38). For Matthew, Jesus as the inaugurator of the Kingdom is the one who brings the forgiveness of sins (cf. Mt 9:2-6; 26:28). To the quotation of Isa 40:3, Luke adds a couple more verses in abbreviated fashion in order to end the quote with "and all flesh shall see the salvation of God" for his gentile readers (Lk 3:1-6). However, that only tends to put salvation as part of John's task. He further blurs the function of John with that of Jesus by suggesting that, with his warnings of coming judgment (Lk 3:15-17), John "preached good news to the people" (Lk 3:18; εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν). In Mt, forgiveness of sins, salvation, preaching good news all belong to Jesus.

14 Cf. Brown, 458. Also Darrell Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987) 86-88.

15 Brown, 341, 342.

Matthew's account of the baptism of Jesus (Mt 3:13-17) begins with his insistence on undergoing it "to fulfill all righteousness" (Mt 3:15). A variety of different interpretations have been given of this phrase.[16] What must be taken into account is that these are Jesus' first words in Matthew's Gospel, and they are words that speak about his mission which the Baptist has been calling people to prepare for. This is not simply fulfilling some righteousness demanded by the Baptist. The meaning is in the references constantly made about righteousness in Isa 40-66, where the promises of God and the fulfillment of Israel's purpose are described as both divine and human righteousness. Yahweh will graciously act according to his own righteousness (Isa 59:16, 17) to vindicate his people, so that, in the restoration, they will all be righteous, the shoot of his planting (Isa 60:17, 21). Thus, through them God will cause righteousness to spring forth before all the nations (Isa 61:11). Thus, the Righteous One, Yahweh's servant, will cause many to be accounted righteous (Isa 53:11).[17] Thus, in undergoing baptism to "fulfill all righteousness," Jesus inaugurates the whole plan of the action of God's righteousness, his people's righteous response, and their consequent witness to all nations. In other words, Jesus thus begins the process of proclaiming God's deliverance and, at the same time, responds in righteousness, as representing faithful Israel. Luke omits this saying as he does all references to righteousness (except the one quoted in Zechariah's speech, Lk 1:75) probably because it would be meaningless to his gentile audience.

In Mt 3:16, Jesus is baptized, the heavens are opened, and he sees the Spirit of God descending upon him like a dove. Some see this as an allusion to Ezek 1:1.[18] But in the present context, this must recall the cry of the returned exiles in Isa 63:15-64:8, still waiting for the promised restoration: "Look down from heaven and see" (Isa 63:15), "O that you would rend the heavens and come down" (Isa 63:19[E 64:1]).[19] These utterances come after recalling how God had delivered his people at the time of the Exodus, regarded them as his "sons" (Isa 63:8), put his Holy Spirit in their midst (Isa 63:11,14), as well as in the midst of the repeated cry to God of the faithful: "You are our Father" (Isa 63:16 twice; 64:8). The "Spirit of God coming down like a dove" not only recalls this context but also the promises of the Spirit in Isa 42:1; 44:3; 48:16; 57:16; 59:21; 61:1. Luke's reference to the Holy Spirit coming down as a dove "in bodily form" (σωματικῷ εἴδει, Lk 3:22) is certainly a secondary and possibly a misunderstanding of Mt's "in comparison to" (ὡσεί) to mean "in the form of." With this background in Isa, the "voice from heaven" (Mt 3:17/Lk 3:22/Mk 1:11) is God's response to the faithful who address him as

16 See, for instance, W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1988), I, 325-327.

17 See further my discussion on righteousness in Mt 5:6 in "The Beatitudes," 830-831.

18 Davies and Allison, I, 329; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in Matthew's Gospel* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 28.

19 Mt and Lk both use the passive of ἀνοίγω. The active form is used by the LXX (Isa 63:19) to translate the Hebrew קרע "tear, rend" reflected in Mark's σχιζόμενος. See Gundry, 28-29.

"Father." In Isa 40-66, this calling God, "Father," has come as the result of faithful Israel being called Yahweh's servant whom he has created and formed (Isa 43:1), his faithful sons and daughters called by his name (Isa 43:6, 7), formed from the womb (Isa 44:1, 21), borne by God from birth, carried from the womb (Isa 46:3). Israel had responded: "Yahweh called me from the womb, from the body of my mother he named my name" (Isa 49:1) "to be his servant" (Isa 49:3, 5).

In the light of this, it would be natural for the words of the Father to say: "This is my son, the beloved, with whom I am well pleased," thus combining many of the descriptions of the Servant of Yahweh into one summary title, using Isa 42:1 as the basic quotation. This is typical of Mt's use of quotations.

Ἀγαπητός, "beloved," summarizes a theme often expressed in Deutero-Isaiah regarding the Servant. In Isa 41:8, "Israel, my servant" is also called "my beloved" (אחבי; ὃν ἠγάπησα). Again, in Isa 43:1-4, Yahweh addresses Israel: "Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine . . . because you are precious in my eyes, and honored, and I love you." The same is expressed in Isa 48:4. We can also add to this the LXX's translation of "Jeshurun," an endearing term for Israel in Isa 44:2, as ὁ ἠγαπημένος Ἰσραηλ. Thus, there is no need to see in these words a reference to Exod 4:22-23 or Gen 22:2, 12, 16 which play no part elsewhere in the Gospels[20] nor to the Targum of Ps 2:7.[21]

To have ὁ υἱός μου instead of ὁ παῖς μου should not be regarded as unusual. In the OT and ancient near East "son" and "servant" were interchangeable as designations of a vassal in a covenant relationship.[22] Interchange between the two in regard to Isa 42:1 can already be seen in the allusions to the Servant of Yahweh in the Wisdom of Solomon (particularly in Wis 1-5). There the Servant is referred to as "the righteous one" who "professes to have knowledge of God and calls himself a servant of the Lord" (παῖς κυρίου, Wis 2:12, 13; cf. Isa 53:11). This servant "boasts that God is his father" (Wis 2:16; cf. Isa 63:16; 64:8) and is referred to as "son of God" (Wis 2:18).[23] Further evidence of interchange is seen in the Johannine account of Jesus' baptism where οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (John 1:34) was originally, according to some of the earliest MSS, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.[24]

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20 Against Paul Bretscher, "Exodus 4:22-23 and the Voice from Heaven," *JBL* 87 (1968) 301-311; and C. H. Turner, "Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ," *JTS* 27 (1926) 113-129. Cf. also Bock, 99-105; Davies and Allison, I, 340-341; Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, (Anchor Bible 28; Garden City, NY : Doubleday, 1981) 485–486.

21 Against Gundry, 30-31.

22 Cf. the interplay in 2 Sam 7 and Ahaz's submission to Tiglath Pilesar: "I am your servant and your son," 2 Kgs 16:7. See Roland de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (London: Longman and Todd, 1966) 154-158.

23 See the interchange of "servants" and "sons" in Wis 9:4, 7; 12:7, 20 and 19:21. See also J. Jeremias, "Παῖς Θεοῦ," *TDNT*, V:678. Also, compare the uses of terminology in the story of the centurion's servant/son in Mt 8:5-13/Lk 7:1-10/John 4:46-54.

24 See Jeremias, *TDNT*, V:689. However, there is no need to argue that an original ὁ παῖς μου was later changed by the early church. See also Jeremias's *New Testament Theology*, (2 vols.; New York: Scribners, Macmillan, 1971), "The Proclamation of Jesus," 1:53-55.

So Matthew's "This is my son" should be taken as a reference exclusively to Isa 42:1.[25] Some recent commentators now agree that any reference to Ps 2:7 is secondary, since elsewhere in the NT that text is only applied after the resurrection to the risen Christ (Acts 13:33; Heb 1:5; 5:5),[26] and that "at some time in the history of the tradition a quotation of Isa 42:1 was altered in order to gain an allusion to Ps 2:7."[27] If we do not presuppose Marcan priority that "time in the history of tradition" becomes obvious. Lk saw in Jesus' baptism and the divine proclamation not only a recognition of Jesus as Servant but also his being anointed as the royal Messiah in terms of Ps 2 (cf. Acts 4:25-27; 10:38) and changed "this is" to "you are" to conform to Ps 2:7. Mark then simply followed Lk.

In Mt, therefore, the christology expressed in Jesus' baptism is Servant christology. Jesus is acknowledged as representative of true Israel, the Servant of Yahweh, and as such he then successfully undergoes temptation in the wilderness as God's son (Mt 4:1-11; cf. Wis 3:5), just as Israel was tempted in the wilderness as God's son (Hos 11:1; Mt 2:15). He is now ready to begin his Servant mission of proclaiming the good news of the Kingdom (Mt 4:23). Luke's later christology is evident not only in his changing the quotation slightly to allude to Ps 2:7 but also in his following this with Jesus' genealogy to trace his sonship to God back through Adam (3:23-38), before continuing with the story of the temptation (Lk 4:1-13).

Mt 8:17/Lk 4:40-41

For the sake of brevity we must pass over the many allusions to Isa 40-66 in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7) to look at Matthew's explicit quotation from Isa 53:4 in Mt 8:17. This comes at the end of the first cycle of three healing miracles: the healing of the leper, of the centurion's paralytic servant, and of Peter's mother-in-law of a fever. Then, after saying that Jesus "cast out spirits with a word and healed all who were sick," Mt has: "This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah, 'He took our sicknesses and bore our diseases.'" In Isa 53:4, it was the kings and nations speaking, acknowledging their part in afflicting Israel which led to their exile and death as a nation. But they say this in wonder as they witness the restoration of Israel by Yahweh. Matthew quotes this passage here not only to recapture the wonder at these healings as signs of the restoration of the Kingdom, but also to identify Jesus christologically as the Servant of Yahweh who is the bearer of God's restoration in word and deed. In this sense it is closely related to the answer to John's disciples in Mt 11:2-6. Matthew's mentioning that Jesus cast out the spirits "with a word" (Mt 11:16) does help bind together Jesus' teaching and healing ministry[28] as a kind of interim statement between the *inclusio* verses of Mt 4:23 and Mt 9:35, but it goes further. It ties in with the centurion's affirmation of faith in Mt 8:8: "Only say the word, and my servant will be healed," and also with Mt 8:26-27 where Jesus stills the storm with his word so that the people marvel. All seems to be an affirmation of Deutero-Isaiah's final

25 So Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*,1:53-55; Cullmann, 66.

26 E.g., Fitzmyer, 485.

27 Davies and Allison, 1:338.

28 Davies and Allison, 2:37.

statement that God's word would accomplish that which he purposes (Isa 55:11).

In the parallel (Lk 4:40-41), Lk omits the Isa 53 quotation and inserts a christological statement of his own by having the demons who were cast out crying: "You are the son of God" probably borrowed from Mt 8:29 (healing of the Gadarene demoniacs) and follows that with a command to silence "because they knew that he was the Anointed One." In this case, his use of ὁ χριστός must recall his use of Isa 61:1 earlier in the chapter (Lk 4:16-30). Luke's dependence on Mt 8:16-17 in this chapter may be indicated in his reference in Lk 4:33 to a man "who had the spirit of an unclean demon." This may be reminiscent of Matthew's "he cast out the spirits" (Mt 8:16) where parallels in Mk and Lk have simply "demons." The people's exclamation, "What is this word?" on witnessing the exorcism (Lk 4:36) is a possible allusion to Matthew's casting out spirits "with a word" (Mt 8:16). Luke may also have omitted the quotation because he had a later and narrower understanding of the meaning of Isa 53, referring it to the suffering and death of Jesus. This seems to be affirmed by the Lucan quotations and allusions to it (cf. Lk 22:37; 23:34, 42, 47; 24:26, 27; Acts 3:13, 14; 7:52; 8:28-33).

Mt 11:2-6/Lk 7:18-23

According to Mt, John in prison had heard of "the works of the Anointed One" (τὰ ἔργα τοῦ χριστοῦ). This is the first time, apart from the infancy narrative, that the term χριστός is used in Matthew's Gospel, so it is important to understand how it is used here in context. John's disciples have been sent to ask Jesus whether he is "the Coming One," that is, the returning Elijah of Mal 4:1-6 (cf. Mt 3:11-12). Jesus' response (Mt 11:4-5) is to refer back to his "works" of proclaiming the good news and healing as signs of the restoration of the Kingdom promised in Isa 25:8; 26:19; 29:18-19; 35:5-6; 42:7; 43:8; 61:1-3. All these works described so far in Matthew's Gospel have illustrated what Jesus summarizes in his response to John (Mt 11:4-6). Matthew's use of χριστός in this context must then point to the "anointed one" of Isa 61:1. He may have spoken of the "works" of the anointed one, with Isa 60:21 in mind: "You people shall all be righteous . . . the shoot of my planting, the *works* of my hands that I might be glorified." Isa 61:1-3 follows that verse as an expression of those works, the acts of faithful Israel exemplifying the restoration of the Kingdom. So the use of χριστός here is related not to royal messiahship as it is in Mt 1-2, but to Jesus' role as the Servant of Yahweh.

In Luke's parallel account, which is often regarded as secondary,[29] he uses the later christological title, saying that John sent his disciples πρὸς τὸν κύριον (although some MSS have Ἰησοῦν for κύριον). Besides, Luke has placed this pericope into a context in which to demonstrate that Jesus, and not John, is Elijah. His retention of the quotation from Mal 3:1/Exod 23:20 (Lk 7:27) which, in Mt, sets the scene for Jesus' saying that John is Elijah (Mt 11:14) is evidence of Luke's dependence on Mt. Moreover, by changing Mt's ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε (Mt 11:4) to εἴδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε (Lk 7:22) he has lost the real significance of

29 Fitzmyer, 663, says: "The shorter form found in Matt 11:2-4 is generally regarded as representing the more original 'Q' form." Davies and Allison, 2:240, 242, think that Mt has just abbreviated.

Mt's phrase. In Mt, the phrase conveys a subtle reminder to John truly to see and hear what is going on and not be afflicted with spiritual blindness and deafness, an Isaianic theme (Isa 6:9-10; 29:18; 30:20-21; 32:3; 35:5; 41:20; 42:6-8, 18-20; 43:8; 44:18; 48:6-8; 50:4-5; 52:8, 10, 15; 55:3; cf. Mt 13:13-17). Luke misses the subtlety and refers it to the healings John's disciples have just witnessed. In this way Luke has failed to build on the Servant christology he had established in Lk 4:16-21.

Mt 11:25-30/Lk 10:21-22

After the answer to John's disciples (Mt 11:2-6) and the ensuing discussion on John (Mt 11:7-19), Jesus upbraids the Galilean cities for their lack of belief and warns of coming judgment (Mt 11:20-24). It is in this context and in the light of the Servant christology so far evident in Matthew's Gospel that we need to examine Mt 11:25-30. Much has been written on these verses expressing a variety of theories from theosophical mysticism as a protest against Hellenistic gnosis (Norden), the celebration of the Mysteries (Arvedsen), to Jesus as a new Moses (Allison).[30] However, the saying is thoroughly semitic and has its origins in the discussion of Israel's purpose as expressed particularly in Isa 40-66. The crucial word in this whole section is ἐπιγινώσκει which translates the Hebrew ידע. Particularly in the prophetic literature, this word conveys the meaning of "being in a relationship." This is most evident in Hos 2:22[E20] where "knowing" Yahweh expresses the intimacy of a marriage relationship (cf. also Hos 4:1, 6; 5:4; 6:3, 6; 12:1 [E11:12]). This is so also in the Isaiah tradition. The "spirit of knowledge and the fear of Yahweh" which the shoot of Jesse would generate and spread (Isa 11:2, 9) is a faithful covenant relationship with God. When the leaders in Jerusalem proved to be just the opposite, the prophet despaired: "Whom will he teach knowledge . . . Those who are weaned from the milk, those taken from the breast?" (Isa 28:9). Hence, the *νήπιοι* in Mt 11:27. Such knowledge of God leads to peace and security: "This is rest, give rest to the weary, and this is repose; yet they would not listen" (Isa 28:12). Hence, the *ἀναπαύσω* in Mt 11:28. Because they would not listen, Yahweh condemns their superficial religion (in words later quoted by Jesus in Mt 15:8) and warns: "The wisdom of their wise shall perish and the discernment of their discerning men shall be hid" (Isa 29:13, 14: *ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν κρύψω*). Hence, the *ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν* in Mt 11:25. Deutero-Isaiah in Exile called the people to know God who is the creator of heaven and earth (Isa 40:21-23, 28; 42:5; hence, Mt 11:25: "Lord of heaven and earth") so that through their witness to God's power evident in their restoration they might cause the nations to know the only true God (Isa 41:26-29; 42:1-7; 43:10; 44:18; 48:1-8; 49:1-6). Thus, "by his knowledge shall the righteous one, my servant, make many to be accounted righteous" (Isa 53:11).

In this logion Jesus recalls this motif in response to the rejection of his good news encountered not only from the Galilean cities (Mt 11:20-24) but also from "this generation" (Mt 11:16-19) and even from John questioning his role

30 See the bibliographies on this pericope in Davies and Allison, 2:297-302; and on Lk in Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1985) 875-876.

(Mt 11:2-6). Jesus here acknowledges that his role is that of the Son/Servant of Isa 42:11-16; 49:1-6; 61:1-3. The εὐδοκία in Mt 11:26 recalls the εὐδόκησεν of Isa 42:1 in Mt 12:18 and the pronouncements at Jesus' baptism and transfiguration. In those pronouncements the Father had acknowledged his relationship with the Son, and it is only through the Son that others can come into that relationship with God (cf. Isa 45:14). Jesus' invitation in Mt 11:28-30 is the call of Servant Israel, the herald of good news, calling to the faint and weary of Isa 40:28-31. His saying that he is πραΰς καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ is a statement of his solidarity with faithful Israel using terms often used to refer to Israel in Isaiah (cf. Isa 29:19; 41:17; 49:13; 51:21; 53:4, 7; 54:11; 61:1), and used by Jesus himself in Mt 5:3, 5. The fact that this invitation seems to echo the invitation of wisdom in Sir 24:19-34; 51:23-30 is deliberate to show that true wisdom is justified by her works (Mt 11:19).[31]

Lk 10:21-22 is almost identical with Mt 11:25-27, but omits the invitation. He places the warning of judgment to the Galilean cities into the context of sending out the Seventy (Lk 10:1-16) and then, as a joyful response to this, our pericope (Lk 10:21-22). Thus, Luke has changed what was a response to rejection in Mt 11:25-27 to a response of rejoicing over the reception of the good news among the gentiles. Luke has also changed Mt's ἐπιγινώσκει to γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν which changes the meaning from the Semitic "relationship to" to the Hellenistic "knowledge of."[32] Lk may not have understood the subtleties of the Semitic or may simply have accommodated to his gentile audience. Nevertheless, these changes do show the secondary nature of Luke's version. However, in introducing the saying with "he rejoiced (ἠγαλλιάσατο) in the Holy Spirit" and urging the Seventy to "rejoice that their names are written in heaven"(Lk 10:20), he seems to have had in mind Isa 29:18, 19(LXX) which states that "the deaf shall hear the words of a book" and "the afflicted shall rejoice (ἀγαλλιάσονται) because of the Lord with gladness."

Mt 12:15-21

After Mt 11:25-30 Matthew then follows with two examples of the different approaches to the Sabbath; that of the compassionate Servant and that of the so-called "wise and understanding." It is significant in this context that Jesus again quotes from Hos 6:6 which reads in full: "I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice, the *knowledge* of God, rather than burnt offering." This then leads on to Matthew's quotation of Isa 42:1-4. As Matthew's longest quotation at a point where Jesus' mission is being brought into question, Isa 42 is portrayed here as pivotal for understanding who Jesus is and what he sees as his mission. As such it not only relates to the conflict with the Pharisees over the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-14) and Jesus' decision to withdraw with the request to those healed not to make him known (Mt 12:15, 16), but to the whole of chapter 12 and with implications for what follows.[33]

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31 Against M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970) 106-107.

32 In disagreement with Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 874, who reads into Luke's account "the intimate relationship of Father and Son" from Mt's version.

33 In agreement with Lamar Cope, *Matthew: A Scribe Trained for the Kingdom of Heaven* (CBQ Monograph Series 5; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1976) 32-52;

In this quotation Matthew follows neither the MT nor LXX but makes slight changes to emphasize certain aspects of Jesus' mission as the Servant.[34] He retains the word παῖς here although υἱός was used in the Baptism and Transfiguration accounts. But, as Lamar Cope has pointed out,[35] the interchangeability of these two terms is indicated in Jesus' response to his family: "Whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother" (Mt 12:46-50). The intimacy of that relationship between Father and Servant/Son is again emphasized with the inclusion of "my beloved" as found in the accounts of the Baptism and Transfiguration. "I will put my Spirit upon him" is picked up in the ensuing discussion with the Pharisees (Mt 12:22-32) to further clarify Jesus' mission. "He shall proclaim justice to the nations" is part of the Servant's role as a "light to the nations" implied in the sign of Jonah (Mt 12:38-42). Κρίσις, as a natural rendition of משפט, is really more than "justice" or "judgment" as we generally understand those terms and involves God's whole plan and purpose. "He will not wrangle or cry out" (Mt 12:19), a slight change from the MT's "he will not cry out or lift up his voice," alludes to Jesus not wishing to get into debate with those who reject his message, as with the Pharisees in Mt 12:14-15 (cf. Mt 7:6; 10:14). That "he will not break a bruised reed or quench a burning wick till he brings forth justice successfully" (Mt 12:20), has not only been exemplified in Jesus' actions summarized in Mt 11:2-6 and his associating with tax collectors and sinners, but also in his announcement that judgment comes at the end of the harvest, not at the beginning (cf. Mt 13:24-30, 36-43).

In Isa 42 the description of Servant-Israel's purpose continues. It is to be a people-covenant, a light to the nations, to "open the eyes that are blind"(Isa 42:6, 7; cf. Isa 43:8-10). Matthew picks that up in Mt 12:22 with Jesus healing the blind and dumb demoniac. In his previous reference (Mt 9:32-34), the demoniac had only been dumb, and it is this version which Lk follows (Lk 11:14-23). The people who witness this utter in amazement: "Can this be the son of David?" The Pharisees respond by saying that it is by Beelzebul that Jesus casts out demons. In the following discussion there is no further reference to "son of David." Rather, Jesus picks up on Isa 42:1. He casts out demons by the Spirit of God (Mt 12:28). It is worth noting that in the body of Mt's Gospel, Jesus is called "son of David" in only five instances: by two blind men (Mt 9:27 and again in Mt 20:30, 31), by the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:22), by the crowd entering Jerusalem and their children (Mt 21:9, 15), and by the people here (Mt 12:23). The title is never responded to by Jesus until he raises the question concerning the sonship of the Anointed One with the Pharisees (Mt 22:42-45). When the Pharisees respond, "son of David," Jesus questions the accuracy of that response on the basis of Ps 110. The implication there appears to be that their concept of the messiah is incorrect, that the traditional royal Davidic role has been superseded by another, that of the Servant who is God's

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and Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Thematic Use of Isaiah 42:1-4 in Matthew 12," *Biblica* 63 (1982), 457-473.

34 For a thorough examination of Mt's text, see Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968) 107-115; Gundry, 110-116.

35 Cope, 45-46.

son (Mt 3:17).[36] That seems to be implied here also in the way Jesus is seen referring his power to heal to the Spirit of God according to Isa 42:1 and 61:1. That emphasis is further indicated in Mt 12:29. This is an obvious allusion to Isa 49:24-25 which pictures the nations bringing the scattered children of Israel back to the restored Kingdom. The question is raised in this context whether the mighty nations will let them go, and Yahweh's response is: "Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken and the prey of the tyrant be rescued, for I will contend with those who contend with you and I will save your children." The point of the allusion is that any attempt on the part of the Pharisees to prevent Jesus from gathering the lost sheep of the house of Israel will come to naught, for God's Kingdom *will* come. Part of the Servant's purpose was "to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him" (Isa 49:5). Jesus saw his role as doing just that so that having gathered a faithful nucleus into the Kingdom they might be a light to the nations. This is why, at this stage, he has sent his disciples only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 10:5; cf.. 15:24). Making disciples of all nations will come later (Mt 28:19-20). While Jesus here is aligning himself with Servant Israel, the Pharisees are aligning themselves with the nations that oppress.[37] So Jesus continues in Mt 12:30: "He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters." Not to participate in the gathering of Israel is to work against the Spirit, and that is the blasphemy against the Spirit which will not be forgiven (Mt 12:31-32). The title "Son of man" is clearly subsumed under the concept of Servant Israel.

The sign of Jonah (Mt 12:38-42) is related to this also. The whole point of the Book of Jonah is that Israel had failed to be a light to the nations, and when Jonah finally went to Nineveh at God's insistence, the wicked city repented. The point is that Israel's purpose to the nations is to be carried out, and anyone who hinders that will be judged and condemned by those nations. Mt 12:40 is really an intrusion into the meaning of the sign and is likely an interpolation of the early church.[38] It should be noted also that the repetition of "no sign shall be given . . . except the sign of Jonah" (Mt 16:4) comes after the healing of the Canaanite woman's daughter (Mt 15:21-28), the healings on the mountain alluding to Isa 29:18-19 (Mt 15:29-31), the feeding of the four thousand (gentiles) with its allusions to Isa 49:10-13, the Exodus feedings, and celebration of God's reign in Isa 55:1-3 (Mt 15:32-39). The Servant's mission to the nations will not be deterred, not even by the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees which is not bread (Mt 16:5-12).

Luke, of course, does not have the quotation of Isa 42:1-4. The various pericopes, which in Mt 12:22-50 belong together as part of the whole, Lk has as separate sayings or incorporates into different contexts. His account of the Beelzebul controversy diminishes the christological content as found in Mt. He has also rewritten the "strong man" passage to emphasize Jesus' power over Beelzebul. Mt 12:31-32 is reduced to one verse (Lk 12:10) and placed into a different context of collected sayings about the Son of man and the Holy Spirit.

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36 The early church understood this not as an "either/or" but as a "both/and" situation. Cf. Acts 2:34-36.

37 Against Hooker, 73.

38 In agreement with Stendahl, 132-133, and Cope, 40-41.

The saying on the sign of Jonah also loses some of its impact in Luke's version (Lk 11:16, 29-32). There is some evidence that Luke has been dependent on Mt[39] and has not always understood the significance of the sayings in his source.

Mt 16:13-23/Lk 9:18-22/(Mk 8:27-33)

This pericope is included here not because it has any explicit allusion to Isa 40-66 but because it is generally regarded as the most important christologically. Without entering into debate with the vast literature on this section, I wish only to make some tentative suggestions for an alternative reading of these events. If we can accept that Matthew's christology so far illustrates the Isaian influence on Jesus' teaching and Matthew's own understanding of Jesus' mission, then we need to examine this pericope in that light. First of all, there seems to be a purpose in the almost cumbersome Matthean version of the question to the disciples: "Who do οἱ ἄνθρωποι say that τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is?" It may be to emphasize the representational nature of the Son of man, which is also that of the Servant in Isaiah. But it may also be to check out how the disciples understand a term Jesus has associated with himself. Their answer to the first question is that the Son of man is thought of by the people as some kind of prophet. The people do not see him as a messianic figure. The figure of the Son of man familiar to the people is probably that of the Similitudes of Enoch, which give evidence of having been influenced by the Isaian traditions. That Son of man in Enoch is also referred to by various Servant titles such as "the Chosen One," "Righteous One" (38:2; 53:6) and "Anointed One" (48:10; 52:4), and is seen as gathering the chosen, righteous ones and pronouncing God's judgment on the unrighteous. Secondly, Peter's answer to the second question: "You are the Anointed One, the Son of the living God," may be a combination of Isa 61:1 with the concept of the Son of man in the Similitudes. "Son of the living God" is not necessarily a royal title, since it is not used of kings in the OT. However, it is used of the faithful of Israel in Hos 1:10 who will be called "sons of the living God." Thus, the representative nature of Jesus' mission would be emphasized. Thirdly, Jesus' saying that it is his Father in heaven who has revealed this to Peter probably relates to what Jesus had said in Mt 11:25-27. Peter/rock may allude to Isa 51:1-2 and the reference to "build my church" draws on the idea of building the restored Kingdom in Isa 58:12 and 61:4. The "gates of Hades" recall Isa 28:15-19 and 38:10. The "keys of the kingdom" uses the image of responsibility pictured in Isa 22:15-25. The "binding and loosing" has to do with "opening the prison to those who are bound" and "loosing the bonds of wickedness (Isa 42:7; 49:9; 58:6; 61:1), but also deals with binding those without a wedding garment (Mt 22:11-14; cf. Isa 61:10). How this is done is referred to in Mt 18:15-18 where this responsibility is given to all the disciples. Mt 16:20: "Then he strictly charged the disciples to tell no one that he is the Anointed One" relates also to Mt 11:25-27 as well as the concept, found in the Similitudes

[39] See H. Benedict Green, "Matthew 12:22-50 and Parallels: An Alternative to Matthean Conflation," *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (C. M. Tuckett, ed.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984) 157-171.

of Enoch (48:7; 62:7; 69:27), that the Son of man would only be revealed to the faithful.

Now that Jesus' purpose and mission has been more fully revealed to the disciples, he can now reveal the shadow side of the Servant role. This is the significance of Matthew's ἀπὸ τότε (Mt 16:21). Jesus can now speak about his impending suffering, death and resurrection. In the Exile Israel had suffered and died but had never really fulfilled the resurrection of Isa 53. Just as Jesus had succeeded where Israel failed in the wilderness temptation (Mt 4:1-11), so he would succeed in the resurrection. That part of the Servant role Peter did not understand. This then leads Jesus to explain the relation of the disciples to him as Servant/Son of man (Mt 16:24-28).

Luke's account of this (Lk 9:18-22) is abbreviated. He simplifies Jesus' first question to "Who do the ὄχλοι say that I am?" and makes no mention of the Son of man until the passion prediction which follows (Lk 9:22). Peter's answer is shortened to "the Anointed One of God," which probably alludes to Isa 61:1. He omits Jesus' answer to Peter (Mt 16:17-19), but does mention in different contexts both the "keys" of the Kingdom (Lk 11:52) and "binding and loosing" (Lk 13:15, 16). This may show that Luke was familiar with these concepts either from Mt or the tradition. He may have regarded the Isaian images of Mt 16:17-19 as too much for his gentile audience. In the passion prediction Luke's account is the same as Mt except for the addition of "Son of man" and "and be rejected." The latter may have been with Isa 53:3 in mind, or Luke was thinking of the stone which the builders rejected mentioned in Ps 118:22. Because that stone is understood to allude to Jesus (Mt 21:42/Lk 20:17/Mk 12:10) may be the reason Luke omits any reference to Peter being a rock. He also omits any reference to Peter's rebuke (Mt 16:22-23). One further note on Lk 9:22: when he added "and be rejected" he probably should have changed Mt's ἀπό, "from," to ὑπό, "by." Mark accepted Luke's additions, but thought it more appropriate to change the ἀπό to ὑπό.

Mt 17:5/Lk 9:35

Matthew's account of the voice at the Transfiguration is exactly the same as his account of the voice at Jesus' baptism, but with the addition of "listen to him" from Deut 18:15. As such, it is a reaffirmation of Jesus' Servant role superseding that of Moses and Elijah. In this case, Luke follows Mt but omits "with whom I am well pleased" and changes ὁ ἀγαπητός to ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, "my Chosen One," recognizing that it recalls Isa 42:1, not Ps 2:7. Jesus' command: "Tell no one the vision until the Son of man is raised from the dead" (Mt 17:9) is also omitted by Luke. But in Mt the relation between the titles, Son of man and Servant, has been established: Jesus will carry out his Servant role in terms of the Son of man who will finally be revealed as the Vindicator and Judge.

Mt 20:28/Lk 22:27/(Mk 10:45)

Part of the context of this statement in Mt is Jesus' response to the sons of Zebedee: "Are you able to drink the cup that I am to drink?" That this is the cup of suffering is quite clear from Mt 26:39. In the history of Israel the time of the Exile was the "cup of God's wrath" (Jer 25:15-31; 49:12; Ezek 23:31-33), and near the end of the Exile Deutero-Isaiah announced that Yahweh would now

take the cup of his wrath from the exiles and put it into the hand of their tormentors (Isa 51:17-20). But Jesus now sees that like the Servant of Isa 53, he must still drink that cup in order to bring Servant Israel's role to completion (Mark, who follows Mt's version closely, thinks the cup refers to the Eucharist and so adds a reference to Baptism, Mk 10:38, 39). With this in mind, the allusion to Isa 53:10-12 in Mt 20:28 becomes clear. Both "his soul" and "many" are used three times in that passage in a context of suffering and death. But λύτρον is not really a translation of אשם, "guilt offering." In Isa 53:10 the latter implies that Israel as a nation gave her life in exile as a guilt offering for her own sin. The λύτρον here implies that Jesus gave his life to bring about Israel's redemption and through her witness also that of the nations. The verb λυτρόω is often used to translate the Hebrew גאל, "redeem." This word is used 22x in Isa 40-66. It means to pay the ransom price to buy back a relative from slavery. Yahweh is that relative (referred to variously in the role of father/mother or husband to Israel/Jerusalem) who will redeem Israel from exile and restore his Kingdom. Jesus is saying, then, that his purpose is to give his life to bring about this redemption for many. The two concepts of the suffering servant and redemption have been merged. As he lives out his representative role as Servant-Israel/Son of man, Jesus sees this as his supreme act in bringing about the Kingdom.

Luke's account (Lk 22:24-27) is considerably diminished and generalized, so that Luke has Jesus as not the one who sits at table, but as the one who serves. The account lacks any allusion to Isa 40-66.

Mt 26:28/Lk 22:20/(Mk 14:23, 24)

In the light of Mt 20:28 it is easy to see the image of the Isaianic Servant in what Jesus says in the Last Supper. This saying draws on a number of images; the sealing of the covenant by sprinkling blood in Exod 24:8, the reaffirmation of Isa 42:6-7; 49:9; 61:1-3 against the background of the covenant renewal ceremony and the pouring out of the sacrificial blood during the Feast of Booths in Zech 9:11-12. However, the words, "which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" must recall Isa 53:12: "He poured out his soul to death . . . yet he bore the sin of many." Only Mt has "for the forgiveness of sins." Some see this as a gloss which detracts from the main point of the saying.[40] But, as stated earlier, in Isa 40-66 the forgiveness of sins is the basis for the restoration of the Kingdom, and, in Isa 53, the Servant's suffering is seen as the means for extending that forgiveness to the nations. So it is really essential here. In the next verse (Mt 26:29), Jesus' statement that he will not drink wine again until he drinks it new with the disciples in the Father's Kingdom refers to Isa 55:1-5, where it speaks of sharing in the blessings of the restored Kingdom in an everlasting covenant with God.

While Mark's rendering of this saying is fairly close to Mt's (he omits "for the forgiveness of sins" with Lk), Luke's account is shorter, tones down the allusions to Isa 53:12, omits the allusion to Isa 55:1-5, and has more in common with the Pauline version in 1 Cor 11:25.

There are other Isaian allusions in Mt. In Mt 21:5, Matthew combines a quotation from Isa 62:11 with Zech 9:9. This is omitted by Luke, but he does

40 Hooker, 82.

retain the quotation from Isa 56:7 (Lk 19:46; Mt 21:13), probably because of the importance of prayer in his Gospel. Matthew's allusions to Isa 34:4 and 13:10 in Mt 24:29 is diminished in Lk 21:25-26. The parable of the Last Judgment (Mt 25:31-46), with its allusion to Isa 58:7, is not in Lk. Mt's allusions to Isa 53:7 ("he opened not his mouth") in Mt 26:63 and 27:12, 14 are not in Lk. Lk omits the "spitting" (Isa 50:6) of Mt 26:67, but he has included it in the third passion prediction (Lk 18:32), while Mt does not (Mt 20:19). Luke's accounts of the passion predictions are essentially the same as Mt but with a strong emphasis on the disciples' lack of understanding (Lk 9:45; 18:34).

Servant Christology Unique to Luke

Luke's frequent allusions to Isa have often been emphasized.[41] But as we have seen, most of the Lucan references to the Isaian tradition have also been found in Matthew's Gospel. There are, however, three quotations or allusions which are unique to Luke's Gospel (Lk 4:16-30; 22:37 and 23:35).

The Sermon at Nazareth for Luke (Lk 4:16-30) is the inauguration of Jesus' ministry in which, by means of a quotation combining Isa 61:1-2 and 58:6, Jesus defines his mission. Matthew's general reference to Jesus preaching in the Nazareth synagogue comes after there has already been growing resistance to his teaching (Mt 13:53-58). Luke's placing of this Sermon here to illustrate who Jesus is appears to be a substitute for Mt's Sermon on the Mount which he found too complex for that purpose. Fitzmyer rightly makes the point that Luke has put this story here "to encapsulate the entire ministry of Jesus and the reaction to it." This whole section thus stresses the success of his Spirit-guided teaching as well as his rejection by his own people, leading to the mission to the gentiles.[42]

Certainly, this section identifies a number of christological issues for Luke. The opening verse of the quotation, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," picks up the Spirit descending upon Jesus at the baptism (Lk 3:22), his being "full of the Holy Spirit" and "led by the Spirit" in the temptation story (Lk 4:1), and his returning to Galilee "in the power of the Spirit" (Lk 4:14). Thus, in this Sermon, Jesus is announcing publicly that he has been anointed with the Holy Spirit, which Luke sees as having taken place at his baptism (cf. Acts 10:38). But in what way does Luke understand this anointing? Bock argues that because of the connection with the baptism, Jesus was here announcing that he is the Anointed One not merely as Isaian Servant or Herald, but more so as the royal Messiah. He argues that "the larger Lucan context is regal and messianic, not prophetic" and that points to a messianic understanding of this passage.[43] However, the whole quotation has nothing to do with any Davidic or royal function, and Jesus' comment that "no prophet is acceptable in his own country" (Lk 4:24) emphasizes Jesus' prophetic nature as the Anointed One in spite of the allusions to Ps 2:7 in the baptism. What we found in Mt is also true of Lk: in the body of their Gospels the term ὁ Χριστός is not normally

41 E.g., David Secombe, "Luke and Isaiah," *NTS* 27 (1981) 252-259; James A. Sanders, "Isaiah in Luke," in *Interpreting the Prophets* (James L. Mays and Paul Achtemeier, eds.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 75-85.

42 Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 529.

43 Bock, 109-110.

used of a royal messiah, except in the mouth of Jesus' accusers (as in Lk 23:2). Luke's version of Peter's confession is simply "The Anointed One of God" (Lk 9:20). His rendition of Jesus' question to the Pharisees is: "How can you say that the Anointed One is David's son?"(Lk 20:41). In Mt (Mt 22:42) the question is more ambivalent. Otherwise Luke's use of the term is associated with Jesus' saving activity and his suffering; both strong Servant motifs in Lk. Even the rulers at the cross scoff at Jesus calling on him to save himself "if he is the Anointed One of God, his Chosen One" (Lk 23:35; cf. 23:39) an obvious allusion to Isa 42:1 and 61:1. If Lk is summarizing Mt 27:40-43 here he has understood Mt's reference to "son of God" in terms of Isa 42:1 (cf. 9:35). The two references to the Anointed One in the post-resurrection accounts both emphasize the necessity of his suffering (Lk 24:26, 46; cf. Isa 53). It should be noted that Luke connects Isa 61:1 to Jesus being called "the Anointed One" later on in Lk 4:41, as well as to the terms "the holy one of God" (Lk 4:35) and "son of God"(Lk 4:41). That Luke sees Jesus' mission in terms of Isa 61:1 is clear from Jesus' final statement in this chapter: "I must preach the good news of the kingdom of God to the other cities also; for I was sent for this purpose" (Lk 4:43). Luke depicts Jesus here as taking on a prophetic role in terms of the Isaianic Servant. As such, he will be greater than the great prophets of the past, Elijah and Elisha (cf. Lk 7:16, 39; 13:33; 24:19).

Luke's other unique quotation is from Isa 53:12 (Lk 22:37). Jesus tells his disciples: "That which is written must be fulfilled in me, 'And he was reckoned with the lawless.'" This clearly identifies Jesus as the Servant of Yahweh, and the necessity of his suffering as such in terms of Isaiah 53 is set out by Jesus after the resurrection (Lk 24:26, 27, 44-47). Luke sees this as the fulfillment of all the OT scriptures. As has often been noted, there is no reference in Luke's use of Isa 53 to a vicarious atonement, just as there was not in Mt 8:17. For Luke, the two focal points of Jesus' ministry in terms of the Servant are to be the bearer of the good news to the afflicted and to go the way of suffering and rejection in order that repentance and forgiveness, the good news of the Kingdom, might then be preached in his name to all the nations (Lk 24:27).

Conclusions

1. In the infancy narrative Matthew has set down emphatically that Jesus is the son of David, a royal messiah, and then eased into a description of Jesus as representative Israel. Yet the references to the "son of David" in relation to Jesus in the body of his Gospel are ambivalent at best. This would indicate that royal messiahship was not a focal point of Jesus' ministry, but that Matthew wished to defend the post-resurrection conviction that the Anointed One had fulfilled all the hopes of Israel in his proclaiming the Kingdom.

2. Luke's infancy narrative followed the same approach, but it lacks the apologetic tone of Mt and hence is probably later. Luke also moves from portraying Jesus as the royal messiah to describing him as the Servant Israel by making use of a number of hymns and sayings in the tradition attributed to various people.

3. In the body of both Gospels Jesus is portrayed as fulfilling the role of the Servant of Yahweh depicted in Isa 40-66. Christological terms such as "son of God" and "Christ" are subsumed under the concept of the Servant. The use of

the term "Christ" is understood primarily in terms of the Anointed One of Isa 61:1. The concept of the Son of man is merged with that of the Servant.

4. In the survey of the various quotations and allusions to Isa 40-66, we have noticed a tendency for Luke to lessen the impact of, or omit, the allusion, either because he did not understand its implications or wished to make the saying more meaningful for his gentile audience. All this would suggest that Luke was dependent on Mt or his tradition.

5. While both Gospels focus on Jesus as the Servant, the Chosen One, Matthew's Gospel shows a more holistic understanding of the content and meaning of Isa 40-66 and of the role of the Servant. Luke's Gospel focuses more on the Servant as the One Anointed to preach good news (Isa 61) and on his role in suffering and dying (Isa 53).

6. Looking at the Gospels from a different perspective changes the scene. The Two Gospel Hypothesis offers opportunity for a fresh approach and new insights into christological problems which, from the perspective of Two Document Hypothesis, have often seemed insoluble.